

## Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian  
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### **My Farm on the Mississippi: The Story of a German in Missouri, 1945-1948.**

*By Heinrich Hauser. Translated and with an introduction by Curt A. Poulton. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001. 168 pages. \$24.95.*

When speaking of the exiles of the period 1933-45, it is easy to call the roll of prominent academics or persons of letters. There were, however, thousands of unknown or lesser known people who used the United States as a refuge from the tyranny of Nazi Germany. The story of Heinrich Hauser's sojourn in Perry County, Missouri, illuminates a somewhat unexplored facet of the larger exile experience. Hauser was a fairly prolific and successful novelist and travel writer, lending a touch of realism to his adventures and characters from his own life experiences as a sailor and journalist. The Irish author, Liam O'Flaherty, referred to him as "a German Jack London".

Hauser came to the United States in 1939 with his wife and his two children. He saw to it that his son, Huc, was enrolled in a boarding school, to shield him from some of the deprivations that he and his wife Margarethe (Rita) faced. His daughter, Helen, is never mentioned by name in the book, and only alluded to in the last chapter, where Hauser mentions his "... pain over the one that was caught up in the labyrinth of dispute and error." Hauser first purchased a very small, poor farm in upstate New York. Knowing but little of farming, the rocky soil and some unbelievably bad winters forced him to sell when he could not make a go of it. Traveling to Chicago, Hauser found employment at the University of Chicago, as a gardener, while Rita did piecemeal work in a garment factory. As an enemy alien, his job prospects were limited, and he was forced to work an extra job at Marshall Field's, to make ends meet. His observations as an outsider on the inequities of American society, e.g., wealth, class and race, are fairly stinging, but insightful. Finally, in 1945, Hauser and his wife had put aside a large enough nest egg to move west and try farming again. Having lived through the postwar inflation and hard times in Germany, Hauser had become something of a Jeffersonian idealist, determined to run a small farm, and feed as many people in Germany as he could. Traveling to St. Louis in their '28 Packard, *Perfidio*, Hauser and Rita headed south to the old French area between Ste. Genevieve and Cape Girardeau. To their wonderment, they encountered signs for towns such as Altenburg, Wittenberg, Dresden

and Stuttgart. They had stumbled across the area of Missouri which had been settled by Saxon Lutherans in the nineteenth century, and whose culture and language were still somewhat intact. With the help of good local contacts, and the ability to pay in cash, Hauser secured a 390 acre farm outside of Wittenberg from a bank. After some unpleasant scrapes with a family of squatters, the Hausers finally took possession of their farm.

Hauser's descriptive style makes the book a delight to read, and the reader is drawn in by his descriptions of farm labor, and how the family managed to fabricate or salvage what they could not buy. Even more touching and poignant, however, are Hauser's descriptions of his own spiritual growth and attachment to the land, and to the burgeoning nature all around him, as well as his revelations of the awful loneliness of truly rural existence. Huc Hauser worked on the farm during the summers, and, having spent his formative years in the States, was far more at ease in American culture than were his parents. He turned out to be a natural mechanic and farmer, and remained in the States when his parents returned to Europe in 1948. The farm did well for the first couple of years, even though the Hausers had to fight their share of natural disasters, such as forest fires and Mississippi floods. The book is peopled with a variety of genuinely eccentric characters: moonshiners, beach pirates, and even backwoods evangelists, who befriend the Hausers, and attempt to show them how to get along in the New World. Falling agricultural prices in 1948, along with other farm disasters, and the unbearable longing to be in Germany to help with the rebuilding, compelled the Hausers to sell their farm at auction and return to Germany. Although they dearly loved their farm, they felt a duty return to Germany, even though Hauser refers to Germany as a vampire, ". . . sucking the pith from the revitalized stems of our lives." Heinrich and Rita returned to Germany, where he managed to write two more books. He dreamed of returning to his farm in Missouri, but never did. He died at Diessen am Ammersee, Bavaria, in 1955.

Poulton's translation of Hauser's *Meine Farm am Mississippi* (Berlin : Safari Verlag, 1950) is a useful and enjoyable addition to postwar and what Poulton calls "Post-immigrant" German-American literature. As a historical geographer, Curt Poulton brings a different perspective to Heinrich Hauser's narrative, viewing the landscape as a character in the story. Indeed, Hauser's narrative provides extremely detailed descriptions of the land, the river, and the environs of his farm in Perry County. Most of the town of Wittenberg was lost in the great flood of 1993, although the old Harnagel-Hauser farmhouse remains. Much can be learned about the magnitude of that loss through comparison of Hauser's description of the land at that time. Poulton got to know Huc Hauser, and learned many more details about the family's life. Huc also generously provided a number of family photos, which make the book come even more alive. In his copious footnotes, Poulton is careful to reveal Hauser's penchant toward exaggeration. He almost invariably portrayed distances as longer than they actually were, and he also had a tendency not to convert measurements, such as acres to hectares. This occasionally provides his German readers with a slightly skewed view of the land. Poulton also interviewed many locals who still remembered "Henry" Hauser, and who often had different recollections of the events Hauser described. As

to the translation itself, I found it extremely readable and fairly true to the original. Hauser was not an academic, but one who wrote popular fiction, and later, even science fiction. Hauser's colloquial German is certainly not stilted or formal, but rather more conversational in tone. Poulton comments in his foreword on the difficulties of bringing Hauser's typically long, convoluted German sentences into clear English. I think he has done a creditable job, and an important one. Hauser, through Poulton's translation, has made available to us a clear and vibrant picture of a time and culture that are, for better or worse, almost gone.

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*Tom R. Schultz*

**The Last Generation Forgotten and Left To Die/*Die letzte Generation vergessen und dem Tod überlassen: The History of the Danube Swabians.***

*In English and German by Hans Kopp. Cleveland, OH: The Author, 2003. xviii + 394 pages. \$60.00.*

Hans Kopp is one of the many Danube Swabians who, after surviving the horrors of World War II and the postwar genocide by communist regimes, built new lives for themselves in America. In Cleveland he has become a leader in one of the nation's largest Ethnic German communities. After his arrival in 1956, he served in the United States Army and completed his studies in design engineering. In addition to his dedicated involvement in German-American organizations, he has authored several articles and monographs published here and abroad.

Cleveland has long been a major center of German-American activity. In 1900, two of every five Clevelanders were native speakers of German. Among them were Transylvanian Saxons, Gottscheers and other Ethnic Germans who, after settling in the Cleveland area, maintained their unique German traditions through the establishment of social, cultural and educational organizations. By the 1920s, immigrants from the Banat represented a substantial element of the Greater Cleveland German community. They became the forerunners of the Danube Swabians who began arriving in large numbers in the 1950s.

A monument erected in memory of deceased Danube Swabians greets visitors entering the Donauschwaben German-American Cultural Center at Lenau Park in the Cleveland suburb of Olmsted Township. Its inscription reminds us that this group of people, because of its German ethnicity, became victims of Yugoslavian and Russian oppression.

In addition to an overview of early Danube Swabian history, Kopp's most recent, dual-language, publication presents a chronological narrative of events since the offset of World War II. In it he skillfully takes the reader along to witness experiences such as slave labor deportation, expulsion from the homeland, the Gakowa death camp, starvation, personal family tragedies, firing squads, escape and emigration.

Throughout these memoirs the author interweaves political events with the economic and social conditions experienced by his family and other Danube Swabians.

Adding an interesting and often charming dimension to the relating of otherwise horrifying events are his many references to Danube Swabian traditions and social mores.

Drawing upon his personal experiences and relevant information provided by his parents, the author tells his story in a fluent prose buttressed by more than 1400 photos, in addition to many supporting documents, letters, abstracts, maps, and diagrams. This technique gives literary body to his work and produces a true story worthy of a dramatic production, rather than just a journalistic documentary.

Since the publication of C. Geza's *The Danube Swabians* (1967), many works on this ethnic German group have appeared. Some are special studies that appeal mainly to scholars. Others, such as Katherine Stenger Frey's *The Danube Swabians/A People With Portable Roots* (1982) and Jacob Steigerwald's *Donauschwäbische Gedankenskizzen aus USA* (1983), were written for general audiences. Needed are more in-depth memoirs by survivors of ethnic cleansing, such as this work by Hans Kopp. They would certainly heighten awareness of the tragic events suffered by the Danube Swabians and other groups to whom America(s) print, screen and electronic media have paid but scant attention.

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### **Heads or Tails: The Poetics of Money.**

*By Jochen Hörisch. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000. 349 pages. \$39.95.*

Money has become a hot academic commodity in recent years. The sustained economic expansion of the 1990's, the replacement of Cold War politics by issues of Russian and Chinese trade and economic integration, as well as the promises and perils globalization have prompted a number of scholars to look anew at the role played by finance in the shaping of social and cultural life. This subject has been addressed to English readers from a literary-critical perspective by, for example, Marc Shell and Patrick Brantlinger, but the German speaking world still needs, claims Jochen Hörisch, the kind of problem-based literary analysis suited to unpacking the complex and paradoxical relations between money and literature, an approach which makes it possible "to discover the currency of meaning itself" (38). To this grand end Hörisch eschews literary history as such (it merely relates text to text) in favor of a narrative that explores intertextual (subjects, motifs, and problems "having to do with money") (36). The result is a head-spinning tour of the literary canon through the often competing, overlapping, and discordant theories of Kant, Marx, Nietzsche, Adorno, Benjamin, and Sohn-Rethel, among others, stitched together into an erudite and richly allusive (if frustratingly unsystematic) meta-interpretation of money's magical disenchantment of the world.

At the heart of Hörisch's argument is the idea that money defines modernity because (like the Communion rite of the preceding age and the mass media of post-modernity) it performs an "ontosemiological" function in providing a comprehensive

standard by which everything can be understood and evaluated, social relations ordered, and the deepest questions about meaning and being answered. Belles-lettres allegedly offers a unique vantage to criticize this process because only poetic expression, which operates outside the utilitarian constraints felt by scientific and quotidian discourse, can dispense with the obsessive "covering" of the naked (non)truth lurking behind a money-ordered world. Only in a story can it be said that the emperor has no clothes.

Hörisch delivers on his promise not to write a conventional literary history, but underneath its sophisticated hermeneutics and avant-garde theory, *Heads or Tails* can be seen to belong to an even older literary genre: demonology. It is the invention of money that cast humanity out of its prelapsarian innocence into a world of "universal deficiency" (152). Money is the "diabolical medium" of modernity that has dissolved all qualitative difference into a universal system of equivalence (and hence insipid indifference) (221). Money has even seized hold of time itself, transforming it into yet another scarce commodity. Hörisch is particularly vexed in this respect by the "gullibility" of so many millions to pay for life insurance in the here and now in return for a company's dubious promise to pay out thirty or forty years hence. He sees in this enterprise nothing less than a "a stylistically problematic sacrilege" that attempts phantasmagorically to fend off "finiteness, time, and death" (128).

Of course life insurance policyholders are not remotely so naïve or megalomaniacal, but Hörisch's sour appraisal of them is characteristic of the book's relentless identification of money with spiritual vacuity, social alienation, ecological disaster, political turmoil and war. Even a vigorous critic of modern capitalism and its handmaiden, money, might well pause to consider whether money might also, on occasion, confer social freedom through its anonymity, or contribute to human happiness through the increased availability and diversification of consumables, or, even if as a consequence of naked self-interest, overcome religious or cultural prejudices—benefits Joseph Addison marveled at during his famous literary perambulation around the Royal Exchange at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Historians will also find Hörisch's arguments weakened by evidentiary and logical shortcomings. A fundamental claim he makes is that "Western rationality and subjectivity are epiphenomena of money" (178). Accordingly, Hörisch attributes rationalist, post-Socratic philosophy to the rise of coined money both because the interposition of money created an abstract system by which "various things are associated, synthesized, comprehended and subsumed under uniform categories," and because the agora itself constituted the locus for the exchange of philosophical ideas (182). But historians may justifiably object that while the diffusion of coinage out of Lydia and Ionia from the seventh century B.C.E. did have revolutionary implications, it wasn't revolutionary in quite the way Hörisch would have us think. The idea of an abstract measure of value embodied in precious metal (in the form of ingots, rings, wires, or tripods) developed as early as the third millennium B.C.E.; and even in societies that lacked a metallic exchange medium it seems to have involved no great intellectual effort to extend common barter media metaphorically into abstract units of account. Our word "pecuniary," for example, is derived from the Latin *pecus* (head of cattle). Hörisch's argument that the circulation of money shaped Western rationality

and subjectivity also fails on comparative grounds. Money developed in China at least as early as it did in Asia Minor, and coins have circulated in Islamic and Hindu lands since antiquity. If money is such a potent force in shaping philosophy, literature, and culture, can its use really explain the intellectual and artistic properties of the West?

I suspect, however, that in the end Hörisch is less interested in making a persuasive historical case than in using history selectively to suggest aesthetic alternatives to money. These possibilities are never delineated, but somehow involve the Promethean power of art to provide (alternative versions of reality) (150) drawn either from a paradisaical past before the advent of money or from a utopian vision of a world where gold shackles only criminals and a freed people finally (and perhaps again) savors the world in its full immediacy.

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### **Thomas Mann's Addresses Delivered at the Library of Congress.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 25. New York: Peter Lang, 2003. 132 pp. \$31.95.*

The collected addresses of Thomas Mann delivered at the Library of Congress were originally published by the library in 1963, "Because of continuing public demand . . .", according to the then Librarian of Congress, L. Quincy Mumford. They had, of course, been published singly at the time of the lectures themselves, but were soon out of print. The addresses are extremely interesting, in a historical sense, because they contain much of Thomas Mann's personal philosophy and contemporary *Weltanschauung*. Tolzmann's valuable introduction gives a succinct history of the German collections at LC (Library of Congress), and details the involvement of Agnes Meyer in helping to obtain Mann his paid consultancy in Germanic Literature at the Library, which he referred to as an "elegantly inventive gift." The only critique I offer, and it is quite a small one, is that Tolzmann, in his introduction, gives the literal translations of Mann's German titles, rather than the titles under which they were published. If a reader wished to find an English translation of *Der Erwählte*, searching for *The Chosen One* would be fruitless, as it was published under the title *The Holy Sinner*. Let me reiterate, that is a minor quibble from a librarian's point of view. The annual addresses were part of the agreement, for which Mann received one thousand dollars apiece. Mann was only too happy to oblige, not only for financial reasons, but also because it enabled him to bring to bear his deep knowledge of the subject matter, his skill as a writer, and his not inconsequential reputation both as a leading opponent of national socialism and leader among the exile community. Indeed, his importance within that community can hardly be overstated.

The addresses themselves span the years from 1942 to 1949, and their very titles show not only the topics occupying his mind, but also just how broad his interests were. They are, in chronological order: "The theme of the Joseph novels" (17 Nov. 1942); "The war and the future" (13 Oct. 1943); "Germany and the Germans" (29

May 1945); "Nietzsche's philosophy in the light of contemporary events" (29 Apr. 1947), and "Goethe and democracy" (2 May 1949).

The addresses cover some wide-ranging topics, from Mann's own work to the very nature of Germanness and estheticism, from Luther to Nietzsche to Goethe, but he always comes around to his own deeply held belief in a fundamentally "new HUMANISM, remote from all shallow optimism, but full of sympathy, which will be only too necessary for the work of reconstruction that will confront us after the tremendous moral and material devastations, after the collapse of the accustomed world." (5) The Germans he admires most are those who have gone beyond the arrogant provincialism of Germany; people, especially Goethe, who have a decidedly European spirit and outlook. Particularly in the address "Germany and the Germans," but also elsewhere, Mann undertakes to lay bare what he believes are fundamental flaws in the German national character. Although the Germans possess real genius in certain fields, philosophy, music, art, etc., they lack a fundamental aptitude for politics and social progress. At least twice, he uses Hölderlin's phrase *Tatenarm und Gedankenreich* [Poor in deeds, rich in ideas]. These national traits Mann illustrates by two characters in particular: Luther and Faust. He views the Reformation, although invaluable to the survival of Christian civilization, as a German nationalistic movement. Speaking of Luther, he says, "Germanism in its unalloyed state, the Separatist, anti-Roman, anti-European shocks and frightens me" (26). Of Faust, he hints that the very idea of a deeply religious scholar selling his soul to the devil for occult knowledge and power is quite German in its essence. His audience had seen Germany bargain its soul to the devil for mastery of Europe. It is important to note, however, that Mann does not divorce himself entirely from the German condition. Anyone born and raised in Germany feels deeply what is happening. There is not a "good" Germany and a "bad" one, but rather only the good Germany gone bad, and struggling for its soul.

The tone of these addresses is ultimately one of hope, even though Mann is quite scathing of the darker side of German culture. He was addressing audiences with the most profound interest in what was to become of Germany after the war. He was also speaking as an employee of the United States government, and, as such, was acutely sensitive to what they he believed they wanted to hear. Going beyond the immediate future, however, Mann realized that even the idea of a united Europe was somewhat outdated. "The world wants to be one," he said, and to ensure the continued existence and growth of his "new humanism", the author's ironical objectivity must sometimes be held in trust. The freedom to disagree over small matters must be set aside in order that the greater freedom and justice can exist.

In summary, let me say that, although Mann's prose is sometimes difficult to wade through, careful reading of these addresses is well worth the effort. The statements Mann made about working for justice, equality and freedom are as fresh today as they were sixty years ago, and certainly most eloquently stated. The publication of this second edition of the addresses will be useful, not only to scholars of Mann, but of *Exilliteratur* in general.

**“Like a Sponge Thrown into Water”: Francis Lieber’s European Travel Journal of 1844-1845.**

*Edited by Charles R. Mack and Ilona S. Mack. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2000. 193 pages. \$18.95.*

In the mid-nineteenth century, Francis (Franz) Lieber enjoyed the status of one of the most well-known and best-connected scholars in both the United States and Germany, yet today his importance is often either overlooked or totally forgotten. Charles R. Mack and Ilona S. Mack’s translation of Lieber’s remarkably interesting European travel journal from 1844-45 is greatly welcomed and should help reacquaint Americans with this German-American and the social, political, and cultural context in which he lived.

Lieber was born in Berlin in 1798 and grew up during the Napoleonic Wars and French occupation of his beloved capital. Experiencing first-hand the weakness of the German states against their aggressors and then the reforms undertaken to incite the Prussians to rise up against their conquerors, Lieber became an ardent supporter of German unification and republicanism. He greeted the Treaties of Paris and Congress of Vienna, which officially ended the Napoleonic period, as an era filled with promise, but became disillusioned by the conservatism of the political restoration that followed. He found himself at odds with oppressive regimes which denied its citizens the very freedoms and rights for which Lieber had fought. After several arrests and stints in prison which led him to realize that he would never be able to find happiness in Prussia, he immigrated in 1826 to England, where he met his future wife Matilda Oppenheimer, also from a German family. In 1827 they departed for Boston and quickly established contacts with the city’s elite. Always searching for opportunities to showcase his intellectual talents, Lieber founded the *Encyclopedia Britannica* in 1829. He searched for prestigious teaching positions, and was finally offered one in South Carolina, where he remained for almost twenty years before he accepted a position at Columbia College (University) in New York City in 1856.

Lieber’s contributions to American society are diverse and far-reaching and reveal his recognition of an increasing complex and rapidly transforming society. He developed the concept for international copyright laws, seeing the need to preserve the record of the Civil War, helped organize the captured Confederate archives, laid the foundations for the International Red Cross, proposed a United States Department of Statistics, and perhaps most important, created a code of military warfare, which served as the theoretical underpinnings for the Geneva Conventions and the Nuremberg Trials, and is still in effect today.

After almost twenty years in the U.S., Lieber wanted to reacquaint himself with the Europe he had known and loved so well and which had changed radically since he immigrated. The journal begins on March 6, 1844 while organizing his departure for Europe where he arrived in April 14, 1844 in England. The last journal entry is from January 16, 1845 while awaiting his return to the United States. The journal serves many purposes: it introduces the reader to the person of Francis Lieber, who he was and how he thought. It is, in part, a compendium of his experiences as a tourist, what



he saw, facts, figures, prices, etc., as well as stories and comments about his family and personal life. Entries also provide astute cultural commentary on both the United States and European countries, especially when Lieber returns to Germany. He records his conversations with important and leading personages of the time, and these reveal insights on politics, economics, and such divergent themes such as art, freedom, economics, German unification, personal rights, and public executions.

Charles and Ilona Mack have done an excellent job transcribing and translating the original German journal entries into English and correcting mistakes, yet have retained Lieber's original charm and linguistic idiosyncracies. They also include letters and summaries of conversations Lieber wrote to or had with leading figures of the time, and had kept with his journal. The volume contains an appendix with prevalent themes of the journal with entry dates, and another appendix with brief biographical summaries of people he met in Europe. One of the great advantages of this volume, especially in comparison to the many editions of journals and diaries of German-Americans, is the detailed commentary provided for each of the entry dates. Through their remarks the editors flesh out many of the problems and themes upon which Lieber comments.

When reading the individual journal entries, one is struck by Lieber's tremendously busy schedule, the breadth his knowledge, and his acquaintances in almost every city he visits in countries north of the Alps. After arriving in England, Lieber travels through France to Paris, then on to Brussels and Waterloo, where he had fought in a Prussian army against Napoleon, and enters German soil on June 26. While in Germany, he seemingly travels to all states of the German Confederation, meets kings, nobility, ministers, artists, publishers, indeed the elite of German and European public life. Not only do these individuals know and respect Lieber, but his journal entries suggest that they excitedly and willingly begin discussions on the leading topics of the day and graciously accept criticism from him. As a whole, the journal re-creates the context of the German states and Europe in the 1840s, and helps the reader to see the connection Lieber makes between America and Europe. Along with an insightful biographical essay included in the volume, the journal reveals Lieber as a cosmopolitan, at home equally in Europe and the United States, and as a proponent of increased need for the two continents to work more collaboratively.

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### **Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt.**

*Edited by Lisa Feurzeig. Recent Researches in the Oral Traditions of Music, vol. 7. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2002. 244 pages. \$120.00.*

In the introduction to this edition, Lisa Feurzeig states that "The 1818 songbook *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt* is a significant document for many reasons. It is of musical importance as one of the first collections of *volkstümliche Lieder* to include melodies as well as texts. It is of historical interest since it was compiled by a group of

men associated with the *Turnvereine* and *Burschenschaften* and therefore includes much material that reflects their political and social agendas" [1]. In the essays and accompanying material within the text, Feurzeig successfully reinforces the historical importance of the original work, and, more especially for German-American studies, of the particular exemplar on which the current edition is based. That volume now resides in the Special collections of the Regenstein Library at the University of Chicago. That volume consists of the 1818 edition, with many handwritten entries both at the end, as well as carefully interleaved in the volume. Together with notations of a subtitle "*Von der Wiege bis zum—Grabe Weltlich und Geistlich*" can leave but little doubt that an expanded edition was planned.

According to documentary evidence, mostly correspondence, Feurzeig shows that the book was compiled by people who were in the forefront of the *Turner* movement and the *Burschenschaften*, including Turnvater Jahn himself. The songs themselves are a mixed bag of older melodies, together with new, politically oriented songs from the period of the *Freiheitskriege* against Napoleon. The Chicago copy was personally owned by one Anton Gersbach, who added the supplemental material to the original. Many of these supplementary songs were composed by his older brother, Joseph, who was a music director and teacher.

Historically, the book is something of a touchstone of political, nationalist and religious feeling among the men who sang—and marched to—these songs. Feurzeig notes in part of her introductory essay that the volume appeared in the brief period between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the Passing of the Carlsbad Decrees of 1819, which limited freedoms of the press and of assembly, among others. One of the more useful sections of the book is the Catalog of Poets and Composers, along with thumbnail sketches, where this information was known. The composers covered a wide range of the German literary experience, from Luther to Goethe, from Theodor Körner to the brothers Adolf and Karl Follen.

The book is arranged thematically with 99 *Weltliche Lieder*, 21 *Geistliche Lieder*, and 51 pieces of supplementary material. The volume also contains well-documented essays on the creation of *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt*, the political situation in which the songs were composed and collected, some useful notes about performance of the material, and a critical commentary. Although the price is perhaps a little toward the high end for a paperback edition, the songs, and especially the essays and bibliographical notes contained in it, make it a useful volume for students of folk music and of German-American history. If you wish to gain a better understanding of Germans who came of age during the *Vormärz*, and later emigrated to the United States to actualize their political freedom, *Deutsche Lieder für Jung und Alt* can be a valuable asset.

## **Pennsylvania German Words in Context, second edition.**

By C. Richard Beam. Lancaster, PA: Brookshire Printing, 2003. xxv+447 pages.

Beam's research continues to expand the knowledge of both the general reader and the specialist regarding Pennsylvania German lexicography and etymology. Beam's latest work, *Pennsylvania German Words in Context*, is an expansion and revision of the first edition published in 1997. The size and scope of the text has been doubled in this second edition. The author states that the primary motivating factor for both editions "were brought about by our current technological age, especially radio and television," although both spoken and written Pennsylvania German sources were incorporated into this project (i). Beam acquired and analyzed various radio and television programs conducted in the Pennsylvania German dialect over the last half-century for this project. Programs such as WLBR's – *Der Alde Kummraade* (in Lebanon), *The Allen G. Musser Show* (carried by the Blue Ridge Cable Company in the Ephrata area and beyond until 1993), and in connection with Musser's show the *Dot Fry videotapes*. *Die Wunnerfitz-Schtunn* hosted by David Hendricks on radio station WBYO (WBYN) in Boyertown was also utilized for eliciting dialect material. The second version of *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* was strengthened by the contributions of several gentlemen of Old Order Amish (OOA) and Mennonite background. Beam also diversifies his representation of Pennsylvania German lexicography by including supraregional dialect varieties data from Ontario, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Virginia, Ohio, New York, Indiana.

The representation of the data is very good for the most part. The lexemes are presented along with a sample sentence of their usage in Pennsylvania German. Thereafter diacritics indicate the source (speaker and date) from whence Beam elicited his data. Plural forms and gender are provided for nouns as well as past participle forms for the verb. For words that can not be easily traced back to Early New High or New High German a brief etymology is presented. Beam's etymological research, albeit a relatively small contribution to the overall text, serves as a tremendous asset for the serious Pennsylvania German scholar. For example, the term *zweg*—"in order"—can be traced through Middle High German back to Old High German (455). Beam effectively shows the myriad of historical linguistic dialects, Middle High German, Gothic, Old French to name a few, from which Pennsylvania German has gained its rich lexicon.

As regards to ascribing particular lexemes to English, the author falls into the trap that many of his predecessors researching Pennsylvania German have fallen prey to, namely, Beam jumps the gun prematurely in assuming that Pennsylvania German words that are pronounced the same and share similar semantic functions with English counterparts are the result of lexical borrowing with English. The fact is that many of these forms are also to be found in use in continental European German dialects. For example, Beam states that the word *Bord* in Pennsylvania German is a lexical borrowing from English (61). Rudolf Post, author of many texts pertaining to the dialects found in Rheinland-Pfalz and chief researcher behind the *Pfälzisches Wörterbuch*, provides an excellent summary of how Pennsylvania German scholars both past and present

errantly assert that *Bord* is of English origin (Rudolf Post, "The Lexicography of Palatinate German: Its Relevance for Pennsylvania German Research," *Studies on the Languages and Verbal Behavior of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith and Karl-Heinz Wandt, eds. [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989], 2:71-72):

He (the expert in Palatine dialectology) would immediately find in the first column, for example, the *Backbord* which for Lambert has the meaning "board, on which dough is rolled out." Through lack of knowledge of the underlying system, Lambert assumes that *Bord* and other compound forms of "-bord" (included in his list under *Bord* are *Bijjelbord*, *Schtellbord*, *Schussbord*) derive from the English *board*. Had he been able to consult the Palatine Dictionary, which obviously had not been written at that time, he would have seen that *Bord* and its cognates were highly productive in the Palatine dialect. He would have found, for example, the verb *borden* in the meaning of "to lay the floor with planks" and under the lemma *Backbord* that in the area of Ludwigshafen-Speyer, i.e., the exact area considered as the center of the region of origin of Pennsylvania German, this word has the meaning "board, on which dough is rolled out." . . . Other items of Lambert's list, such as *lischde* 'to enlist', *verschlappe* 'to bedraggle', soil, spill or *verschwappe* 'to swap off, trade off' can easily be explained as the basis of the dialects of the source area.

Although Beam's account of the etymology of Pennsylvania German is predominantly accurate, the ageless inquiry of exactly what words came into the dialect from contact with English requires further research.

Another minor problem that besets the representation of Beam's data is his inability to illustrate to the reader exactly which forms are unique to a particular region and which ones are more universal in their application in the Pennsylvania German speaking-world. For example, in another recent publication—the reprint of Ruth Bender's 1929 Master's Thesis at the University of Iowa: *The Kalonal/lowa Pennsylvania German Dialect* – Beam states "those readers who know the Pennsylvania German dialect well will be interested to note the variations in the dialect, which are reflected in this expanded and augmented word list" (iii). In neither this aforementioned text nor in *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* are forms marked for their uniqueness or universality.

Finally, the author's unwillingness to accept or utilize dialect publications produced by the Committee for Translation (Sugar creek, Ohio) excludes his research from achieving a supraregional, inclusive representation of Pennsylvania German. The author's primary concern for accepting these dialect publications lies in the fact that the Committee for Translation employs an English-based orthography. Provided the limited scope and nature of a book review, this is not the proper platform to launch a debate pertaining to orthographic representations of Pennsylvania German. With the growing literature that has been produced by the Committee for Translation in the past decade alone—*Es Nei Teshtament* (1994), *Vella Laysa* (1997) and *Pennsylvania Deitsh Dictionary* (Beachy 1999)—Beam may wish to reconsider his exclusion of such materials from his studies.

Aside from these minor issues, Beam's current work and contribution to the field of German-American Studies and Pennsylvania German studies over the last half-

century are invaluable to scholars and the general public alike. Without his efforts much of the full beauty of Pennsylvania German and its countless varieties would remain unknown and lost to current and future generations. Beam's *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* can not fairly be assessed without consideration of his research on the whole. In the last decade he has published the following works: *Plant Names of the Pennsylvania Germans: PA Dutch – Latin – English* (October 1997), *Pennsylvania German Words in Context, 1st Edition* (1997), *The Kalona/Iowa Pennsylvania-German Dialect* (March, 2003) and *Pennsylvania German Words in Context, 2nd Edition* (2003). All of these works find their origin at the heart of Beam's research: the creation of an unabridged, comprehensive dictionary of Pennsylvania German. Beam's current edition of *Pennsylvania German Words in Context* achieves this goal and will become a mainstay reference work for Pennsylvania German scholars in the years to come.

University of Kansas

Michael T. Putnam

### **"Dennoch!" A Biography of Pastor John Haefner.**

By Paul D. Ostrem. Muscatine, IA: privately printed, 2002. 46 pages. \$10.00.

Pastor Paul D. Ostrem of Zion Lutheran Church, Muscatine, Iowa has written a brief but competent biography of one of his predecessors at Zion Church. Pastor John Haefner was typical in many respects. He emigrated from Bavaria at the age of fourteen in 1889. Recognizing his earnestness and ability, a Lutheran pastor in Illinois arranged for him to attend Wartburg College in Waverly, Iowa and Wartburg Seminary in Dubuque, from which he graduated in 1897. After collegiate teaching and an initial pastorate, he was called to the pulpit in Muscatine in 1910. There he remained until his death in 1941.

John Haefner served twenty-one years as treasurer of the Iowa Synod. He wrote poetry, a newspaper for youth, and much else. He taught confirmation classes, and printed church documents. He was respected for his sincerity, integrity, and unwavering faith. He was forthright to the point of bluntness.

What makes this book worth reading for those outside the community and what is remarkable about Haefner is the harassment he received from super patriots during World War I and the dignity with which he met this challenge. In January, 1918, a group of businessmen went to the pastor's house to present him with a flag which they told him to fly at all times. Later, German books were burned in Muscatine, and Haefner's congregation decided to give up German language church services. One April day, the flag was seen lying of the ground beside the pastor's home. As a result, a crowd carrying placards paraded him through the streets and he was publicly lectured by town leaders. Then he was subjected to a two-day court trial for flag desecration. He was acquitted. Although he had flown the flag in good faith, apparently a child at play had taken it down and then abandoned it. That so much hostility was sparked by such a small event is all too typical of the atmosphere in America in the spring of

1918. Nonetheless, it is chilling to read about any of the many such events that then took place across the country.

If the reader wants to understand how the anti-German hysteria that America endured in early 1918 could lead to local absurdities, Ostrem's book is instructive.

*Northwest Missouri State University*

*Robert W. Frizzell*

**Letters of a German American Farmer: Jürnjakob Swehn Travels to America.**

*By Johannes Gillhoff. Translated by Richard Lorenz August Trost. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000. 180 pages. \$32.95 (cloth); \$17.95 (paper).*

This is an unusual but quite interesting piece of emigration fiction. The author, Johannes Gillhoff, was the son of a Mecklenburg village schoolmaster who corresponded with 250 people from his area who went to America in the second half of the nineteenth century. Gillhoff spent eighteen years using the letters received by his father to create a fictional rural laborer from Mecklenburg, Jürnjakob Swehn, who became a successful Iowa farmer, and who, from the time of his emigration in 1868 for a period of about 40 years, wrote long letters back to his former teacher in his native village.

In most respects, these fictional letters are believable as the product of a German-American farmer, but they often sound more like a garrulous farmer talking at the blacksmith shop or after church than the kinds of immigrant letters that have survived to our day. The book was written in *Missingsch*, that is, a mixture of High and Low German. The translator has rendered this rather skillfully into quite colloquial American rural English. This work has been popular in Germany since it was published in 1917.

Jürnjakob, the fictional writer of the purported letters, was an intelligent man, but of very limited education and experience so that he could express himself only in colloquial, simple, and limited ways. He was honest, straightforward, industrious, frugal, self-reliant and pious. He was also awkward, clumsy, and often obtuse concerning the needs and desires of women. In short, excepting his need to express himself in lengthy letters, he was much like thousands of other north German peasants who became American farmers. The letters deal with such subjects as might be expected: the trip to America, frontier farming, livestock, family members, other immigrants, founding and supporting a church, maintaining a parochial school, etc. A story about a miserly immigrant farmer who tried to cheat a pastor, (and how the skinflint was undone) also appears in other German language fiction about America, perhaps because such people were so often present in actual German-American communities. The scene of Jürnjakob's mother on her deathbed is especially touching. It points out how reluctant to express affection north Germans typically were. Many incidents in the letters illustrate the foibles that make us all human.

For someone who never traveled to America, it is surprising just how many American details Gillhoff got right. But one has to comment that log cabins in American were not built by setting up large, vertical logs at the corners. And the translator is in error that the name of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina is evidence of "the arrival

of Low Germans." (xiv) The county was formed in 1763, one year after King George III of Great Britain took as his bride Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz. Both the county and the county seat of Charlotte were named to honor the queen.

A reader who wants a sympathetic and skillfully rendered display of the outlook of a typical north German immigrant farmer in the nineteenth century Midwest will find no better source than the letters of the fictional Jürnjakob Swehm.

*Northwest Missouri State University*

*Robert W. Frizzell*

### **Adolf Douai, 1819-1888: The Turbulent Life of a German Forty-Eighter in the Homeland and in the United States.**

*By Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 22. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. 365 pages. \$70.95.*

Anyone interested in the German Revolution of 1848/49, Forty-Eighters in the United States, the German-American radical press of the mid-nineteenth century, or German schools in the U.S. will eventually run into this name: Adolf Douai. With Karl Heinzen, Rudolph Dulon, Friedrich Sorge, Julius Fröbel and many others, Douai belongs to the group of German-American radicals who, after they were actively involved in the political uprising in Europe, were forced to make a living as refugees in North America. Although the name Douai appears frequently in many contexts, the man behind it remained obscure.

Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson has written a biography of Douai that traces the steps of his unusual life in his homeland and in the United States. In her previous study *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849*, Randers-Pehrson provided a general overview of the social settings and the political dimensions of the turbulent time. In this biography she takes a different approach—bottom up—now looking closely at an individual whose life was deeply affected by the times he lived in. In this work Randers-Pehrson exemplifies the revolution of 1848 by concentrating on the small state of Saxe-Altenburg and on Douai as an individual. The reader learns about pre-revolutionary political and social conditions in the state, personal participation in undercover activities, and what consequences this involvement brought along in post-revolutionary time. Despite the fact that Douai led an uncommon life, it is still illustrative for the lives of many refugees. It is a story about struggle, loss, being true to one's convictions, but also about love, pride, and success.

Douai grows up in Saxe-Altenburg, a small Thuringian state. Although the financial situation of the family must have been difficult at times he receives a good education. After studying theology in Leipzig the young man becomes a tutor in Estonia, where he is directly confronted with the clash between the wealth of his employer, and the poverty, famines, and sickness of his peasants. During this time Douai gains his deep understanding of social struggle and the underlying political conditions. Furthermore he works on a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Königsberg.

After his return to Altenburg he establishes his own school and begins his long career as an educator. Moreover, Douai becomes actively involved in the pre-revolutionary political debates. As an elected delegate to the *Altenburg Landtag* and co-editor of the radical newspaper *Altenburger Volksblatt*, he evolves into one of the leading revolutionary figures in the state of Saxe-Altenburg. By mid-1849 reaction to the failed revolution shows its effects. Douai is deprived of his status as a candidate in theology and, therefore, is no longer qualified to head his school. The loss of his job is coupled with constant surveillance and a failure to meet the mortgage payments on the house. In 1849 and 1851 he serves two prison sentences. After that Douai, his wife Agnes von Beust, and their four children emigrate to the United States, thus following several relatives who had already done so in previous years.

Ill prepared, disappointed by the turn politics at home had taken, but with hopes for the future, the family arrives in Texas, where they settle in New Braunfels. During the first years the Douais can hardly make ends meet. Again he creates a school, becomes a cigar maker, tries to publish a newspaper, and organizes music events. All of this remains fruitless and the family moves to San Antonio. Here he becomes editor of the newly established *San Antonio Zeitung*. Furthermore, he establishes a network of contacts with Frederick Law Olmsted, Karl Heinzen, Friedrich Kapp and other intellectuals. In Texas Douai turns to the political debates of the time, mainly the question of slavery. With Olmsted he supports the abolitionist movement and tries to design plans for German immigrants to settle in Western Texas and establish a free state. He writes for the *Deutsche Monatshefte* in Philadelphia and is co-founder (with Friedrich Kapp and Julius Fröbel) of the *Atlantische Studien* published in Göttingen. However, his fight against nativism, the Know-Nothing Party, and the struggle of daily life drains his strength. By mid-1856 the growing family moves to Hoboken, New Jersey. But also on the east coast Douai does not seem to find his place. The family continues to move from place to place and Douai tries to support it with teaching, lecturing, organizing musical events, and writing. In the following years he produces a series of German grammar texts, primers and readers, as well as a novel (*Fata Morgana*, 1858). In New York City he becomes editor-in-chief of the German *New Yorker Demokrat*. His support of the Republican Party is rewarded with a directorship of an Academy in Hoboken in the 1860s. The constantly growing family is often joined by relatives, friends and their children who live with them.

Douai remains interested in politics. He is on the executive committee for the *Bund für deutsche Freiheit und Einheit* (League for German Freedom and Unity) that works secretly both in Germany and abroad in the hope of a renewed revolutionary uprising. Furthermore, he is a devoted Marxist and supports the Workmen's Party. At the end of his life Douai has produced an *œuvre* of over fifty titles and has remained at the center of social and political discussions throughout much of the nineteenth century.

Although Randers-Pehrson traces Douai's life in chronological order, she has added two more chapters in the end. One is about Douai's wife Agnes von Beust who had married Douai in Altenburg in 1843 and had shared her life with him until his death in 1888. Born into an aristocratic family, she was reared in a comfortable environment much different from Douai himself. Apart from their social differences, the fact that



her husband was at the center of political unrest in Altenburg and later decided to emigrate to the United States must not have been what she had envisioned at the outset of their marriage. The mother of ten children, she was at the center of the family, ran a large household, bore the main responsibility for children, boarders, relatives, and friends - later even for grandchildren. Through many moves, new homes, constant financial worries, and a lost inheritance she remained dutiful, loyal, and supportive, leading an astonishing life herself.

The second is on Douai's relationship with Karl Heinzen. Although both men are similar in many ways, both have strong egos that get in their ways. The two radicals have ample determination and little tolerance for opinions differing from their own. Instead of joining forces they split and become each other's most despised rival. The story is a common one among German-American intellectuals. Here it is told again.

Randers-Pehrson ties Douai's biography into the larger picture of the time. What often remains abstract and dry comes to life in the light of the biography of this individual. The person of Douai is well chosen because he is a typical representative of the 1848 group. In this respect it is quite astonishing that it has taken so long for a biography to appear. Well educated and fairly well established, these men had to make a choice between the security of a home and income and their individual convictions. In a foreign country they soon learned that their skills were hardly sufficient to support their families and the political scene not necessarily what they had hoped for.

For the first half of the book Randers-Pehrson stays close to her previous topic, drawing much from her book *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849*. Although Douai immigrated at the age of 33 and dies at the age of 69, more than half of the book deals with his life in Germany and the pre-revolutionary political situation, thus drawing a detailed picture of the time. She succeeds in tracing Douai's endless moves and occupations in the United States, thereby illustrating the desperate attempts to find a place where he belongs, the struggle with contemporaries who support or despise him, the network and connections the 1848ers moved in, and their personal battles. To understand the movement of 1848 is mainly to understand the individuals who were at its center. Here Randers-Pehrson has given us another glimpse of such a life. She has drawn on many sources, primarily however on the unpublished autobiography of Douai himself. Although an autobiography usually offers many pitfalls and needs to be looked at with care, Randers-Pehrson has used it carefully, thus making her book a worthwhile addition to the literature on the 48ers in Germany and the United States.

*Bonn, Germany*

*Katja Rampelmann*

### **Land without Nightingales: Music in the Making of German-America.**

*Edited by Philip V. Bohlman and Otto Holzapfel. Studies of the Max Kade Institute for German American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Madison: MKI, 2002. 310 pages + audio CD. \$49.95.*

Music has been important in German-American culture from the beginning until today. Philip Bohlman, an ethnomusicologist at the University of Chicago, and Otto Holzapfel of the German Folk-Song Archive (*Deutsches Volksliedarchiv*) in Freiburg, have put together an impressive volume on the wide range of German musical traditions in the United States. In ten essays the authors explore the many facets of an ethnic musical culture – its historical dimensions as well as its contemporary forms. The book makes one point very clear: there is no homogeneous form, no “precise nature” of German-American music. Instead the reader understands that the German-American musical tradition is like a large patchwork quilt in which numerous musical cultures are interwoven, and in which various interactions among producers, products, and means of production combined lead to a constant definition of a German-American musical identity.

The book is divided into three parts. The first part, “Making German-America,” includes three rather unrelated pieces by Kathleen Neils Conzen, Leo Schelbert, and Laurence Libin. Conzen explores where and on what occasions music was produced among Catholics in the rural area of Sauk, Wisconsin, from 1845 to 1920. Her study of the rural setting suggests that music “became a significant bridge to a broader, non-ethnic cultural world” (41) and that—although it might have been music produced by German immigrants—it was seen simply as “community music” that not necessarily separated but integrated German immigrants into the rural communities. Whereas Conzen’s picture is built on historical sources, Leo Schelbert takes a literary approach. He analysis six Swiss folksongs that treat the topic of immigration from the perspective of the ones left behind as well as the ones leaving the homeland, reflecting the attitudes of compatriots on the topic. The essay is supplemented by the song texts in Swiss-German and English translation. In contrast to the previous two authors Laurence Libin turns his attention to the commercial activities of early Moravian-American music. In his piece he examines the account books of the community of Nazareth and concludes that the “diversity and frequency of music-related commerce” (106) demonstrate a close integration of music and daily life.

The second part on “Religion” turns to the rich musical tradition among the many German-speaking religious groups in the United States. Whereas Gregg Roeber investigates the power struggles over Lutheran Hymnodies in the eighteenth century, Philip Bohlman tries to construct a “Historiography of German-American Sacred Music.” By looking at German Lutheranism and the German-Jewish reform tradition, Bohlman again stresses the point that German-American musical tradition is shaped by numerous religious musical influences that all co-exist next to each other and make up the rich fabric of musical culture. The most personal essay, however, is by Helmut Wulz on the “Musical Life among the Canadian Hutterites,” in which the author describes his personal experience with the Hutterites. Hereby he not only gives an

account of the history, present life, dress, and views of his Hutterites friends but also explores what language and song mean for the identity of the community.

The third part is entitled "Modern Identities" and includes articles by James P. Leary, Alan R. Burdette and Rudolf Pietsch. They focus on how and by whom the German-American musical tradition is carried on and formed today. Leary looks at the history of an instrument – the German Concertina in the Upper Midwest – the history of Concertina clubs, importers and manufacturers, touring artists and recordings, and the ethnic identity the musicians connect with today. Present day identity formation is also the focus of Burdette's essay on German-American singing societies. As a case study he looks at the Evansville *Germania Männerchor*, founded in 1900 and still going today. Although most singers in the society don't have the language skill any more and hardly understand what they are singing, the repertoire still contains a number of German songs. But how do clubs negotiate their past with their present identity? Burdette examines what he calls the "traditionalization process"—the way people connect back to the past by placing positive valence on activities or objects. The final essay deals with the Burgenland-Americans and their musical heritage that feeds from Eastern European traditions.

As demonstrated above the book defines German-American in a broad sense. All essays explore important aspects of German-American music, thereby making clear that we are looking at a very rich and wealthy tradition. German music in the United States is a large orchestra with many different instruments, from different places and different times. They all have their place in the tradition. Furthermore, as in previous times the present day German musical culture is constantly redefined. Each new singer, each new musician positions him- or herself within this tradition, picks those aspects he or she can identify with, rejects others, thus constantly creating new identities. Furthermore, the steady interplay of German and American or other ethnic traditions add to this colorful musical fabric.

It is an intriguing book on an important aspect of German-American culture. It takes the reader to many different places and different times. All essays are very well written and carefully researched. Besides the "music" the readers learn much about the contexts in which music was and is imbedded, its creators, its musicians, and the social settings where it was and is performed. Most essays contain song texts, photographs, and useful bibliographies. Although all articles are quite separate from each other the book is a homogeneous piece on German-American musical traditions. This is enforced by a well-written introduction and an index at the end. However, the division into three parts was not necessary since most essays could have also found their place in another category. Conzen's piece on the German Catholics could have gone under "Religion"; so could have the piece on the Moravians from Libin. A very worthy addition to the book is an audio CD that includes twenty-five songs recorded at different historical times in the United States. The music reflects traditional sound prints and represents choral singing, sacred traditions, polka and dances, concertina traditions, and others. The reader finds references in the essays to most of them. Thus the book and the CD together make a fine visual and audio experience. An extensive

commentary at the front of the book reveals information on the songs, the recoding and the musicians.

This book is a superb example of German-American scholarship. It presents the very wide scope of the topic at hand. The diverse contributions have brought together historians, musicologists, and folklorists. Their different voices have added greatly to the large choir of German-American studies.

*Bonn, Germany*

*Katja Rampelmann*

### **German-American Studies: Selected Essays.**

*By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 24. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. 156 pages. \$57.95.*

During recent years, German-American scholars have encountered difficulty in integrating the study of their passion into the mainstream of school and college curricula across the continent. German-Americans do, in fact, make up twenty-five percent of the population in the United States, making it the largest ethnic group in the nation. In the book "New German-American Studies," Don Heinrich Tolzmann gives both a historical reflection and a modern view of the field in North America. The volume consists of a series of essays dedicated to the past, present, and future of the field of German-American studies.

Tolzmann begins by reflecting on the role of the German-American element during the colonization of North America and the struggles of establishing ethnic pride throughout subsequent centuries. Appreciation of the German heritage of the United States on occasion has proven difficult considering the negative public attitude associated with certain elements of German history and culture. During World War I, for example, "all things German were eliminated or shunned—street names were altered, books were burned, theaters were closed, and the German language was banned by state councils from schools, churches, telephone conversations, and semipublic spaces" (4). The 1960s and 1970s were times of more acceptance and understanding of many things. The era also served to foster an ethnic revival across the nation. Alongside growing public curiosity came new or reborn societies dedicated to the study of the German heritage of America. Cities which had experienced a large German influence began to reexamine their roots, by holding festivals and remembering their old customs. These represented something of a return to good times for those interested in the German-American element.

Tolzmann then discusses specific achievements of the Society for German-American Studies and the importance of colleges and universities that promote the study of German language and culture. The SGAS was established in 1968 as an informal group for those interested in German-American studies; today it is one of the largest such societies in North America. Worth noting is that Tolzmann himself has played a major role in the resurgence of German-American pride and works as a professor and scholar at the University of Cincinnati. He has helped make the German-

American Studies program at that University one of the best in the nation, including a library collection of German-Americana named for the great teacher and scholar Heinrich H. Fick. Fick was able to meet many influential authors during his time; "He, therefore, amassed a library of their works which is one of the finest in the U.S." (74).

The book ends with an examination of historical correctness in German-American studies and "demonstrates the relevance that the field has with regard to a whole range of dimensions, issues, and questions relating to the past, present, and future." (43) For example, during the World Wars, and particularly during World War I, many things occurred to drive underground or even eradicate manifest demonstrations of Germanness from America. Many names that sounded German were changed, from street signs to surnames. After the wars, these were not returned to their original form, but rather remained in their altered state. At the end of the book, Tolzmann challenges the reader to continue studying the German heritage of the United States, as there are many areas that need further research, but also praises past efforts to preserve and understand the contributions of the German element.

The essays in this book reflect the importance of ethnic revival and the necessity of continued study of German language and culture. Tolzmann clearly demonstrates that, despite occasional setbacks which have hampered an understanding of our German heritage, the German-American legacy continues to grow. He leaves little doubt that German-Americans are becoming more aware of their heritage and more willing to partake in its celebrations, also that the Society for German-American Studies and universities dedicated to the teaching of German-American studies will aid in the desire to learn about the German impact upon North America. With this book, Tolzmann has excelled in his attempt to push forward interest in and understanding of German-American studies for a general audience.

*Central Missouri State University*

*Ryan Rumpf*

**The Gág Family: German-Bohemian Artists in America.**

*By Julie L'Enfant. Afton, MN: Afton Historical Society Press, 2002. 200 pages. \$35.00.*

In 1991 the German-Bohemian Monument was dedicated in New Ulm, Minnesota. Created to honor members of that group who resided there and in the area, the statue was designed to portray kinship, with family representing its dominant theme. Among its features are 350 surnames etched into it, listing the immigrants who settled in the area and contributed to its prosperity. As New Ulm celebrates its sesquicentennial in 2004, few—if any—German-Bohemian names continue to resonate in the community like that of the Gág family, the subject of a remarkable book by St. Paul resident Julie L'Enfant.

Born in Walk, Bohemia in 1858, Anton Gág (originally Gaag) emigrated to the United States in 1873 and settled in New Ulm around 1879. Already an island of German and German-Bohemian culture, the city proved an ideal haven for the young

immigrant, who strove to build a life comparable to that of the homeland rather than assimilate to the ways of his new country. As *L'Enfant* notes in her introduction, Gág in many ways fit the stereotypical image of the Bohemian artistic figure: handsome and sensitive-looking, he possessed an agreeable tenor voice, was accomplished on several musical instruments, had two beautiful wives and indulged in at least one scandalous love affair, and was constantly poor. His art was in large part representative of the European tradition of a "jobbing painter," a versatile craftsman whose labor endeavors to create beautiful, harmonious environments. *L'Enfant* draws a clear parallel in this regard between Gág's style and that of prominent French contemporary Pierre-Auguste Renoir, while noting that Gág held less concern for innovation and fashion than for truth and poetic feeling for nature, in line with nineteenth-century Romanticism and faithful to German-Bohemian tradition, whereby artistic endeavors were "rooted in love of nature, devotion to family, and the integration of art and life" (18).

In the case of Wanda Gág—the eldest and eventually best-known child of Anton—the apple did not fall far from the tree. Like her father, Wanda drew strongly upon German-Bohemian traditions in formulating her artwork, even more overtly so than did Anton and in accordance with his deathbed command that she finish what he had begun. Though she demonstrated a sense of individuality and freedom from existing academic molds, Wanda shared her father's disdain for new artistic styles and devotion to broad humanistic values at the core of their art. In 1917, after graduating from the Minneapolis School of Art, Wanda left Minnesota with a scholarship for the Art Students League in New York. The experience was formative for Wanda, who spent much of the remainder of her career there and ultimately passed away in the city in 1946. Freed from the conservative outlook of her previous schools and residences, Wanda quickly fell in with instructors and fellow students of a decidedly anti-establishment mentality, encouraging individual expression as part of a heightened emphasis on the self. Sexuality in particular became a dominant theme both of Wanda's artwork and personal life, drawing heavily upon relationships forged during her early years in New York, as evidenced in a March 1921 diary entry: "Art is my greatest passion, but at the present, just plain everyday passion is at the head of everything" (104). Sexually liberated and proud of her ability both to come to terms with and discuss it openly, Wanda quickly evolved in artistic circles into a prototype for the "modern woman" of the era, though today she is best known for being a successful printmaker and children's book illustrator during the New York period.

Although Anton and Wanda were the most prolific and recognized of the Gág artists, youngest sibling Flavia (1907-1978) also merits discussion in the book. Guided initially by Wanda into writing children's books—as a reliable source of income; she broke no new ground in a literary sense—Flavia achieved greater success as an illustrator, painter, and even as a music composer. According to *L'Enfant* and unlike Wanda, Flavia would remain a true Bohemian for the remainder of her career, more interested in love and creative satisfaction than critical acceptance or other conventional reward. Unique to this book are her unpublished diaries, which serve as an important source

of new information on the Gágs and the New York art scene during the 1920s, as well as on Wanda's private life during this particularly influential period.

*The Gág Family* is thoughtfully laid out and designed to give a warm impression of its subject matter. A "Gág Family Chronology" precedes the main text, offering the reader a brief but enriching introduction to the individuals to be discussed and the key events of their lives. Profusely illustrated, the book features dozens of photos of Gág family members and associates, as well as many reproductions of significant artwork—much of which appears in full color. Notes are provided in a special section at the back and are conveniently listed both according to chapter of appearance and, at the top of each page, by the range of pages on which they occur. The bibliography is extensive and categorized according to archival and secondary sources. An index is included at the end of the book and offers thorough coverage of both proper names and subject matter.

Throughout the eleven chapters that make up the text, L'Enfant brings clarity to the salient points in the lives of the three Gágs, as well as other family members where appropriate. Her discussion of their art, its background, and how it fits within the context of its time and place is particularly well grounded, the author drawing upon her extensive background in art history to draw cogent conclusions. Yet the real attraction of the narrative passages is the human warmth that prevails throughout the work. Through solid scholarly research and, especially, strategic use of diaries and other personal correspondence, L'Enfant succeeds admirably in creating a text that draws the reader into the lives and livelihoods of the Gágs, showing both their personal and professional sides in terms that resonate on a basic level. It is fundamentally a success story, and in the end one which validates those primary German-Bohemian values—devotion to family and the integration of art and life—by which the Gágs, and by extension many other immigrants in and around New Ulm, so faithfully lived and worked.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

**The Literary Legacy of a "Poor Devil": The Life and Work of Robert Reitzel (1849-1898).**

By Randall P. Donaldson. *New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien*, vol. 14. New York: Peter Lang, 2002. 244 pages. \$60.95.

Robert Reitzel (1849-98), revolutionary humanist, brilliant journalist and splendid poet, was well known among German-Americans of the nineteenth century as a charismatic public speaker and as the editor and main contributor to the weekly iconoclastic literary journal *Der arme Teufel*, which forms a repository of Reitzel's extraordinarily fresh writing. His prose is set apart from that of other German-American writers of the time whose work, for the most part, remains epigonal. Indeed, his lucid, crisp prose, heightened by playful and later in his life by tragic irony, established him as an extraordinary German-American writer. In Germany Michael Georg Conrad,

editor of *Die Gesellschaft*, recognized the freshness and literary importance of Reitzel's work and consequently invited him to contribute to his newly founded avant-garde literary journal.

Reitzel had emigrated to the United States in 1870. He kept an extensive journal of the first year of his wild and colorful experiences in America. The entries of this journal later formed the skeleton of his autobiographical novel *Abenteuer eines Grünen* that he serialized in *Der arme Teufel*. After a number of months of trying his hand at various odd jobs, living off of the land and leading the life of a hobo, he finally ended up in Baltimore, where a certain Reverend Pister took an interest in Reitzel and strongly encouraged him to study for the ministry. In the summer of 1871 Reitzel was offered a position as pastor of the First Reformed Church of Washington D.C. However, within a year his position clearly became untenable, after he had come to the conclusion that he did not believe in God and declared that love was his only dogma, his sole religion.

A man of great conviction, Reitzel never tired of championing the poor and the oppressed in his *Armer Teufel*. His usual approach was exuberant in tone and playful in manner. However, the normally cheerful tone and carefree banter diminished drastically as the events of the Haymarket Tragedy unfolded. Seven policemen had been killed as a consequence of a bomb that was thrown by an unknown assassin in Chicago's Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886. It all ended with the hanging of four presumably innocent anarchists on November 11, 1887. While the events in Chicago had captured Reitzel's interest immediately, they became a consuming passion as time went on. The execution of the anarchists was the most devastating blow of his life. Reitzel had eloquently and vigorously defended them in the pages of the *Armer Teufel*, and was one of the speakers at Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago where the four anarchists were eulogized. His deeply moving eulogy expressed defiantly his feeling of nausea, shame, sorrow and rage. As each subsequent anniversary of November 11 approached, Reitzel would write in his *Armer Teufel* and speak at various meetings regarding the Haymarket Affair, though his rage in time gave way to bitter grief and disillusionment. During the last four years of his life Reitzel was confined to his bed with various afflictions. Nevertheless, he continued to write and edit his paper, to see friends and acquaintances. His will to live remained unbroken to the end.

In his well researched and very readable book, Randall Donaldson documents the extraordinary popularity of *Der arme Teufel*. At its peak the circulation may have reached 7,000. Although Reitzel wrote in an idiosyncratic, humorous way on a variety of topics, his main emphasis was literature. He not only commented on established American and European literature, but also was instrumental in introducing to his German-American audiences modern German literature of his time. In doing so he covered a vast area: from Shakespeare to Schiller to Scheffel, from Hawthorne to Heine to Holz, from Lamb to Lenau to Liliencron. Anthologies published after Reitzel's death relied almost exclusively on the *Armer Teufel*, and it is there where practically his complete literary output can be found.

Donaldson's very informative and useful Preface and Introduction to his book is followed by an equally interesting account of Robert Reitzel's life. In addition, a general



chapter on German-American society from 1875 to 1900 provides the necessary context for an understanding of Reitzel's work. Chapters 3 to 6, the main body of the book, deal in some detail with Reitzel's literary activities. The appendix contains detailed endnotes, an extensive bibliography and an index. Five of Reitzel's prose pieces in the appendix will allow readers to judge for themselves the quality of Reitzel's writing and ascertain if they agree with Donaldson's assessment, shared by Albert Faust, Adolf Zucker as well as by other critics, namely that Reitzel bears the distinction of being the best German prose stylist in nineteenth-century America. Finally, also included in the appendix are three complete facsimile issues of *Der arme Teufel*. These sample issues, while indeed giving readers a good impression of what the journal looked like, unfortunately are reproduced in such small print as to prevent a reading of the text with the naked eye.

The purpose of his study, Donaldson states, is to analyze and evaluate Reitzel's original belletristic and essayistic contributions, as well as his comments on literature, all seen within the context of German-American literature. In this, Donaldson succeeds admirably. His book truly broadens and deepens our critical understanding of Reitzel and his work.

Westminster College in Pennsylvania

Jake Erhardt

### **Heimat: A Critical Theory of the German Idea of Homeland.**

By Peter Blickle. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2002. 186 pages. \$59.00.

The German word *Heimat* famously resists accurate translation, and thus lends itself to critical studies designed to sort out and explain the various applications of the term. Blickle acknowledges in his introduction that the existing scholarship on *Heimat* is vast, but notes that previous studies have largely confined themselves to case studies of *Heimat* in specific contexts. According to Blickle, scholars have not really engaged the subjectivity of the notion of *Heimat* itself; rather, the vagueness of the term has been so accepted that it seems "that no one can say anything wrong about *Heimat*" (13). Blickle does not set out to prove anyone wrong, but he does seek to fill a void in the scholarship with this cross-disciplinary critical study of the *idea* of *Heimat*. He begins with the notion that the German idea of *Heimat* "enfolds the public with the private, the individual with the social, the self with nature, dream with reality, utopia with landscape; it seeks the premodern in the modern, the noble peasant in the burgher, the inside in the outside" (12).

Blickle's theoretical approach to the idea of *Heimat* walks a tightrope of seeming contradictions, but with repeated readings it falls into place. The theoretical underpinnings of this study are developed in the chapter "Heimat, Modernity, and Nation." Drawing first and foremost on the ideas of Jürgen Habermas and Anthony Giddens, Blickle positions *Heimat* within the context of modernism. He finds that "Heimat in the modern age becomes an antimodern idea" (27). In other words, Blickle sees the idea of *Heimat* invoked as a reaction to the anxieties induced by the *Entzweiung*

and *Entfremdung* that accompany the modern era. More compelling is the assertion that "Heimat in its ideal form is a modern idea that resists modernity" (31). *Heimat* constructs jibe with modern conceptions of nature, of women, of children, and identity. At the same time, other tenets of modernism have no place in conceptions of *Heimat*. There is no "faith in impersonal principles," which Giddens identifies as a major modern development, nor are reflexivity and reason a component of *Heimat*.

The remaining chapters examine the pre-modern—modern—anti-modern tensions of the idea of *Heimat* within the contexts of identity, feminism, nature, and innocence. In "Heimat and Concepts of Identity" Blickle begins to explore the more negative implications of *Heimat*: the sense of belonging that seems central to the notion of *Heimat* is to some degree created by the overt exclusion of the Other. This idea is explored further in the chapter "Heimat and the Feminine," which reveals *Heimat* largely to be a sentimental male construct. Blickle finds that "the idea of Heimat participates in the historical idealization of the feminine and maternal and, thus, in the limitation of opportunities for self-realization in women" (83). The final chapter, "Heimat and Innocence (in Childhood, in Religion, in Language, and in *Antibeimat*"), links the idealization of the feminine with a romanticized view of "the innocent, sexually unaware, unself-conscious state of childhood" (131). Having given his readers an awareness of the darker implications of the idea of *Heimat*, Blickle concludes with what amounts to an appeal for understanding and tolerance: "This highly positive and innocent relation to a spatially conceived notion of identity, one that is taken as standing outside of politics and only vaguely related to any past other than the shinningly innocent past of nature and childhood, needs to be better understood both by its users and by those who study German language, culture, history, and literature" (157).

Wabash College

J. Gregory Redding

### **German Heritage Guide to the Greater Cincinnati Area.**

By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2003. 120 pages. \$15.95.

One can argue convincingly that no single ethnic group has contributed more than the German-Americans to the cultural and economic development of Cincinnati and environs. One can claim with equal conviction that no scholar has done more than Don Tolzmann to document and promote the history of German-Americans in Cincinnati. He presents in this volume an effective overview of the many contributions made to the area by people of German-speaking heritage.

Tolzmann begins with a "German Heritage Timeline" that details representative events in the German-American history of the area, ranging from the arrival of future mayor David Ziegler in 1790 to the opening of the Hofbräuhaus Newport in 2003. Interesting to note is the number of highlights from the second half of the twentieth century, suggesting that contributions by the German element are ongoing. Some of

the people and places that are chronicled in the timeline are then amplified with further detail in the next chapter, "German Heritage Highlights." Chapters four and five describe the buildings, monuments, and places relevant to German-American history in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine district and in Covington, Kentucky, while chapter six details the museums and libraries that document this history. Key to all of these is the third chapter, a "German Heritage Who's Who" that gives brief biographical entries on important German-Americans who were responsible for many of the German heritage sites described elsewhere. Their legacy continues with the various clubs and organizations that remain active to this day, such as the Citizens League, the Turners, and the Schlaraffia Society, all of which are described in the sixth and final chapter.

Scholars of German-Americana will already be familiar with much of the content of this book, although they will appreciate the helpful endnotes and selective bibliography. But scholars are not really the target audience, as Tolzmann suggests in his brief introduction. Rather, this guide provides a good overview for the casual reader, particularly those who are curious about their own German heritage. It would be an excellent ancillary text to German-American history courses or modules at high schools, colleges, and universities in the tri-state area, and could also serve as a model for similar volumes on other cities with a strong German-American presence.

*Wabash College*

*J. Gregory Redding*

**Der rothe Doktor von Chicago: Ein deutsch-amerikanisches Auswandererschicksal.**

*By Axel W.-O. Schmidt. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003. 602 pages. \$79.95.*

It is rare to read about a life fundamentally molded by two earthshaking historical events. Dr. Ernst Schmidt was a young man when the revolutions of 1848 unfolded, causing the young student to become completely committed to what E. J. Hobsbawm has called the seminal experience of the nineteenth century—"the springtime of the peoples," which promised that a new order was finally to emerge from the antiquated and corrupt institutions that had dominated European societies for centuries. To everyone's dismay, this great outburst of creative energy proved to be merely an ineffectual longing, and those devotees of change were suddenly alone and criminalized and in most cases forced to flee from the oppressive systems that had created them.

Dr. Ernst Schmidt was one of those people who had fled Germany and arrived in America, hoping to find the fruition of his dreams of a just and equitable society. Like many 48ers, he soon found a cause to identify with and became active in the anti-slavery crusade. He also found new heroes to support fervently, like Lincoln, in whom he could invest all his dreams of a fundamentally new and liberated society. However, once again, he was in the wrong place at the wrong time. The "Big Barbecue," as Vernon Parrington has called it, was about to emerge from the fissured society that had finally unified itself by force and in the process had created a national market to develop and monopolize the vast resources of a still unchartered continent. Since violence was experienced as an endemic feature of American culture in the nineteenth

century, especially class violence, it was inevitable that a person like Dr. Ernst Schmidt would find himself embroiled in the vicious struggles between labor and capital. Out of the desperate contradictions of nineteenth-century capitalism, Dr. Schmidt was impelled to follow one path: to embrace socialism. But, once again, there was an event waiting to alter fundamentally the entire course of his life.

The Haymarket Affair (1886) and later the Haymarket trial was the first of a series of legal events, akin to the later trials of Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs, that was to reveal the conflictual nature of American society—a society that was torn between the Enlightenment ideals of justice and equality on the one hand and the economic forces and interests that attempted to redefine these ideals to conform to their own agenda of the marketplace on the other. The overriding issue of those years, the conflict between labor and capital, became the prime mover of Dr. Schmidt's own life. In brief, Dr. Ernst Schmidt's life could be recounted as the narrative of one person's abortive struggle to realize the most noble principles and ideals enshrined in his age. The fact that he failed and the fact that the ideals he espoused also became corrupted and later declared by the established discourse to be irrelevant and even pernicious is the stuff of great drama and even tragedy.

Sadly enough, Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography retreats from such dimensions. His study contents itself with providing a faithful chronological account of Schmidt's birthplace in Ebern and then proceeds to recount his family background, his early education at the Jesuit school in Bamberg, and then later his life as a political revolutionary in Franconia, until Dr. Schmidt's decision to emigrate to the United States in 1857. Dr. Schmidt's new life in the United States is also described meticulously, especially his political commitment, which remained unaltered after his arrival in America. There is a remarkable energy infusing this work: the overwhelming need to furnish detail and list sources, and finally to fill in every possible context. This means that the reader is presented with a synoptic treatment of every individual Dr. Schmidt came into contact with. It also means that every historical movement or event or even landscape is delineated with a relentless wish to explain every little detail, regardless of how germane. This proclivity of the author provides instruction, but after a while it also becomes largely encyclopedic and often leads to questionable digressions. It is obvious that the author's allegiance is to positivism, which in some ways, given his legal background, is analogous to a legal briefing of a case, i.e., the presentation of the facts must be based on impeccable sources and careful research, with the result that forays into Dr. Schmidt's life demanding insight and empathy are not very frequent.

It is fair to say that this very careful and assiduous study avoids larger historical and psychological issues that would provide us with a deeper understanding of Dr. Schmidt's struggles. The primary goal of the biography appears to be to document the life of a notable German-American personage. Another important desideratum is to recount the local history of the German-American experience in the Midwest. In the course of the narrative we also become familiar with an array of famous German-Americans, who made essential contributions to the history of the period.

However, the author's dedication to fact is tempered by another structural element, which may derive from the same belief that truth can finally be ascertained by merely

presenting the sources. Following this dictum, the biographer lets his subject speak for himself throughout long sections of the narrative, i.e., the principle of embedding structuring this biography finally brings the reader closer to Dr. Ernst Schmidt. We come to know his voice through his articles and letters, which are cited verbatim, and later in the biography through his poetry and sketches and translations. Thus, there is a dual voice in this biography—the voice of the faithful biographer carefully reciting the sources and contexts and the voice of the subject himself, who reveals himself to be a person, whose dominant passion is the elimination of injustice and human misery. It may be that his medical profession made Dr. Schmidt acutely aware of human suffering, which in turn made him not only wish to cure individual illnesses, but also those societal maladies which provide the breeding ground for human ailments and disorders. We never learn where this special sensitivity to the depredations of the powerful actually had its source.

At any rate, Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography of Dr. Ernst Schmidt takes a curious turn. It unexpectedly metamorphoses itself from biography to autobiography. The Haymarket outrage is the catalyst. It is as if the voice of the scrupulous biographer can no longer contain itself. The biographer must now permit the principal protagonist to dominate the stage. The last two hundred pages of Axel W.-O. Schmidt's biography comprise speeches and letters composed by his subject, with minimal commentary by the biographer. The monstrosity of this event enables Dr. Schmidt's personality to assume a new complexity. He is no longer the solid, dedicated physician and radical social reformer, unconcerned with the workings of the inner life. He is now capable of expressing genuine feeling and friendship. He is also capable of suffering of the highest order without succumbing to sentimentality or platitude. His recollections of his last moments spent with August Spieß, the condemned socialist leader, approach the depths of great literature. "Da stand ich in schauriger Nacht in der düsteren Halle, ein bescheidener Bittsteller, den man nicht einmal die Bitte anbringen ließ, den möglichen letzten Wunsch eines Sterbenden zu erfüllen" (367). Even more poignant is his account of his abortive attempt to visit Spieß just before Spieß was about to be executed and of his feelings of having betrayed his dear friend:

- August Spieß musste in dem Glauben sterben, ich hätte als wortbrüchiger Feigling mein Versprechen gebrochen. Er hatte verlangt, mich noch zu sehen, wusste dass ein Bote nach mir ausgeschickt worden war, wie hätte ich mein Fernbleiben in anderer Weise erklären können? So bleibt dieser Gedanke der dunkelste Schatten und die schwerste Bürde in dem Übermaße meiner traurigen, unauslöschlichen Erinnerungen an jene Unglückstage. (370)

What emerges from this study then is the resurrection of a great personality, someone who, if not for Axel W.-O. Schmidt's studious efforts, would have otherwise been condemned to oblivion in the local archives, simply because the life of a socialist no longer evokes serious interest in our attempts to construe the past. The delicate balancing act in this work between biography and autobiography is ultimately successful, since the reader comes to discover or rediscover an individual who challenges

the present orthodoxies dominating the perception of socialist reformers and revolutionaries. The nobility of genuine opposition, of moral courage, of altruistically defending those who are weak and not protected by the state or the society—all this is brought home to the reader with great cogency. Dr. Ernst Schmidt's life was sustained by his faith in the liberating power and direction of history. Although he recognized that history would always be susceptible to reversals, Dr. Schmidt, nonetheless, devoutly believed that it would ultimately usher in a new society rooted in justice and equality. What remains of lasting significance to the reader is Dr. Schmidt's moving appeal after the Haymarket outrage:

D'rum öffene deine Augen weit,  
Schäm' Dich Amerika,  
Zu'm Teufel mit der Schmierigkeit  
Der Frau Justitia! (395)

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*Jerry Schuchalter*

**New Ulm, Minnesota: J. H. Strasser's History & Chronology.**

*Translated and edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Milford, OH: Little Miami Publishing, 2003. xv + 370 pages. \$34.95.*

Over the past ninety years, much has been stated and written about the decline in prominence of the German element in the United States, running the wide range from informal oral commentary to extensive scholarly discourse. It could hardly be otherwise, given a declining immigration base and the devastating effect of two World Wars which nationwide largely ostracized and drove underground, even eradicated, substantial aspects of German language and culture, among other causes. Yet there is also much to be said about those communities which have retained and even embraced their German heritage, positioning their cities and towns to become a model of ethnic pride and revival. Few locations serve this purpose as well as New Ulm, Minnesota, as ably demonstrated by recent original scholarship and the reintroduction of long-obsolete primary source materials, such as the current work.

In fact *J.H. Strasser's History & Chronology* represents a translation and fusion of two separate publications, specifically the narrative work *New Ulm in Wort und Bild* (1892) and the chronological overview *Chronologie der Stadt New Ulm, Minnesota* (1899). The combined volumes are divided by Tolzmann into three distinct parts in this book. The first, "History," offers the complete text of *Wort und Bild* in ten brief chapters (six of which are written by Strasser) that encompass thirty-nine pages. As Tolzmann points out in a preface section, this discussion of multiple facets of New Ulm history was intended for both a European as well as American audience, in an attempt to lure additional immigrants to the settlement. Through wordage that clearly portrayed the town as prosperous and progressive, Strasser and his companion authors offer convincing evidence that the growth of New Ulm rested upon six primary

considerations: 1) its founders successfully established a German-American settlement, one so like the Fatherland that it is referred to here in the original text as a "German Oasis" and, in Tolzmann's words, a "Little Germany" (xii); 2) early inhabitants no less successfully overcame adversity—including Indian attacks, a locust plague, and the devastating "Black Friday" tornadoes—to ensure stability and continuity for those who came later; 3) early patriotic New Ulm citizens (named with considerable frequency throughout the section) battled not just for the safety of their community, but also in the Civil War for the security of the United States, a posture which foreshadowed future German-American leanings in scarcely less stressful times; 4) substantial and multifold contributions were made by New Ulm's leading citizens, in a wide range of social, political, economic and religious settings and to an extent significantly greater than in other, comparably-sized settlements; 5) extensive business foundations, including a sizable industrial base, created early and lasting prosperity for the city and made noteworthy contributions at the state as well as local level; and 6) a "can-do" mentality fostered by early settlers took root and led directly to a philosophy of success among the general populace, which in turn solidified and extended the spirit of community present among the masses.

The second section of the book, "Chronology," is precisely what the title purports it to be: a chronological overview of significant events in the development of New Ulm from 1853 to the end of 1899. Of course, "significant" is a term open to interpretation by the reader: many of the entries state the death or marriage date of community members without further elucidation ("22 February [1885] – Deceased: Harry Laudenschlaeger, 41." [144]), while others ("24 October [1879] – No. 1 wheat, \$1.00." [119]) might appear unsubstantial so far removed from the original time and context of publication. Yet these entries, brief though they may be, hold the potential for important discovery for genealogists and researchers seeking to reconstruct specific aspects of New Ulm's social, economic and political climate. The chronology hardly qualifies as leisure reading material, but those keenly interested in New Ulm history are likely to find at least some information that previously was unknown to them. To cite one example, there are no less than thirteen entries related to August Schell, his family, and the successful business he ran until his death on September 20, 1891 (191), an enterprise which continues today as the second-oldest family-operated brewery in the nation; only a few of the entries provided here have been cited elsewhere in available scholarship on the Schell family and the company.

The third section of the book, "Illustrations," contains reproductions of images originally included in the narrative history, along with, as Tolzmann states, "a selection of others that seemed appropriate" (xi). These provide a welcome visual representation of the most important New Ulm schools, churches, and especially business entities of the time, as well as the residences of several principle financial leaders. Again, the overall effect is to demonstrate a city of great economic prosperity, personal success, and civic pride, in line with Strasser's aims for *New Ulm in Wort und Bild*.

Worth noting also are several extra features incorporated by Tolzmann, all of which strengthen the usefulness of the book. Two pages of addenda add entries to the original chronological section, including school board election results from 1888

through 1898. A notes section provides further historical detail and reference to additional pertinent materials. Sources are listed in a separate area and categorized by archival and library documentation; bibliographical guides; general histories; and special topics. Finally—and a necessity in a compilation work such as this—Tolzmann presents an extensive index which guides the reader immediately to proper names and pages, a particularly useful point of reference in working with the chronology.

Taken as a unit, this reissue of Strasser's two New Ulm books represents a worthy addition to available scholarship on one of America's most important lasting German-American settlements, especially for those without a background in the German language. The timing of its release also is of interest, given that the Society for German-American Studies will hold its Annual Symposium there in April 2004; the book will be available to participants and stands to enrich the shared understanding of New Ulm during, and after, the event.

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*Timothy J. Holian*

### **History of a Family Bible, 1685-2000: A Quest for the Missing Link.**

*By William Arnold O'Malley. Naperville, IL: Kikampus Communications, 2001. Audio CD. \$20.00.*

As an anthropologist who has worked with German and German-American genealogical records, I was excited to receive *History of a Family Bible 1685-2000: A Quest for the Missing Link* by William Arnold O'Malley. It purportedly traces the history of a 300-year-old family German Luther Bible—displayed during the Illinois Authors Book Fair in 2002 and the subject of a special presentation—and includes the genealogical details from the family records written inside the Bible. As it came in CD format, I assumed it would have images of the Bible and other historical documents that were not available in the print version (as seen on amazon.com). The general format is the story of O'Malley's connection to the Bible, a genealogical history of the people involved with the Bible, and a personal journal of the genealogical search.

I was mistaken to feel such anticipation about this volume; unfortunately I can find very little favorable to say about it. Despite the title, most of this book contains anecdotes about the author's family and tidbits about random historical moments, none of which have any connection with the family Bible. It is clear that O'Malley did a great deal of research, but much of what is included is irrelevant to the central purpose of the book. There are pages, almost entire chapters, that have nothing to do with his Bible nor any of the information contained in it. However, a sampling of the contents O'Malley did cover includes: grocery store history, birth control, driving a Mercedes, and the street layout of Chicago. The writing is amateurish, with no direction to the narrative or connection between ideas. It is a shame, because the Bible itself is very interesting, and the story of this Bible and the families that have passed it down could have made an informative book.



I tried very hard to determine who might benefit from reading this volume. Historians are not a good audience, as the lack of citation and the anecdotal nature of the storytelling are not useful. O'Malley adds nothing here to the scholarship of Bibles, with little research into contemporary Luther Bibles. Genealogists have little to learn from his methods. In one instance he expresses amazement that one woman's name was spelled both "Schultz" and "Schultze"; he had earlier dismissed a connection because of the difference in spelling. If only all genealogical research were that easy! Additionally, it is difficult to determine which individual he is writing about at any given point, as he often uses only first names and includes few specific birth, death, or marriage dates or places. The one family tree is non-standard and very difficult to follow. The CD only contains Adobe portable document format (pdf) files of the original work, with no additional material. There are no legible scans of the any of the Bible pages or documents he uncovered during his research.

O'Malley's family may benefit by having so many of their family stories and photos published for future generations, and people interested in the family names O'Malley, von Estorff, Dreffein, Schultze, and LaKemus might wish to contact him about his research. Otherwise, I do not see this book being of wide interest; ordering and additional information is available from the publisher at P.O. Box 2782; Naperville, IL 60566.

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*Bethany M. Usher*

**German-American Urban Culture: Writers & Theaters in Early Milwaukee.**

*By Peter C. Merrill. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 2000. 128 pages. \$19.95.*

Merrill's carefully researched and eminently readable text consists of ten separate chapters bound together thematically under the rubric suggested by the volume's subtitle—writers and theaters in Milwaukee. As the author acknowledges in his preface, the first nine chapters are revised versions of articles published elsewhere over the course of more than thirty years. Only the final chapter, which provides an overview of "German-American Urban Culture in the Late Nineteenth Century," is new. Taken together the ten chapters provide a fascinating glimpse into both the culture of urban German-America and the scholarly record of Peter Merrill.

Although the thematic unity of the volume is precarious, each individual section is solid. At times it is difficult to discern a common thread in discussions as diverse as German-American theater, an individual writer or poet like Mathilde Anneke or Anton Thormählen, and *Feuilleton* in two Milwaukee newspapers. Yet the painstaking research and conscientious marshalling of the facts which so obviously went into every article make each a treasure trove of information for any reader interested in German-American culture. And therein lie both the strength and the weakness of the collection.

Merrill is an extremely competent scholar and a gifted writer. Despite occasional stylistic or editorial lapses (e.g., a dangling participle in the middle of page 41 and a

confusing inconsistency in the spelling of the title of Thormählen's operetta *Der Streike* [from the playbill illustrated on page 46]), each chapter is a pleasure to read. The wealth of factual information is welcome yet almost overwhelming. In his foreword Joseph Salmons suggests that the volume will appeal to the general public first and then to scholars as well, but it is difficult to imagine even a fairly astute lay person who could assimilate the staggering array of information and shape it into a meaningful pattern. The scholar, on the other hand, has likely heard many of the facts before. What both require is a knowledgeable and competent guide through the thicket of data who can provide an overview. Merrill does, in fact, undertake to provide a summary in the tenth and final chapter with a discussion which the back cover describes as "a broad, synthetic essay." It is an engaging introduction to the topic of German-American urban culture for the uninitiated, but for the scholar additional insights of the kind which Merrill is uniquely qualified to provide would have enhanced the chapter considerably. One yearns for more material along the lines of Chapter 6, in which Merrill uses his extensive experience as a researcher to suggest both further avenues for investigation and tentative conclusions about the role of the serialized novel in the development of German-American literature.

As it stands, Merrill's collection of essays provides invaluable information on the state of German-American culture in Milwaukee at the height of its glory as a *Deutsch Athen* in America. Although it retains in some measure the overly positivistic flavor of so much of the previous research in the field, it is a welcome addition to the literature which provides significant information on the cultural life of the German element in the United States.

Loyola College in Maryland

Randall P. Donaldson

### **Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie: A Nineteenth-Century Cookbook for German Immigrants to America.**

By Henriette Davidis. Introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, 2003. xix + 583 pages. \$24.95.

The Max Kade Institute's reprint of Henriette Davidis's cookbook, an English translation of the most popular German cookbook of all time, is a treat on many levels. It offers cooks a glimpse of the nineteenth century kitchen, it gives historians a look at middle class home life in the decades just before World War I, and it provides anthropologists an excellent resource for understanding the role of food ways in culture change and the creation of ethnic identity. This reprint, with its excellent and informative introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann, charts the Americanization of German immigrants to the United States and the integration of German customs and values into American culture.

*Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie* has two parts. There is, of course, the cookbook itself, Henriette Davidis's *German National Cookery for American Kitchens: A Practical Book of the Art of Cooking as Performed in Germany*. This is a reprint of the "Third

American Augmented and Illustrated Edition," which was originally published in 1904 by the C. N. Caspar Co. Book Emporium of Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The original preface points out that Davidis's cookbook was recognized in Germany as "the standard authority in all matters pertaining to the culinary art" (3) and had already been through thirty-five editions since it first appeared in Germany in 1844. The 1904 English edition was aimed not only at German-Americans, but also at "native Americans who are fond of cooking according to the German methods" (4), an implicit recognition, perhaps, of both the language and culture shift occurring in the German-American community and the impact German-Americans were having on North American culture. To further demonstrate that this was an "American" cookbook, the publishers noted that metrical measures had been changed "to conform to those in vogue and best understood in this country" and that the work avoids the use of "French appellations" (4). Finally, the publishers added an appendix of recipes for dishes that were "specifically American in their character" and an "English-German vocabulary of culinary terms" (4).

There are not many recipes ("receipts") a twenty-first century cook is likely to want to try. "Beer soups" with milk or raisins, for example, or eel soup or "Kaiser Soup" (a "meat-puree soup of Wild Fowl and Rabbit or Hare that calls for 1 pheasant, 2 partridges, a snipe and a hare" [25]) all require time, ingredients, and tastes that middle class families no longer share with their counterparts of a century ago. One can only imagine how the modern cook would cope with the book's advice that "the greatest safeguard against obtaining unwholesome poultry is to buy it when alive" or that "when purchasing killed poultry" the shopper should "first examine the place or wound where they were killed" (154). Those who fear stuffing a turkey in advance of cooking it will be appalled at Davidis's suggestion that geese could be hung in the air for two to three weeks and that blood, "which is indispensable for black giblet dishes, will keep in cold weather for several days when mixed with plenty of vinegar and set uncovered in a cool place" (157).

The section entitled "The American Kitchen," which offers recipes for "various dishes prepared in styles peculiar to cooking as done in the United States" (463), suggests that German-Americans were adding shellfish, hominy and corn to their diet. There are recipes for clam chowder, oyster soup, crab pie, and oyster fritters, as well as a number of recipes using squash and cornmeal. While the pastry recipes in the main part of the book routinely call for sugar, white flour, and almond paste, those in the American section are likely to use molasses or maple syrup and to suggest lard as a substitution for butter.

In addition to recipes covering every course from soup to meat to beverages, the cookbook features several pages of engravings that show cuts of meat (separate plates for pork, mutton, and beef), game, fish, and poultry. The engravings alone suggest that the cook using Davidis' book was drawing on a far wider range of raw materials than most modern cooks. Finally, numerous notes in the recipes themselves suggest how different foods played a role in the treatment of illness. Discussing soup stock, for example, Davidis notes that "For invalids who may partake of easily digestible

food only, soups made from poultry or veal are the best. The meat from young animals will not make so strong a soup as that from older" (13).

Davidis's cookbook is fun to look at and gives us new appreciation for the time and effort that used to go into preparing family meals when the woman of the house was not only chief cook and bottle washer, but also gardener, butcher and doctor. Yet, without the wonderfully informative introduction by Louis A. Pitschmann, this book would remain, for most readers, just a curiosity. Pitschmann puts this edition of Davidis's work in an historical context, exploring first the development of cookbooks and then looking in particular at Henriette Davidis and the *Praktisches Kochbuch* or *Practical Cookbook*. The introduction charts not only the success of Davidis's work in Germany, but also traces its history in North America, suggesting its contribution to German language publishing. In exploring the place of this work in publishing history and translation, Pitschmann also demonstrates how the translation of Davidis's work and subsequent additions to it chart the changing role of Germans in North America.

In *Pickled Herring and Pumpkin Pie*, the Max Kade Institute has made a wonderful contribution to the literature of evolving American identity. Accessible to all, this work will delight anthropologists, historians, and browsers, and even intrepid cooks.

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Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

### **Goethe im Exil: Deutsch-Amerikanische Perspektiven.**

*Edited by Gert Sautermeister and Frank Baron. Bielefeld: Aisthesis Verlag, 2002. 297 pages. EUR 40.00.*

This fascinating essay collection by renowned Goethe and exile scholars, paying a late tribute to the 250th Goethe anniversary celebration, are the proceedings of the 1999 Symposium that took place at the University of Kansas under the auspices of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies and the Max Kade Foundation. Together, they give an impressive and moving testimony to the utopian power of literature and culture in times of political repression.

While the sad chapter of the appropriation of Germany's foremost poet by the Nazi state is all too familiar, the crucial role he played for the many writers forced into exile is less known. Yet Goethe's own rejection of narrow parochialism and his embrace of world literature made him a natural ally of all German-speaking migrants and exiles, regardless of ethnic background or political persuasion. By bringing this forgotten anti-nationalist and libertarian reception into light, Sautermeister and Baron's "German-American Perspectives" also create a welcome contrast to the anti-democratic and conservative images of Goethe the statesman that overshadowed the anniversary celebrations.

There is a productive ambivalence in the title of the book, one that opens the way for both the examination of the topic of exile in Goethe's life and works and his reception by the many German writers exiled to the U.S. and elsewhere during the Third Reich. The first path is explored by Gert Sautermeister in his introductory

mini-monograph that reveals the importance of the exile theme in Goethe's biography and three of his works: *Iphigenie*, *Herrmann und Dorothea* and *Die natürliche Tochter*. Countering in particular the one-sided critique of Goethe's *Herrmann und Dorothea* as an antirevolutionary, patriarchal and nationalist manifesto, Sautermeister's carefully argued socio-psychological approach to the epic redefines the exile situation as a new existential state—"ein Ort der Selbstfindung," "der Selbstgewinnung"—a definition that he applies to Goethe's own biography and the other works discussed.

Ernst Bloch's exile essay *Zerstörte Sprache – Zerstörte Kultur*, where two types of exiles are opposed, also serves as a backdrop for his interpretation. While the first migrant remains mentally fixated on his lost homeland, the second one forgets and represses it in a single-minded effort to culturally assimilate into his new country. There is also a third, ideal type of expatriate, Bloch adds, one who manages to combine his cultural heritage with the demands of his new environment.

The thirteen "German-American Perspectives" span a broad spectrum of cultural and political directions that include both exile writers and scholars—Ernst Toller, Hermann Broch and Thomas Mann, Georg Lukács, Kurt Eissler and Arnold Bergstraesser—along with such major representatives of "inner emigration" as Hans Carossa and Gerhart Hauptmann. The selected examples point to a general phenomenon. Those who fled Nazi Germany to salvage their intellectual independence also rescued and reclaimed for themselves an anti-heroic, humane and ethical image of Goethe that was antithetical to the Goethe myth of the Third Reich, while they were also interested in his use of modernist, avant-garde literary techniques. However, Marxist critiques of Weimar classicism such as Bertold Brecht and Anna Seghers are conspicuously absent from the volume. Brecht in particular deserved to be featured, as the development of his epic theatre was fueled by his ambivalent, but intensive relationship to Goethe's folk-songs, ballads and *Faust* drama.

In her very incisive philological analysis of Ernst Toller's plays *Nie wieder Friede* and *Pastor Hall*, Leonie Marx shows how the author appropriates and transforms Goethe's quotes to turn him into an ally of the "anti-fascist united front." In his brilliant essay on Hermann Broch, Hartmut Steinecke highlights three fresh aspects in the novelist's critical interest for Goethe: his merging of poetry and science, his playful linguistic experimentation in his late works, as well as what he calls his "philosemitic mind-set," an interpretation that runs counter to common assumptions.

As could be expected, the central chapters are dedicated to Thomas Mann's intense relationship with Goethe during his exile years. Burghard Dedner, who studies and compares for the first time all of Mann's essays and speeches on Goethe from his *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* of 1918 all the way up to his post-war novel *Doktor Faustus*, traces an essentialist, ethnic continuity in his line of interpretation, albeit with shifting political thrust. "Goethe in Hollywood," the ironic title of Ehrhard Bahr's essay is borrowed from a New Yorker article published in 1941, in which the journalist Janet Flanner castigated Thomas Mann's Goetheian imitation as an escape into the past. Instead, Bahr cleverly demonstrates that Mann's self-styled, "non-patriotic" Goethe deconstructs the heroic Goethe myth promulgated by his Nazi contemporaries. Helmut Koopmann's discussion of *Lotte in Weimar* goes beyond the issue of Mann's Goethe-

"imitatio" to explore the exile theme in the novel. Showing how Mann transposes his own exile experiences into the various protagonists, themes and leitmotifs of the novel, Koopmann concludes that the fictional transfer makes it "not so much a novel about Goethe as a novel about 'Goethe in exile'" (150). Interestingly, the contemporary reviews of *Lotte in Weimar* in the exile press discussed in Wulf Köpke's thorough survey were very attune to Mann's parodistic writing techniques that even made it possible for a typewritten copy of the novel to be circulated illegally in Germany under the title of "Goethe's Conversations with Riemer"! Guy Stern's essay widens the spectrum to bring to scholarly attention a wide range of more obscure fictional examples. The most noteworthy is Dosio Koffler's satirical drama *Die deutsche Walpurgisnacht*, featuring Goethe, Schiller and Nietzsche as time travelers bestirred out of their graves by Nazi barbarities. Here, similar parodic devices as used in *Lotte in Weimar* and Goethe's own "Walpurgisnacht" serve to refute the contemporary perversions of Weimar Classicism.

Nicholas Vazsonyi's discussion of Georg Lukács "anti-fascist" images of Goethe in Moscow provides an interesting contrast to the German-American perspectives, while Monika Moyer's study of the problematic reception of Kurt R. Eissler's famous psychoanalysis of Goethe in Germany shows the long-lasting impact of the banning of psychoanalysis by the Nazi establishment. In contrast to the exile interest for Goethe's modernist themes and techniques, the two variants of "inner immigration" emphasized his anti-modern, traditionalist aspects, as presented in Uwe-K. Ketelsen's essay on Hans Canossa's and Warren R. Maurer's discussion of Gerhart Hauptmann's Goethean imitation.

Finally, Peter Boerner's lively reenactment of the international Goethe Bicentennial Convocation and Music Festival in Aspen, Colorado in the summer of 1949, organized by the exile cultural historian Arnold Bergstraesser, provides a most compelling conclusion to the volume. Describing how the organizers and their distinguished international guests, Thornton Wilder, Martin Buber, José Ortega y Gasset, Albert Schweitzer and other celebrities, conjured up for their vast audience of over eight hundred participants an ideal Goethe as a messenger of cross-cultural understanding, a beacon of hope for a more Enlightened and humane future against the backdrop of the defeat of Nazi barbarism, Boerner also shows how much their own hopes of a better world infused and shaped the idealized vision invoked.

To sum up, this reviewer can only conclude by giving the two volume editors the highest praise for managing a rare balance between pluralism of voices and internal coherence. In a scholarly genre notorious for its heterogeneity and uneven quality, that is in itself a very difficult achievement. Better than a reference work, *Goethe im Exil* deserves to become a treasured companion for any teacher, scholar or lover of German literature.

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## **Im Licht der Vernunft: Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901.**

By Katja Rampelmann. *Transatlantische Historische Studien*, vol. 13. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2003. 313 pages. EUR 38.00.

It is well documented that German immigrants flocking to the new world in the 1800s organized into numerous social, political, and religious organizations soon after arriving in their new homeland. Among the best researched groups are the Turners. On the other hand, no study so far has exclusively followed the German American freethinkers, often associated with the Turners, and although much smaller in number, of far-reaching influence. This movement, represented by several societies, is the subject of Katja Rampelmann's study *Im Licht der Vernunft—Der deutsch-amerikanische Freidenker-Almanach von 1878-1901*, published through the Deutsches Historisches Institut in Washington, D.C. The book promises to offer the first comprehensive study of the movement of German American freethought, an important part of German American cultural and intellectual history, on the basis of a detailed analysis of the *Freidenker-Almanach*.

Choosing an interdisciplinary approach and drawing on philosophical, theological, historical, political, and literary resources, Rampelmann gives a sweeping overview of the origins of the movement in the political and religious protest of the German Vormärz, as well as the impact of the dissidents on American culture and society in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus the book covers, despite its title, a much wider time span and subject matter. It is as much a study of the history of the German and German American freethinkers as well as of one of its main publications, the *Freidenker-Almanach*.

The political refugees and liberal thinkers who arrived in the United States after the failed revolution of 1848 saw themselves as freethinkers, whether or not they became members of one of their organizations. Therefore, the term "freethinker" is often used as an expression of a certain liberal philosophy, with or without religious undertones, rather than a term associated with membership in a particular group. However, a majority was indeed actively organized in these groups. In order to show evidence of the impact of the German American freethinker movement, Rampelmann studies in detail numerous of its publications, newspapers, magazines, calendars and almanacs, placing the *Freidenker-Almanach* at the center of her investigation. Thus the title of Rampelmann's books recognizes the *Freidenker-Almanach* as one of the most important resources of any research dealing with German American freethought.

Published annually between 1878 and 1901, first by the Dörflinger Company and later by the Freidenker Publication Company in Milwaukee, the 23 volumes of the *Freidenker-Almanach* offer a representative look at the literature of the freethinkers. The six extensive main chapters of Rampelmann's book, each with its own summary, are complemented by various short chapters such as a table of contents for each volume of the almanac, a list of contributions by its major authors, detailed biographical entries for its representatives, and an assessment of the significance of the *Freidenker-Almanach* as a self-declared vehicle of instruction on enlightenment. An extensive

twenty-page bibliography, followed by separate name and place indices, conclude the study which also contains several illustrations.

The political and ideological backlash following the failed 1848 revolution had forced many of the leading intellectuals of the "freie Gemeinden" and the German-catholic congregations into exile. Individuals such as Adolf Douai, Friedrich Schünemann-Pott, Alexander Loos, and Eduard Schröter disseminated the ideas of theological rationalism, Hegelian thought, as well as political liberalism in their capacity as paid speakers for the German American rationalist societies in the U.S. Rampelmann shows that the groundwork for their endeavors had already been laid in larger cities such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore where individuals like Pastor Scheib and Heinrich Adam Ginal had founded societies based on rational freethought. Most were also active in publishing and translating. Ginal's translation of the works of Thomas Paine, for instance, garnered wide-spread interest.

Rampelmann shows how the new immigrants took the movement to another, more dynamic level and quickly started working on organizing societies. For instance, the theologian Eduard Schröter set out to deliver speeches just days after his arrival. He founded several societies on the East coast before moving on to Milwaukee as elected speaker of the newly established freethinker society, began publication of *Der Humanist* in 1851, and soon thereafter made Wisconsin the new center of the movement. Friedrich Schünemann-Pott directed his efforts toward publishing instructional materials and readers, as well as the monthly *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben*. He also initiated the funding of the first national organization, with limited success. A considerable challenge for the freethinking societies was the competition by the "Freimänner Vereine," whose agenda was decidedly more political and radical, leaning on the socialist and workers' movements. Thus the freethought societies tried to defend their middle position between the more radical political groups and the older generation of rationalists. They supported educational endeavors such as freethinking Sunday schools, public lectures and debates, and several publications. Rampelmann rightly emphasizes that these groups were at times referred to as "second row revolutionaries," particularly by the "Freimänner" who had fought on the front lines of the 1848 revolution (64). During the Civil War the freethinkers again resorted to a more pacifist stance, whereas other groups, particularly the Turners, rushed to arms in support of the Union.

After the national organization had dissolved, the importance of freethought publications became even more evident as a vehicle to keep the movement together. For years, the *Freidenker* from Milwaukee served as official medium for the movement. Its subtitle "*Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!*" clearly illustrated its mission. After the North American Turnerbund also adopted the *Freidenker*, its readership almost doubled. Before directing her interest to the *Freidenker-Almanach* itself in the second half of her book, Rampelmann gives a general overview of the German American freethought press, or "radical reform press," a term she prefers, with particular emphasis on Schröter's and Schünemann-Pott's publications and the *Milwaukee Freidenker* (92). A separate chapter on the popular German language calendars is interesting for comparison purposes alone. It also paints a vivid picture of an emerging popular culture.



The almanac, directed towards an educated urban readership, was published with an estimated annual circulation of 1,500 to 2,000 issues. It differed significantly from traditional calendars in form and content, never turned a profit for the Freidenker Publishing Company, and at times even encountered criticism from its own ranks for offering "Leckerbissen für geistige Aristokraten," rather than addressing the general population (151).

Through the publication of poetry, literature, scientific essays and lectures, the almanac strove to support the overall goal of the freethought movement, to achieve morality without religion, a philosophy based on pure ethics, and social change, "die Verbesserung des Einzelnen, wie der Gesellschaft, in materieller, geistiger und moralischer Beziehung" (188). Among the main contributors to the almanac were Carl Hermann Boppe, chief editor for the Freidenker Publishing Company, poet Hugo Andriessen, journalist and translator Wilhelm Soubron, and educator Maximilian Grossmann. Although the leading pioneer of the movement, Karl Heinzen, had died in 1880, his contributions, especially his aphorisms, continued to appear in the almanac for many years. The poetry published, Rampelmann notes, often made use of satire and irony reflecting a style characteristic of the German *Vormärz*. Religious groups became primary targets, specifically priests. Typical were poems such as Straubenmüller's "Schwer ist es, wahrer Mensch zu sein (195)." Other poems addressed the theory of evolution as well as the difficulties the Darwinists encountered in society. Scientific articles ranged from topics such as nutrition to cremation. The political agenda pursued a true people's republic, based on total equality of all people regardless of race, gender, origin, wealth, or social status. The misery of the working class, widows and orphans drew special attention and the desire for social and political change brought the freethinkers often in alignment with the goals of the socialist movement. However, as Rampelmann argues convincingly, the major difference between these two movements must not be overlooked. Whereas the socialists pursued the political reign of the working class, the freethought movement sought a true people's democracy, based on enlightenment and humanistic ideals, in which no single class should have sole power.

Finally, Rampelmann describes the significance of representative personalities for the movement: the German forty-eighter Karl Heinzen, the scientist Charles Darwin, as well as American statesmen like George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine. The latter especially became a true hero for the movement. The freethought movement saw in him the ultimate symbiosis of the ideals of the revolution, humanism, and the battle against the church. They tried to restore Paine's reputation and saw themselves as following in the footsteps of the American founding fathers, in pursuit of a perfection of the democratic idea.

One would have hoped, that an extensive study like this would be available to a wider audience by being written in English. However, like this study, all volumes in the *Transatlantische Historische Studien*, are published in German. American readers would find this book just as fascinating. The German American freethought movement lost its momentum with the advent of the twentieth century, and with the demise of the German language in the U.S. it eventually faded out. Rampelmann hopes that her

book provides a starting point for continued research. She has certainly provided a wealth of resources and materials for further investigation.

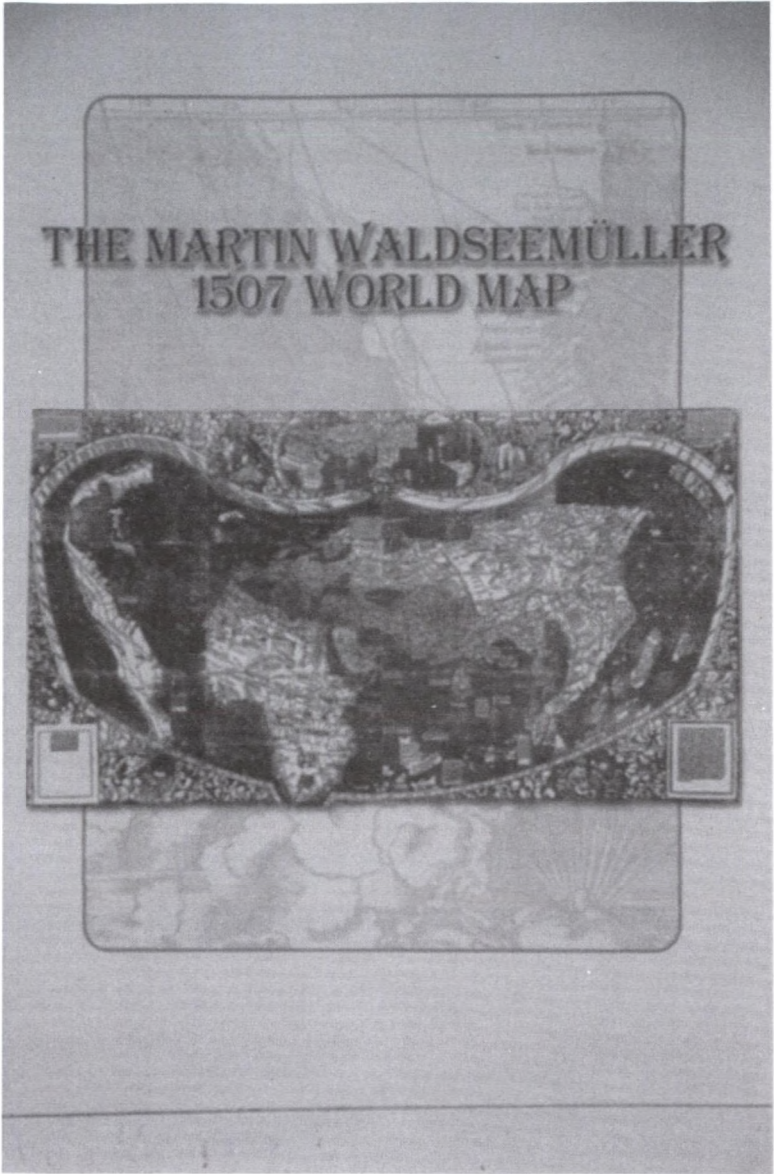
*Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis*

*Claudia Grossmann*

## **The Martin Waldseemüller World Map of 1507**

As widely reported in the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*, as well as in the American, German, and the German-American press, the year 2003 was marked by the acquisition by the Library of Congress of Waldseemüller's famous map, which carried the name of "America" for the first time. In honor of the 35th anniversary of the Society for German American Studies, pictures of the map are provided on the following pages, with a special word of gratitude to our member, Margrit B. Krewson, who in her capacity as German Area Specialist at the Library of Congress, was responsible for this noteworthy acquisition.

Don Heinrich Tolzman, President  
Society for German-American Studies  
*University of Cincinnati*



The Martin Waldseemüller World Map of 1507



Overview of Waldseemüller Map



Detail of the upper right corner of the Walsemüller map

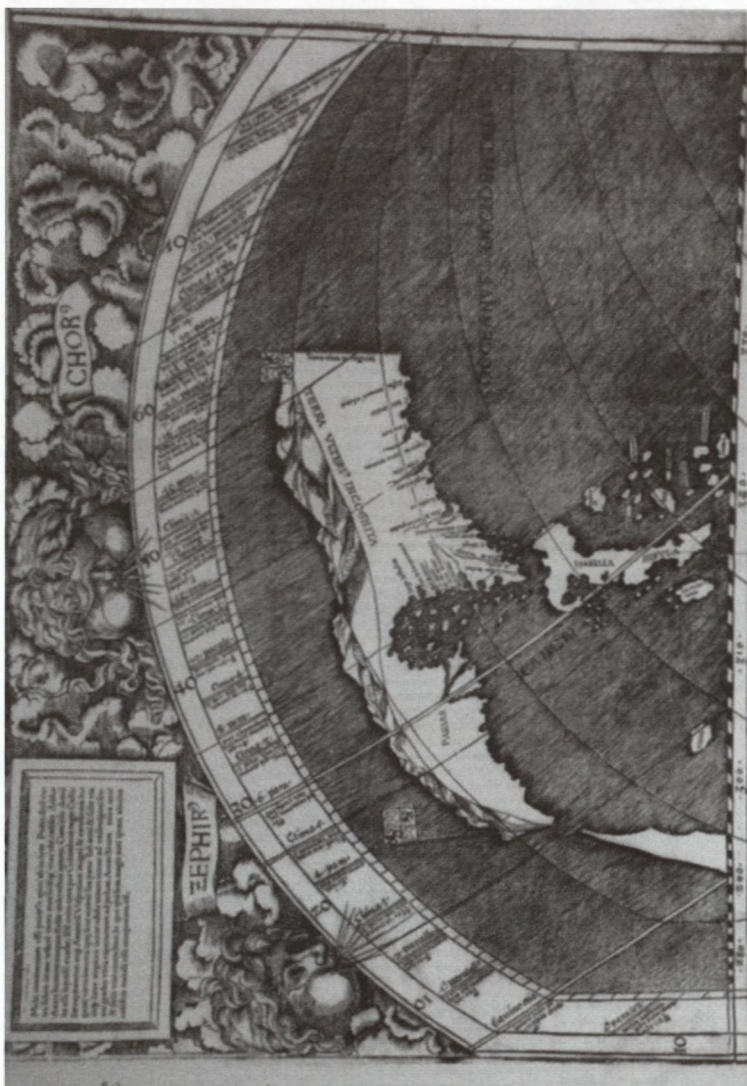


Detail of the upper left corner of the Walsemüller map



Detail of Germany section of Waldseemüller Map





Detail of "America" section of Waldseemüller Map

