## Book Reviews

*Edited by Timothy J. Holian*
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**The German Migration to Missouri: My Family's Story.**
*By Paul C. Nagel. Kansas City, MO: Kansas City Star Books for the Jackson County Historical Society, 2002. 231 pp. $16.95.*

The news that Paul C. Nagel has published a book on his Missouri German ancestors generates high expectations. He has proven to be one of the best chroniclers of American families in highly readable and well-received books on the Adams family of Massachusetts and the Lee family of Virginia. Moreover, his short, interpretative history of Missouri, originally published in the Norton Bicentennial Series, was generally accepted as the best volume of all fifty in the series and is certainly one of the most sophisticated and perspicacious analyses of Missouri ever released.

The second half of the book here reviewed (chapters five through nine and the epilogue) lives up to the promise of Paul Nagel's name. These chapters tell of how, about a century ago, one pair of his German-speaking grandparents came to live and flourish on a farm near Independence, Missouri and the other pair in an Evangelical parsonage at Napoleon on the Missouri River in northwest Lafayette County. Nagel knows this history from having grown up with all four of his grandparents, and with aunts, uncles, parents, friends and neighbors who knew the families. His grandparents also left a considerable legacy of documents and artifacts now in his possession. The last chapters of this book are a warm, wonderful memoir of his grandparents in their declining years after both couples retired to Independence, and their relationship with the author himself when he was a child and young man. The epilogue is a short, well-reasoned argument for "rediscovering the lives of our forebears in the 19th century and before" (211) as an antidote to some of the ills of our time.

The book has other notable strengths. It is refreshingly honest. The author dares to reveal conduct by earlier ancestors as documented in parish registers and other sources in early modern Germany which would have been greatly frowned upon at the time. Some of these acts would have been highly embarrassing to later generations as well, although the "wantonness" on the part of mature women might be seen by today's feminists as examples of women controlling their own sexuality. Nagel does not hesitate to condemn his grandfather, the pastor, who wanted to relate to the

farmers in his congregation in Lafayette County in the way an East Elbian Junker related to the peasants on his estate. Some scenes in the book are highly amusing and some are very touching. The maps in this book should prove to be just what is needed by readers not especially familiar with the geography of either Germany or Missouri. Nagel's ancestors came from widely separated corners of Germany and went to both to "Duden Country" along the Missouri River west of St. Louis and to Cooper County in central Missouri, before coming to the western part of the state.

At the same time, this narrative contains an embarrassing number of errors of historical fact and unsound interpretations which will weaken its appeal to informed readers. The genealogical research behind this book appears to be exemplary, but the historical research is not what one would expect from such an accomplished historian. At the beginning of the first chapter (9), we are told that holder of the Bishopric of Osnabrück rotated between Protestant and Catholic as a part of the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. In fact, it was owing to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. And this is not especially relevant to the story being told at that point since Nagel's ancestors in question lived nearby but across the border in Grafschaft Tecklenburg. Westerkappeln is east of Metten, not west. Metten is still spelled that way on modern maps contrary to the author (11).

Germans were put into East Prussia by the *Drang nach Osten* after 1000 A.D, not B.C. (39) The author surmises that Christianity "did not flourish" in Hesse until the sixteenth century (22); what of Fulda, one of the great centers of Christian learning in the early Middle Ages? The *Völkerwandrungen* did bring Anglo-Saxons to Britain, but not Celts (49), who were there before the Romans. It was Frederick William III who merged the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Prussia, not William III (60). This is of some importance since all the reigning Hohenzollerns seemed to be named Frederick or William or Frederick William.

In the context of the Brueggemann family's migration to Missouri in 1860, Nagel writes, "Places like Westphalia were being enticed into unification with the great power to the east, Prussia . . ." (99). In fact, the Brueggemann home at Lotte was in the County of Tecklenburg which has been ruled by Prussia since 1707 and had been a part of the Prussian province of Westfalia since 1814. The photograph on page 122 is of a binder, not a mower. In the photo, Gottlieb Nagel and assistants were harvesting wheat, not "mowing." Bismarck came from Brandenburg and Pomerania, not East Prussia (149). There are other similar gaffs. Alone these items are unimportant, but summed together they make an impact.

This reviewer also disagrees with Nagel's interpretation of the history of the Evangelical Synod, the ancestral denomination of us both. It is highly questionable that any significant number of immigrants who joined the congregations which made up the Kirchenverein des Westens, or as it was later named, the Deutsche Evangelische Synode des Westens, or still later the Deutsche Evangelische Synode von Nord Amerika, emigrated for religious reasons as the author asserts (59). To be sure, the movement to unify the Lutheran and Reformed confessions in Germany was tinged with a pietism which was, to some degree, a reaction against the formalism of the Lutheran liturgy. But those who emigrated from Prussia and several other Protestant areas already had a united or "evangelisch" church as their *Landeskirche*. Many of those coming to Missouri from Hannover, which had a purely Lutheran (although not highly confessional) state church joined Missouri Synod congregations

or went into the Evangelical Synod with reluctance as the only likely alternative to the rather too confessional Missouri Synod.

Yet, Nagel is certainly on target when he asserts that today the United Church of Christ, of which the former Evangelical Synod is now a part, and the most liberal of contemporary American mainline denominations, seems to embody as much the message of Friedrich Münch, the rationalist minister of the Duden Country, as that of Rev. Hermann Garlichs, a prominent Duden Country founder of the Kirchenverein des Westens.

Overall, despite its disconcerting historical errors, this book will greatly repay the time and effort of most readers and should inspire others to learn more about their German ancestry.

*Northwest Missouri State University* *Robert W. Frizzell*

**The Ritchie Boys: A Film by Christian Bauer.**
*DVD Video. English and German Version. [München]: Tangram Christian Bauer Filmproduktion, 2004. 93 minutes. € 20.00.*

**Die Ritchie Boys: Deutsche Emigranten beim US-Geheimdienst.**
*By Christian Bauer and Rebekka Göpfert. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 2005. 224 pp. € 19.95.*

Few people will probably be even generally familiar with the Ritchie Boys. As the subtitle of the book tells us, these were (with few exceptions) a group of German emigrants who became members of the U.S. intelligence service in World War II, interrogating German POWs, sending propaganda the enemy's way, and engaging in various cloak-and dagger activities. The name is taken from the center where they received their extensive training, Camp Ritchie, Maryland.

The DVD features interviews with several of the surviving Ritchie boys, all octogenarians, nonetheless "youthful" and "exuding energy," as Christian Bauer characterizes Guy Stern in 2003 (a quote from the book, 9), a description that could be applied to any of the interviewees. They include American academicians (Stern, Werner Angress, Victor Brombert), and equally impressive success stories from other walks of life, e.g., Si Lewen, an artist; Richard Schifter, a diplomat; and businessmen Fred Howard and Hans Spear.

The film begins with the theme of departure, the backgrounds and emigration—or, better, flight, as we read in the title of the first chapter of the book—of the heroes of the story. We are soon introduced to one of the principal motifs, return, as Stern and Howard are shown on their way back to Camp Ritchie in 2003, talking and reminiscing as they sit in the backseat of a car. This motif will be picked up later as the Boys enter Germany, where most of them were born, with the advancing American army. The reactions of these young Jewish exiles to entering their native country once again are quite varied.

We see and hear the story of this crack intelligence team, from their training at Camp Ritchie to the early postwar period, with brief reports on the later careers

of several of them. The structure is highly episodic, as segments of the survivors telling their stories alternate with archival footage from World War II related to the narrative at hand. The mood varies tremendously, from Si Lewen's heart wrenching account of Buchenwald, which he visited two days after its liberation, to Guy Stern's side-splitting tale of interrogating German POWs in his role as the "Russian liaison officer" Krukov (for more Ritchie Boy humor, see Guy Stern, *Oh What a Funny (?) War*, Cincinnati Occasional Papers in German-American Studies, No. 13 [2005]).

Some of the Boys landed in France shortly after D-Day; Stern reports that when he arrived, the Normandy beaches were still strewn with corpses. One, Angress, parachuted in behind the German lines on June 6; he was soon taken prisoner and spent a harrowing few days in German captivity, fearful that his status as a German Jew and American intelligence officer might be discovered. At Camp Ritchie the Boys received not only general training that covered a wide range of subjects, but also specialized training in individual areas. The interviewees had various specialties, and we are given an excellent introduction to their principal activities. Most interrogated German POWs. Brombert was primarily responsible for questioning French citizens, not all of whom welcomed the invasion. Lewen was involved in the highly dangerous task of propagandizing front-line German troops with texts read over a loudspeaker. After the capture of Luxembourg, Ritchie Boys were responsible for using this nation's powerful radio station to send broadcasts into Germany itself.

The interviews are for the most part conducted in English, with subtitles provided for the few segments that are in German. A German-language option is also available, in which a German voiceover is played, unfortunately with the original English disturbingly audible in the background. When I last checked, the DVD was not available from amazon.com (and I must presume other American sources). It can be ordered online, from Europe, at www.ritchieboys.com.

The book covers the same ground as the DVD, if in a more consistently chronological fashion and in significantly greater detail. It contains eight main chapters, an introductory "Auf den Spuren der Ritchie Boys," a conclusion-like "Der Kreis schließt sich," acknowledgments, a brief bibliography, and biographies of fifteen Ritchie Boys. It is important to note that in addition to those individuals whom Bauer interviewed for the film, three Ritchie Boys play major roles here on the basis of their published reminiscences: the prominent writers-to-be Hanus Burger, Hans Habe, and Stefan Heym, all of whom settled in Europe after the war and died before serious work on the project began. Extensive use is made of these accounts, which are scarcely alluded to in the DVD. The book is illustrated, but many of the pictures are small and their technical quality leaves something to be desired.

I thoroughly enjoyed both book and DVD, and expanded my knowledge of an important group of German-Americans in the process.

*University of Cincinnati* *Jerry Glenn*

**Illinois' German Heritage.**
*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing Co., 2005. 190 pp. $16.95.*

Tolzmann's latest edition of historical texts and essays provides readers with a close look at one of the more neglected states in the German-American settlement area: Illinois. By bringing together firsthand accounts from the nineteenth century and essays from twentieth-century historians, this book explores the rich German heritage of Illinois from the earliest settlements to the present. More importantly, we learn about the significant role played by German leaders in Illinois during the tumultuous years leading up to, during and following the Civil War. The essays, together with Tolzmann's contributions in the area of research tools, offer both scholar and interested layperson an excellent introduction to the state's German side.

Following a brief introduction, which provides bibliographic detail on the selections edited for this volume, Tolzmann has culled and translated two chapters from Gustav Körner's book published in 1880, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848,* that focus on the important German enclave east of St. Louis near Belleville, Illinois, that gave rise to the term "Latin Farmers" and also on settlements in central Illinois such as Highland settled by the Swiss. A third chapter, devoted to the Germans in Chicago, is taken from a 1932 publication, *The Germans of Chicago*, by Andrew Jacke Townsend.

After giving the reader an overview of the German settlements and important figures throughout the state, Tolzmann presents three biographical sketches of significant German immigrants in the nineteenth century: Gustav Körner (by Evarts B. Greene, 1907), Friedrich Hecker (by Alice Reynolds, 1946), and Francis A. Hoffmann (by D. I. Nelke, 1895). Both Körner and Hoffmann served as lieutenant governor of Illinois in the years surrounding the Civil War and were active in Republican politics, especially in the political career of Abraham Lincoln. Hecker, of course, was the hero of 1848 fame, who settled on a farm near Belleville, Illinois, and continued to speak out and serve the cause of liberty for the remainder of his life (Hecker enlisted as a private in the volunteer infantry formed in St. Louis in April 1861 upon Lincoln's call to put down the rebellion; he later became a colonel of his own regiment in Illinois).

In addition to providing lengthy annotated notes to each of the first six chapters, Tolzmann summarizes the development of the German community in Illinois in a final chapter on its "German Heritage." After placing the Germans of Illinois in the overall context of German immigration and settlement in the nineteenth century, he provides interesting details on political, religious and cultural life of the Germans in Illinois during that period. Of particular note are the events surrounding the controversial Haymarket Riot of 1886 and the subsequent pardon of some of the perpetrators by German-American governor John Peter Altgeld in 1893. This chapter concludes with a focus on the twentieth century, giving special attention to the German-American Alliance and the anti-German feelings during the World War One era, as well as developments since that time such as the formation of a new organization based in Chicago, the German-American National Kongress (D.A.N.K.). The volume also includes a guide to sources and an index.

In comparison with some of the editor's earlier publications of edited texts, the typographical errors appear greatly reduced. A second edition should, however, correct misspellings such as "Speier" (6; instead of *Speyer*), "Berkley" (9; instead of *Berkeley*), "18544" (74; instead of *1854*), or "principle" (94; instead of *principal*). Electronic word division has also apparently led to a number of unfortunate glitsches that should be remedied, such as "Rhei-nkreis" (16) or "Man-nheim" (21). On page 75 we also find six lines of text repeated causing much confusion as to whether the Germans of Chicago favored or opposed the right of new immigrants to vote on the important issue of allowing slavery in Kansas Territory. But despite such *Schönheitsfehler* this is a volume worthy of widespread attention, both for those interested in the heritage of the German community in Illinois and beyond the borders of that state. Tolzmann believes that "German immigration has had a deep and lasting influence on the social, cultural, economic, religious, and political landscape of the state" (161). This reviewer concurs that the chapters presented by the editor confirm that claim.

*University of Kansas* *William D. Keel*

**Zwischen Kutte und Maske: Das geheimnisvolle Leben des Charles Sealsfield.** *By Ernst Grabovszki. Vienna: Styria, 2005. 240 pp. € 24.90.*

New biographies of celebrated writers usually tend to inaugurate a paradigm shift. Ernst Grabovszki's recent biography of Charles Sealsfield confirms this thesis. However, it does so in a curious way. After Eduard Castle's seminal biography of Charles Sealsfield, *Der geheimnisvolle Unbekannte: Das Leben Charles Sealsfield* (1952) had begun to be subjected to critical scrutiny by a new generation of Sealsfield scholars in the 1970s, a narrative was revealed, containing undocumented assertions, couched in terms of victimization and conspiracy. Since then surprisingly few attempts have been made to reinterpret Sealsfield's life—a life that, however shrouded in obscurity, has become fashionably modern and familiar and easily amenable to contemporary discourse. After all, the stranger, the other, the migrant, the imposter, *der Grenzgänger*—all have become common subjects of scholarly interest and widely used tools in literary studies.

Grabovszki's study, however, does not delve into these issues. Instead of adorning Sealsfield with metaphysical or cultural categories, the biographer brings to light a quotidian Sealsfield, a Sealsfield accessible to historical scrutiny. The result is that "the mysterious life" announced in the subtitle as an implicit thesis is completely overturned: Sealsfield emerges as a comprehensible and predictable figure, idiosyncratic perhaps but also mundane. What contributes to this view, among others, is the biographer's detailed descriptions of Sealsfield's relationships with his publishers and his interest in the stock market, culminating in the deprecatory remark about Sealsfield's dubious moral stance: "Sealsfield hat mit seinen versuchten Kontaktaufnahmen mit Metternich und der amerikanischen Regierung bewiesen, dass er auch Ausnahmen machen kann, vor allem dann, wenn der Geldbeutel zu füllen ist" (184).

The paradigm shift in this new biography involves creating a Sealsfield that is a fully explicable historical figure. Unlike Castle, who saw Sealsfield as the pawn

of Freemasonry and who knows what other sinister forces, Grabovszki transforms Sealsfield into a precursor of the modern, international, polyglot intellectual. However, even here, he is not interested in succumbing to any romantic sentiments or legends, but instead carefully documents Sealsfield's deficiencies in French. More significantly, Grabovszki replaces Castle's web of invisible forces and interests with the all too visible forces of the marketplace.

Grabovszki's biography conforms to another contemporary paradigm: it adopts a multimedia approach. Carefully weaving text and image, its purpose is equally to show as well as to tell. For the visually oriented reader, this is a welcome dimension, since Sealsfield is now rendered more accessible, more transparent. For example, when Grabovszki describes the monastic order, of which Sealsfield was a member and then complements this description with a photograph of the Knights of the Cross of the Red Star at Prague, the reader recognizes what the young Sealsfield-Postl might have perceived and experienced when he left his village of Popitz and entered the imposing Bohemian metropolis. The interaction between text and image reveals the author's principal intention: to create a graphically highlighted Sealsfield, that is, *anschaulich* for the modern reader.

The modern tendency to explain and show all, leaving nothing to the imagination enables Grabovszki's biography to become a valuable introduction to Sealsfield studies. This is not primarily a book for the specialist, but for readers who may have been put off by some of the more obscure figures and settings in Sealsfield's life, but who now has everything clearly explained and shown to them. Curiously enough, Grabovszki's biography follows Sealsfield's own literary credo: to write instructive books for the educated reader for the purpose of enlightenment.

As a result of Grabovszki's attempt to construct a Sealsfield that is accessible to the untutored reader, context becomes at times more important than text. The reader is treated to information about Prince Metternich, Napoleon, Andrew Jackson, the American Civil War, to mention only a few examples of the author's need to inform the reader. We are almost tempted to say that Grabovszki's treatment presents Sealsfield in hypertext, replete with an endless array of interesting links about every conceivable subject. The problem with such a treatment, however, is that in reconstructing a meaningful context, one has to intuitively grasp the limits and boundaries of same. Otherwise it continues to expand until the original text or even the original purpose of the context is forgotten. This occasionally happens in Grabovszki's Sealsfield biography. The reader sometimes feels that he is being treated to a series of digressions about matters that don't necessarily blend in with our understanding of Sealsfield or illuminate his life or work in any way. The other difficulty with such an approach is that one is tempted to succumb to flights of fancy, like Castle, or, in attempting to master an endless amount of material, may succumb to factual inaccuracies (for example, Pittsburgh as the capital of Pennsylvania).

There is a fine line to tread here, and, in general, given the author's purpose of enlightening an audience that has little experience of Sealsfield or his works, he succeeds. Another problem, however, may emerge in such an approach. In the need to educate and perhaps popularize, one may be vulnerable to simplifications of judgment. For example, Grabovszki maintains that Sealsfield "ist eines der frühen Beispiele für die Globalisierung im 19. Jahrhundert" (222) and qualifying this by stating that "Sealsfield ist ein warnendes Beispiel" for assessing otherness in a

"prejudice-free" manner (222). Since globalization is a diffuse concept even today, to categorize Sealsfield in terms of a concept that had no meaning for Sealsfield or for his contemporaries is somewhat precarious. Furthermore, the fact that the study of anthropology was still in its infancy at this time would make it exceptional for anyone, including Sealsfield, to develop a non-ethnocentric stance towards other cultures and ethnic groups.

Another, even more perplexing judgment arises when Grabovszki writes, "Salopp formuliert, ist Sealsfield der bessere Karl May, weil er im Unterschied zu dem populärem Winnetou-Erfinder vieles aus seinem eigenen Erleben schildert und politisch gewiss wachsamer war—von Karl Mays späten Bemühungen um den Weltfrieden vielleicht abgesehen" (223). Apart from Jeffrey L. Sammons's study, *Ideology, Mimesis, and Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (1998), which attempts to define Sealsfield as an ideologue and May as a fantasist, there seems to be little scholarly interest in comparing the two authors. Each was an artist in his own way, pursuing different credos and literary stratagems and devices. Each found somewhat different readerships, enjoying different degrees of success. The only common denominator was that each was a *poseur* in his own way, which may not be sufficient to establish a substantial link.

All in all, this is a book that will promote Sealsfield studies, because it seeks to illuminate an obscure author for a wider audience. Even during Sealsfield's last days and even at the moment of death, the biographer has managed to gain access to Sealsfield's final thoughts: "Vor seinen Augen noch verschwommen ein Morgen, matte Bewegungen, die willenlos scheinen. Keine Worte mehr, nur lose Gedanken, die ohne Ziel in sein Bewusstsein absinken. Kein Atem mehr, nichts" (217).

*Turku, Finland* *Jerry Schuchalter*

**Going Dutch – Gone American: Germans Settling North America.**
*By Christian Gellinek. Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 2003. 222 pp. € 19.50.*

Gellinek brings together here various threads of research from over thirty years of scholarship. The thirty chapters of this book are divided evenly among six parts: Pre-emigration and Transportation, Formation History, Founding History, Assimilation and Acculturation Problems, Going Dutch – Gone American, and Bibliographic Data. The variety of chapter topics reveals the breadth and complexity of German-American studies and the daunting task of providing a definitive narrative of Germanic influence on North America.

In the section on "Pre-emigration and Transportation" Gellinek provides evidence that challenges the traditional view of the Palatine Germans as the first "cohort" to arrive in the New World. Linguistic analysis suggests that a sizeable group of Low Germans settled with the Dutch in New Amsterdam. Their linguistic and cultural similarity to the Dutch has made it difficult to accurately assess their numbers and their cultural contributions.

The chapters in "Formation History" build on the philological approach used in the previous chapter and introduce "perceptual geography" as a tool for understanding

the dissemination of German-speaking migrants throughout the United States and Canada. This becomes especially clear in the third part, "Founding History," which at over 100 pages forms the bulk of the book. Here Gellinek presents a typonomy of hundreds of place names in North America. He categorizes place names as either "descriptive-associative," "possessive-commemorative," or "shift" (i.e. transferred) names and uses them to gain insight into migration patterns and ethnic heritage. Finally, he investigates how those names changed over time and calculates the percentage of loss for German place names in each region. This loss coupled with his discovery that the population of listed communities does not match known numbers of immigrants provides Gellinek with some insight into how many German-speaking migrants might have simply assimilated (or gone American) into the dominant Anglo culture of North America.

The volume has some weaknesses. Of greatest concern is Gellinek's methodology: he relies heavily on the Internet as a research tool and fails to reference readily available texts on the topic. Missing from his bibliography are Ronald Baker's *Hoosier Place Names* and *German Place Names in Minnesota* by LaVern Ripley and Rainer Schmeissner, to name just two books that immediately come to mind. Another quibble: Gellinek includes the city of Jasper in his listing for Indiana. While Jasper is one of the strongest bastions of German heritage in the state, that fact cannot be gleaned from its biblically-derived name, leading one to wonder how reliable typonomy is as a means of understanding the German-American legacy.

Often the book reads as a collection of lecture notes or informal scholarly discussions. From one perspective this style is a refreshing departure from turgid academic tomes, but it could easily prove frustrating for someone trying to support related research with information contained here. For example, Gellinek frequently asks questions that seem semi-rhetorical, as though the answers should be obvious to the reader. But the answers are only implicit, leading to the sense that some of Gellinek's claims (which may very well be reasonable assertions) should have been buttressed by further research.

In spite of these weak points, there is much to recommend *Going Dutch – Gone American*. Gellinek touches on a variety of topics that have not previously attracted a lot of attention, notably his discussion of humor, which is profoundly culture-based and reveals much about ethnic divisions. His range of interests reveals new avenues of inquiry into the German element in the Americas.

*Wabash College* *J. Gregory Redding*

**Karl/Charles Follen: Deutsch-Amerikanischer Freiheitskämpfer.**
*Eine Biographie von Frank Mehring. Studia Giessensia 12. Giessen: Verlag der Ferber'schen Universitätsbuchhandlung, 2004. viii + 224 pp. € 12.80.*

Frank Mehring's new biography is a welcome contribution to a closer study of Charles Follen, whose life and work deserve the attention of anyone interested in the intellectual and cultural transfer that took place in the early nineteenth century between Germany and the young American republic. Follen, whose active

participation in the German student movement had made him politically suspect in his homeland, sought refuge first in France and Switzerland and, in 1824, made his way to the United States. In Boston and Cambridge he came into close contact with the intellectual leaders of New England, leading to a very fruitful German-American cultural exchange. He became the first Professor of German Literature at Harvard, was much involved in the abolitionist movement, fought for equal rights for women, and also served as minister in the Unitarian Church. His final appointment was to a church in Lexington, MA., where the "Follen Church" remains a monument to his activities to this day. Except for the church, and "Follen Street" in Cambridge, near the Harvard campus, Follen's name is almost forgotten, both in this country and in Germany. Mehring's biography should help to rekindle a broader interest in this fascinating man and his time, not only among students of German-American immigration history, but also among German and American cultural historians.

Mehring's book is, of course, not the first biography of Follen. The basic source of information to this day remains the *Life of Charles Follen*, compiled by Follen's widow Eliza Cabot Follen and published in 1842. It is based on Follen's diaries, his letters, and notes, and thus obviously is not a critical study. Scholars, including Frank Mehring, have relied heavily on this book, because it still is the best source for documents that are otherwise not available. In Mehring's case, whose book is in German, it leads to the problem of retrotranslation, where the original German letters, which appeared in English in *Life of Charles Follen*, have to be translated back into German. Mehring does a good job of this, but one is never quite sure of the authenticity of twice translated material. To the extent that Mehring had access to original documents (both at Giessen and at Harvard, where he had done his research), he has done a thorough job of interpretation.

While the literature on Follen in Germany remains sparse, the American reader has at least two substantial studies to rely on: George Spindler's *Karl Follen. A Biographical Study* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1917) and Edmund Spevack's excellent work *Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997). Mehring's book is the first extensive study in German, and it is meant for a German audience. While the American studies have the tendency of emphazising Follen's activities in the United States, Mehring wants to show how the German academic environment and the struggle for freedom among the "Burschenschaften," the radical student groups, have shaped Follen's life and thought. Mehring believes that Follen's character should neither be reduced "auf seinen ersten Lebensabschnitt in der Alten Welt noch den zweiten in seiner neuen Heimat" (3). He devotes the first five chapters (of a total of ten) to Follen in Europe and draws an intersting picture of the ideas and ideologies shaping the radical Giessen student movement. This is one of the strengths of Mehring's book: he writes not only a biography of Follen, but also a cultural history of the forces that shaped him and his time. This is also true of the remaining chapters, concentrating on Follen's life in America. To underline the omnipresent German idealistic thought in Follen's life, Mehring introduces each chapter with a quotation from Schiller's works, picked somewhat randomly from the plays that were the topic of Follen's lectures. For Mehring, Schiller remains a *Leitmotiv* in Follen's life.

The book contains interesting illustrations from contemporary sources and a valuable bibliography. Unfortunately, it also has a few flaws. To be blunt: it could have

used more rigorous proofreading and copy-editing. Printing errors are numerous, and one is at times puzzled by strange wordings, which sound like misplaced anglicisms. A case in point: "Follen adressierte seine Zuhörerschaft" (75) - for a simple German „spricht zu seiner Zuhörerschaft". And there are also a number of outright mistakes. Prussia and Austria were indeed members of the German Confederation after 1815 (47-48); Francis Lieber was born in 1798, not in 1800 (128), and the church reformer Johann Calvin was certainly not "ein französischer Heiliger"(178).

*University of Minnesota* *Gerhard Weiss*

**Memories of New Ulm: My Experiences During the Indian Uprising in Minnesota.**
*By Rudolf Leonhart. Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Roseville, MN: Edinborough Press, 2005. x + 125 pp. $14.95.*

In putting pen to paper in 1880, Rudolf Leonhart was neither unique nor unpredictable by turning to war during the 1860s for the setting of a historical text. He was hardly the first German-American writer to place emphasis upon that weighty topic, and in fact over the previous two decades Leonhart had already published several accounts of the German-American experience during times of armed conflict (*Abenteuer eines deutschen Soldaten in Virginien* [1860; Leonhart's first book]; *Der geheimnisvolle Pedlar, oder die Tochter des Schiffbrüchigen: Roman aus dem amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*; and *Nord und Süd im Krieg und Frieden, oder Szenen aus der jüngsten Rebellion*). What sets the present account apart from those earlier works is the backdrop: rather than concentrate further on the Civil War during the early 1860s, Leonhart turns his attention here to the struggles of the German settlers of southern Minnesota generally, and the New Ulm area specifically, during the U.S.-Dakota Conflict of 1862. The result is an extensive eyewitness account of frontier life at a formative moment in time, one of the longest and most reliable put into print for the edification of the general public.

Born in December 1832 in Bodenfelde, Hannover, Leonhart came to America at the age of twenty and soon settled in Pittsburgh, working there as a teacher of German, history, and music to forge a living. Early writings for the local German-American press supplemented his income and, more importantly, provided the essential stylistic foundation for his later historical narratives; in total Leonhart would publish thirteen novels—all of which deal with topics of German-American interest, the work here under consideration being the only specifically autobiographical one in nature—before his death in California in November 1901. By that time Leonhart long since had been lauded as an accomplished author, on a wider scale than many contemporary German-American writers due to his ability to compose and publish works in English as well as German. In 1860, dissatisfied with his job in Pittsburgh, Leonhart accepted an offer to teach elementary school in New Ulm, Minnesota. By fortuitous circumstance the brief period of Leonhart's residence there coincided with the 1862 Uprising, generating the necessary experience and perspective to write the present historical account, almost twenty years later and well after his return to

Pennsylvania immediately after the tragic event.

The newly translated and edited version of *Memories of New Ulm* includes a one-page Editor's Foreword and an informative Editor's Introduction, which provides details regarding Leonhart's life and the significance of the book as a contribution to the German-American literary canon. The body of the work is divided into eighteen primary sections containing Leonhart's original text; Tolzmann occasionally adds brief bracketed information, acknowledging instances in which Leonhart misremembers specific events or dates, and corrects those accordingly. A detailed notes section follows the Leonhart narrative and provides further elucidation with regard to historical events concerning New Ulm and the Uprising, as well as recommendations for supplemental reading. A brief index and profile of the editor conclude the work.

While *Memories of New Ulm* is an eminently readable book, one that easily captures and holds the attention of the reader, it is most remarkable for the manner in which Leonhart is able to contextualize what the German-American experience means to him on a collective as well as individual level. By crafting his narrative as a *Rahmenerzählung*, he succeeds admirably at blending his brief but formative New Ulm adventure with the totality of his German-American background. The concept of community stands at the core of the work: arrival in New Ulm is marked by immediate bonding with those who will introduce Leonhart to "old and young, great and small, high and low, as well as to the best of beer in New Ulm" (9). Class distinction ceases to exist in fighting the Indians shoulder-to shoulder; Otto Barth, publisher of the *New Ulm Pionier* newspaper and a man previously described as being of "small, unimpressive stature," stood alongside the lowliest of refugees, sustaining mortal wounds in defending fellow settlers and earning lasting respect as one who "knew how to fight, and not only with his pen!" (61). Family in particular serves as an enduring source of strength to Leonhart, who recounts with clear agony moments of separation from loved ones and anxiety over illness, ultimately rejoicing in the survival of a daughter at the end of the long trip back to Pennsylvania while noting that, years later, "[this] Minnesotan is the strongest and most Germanic in appearance of our children, as can readily be seen from afar" (102).

Stylistically, Leonhart's account is noteworthy for the degree to which he makes use of his acquired literary skills. A pronounced sense of humor, irony, and even satire runs throughout the work, not least within descriptions of fiduciary matters: early New Ulm is described as perpetually cash-poor, its settlers having "almost completely forgot what money looked like. ... Children who needed a schoolbook came weekly with the good excuse that their parents had no money" (13-14). At another point Leonhart turns his attention to the daughter of a local rival, noting after the fact that she "had long fingers and had been involved in theft in St. Paul, where she had demonstrated an unusual yen for silver teaspoons" (33). It quickly becomes clear that Leonhart does not seek to write a documentary here, but rather to tell a story, a word picture in which the reader may see clearly critical people, places, and events through his eyes and, by extension, those of others in the community. Particularly vivid are the accounts of hunting and Christmas in and near New Ulm, as well as descriptions of early relations between the settlers and Indians who, in detailed portrayals, "surpass even the slickest Caucasian tramp as beggars. They practice the profession with a dignity, as if it were the most honorable profession on earth" (34).

Ultimately the greatest value of *Memories of New Ulm* may be seen in sociolinguistic terms. Tolzmann's service in translating and republishing the work reinforces the notion that there are still many original German-language texts, containing a treasure trove of first-hand accounts of pioneer German-American life, waiting to be reintroduced to scholars, local and regional historians, and a general public lacking substantive knowledge of German. Original versions of such books also are subject to the laws of supply and demand: as the editor points out in one of the endnotes, recent Internet sale prices for copies of *Erinnerungen an Neu Ulm* have run as high as $3,500. Thus in addition to the many scholarly benefits of the republished work, Tolzmann has provided readers with yet another tangible reward: a net savings of some $3,485—a development which the prospective bookbuyer will surely appreciate.

*University of Wisconsin-Waukesha* *Timothy J. Holian*

**Becoming German: The 1709 Palatine Migration to New York.**
*By Philip Otterness. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004. 235 pp. $39.95.*

The Palatine exodus has long been regarded as the first wave of what would become a series of mass migrations from German-speaking lands to the Americas. Acting on rumors of free land in the colonies, thousands of southwestern Germans made their way to England in 1709. Assuming that they were refugees from French incursions into the *Kurpfalz* (the Palatinate), Londoners provided what support they could to the "poor Palatines," a term that according to Otterness has been too easily accepted by historians ever since. In this book he seeks to more carefully trace the actual territorial origins of the group and discover how these disparate people with multiple identities eventually "became German" by leaving Germany.

The opening chapter outlines the situation in southwestern Germany in the early eighteenth century. Here Otterness makes especially good use of current genealogical research to graphically depict the points of origin for the 1709 migrants. One quickly observes that at least half of the "Palatines" were not from the *Kurpfalz* at all, but rather from several of the other numerous principalities that created the fractured map of Germany at that time. Thus the people who arrived in London that summer did not necessarily share a common identity. They were more likely to think of themselves as Badeners, Hessians, or of course Palatines than as "Germans." Chapters two and three describe the refugees' experiences in London as their hosts tried to figure out what to do with them. Otterness credits Daniel Defoe for constructing the commonly held notion of "poor Palatine refugees" fleeing persecution by Catholic forces. This label apparently was willingly adopted by the emigrants, who were seeking British charity and could hardly reveal their true role as opportunists looking for free land. This can be seen as the first step in the formation of a common identity.

The remaining four chapters trace the group's arrival in New York and their subsequent settlement of communities along the Hudson between 1710 and 1712. Conflicts with the colonial authorities and the ongoing desire to settle in their own Canaan led many of the group to relocate to the valleys of the Schoharie and, later,

the Mohawk. These were frontier communities far removed from the direct influence of the Crown, but still some "Palatines" would remain on the move, eventually establishing important communities in Pennsylvania and New Jersey and producing some of the most important figures in German-American history. Although much of this side of the migration is familiar to scholars, Otterness breathes new life into the narrative with his eye for detail and his ability to humanize the participants in this saga.

Scholarship on this era is always plagued by nomenclature problems: terms such as "Germany" and "German" are troublesome prior to 1871, although they are used as commonly understood cultural and regional descriptors. But in a book that wants to trace how different people first became Palatines and then eventually Germans, there should have been a more careful explanation of these terms. In the 1750s Benjamin Franklin is still referring to the settlers as "Palatine boors," but as early as 1724 Robert Livingston had complained about the bragging of the "High Germans." It would have been interesting and informative to see some reflection on the distinctions implied by these labels. Still, this is a compelling book; it is well researched and well written. For the sake of convenience, scholars will probably continue to refer to the 1709 migration as the "Palatine" exodus, but at least now there can be a greater appreciation of the complex dynamics that shaped this first episode of mass migration to the Americas.

*Wabash College* *J. Gregory Redding*

**Michael Zimmer's Diary: Ein deutsches Tagebuch aus dem Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg.**
*Edited by Jürgen Macha and Andrea Wolf. Sprachgeschichte des Deutschen in Nordamerika: Quellen und Studien/History of the German Language in America: Sources and Studies, vol. 1. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2001. 214 pp. $51.95.*

This new series focusing on the linguistic history of German-speaking immigrants in North America grew out of collaborative research between scholars at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, represented by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, and the Westphalian Wilhelms-Universität in Münster. The editors of the series are interested in publishing primary texts and documents representing the some 300 years of German language usage in the North American context as well as analyses of those texts. Texts, and to some degree commentary, will be in both original German and English translations to ensure broad dissemination.

The first volume in the new series is a bilingual edition of the Civil War diary of Palatine immigrant Michael Zimmer, who arrived in Philadelphia in 1846 and then volunteered for service in the Mexican War (1847-48). By the outbreak of the Civil War, Zimmer had married, had five children and was living in Burlington, Wisconsin. In September 1861, Zimmer enlisted in the "Burlington Rifles," Company E, Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry Regiment, known as the "German Regiment." During his three-year period of enlistment the regiment was assigned to the trans-Mississippi Western Theater of operations, generally in southern Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas and

Indian Territory. At the end of his enlistment in the fall of 1864, Zimmer returned to Wisconsin. He died in Burlington in 1896.

The "war diary" itself exists in two versions, both donated by a granddaughter of the author to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1974. The first version is somewhat smaller in format than the second one and contains indications (corrections, words crossed out, incorrect dates, etc.) that lead the editors to believe that the larger format version is a transcription with corrections of the first diary. The contents of both diaries include approximately twenty pages describing—retrospectively—Zimmer's experiences as a soldier in the Mexican War. The Civil War diary begins on September 7, 1861, and ends with his return home on December 4, 1864.

The current edition of the diary presents a transcription of the presumed earlier version (smaller format) in German followed by a complete English translation. The translation is followed by a five-page glossary of terms in Zimmer's orthography with their largely English equivalents. Preceding the text itself are three introductory essays. The first by series co-editor Joseph Salmons is a brief English introduction to this volume. This is followed by a lengthy essay by the other co-editor of the series, Jürgen Macha, who discusses in German the historical context of the text and analyses the orthography and language usage from a variety of angles (dialect of the author, incorporation of both German and English orthographic principles, etc.). Of particular interest is a brief overview of the service of the Ninth Wisconsin by Richard Zeitlin, which provides a general context for Zimmer's personal account.

Given the idiosyncratic orthography of the German original, it is, of course, difficult if not impossible to assess the accuracy of the transcription of the German original text. The English translation on the other hand should have been carefully proof read by someone who is familiar with the type of vocabulary to be expected in a military diary in the American context. On pages 116-17 we read, "It took about three minutes until Sergeant von der Garth came with some men . . . ." The original German reads on page 5 "es dauerthe kauhm 3 Minuthen da kahm der Sargent von der Garth mit etlichen Mann . . . ." It appears obvious to this reader that what Zimmer describes is the arrival of the "sergeant of the guard" and not someone named "von der Garth." On page 118 we find the description of the removal of a soldier who had died as follows "two other men came with a bier, laid him on it and went away." This is a translation of the passage on page 6 "kahmen zwei andere mit einem Tragbahr legten ihn darauf und forth ging es." Normally, one would expect the dead soldier to be carried off on a "stretcher." One could also argue that the soldiers returned from New Orleans on a "steamship" and not a "steamboat" (119) although that does reflect Zimmer's usage of "Stimboth" (8). A grammatical error also occurs in this context. A clearly passive construction on page 8 "wier sollten in Nuoliz Distscharscht werden" ('we were supposed to be discharged in New Orleans') becomes "we should discharge in New Orleans."

Admittedly, these errors occur in the passages dealing with Zimmer's Mexican War experience. A careful reading of the Civil War portions might reveal many more errors. But given the record of one or two major translation errors per page, this edition is very problematic. The very first sentence of the translation of the diary actually omits the designation of Zimmer's company. The original German on page 2 has "hab ich Enlistet vor den Mexikanischen Krig und wurde inn das 3 Aterlry Regement Company A Cäpten Thaylor eingereit..." The translation on page 114

begins "I have enlisted for the Mexican War and joined the 3rd Artillery Company under Captain Thalor." I would have translated this as "I enlisted for the Mexican War and was assigned to Company A of the 3rd Artillery Regiment [commanded by] Captain Taylor." It seems to this reviewer that the name of the captain was more likely Taylor than Thalor—unless the editors actually checked military records to verify this.

Despite the problems with the translation, the purpose of the series and this volume is to provide documents for the history of German in America as well as scholarly analyses of those documents. That analysis is offered in a brief introductory essay written by Jürgen Macha and Andrea Wolf entitled "Entstehung, Überlieferung, Sprachform, Darstellungsart" (xiii-xxx). The essay correctly notes that Zimmer enlisted in "Kompanie A" (xxv) leading this reviewer to wonder whether either of the two series editors (Macha and Salmons) really checked the translation. The essay does, however, provide some detail on the influences of home dialect (*Vorderpfälzisch*) as well as mid-nineteenth-century orthographic practices on the spelling found in the German original. Macha and Wolf believe that Zimmer applied what he had learned about avoiding obvious dialect sounds in his spellings to the extent that he hypercorrected words such as *Teppiche* 'carpete' to *Döpige* (98) by replacing consonants and creating umlauted vowels. As far as English terms, names and places names are concerned, Macha and Wolf believe that Zimmer attempted to render them according to German sound-letter correspondences so that, if read by a German, the actual American word would be produced as in *Hambold* or *Hambolt* (17; for the town of Humboldt, Kansas), which would correspond more to the American pronunciation when read out loud than the German pronunciation of the baron's actual name.

The original German diary text and this introductory essay save the volume. Despite the many shortcomings of the translation, the presentation of the original German and the study of orthographic habits of mid-nineteenth-century German immigrants is well served by this initial volume of the series. The actual day-by-day account of a German immigrant soldier, who served in two wars, is fascinating reading. For readers without the ability to work through the original German, however, the translation needs to be thoroughly reworked.

*University of Kansas* *William D. Keel*

**The Americanization Process in the Second Generation: The German Lutheran Mathias Loy (1828-1915) Caught Between Adaptation and Repristinization.**
*By C. George Fry and Joel R. Kurz. Studies in Religious Leadership, vol. 2. Lewiston, N.Y. : Edwin Mellen Press, 2005. xvii + 366 pp. $119.95.*

A goodly proportion of the people who fueled western expansion in the nineteenth century were ethnic Germans. Many were Pennsylvania Germans, American-born, but clinging tenaciously to their language, culture and religious customs. Others were immigrants, often forced to emigrate by poverty or the burning desire to be a part of the American adventure, to go to a new land where they could be their own masters. The Lutheran pastor, theologian, author and educator Mathias Loy was the son of

such immigrants. His mother, Christiana Reaver, was a poorly educated but devout Lutheran "of the Swabian variety" from Württemberg; his father, Matthias, a not-so-devout Roman Catholic, was from Baden. He was forced to indenture himself to a cabinetmaker in order to pay his passage. Mathias Loy, fourth of seven children, was born in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1828.

At the age of fourteen, Loy's life changed dramatically. His mother died, and he was apprenticed to a printer. During his apprenticeship, two extremely important things happened to Loy: first, he became a strict Lutheran; second, he mastered the written German language and became a prolific author and translator. He studied first at Harrisburg Academy, and later studied for the ministry at the Lutheran seminary in Columbus, Ohio. Commencing his ministry in 1849, Loy began to deal with the challenge which is the focus of Fry and Kurz's book, i.e. resisting the Americanization of Lutheranism. Small, scattered settlements on the frontier had a tendency to facilitate the watering down and amalgamation of doctrine, due primarily to a lack of educated, well-trained clergy, but also from the economic necessity of sharing facilities and preachers. Loy was greatly influenced by conservative doctrines promulgated in the Missouri Synod, and also by a pastoral letter (*Hirtenbrief*) written in 1840 by a man named Grabau, which warned of the dangers of traveling preachers and unorthodox doctrine. Kurz and Fry detail Loy's career within the greater context of this struggle, and the book is organized around the myriad aspects of his career as a pastor, president of the Joint Synod of Ohio and Other States, educator and president of Capital University, Lutheran theologian, and family man. He was a prolific author on church doctrine, but also wrote homilies, hymnals and poetry. He was perhaps his era's greatest proponent of "Confessional" Lutheranism, that is, adherence to the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession" and the Book of Concord. Theologically, Loy looked backward to the halcyon days of the Reformation and, particularly, to those original writings in German as a font of authentic doctrine: the closer to Luther, the closer to the truth. Herein lies the concept of "Repristinization," a return to the "faith once delivered to the saints" and its rediscovery at the hands of Luther. Kurz and Fry make extensive use of citations from Loy's writings, and those of his contemporaries, one of whom mentions Loy as a prime example of "the apparent backwardness of Lutheran theology." Of the conflicts between doctrine and science which still annoy us today, Loy had precious little to say. He would not waste time debating "the Rock of Ages and the age of rocks." He also purposely kept civil affairs out of his theology, so as to protect it from worldliness, but advocated obedience to worldly authorities as having been ordained by God.

Loy's great legacy to Lutheranism is, in my opinion, twofold: 1) his dedication to unifying all the Lutheran synods in North America. He worked for decades to achieve unity of doctrine and organization, albeit with indifferent success, and 2) his dedication in translating many seminal Lutheran theological works from German and Latin into English.

All in all, the book is painstakingly researched and documented, particularly the sections on the history of Ohio Lutheranism and the disputes among the various synods. Loy was an extremely influential author and teacher. The authors hint that had he been interested in self-promotion, he might be as well known as a Henry Ward Beecher, or a D. L. Moody, whose intellectual equal he certainly was.

The book does contain a name index, but the addition of a subject index

would be useful. Any subsequent edition would profit from judicious copy editing, as numerous typographical errors, both in English and German, were somewhat annoying. However, the book is quite successful in shedding light on important disputes within nineteenth century American religious thought, and on the life of one of its principal protagonists, whether he wanted it that way or not.

*William Woods University* *Tom R. Schultz*

**Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind.**
*Edited by Charles R. Mack and Henry H. Lesesne. Columbia, SC: The University of South Carolina Press, 2005. 224 pp. $39.95.*

In their preface the editors note that the diverse contributions of Francis Lieber are currently "receiving a renascence of interest" (xii). The volume itself is witness both to the breadth of Lieber's accomplishments and the depth of the renewed scholarly attention to his numerous contributions. There are fifteen articles, thirteen of which are distributed across six major sections, with usually two essays per section. A prologue and an epilogue round out the collection. The first provides an overview of Lieber's life; the second highlights Lieber as a German-American by looking at German-American relations during his lifetime. In addition, there is an "excursus" on Lieber's grave as well as sixteen pictures and illustrations of artifacts from Lieber's twenty-one-year tenure as a professor of history and political economy at South Carolina College, now the University of South Carolina.

The volume itself is a superbly edited and well-indexed edition of the proceedings of a symposium held in November 2001 at the University of South Carolina to celebrate that institution's bicentennial. Although Lieber himself appears to have been somewhat ambivalent about his many years in South Carolina, and despite the fact that his Union sympathies won him the enmity of many at the University for a period of time, the institution embraces him as one of its most distinguished faculty members, one worthy of commemorating during its Bicentennial Year.

Each of the six parts of the central section of the collection reflects a major area of Lieber's intellectual undertakings. They are: Slavery and the Constitution; The South and the Civil War; Thoughts on Armed Conflict; Hermeneutics and Linguistics; Practical Reason; and the Art of Living. All of the sections except the third contain two articles each. Significantly, the third, on "armed conflict," has an extra article. The first of the three in that grouping deals with the so-called "Lieber Code" and reflects Lieber's enduring influence on international law through his involvement in the formulation of rules of conduct governing armed conflict. The "Lieber Code," as it is known to this day, was originally issued as *General Orders 100* by President Lincoln during the American Civil War. It calls for a limitation of violence as a "military necessity" in the absence of any other rule.

Proceedings as a genre are often problematic. As they grow out of a singular perspective, i.e., the very specific context and thematic of the symposium or conference in question, they are, in general, rather narrow in scope. It is tempting to say that the current collection is Francis Lieber "with a Southern flair." The

collection finally makes little of Lieber's German-American heritage and likely makes more than it should of Lieber's years in South Carolina. Yet, perhaps because of Lieber's incredibly varied and broad base of interests, there is little which smacks of parochialism. The focus is on the University of South Carolina, but the field of vision is the world. Francis Lieber began life in Prussia. He fought in the Napoleonic Wars. He extended that love of freedom and independence to America. Philosophically, he was consistent throughout his life. Moreover, while there may be a renascence of interest in Francis Lieber at present, he himself was always a Renaissance man in the best sense of the word. Lieber had an incredibly broad spectrum of interests, each of which he pursued with equal vigor, and each of which is reflected in some fashion in the current volume.

*Loyola College in Maryland* *Randall P. Donaldson*

**Before Memories Fade.**
*By Pearl Fichman. n.p.: Booksurge, 2005. 247 pp. $20.99.*

To say the least, portions of the life of Pearl Fichman, née Spiegel, were tumultuous. Like Alfred Gong and Paul Celan (whom she knew well and who is mentioned periodically), she was born in the German-Jewish community in Czernowitz in 1920. Her early years were relatively normal, given the general turbulence and uncertainties of that time and place. Like Celan and Gong, she survived the Nazi years in Eastern Europe, suffering privation, living in constant fear, and losing several friends and family members in the process. Hitler and Stalin were the clouds under which she lived and suffered.

The immediate postwar years were scarcely less hazardous, with Czernowitz becoming a Soviet city. She moved to Bucharest, only to experience the establishment of the communist regime in Rumania. Fichman's siblings had all immigrated to the United States prior to the war, and this to some extent facilitated her own attempts, and those of her aging parents, to emigrate as well. After surrealistic battles with bureaucracy she is finally successful; bribery, she learns, was no less necessary in Paris than it had been in Rumania. She remains in New York for only a couple of years, earning a master's degree in English at Columbia, meeting Eleanor Roosevelt, and—a leitmotif in her story—encountering (in this case unexpected) anti-Semitism.. She then departs for Israel, where she will marry Yuda Fichman, a childhood friend who went there shortly after the war. Here the narrative breaks off. We learn that life in Israel was not all she had hoped for, but are otherwise told only that she and her husband left the Promised Land for New York, where they settled and raised a family. (Yuda died in the fall of 2005.)

Roughly the first half of the book recounts the rich narrative inadequately summarized above. The second half returns to and fleshes out various episodes already briefly described or fleetingly alluded to. Here, as in the chronological narrative, Fichman tells a highly personal story. To be sure, there are occasional historical and geographical explanations to orient readers not familiar with the area and its history, but this is the story of Pearl and her friends. These include two familiar names—

Celan and his cousin Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger (a very promising poet who died in a camp)—and a large number whose names will not be encountered elsewhere. Some reappear throughout the narrative, other figures appear but once, such as the lonely old man who shares a train compartment with Fichman and tells her a poignant tale of love and renunciation.

The entire manuscript would have benefited from the eye and pen of a careful copy editor, but Fichman's riveting story deserves to be read. Those who do read it will not be disappointed. The book contains several illustrations, including a photograph of "Pearl's father in the Czernowitz ghetto," a man with an expression as sad as I have ever seen.

*University of Cincinnati* *Jerry Glenn*

**German Heritage Guide to the State of Ohio.**
*By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2005. 88 pp. $12.95.*

Tolzmann follows up his 2003 *German Heritage Guide to the Greater Cincinnati Area* with this volume, which contextualizes that city within a state that is centrally located in the area of settlement known as the German Belt. According to the 1990 census, forty percent of Ohio residents claim some form of German ancestry. The influence of their forebears is felt throughout the state.

The layout of the book parallels that of the Cincinnati volume, beginning with a historical timeline of German settlement in Ohio. The first German immigrant to have some influence on the region was Johann Sodowsky, a Detroit-area trader who in 1728 set up an outpost that became known as Sandusky. Organized settlement began with the founding of Schoenbrunn in 1772 by the German Moravian missionary David Zeisberger. Other Moravian settlements were soon established. Tolzmann goes on to outline the various waves of German-speaking immigrants who settled in Ohio during the nineteenth century. Key moments include the arrival of the Thirtyers and the Forty-Eighters—the displaced intellectuals and progressives who profoundly impacted American civic life—and the large numbers of German Catholics who fled Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* of the 1870s. In the twentieth century Tolzmann highlights the anti-German sentiment that many of Ohio's German-Americans experienced during the Great War. One result of the hysteria was the passage of the Ake Law in 1919, which banned the teaching of German language below the eighth grade. The Second World War brought further difficulties for Americans of German descent, but by the 1950s German Day celebrations were being celebrated across Ohio. The Bicentennial in 1976 engendered new interest in America's ethnic heritage and with it a broader appreciation for the contributions of German-speaking immigrants.

Chapter two provides short biographies of prominent Ohio citizens with Germanic heritage, ranging chronologically from Sodowsky and Zeisberger in the eighteenth century to contemporaries like Guy Stern and Robert Ward, who respectively were founding members of the Lessing Society and the Society for German-American Studies. Many of the names will be familiar only to scholars of

German-Americana, but some people—such as Jerry Springer, Jack Nicklaus, Clark Gable, and Doris Day (actual surname: Kappelhof)—are part of American popular culture.

The remaining three chapters are dedicated to places that are associated with Ohio's German heritage. Here are found brief descriptions of historical sites such as Schoenbrunn, Gnadenhutten, Zoar, and the German Village in Columbus, as well as references to the many towns and cities across Ohio that were shaped in varying degrees by German-speaking settlers. For those who wish to conduct further research, Tolzmann lists a selection of relevant libraries, museums, archives, and historical societies from every corner of the state.

As was the case with the Cincinnati guide, this volume does not attempt to be comprehensive. The historical timeline and the "Who's Who" are necessarily selective, but the chapter on notable heritage sites could have been more inclusive. For example, Cleveland's German tradition could have received more attention, as could the Amish and Mennonite communities that dot Ohio. The Sauder and AuGlaize historical villages—though less authentic than Zoar and Schoenbrunn—can nevertheless contribute to our understanding of life for early immigrants. These historical sites are at least referenced in the final chapter, which points readers toward opportunities for further exploration of Ohio's German heritage.

*Wabash College* *J. Gregory Redding*

**Americanization and Anti-Americanism: The German Encounter with American Culture After 1945.**
*Edited by Alexander Stephan. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005. 256 pp. $60.00.*

Americanization and Anti-Americanism are concepts applied so often and differently that they tend to become fuzzy. Alexander Stephan's collection refutes this development by questioning major interpretations of these concepts, mainly Americanization as cultural imperialism and Anti-Americanism as a reaction to it. The fifteen essays by eminent American and German scholars from history and culture studies show these concepts as too simplistic to describe the complex processes behind German encounters with American culture. The anthology focuses on the aesthetic dimension of German-American relations, analyzing cultural areas, general developments on the European level, and the socio-political framework.

Michael Ermarth shows how postwar Germany's delayed modernization and the lessons from the Hitler era clashed with American culture and politics, while Bernd Greiner describes how German students in the 1960s agreed with American protest movements and disagreed with U.S. foreign policy. In an argumentatively one-sided analysis, Russell A. Berman points out ideology, stereotypes and prejudices behind contemporary German anti-Americanism. Unfortunately, Berman reduces this concept to hostility against democratic capitalism and an over-generalized notion of anti-Semitism against an alleged Jewish dominance in U.S. politics. His hypothesis falls short since it is based on arguable interpretations of individual quotes

and does not distinguish between anti-Americanism and criticism of the American government. Furthermore, his analysis fails to consider other motives for German anti-Americanism.

The following contributions dig into the details of different sectors of culture. The rejection of Boogie-Woogie or Pop-Art as 'low brow' culture is the topic of Jost Hermand's study, with a narrow focus on cultural elites. Kaspar Maase, analyzing German broadcasting, deserves credit for directing the view beyond elite circles and pointing out that Americanization can be determined by the audience itself and driven by non-elites from below. Maase furthermore opens a promising perspective on anti-American imagery by reading it as a reflection of the social problems in Germany. Heide Fehrenbach provides an intriguing look into social-psychological processes with her study about the new construction of the race concept after World War II. By reducing race differences to the children of African-American soldiers with German women, Germans could reinterpret race issues as an American import. Sabine Hake stays more on the beaten path of social analysis by describing the complex interplay of ideology, culture, and identity during the Cold War. In his rich and detailed analysis, Thomas Elsaesser shows how German and American moviemakers influenced each other, partly showing surprising connections. Finally, David Bathrick's study about the "Americanization of the Holocaust" describes how social groups, artists and the media appropriated the historical event 'Holocaust.'

The section "European and Global Perspectives" successfully isolates basic structures of anti-Americanism beyond national cultures. Three articles excellently elaborate on different causes of anti-Americanism: Rob Kroes describes the identification of American culture with modernization while Volker R. Berghahn points to a European "superiority complex" and the failure to reach an alternative model to capitalism or communism. In a pointed analysis, Richard Pells counters the image of an "American popular culture" by showing its manifold non-American influences. Winfried Fluck's article about "self-Americanization" and "Americanization from below" contributes significantly to theoretical clarity when he criticizes the ignorance against the active role of the audience in adopting and adapting culture.

The last two essays by the political advisers Karsten D. Voigt and Bowman H. Miller are not connected to the rest of the volume; they emphasize the importance of German-American relations in the light of political considerations before the Iraq war in 2003.

The findings lead to corrections of some key concepts about Americanization and anti-Americanism: The term 'Americanization' has mostly been used to describe the spread of a global culture, not specifically an American one (cf. Pells; Fluck; Maase). Furthermore, Americanization is often more a matter of perception than factual developments (cf. Ermarth; Berghahn; Berman). The concept of cultural imperialism should be replaced by concepts of mutual influence between American and European culture (cf. Pells; Berghahn; Kroes; Elsaesser; Greiner), and the spread of popular culture can be explained by other causes than imperialism: democratic accessibility (cf. Fluck; Maase; Bathrick) and aesthetic appeal (cf. Maase; Fluck). Since the studies describe audiences as actively selecting cultural influences and adapting them to their regional culture, anti-Americanism can no longer be explained as a simple reaction to cultural imperialism (cf. Fluck; Fehrenbach; Maase; Hake; Berman). Important new knowledge most likely can be gained with Maase's approach to examining anti-

American imagery for its self-reflective function. The presented findings do not all provide new results, but they do give an excellent overview of the status quo of research on 'Americanization' and 'Anti-Americanism'. A few contributions show innovative analytical approaches and prove that some commonly used theoretical concepts must be redefined in order to grasp the complex, dynamic, and reciprocal processes involved in cultural relations.

*University of Kansas* *Jörg Meindl*

**The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America.**
*Donald F. Durnbaugh and Edward E. Quinter, eds. Trans. Edward E. Quinter. Sources and Documents of the Pennsylvania Germans XIV. Kutztown, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 2004. 194 pp. $20.00.*

*The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America,* translated from German by Edward E. Quinter, offers readers a window on life in eighteenth century colonial America. This multilayered work, edited by Donald F. Durnbaugh and Edward E. Quinter, helps us get to know Alexander Mack, Jr., a leader in the early Brethren Church. It also introduces us to eighteenth century American economics and traces connections between the Europe of Mack's birth and the infant United States, only a quarter-century old at his death. In spare notations of accounts and comments on neighbors, business associates, and family, Mack, Jr. has recorded life in the region of Pennsylvania that is now Lancaster County, and his *Day Book/Account Book* will be of great interest not only to scholars of colonial American and researchers of Brethren Church history, but also to anyone who delights to know details of the past.

Economic historians will be delighted with the light this work sheds on colonial systems of barter and exchange, for Alexander Mack, Jr., a weaver, recorded in his *Day Book/Account Book* what he produced in his shop, what he purchased and sold, who owed him money, and how much he owed to others, as well as details of the various economic arrangements he and his wife entered into with family, friends, and associates. As late as 1800, for example, Mack, Jr. reports income in a mix of British pounds and shillings and American dollars, and he records bartering arrangements that brought in produce in exchange for woven items. His notes attest, as well, to his wife's involvement in business. He records, for example, an arrangement between Elizabeth Mack and Philip Jacobs, in which Jacobs comes to reside in the Mack household and agrees to farm Mack land in exchange for half of the crops produced (91).

Mack, Jr. also compiled lists of members of the early Brethren Church and those of his acquaintance in the Ephrata Society. These are augmented by records of family births, baptisms and deaths; wills; and notes of church events, including the Love Feasts. The picture Mack, Jr. paints of early religious and family life is fascinating. Even more interesting is evidence of early church practice, including his mention of a

female elder, the wife of Brother Jacob Schneider, in the congregation at Schwarzenau in Germany.

More personally compelling are Mack, Jr.'s commentary on family life and friendship. He reports, for example, the death of Johannes Lay, who had come to stay with, and be nursed by, the Macks when it proved impossible for Mack, Jr. to hire someone to care for him. This is followed by details of the estate settlement, which involved bills for the doctor, the cost of medicine and other needs (including turpentine oil, olive oil, and a gallon of Madeira wine), and time Mack, Jr. lost from his work when he had to run errands on Lay's behalf. Ultimately Mack, Jr. also reports the cost of the coffin and the charges to translate and notarize the will. In 1772, Mack, Jr. began the practice of writing a poem on his birthday, and many of these are included in the *Day Book/Account Book*, making this work a memoir of personal religious faith. This work also records Mack, Jr.'s epitaph, which he wrote himself a year before his death.

Edward E. Quinter provides both transcription of the handwritten German-language *Day Book/Account Book* and translation into English, keeping, as much as was practical, the layout of Mack, Jr.'s text, with notations of page numbers from the original. A very useful "Translator's Note" discusses the language of the original work and informs the reader of the approach taken to translating Mack, Jr.'s writings and the minor formatting changes that were made.

Donald F. Durnbaugh's excellent though brief introduction to this work provides a context for understanding the *Day Book/Account Book.* Durnbaugh briefly discusses the Schwarzenau Brethren, the radical Pietist church Alexander Mack, Sr. helped to found, and describes the senior Mack's move to America with his sons and Mack, Jr.'s own spiritual evolution and connection to the Ephrata Society. Durnbaugh goes on to describe Mack, Jr.'s work as a writer, historian, weaver, and spiritual leader in the Brethren movement. Finally Durnbaugh discusses the volume of Mack, Jr.'s work and the insights offered by *Day Book/Account Book.* To assist the reader further, Durnbaugh has thoroughly annotated the *Day Book/Account Book,* contributing greatly to its accessibility and usefulness. Finally, this work includes an excellent index, compiled by Kate Mertes, which makes it much easier for the reader to find information in both the original German and in the English translation.

The reader may encounter some small difficulties with this text. For example, Quinter notes that several of Mack, Jr.'s entries were in English, and he has reproduced faithfully the original spelling and grammar of these entries. This last is somewhat jarring, for the reader goes without warning from modern English to eighteenth century language, and it would have been useful had the editors signaled the transition with a change of font. There are other challenges for the reader as well: several of the names are confusingly similar and thus, despite the aid of Durnbaugh's annotations, difficult to sort out. These are small issues, however.

In translating and editing *The Day Book/Account Book of Alexander Mack, Jr. (1712-1803): Weaver, Brethren Elder, Apologist, and Chronicler in Early America,* Durnbaugh and Quinter have made accessible a valuable primary text. Scholars from a variety of fields will appreciate their efforts.

*SUNY College at Potsdam* *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

**The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary.**
*Edited by C. Richard Beam and Joshua R. Brown (vols. one and two)/Jennifer L. Trout (vols. three, four and five). Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, Millersville University, 2004ff. Volume One: A, xliii + 164 pp., $12.00. Volume Two: B, xli + 205 pp., $12.00. Volume Three: C-D-E, xli + 213 pp., $12.00. Volume Four: F-G, xli + 263 pp., $12.00. Volume Five: H-I-J, xlv + 198 pp., $12.00.*

The long awaited and eagerly anticipated publication of Dick Beam's *Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* began with the appearance of volume one in July 2004. Volumes three through four appeared during 2005 and volume five in January 2006. The publication of this dictionary truly represents over a half century of lexicographical research and painstaking study of the vocabulary of the Pennsylvania Dutch.

The first volume leads off with an overview of the history of lexicography of Pennsylvania German beginning with Haldemann's 1872 *Pennsylvania Dutch: A Dialect of South German with an Infusion of English*. This is followed by a longer essay on the orthographic practice of the dictionary. Following the tradition of Albert Buffington and Preston Barba, Beam employs the principles of Standard German orthography with modifications based in part on the spellings of Marcus Lambert and American usage. Beam believes that Pennsylvania German deserves an orthography that "reflects its German roots as well as its American homeland" (vii). For instance, the sound represented by German *j* and English *y* follows the English usage, whereas most consonants and vowels are spelled as they would be in German (e.g., PG *yaage* vs. Ger *jagen* 'to hunt'). Following the guide to spelling is an overview of the pronunciation of Pennsylvania German as reflected in the orthography and word accent.

The format of the lexical entries is also explained. The typical entry includes grammatical information, English translation, etymology, source(s), contextual sentences, usage in sayings and the like. The sources for the entries receive a special overview. Beam uses both oral interviews with speakers of Pennsylvania German as well as published materials and also the resources of earlier dictionaries of the language. His personal recollections of eight decades add a personal flavor to the dictionary. He has included field work in Canada among the Old Order Mennonites and been as far west as Missouri and Wisconsin to collect data. The introductory material concludes with an extensive list of abbreviations used in the dictionary and a bibliography of some 150 items of use for the study of Pennsylvania German lexicography. Following the actual lexical entries is a brief description of the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies at Millersville, Pennsylvania, and the editors of the dictionary. Volumes two through five follow this basic format and present the nearly identical front and back matter of the dictionary. This is perhaps too repetitive but does allow the reader to readily find the necessary assistance when using any of the volumes.

A typical entry is that of *Grundsau* (4:131). We learn that this feminine noun has the plural form *Grundsei* and that it means 'groundhog, woodchuck' in English. This basic information is followed by five contextual sentences with sources, for instance "Ferall as mer nau wees, saagt die Grundsau uns der naegschde Winder velleicht was fer Wedder as es gebt's Friehyaahr" "For all that we know now, the groundhog tells as the next winter perhaps what kind of weather we will have in the spring"

(Pumpernickel Bill, August 16, 1926). Synonyms are also listed at the end of the entry (*Dax, Grunddax* and also *Grunddaxkitz*). The main entry for *Grundsau* is followed by entries for *Grundsaudaag, Grundsauhauns, Grundsauhund, Grundsauloch*, and *Grundsaulotsch* as well as *Grundseiloch, Grundseilotschversammling, Grundseimunet, Grundsau-Schitz* and finally *Grundsei-Yaeger*. While this reviewer cannot say with absolute certainty that no other word exists in Pennsylvania Dutch based on this term for ground hog, the thoroughness of the presentation and the number of cited examples do appear to offer a comprehensive overview of the vocabulary.

*The Comprehensive Pennsylvania German Dictionary* is a monumental achievement and will be the basis for all further research on the language. We look forward to the remaining volumes beginning with the letter K and wish the principal editor many more productive years.

*University of Kansas* *William D. Keel*

**The Amish Schools of Indiana: Faith in Education.**
*By Stephen Bowers Harroff. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2004. 210 pp. $34.95.*

Anyone familiar with the history of the Amish people is probably aware of the plethora of great scholarly works on the culture and the language of this very tight-knit, religious group. Stephen Harroff's study is not an exception and should, indeed, be added to this list. In his book, the author sheds light on how the Old Order Amish have been successful in running their own parochial schools in Indiana. Based on observations, interviews, and substitute teaching in Amish schools in Indiana, Harroff presents a comprehensive description of the educational practices of the Indiana Old Order Amish. Page by page he captures the readers' interest in this topic by making everyday schooling come to life through welcoming readers to be observers in school themselves and even participate in classes. Harroff's text is a vivid account of the Indiana Old Order Amish parochial schools, and at the same time he effectively adds factual references. Harroff is very careful in not revealing people's identities when depicting the lives of the students, their teachers, and the community members, by changing the names of persons or references to schools (preface: ix). Harroff's inclusion of many pictures of Old Order Amish people, schools, school scenes, classrooms, and school-related documents such as a graduation announcement (159) complement his fascinating volume on the Amish schools of Indiana.

In his preface Harroff states that his personal interest based on family history played a major role in compiling the study on Amish schools of Indiana. In his introduction, he further underscores this by brilliantly detailing his first-hand experience as a substitute teacher in an Old Order Amish school on several occasions. In chapter one he provides an extensive overview of the Indiana Amish Schools from the beginning in 1948 through 2002, by way of discussing charts and the factors relevant for the continuing growth of the Amish parochial schools since the nineties. Chapter two covers the topic of Old Order Amish parochial school buildings and their physical setting. Here Harroff details the various designs and sizes of these

buildings, providing several photographs. Chapter three is devoted to Amish pupils. One of the main points Harroff makes concerns the way pupils dress for school, emphasizing that with this dress "they are always in community" and "this style of dress is part of the church Ordnung" (45). The reader is informed about the mode of transportation pupils use to get to school, such as an open pony cart, or busses available through the local public school system. Harroff discusses at length the selection of books that are available to Indiana Amish pupils according to Amish beliefs and opinions. Amish school libraries are often "room libraries" (50) located in each classroom and mainly contain books for assignments such as encyclopedias. According to Harroff there are characteristics typical of pupils in the Indiana Amish schools (53-55), like having a "keen sense of hearing, developed [...] because this is still an oral society" (53). In the fourth chapter the reader learns about the different qualities and the demeanor considered important to be employed as an Amish teacher. Low pay, however, seems to be one of the problems Indiana Amish schools face in attracting and retaining teachers. Harroff ends this chapter by profiling a first- and second-grade teacher. Chapters five through seven concentrate on the Old Order Amish educational methods. Like many Amish, the Amish parochial schools of Indiana provide formal education through eighth grade, whereby several grades are usually housed in one classroom. Harroff shows the approach to teaching by the Old Order Amish of Indiana, focusing on one Amish school. He uses ample examples to illustrate this. Harroff's descriptions invite the reader to enter the classrooms from grades one through eight whether by participating, for example, in arithmetic and English in the lower grades, or by sitting in class in history, German, reading, and math in the higher grades. Chapter eight concentrates on Amish teacher education. Harroff argues "the Amish attitude toward education must be understood from historical perspectives" (119). He extensively talks about various instructional pamphlets, readings, and teacher's manuals critical for beginning teachers. He states that there are opportunities for continuing education for experienced teachers, for example through a monthly periodical, entitled *Blackboard Bulletin* (126), which is published for Amish schoolteachers and parents.

Potential difficulties occurring in the school environment, and the Amish approach to problematic issues and discipline, are discussed in chapter nine. Respectful behavior, cheating, learning not to speak out, unruly behavior on the playground, modernity in textbooks, and teaching learning-disabled children are some of the sensitive problems taken on by Harroff.

The topic of chapter ten, Harroff's final chapter, centers around the Indiana Amish community interaction and points out the centrality of faith and religious practice, where the school "is the focal point of many community events" (150). Gatherings such as the annual workday before school opens in August, the annual Christmas program and graduation, bad events such as weather-related emergencies, and even birthday surprises are occasions the whole Amish community partakes in wholeheartedly.

Harroff concludes his work by focusing on the Indiana Amish schools in the twenty-first century. Expansion is a crucial factor that the Old Order Amish parochial school movement in Indiana has been and will be facing in the coming years, paralleling the growth in other Amish settlements. However, Harroff notes that growth presents difficulties which must be dealt with adequately; issues the

Amish parochial schools must speak to include the high expense to Amish parents whose children attend the Amish parochial school and the question of employing and retaining skilled teachers and substitutes. An appendix comprises a detailed description of a typical day in an Amish parochial school. A notable bibliography relating to Amish society and schools and an index complete Harroff's publication.

*The Amish Schools of Indiana: Faith in Education*, is a very valuable contribution to the understanding of Amish education. It will interest dialectologists, sociologists, historians, and religious and school educators alike, and surely should not be missed by anyone seriously engaged in the field of German Studies.

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**To the Latest Posterity: Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition.**

*By Corinne and Russell Earnest. Kutztown, PA: Volume XXXVII of the Annual Volume Series by The Pennsylvania German Society, 2003. 153 pp. $45.00.*

Several years ago, my mother cleaned out my grandparents' attic as they moved into an assisted living apartment. One room of her house now has several stacks of pictures, albums, letters, and assorted other family mementos. Despite our personal interest in genealogy, and my professional background in both teaching family history research and building genealogical databases for anthropological research, neither of us has managed to start sorting through those piles. Part of the reason that we have not tackled this job is because we do not have a detached standard for determining what is truly valuable and what is inconsequential. In the new book *To the Latest Posterity: Pennsylvania-German Family Registers in the Fraktur Tradition*, Corinne and Russell Earnest use their considerable expertise in German folk tradition to argue that Fraktur family records are indeed truly valuable and often underappreciated.

*To the Latest Posterity* takes its name from the subtitle of the first American family history record and the title illustrates one of the main themes of the book. In contrast to European family records, which look to the past to connect individuals to upper class traditions and heraldry, the American family register records the new family for the future. The European origins of the families are rarely listed. The registers often appear to have been commissioned by members of a family after the death of a parent or spouse, and lists two or three generations after immigration. In this way, the families want to be remembered, not revered. Therefore, the Fraktur family register represents a uniquely German-American tradition. The important overarching conclusion is that immigration to America changed the perspective of the colonists, and this change is reflected in their folk art and family documents.

The Earnests show that German-American families invested in family registers to make sure that they were preserved for posterity. The documents were either printed on professional presses (such as the press at Ephrata) or written in Fraktur script by traveling scriveners, showing investment of what often had to be meager income. These brightly decorated illustrations, recalling the illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages, were usually neither symbolic nor representative of the family members

listed. The Earnests support Mennonite historian Amos Hoover's hypothesis that the decorations were reminders that these papers were important and should be kept by their descendents. This idea is supported by the safekeeping of the registers with or in the family Bible.

This book will be of interest to many audiences. Scholars of American History will appreciate the entire book. The Prologue, chapter one (*Perspectives on Family Registers*) and chapter three (*Comparisons of Pennsylvania-German and New England Family Registers*) will be especially interesting to these readers. Readers interested in Fraktur, and American folk art in general, will concentrate on chapter two, *Pennsylvania-German Family Registers and the Fraktur Tradition*. In this section, the authors point out that family registers are an underappreciated form of fracture. As an aside, I study Amish and Mennonite cemeteries, and I believe that Fraktur tombstones go similarly unnoticed.

A family that finds a Fraktur register in the piles of albums taken from a family attic will use the book to understand the importance of their document. Chapter four, *Texts on Pennsylvania-German Family Registers*, will be of particular interest to people who want to see what kinds of information are typical on family registers. In Appendix C, simply labeled *Glossary*, the Earnests give a very valuable German to English translation of the most common words and phrases found on these papers, and in German language family history documents in general. There is also an English glossary of words used in the text; this would have been easier to find and use if it had been provided in a separate appendix instead of included in Appendix C. The other appendices list known scriveners and a short timeline of Fraktur family registers. It would have been helpful for the lay reader to also have a Fraktur alphabet, as many of us have as a valuable part of our reference material when studying early German-American documents.

The heart of *To the Latest Posterity* lies in the extensive final chapter (five), *Forms of Pennsylvania-German Family Registers*, which reviews the different types of Pennsylvania German family registers and puts them in context. In this segment, the authors break down these documents into six types that vary in how much printed versus handwritten fill they include, whether they were found in Bibles, and if they were single or multiple pages. These differences appear to reflect differences in access to professional presses and scriveners, the time they were made, wealth, and personal preference. This section is a very nice complement to other works on Fraktur documents, including the Earnests' other works (e.g. Earnest and Earnest 1999; Earnest and Earnest 1997), and several other more descriptive Fraktur books, including David Luthy's *Amish Folk Artist Barbara Ebersol* (1995).

One of the most interesting aspects of these registers is the use of Fraktur and Roman script and typefaces, and the use of English versus German language. Language use in communities is a large part of identity in Anabaptist groups (Johnson-Weiner 1997), and it is interesting that many of these registers were printed in English while the families were still speaking German in church and probably at home. Fraktur lettering was not restricted to German language, although in the early documents English or Native American words on German Fraktur documents usually were set in Roman typeface. The time in which these were created clearly influenced the language used, and early family registers were more likely to be in German than later ones. But it is clear that the families had to make a choice between German and

English. Were they looking to a future in which their descendants would only speak or read English? Did the language reflect the intended audience, with the German ones being meant only for family, and the English toward a larger sphere of influence? The authors often mention the issue of language, but stop short of analyzing it.

Genealogists should not pick up this book assuming that they will find a complete listing of all known Fraktur family registers. Instead, the volume puts the genre of Fraktur family registers in historic and cultural perspective, and gives the family historian the tools for understanding their document. The color plates and many black and white figures are used to illustrate their points, but they did not attempt to catalog all family registers. (I would have appreciated it, though, if all of the color plates were large enough to be read; several were reproduced very small.) Indeed, I was interested to see how many of these registers are found in private collections, and the authors' estimate of the number still undiscovered in family collections. Hopefully, as families such as mine sort through family papers, more of these will be found and preserved again "to the latest posterity."

*State University of New York, College at Potsdam* *Bethany M. Usher*

**German-Jewish Identities in America.**
*Edited by Christoph Mauch and Joseph Salmons. Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2003. 171 pp. $29.95.*

The face of U.S. American culture is characterized not by a singular and homogenous group, but rather by the assimilation of a myriad of cultures, religions, and ethnicities. One of the groups that arrived throughout the nineteenth century and influenced the shaping of America while developing it own religious, secular, and ethnic identity was German-Jewish immigrants. Their historical legacy was the topic of a conference on *German-Jewish Identities in America* at the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in October 2000. This multidisciplinary conference brought together a wide assortment of academic fields, from film and linguistics to literary and cultural studies. The selected essays in this publication reflect the character and purpose of the gathering.

The first essay by Henry Feingold examines the endurance of nineteenth century German Jewry in America. While Feingold touches on the eastern Jewish immigration in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, he focuses on the milieu of German Jews in America. He suggests that German-Jewish ability to integrate tradition with a new culture—while retaining identity, religion, and group aesthetics—was a mark of success. In Feingold's estimation however, this cultural symbiosis foreshadowed a negative development and he questions whether the successful synthesis of German Jewry with American culture set the stage for the erosion of Judaism in America.

Specific in-depth investigations of the integration of the German-Jewish community in the United States, through the creation of social and relief organizations, are addressed by Anke Ortlepp, Tobias Brinkmann and Cornila Wilhelm. Ortlepp's essay focuses on the Jewish charities of Milwaukee from 1850-1914. Of particular interest is her treatment of the Jewish concept of charitable assistance and its role in

the creation and evolution of relief associations. She illustrates the successfulness of Jewish relief societies in coping with changes in the rapidly evolving society as well as the activity of Jewish women's welfare organizations. Brinkmann examines the Jewish community of Chicago prior to 1880. He argues that factors of assimilation led to an evolution of the Jewish community and not necessarily to its collapse. He cites the development the Reform movement in the American atmosphere of political and religious freedom as a catalyst for the separation of the Jewish community into different *Gemeinden,* each with varying traditional or Reform philosophies. Wilhelm examines the creation, successes and shortcomings of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith from 1843 to 1914. She connects the formation of group identity, moral consciousness and civic responsibility to the amalgamation of modern Judaism with the rights guaranteed by the Declaration of Independence. Although the B'nai B'rith struggled with the arrival of the first waves of eastern European immigrant Jews, it proved to have a lasting influence on the Jewish civic identity in the United States.

The next three chapters of this book address the contribution of German and American Jews to science and entertainment. Mitchell B. Hart provides an interesting discussion on Franz Boas. He brings out the problematic relationship Boas had to his own ethnicity and identity. An important nuance is the discussion of Boas's contribution to the field of anthropology. Harley Erdman reminds his readers of the many successful writers and entertainers of Jewish background. He focuses on the German-Jewish element in the American entertainment industry beginning from the 1890s to the World War II era. His argument alludes to the synthesis of Jewish cultural life and production with American mainstream culture. Tomas Kovach's essay on Alfred Uhry's *Last Night in Ballyhoo* examines the play and representation of a German-Jewish family in Atlanta. He summarizes the development, acceptance, and rejection of the Jewish community. Kovach interprets Uhry's play as a significant portrayal of the rift between the host culture and the Jewish element.

The final two essays by Monika S. Schmid and Manfred Kirchheimer discuss the effects of National Socialism on German-Jewish identity. Schmid examines the extent to which Nazi persecution of Jews resulted in the rejection of German identity and language. Her linguistic data suggest that there is a correlation between the negative feeling towards Germany and German and the loss of linguistic competency. Schmid draws a connection between the lack of linguistic accuracy and the rejection of German identity. Kirchheimer narrative takes his readers on a walk through his life and evolution of his own identity. His retrospective retreat highlights the struggle that arises when the homeland is laden with a terrible historic era.

This collection of nine essays delivers, both to the layman and the specialist, interesting discussions on the development and shaping of Jewish identity. By examining the overarching theme of German-Jewish contribution and its legacy in America, the authors deliver a collection of important research that addresses a multidisciplinary audience. In a broader cultural context, the essays collectively illustrate the struggle German Jews experienced, as a collective community and as individuals, in perpetuating, embracing and rejecting their own identity in a new homeland and host culture. The various approaches do much to enrich and broaden

the scope of Jewish studies, and at the same time propose areas for more exhaustive investigations.

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**One of the 999 About to Be Forgotten: The Memoirs of Carl Barus 1865-1935.** *Selected and Edited by Axel W.-O. Schmidt. New York, Erfurt: AWOS Publishing, 2005. 317 pp. €18.00.*

One of the great pleasures inherent in the discipline of German-American Studies is the multifold aspect of its applications. That is, one need not restrict an interest in the field to just a single dimension (e.g. fine arts, as opposed to politics, religion, or business and industry). How enjoyable and rewarding it is, then, when figures come to our attention who have made significant contributions across the wide spectrum of German-American and even greater American culture, in fields superficially unrelated to each other yet bound by their common reflection upon the character of an entire ethnic group.

Such a case study may be encountered via the recently published *Memoirs of Carl Barus*, an autobiographical text which although recommended for publication in 1938—three years after the death of Barus—ultimately rested in obscurity until it was found by the editor, Axel W.-O. Schmidt, in 2002. The irony and appropriateness of the title is lost neither upon the editor nor the informed reader: in a 1926 address given at a large dinner in his honor, Barus opined that out of every 1,000 men, only one is called to perform glorious works of science, before stating deliberately that he was destined to fall among the 999 whose existence takes place "simply to make the illustrious one, in whom they culminate, possible" (240). Selfless though the comment is, it is certainly not true in this instance; even a cursory examination reveals that Barus stood head-and-shoulders above the vast majority of his peers in both intellectual capacity and academic output.

Born in 1856 in Cincinnati to German immigrant parents, Barus clearly grew up strongly influenced by the emerging German culture of the city. Music in particular played a major role, due to his father's pioneering efforts as a prominent musician and choral leader; throughout the early chapters Barus painstakingly lists the many accomplishments of his father regarding both Cincinnati and, later, Indianapolis German musical evolution. One cannot fail to appreciate the obvious great respect Barus held for his father and his musical legacy, although it is equally evident that he is hardly a dispassionate observer, stating at one point that "almost single handed father had carried the musical tastes of Cincinnati upward from a rather humble cultural plane to an appreciation of classical music" (69), also citing an 1868 rift in the local *Männerchor* as the cause of a decline in the senior Barus's influence in Cincinnati music circles and "excessive intellectual labor and the worry and anxiety and excitement which invariably attended it" (54) as the cause of a nervous breakdown a year or two later. Cynical about his own aptitude for musical performance, the younger Barus nevertheless took joy in writing musical scores later in life; one of his most important works, "March to Pembroke Hall," is reproduced by the editor

in sheet music form in an appendix, while a performance of the song on compact disc also is made available free of charge to readers who choose to mail in a voucher located at the front of the book.

Barus portrays himself early in the memoirs as a capricious youth, prone to games and tricks that, on more than a few occasions, turned into life lessons when they went astray. Although he claimed to have no particular preference in his pre-high school studies, at approximately age 13 a visit to a chemistry lab and the gift of a small microscope from his father helped awaken an interest in the natural sciences that formed the backdrop to the rest of his life. After finishing his studies at Cincinnati's Woodward High School—graduating in the same class with future President William Howard Taft—Barus held out little hope for higher education, yet on the advice of an old friend he enrolled at Columbia University and began what he termed "a remarkable exodus of scientifically minded young people from Cincinnati, none of whom were permanently to return" (73). Over time Barus more than justified the faith placed in him by his parents and friends, serving with considerable distinction in prominent positions such as a physicist of the U.S. Geological Survey, professor of meteorology at the U.S. Weather Bureau and physics professor at the Smithsonian Institute, and the dean of graduate studies at Brown University. A wide range of scholarship—ultimately encompassing some 350 monographs and articles—further enhanced Barus's status as a preeminent man of science and letters and helped pave the way for numerous honors and awards received for meritorious distinction.

*The Memoirs of Carl Barus* is divided into three sections. The introductory materials include an editor's Foreword which effectively encapsulates the accomplishments of Barus and their significance; a brief timeline of the life of Barus follows that in outline format. The autobiography itself, at 270 pages, is for the most part a well-composed work that holds the attention of the reader, particularly in the early sections concerning his formative years and the role that family played in his life, not least with regard to several siblings who died in youth of what are accepted with resignation as frequent and usually fatal illnesses of the time (such as diphtheria and scarlet fever). The final section, as an appendix, includes a reproduction of the cover page of the aforementioned sheet music for "March to Pembroke Hall" and the musical script itself, as well as a bibliography featuring abbreviations used for scientific publications and organizations, cited in a following extensive directory of Barus's writings which provides valuable insight into the extent to which he excelled in his labor. Unfortunately, though, the editor does not include a name, place, or subject index at the end of the book, always a welcome addition in a work of such broad scope and diversity.

Within the body of the work, Barus writes with an appealing modesty about his accomplishments and utilizes a cleverly dry sense of humor that blends well with his informal authorial style. Attention to detail cuts both ways within the text: the early chapters paint a particularly vivid portrait of Cincinnati's German community in general and the Over the Rhine district specifically from the 1850s to the 1880s, featuring precise accounts of people, places, and events (such as references to the Know-Nothing movement and its efforts at anti-immigrant agitation, and the impact of the Civil War and Abraham Lincoln's death) which had a tangible effect upon Barus and, by extension, the local German populace as a whole. On the other hand,

Barus's penchant for detail becomes cumbersome toward the end of the work, when extensive passages related to the sciences and his work in the field ("Early Physical Meteorology in the U.S. Weather Bureau," "Early Work on the Coronas of Cloudy Condensation") inevitably attain a level of tedium to the lay reader. Given the emphasis upon precision, somewhat disconcerting are several fundamental errors in spelling and/or name recitation. To cite one prominent example, Barus refers to Cincinnati's Miami & Erie Canal—the "Rhine" in the Over the Rhine appellation—both incorrectly and incompletely as the "Eric Canal" (39). Consequently one wishes for some editor's notes that might point out such inaccuracies for the uninformed reader; alas, there are none to be found anywhere within the book.

These shortcomings aside, *The Memoirs of Carl Barus* is eminently enjoyable and a worthy addition to the body of first-person narrative recently made available to both scholarly researchers and common readers and set within the German-American community during its most important epoch. When all is said and done, the prominent scientist, author, and music scribe reflects well through his autobiography a fundamental tenet he learned in youth from his beloved father: "A clever man with a knack easily fulfills these two roles of teacher and student, while he coaches someone else as an expert" (25).

*University of Wisconsin-Waukesha* *Timothy J. Holian*

**Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections.**
*Edited by Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002. xi + 351 pp. $75.00 cloth, $29.95 paper.*

This is a fascinating exploration of the encounters between Germans and Native Americans, both real and imagined. It traces the strong German enthusiasm for things Indian back to the late eighteenth century, when the myth of a special affinity between Germans and Indians was first articulated in novels, plays, and other literary sources. Susan Zantop's introduction makes clear that the fiction of Karl May was central to the myth of a "German-Indian brotherhood." One hundred million copies of May's works have been sold and his perpetual bestseller status helped to nourish a culture industry that to this day pushes the idea of a special German-Indian affinity. Yet May's meteoric rise did not happen in a vacuum. More than a thousand titles of Indian fiction were published in Imperial Germany between 1875 and 1900.

*Germans and Indians* showcases essays from a wide range of disciplines, including Native American Studies, anthropology, history, American Studies and German Studies. Two Native American voices, works of fiction by Emma Lee Warrior and Louise Erdrich, frame these contributions. The volume originated in a 1999 Dartmouth College conference, "Germans and Indians/Indians and Germans: Cultural Encounters across Three Centuries." Its editors, Colin G. Calloway, chair of Native American studies, as well as Gerd Gemünden and Susanne Zantop, professors of German and comparative literature, organized the conference.

Christian F. Feest's comparative introductory essay "Germany's Indians in a European Perspective" argues that other Europeans express similar enthusiasm for

Native American culture. Yet at the same time, and in a somewhat contradictory fashion, Feest points to a larger scholarly interest in Indians and more intense publication activity in Germany. This helped perpetuate the persistent belief in a special affinity with Native Americans that many Germans express up to this day.

Colin G. Calloway's essay "Historical Encounters across Five Centuries," provides a *tour de force* through the history of German-Native American relations. One might quibble with some of Calloway's interpretations, such as his critical assessment of the Moravians or the work of the Swiss Benedictine Martin Marty at Standing Rock. Yet, the author makes a larger point that "relations between Indian people and German people seem to have been not much different from those between Indians and other groups of Europeans" (77). Calloway thus shows that the relations between Germans and Native Americans stemmed from specific historical circumstances and thus varied greatly. They spanned the full range of possibilities from friendly cooperation to bitter enmity.

Calloway not only provides a useful summary of the history of German-Native American encounters in the New World, but he also explores the experiences of Native Americans in Germany. As early as 1720 Indians were put on display as show objects in German cities, later followed by circus performers. More recently, a number of them came to Germany as servicemen during the two World Wars and the Cold War.

In "Close Encounters" Zantop coins the phrase "Indianthusiasm" to describe the strong interest that German society has continually shown for Native American culture. "Playing Indian" continues to be a popular pastime. Every spring, up to five thousand Germans descend on Radebeul, a small town just outside of Dresden, to play *Indianer* at the Karl May Festival. These German hobbyists, who dress up in homemade Native American costumes and reenact the fantasy of German-Indian brotherhood at *Indianerclubs*, live in teepees, take Native American names, and participate in Powwows. Contributions by Hartmut Lutz, Marta Carlson, and Katrin Sieg explore the worlds of Germans who have adopted Native American culture as a way of life.

Gerd Gemünden's essay "Between Karl May and Karl Marx: The DEFA *Indianerfilme*," takes a close-up look at East Germany's answer to the cycle of popular Karl May movies that was launched by Harald Reinl's adaptation of *Der Schatz im Silbersee* in 1962. Gemünden finds that the East German DEFA films effectively copied elements of the Western. In 1966 the first DEFA Western, *Die S hne der Großen Bärin*, appeared. It was based on an internationally acclaimed series of children's books by Lieselotte Welskopf-Henrich, who also wrote the screenplay. Gemünden emphasizes that "The exclusive focus on Native Americans was at the time without parallel in film history." This approach "allowed for a historical accuracy that most Hollywood films lacked" (245).

One thing is clear: Germans will continue to be drawn to Indians. In 2002, *Der Schuh des Manitu*, a madcap Sauerkraut Western spoof that held nothing sacred, broke all box-office records in Germany and Austria. This parody of the *Indianerfilme* of the 1960s, a reworking of May's *Der Schatz im Silbersee*, sold twelve million tickets, making it the most successful German film of all time.

Lúcia Sá's essay "Germans and Indians in South America: Ethnography and the Idea of Text" in *Myth: A New Symposium* (Bloomington, IN: 2002) focuses attention

on the surprising role of pioneer German anthropologists in the development of Brazilian literature. Sá points to the manifold links between German ethnography and Brazilian Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She studies the work of Curt Unkel Nimuendajú, Theodor Koch-Grünberg, and Konrad Theodor Preuss who followed in Alexander von Humboldt's footsteps and left an important legacy of recording and examining Native American texts in Brazil. Sá's essay points to a shortcoming of *Germans and Indians*, the lack of a contribution on the rich German ethnographic and anthropological tradition, which discusses all those like Franz Boas, who went to America to explore tribal histories and native traditions.

*Germans and Indians* is an ambitious interdisciplinary endeavor that provides an excellent basis for further innovative research into this neglected field. This valuable collection is an excellent starting point for students of the German-Indian encounter.

*Indiana University* *Heiko Mühr*

**German-American Immigration and Ethnicity in Comparative Perspective.** *Edited by Wolfgang Helbich and Walter D. Kamphoefner. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute/University of Wisconsin Press. 2003. 380 pp. $29.95.*

Approaching the history of German-speaking immigrants to the United States as well as their descendants from a comparative vantage point is the principal aim of this volume of essays. The contributions stem from an April 1997 conference held at Texas A&M University with the support of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D. C. The anthology is dedicated to the memory of German historian Willi Paul Adams, who was a conference participant and is also a contributor to this volume. His untimely death in 2002 marked the end of a career "as a resourceful, untiring mediator between American historians on both sides of the Atlantic" (ix).

After writing off most immigration research prior to 1960 as "filiopietistic," the editors devote considerable attention in their introduction to those who write about immigration history, noting that most often the more recent researchers—as determined by surname—are members of the ethnic group they are investigating. To avoid this dilemma, the editors state that they wished to have contributors whose names are not obviously German. They were also interested in having both senior and junior scholars, thus offering diversity of both nationality and generation. The introduction then provides an overview of the variety of comparative approaches in the twelve individual contributions: four dealing with religious diversity; two on agricultural patterns and rural society; four on politics and ethnic identity; and two on war and national identity. The editors conclude that the hoped for diversity in the contributors reveals "in most areas, however, including theory, methodology, topics, questions asked, approaches, and usually even the language of publication, German and American historians of German immigration and ethnicity are remarkably similar" (xxi).

Of the four essays dealing with religion (Reinhard Doerries "Immigrants and the Church"; Anne Höndgen "Northwest Germans in Ohio"; Tobias Brinkmann

"German Jews in Chicago"; Kathleen Neils Conzen "German Catholics"; [all titles shortened]), only Brinkmann tackles a subject where new insights are gained. He explores the complexity of identity as German and Jew in Chicago and the emergence of Reform Judaism and its relationship to the Germanization vs. Americanization of Judaism in America.

John Gjerde's essay on "Labor and Family in the Midwest" is also nothing particularly new. However, his partners in the section on agriculture, Myron Gutman et al. "Land Use on the Great Plains," examines in detailed fashion some 400 counties stretching from the Rocky Mountains to the Missouri River Valley and from Canada to Texas. While this group of researchers readily admit they cannot claim that ethnicity explains land use, they note that German ethnicity dwarfs all other ethnic ancestries in the counties studied (152; based on 1910 and 1990 census data). In their conclusions, they find that all things being equal "counties with a large German presence . . . were slightly more likely to crop their farmland than counties dominated by other ethnic populations" (163). In addition to maintaining small family farms and planting a diversity of crops, the researchers also found that such counties with German ancestry had more cattle, dairy cattle, and swine per acre than counties with other ethnic profiles (168). The conclusion of this essay is "that German ethnic settlement mattered for agricultural production both at the onset and end of the twentieth century in the American Great Plains" (168).

With regard to politics, both Michael De Bats ("German and Irish Political Engagement") and Walter Kamphoefner ("German and Irish Big City Mayors") compare German and Irish experiences and come largely to the same conclusions. DeBats finds that "the Germans and the Irish participated in politics at about the same level and exhibited in their voting behavior about the same degree of partisan unity" (214), while Kamphoefner concludes "comparative profiles of the Irish and Germans who were elected big city mayors show more similarities than differences. Adams's essay investigates the political careers of two immigrant politicians during the period prior to 1880: Lorenz Brentano and Peter Victor Deuster. Adams finds that although both congressmen were readily identified as representatives of the German ethnic group, they "fully accepted the rules of the established political game. They did not go to Washington as ambassadors of an ethnic group or as single issue advocates" (271). Paul Fessler compares the issue of bilingual education using the German experience of the nineteenth century and the Spanish experience of the current times. Despite the massive efforts to promote instruction both in German and of German, Fessler notes that this did not stop the second and third generations from assimilating to the dominant English culture. This lesson is one that should be applied to the current debate. He finds " bilingual education should not be used as a threat that could balkanize American society" (290).

Wolfgang Helbich offers a sobering assessment of the experience of Union soldiers of German origin during the Civil War. He is hesitant to reach any overarching generalizations, but based on the some fifty soldiers studied, he concludes that "ethnicity in various forms, no doubt often based on hearsay prejudice, but mainly in the shape of perceived, experienced, and mostly resented cultural differences, played a major and often underestimated role in the U.S. military (324). He questions the Americanization of the German soldier that many believe occurred as a result of the Civil War experience. The anthology concludes with Michael Wala's examination of

the revival of ethnic identity in the period after World War I and the influence of the Weimar government on that revival.

The essays in this volume range from politics to religion and from the battlefield to the wheat field. It is definitely a collection of essays with something for anyone and everyone interested in German-American Studies. As the editors point out, "a comparative perspective, replacing or at least adding to single focus work on one ethnic group, can disprove (or confirm) traditional views on ethnic groups, single out unique features, ... identify what is part of the cultural baggage, ... and what must be attributed to other influences" (xviii). The editors even concede that the disparaged filiopietists cannot avoid comparison in their ethnic studies.

*University of Kansas* *William D. Keel*

**Albert Bloch: Caricaturist, Social Critic, and Translator of Karl Kraus.**
*By Werner Mohr. Riverside, CA: Ariadne Press, 2003. 206 pp. $26.50.*

Albert Bloch was a remarkably talented individual. He was a gifted artist, a better writer than he was ever willing to admit, and a keen observer of the human condition. He had influential friends in both Germany and the United States and close ties to Franz Marc, Wassily Kandinsky, and other "leading exponents of German modernism" (55). And then there's the "Discovery of Karl Kraus" (title of Chapter 14, 145–161), which ultimately turned into a passionate advocacy of Kraus' work. But throughout his life Bloch remained almost obsessively modest about his own talents, which has meant scholarly assessment of his accomplishments has tended to focus almost solely on his affiliation with the Blue Rider group in Munich.

Mohr seeks to deliver a comprehensive and balanced account of Bloch's life and work while appraising the full extent of Karl Kraus' influence, and he is in a unique position to do so. The current monograph is an expanded and revised version of Mohr's 1994 doctoral dissertation at the University of Kansas, in which he is able to incorporate significant new material, largely with the aid of Bloch's widow. Moreover, Mohr's work is one piece of a larger undertaking by the Max Kade Center at the University of Kansas to reevaluate and better appreciate the extensive accomplishments of a remarkable German-American. The volume is in many ways the indirect result of a decade-long project on Bloch by a number of noted scholars and a repository for a wealth of information.

There are seventeen chapters divided among three sections. The first section provides a biographical introduction; the second an exposition of Bloch's artistic and literary work; and the third describes the impact of Karl Kraus on Bloch. In addition, Mohr provides a preface, a conclusion, and a thorough name index. Each chapter ends with scholarly notes, and fifty-seven of Bloch's caricatures are scattered among the pages, making the entire volume both informative and attractive.

Finally, however, Mohr's monograph is disappointing. Despite significant additional material and fascinating subject matter, the whole is difficult to read. In tone and structure it is still a dissertation. Seventeen chapters over fewer than 200 pages break up the presentation unnecessarily; and the extensive notes at the end

of each chapter, although extremely helpful from a scholarly point of view, further fragment the discussion. Moreover, there is little distillation of the incredible array of new and interesting facts and a singular lack of analysis. Emblematic of the difficulty is the degree to which the conclusion reads like an introduction; it outlines what the author aims to accomplish. The depth and scope of material presented is impressive, and Bloch's illustrations are fascinating. The volume has much to offer. Unfortunately, it also fails to realize much of its potential.

*Loyola College in Maryland* *Randall P. Donaldson*

**A Lost American Dream: Civil War Letters (1862/63) of Immigrant Theodor Heinrich Brandes in Historical Contexts.**
*By Antonius Holtmann. Translated by Eberhard Reichmann. Publications of the Max Kade German-American Center, vol. 15. Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 2005. vi + 102 pp. $14.00.*

It is historically well documented that ethnic troops played a huge role in the American Civil War. For many Irish, German, and other immigrants, service in the Union army was a means of cementing their relationship to their adoptive country, and a means of putting their feet on the road to the "American Dream." Theodor Heinrich Brandes, an immigrant from Ochtrup, Westphalia, was only one such man, a private soldier in Company D, 83rd Indiana Infantry. However, in the eyes of author Antonius Holtmann, Brandes stands as an example of a specific type of soldier whose service has received scant recognition, and much of that of a negative nature:

> Heinrich Brandes was one of those disrespected and despised by many—a voluntary substitute for a draftee. His letters and his dying offer a glimpse on alternatives to the bloody Civil War, its consequences and celebrated heroism, and also on the question of alternatives for a commemoration that does not cover up monstrous crimes, does not reduce political antagonism to exemplary fighting and suffering, victory and defeat, and does not relativize the differing liberty claims of the North and the South (1).

In looking at the life and service of Heinrich Brandes, Holtmann sets the stage well, by thoroughly describing the circumstances—cultural, economic and political—under which Brandes was born and raised. Brandes stood almost no chance to inherit the tenancy of his family's farm, as he was a second son (he was, in fact, a twin, but born second). We do know is that he is listed as a "laborer" which meant, most likely, that he did migrant farm work, traveling yearly to Holland to earn money to help support his family in Ochtrup. The 1840s was a particularly difficult decade for farmers. Farm prices were depressed, and throughout Europe there were several years of devastating crop failure, particularly with regard to potatoes and cereal grains. Brandes's uncle Everhard had already emigrated in 1847, and good reports of America most likely helped facilitate Heinrich Brandes's decision to leave Prussia. In

1853, with a satisfactory service letter from the army, a certificate of good character from his parish priest, and a document discharging him from Prussian citizenship, Brandes set sail to join his uncle in Oldenburg, Indiana.

Holtmann discusses at some length about the founding and history of Oldenburg, as well as what is known about Brandes' time there and his time living in Cincinnati. The following section speaks of the political disputes about slavery versus free labor, prevailing attitudes of German Democrats leading up to the war in relation to the constitutionality of secession. Holtmann may not be definite as to why Brandes decided to fight for the Union, but he is clear about what Brandes did not fight for. According to Holtmann, he did not fight for the Union's political goals, or to free African-Americans in slavery. Brandes fought, according to Holtmann, for his American dream: to live peacefully and to take care of his family. In his letters Brandes says time and again that he just wants the war to be over, so he can see his family and make a life with them. In a letter from his brother, ironically dated about a month after Brandes's death, we find that he has been thinking of returning to Germany.

The Brandes letters span a nine-month period from November 1862 to June 1863, just a few days before he died in a military hospital. These are very typical soldiers letters, detailing the common experiences of military life in the Civil War before the advent of military censors. Brandes describes his feelings and experiences clearly, namely that the war was a "humbug," the food and water were bad, the army doctors were bad, he hadn't been paid, the officers were getting rich, and that there was no mail from home (not surprisingly so, since his phonetic spelling of English made his address exceedingly difficult to decipher). However, he also describes the campaigns and battles in which he fought, from Arkansas Post to Vicksburg, repeatedly writing that he always called upon the Holy Trinity to save him. Like thousands of others, he died not of wounds, but rather of disease contracted in the field. In a statement sworn by one of his comrades, Brandes died of "brain fever and swelled feet" contracted at the siege of Vicksburg. While lying in the hospital, Brandes displayed the classic attitude of a "short-timer." As in other letters, he mentions just how much time he has left on his hitch and how much he wants to come home. His feelings and longings are expressed in Holtmann's original German title: *Für gans America gehe ich nich wieder bei die Solldaten* ("For all of America, I won't go with the soldiers again.").

Antonius Holtmann has done an admirable job in tracing the life story of Theodor Heinrich Brandes through archives and public records. It is clear, too, that he has done fairly extensive research into the world in which Brandes lived and died. He was quite fortunate in finding Brandes' letters in such good condition and that in spite of his poor spelling, Brandes wrote a very clear *Kurrentschrift* (German *Running Hand* penmanship)—such is quite often not the case. The intentionally misspelled translation of the first letter does give one a feel for how Brandes' writing might have looked to an educated speaker of German, but I wish a German transcription of all the original letters had been included, perhaps in an appendix. The maps, charts, and other illustrations were well chosen and instructive, and the bibliography is a good starting point for anyone wishing to do further research about the life of a common soldier in the Vicksburg campaign. Credit must also be given to Eberhard Reichmann for a translation that is both clear and easy to read. The fact that this book is intended

for a more general audience does not detract from its potential usefulness to the more serious scholar.

*William Woods University* *Tom R. Schultz*