Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
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The Pennsylvania Germans: James Owen Knauss, Jr.'s Social History.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001. xiv + 225 pages. $21.55.

Knauss's survey of eigthteenth-century Pennsylvania German newspapers and the culture of the Pennsylvania Germans of that period was originally published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1922 under the title *Social Conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century as Revealed in the German Newspapers Published in America.* This new edition by Tolzmann includes a reprint of the original text and adds a short introduction outlining the significance of Knauss's work for both our understanding of this early period of Pennsylvania German society but also for the detailed survey of newspaper publications prior to 1800 in German-speaking Pennsylvania. Tolzmann also appends a seven-page index of personal names at the end of the work to enhance its usefulness for researchers.

Of primary interest is Knauss's painstakingly detailed account of newspapers published in German in Pennsylvania until 1800 beginning with the short-lived *Philadelphia Zeitung* of Benjamin Franklin, which may have had as few as two issues in the spring of 1732. Knauss's first chapter is devoted to a description of "The Newspapers and Their Publishers." At the end of the book, Knauss provides in his "Conclusion" a bibliography or checklist of all known issues of every newspaper published or thought to have been published. In his "Table of German American Newspapers of the Eighteenth Century" he lists, with numerous annotations regarding the publication history and the publishers, some forty-eight distinct newspapers. Most of these were published in Philadelphia. Lancaster, Germantown, Reading, York in Pennsylvania as well as Baltimore, Hagerstown and Frederick in Maryland were also locations for some of the earliest German newspapers serving the Pennsylvania Germans. Knauss also provides detailed information on the individual issues as well as the location of extant copies of the newspapers.

In the intervening seven chapters, Knauss discusses in effect the readership of these papers, the Pennsylvania Germans themselves. Individual chapters are devoted to the religion, education, charities, vocations, politics, and social traits of the eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Germans. Of special interest to students of German-American dialects is Knauss's chapter on the German language among the Pennsylvania

Germans. Knauss may have found one of the earliest examples of the emerging Pennsylvania German dialect in a 30 April 1794 newspaper article in the *Neue Unpartheyische Readinger Zeitung:* "Dadi, was hun ich gseha!" "Was host du dan gseha?" "Ey, ich hun a Ding gseha do isch a Kop druf und das bleckt die Zähn und der Man der zobelt dran, do knorrt's dan streicht er, do springa d'Leut in dem Haus rum und kaner kan die Thür finna" (p. 105). Compared to other contemporaneous accounts of the language such as that by Johann David Schöpf (*Reise durch einige der mittleren und südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten* . . . [Erlangen, 1788]), Knauss's newspaper quote appears to be truly an example of spoken Pennsylvania German.

While the editor is to be praised for reissuing this valuable study of the early Pennsylvania Germans, the new introduction and index should have been corrected prior to publication. There are several glaring typographical errors in the four-page introduction, including the titles of Tolzmann's indispensable bibliography of German-Americana (1975) and Knauss's original 1922 publication (that title is also misspelled on the back cover of the new edition as well). A brief look at the last page of the index reveals Nicholas von Zinzendorf spelled as "Zindendorf." A correction of such errors would definitely enhance the new edition.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Mennonites in Transition from Switzerland to America: Emigrant and Immigrant Experience; Anabaptist Documents.

Edited with transcriptions and translations into German and English as well as annotated by Andrea Boldt, Werner Enninger, Delbert L. Gratz. Morgantown, PA: Masthof Press, 1997. v + 138 pages.

This attractive volume, published under the auspices of the Swiss American Historical Society, comprises an edition of various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century documents pertaining to Swiss emigration to America, together with commentaries and copious notes. The book is a revised and extended version of what the editors refer to as a brochure, the title of which (*From Bern, Switzerland, to Kidron and Bluffton, Ohio: Anabaptist Documents.* Essen [Germany], 1994. 69 pp.) describes the subject more precisely than the general title now.

The first document contains the family history of some of the emigrants descending from Peter Neuenschwander of Langnau in Emmental (1696-1764). Genealogy has always been important for Anabaptists (Mennonites). Both Christian tradition and the history of the Anabaptists as a religious minority and a migrating people made them pay close attention to their genealogies. Family history was their primary way to define their identity. A family birth register of nine entries supplements the genealogical sources. It was compiled for the Peter Sprunger family who came to Wayne County, Ohio, in 1852. As an interesting feature, almost all the entries make reference to the signs of the Zodiac which is uncommon for Anabaptists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The next document, a lectionary of 1763 of the

Münsterberg congregation in Switzerland, contains the list of Bible passages and the hymns to be used in the nineteen religious services scheduled for the year. It shows the emigrants' firm intent to hold on to their religious ritual when settling in the New World. Another document, an agreement between church elders in Switzerland and the departing group, aims at securing financial assistance for the emigrants, granting them, in effect, a loan to be paid back not to the lenders but rather to needy people in their new community in America.

Two emigrant diaries and two emigrant letters (from 1822 and 1854) constitute the bulk of the document collection, and they furnish the most interesting material. The authors of the diaries, Jacob Gerber and Michael Neuenschwander (1778-1852), a grandson of Peter Neuenschwander, left with their relatives (1822) and family (1823), respectively, for their chosen destination, Wayne County, Ohio. The diaries and letters together present fascinating facts of the process of emigration in the early 1800s: leaving the country of one's ancestors, the details of the voyage, namely, accommodations, daily life on the ship, weather, food, passengers, fares, first impressions of New York; there were threatening dangers: sickness, childbirth, and death. In spite of such challenges the language of the reports is unemotional, they are written in a matter-of-fact style. Much attention is given to the emigration routes. Port of embarkation was Le Havre de Grace, as the place was then called. The Neuenschwander family needed 22 days for the journey through France via Dijon, Paris, Rouen, and 48 days at sea with landing at [Perth] Amboy, New Jersey. It took the ship of the Gerber party 66 days until arrival in New York. Neuenschwander followed an overland route across New Jersey to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, on to Chambersburg and to Pittsburgh; from there to Lisbon, Ohio, to Canton and to Wayne County in 59 days, including a three-week layover in Pittsburgh due to the death of one of his children. Except for a more southerly route at the onset (via Trenton, Philadelphia, and Lancaster, PA), Gerber, in the previous year, had taken the same route from Chambersburg on. Based on the records of the trip, the editors drew three maps detailing the immigration routes for both groups and included them with the documents (84-85; 108). The spelling of place names as they occurred in the original text is amusing to the reader, as it was done within the means of the emigrants' dialect, e.g., "hafratagras" (88) and "haferdegras" (76) for "Havre de Grace," "bentzelvania" (59) and "ehlenstaun" (80) for "Pennsylvania" and "Allentown."

The purpose of this book is threefold: (1) This edition of documents contributes to the factual knowledge about Swiss Anabaptist emigrants of the 1820s, the Bernese *Täufer.* (2) The editors want to achieve a high degree of transparency in publishing documents in local historiography that are either hidden in local archives and libraries or have been inadequately used for research. Accurate translations and reliable information on sources, ownership, and location of such documents are needed. There is an appeal to those in possession of immigration records for making them available to a wider public. (3) The editors seek to stimulate cooperation across academic disciplines, e.g., between persons who are historically and those who are linguistically interested. Of course, such are ambitious goals which require competence in various fields. This team of editors has demonstrated its expertise in linguistics and dialectology,

including Swiss German and Pennsylvania German, and in history and church history, including Mennonite and Anabaptist culture, and with this book they have set an example of such teamwork. While the first goal is realistic and has been accomplished by this publication, the second goal must be made known to local historians and to depositories of local immigration records. The third goal will be the hardest to realize because the required team combinations can hardly be forced, they must develop.

The presentation of the material in chapters, determined by type of document, is cogent and clear. Introductions, placed ahead of each section, do not follow a uniform pattern, rather they emphasize features of the document that the editors consider culturally, historically or linguistically important. Publishing each document as a verbatim and true-to-the-line transcription of the original Swiss (mostly Bernese) German writing is the editors' prime concern. The transcription is accompanied by two translations (German and English) and by ample annotations. The book's quarto size is a fortunate choice for the typographical arrangement of long genealogical lists and the other material since it allows the accommodation of four columns (text, two translations, notes) across opposite pages, thus making parallel reading possible. Transcriptions and translations have been prepared meticulously and from a wealth of linguistic and philological knowledge. The annotations have several goals: clarifying the meaning of the original text where it poses problems, explaining vocabulary and usage in Swiss German, and offering the reader supplemental historical and theological information. Overall, commentaries and annotations are very helpful, but in a number of places, excursuses are too extensive, touching upon peripheral or less relevant material, albeit interesting (for instance, the far-reaching discussion of the signs of the Zodiac [23 ff.], or the excursus on *Hausväterliteratur* [66]).

The editors have explained the linguistic phenomena of the various documents with painstaking precision. There is, however, an imbalance in the level of presentation of philological matters. Some explanations are rather technical and specialized, they would satisfy the trained linguist (e.g., 58; 47; 75; 107; 121), while others appear to be directed to an inexperienced learner (e.g., explanation of German perfect tense vs. English present perfect [89]).

There are some discrepancies in the publication. In the genealogy section, one Peter Neuenschwander (born ca. 1778) is listed under two different numbers, no. 11 on page 13 and no. 12 on page 15. Another Peter Neuenschwander (born 1726 in Langnau) is listed as no. 3 on page 12 and no. 2 on page 13. A clarifying explanation is not given in the annotations. In the text, the term "brochure" is repeatedly used referring to the present book. This is a misnomer; also, it may lead to confusion with its precursor publication (Essen, 1994). Reference is made to "a few sample pages," reproduced from the originals, regarding the diaries and letters in order "to give the reader an impression of the original handwriting." The sample pages are not to be found in this reviewer's copy. The statements concerning the limited availability of sources (39; 58) are difficult to accept within an editorial endeavor and international collaboration.

Errors in spelling, hyphenation, spacing, and especially transposition abound throughout the book. They span the whole range from glaring mistakes, e.g., "i" for

"it" (2); "acorG" for "acort" (7); "1922" for "1822" (in a chapter heading [109]), to the less obvious, e.g., page 101: line number of text (220) hidden in column of annotations (L. 207); footnote 4 on page 25 belonging to page 26. Transpositions occur predominantly between columns and are very likely the result of word processing glitches. Such shortcomings may annoy the reader, but they will not really diminish the merits of the book.

The collection of documents affords the reader a firsthand impression of the realities of one facet of nineteenth-century European emigration, namely, of a small yet important religious group from Switzerland. The texts are very well translated, explained, and elaborated in introductions and annotations by a team of competent scholars. This informative book provides results of genealogical research that reach far beyond names and numbers. It should inspire further research in immigration documents and local history by exploring and thoroughly researching local archives and libraries.

University of Kansas *Helmut Huelsbergen*

Plain Women: Gender and Ritual in the Old Order River Brethren.
By Margaret C. Reynolds. Edited with a foreword by Simon J. Bronner. Pennsylvania History and Culture Series, 1. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001. xii + 192 pages. $29.95.

In this posthumously published work, Reynolds offers us unique insights into both the historical context of the Old Order River Brethren as well as the role of women within the River Brethren and, in particular, the significance of their participation in River Brethren rituals. In addition to archival materials, Reynolds bases her presentation and interpretation on several years of fieldwork among the Old Order River Brethren in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. From 1992 to 1996, she observed the breadmaking preparatory services and love feasts of this group. She also conducted oral interviews with twenty-eight baptized adult women from the group. Her focus was on the plain dress, food preparation and mealtimes, and especially the role assigned to women in the ritual of preparatory breadmaking at the love feast.

The first chapter is devoted to a historical overview of the development of the River Brethren, one of the several denominations among those associated with Anabaptism and Pietism in the Pennsylvania German context. She traces the group from its Brethren-Mennonite origins in the late-eighteenth century through a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century divisions and mergers to the present day. She believes that the River Brethren and, in particular, the Old Order River Brethren represent an "American overlay of German Protestant traditions." She maintains that their unique perception of the role of women and their emotional intensity serve to maintain their separation from the other plain orders such as the Old Order Amish, Old Order Mennonites, and Old German Baptist Brethren.

Her remaining three chapters focus on that uniqueness among Old Order River

Brethren women. Reynolds treats the symbolism of plain women's dress, kitchen traditions, and the breadmaking ritual in separate chapters. In her chapter on "Coverings for the Body" she focuses on how women's dress serves to bond those who are part of the group as well as to create boundaries that ensure their cultural survival. Reynolds notes that each generation may introduce new traditions in plain attire that can distinguish it from other age groups within River Brethren culture. Reynolds also discovered that some women wore hair coverings even when they slept—in accordance with the Biblical mandate that women should only pray with covered head—because they might awaken at night and want to pray. She also describes at length the process leading to a young girl's beginning to dress "plain" around the age of twelve or thirteen as a sign of spiritual maturity. Reynolds concludes by claiming that River Brethren women are among the staunchest defenders of plain dress in comparison to other "plain" groups.

Reynolds discussion of food preparation and meals leads us through a description of a typical family meal in which the role of the woman as guardian of both the home and the religion come to the fore. The meals of ordinary River Brethren women are gifts of love to her family. Reynolds then examines how that role has become transformed in recent years by some River Brethren women providing foodstuffs for sale in local grocery stores or even providing "typical Pennsylvania Dutch" meals for tourist groups in Lancaster County. She concludes this chapter by noting that in the home, women minister as foodgivers to both the physical body and the spiritual welfare of the community. However, the growing commercial kitchen enterprises have, in Reynolds's view, the potential to create internal divisions which may undermine the group's cohesion.

The ritual of mixing, kneading and baking of communion bread by the adult baptized women of the group on the morning of the love feast is followed by an afternoon of preaching and personal testimony and culminates in the foot washing and communion service in the evening. Reynolds notes that among all of the Old Order and Anabaptist Brethren groups, which practice foot washing and love feast, only the Old Order River Brethren have the preparation of communion bread as part of a formal religious ritual. She argues the Old Order River Brethren confer greater status and respect on women in their society through this uniquely women's ritual of communion breadmaking.

The reader is left with a very intensely personal and human as well as probing account of the role of women in the Old Order River Brethren in today's world. The interweaving of observation, quotations from interviews and interpretations by Reynolds immerses the reader in the cultural fabric of women's lives in this group. Her examination of women in this often neglected religious group is a solid contribution to ethnographic, religious and gender studies. On a final note, we welcome Reynolds's study as the first volume in the new Pennsylvania German History and Culture Series, published in cooperation with the Pennsylvania German Society.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Over the Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati; Volume Two: Prohibition to 2001.

By Timothy J. Holian. St. Joseph, MO: Sudhaus Press, 2001. 392 pages. $29.95.

With the outbreak of World War I and American sentiment squarely on the side of the British, German-American brewing interests were completely undermined. Many German-American brewers were astonished to find themselves accused of providing financial and emotional support to the enemy. In Cincinnati, as in countless other cities across the United States, wartime Prohibition measures brought beer brewing to a halt. Formal nationwide Prohibition brought legal brewing to an end in 1919. Breweries tried to make near-bear, soda and ice to stay afloat, but many never weathered the fourteen-year drought that forever changed America's—and Cincinnati's—brewing history. This is the subject of this work.

This second volume in a two-volume series completes the Cincinnati brewing saga from Prohibition to the present. Once again, Holian makes history come to life, filling his book with a plethora of illustrations, advertisements, newspaper articles and pictures that squarely put the reader into the moment. Holian skillfully covers eighty years of brewing history with remarkable thoroughness and focus, but never once does he lose the reader to boredom or stultifying detail.

Starting with Prohibition, its ensuing lawlessness and hard times for Cincinnati's German-American brewers, and working his way up decade by decade to the present, Holian paints an all encompassing picture of Cincinnati's once-glorious brewing industry as it struggled to its feet from a blow from which it could never fully recover. The Roaring Twenties, Great Depression, repeal of Prohibition in 1933, the death of Cincinnati's brewing magnates, industry expansion, contraction and consolidation, World War II, the rise of national brewers (Anheuser-Busch, Miller), the eclipse of Cincinnati as a brewing center, the death of great brewing traditions and the newfound appreciation for microbreweries are all given careful attention. History does not happen in a vacuum. Holian skillfully relates all brewing events to local, state, national and even international historical context.

The *Over the Barrel* series is also a marvelous look into American brewing history and how the taste of beer itself has changed over the years. For example, accommodations had to be made to allow for grain rationing and supply problems during World War II. Rice and corn were included in the mash to add fermentable material, thus allowing brewers to use less barley. When women became the predominant consumers in the beer market during the war years, brewers made beer less bitter, using milder hops, appealing to feminine tastes. When the war ended, the new lighter beers remained popular, particularly in a country where warm weather and lawn mowing require quick and light refreshment. As time went on and product consistency became an industry issue, the maltier, hoppier brews were less favored. Older-style beers languished or were left only as specialty products, if they did not die out.

What goes around comes around. Americans who grew up drinking watery swill found themselves traveling abroad or stationed in Europe—and enjoying real beer.

An entire generation of Americans discovered for itself how good homebrewed beer could be when they could not buy European favorites at home. In Cincinnati, as elsewhere, enterprising craft brewers took matters into their own hands and started brewing beers that taste good, brews that Americans had fallen in love with all over again.

The American craft-brewing renaissance of the last decade has changed American perceptions about beer. While national breweries continue to brew inexpensive, bland, mass-produced, watery products, craft brewers have revived entire beer styles for a public suddenly aware of what it has been missing since World War II. The Cincinnati microbrewing scene has seen a real return to the city's brewing roots, reviving styles and brands long ago consigned to history. Like mushrooms after a rain, microbreweries and brewpubs have sprung up all over the greater Cincinnati area. Again, due to financial problems, the economy in general, competition from the national brewers and market saturation, there has been considerable expansion and contraction in the craft brewing market. Still, microbreweries and brewpubs continue to offer Cincinnatians a broad selection of brew styles and brands. Re-educating local beer consumers and acquainting them with their long lost brewing heritage continues to be the mission for Cincinnati's modern-day brewers.

Although the Hudepohl-Schoenling Brewing Company provided sponsorship assistance to produce this book, Holian has covered the entire Cincinnati brewing history, not just Hudepohl-Schoenling's. He has done so in an even-handed manner, and the book is not biased toward or against any breweries in particular.

Holian's *Over the Barrel* series is a must-have for historians, brewing aficionados, and anyone who appreciates good beer and good history. A real treat, this book is truly a labor of love written by an expert author and native Cincinnatian who is an enthusiastic and knowledgeable local historian as well as avid brewer.

County Kerry, Ireland *Paula Weber*

Word Atlas of Pennsylvania German.
By Lester W. J. Seifert. Edited by Mark L. Louden, Howard Martin and Joseph C. Salmons. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for Geman-American Studies, 2001. vii + 121 pages + 173 maps. $34.95.

Those of us privileged to have known "Smoky" Seifert—his warmth, humor, humanity and, above all, his passion for his teaching and research in German-American dialectology—will appreciate in our own personal way the publication of his Pennsylvania German word atlas. For the student of Pennsylvania German and German-American dialects, it is a true treasure trove of linguistic material, especially in its word maps and in its reprinting of four earlier essays, authored or co-authored by Seifert.

Following two biographical essays on Seifert's professional and personal life by Howard Martin and by Seifert's daughter, Suzanne Seifert Treichel, Mark Louden

introduces the reader to the field of Pennyslvania German dialect studies. In the main part of his essay, Louden focuses on the development of the scholarly study of Pennsylvania German beginning with Haldeman's *Pennsylvania Dutch* (1872). Louden notes that the serious linguistic analysis of Pennsylvania German began in the 1930s when a group of linguists, among them Seifert and his longtime collaborator, Carroll E. Reed, emerged who wrote their doctoral dissertations on various aspects of Pennsylvania German. Louden continues with a discussion of the field work of Seifert and Reed and the preparation of questionnaires in the early 1940s that served as the basis for their dissertations (1941), a number of articles, *A Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German* (1954) and eventually this word atlas. In a final section, Louden explores Pennsylvania German research since Seifert and Reed. Here the critical shift in emphasis to sociolinguistic aspects after 1980 comes to the fore. Louden notes the work of Marion Lois Huffines, Werner Enninger, Joachim Raith and himself. In this overview of research, it is puzzling, however, that the list of references at the end of Louden's piece omits all four articles by Huffines and one by Raith, as well as one by Carroll Reed, on aspects of Pennsylvania German that appeared in the *Yearbook of German American Studies.*

Four reprinted essays on Pennsylvania German vocabulary compose the second section of the atlas. The first one by both Reed and Seifert provides a general introduction to their research and also an overview of the localities investigated, the subjects interviewed and their questionnaire. The second and third essays by Seifert analyze lexical differences and similarities in four regions: parts of Berks, Lehigh and Lancaster counties as well as the Susquehanna Valley in parts of Dauphin, Schuykill, Northumberland and Snyder counties (the third essay is a revision of the second for the 1968 symposium on the German language in America at the University of Texas). The final essay by Seifert explores variation in the diminutives of Pennsylvania German. The atlas concludes with the 144 full-page maps produced for the word atlas and also appends 29 maps originally published in Reed and Seifert's 1954 linguistic atlas.

Given the linguistic and symbolic detail on both the maps and in the reprinted articles, the editors are to be congratulated on an outstanding job of preparing this volume for publication. One rather glaring error was noted: The form for "daughter-in-law" in Lancaster County based on the map (no. 90) is [se:nəri] which would be rendered orthographically as *Seenerie* following Seifert's system. On page 73 of his reprinted article, however, the word is spelled *Seemerie.* Whether that error was already in the 1946 original article could not be determined. In any event, researchers and students can rely on the painstaking attention to detail in the maps and articles left for us by "Smoky" Seifert and published in this handsome volume by the Max Kade Institute for German American Studies in Madison, Wisconsin. We are in their debt.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Known by the Work of His Hands.
By Claire Messimer. Kutztown, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 2000. 231 pages. $75.00.

Cemeteries are rarely studied, despite the wealth of lore displayed within their boundaries. The layout of cemeteries, the placement of graves, and the tombstone inscriptions, all reflect aspects of the lives of the people buried within. It is refreshing to see this volume, an adaptation of the author's thesis in American Studies, striving to incorporate cemetery analysis with local history. Claire Messimer makes a rare journey into cemeteries, and uses the life and handiwork of her ancestor, a tombstone cutter and engraver, as a guide to the lives of German immigrants and their descendants in rural Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. She writes, and I concur, that, "I can only hope to encourage others to consider tombstones an artifact in desperate need of research and conservation" (10).

Known by the Work of His Hands is divided into three parts. In the first part, which is fairly short and consists of six chapters, Messimer introduces the reader to the history of the German immigration into this region of Pennsylvania, and the information that is known about the life of her ancestor, Joseph Brownmiller (referred to as JB consistently through the book, so I will also in this review). The bulk of the book (eleven chapters) is the second part, which starts with an introduction to cemetery analysis and then proceeds to examine JB's tombstones within the context of the local German immigrant community. Part three is a short conclusion to the volume.

JB was born into a family of stone carvers in 1807 in Hamlin, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. During his young adult years, he earned his living as a schoolteacher, while his older brother was a tombstone carver. Messimer was not able to find many written records about JB's life, but it appears that in the mid-1840s (when JB would have been almost forty years old) he began to produce tombstones himself. By 1850, he had stopped teaching and lived a small house next to the cemetery where the majority of his stones are still found. He earned a living from carving after this, and continued to produce tombstones until 1893. JB died in 1895. His work encompassed a time of significant cultural shifts, and, as Messimer illustrates, his tombstones reflected these cultural changes.

I enjoyed the discussion of German symbols and design on the tombstones, and was astounded to see how clearly I could distinguish JB's tombstones from others after reading this book. Although he had a personal style, the evolution of JB's designs over his career reflected the greater trends in tombstone design. Messimer did a very nice job of showing the relationship between changes in ethnic identity and changes in tombstone design. I was particularly interested in how the change from German language in *Fraktur* script to English language in plainer script reflected the change in the local German immigrant community after the Civil War. My own research is on Amish and Mennonite cemeteries in central Pennsylvania, and despite their continued use of German within the community, English has been used on tombstones, with only the rare exception, since the early 1800s. This would indicate that language was playing a different role in the immigrant Lutheran communities than in the Anabaptist

communities.

The strengths of this volume are its integrative approach, its unusual topic, and its readability. However, there are several places where the book could have been strengthened. The maps are important to understand the geographical placement of the people and places mentioned in the readings. However, those provided in the appendix are difficult to read and are not labeled. A specific map indicating the location of the cemeteries where JB's tombstones are found would have been much appreciated. Because this is almost a coffee-table book, the pixilated digital photos (fine for a thesis) should have been retaken for the book. Finally, the organization was sometimes hard to follow, as the author skipped from background material to tombstone analysis several times. Overall, though, the book fills an important niche by demonstrating how to incorporate cemetery studies into local history research, well beyond the typical genealogical domain.

Diverse readers will be interested in *Known by the Work of his Hands:* historians, genealogists, artists, and the general audience with an interest in cemeteries. This would also be a wonderful book for professionals outside these areas interested in a "case study" introduction to the importance of cemeteries and tombstones in understanding a community and culture. However, a check of online booksellers shows that the work is not available to the general browsing public. Because this book is written with such accessible language, and would be of interest to anyone who has stopped by a cemetery to wander, it would benefit from wider distribution.

SUNY College at Potsdam *Bethany M. Usher*

Nach Amerika!: Geschichte der liechtensteinischen Auswanderung nach Amerika in zwei Bänden; Band I: Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert; Register mit persönlichen Daten aller bekannten Auswanderer; Personen und Ortsregister für die Bände I und II; Band II: Einzelbiographien von Personen und Familien; Beiträge von Auswanderern.

Volume I by Norbert Jansen. Edited by Pio Schurti and Norbert Jansen. Vaduz: Historischer Verein für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein; Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 1998. 267 + 298 pages.

A seven-year research project undertaken by the Historical Society of the Principality of Liechtenstein has resulted in an impressive two-volume set documenting the history of emigration from Liechtenstein to North and South America spanning the last two centuries. In volume one Jansen provides the context for emigration by describing the social and economic conditions in Liechtenstein that resulted in departure for the New World as well as the conditions in America that beckoned the immigrants. He goes on to provide a detailed account of the emigration from Liechtenstein during the last two centuries. The emigrants are followed to their new homes in the United States and other areas of the Americas. Interestingly, the pattern of emigration from the principality parallels that from the other parts of German-speaking Central Europe.

Two of the earliest groups of emigrants from Liechtenstein arrived in New Orleans in the early 1850s and continued up the Mississippi, finding new homes in the vicinity of Dubuque, Iowa. Many more came in the decade of the 1880s. A second larger group settled twenty miles up the Mississippi in Guttenberg, Iowa. Smaller settlements of Liechtensteiners are documented for Freeport, Illinois, Wabash, Indiana, and O'Neill, Nebraska. The ebb and flow of nineteenth century emigration from Liechtenstein follows the well-known political and economic upheavals on both sides of the Atlantic as one might expect.

In the 1920s, following economic collapse and severe floods in the Rhine Valley, another wave of Liechtensteiners headed for America. These immigrants headed for Midwestern industrial cities such as Chicago, Milwaukee, and Cincinnati. Following a post-World War II group of immigrants, the departure of Liechtensteiners to the New World has slowed to a trickle. Smaller numbers of the twentieth-century immigrants also went to Canada, Argentina and Brazil.

In the epilogue to the first volume, the author has been able to document some 1,600 Liechtensteiners who emigrated—principally for economic reasons—to America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This seventy-page index of emigrants represents, in effect, a case study in which all known emigrants, whether individual or families, from one country have been compiled with information relating to origin, destination, family composition, and also whether the individual or family returned to Liechtenstein.

Some interesting statistics are presented or can be derived regarding the emigration. Emigrants during the nineteenth century comprise 60 percent of all emigrants to America from Liechtenstein. Approximately 75 percent of emigrants were individual males or male heads of household; 25 percent were female or widows with children. Nearly 92 percent had as a destination the United States; about 5 percent had Canada; and only 3 percent had various South American countries. A total of 10 percent returned to Liechtenstein, although the rate for the nineteenth century was only 3 percent of returnees versus 21 percent for those whose original emigration was in the twentieth century.

The second volume compiled by Schurti and Jansen offers insights into the subjective decision to leave one's native land and travel across the ocean to seek a better life. In the first part are some fifteen biographical essays relating the histories of families or individuals who participated in the emigration from Liechtenstein. In the second part, the authors have either obtained personal statements from or interviewed sixteen emigrants from Liechtenstein living in the New World and one who returned to Liechtenstein for their personal impressions on the emigration experience. Taken together with the historical and statistical information in volume one, volume two provides needed detail and very personal, subjective views on nearly every facet of emigration from this small country in the middle of Europe.

All in all, the publication is a thorough, very detailed account of the emigration from Liechtenstein to the New World and a handsome boxed set richly illustrated with documents and photographs. The two volumes will not only be of value to those who are of Liechtenstein descent or modern Liechtensteiners, who wonder

why so many of their fellow citizens left their homeland for America, but also for scholars of German emigration in general. By focusing with such thoroughness on the emigration from one—albeit very small—German-speaking country in Central Europe, the authors have offered a model case study for the entirety of that emigration.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Pribers Paradies: Ein deutscher Utopist in der amerikanischen Wildnis.
By Ursula Naumann. Die Andere Bibliothek. Frankfurt: Eichborn, 2001. 317 pages.

In her lively account, Ursula Naumann pieces together the American adventures of a German utopian of a special sort. His projected "Paradies" was not the religious commune of a group trying to live the life of the disciples of Christ, but a secular community, a republic with equal rights for women and men, no discrimination on racial and religious grounds, a haven for runaway black slaves and white indentured servants. There was to be no private property, equal duty for work and communal responsibilities, no distinctions in dress, and a minimum of laws and punishments.

All of this could have happened on Indian territory in Tennessee close to Georgia and South Carolina in the 1740s. The protagonist of this exciting story is not exactly well known in German-American studies; his name may be familiar only to some specialists of the history of the American Southeast.

He was Christian Gottlieb Prieber; he spelled it "Priber" in America, other variants are Pryber and Preber. He was born in Zittau, 21 March 1697. Zittau, on the river Neisse, now close to the corner where Poland, the Czech Republic and Germany come together, a town of less than 50,000 inhabitants, founded in the thirteenth century and a traditional center of the textile industry, especially linen, with around 7,000 inhabitants during Prieber's time. It was exposed to the Thirty Years' War, and later to the wars between Austria and Prussia after 1740. During Prieber's childhood, Zittau, as part of Saxony, suffered from the (second) Northern War between Russia, Poland (plus Saxony), and Sweden, especially when it was occupied by Russian troops. Prieber, the oldest son of a rather well-to-do merchant, completed the *Gymnasium* and went on to study law at the universities of Leipzig and Erfurt where he obtained the degree of a Dr. juris in 1722. He went home to marry and practice as an attorney. Some time after 1731 and before 1733, he disappeared from Zittau.

At that time, in 1732, King George II granted the charter for the establishment of Georgia. In 1733, the city of Savannah was laid out. James Edward Oglethorpe hoped to establish a colony on liberal principles. He tried to populate the new state with independent farmers, contrary to the slave economy of neighboring South Carolina. This did not succeed. Pressures for the expansion of white settlements led eventually to the removal of the Native Americans on the western border, the Cherokee Trail of Tears. But Prieber must have had high hopes for the new land of Georgia.

In their meeting of 18 June 1735, the trustees of the colony of Georgia gave this certain Mr. Christian Gottlieb Priber the permission to sail there. Priber, however,

went to Charleston, instead of Savannah, and obtained a claim of 600 acres in the northwest of South Carolina where he moved in spring 1736. By the end of 1737 he had left South Carolina and lived with the Cherokee Indians in Great Tellico west of the Appalachians, in today's Tennessee. He learned their language very fast, he dressed and lived as they did, he had an Indian wife and a daughter by the name of Creat.

The governors of South Carolina and Georgia became concerned about his presence and influence, because they thought that he was French, and the British and the French competed for the dominance of the Indian tribes. It got worse when it turned out that Priber indoctrinated the Cherokee against the promises of the British and told them to be on guard against treacherous treaties and contracts. Priber told the Cherokees that they were a nation just like the French and British kingdoms, they should guard and maintain their national borders and deal with the Europeans on an equal footing. Furthermore, they should be wary of the white traders and be sure that they would get fair deals.

But the threat to British economic interests and expansionism went even further. He acted like a foreign minister for the Cherokee; they became much more assertive in their dealings with white officials and traders. Furthermore, Priber urged the Indians to form a larger confederation of tribes as the only possible defense against white expansion.

During these years, Priber was making plans for his "Paradies." He wrote down the constitution for his project and possibly kept a diary, but his manuscripts are lost. Therefore, information on him comes from other sources, and is not easy to evaluate, because it is all partisan, usually hostile. There was also a language problem: Priber knew many languages, for instance French, and communicated well with the Indians, but his English was rudimentary. Ursula Naumann's sympathetic rendering of Priber's life and projects relies, therefore, on her interpretation of the documents, and differs from that of other historians.

There is an account by a French captive of the Indians, Antoine Bonnefoy, whom Priber tried to enlist for his project of the "Paradies" republic that seems most trustworthy in its details. This republic, beginning as a "town," never materialized, but it added considerably to the aura of menace to British interests that surrounded Priber. The French were more interested in trade and in maintaining their Louisiana colony than in settling the region; therefore, their dealings with Indian tribes were less treacherous, and Priber may have thought of them as friendly partners.

The governors of South Carolina and Georgia made several attempts to capture Priber, mainly because of his influence among the Cherokee and Creek Indians hostile to their interests. Later it was realized as well that he favored harboring runaway slaves and indentured servants—who would be among the inhabitants of his "Paradies." The British succeeded in 1743 when Priber was on his way to Mobile, Alabama, or Fort Toulouse, presumably for negotiations with the French. Priber was brought to Fort Frederica, on St. Simons Island. He was questioned by Oglethorpe who also tried to decipher Priber's manuscripts, before he sailed back to England, and Priber's project was considered a serious threat to British plans. Therefore he remained as a military prisoner at Frederica on dubious charges.

During this time the legend arose that Priber was a German Jesuit who planned to establish a Jesuit Indian state like in Paraguay. Priber remained a captive in Frederica until a great fire and explosion of munition and bombs in 1744 destroyed most of the houses and barracks. A later account of an officer stationed there during this time considered him stoic, even cheerful in spite of his captivity. He must have died there some time afterwards. Fort Frederica was abandoned. The descendants of Priber's four German children are numerous, and his Indian daughter seems to have had many descendants as well.

Naumann, in her account, follows the chronology, but intertwines the events of the 1730s and 1740s with her own search for Priber's identity, ideas, and biography, and her secret but futile hope to discover Priber's lost manuscripts. She tells the story whenever possible by quoting the eyewitness accounts on Priber (in her own excellent translations) and provides the historical, ethnological, and geographical background needed for a German audience—probably for most Americans as well. She tries and usually succeeds in maintaining the fine line between a historical novel and a historian's scholarly biography. For the sake of readability, the scholarly apparatus is kept to a minimum. However, her endnotes and bibliography offer ample documentation and enough possibilities for further reading. Nauman has spent years in archives and visited the areas where Priber lived, in Germany and America, she discovered new documents, and also found and contacted his descendants in Germany who were unaware of their ancestor.

Her descriptions are lively and make good reading, while remaining historically reliable. The register of all dramatic personae is a welcome addition. The book is well presented, with a pleasing print and a good number of relevant illustrations.

Priber crossed the path of only a few Germans while he lived in this American region: the Salzburgers in Ebenezer and their leader Johann Martin Boltzius come to mind. And, in Fort Frederica, there must have been some Germans, as there was a Lutheran minister named Johann Ulrich Driessler who mentions Priber in his reports. He must have encountered some German craftsmen in Charleston while he stayed there. But Priber's story proves that the Southeast in its early days should be of some interest for German-American studies.

For a man of the early Enlightenment from a small town in eastern Saxony (not too far from Kamenz), Priber's ideas and project seem extraordinary. There is no doubt that he learned much from the Cherokee when he lived among them. The Cherokee, on the other hand, acted in his spirit when they later established an independent nation that was brutally crushed by the United States. It seems worthwhile to follow the trail from the German Enlightenment of Thomasius and Leibniz to equal rights for men and women and all races in North America in other instances. Maybe Priber was not the only dreamer of this kind?

This is a book that can provide interesting course material, either through excerpts or by retelling parts of the story, as it combine the history of the Native Americans, of the Southeast United States, and a German immigrant who wanted to change the

world into an enlightened republic of peace. It should offer ample substance for lively discussions.

Texas A&M University *Wulf Koepke*

Anaheim - Utopia Americana: Vom Weinland zum Walt Disney-Land: Eine Stadtbiographie.

By Rainer Vollmar. Erdkundliches Wissen, vol. 126. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1998. 289 pages. Euro 24.00.

Anaheim - Utopia Americana is an intriguing cultural geography of the city of Anaheim, California. Rainer Vollmar has written a city biography in which he illustrates the transformation of Anaheim from an agricultural community in the nineteenth century to the home of the world famous Disneyland in southern California of today.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part Vollmar traces back the city's history to the founding days of 1857 when members of the German Los Angeles Weingarten Verein (Los Angeles Vineyard Society) staked out their shares to plant their vineyards. During the first years the settlement, also known as "Campo Alemán" to the Indian and Mexican population, overcame a number of natural catastrophes, including floods and drought. After the vineyards were destroyed by diseases, and watering problems remained unmanageable, the farmers discontinued their interest in vine and turned to other crops such as oranges, lemons, and olives. When the Southern Pacific Railroad (1874-75) and Santa Fe Railroad (1887) gave easier access to the community Anaheim's population grew larger at the end of the nineteenth century. In the following years more roads and larger industries aided the small city in its development. Although German cultural life survived during WWI the number of the original German settlers and their influence slowly faded. In preparation for WWII the city became the home of a number of war factories. They remained in Anaheim even after the war, which led to an extreme population growth between 1950 and 1980. Furthermore, Walt Disney became interested in the city to establish a "Disney Theme Park" during the 1950s. On 17 July 1955 today's world-famous Disneyland opened its doors within the city limits. Since then it has became the most popular tourist attraction in southern California, drawing millions of visitors to Anaheim every year.

In the second part Vollmar illustrates the impact Disneyland has had on the city. He examined how the large Disney enterprise transformed and formed the city of Anaheim, erased its small town flair, and put its company's stamp on the town. Since the opening of Disneyland the Disney corporation has entered into a private-public partnership with the city. The company's investment in the town, constant streams of tourists, and increasing numbers of consumers have since then shaped the city's history, geography, urban planning, and politics, and made it a new "company town." To meet the company's demands for space and infrastructure, roads and neighborhoods had to

be built, moved, and reconstructed. In a most thought-provoking way Vollmar illustrates the struggle between private and public interest over space and resources and the negotiation processes which have marked the relationship between city and company.

With the example of Anaheim, Vollmar shows how company interests and consumer habits shape today's architecture and city planning. Large theme parks such as Hersheypark, Hershey, PA, or Sea World of Florida, Orlando, FL, have taken over large parts of spare-time activities and amusements. Their impact on the community is felt not only by new jobs and the influx of people but also by the demands these companies make on the cities they move to. As one of the first cities with a gigantic corporate theme park Anaheim serves as an example for a twentieth-century postmodern "entrepreneurial city" where entertainment and sports enterprises have become main businesses.

The book gives a lively and well written account of the developments and transformations of Anaheim, how the city is shaped by private interests, how city planners are led by business concerns, and how historic buildings and neighborhoods have to give way to market interests. Although Vollmar touches on the German roots of the city the book is written with a clear focus on the question of what influence Disneyland has had on the city since the 1950s.

The study is very well researched. Vollmar has used a wide range of historical, geographical, and architectural sources. The text is enriched with 164 illustrations, 31 newspaper clippings, and 36 tables in which statistical material is presented. On nearly every page, maps and photographs help the reader to visualize Anaheim's transformation. In a back pocket the reader also finds several city maps, and copies of aerial pictures of the city. The book certainly would find a much larger readership if it had been written in English.

Anaheim - Utopia Americana is a superb example of how a small ethnic community in the nineteenth century has become a "Mickeytropolis: Fun, Sport and Convention City in Tomorrowland" (249).

Bonn, Germany *Katja Rampelmann*

Early German-American Newspapers: Daniel Miller's History.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001. vii +111 pages. $15.00.

The publication under review is a reprint of a long article that originally appeared in *Pennsylvania German Society Proceedings and Addresses,* vol. 19 (1910). Daniel Miller traced the history of German newspapers in the American colonies and the United States from their beginnings in the first half of the eighteenth century until roughly the middle of the nineteenth century, although there is no rigid cut-off date and the author occasionally comments on later circumstances right up to his own days. Geographically the book is, for obvious historical reasons, mainly concerned with Eastern Pennsylvania, and Miller's hometown and county, Reading and Berks County,

are treated with particularly loving care. As a bibliography, this work is, of course, largely superseded, but it still provides valuable insights by fleshing out the purely bibliographical information. Another important contribution, as the editor notes in his introduction, is the inclusion of facsimiles of countless early newspaper mastheads and other pictorial material.

Most striking for the modern reader is the difficulty of newspaper production and the newspaper business in general in those early days. Invariably they were shoestring operations, and accordingly most of them had a short lifespan. One cannot but admire the ambition, industriousness, and above all the sheer optimism of the printers and publishers. Benjamin Franklin in his first attempt to produce a German-language paper in the New World hoped it to be financially viable with just 300 subscribers, but when only fifty came forward, he went ahead anyway. Small wonder then that his enterprise did not last long. The low population density was one of the major factors that worked against early newspaper publishers. Even major political centers were just villages by modern standards; in 1794, Harrisburg had a population of no more than 800, but this was considered enough to support a German newspaper beside the English one.

Another headache for publishers was the matter of distribution, which was haphazard at best. By 1790 there were just seventy-five post offices for the whole nation, of which ten served Pennsylvania, with a single post office serving the state of New York. As a result, readers or subscribers, particularly in the country, had to have as much faith in receiving their paper as publishers in receiving payment. At a later time, private postriders were common. Instructive is the example of the *Unpartheyische Reading Adler,* which in 1796 was delivered in town by carriers and in the country "by first opportunity." Even what we would consider the basis of the whole business, the *news* in *news*papers, had to be taken *cum grano salis.* Locally, nothing much seemed to have happened most of the time anyway, and when it happened, reports did not reach the office for a while. Publishers therefore relied to a large extent on second-hand information culled from European newspapers which were several months old by the time they reached American shores. The purely technical challenges were also formidable: a substantial number of early German-American papers were produced on presses built locally by craftsmen on the model of cider presses.

As if this was not enough, newspaper publishing at times posed its own dangers. Freedom of the press is a relative term, even in the land of the free. Comparatively well-known is the fate of Christoph Saur, Jr., who, as a member of the Church of the Brethren, was for religious reasons opposed to rebellion against the lawful authorities. In 1778, he was arrested, stripped, shaved, painted red and black, and marched from Germantown to Valley Forge. His property was confiscated, which meant the end of the original famous Saur printing firm. Other printers of revolutionary times with politically incorrect views had their equipment destroyed or were forced into line by strong-arm techniques, though Saur was, as far as we know, the only German-American among them who suffered. When in 1799 taxes on houses and their windows gave rise in several eastern Pennsylvania counties to the "Fries rebellion," which had to be put down by calling in the military, the Reading newspaper publisher Jacob Schneider

was publicly flogged for having printed an article critical of the forces of the government.

Despite these obstacles, the number of early German-language newspapers, some of them published in what can only be described as out-of-the-way places in rural Pennsylvania, is truly astonishing, even though many foundered after a year or two. The political controversies of the day clearly fueled many activities in the newspaper business, as did religious or denominational considerations. Daniel Miller's *History* opens a window into that fascinating time. Readers interested in the history of early German-American printing and publishing will welcome this reprint.

University of Cincinnati *Manfred Zimmermann*

A Chorus of Different Voices: German-Canadian Identities.
Ed. by Angelika E. Sauer and Matthias Zimmer. American University Studies, Series 9, History. New York: Peter Lang, 1998. x + 244 pages. $44.95.

With *A Chorus of Different Voices: German-Canadian Identities,* the editors hoped "to create a starting point for discussion and initiate dialogue with other areas of ethnic studies by opening up the boundaries of a closely guarded field" (x). They succeed. *Chorus*, a collection of essays resulting from a workshop held in Edmonton, Alberta, in 1996, offers a wide ranging and challenging exploration of what it means to be German-Canadian. This collection demonstrates that the label "German-Canadian" has multiple meanings, incorporates a diversity of experiences, and denotes no clear cultural, religious, ethnic, or historical boundaries.

The first essay, Dieter Haselbach's "The Social Construction of Identity: Theoretical Perspectives," warns of the dangers of studies such as those undertaken in this collection. With identity comes exclusion, Haselbach argues, in a discussion that is, in fact, a critique of identity as social construction, multiculturalism as a political goal, and the politics of identity. It is an interesting essay to start with, not only because of the questions Haselbach raises about this kind of research, but also because of the assumptions he himself makes about who German-Canadians are. His discussion seems to focus primarily on those who move between two distinct, clearly bounded cultures, a generational issue he does not resolve. To what extent do second, third and subsequent generations alternate between distinct cultures? Is there, as Haselbach suggests, "dual identity"? Matthias Zimmer, in "Deconstructing German-Canadian Identity," takes on these questions and concludes that, in fact, there is no distinct German-Canadian identity because there is no "essential notion of Germanness" shared by all Germans. German-Canadians, he argues, have different histories, they (or their ancestors) came to Canada at different times from different places and social conditions, and the majority are no longer bound to each other by German as a common language. German-Canadians are, Zimmer argues, more "divided by their Germanness … than united by it" (33).

Oda Lindner, in "Is Biculturalism a Viable Concept? Evidence from German-

Canadians," suggests, on the other hand, that German-Canadians frequently have dual cultural membership. Lindner uses the German-Canadians as a type case to present a model of biculturalism as both behavioral adjustment and cultural amalgamation. Nevertheless, it is a model still in the making. Oversimplifying both bilingualism and biculturalism, Lindner begins by suggesting that bicultural German-Canadians are like bilinguals who switch from one language to another depending on context. She concludes, however, that two independent cultural systems cannot be maintained, and, ultimately, defines German-Canadians as those who blend two cultural backgrounds into one. Her work begs the question raised by Zimmer: What two cultural backgrounds are being blended? And, if Germans immigrating to Canada came for a variety of reasons, with different histories, social circumstances, political views, religious backgrounds, and even language varieties, is there just one German-Canadian blend?

Manfred Prokop, in his article "The Maintenance and Survival of the German Language in Canada: A Follow-Up Study," implicitly defines German-Canadian as German-speaking Canadian and equates the loss of German with the loss of German culture in Canada. Offering little new for researchers of language maintenance and shift, Prokop demonstrates that those who settled in rural areas have maintained German more successfully than urban settlers, and that sectarian German speakers (rural Mennonites and, especially, the Hutterites) have maintained German more successfully than their non-sectarian neighbors (cf. H. Kloss, "German Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, J. A. Fishman, ed. [The Hague: Mouton, 1966], 206-52; M. L. Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 25 [1980]: 43-57). The conclusion he reaches is that, with the loss of language, German culture in Canada will be reduced to *Wurst* stands at folk festivals (and that the only true German-Canadians will be those in German-speaking religious enclaves).

Whereas Mennonite historians seem often to explore Mennonite history in isolation, to consider Mennonites and other Anabaptist groups apart from the broader waves of German immigration from Europe, as if they were not affected by the same forces, Prokop gives little attention to how and why religious differences contribute to patterns of German language maintenance. The result is a far simpler picture of German-Canadian identity, one that fails to explain how identity might change over time and place. While recognizing that identity is a dynamic process and is realized in a variety of ways, Wsevolod W. Isajiw also studies Germans as a monolithic group. His article, "Identity and Identity-Retention Among German Canadians: Individual and Institutional," which is based on data collected in a 1979 study of ethnic groups in Toronto, measures ethnic identity according to language use; practice of ethnic traditions, such as eating ethnic food at festivals, observing ethnic customs, and possession of ethnic articles; and group obligations. He reports that Germans appear to lose their identity faster than the comparable groups studied, including "majority Canadian," English, Italian, Jewish, and Ukrainian. One can question the choice of groups studied. For example, are Jews to be identified only by religious affiliation and not the national origin of the immigrating family members? Moreover, Isajiw

augments his Toronto data with results of a nationwide survey conducted by Statistics Canada that documented, among other things, the number of ethnic community organizations and ethnic community media. To what extent the definition of groups in the Isajiw study is comparable to that in the national study is unclear. Moreover, the data as presented in this article tell us little about how Germans identify with each other. German-Canadians rank third in the number of ethnic publications, but who are the readers? Do sectarian publications count in this total? Isajiw recognizes that his study may not assess what kind of identity (identities?) German-Canadians share, especially in the second, third, and subsequent generations, but, he argues, the data support a notion of identity as a dynamic process.

The rest of the articles in this collection draw on historical research to reaffirm the dynamic nature of ethnic identity. Gerhard P. Bassler's essay, "German-Canadian Identity in Historical Perspective," argues that, while German immigrants to Canada had diverse origins, their identity as German-Canadians was forged in the process of immigration and settlement. German-Canadian identity is, thus, historically conditioned and its boundaries ever shifting. It is these boundaries, Bassler suggests, that we need to study further. In his essay, "The German-Canadian Experience Viewed Through Life Writings, 1850s to 1930s," Dirk Hoerder draws on immigrant life-writings to demonstrate that newly arrived Germans had widely varying experiences depending on when and where they settled. Hoerder suggests that, in exploring German-Canadian identity, we need to begin asking how new immigrants (and, I suggest, their descendants) participated in Canadian life and how did they interact with those from other cultural backgrounds.

In "'As I Experienced Them Myself': The Autobiographical German-Language Immigrant Woman in Prairie Canada, 1874-1910," Royden Loewen brings gender into the discussion of identity to suggest that women's narratives tell a very different story than men's. Loewen recognizes the diversity of the immigrant experience and explores the interaction of religion, place of origin (the *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche*), the nature of immigration (whether the immigrant came alone, met family who had gone on ahead, came in a group, or migrated following an earlier immigration), and gender in shaping the immigrant experience. Similarly, John Walsh's essay, "Ethnicity, Family, and Community: German Canadians in Suburban Ottawa, 1890-1914," looks at ethnicity, gender, class, age, and place as connections between family and community and argues that these links are socially constructed and so experiences change over time. Focusing his study on New Edinburgh, a largely working class district in Ottawa, the capital city, Walsh uses census, assessment and church records to document both family (private) and community (public) life in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His work demonstrates the development of competing German-Canadian identities as individuals moved between family, neighborhood, and different religious, political and work communities.

Yet, while Bassler, Hoerder, Loewen, and Walsh demonstrate the diversity of the German-Canadian experience and German-Canadian identity, Barbara Lorenzkowski demonstrates the power of external forces on ethnic identity. In her article "'Spies', 'Saboteurs', and 'Subversives:'" German-Canadian Internees and the Wartime

Discourse at the Canadian home front, 1939-1945," Lorenzkowski analyzes how the Canadian government constructed a dominant wartime discourse in which German-Canadians were defined as either "good" or "bad" (Nazi). Asking what the government determined to be dangerous, disloyal and guilty versus harmless, and innocent, she compared these definitions with the biographical data of wartime internees to understand the Canadian government's construction of "Nazi German." In so doing Lorenzkowski demonstrates how the Canadian government failed to meet its own internment goals.

In "Immigrants' Identities: The Narratives of a German-Canadian Migration," Alexander Freund looks at how German women immigrating to Canada following World War II reconciled competing discourses to construct themselves as women and good Canadians. "People construe narratives as guiding frameworks for their lives and as aides in the conceptualizations of themselves," argues Freund (189). Similarly, in "'Kinder, Küche, Kirche': Re-creating Identity in Postwar Canada," Hans Werner explores the role of memories in the "re-creation" of identity for ethnic German immigrants to Canada. According to Werner, the separation and upheaval of wartime challenged traditional ethnic German notions of gender, family, and identity and led ethnic Germans, in their search for stability, to emphasize and extend the role of family life in a search for stability.

In the final essay of the collection, "The 'Ideal German-Canadian': Politics, Academics and the Historiographical Construction of German-Canadian Identity," Angelika E. Sauer argues that the study of German-Canadians has been overly political and has, as a result, developed "blind spots" (228). Researchers have, she suggests, minimized conflict within the German-Canadian community, downplayed the cultural differences between groups of ethnic Germans, and excluded from study individuals and groups who did not meet the imposed German-Canadian norms. Two issues that must be explored, she asserts are "the assumption that there is a secular ethnic German identity and that it is somehow tied to the use of the German language" (232). Her analysis of the state of German-Canadian studies sets the stage for new and exciting work.

Each article concludes with notes. There is no comprehensive bibliography or index, which is unfortunate. This collection of essays is a conversation about a group that, at the end, remains ill defined. There is no single methodology that brings these essays together, nor is there a single object or purpose of study. But, in exploring the foundation and construction of German-Canadian identity—in acknowledging that German-Canadian identity (whatever it is) is constructed, not given, and in raising questions about the impact of experience, religion, gender, and language on the construction of this identity—the essays in this volume provide a means of bringing German-Canadian studies into the larger discussion of ethnic identity.

SUNY Potsdam *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Images of Germany: Perceptions and Conceptions.
Edited by Peter M. Daly, Hans Walter Frischkopf, Trudis E. Goldsmith-Reber, Horst Richter. McGill European Studies, vol. 3. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. xxiv + 244 pages. $57.95.

Images of Germany: Perceptions and Conceptions offers a selection of the papers presented at the second international German Studies conference, held at McGill University in September 1997. As Peter Daly notes in the introduction, images of Germany "run the gamut" from the tourist stereotype to informed, scholarly statements, and what one thinks of Germany depends on who and where one is. This collection of essays presents a range of statements about Germany and Germans, from official pronouncements by those in government positions to a study of German stereotypes in popular North American culture. It is a collection of fascinating studies of a country and a people.

The editors have grouped the articles in this work into six sections. The first, "Inner-German Views: Official Perspectives," begins with Hans-Günter Sulimma's "Germany Today: Realities and Challenges," a remarkable essay in that it presents the way in which German officials would like Germany to be viewed: a unified, "new" Germany, a reliable trading partner, a nation committed to working together with its neighbors. Sulimma, the ambassador of the Federal Republic of Germany to Canada, argues the need for the media to spread this image. In "The Role of Inter Nationes in Propagating an Image of Germany Abroad," Rainer Epbinder of Inter Nationes, a private though federally-funded agency dedicated to informing people in other nations about Germany, takes pains to point out that there is no official image of Germany; Germany is, rather, a "mosaic" (11), and the goal of Inter Nationes is to engage in dialogue though which it presents the diverse images of Germany. These first two articles tell us much about how official Germany hopes to be perceived and, thus, are a starting point from which to consider the way in which Germany is, in fact, perceived. They are a fascinating beginning to a work that explores not what Germany is, but rather what people think it is or represent it to be.

The other two articles in this first section offer "official perspectives" only in that their authors analyze official German "publications"—presidential speeches and postal stamps, respectively. In "The Image of Germany in Selected Speeches of Presidents of the Federal Republic of Germany," Trudis E. Goldsmith-Reber argues that speeches given by post-WWII German presidents reflect dominant images of Germany, including, she suggests, the German work ethic, Berlin as a new social contract, the call for civic courage, and the burden of the Holocaust. As such, they represent answers to the question guiding Goldsmith-Reber's research: Who are the Germans? But, while Goldsmith-Reber points out themes, she does little socio-political analysis of the speeches themselves, which is unfortunate, for such analysis might shed light on evolving images of Germany within Germany. This is certainly the outcome of Margarete L. Myers's very interesting study of "Propaganda at the Post Office: Competing Visions of Germany in the Postage Stamps of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, 1949-1959." Noting that, following WWII, both Germanys were intent on reconstructing their respective political and

national identities, Myers explores how this played out in the images on postal stamps. These reveal, she argues, different and evolving interpretations of progress, democracy, and culture.

The second set of articles, subtitled "Inner-German Views: As Expressed in Literature, Film and Culture," all focus on the conflicting images of Germany that have played out in the arts of East and West. In "Twilight over Hermlin: Controversial Readings of Abendlicht." Andreas Solbach considers the response of the West German literary world to East German writer Stephan Hermlin's presentation of himself as an antifascist freedom fighter and argues that the controversy over inconsistencies in Hermlin's public biography is a metaphor for the deeper struggle between the East and West German states to define truth. Imke Meyer's "Hemp Shirts, Dress Shirts, Brown Shirts: Gender and Political Discourse in Annegret Held's Prose Sketch 'Political'" is far more narrow in its focus, suggesting that Held's prose sketch "Political" fails because it ends up reproducing and affirming the political structures it claims to oppose. Meyer suggests that this failure to explore the implications of one's political (or apolitical) rhetoric is common to post-reunification literature and argues the need to question current political discourse. Andrea Rinke argues, in "Images of an Extinct State: Heroines in the GDR Cinema," that GDR filmmakers often used female protagonists to present the GDR as progressive, reinforcing the moral superiority of the socialist GDR over the capitalist FRG. Finally, Arnd Bohm discusses one of the most striking of recent images of Germany in "Veil of Allusions: Christo's Wrapping of the Reichstag." Discussing the way in which the project changed from conception to implementation, Bohn argues that Christo's wrapping of the Reichstag came to symbolize opposing images of Germany, both its past and its future.

"Inner-German Views: East German Images of West Germany" presents essays that discuss how the inhabitants of the former GDR have viewed their neighbors in the west. Gary Bruce's " 'Our Elections Have Nothing to Do with Democracy': East German Popular Perceptions of West German Democracy in the Early 1950s" argues that East Germans viewed the West German political system very positively in the early years of the GDR. In fact, Bruce suggests, social unrest in the GDR during this period demonstrated a desire on the part of those in the East for German unification under the West German political system. Looking at attitudes forty years later in "East German Adolescents' Attitudes Towards West German Democracy," Hans Oswald argues that the processes of modernization may have been different in the East than in the West and, hence, that Western standards do not necessarily evaluate East German achievements or lifestyle adequately. Moreover, Oswald asserts, since unification arrogant West German views of the East have, in turn, influenced East German views of the West. Oswald concludes that the integration of East German adolescents in the Western system will depend on their own experience of unification and suggests the 1998 election, when they have the right to vote for the first time, will provide further opportunity to analyze their evolving identification with the west. Given the publication date of 2000, it is unfortunate that this essay was not revised to include this analysis, for it makes the essay appear dated. It is also unfortunate that there are no essays that explore West German views about East Germans and their

integration into the West German political and social systems.

Although adolescents in the former GDR may still be making up their minds about the new Germany, immigrants arrive with particular expectations. We read of these in the fourth section "Views of Immigrants to Germany." Julius H. Schoeps explores "The Images of Germany Held by Russian Jews: Trends and Developments in Jewish Migration to the Federal Republic of Germany," and Matthias Konzett investigates "Post-Ideological Tendencies in German-Turkish Writers." Each presents complex images of Germany. According to Schoeps, Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe find greater security in Germany than in their homelands even as some feel guilt for settling there. On the other hand, Germans continue to feel guilt over the Holocaust yet point to the growing Jewish community as evidence of the German democracy at work. The attitudes of both groups need further exploration. As Schoeps points out, the majority of those studied had been in Germany only a short time and had yet to face issues of citizenship and national identity. Unfortunately, although the author notes that these problems would likely arise after 1997, this essay, published in 2000, has not been revised to consider them, and so like Oswald's, Schoeps' conclusions already seem out of date. In looking at how "German" literature is defined, Konzett sheds light on how "Germans" define themselves and the other within German society, a key issue in the absorption of immigrants into German society. Konzett argues that German-Turkish writers face clichéd reader expectations, and works of minority authors remain ghettoized in the German literary canon. Interestingly, in claiming for German national literature the work of Aysel Özakin, born in Turkey but, at the time this essay was written, residing in London and writing her novels in Turkish or English, Konzett make even more complicated the notion of a national literature.

"Views from North America" presents essays that explore images of Germany in North American politics, popular culture, and education. Director of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Washington Office, Dieter Dettke suggests, in "Germany's Image in America: A Friendship with Undercurrents," that Americans hold as many negative images of Germany as positive ones. Drawing the important distinction between stereotype and imagè, Dettke looks at how images of Germany have changed even as stereotypes have remained stable. Surprisingly, he says little about the effects on North American views of Germany of Germany's role in European unification. In "A New German Stereotype: Images of Germans in American Pop Culture," Julie Hagedorn discusses competing stereotypes of Germans in popular American TV shows, arguing that a new, much less threatening German stereotype—the cultured, avant-garde, intellectual—is replacing the old jack-booted, bully. Although her evidence is not entirely convincing (is the avant-garde intellectual obsessed with Brecht really less threatening to a North American audience?), her research suggests ways in which the concerns (and fears) of North Americans shape North American images of Germany. Mark Webber argues that focusing on the context in which images occur is as important as focusing on the images themselves. In "Plus ça change ...? Images of Germany and the Germans in North American Textbooks of German," Webber points out that texts used in North American German language classrooms are, for most, the introduction to Germans and German culture. Unfortunately, he argues, these texts

present an abstract German world of tourist images, student life and picturesque country scenes that tells students little about the diversity and reality of German life. This is a complex essay, for, as Webber points out, a number of considerations (e.g., classroom needs, pedagogical style) affect textbook content. Still, Webber presents little in the way of concrete examples to support his assertions about the shortcomings of these texts, and he fails to explore how these texts are actually used (and, perhaps, supplemented) in classrooms. It would have been interesting if Webber had discussed his role as co-author of a competing text and had included his own text in the analysis, particularly since, he asserts, it tries to meet the concerns he raises in the essay.

In the final section of the book, "European Images of Germany," Lothar Baier considers her own experience as a German encountering the French in "Images of Germany in France and in Québec," a very interesting article that tells us more about a particular German's impressions of the French than vice versa. Similarly, Marketa Goetz-Stankiewicz's essay, "Václav Havel on the Global Stage: A Neighbourly Statesman Moulding His Nation's Image of Germany," tells us much about the factors shaping the Czech images of Germans and Germany and the role of Havel in shaping the way his nation responds to a new relationship with a united Germany. In these articles, we come to realize that images of Germany are not the responsibility of Germany alone, that they reflect a myriad of cultural histories, ideologies, and national myths.

Each essay has its own notes and works cited page, and there is an index to the work as a whole, which is very useful. The editors have declined to include a summary chapter. Thus, this collection presents us with a range of views and leaves us to draw our own conclusions. This is as it should be, for, as these works make clear, there is no one conclusion to draw. But, after reading this collection, we will be far more aware of the complexity of national and cultural identity.

SUNY Potsdam *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849.
By Justine Davis Randers-Pehrson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 18. New York: Peter Lang 1999. 585 pages. $ 69.96.

The 150th anniversary of the 1848-49 revolution in Germany was celebrated by a large number of international, national, and regional exhibitions, conferences, and publications that tried to summarize, re-interpret, or reveal new aspects of the events of the German *Vormärz* and revolution. Although gone down in history as an unsuccessful revolution, scholars agree that the political uprising of those days uprooted long-standing political, social, religious, and economic traditions, and laid the foundation of the liberal and democratic values of today. Prompted by the genealogical research on her great-grandfather Anton Joseph Kilp who had left Bavaria at the time, Justine Davis Randers-Person has also traced back the events of 1848-1849. The result is a well-written overview of the complex political and socio-economic

situation in the German states that triggered the revolution. In twenty-three chapters she lays out the social and political settings of the 1840s, the numerous liberal protest movements that had formed since the 1830s, the events during the revolution, and the counteraction by government forces.

The book begins with a portrait of the problems caused by the difficult transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society, the dislocation of people, the shaken European financial markets, and the closely related growing economic, social, and political tensions that had built up since the turn of the eighteenth century. Using a large number of contemporary first hand accounts Randers-Pehrson draws a lively picture of the social factors that dominated pre-revolutionary society such as the strict division of social classes or the access to education. She continues to chronicle the development of the various protest movements (such as the *Burschenschaften*, the *Turnvereine*, and secret lodges) that sympathized with other liberal reform movements in Europe, and began to voice their objections to the political conditions and established practices. Besides the commonly known resistance movements Randers-Pehrson also includes a brief history of the religious dissent movements of the 1840s—the "*Deutschkatholiken*" and "Protestant Friends of Light"—that, influenced by Hegelian philosophy, challenged the close connection between state and church. Furthermore, the author visits the cornerstones of protest activities in the 1830s (*Hambacher Fest, Frankfurter Wachesturm*) and introduces the reader to some of the key-figures of the time (Büchner, Weidig). Another positive aspect of the book is that Randers-Pehrson takes the reader beyond German boundaries to visit the various reform movements in Austria, Poland, Italy, and Switzerland. She manages to find an intriguing balance between detailed personal accounts of the time and the complicated general history of the revolution. She presents the complex events in various German states and the large number of individuals involved in a clear structure. Furthermore, Randers-Pehrson leads the reader through the intricate events of the Frankfurt Parliament, the assembly in the Paulskirche, and the Prussian National Constituent Assembly where she also depicts well-known figures such as von Gagern, Hecker and Struve. The book closes with a description of the post-revolutionary atmosphere that caused thousands of people to leave their homes, including her great-grandfather.

The book intends to give a general overview of the situation before and during the revolution. However, this rather broad and complex topic does not allow Randers-Pehrson to go into much detail. Important people, events, and movements are all pulled into the picture but only touched upon on the surface. Chapter headings such as "Religious Protest and the Ramifications into Politics and the Women's Movement" illustrate the sweeping and rather general nature of the book. For those who are less familiar with the historical situation in European states in the first half of the nineteenth century the book offers interesting reading, a clear structure, and a good general overview. Historians, however, should be advised that the book offers little new interpretation or insights into the current scholarly debate on the topic. A number of details, however, point to the fact that the book was written for a more popular, historically interested audience: Not all quotations are marked with their sources (e. g., 113 or 156); the study contains relatively few notes; or the use of older secondary

literature (she uses, e.g., Wilhelm Mommsen, *Größe und Versagen des deutschen Bürgertums*, 1949, but not Wolfgang Mommsen, *Die ungewollte Revolution*, 2d ed., 1998). Additionally, the book could have been edited more carefully. In chapter four, e. g., the reader finds note 48 in the text but not in the notes. Unfortunately, the book does not include an index.

However, the text is well written and easy to follow. The book contains a number of nice reprints of contemporary drawings and pictures. For those who are not looking for a detailed study of the 1848-49 revolution, *Germans and the Revolution of 1848-1849* offers enjoyable reading.

Bonn, Germany — *Katja Rampelmann*

Voyage to North America 1844-45: Prince Carl of Solms's Texas Diary of People, Places, and Events.

Translated by Wolfram M. Von-Maszewski. Introduction by Theodore Gish. Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2000. ix + 244 pages. $32.50.

"The largest single immigration of Germans to the United States, and certainly the most unusual, occurred in Texas around the middle of the nineteenth century. With a sense of noblesse oblige, the organization formed to direct this German colonization of Texas entitled itself the *Gesellschaft zum Schutz deutscher Einwanderer in Texas* (The Society for the Protection of the German Immigrants in Texas)" (1). On this note Theodore Gish begins his introduction to a remarkable document, an annotated translation by Wolfram M. Von-Maszewski of the original eighty-eight-page diary kept by Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, from the beginning of his journey to the United States in May 1844; through his pioneering efforts to establish a permanent German presence in and near the untamed Texas Hill Country; and culminating in New York shortly before his return to Europe in June 1845.

Indeed, the German colonization of Texas—from the port of Carlshafen (Indianola) to an interior area which would include enduring settlements such as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg—was remarkable for its lasting impact, in a region which, then as now, was best known for a strong Hispanic presence. While the *Adelsverein,* as the *Gesellschaft* otherwise was known, was never able to achieve its most expansive colonization goals for Texas, it did succeed in bringing some 10,000 German immigrants to the state by 1850 and encouraging another 10,000 to come as a result of its ongoing presence.

As Gish points out, the *Adelsverein* colonization of Texas may be regarded as the best documented immigration in the history of the United States: a 45,000-page collection of materials is preserved at Yale University, while other materials are under the care of the Rheinland-Pfalz state archives in Koblenz and the Schönstein Castle in Wissen, Germany, among other locations. In Wissen, Gish located the Solms diary—long misattributed to Count Edmond von Hartzfeldt—and made arrangements for the text to be transcribed for subsequent translation and future publication. For this

German-American scholars will be thankful for years to come; the resultant work shines an invaluable light upon the thoughts and actions of Solms and yields a unique firsthand perspective on the manner in which Germans came to settle in the relative wilds of Texas.

The first section of *Voyage to North America,* and by far the longest, consists of the Solms diary, divided into six chapters. Chapter one extends from the departure of Solms from the family castle along the Rhine River (13 May 1844) to his arrival at port in Boston, and his subsequent river journey of almost three weeks to New Orleans. Of particular interest here is his description of several important German-American centers of the mid-1800s, most notably New York, Baltimore, Cincinnati and Louisville, allowing us a compelling (albeit brief) glance into their German-American cultural and architectural development. Chapter two covers the arrival of Solms at Galveston and his first journey into the interior of Texas. Clearly the author encountered a very different environment than that to which he had become accustomed in Germany: here as in the first chapter, problems with nature ("*Saturday, July 6th.* A night without comparison, mosquitoes, fleas, lice." [36]), occasional sickness, and incessant heat make evident that outdoor life was often uncomfortable, and the threat of Indian raids a constant concern. The remaining four chapters offer ample evidence of the early friendships and business associations made by Solms in Texas, as well as travels to various parts of the Republic in search of suitable land for settlement.

For the most part, Solms is spartan in his writing: few journal entries are more than five to ten lines long, with some shorter ones inevitably devoid of important revelations ("*Saturday, [February] the 8th.* Did paper work all day until late in the evening." [118]). Yet even brief diary passages frequently provide people and place names which allow the reader to trace the development of the *Adelsverein* under Solms. Clearly mindful that some of these names are unfamiliar, especially to those without a background in Texas German studies, Von-Maszewski wisely incorporates an extensive array of detailed notes at the end of each chapter, which taken together effectively clarify the significance of many of the early associations made by Solms. In an additional welcome gesture, Von-Maszewski includes reproductions of various pages of the original diary—in old script—and accounting ledgers maintained by the *Adelsverein,* as well as illustrations of several key individuals and places in the life of Solms, most notably Sophie von Salm-Salm, whom he would eventually marry and to whom he frequently wrote throughout the time in which he kept his diary. Last but by no means least, a lengthy appendix includes a shorter diary written by Alexander Bourgeois d'Orvanne, the colonial director of the *Adelsverein* until his dismissal by Solms in August 1844. The text serves as an interesting counterpoint to the observations made by Solms in his own journal, though Gish rightly notes that the reader should take the Bourgeois entries with some measure of skepticism: much of what was written stems from the period around his firing and thus, as a "'managed' version of the events" (9), might be colored somewhat by the personal differences of the moment. Also present in the appendix is a selection of maps detailing the routes of Solms's various Texas travels from July 1844 to June 1845; an illuminating "Memoir on American Affairs" written by Solms shortly after his return to Germany and for presentation to Queen

Victoria in January 1846; and sundry lists of military commanders, vessels of war, and forces and posts in existence at the time when the diary entries were compiled.

Given the importance of the *Adelsverein* to German-American history and the settlement of Texas as a whole, there can be no underestimating the significance of the discovery of the Solms diary, and by extension the relevance of this new publication. For those interested in immigration studies and German-Americana generally, *Voyage to North America* should be welcomed as a remarkable first-person account of a significant arrival to American shores, deserving of a place in both personal and academic libraries. For those with a specific inclination toward German Texan studies and the history of Texas, it ranks as nothing less than a must-have.

Missouri Western State College *Timothy J. Holian*

Radical Passion: Ottilie Assing's Reports from America and Letters to Frederick Douglass.

Edited, translated, and introduced by Christoph Lohmann. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. xxxvii + 378 pages. $32.95.

With this volume of eighty essays and twenty-seven letters by Ottilie Assing (1819-1884), Christoph Lohmann, professor emeritus of English and American Studies at Indiana University launches the flagship in the New Directions in German-American Studies Series of the Longfellow Institute of Harvard University under the watchful eyes of Werner Sollors.

Although Lohmann points out early that Maria Diedrich of the University of Münster has written the definitive biography of Assing in *Love Across Color Lines: Ottilie Assing & Frederick Douglass,* which came out in the same year as this work, and although that study serves as his primary source for the details of Assing's life, this book nevertheless stands alone. Not only that, it makes you hunger for Diedrich's biography. Using archives in the United States, Poland, and Germany, Lohmann has collected as many essays and letters of Assing's as he could find, and has brilliantly translated them here. If it may be said that an easy read is a damned hard write, then this seamless, eloquent work reveals a lifetime of careful study of the English language by a native German speaker, and would in all probability even please fussy Miss Ottilie herself.

But what makes this a remarkable new contribution to German-American studies is the fact that Ottilie Assing is a brilliant writer, a fascinating personality, and an insightful observer of American politics, economics, religion, and culture per se. Through her own experience of the failed German revolution of 1848, this Jewess witnessed and wrote about some of the most tumultuous times in American history, besides being correspondent for the *Morganblatt,* and being personally involved with one of the greatest black men of that era. Furthermore, her own experiences with anti-Semitism in Germany uniquely prepared her for the struggle she took up with Frederick Douglass. Although strongly opinionated in favor of the European

intellectual, and generally scathing in her writings about America, Assing is transformed by America, and by virtue of her subject becomes one of the leading feminine essayists of that time. Lohmann's recovery of her hitherto unknown voice necessarily restructures debate within both the field of German-American studies, as well as American history in general.

For example, part of this intriguing new chapter in the narrative of Frederick Douglass is the mutual decision he and Ottilie made to keep it a secret, purposely destroying their correspondence. Without spoiling the story for the reader, and it is a great story, suffice it to say that Frederick Douglass becomes a much more complicated figure in American history as a result of this utterly German woman in his life. Lohmann, Diedrich, and one Terry H. Pickett, who made a "fortuitous discovery" of historical primary sources on Assing, therefore deserve credit for actually providing new directions in German-American studies with this first of a brand new series, and Sollors deserves to be pleased with both the trim and the tack of his flagship volume.

University of Illinois at Chicago *Raymond Lohne*

Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen: Regionalliterarische und interkulturelle Perspektiven der Kritik.
By Alexander Ritter. Munich: Verlag Süddeutsches Kulturwerk, 2001. 427 pages. Euro 24.00.

Alexander Ritter, *Privatdozent* at the University of Hamburg, has been waging his own private struggle against the *Germanistik* establishment for years. The product of this struggle is his new book, *Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen,* a collection of essays extending from 1979 to 1999, including a new preface. Since the prime mover of Ritter's book is a polemic, we have to ask ourselves whether there is just cause for such a crusade or whether his work merely contains issues of historical interest. Certainly Ritter's campaign is a noble one and it is gripping to read how he presents himself as a sole voice in the wilderness, clamoring to have the purview of German studies extended to include marginalized, neglected, and discredited literary works.

An important aspect of Ritter's argument is his *Ideologiekritik* of the terrain which German studies has mapped out as the appropriate domain of scholarly research. The two principal questions, which are reiterated in different essays in his study, are fundamental for understanding Ritter's contribution: "Wie viele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?" and "Warum verweigert sich die Germanistik den deutschsprachigen Minderheitenliteraturen?" (94). Both questions are, of course, complex and subject to careful, detailed analysis. Ritter argues with respect to the first question that German literature has been traditionally perceived as a binary construct, comprising what he calls "binnendeutsche Literatur," which encompasses the countries of Central Europe where German is the official language and then that literature produced in those areas of the world where German is in some cases a recognized minority language either previously under the aegis of a socialist ideology (Hungary, the Soviet Union, or Romania) or a language that is connected with a minority culture that operates freely

without any overt governmental persecution or discrimination (South Tyrol, Alsace, or Canada). In the latter country, the minority culture is not officially recognized nor is it subsidized by any state or other official organs or agencies and hence is endangered in another sense from the first set of countries mentioned. Here it is important to add, as Ritter trenchantly points out, that the terminology for these minority languages *qua* cultures is subject to dispute and is frequently susceptible to ideological coloring: "Minderheitenliteraturen tragen wechselnde und dabei irritierende Bezeichnungen, selbst bei identischer Sprachzugehörigkeit" (69). Thus, such terms as "auslandsdeutsche," "volksdeutsche," "deutsche," "deutschsprachige Literatur in Rumänien," "rumänische Literatur deutscher Sprache," "deutsch schreibender Autoren" are frequently used interchangeably without reflecting upon their accuracy or cultural valuation. The list is endless, but Ritter finally offers the designation "deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslands" (69, 185) as a term empirically closer to the linguistic-cultural realities and apparently free of ethnocentric biases.

The second question is discussed in a very convincing way and leads us *à la* Foucault to examine the very underpinnings of knowledge as evinced in German studies. That knowledge, as Ritter argues, has essentially a political impetus has generally been accepted at the latest ever since the pioneering work of Paul Lauter and his associates in American Studies and their refashioning of the canon in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature* (1990). There are of course similar mechanisms working within the institutions of German literature, but they are of a longer and more complex nature. What is defined as German literature is intimately connected with the evolution of a German national identity and the development of a German state. As Ritter notes: "Eine solche, eigenartige Parzellierung der literarischischen Landschaft deutscher Sprache hat natürlich ihre langfristigen, weit in die Geschichte zuruckreichenden Voraussetzungen, damit aber auch ihre philologisch noch kaum reflektierten Tabus und Vorurteile" (46).

The process of canon formation in German literature and its relationship to minority literatures, according to Ritter, can be differentiated according to three historical stages. The first stage, extending from the middle of the eighteenth century to 1848, leads, to simplify Ritter's much richer argument, to the emergence of a way of thinking that would mold the subsequent development of *Germanistik,* especially its relationship to its minority literatures. Such concepts as *Volk, Raum, Geist, deutsch,* and other concepts influenced by Romanticism were easily applied to the predicament of cultural and ethnic minorities outside the principal territory of the burgeoning German Empire. A tendency soon became discernible in which "Deutschtumsideologie und germanistische Wissenschaft in fatale verwandtschaftliche Nähe zueinander geraten konnten" (51).

The second stage encompassing the period immediately after the abortive attempts at liberal democracy in the Paulskirche up until the end of the Great War was characterized by the increasing presence of ideology and nationalist sentiment in the study of minority literatures. During this period in which the German ideal became tantamount to a secular cult, minority literatures "served" what Ritter calls "von Minderheit als kulturellen Vorposten Deutschlands" (52). It was after what was

generally perceived in Germany as the profound humiliation following Versailles that minority cultures began to epitomize the all-pervasive danger hovering over German culture everywhere. It is easy to see, as Ritter argues, that this current of thought facilitated the political and ideological appropriation of German minority cultures.

The third stage, which, in retrospect, appears almost to be a culmination of all the tendencies mentioned and at the same time marks a watershed in the magnification of ethnic and racial conceptualization, transformed and incorporated minority cultures into part of a messianic, to use the National Socialist jargon, *Weltanschauung*. As Ritter carefully notes: "Die fast ausschließlich weltanschaulich geprägte Erforschung der deutschen Minderheiten, auch ihrer Sprache und Literatur, fügt sich über solche Voraussetzung widerspruchslos in die konsequente ideologisierte Wissenschaftsprogramm der Germanistik" (55). Ritter is also, however, careful to point out that while this approach had its obvious limitations and distortions, it also led to an avid interest in minority literatures and cultures—an interest that is for the most part missing in the present.

The starting point, Ritter maintains, for the post-war study of minority literatures is "ein schlechtes Gewissen" (46). Of course, there were differences in approaches between West Germany and East Germany, but the central point remained: a too eager involvement in minority literatures could easily be misinterpreted as stemming from irredentist impulses. Thus, the study of minority literatures became couched in that familiar pattern that has pervaded German thought up to the present "taboo" that most insidious of mechanisms that stifles all creative and iconoclastic thought processes. This was, however, not the only reason for the neglect and marginalization of minority literatures. As Ritter himself writes:

> Der Verfasser konnte über Jahre hinweg die Erfahrung machen, dass die deutsche Literatur im Ausland für die journalistische Literaturkritik und die Medien entweder unbekannt war oder als Bagatelle eingeschätzt wurde. Es gebe für sie keine Leser, sie besitze keinen Verkaufswert, ausländische Literatur habe man sowieso auf dem deutschen Markt, sie liefere keinen Beitrag zum deutschen Literaturleben. Weil die Medien vor allem kommerziell urteilen und ihre Informationsbereitschaft danach richten, wuchs ihr Interesse, als die Aussiedler zum innenpolitischen Thema gerieten und damit auch die Nachricht über ihre Kultur sich als verkaufbar erwies. (120)

Just as Ritter explains the underpinnings of the formation of literary canonization in Germany, he also empathically describes the dilemma of minority writers in Alsace or South Tyrol or Hungary. Minority writers writing in German have a "Furcht vor der Enge," (115) worrying that their work will be regarded by the principal literary institutions as provincial or even be relegated to a local color school. On the other hand, if they attempt to adopt many of the prevailing cosmopolitan literary styles and conventions, they run the risk of losing their connection to their own culture, which of course means losing their cultural identity. Even more disturbing is Ritter's notion of the "Doppelisolierung," which describes the predicament of minority writers as

being both estranged from their domestic readership and at the same time unable to establish a connection to a readership outside their fragile literary audience (120). There is of course a creative element to this tension, which Ritter assigns various terms: "Oszillieren," "Zwitterstellung," "Doppelleben" (125, 192), all of which suggest that the minority writer has been given an opportunity, unavailable to other writers, of reaping creative profit from this position of ambivalence and ambiguity.

In the second section of his book, Ritter examines the history and development of minority literatures. Of the twenty examples of minority literatures in German he mentions, Ritter deals more carefully with only three. His studies of Volga-German, i.e., Soviet-German literature, the German literature in Alsace, and Romanian-German literature—all reveal very different literary activity as well as challenges for German establishment criticism. His discussion of the literature of the Alsace region is especially illuminating. After a brief survey of fate of the Alsace amid the historical pendulum of power politics between France and Germany, he finds two crucial points that characterize this literature. The first point concerns the role of the critic and may be extrapolated to include all minority literatures: "Elsässische Literatur kann nicht ohne Kenntnis der lingualen Bedingungen verstanden werden, diese wiederum nicht ohne die politisch wechselhafte Geschichte der Region" (193). Secondly, the possibilities for minority literature to develop a unique perspective are very real and should be incorporated into the vision of establishment criticism: "Das literarische Leben der letzten Nachkriegszeit und besonders der Gegenwart knüpft in seinen Grundzügen an die europäisch-kosmopolitische Perspektive an" (193-94). A further significant insight is gleaned in Ritter's discussion of Romanian-German literature—the fact that within a given region, there are different historical developments and hence different varieties of literature: "Die politisch bedingte künstlerische und menschliche Not sucht literarische Lösungen durch ihre symbolische und metaphorische Sublimierung in der geistigen und geistlichen Tradition slawischer, vor allem jüdischer Überlieferung in Bibel und Chassidismus: Czernowitz ist Prag vergleichbar" (210).

The final section of Ritter's study examines further aspects of German minority literatures. Once again, his purview is very broad. In addition to discussing the situation of Russian-German literature after *Glasnost,* Ritter analyzes the history of the discourses surrounding German minority literatures by discussing the work of two influential scholars who established their reputations during the Third Reich—Hugo Grothe and Heinz Kindermann. The final two chapters conclude with a gloomy prognosis for the literary cultures of German minorities, focusing primarily on Russia and Romania in the post-Cold War era and South Tyrol amid the new phase of European integration.

In conclusion, *Deutsche Minderheitenliteraturen* ultimately proves to be a passionate plea for renewed intellectual involvement with a lost or moribund literary landscape. In this sense it is an important and incisive documentation not only of the tragedy of minority cultures in their struggles for survival, but also an exposé of the neglect and myopia of the German critical establishment. We should add that Ritter's impressive study is a very German book. The foreign *Germanist* encountering this work will be confronted with an array of lacunae. Not only are the arguments frequently presented

as a series of authoritative theses, but the language also goes beyond what we normally refer to as *Bildungssprache* and in many cases threatens to disintegrate into intellectual jargon. One example will suffice: "Historisches Bewusstsein ist zeitgebundene 'Determinante' der 'Korrelation von Geschichtsschreibung und kollektiver Identitäts-Vergegenwärtigung.' Darum führt die Doppelstrategie von 'vergangenheitsbezogener Rekonstruktion und gegenwartsbezogener Systematisierung' zu Fragen nach der ubiquitären Funktion für Identitätsvergegenwärtigung, zeitabhängigen Autorposition und Epochenmarkierung hinsichtlich der zu beschreibenden Gleichzeitigkeit des Ungleichzeitigen und seiner Vergleichbarkeit in Zeiträumen" (155). Despite these reservations, Ritter's study is tantamount to a *curriculum vitae* of an active and fruitful intellectual life, which certainly should become one of the staples of every *Germanist* intent on expanding the ken of German studies.

University of Turku *Jerry Schuchalter*

Brewed in Detroit: Breweries and Beers Since 1830.
By Peter H. Blum. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1999. 355 pages. $34.95.

When asked to list the most important centers of German-American brewing activity, most observers respond with Milwaukee and St. Louis, despite a dearth of scholarship on all but a handful of individual firms there. Still, such an answer is reasonable, for these cities housed the largest and most successful brewery operations of both the pre- and post-Prohibition eras. In contrast, relatively few observers associate the concept of German brewing with Detroit, despite the fact that the city was home to one of the most successful brewers of the last century (Stroh) and a host of other German-American firms (Goebel and Pfeiffer, most prominently) which survived for years after the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. With *Brewed in Detroit,* Peter Blum takes a large step toward placing the contributions of Detroit brewers—German-American and otherwise—into their proper historical light.

There is no question about the author's qualifications for taking on this project. Blum worked for Stroh for nineteen years in the realm of brewing development; after his formal retirement the company appointed him brewery archivist, in charge of the preservation of historical documents from the Detroit area generally and the Stroh company (and family) specifically. Even a cursory examination of the book shows that Blum makes excellent use of this resource: rare, often previously unseen images from the Stroh collection highlight the men and machines which led the company to become one of the top ten beer producers in the nation by the 1970s.

Brewed in Detroit is divided into three parts. The first, "Background," briefly discusses the historical development of beer as a social beverage; the brewing process from the malting of barley to packaging of the finished product; and the role of the brewmaster in the workplace. Included here is an October 1897 photograph of a German-language diploma from the United States Brewmasters Federation (*Der Vereinigte Staaten Braumeister Bund*), as well as a group picture of Detroit-area master

brewers circa 1950, clearly dominated by the German element: even at this relatively late date, fifteen of the sixteen individuals identified possess German surnames. Also included in this section is a condensed history of brewing in and around Detroit, from its origins in the 1830s to the decline and fall of the local industry roughly 150 years later. The third part of the text, "Breweries in Surrounding Cities," offers brief histories of individual malt beverage manufacturers—mostly during the pre-Prohibition years—in locations such as Ann Arbor, Mount Clemens, Pontiac, and even across the border in Windsor, Ontario. In each case Blum offers ample evidence that German beermakers also slaked the thirst of those who lived beyond the reach of early Detroit breweries.

Much more substantive is the second part of the book, "Detroit Breweries," which provides detailed information on the various brewers known to exist during that time. In keeping with Blum's background, the history of Stroh is told over more than thirty pages, including the founding of the company by Bernhard Stroh in 1850 and its leadership in later years by other members of the Stroh family. Supplementing the discussion of Bernhard Stroh is an overview of his life in Kirn, along the Nahe River, before emigration to America and a decision to shorten his name from the original (Strohschneider). Of particular interest is chapter five ("Ten Small German Lager Brewers"), which stresses the nature of a German-American small brewery operation in the city during the mid- to late-nineteenth centuries and also the importance of lager brewing—a German-bred process that revolutionized American beer production beginning in the 1840s—in opening up opportunities to new arrivals from German-speaking Europe. Chapter six ("Four Polish Brewers") augments this discussion, with an overview of several key Detroit brewers with an eastern German background and their efforts to survive both increasing competition from rival Detroit firms and the effects of external factors, such as prohibitionist tendencies and the invasion of local markets by financially secure national breweries.

Brewed in Detroit also is noteworthy for several additional features which augment the body of the work. In the scope of four appendices, Blum includes a directory of all known breweries in and around the city and the years during which they were known to operate; a list of beer brands manufactured in Detroit both pre- and post-Prohibition, and by which firms; and sales volumes of city breweries for the year 1870 and from 1934 to 1999—the latter a particularly useful collection of data, showing the relative size of the post-Prohibition brewers and the rapidity of their decline before closure. In addition to his extensive use of Stroh archival materials (which include artifacts from other Detroit brewers of the period, indicating that local breweries to some extent shared resources, but also that Stroh was particularly adept at gathering and maintaining information), Blum incorporates numerous rare photographs from private collections and historical libraries. While the vast majority of these images are reproduced in black-and-white, sixteen full-color pages immediately precede part one of the book and provide attractive reproductions of vintage bottle labels, serving trays, and other highly sought-after breweriana. Most enlightening in this regard are full-color reproductions of Stroh brewery lithographs from a century ago: in several cases children are shown in conjunction with brewery products. In one

instance a young boy is pouring himself a large bottle of Stroh's Brown Stout, a long-forgotten brew from the now-defunct company. Clearly, much has changed in how beer is manufactured and, certainly, marketed to an eager audience!

These and other features make *Brewed in Detroit* a worthwhile acquisition for those interested in German-American history and culture, especially in their study as concerns Detroit and surroundings. Blum's work ably demonstrates the importance of beer and brewing to German-American economic, social, and even political progress over the last two centuries. In light of this and other recent scholarship on Midwestern brewing heritage (Louisville, Cleveland, Kansas City, Chicago, and Cincinnati), a similarly comprehensive treatment of the aforementioned Milwaukee and St. Louis (also Indianapolis and Columbus, for that matter) would be very welcome.

Missouri Western State College *Timothy J. Holian*

Narratives of America and the Frontier in Nineteenth-Century German Literature.

By Jerry Schuchalter. North American Studies in Nineteenth-Century German Literature, vol. 25. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. 302 pages. $56.95.

Although the German *Amerikaroman* enjoyed great commercial, if not critical, success in the nineteenth century, the genre has since faded into obscurity, despite ongoing German interest in American culture. With this collection of essays, Schuchalter seeks to stimulate the interest of scholars who have long since dismissed the genre as *Trivialliteratur.* The introductory essay establishes three principal narrative types: the pastoral narrative of initiation, the narrative of *Geld* and *Geist,* and the narrative of mysteries. A fourth section examines "dissonant narratives," works which cannot be easily categorized. Thus Schuchalter positions the *Amerikaroman* as a complex genre, counter to the traditional view of these novels as formula literature.

The seven essays that follow serve to illuminate the ideas put forth in the extensive introduction. As one might expect from a scholarly study of the *Amerikaroman,* Schuchalter devotes a great deal of space to Charles Sealsfield, one of the few practitioners of the genre to receive significant critical attention. Four of the seven chapters deal principally or substantially with Sealsfield, whose novels straddle the narrative types identified by Schuchalter in the introduction. In "Charles Sealsfield's Fable of the Republic," Schuchalter describes the author's view of the young republic as a virtuous alternative to European corruption. As the eastern United States became more Europeanized, Sealsfield identified the American frontier as fertile ground for maintaining his utopian vision of republican values. Thus the topic of the first chapter blends neatly with that of the second: "Charles Sealsfield and the Frontier Thesis" examines how the American frontier dissolves all vestiges of privilege and class distinction, liberating the European from "the powerlessness resulting from being the monarch's subject and allows him to discover the freedom which only mature citizens of a republic can enjoy" (113-14). According to Schuchalter, this process of

conversion from European to American is central to Sealsfield's fiction. Because of the changes implicit in this initiation experience, Schuchalter suggests that the America novels of Sealsfield and his successors should be regarded as a type of *Bildungsroman.*

Not everything is positive in the *Amerikaroman,* however, as revealed in the chapter "*Geld* and *Geist* in the Writings of Gottfried Duden, Nikolaus Lenau, and Charles Sealsfield." Schuchalter's second narrative type encompasses those novels which contrast the artistic, cultured German with the practical, money-obsessed American. Lenau's letters construct this paradigm, which finds literary voice in works by Sealsfield, Reinhold Solger, Ferdinand Kürnberger, and Otto Ruppius, among others. In later novels, Sealsfield's original utopian vision of the virtuous republic has been tempered by the view that America had succumbed to a decadence and materialism that even the promises of the frontier cannot overcome. Although Duden's writings offer a German-American construct that is the reverse of Lenau, it was Lenau's paradigm that dominated the *Amerikaroman* in the nineteenth century, and that arguably continues to resonate among German writers today.

The seven principal essays in this volume have appeared previously in journals, but where exactly is unclear: in spite of an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary works, only the appearance of "Charles Sealsfield's Fable of the Republic" in the *Yearbook of German American Studies* (vol. 24) is documented. Two other essays, "*Geld* and *Geist*" and "Frontier Thesis," appeared respectively in volumes 27 and 30 of the SGAS *Yearbook.* The remaining essays presumably were published in *Nordisk Judaistik* and in publications of the University of Vaasa, which Schuchalter acknowledges in the preface. Their inclusion here certainly makes them more accessible to readers in North America.

The inherent weakness in a collection of essays is that it generally remains just that: a collection of essays rather than an integrated narrative. Although presented in book form and introduced with an extended interpretive essay, the various chapters remain somewhat detached from each other. Yet key ideas surface repeatedly, suggesting that presentation might have been improved by reconstructing the texts thematically to correspond to the three narrative types identified in the introduction. Nevertheless, the information presented here is first-rate. Schuchalter argues effectively that the *Amerikaroman* is more complex than traditional criticism has allowed. His method of categorization into narrative types provides a convenient framework for future criticism; the fourth category of "dissonant narratives" in particular offers interesting points of departure for further study.

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