

## Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian  
Missouri Western State College

### **Melodrama and Meaning: History, Culture, and the Films of Douglas Sirk.**

*By Barbara Klinger. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1994. 200 pages. \$14.95.*

Few things are as quintessentially American as Hollywood. The classic Hollywood cinema of the 1940s and 1950s not only established the dominant form of cinema but also helped both create and critique the myth of American society. But it is important to remember that some of the most "American" of Hollywood films—from *Casablanca* to *Oklahoma!* to *Some Like it Hot*—were created by European immigrants. And quite a large number of directors—Fred Zinnemann, Billy Wilder, Fritz Lang, Ernst Lubitsch, Curt and Robert Siodmak—were German or Austrian and had begun their work in the German film industry.

The important role that Germans and German-Americans have thus played in the development of Hollywood and the American cinema is undeniable. Among these pioneers in American cinema was Douglas Sirk (born Detlef Sierck in Hamburg, 1900) who along with his star Rock Hudson helped create the family melodrama genre in films like *Written on the Wind*, *All that Heaven Allows* and *Imitation of Life*. Sirk's status as a canonical director (as is well-documented in this fine study of his work and the genre) began in the 1970s with a reevaluation by British and French critics through a series of articles and studies which analyzed Sirk's films and the melodrama as a form of societal commentary. Once deemed trashy soap operas, the Hollywood melodramas of the 1950s have since come to be appreciated for their critique of the postwar Eisenhower era, and especially the "contradictions inherent in bourgeois and patriarchal ideologies" (21).

Unlike most of her predecessors, Klinger's aim in this book is not a textual analysis of Sirk's films, but rather, as her subtitle indicates, an analysis of how history and culture have effected the development of the melodrama and in fact "produced" meaning. To this end, Klinger's theoretical stance draws heavily on cultural theory and the notion that meaning is not situated in the work of art but produced by external

societal factors, in this case, advertising, marketing and popular reception. Methodologically she begins by providing an overview of the changing face of Sirk scholarship and in doing so establishes the basis for her approach. She then moves to a number of case studies: first, an analysis of the packaging of Sirk's 1957 film *Written on the Wind*, then on to how popular taste was shaped through the mass media. From there, she presents a case study of Rock Hudson and the classic Hollywood notion of star making. She concludes with a re-evaluation of melodrama through the lens of "camp," a so-called low-brow form of popular entertainment that was given new respectability through an influential essay by Susan Sontag in the 1960s.

For Germanists and German-Americanists, though, this book proves disappointing. Not that the work is in any way flawed scholarly or theoretically, but because of what it lacks: first, any discussion of German Sirk scholarship (in her twelve-page bibliography, I failed to find one German article on her subject, despite many British and French references) and second, the role German melodramas of the Weimar Republic may have had on Sirk, his style and his choice of subject material. To be sure, Klinger does, however, make it clear that her focus is on Sirk's Hollywood period and not biographical or textual analysis (previous studies had taken this approach, she notes). But given the recent interest in German melodrama of the Weimar cinema (Patrice Petro's *Joyless Streets*, for instance) and given the repeated assertion by Klinger and other reviewers that Sirk was a "serious, self-reflexive Brechtian filmmaker" (132), it would have been interesting and useful to have compared Sirk's melodramas and the production of meaning within both Hollywood and 1930s Germany (Sirk made several important films in Germany—mostly melodramas themselves—before leaving for Hollywood, including *Schlussakkord* (1936), *Zu neuen Ufern* (1937) and *La Habenera* (1937), the latter two with his European star Zarah Leander). The similarities and differences between the construction of meaning under early Nazi film censorship and those under the Hayes production code, for instance, would be enlightening.

Despite these objections, Klinger's study is an excellent introduction to Sirk scholarship, his films and the culture of Hollywood. Moreover, it continues the important discussion and analysis of the cinematic melodrama and will no doubt contribute to current studies of exile filmmakers as well as the role of Germans and German-Americans in the American film industry.

University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

David N. Coury

### **Auslander: A Novel.**

By Mary Powell. Ft Worth Texas: Texas Christian University Press, 2000. 295 pages. \$24.50.

This novel concerns a German-American family in the Texas Hill Country from 1967 to 1987. The story is told from the points of view of four quite different women. Queenie is a traditional German-American rural woman born early in the twentieth century. Her niece, Vera, whom Queenie raised as her daughter, is a very self-controlled,



independent woman with a Ph.D. and an academic career. The beautiful, mercurial Carol Anne, apparently not of German descent, is the young wife of Queenie's son Fritz. Sheila, Carol Anne's mother, is a night-club singer from Houston.

Carol Anne and Fritz met when both were in college, although he was seven years older. Soon she was pregnant. Bringing a pregnant twenty-year-old of Carol Anne's background into a traditional rural German-American family with its male dominance and heritage of *Sparsamkeit* and *Fleißigkeit* is an obvious recipe for disaster. The surprise is that the disaster came only after more than a decade of marriage. In the early years, Carol Anne soaked up the mothering that Queenie so generously provided.

The story is well-plotted. It is convincingly integrated with national events of the years covered. The end is satisfying because it does not insult the reader's intelligence. Dichotomies fill this book: female vs. male, German vs. Anglo, urban vs. small-town, family-centeredness vs. self-centeredness, black vs. white, pleasure vs. responsibility, respect for the past vs. concern for the future. There is interracial sex, something that borders on incest, and mild drug use. Traditional and parochial values confront the social and economic behavior of late twentieth-century Americans. The author, like her character Queenie, has a remarkable ability to pack a great many implications into a few simple words. The book contains much philosophy of life, but little overt religion. Queenie's German heritage is *Freidenker*, and Sheila believes that Sunday mornings are for recovering from Saturday night. The book is accurate and respectful concerning both the strengths and weaknesses of the German heritage and German-American subculture. Yet, one does have to note that the book's few German words and phrases, beginning with the title, are not rendered with standard spelling and capitalization.

All four protagonists are drawn with such skill and such insight that we understand and even admire them. My Teutonic heart was, naturally, more at ease with Queenie and Vera, but Carol Anne and Sheila also seemed to be fully drawn, believable characters. While the author is clearly more interested in, and knowledgeable about, her female characters, descriptions of men and their business matters ring true. If the men are somewhat less empathetically drawn, the author manages to treat them with essential fairness.

This is a very well-written book full of wisdom about the human heart. What a shame that a novel with so much to offer could not have been published by a commercial publisher rather than by a small university press with limited promotional opportunities. Women should read the book because they will enjoy it. Men should read it because they will learn from it.

## **The German-American Experience.**

*By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2000. 466 pages. \$35.00.*

*The German-American Experience* is aimed at a broad audience interested in the German-Americans, of which there are very many indeed. The earliest German-speaking people arrived in Jamestown and, while the migration is considerably smaller than in the 1880s, it does continue into the present. It is always interesting to see how historians and other scholars approach the German-speaking group because they are so disparate. Tolzmann takes an appropriately broad view of what constitutes a German-American, and includes German speakers from elsewhere in the German diaspora who ended up in the present United States. The Swiss, Alsatians, Luxemburgers and Austrians are, of course, considered.

The standard review of German-Americans has been La Vern Rippley's 1976 work *The German-Americans*. Tolzmann has the benefit of twenty-five years of research on the German-American experience and adds more information, statistics and insights, although Rippley's study will continue to be valuable. Tolzmann's work is stylistically less compact and economically written. In spite of several flaws, missing items and some annoying aspects it will, however, become the general reference work on the German-Americans. One hastens to add that the exhaustive, in-depth study of the very complex German immigration will be a multi-volume work and still needs to be written.

Tolzmann does give due to the intricate nature of the German immigration. Each German-speaking group coming from Europe and elsewhere was essentially different, reflecting widely varying backgrounds and provinces with different religious views and even mutually incomprehensible dialects. Older generations of German-Americans had really little understanding of the new situations in Europe from which the newer immigrants were coming at any given time. The view of Germans and by extension German-Americans has been much clouded in the last century by the cataclysmic events of two world wars in which Germany and Austria played a central and awful role. Tolzmann faces this and incorporates it in the overall history of German-Americans. He treats the much undeserved and unfortunate anti-German hysteria during and immediately after World War I and its effect on German-Americans and their culture. It is necessary when looking at German-Americans to understand their plight during that period, especially the war's effect on the intellectual and social leaders who saw their language, culture and frequently their livelihood damaged and their civil rights severely abrogated. The rise of National Socialism and the horrifying events in Central Europe before and during World War II awoke again the suspicion that German-Americans were different from other Americans, at least in the eyes of some.

Tolzmann may not go far enough in explaining through comparison with other groups how German-Americans are like other Americans, perhaps even more so. Certainly the many accomplishments of German-Americans are discussed from the Mennonite signers of one of America's first documents against slavery to the genius of Einstein that ushered in the Atomic Age. But there is also much that is left out,



including the religious communities such as the Harmonists and the Amana Colonies, religious history in general with the complex formation of synods and congregations, all of which contributed greatly to the American religious scene. Also missing is a discussion of the considerable contribution of German-Americans to technology, including even such obvious contributions as the Pennsylvania rifle and Conestoga wagon. A discussion of German-American contribution to higher education institutions would also be in order.

This is not to discount the fact that this is a highly useful book with some very important discussions, e.g., the treatment of the War of 1812 where the German and the Anglo perspectives are contrasted. Tolzmann's treatment of nativism and its social and political ramifications is very solid. Of particular interest is the way German-American intellectuals continually tried to come to grips with anti-German sentiment on the part of the American intellectual establishment, even before World War I. After World War I, the shock was deep and caused an underlying rupture in American intellectual life.

It is, of course, difficult to provide an intellectually satisfying guide through the complexities of German-American experience. This book does not completely satisfy in that regard. As a scholarly study, there are some problems besides the lacunae listed earlier. Annoying is the constant referencing of citations listed in earlier books by the author rather than the original sources. A deeper critical engagement with the broader literature of German-Americana is not undertaken, but that would indeed require the multi-volume treatise mentioned above. The book does succeed in providing a more detailed overview of the German element in America than currently exists in one volume. It is unfortunate that the index is very limited, and it is thus difficult to find references. This will be decidedly problematic for the general reader. Of considerable help, however, are the tables of statistics, the chronology and the brief bibliographical listings.

After reading *The German-American Experience* one can in any event agree with Tolzmann when he notes "to understand American history, it is necessary to understand German-American history."

*Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis*

*Giles R. Hoyt*

### **Culture at Twilight: The National German-American Alliance, 1901-1918.**

*By Charles Thomas Johnson. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 20. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. 193 pages. \$49.95.*

The old saying "where two Germans come together they form a club" seems to be particularly true for nineteenth-century German immigrants to the United States. Singing societies, Turner societies, lodges, ladies auxiliaries, and many more formed the centers of German-American activities throughout the country. Although their significance within the ethnic community has been recognized, their stories have not been told.

Charles Thomas Johnson has finally given us the history of the National German-American Alliance, an organization that functioned as an umbrella organization for many German-American clubs between 1901 and 1918. It reached its peak membership of 2.5 million members with chapters in forty-five states and the District of Columbia between 1901 and 1916. Although the Alliance functioned as a loose confederation of German-American organizations around the country, national representatives soon followed a political agenda. With its firm stand against immigration restrictions and prohibition the organization participated actively in the national debate on these issues.

Besides a brief introduction and a concluding chapter, Johnson's study spans over five chapters in which he explores the rise and fall of the National German-American Alliance (NGAA) from 1901 to 1918. His first chapter examines the foundation and beginning years of the National German-American Alliance by members of the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Zentralbund von Pennsylvania" between 1899 and 1904. Main goals of the society were the efforts to preserve and promote German culture, to protect any restrictions on immigration and personal liberties, and to foster the good relations between the United States and Germany. In the following pages Johnson illustrates skillfully how these goals, which at first received great applause from German-Americans and Americans alike, were turned on the NGAA during the war years and ironically lead to its disbandment in 1918.

In the second chapter Johnson investigates the period between 1906 and 1910 when the organization grew larger and increased its involvement in national politics. After the alliance received its charter in 1907 it focused many activities on the fight against prohibition. Members of the alliance saw the temperance legislation as a restriction of liberty and especially a blow to German culture. Therefore, leading members of the organization testified before Congress and lobbied for a moderate use of alcohol. During the national debate the NGAA became closer connected to the brewing industry and its primary organization, the United States Brewers' Association (USBA), which viewed the NGAA as a powerful ally in the fight to prevent prohibition.

In the third chapter the author looks into the years from 1910 to 1914 when the NGAA continued to campaign against prohibition with the financial backing of the brewing and liquor companies. This financial security allowed the organization again to turn to the promotion of German culture and the preservation of memory of past contributions of Germans in America. Examples of these activities were the funding of the German-American National Monument in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and a statue of Baron von Steuben in Washington, D.C.

With the outbreak of World War I in Europe the activities of the NGAA began to focus on national politics again. In chapter four Johnson takes us along the fruitless efforts of the organization to lobby for absolute neutrality of the United States in the conflict and to keep America out of war. During the rising anti-German-hysteria of the war years traditional family ties were quickly misinterpreted as pro-German activities.

Chapter five superbly illustrates how the original goals of promoting German culture in the United States were turned against the NGAA. Attacked as a pan-German



organization, accused and prosecuted as German spies, and branded as an agent of the Kaiser, the National German-American Alliance gave in to political pressures and disbanded in 1918.

This excellent study is based on a wide range of government documents, contemporary newspaper articles, archival material of the National German-American Alliance, papers of leading members, as well as extended secondary sources. Johnson has artfully pieced together hundreds of historical facts to create a fascinating story. A list of German-American societies and clubs connected to the National German-American Alliance would have added to the book's value. Nevertheless, with his well written and concise work Johnson has contributed greatly to the research on German-American organizations and the pressures that led to their disbandment during World War I. This book not only fills a gap about one of the largest and most visible German-American organizations at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it also illustrates how political and cultural values changed over a few years. From 1914 to 1918 the highly esteemed German-American culture lost its acceptance in America.

*Technische Universität Braunschweig*

*Katja Rampelmann*

### **The Phonology of Pennsylvania German English as Evidence of Language Maintenance and Shift.**

*By Achim Kopp. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press. 345 pp. \$45.00.*

This study, a revised version of Kopp's dissertation, focuses on phonological change in the English of fifty informants in six extended families. Three of the families (twenty-eight informants) are, in Kopp's words, "nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans," or descendants of German-speaking immigrants who were members of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. Kopp describes two of the families (twelve informants) as "sectarian" or descendants of German-speaking Anabaptists. The last family (ten informants) has no Pennsylvania German ancestry. According to Kopp, the nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans have nearly accomplished the shift from Pennsylvania German (PG) to English; although the oldest generation is bilingual, the youngest has little or no competence in PG. In contrast, the members of the sectarian group are all bilingual PG-English speakers, and the non-Pennsylvania German informants are all monolingual English speakers. Kopp reports that the English of the oldest generation of the nonsectarian Pennsylvania German group displays the most "contact phenomena," while that of the sectarian bilinguals closely approximates the regional standard. Attempting to account for these results with research of language usage and language attitudes, Kopp uses a matched guise test to evaluate attitudes towards PG, Pennsylvania German English, and Standard English. On the basis of his results, he concludes that the phonological change across these groups correlates with patterns of language acquisition and views of PG and PG speakers, and he makes predictions about the future of PG and its influence on the



English of the region.

Kopp's research is interesting, and the questions he asks are important. Unfortunately, Kopp falls far short of his goal of showing "how the different social patterns of the three subgroups correlate with linguistic differences" (17) and fails in his attempt to "lay out the strategies applied by the two major groups of Pennsylvania Germans in dealing with their cultural and linguistic heritage, that is, language maintenance and shift" (17). Indeed, the weaknesses of this work are evident on all levels. There are, for example, small inaccuracies. Menno Simons was extremely influential in shaping the movement that bears his name, but he was not "the founder of the Mennonites" (26). The Reformed Church was not "renamed the United Church of Christ" (25); rather, Evangelical and Reformed congregations merged with the Congregational Christian Churches in 1957 to form the UCC. Not all Old Order Amish allow radios in barns, and many Amish do smoke (30).

More importantly, trivial inaccuracies foreshadow methodological and conceptual weaknesses that limit the usefulness of this work. Kopp fails to standardize either the criteria he uses to select his individual subjects or the terminology he uses to describe them. For example, he includes informant 19, a non-Pennsylvania German of Slovak and Italian ancestry, in the group of nonsectarian Pennsylvania Germans, apparently because she is married to informant 18. Moreover, a number of Kopp's informants are young children, several under the age of eleven. The use of such young informants is questionable given the tests Kopp employs to evaluate language attitudes. For example, in discussing the matched guise test he uses to explore language attitudes, Kopp notes that the "attitude patterns" of nine-year-old informant 28 "are not as set as the adults" (255), thus accounting for informant 28's inconsistent responses (which are, nevertheless, averaged in with the others). Age is even more problematic in evaluating Kopp's phonological data, in which acquisition and attitude are key variables. In discussing five-year-old informant 24, Kopp himself acknowledges that, "the mother reported that after every visit of her daughter with her [the child's] grandparents . . . [the mother] could temporarily observe certain PG features in her child's English" (115).

Kopp describes the English of informant 24 as "unaccented," an awkward description given the mother's comment. It is even more problematic since Kopp does not define his terms. How, one wonders, is the "slightly accented" English of informant 23 different from the "hardly accented" English of informant 25, especially since both informants are college-educated "native speaker[s] of English" with "slight command of Pennsylvania German" and "some knowledge of Standard German through high school" (52). Not only does Kopp fail to define his terms, but he uses them inconsistently across informant groups. A nonsectarian speaks "unaccented English," but the non-Pennsylvania German speaks "monolingual English (regional standard)." Further, on the matched guise test, speech samples are characterized as "more or less strongly accented Pennsylvania German English," "practically unaccented American English," "sectarian Pennsylvania German English," "nonsectarian Pennsylvania German English," "unaccented American English," and "regional standard English" (chap. 4). At the very least, one wonders whether the regional



standard is also American.

There are methodological shortcomings as well. For example, Kopp asserts that the three groups of informants "are clearly distinguished by the ethnic markedness of their English" (132), and he argues that the presence of non-standard forms in the speech of the non-Pennsylvania German group is evidence of contact phenomena (133). Unfortunately, in asserting the need to judge on a "case to case" basis whether "phonological differences can be attributed to the speakers' contact with Pennsylvania German" (63), Kopp begs a primary question of the study and removes any means of ensuring test validity.

A far more serious problem for this work is the way in which Kopp has defined his informant groups, particularly those he labels "sectarian." Since Kopp's goal is to show the correlation of different social patterns with linguistic differences (17), understanding the social situation of the informant families is of paramount importance. Nevertheless, Kopp's discussion of the sectarian group, which includes Old Order Mennonites, New Order Amish, and Beachy Amish, suggests that he has little appreciation of how influential the different beliefs of these plain churches are in shaping the way language is used in these church-communities. Indeed, his discussion of differences between these groups focuses entirely on "lifestyle" as characterized by the rejection or adoption of cars, electricity, telephones, and modern dress, with no acknowledgment of the way in which particular religious beliefs motivate cultural change. Focusing on "lifestyle," Kopp asserts that the Old Order Mennonite family (members of the Groffdale conference) and the New Order Amish family differ only minimally in "religious and social conservatism" (101), a meaningless statement that, given his description of these groups, appears to ignore all but the presence or absence of certain material goods.

Put bluntly, the Wenger Mennonites, the Horning Mennonites (both discussed as Old Order Mennonite), the Old Order Amish, the New Order Amish, and the Beachy Amish all define themselves differently with regard to the dominant English-speaking society, and this effects the roles of both Pennsylvania German and English within their respective communities (see Karen Johnson-Weiner, "Community Identity and Language Change in North American Anabaptist Communities," *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2 (3) [1998]: 375-94). Kopp fails to take this into account, and so, despite his assertion that "the sectarians' outlook on society is reflected by their language use patterns" (186), he is unable to appreciate the conflicting reports of language use among the sectarians in his own data. On the one hand, he notes that, "all the sectarian informants report the exclusive use of Pennsylvania German among each other. Thus the family domain can readily be claimed to be occupied by Pennsylvania German" (198). On the other hand, he reports that "the two Beachy Amish . . . address each other in either language" and their children "are raised in English" (176-77). Clearly, despite his assertion that the sectarians "are of relatively lesser interest in sociolinguistic terms . . . their stable diglossia prevent[ing] extraordinary linguistic changes" (13), at least one set of sectarian informants is engaged in language shift. At the very least, that the Beachy Amish informants speak English rather than PG to their children suggests that the sectarians are hardly the linguistically stable or homogeneous group

required in this study. (Interestingly, Kopp did not use the Beachy children—the children of informants 38 and 39—in this study.)

Kopp's failure to note even that a plain group's insistence on separating itself from the world means that the values of the plain group are likely not the same as those of their non-plain neighbors calls into question the results of a key portion of this research, the use of the matched guise test to evaluate speakers' attitudes towards PG, Pennsylvania German English and standard English. Is a matched guise test, the parameters of which are "generally based on the set of values held by mainstream American society" (224), appropriate for evaluating the attitudes of groups who may not hold those values? Kopp does acknowledge that "each group of informants has a different group of people in mind when speaking about the 'typical Pennsylvania German'" (271), and, in a footnote, suggests that the question set had different question subsets to account for this. However, these do not appear to be taken into account in the analysis.

Clearly, in a sociolinguistic study, Old Order Mennonites should not be grouped with Beachy Amish and New Order Amish, for their respective attitudes towards language and the dominant society differ. Whereas the Old Order Mennonite Groffdale churches maintain German for church services (although not as strictly as Old Order Stauffer groups), the Beachy Amish are evangelistic, dedicated to spreading the gospel actively, a religious stand that motivates the use of English in church and paves the way for the loss of PG. Similarly, the New Order believe that church members can know they are saved, a position that alters the relationship between the individual, the church, and society. Had Kopp explored the religious beliefs structuring group lifestyle, he might not have found the greater percentage of ethnic marking in the speech of the Mennonite family so surprising (101). To lump the various plain groups together as "sectarian" and to treat them as a unified group is methodologically unsound under any circumstances, but most particularly in a study that purports to explore the effects of social variables.

While I found the data presented in this work interesting, its usefulness is compromised by factual, methodological and conceptual shortcomings. This is unfortunate. Exploring the shift from PG to English as it is occurring among non-plain speakers, as it begins among some plain groups, and as it is resisted by other plain groups will shed light on language maintenance and shift in general and on linguistic and cultural change in minority language communities. Kopp's work suggests how much remains to be done.

*State University of New York at Potsdam*

*Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

### **Tearing the Silence: On Being German in America.**

*By Ursula Hegi. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. 302 pp. \$ 24.00.*

With her first non-fiction book, Ursula Hegi presents a powerful and fascinating journey into Germany's postwar past and present. In sixteen personal accounts,



including her own, Hegi explores the lives of postwar German immigrants who find themselves caught between the pride and shame of their national heritage. These people, born and raised in or shortly after World War II, draw a stunning picture on how the war and its legacy have influenced their lives as Germans in the United States.

The book grew out of Hegi's anger, rage, and frustration about the eerie silence that covered the war years while she was growing up in Germany during the first eighteen years of her life. Unable to break this silence of her parents' generation, Hegi sets out on her own quest to uncover that past. She finds people of her generation who share their memories of growing up in Germany during the 1940s and 1950s, and who are now living in the United States. The book illustrates in many details how they are still baffled by their national heritage and how they see their German past as an obstacle as well as a doorway in their lives. Torn between guilt and pride, hate and love, rejection and admiration, the reader watches how they embark on a journey to face the dark history of their homeland.

In her own narrative, the first one in the book, Hegi gives an account of her personal battle with the German past. Having grown up in Germany, she detests her parents' refusal to talk about their experience during the Third Reich. Hegi depicts her childhood during which her parents rebuffed her questions about the war and history teachers skipped the period after 1933. The reader observes her struggle to cope with her German background. She writes: "since I cannot separate from Germany, I have to understand it, have to come to terms with it, though—many times—I still wish I'd been born in another country." Moreover, she explores how that silence of her parents' generation has reached into her own life. She is convinced that her heritage and upbringing in postwar Germany has influenced her perception of community, society, and authority. As a German-American she feels that she is confronted with a German past more directly than people in Germany. Being marked as different and measured against German stereotypes has led her to her uncompromising search for identity.

Part two includes the life stories of seven men and eight women from different social, educational, and personal backgrounds. There is Ulrich, who fled from East Prussia and came to the United States at the age of eight; Anneliese who nobody paid attention to; Karl, the minister; Joachim, the homosexual; Kurt, who was adopted by an American family from a German orphanage, and others. All born in Germany between 1939 and 1949, they confirm Hegi's accounts of silent parents and teachers. Their parents' general discomfort in talking about the recent past, their yearning to forget war crimes, hunger, and bombed-out cities excluded the children from their lives. The stories illustrate the unbridgeable gap between two generations—of postwar children and their parents—a gap that seems to be much greater than between other generations because valuable knowledge was not passed on from old to young. Feeling betrayed, the children's mourning turns into anger and rage. The lack of communication leads to the alienation of both generations. Furthermore, the book makes the underlying statement that the denial of information left the postwar generation with a broken identity. Vulnerable to any outside attacks, these children feel unprotected



against unjust and false accusations. They find themselves excluded not only from their national identity but also from their family history because they were denied access to their country's recent history. This creates immense problems in family relationships and a lasting sense of loss, rejection, and displacement.

The narrators reveal different strategies to cope with the burden of their German birth, ranging from acknowledging Germany's dark history to avoiding any contact or exposure to it. The interviews demonstrate how postwar German-Americans have either faced or hidden from Germany's past, such as Ulrich, the pacifist; Sigrid, the lawyer and political activist, as well as Anneliese who does not want to know.

By telling their complex life stories the interviewees illustrate that the fabric of their lives has been woven out of many different threads; only one of them is their national heritage, others are their family background, schooling and personal experiences. Although Hegi wants to explore how German-Americans come to grips with the burden of an immensely difficult past, she stresses that many different characteristics make up one's life.

This book is not a historical account—Hegi states so herself—but instead it profits from her enormous talent as a fiction writer. It is a continuation of her exploration into Germany's twentieth-century past. Whereas her fiction works *Floating in My Mother's Palm* and *Stones from the River* present life during the war years and shortly after in a small Rhineland town, *Tearing the Silence* is a gripping nonfiction work concerned with German-American life in the 1990s. It is her own personal journey made public.

This work only calls for a few minor comments. Although Hegi claims this to be a collection of interviews, the reader never sees the questions asked. Instead, we are confronted with a complex account of people's lives. The reader has to keep in mind that the people chosen in this book left Germany in the 1950s and 1960s when events had not been over long enough to talk about them with the required distance. The silence which Hegi attacks so much has long been broken in German schools and, hopefully, in most German families. With second-generation postwar Germans growing up in the 1970s and 1980s new questions have been asked. This new discussion has also involved the generation born between 1939 and 1949 which gave them a second chance to face the Holocaust. Unfortunately, in her conclusion she only summarizes what has been said in the interviews. She refuses to give an interpretation which tie the narrations into a larger framework.

Apart from being a fascinating work for any personal reading, this book is a valuable addition to any class on German-American studies, postwar German history, Holocaust history, migration, or ethnic history. The personal life stories present a vivid picture no historical work can offer. Furthermore, the introduction includes an engaging account of her research methods and the difficulties arising while conducting the project. Therefore, it can also be used in oral-history or research-method classes. This is a superbly done book revealing one of the most difficult struggles in contemporary German life.



## **The Prison Called Hohenasperg: An American Boy Betrayed by His Government During World War II.**

*By Arthur D. Jacobs. N.p.: Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH.com, 1999. 162 pages. \$19.95.*

It is startling to consider that the American government interned German-Americans to hold as possible hostages to exchange for people being held by the Nazis. Indeed, the American reputation for justice does make people who hear of unconstitutional internment think there must have been a good reason—those people must have done something, or else they would not be there. Americans have recognized that Japanese-Americans were interned. Even reparations have been paid. Recently PBS ran a program on the Italian-American internment, but still the fact that indeed German-Americans were also interned is shrugged off. Perhaps because Hitler was so bad and Germany so culpable that anyone remotely connected with that place is tarnished and the interning of them is not worthy of concern.

German-Americans abandoned each other in their government-induced fear of retribution. In this case a pastor failed to help. A child lost all his toys. He was separated from his parents, placed in a cattle car and transported to a prison where he was locked in a cell. "Never again would we be like we were before the FBI arrested my father at his place of work." He, his brother, and his parents lost their sense of family, their ability to be safe together. He lost his friends and his schooling.

In the course of telling his story, Jacobs gives the reader an interesting view of Germany in the immediate postwar period and the difficulty of life in ruined cities under military occupation. One can only imagine the shock for an American boy who spent his childhood and the war years in Brooklyn being whisked off to ruined Ludwigsburg. He then goes to the north, near Bremen. Using his native courage and intelligence, he soon gets a job with the American forces and is befriended by them. After he loses that job, he is faced with a long period of trying to establish connections with the American military personnel. He tries vainly to obtain attention to his situation, desperately seeking entrance to the various installations. Over and over he tells his story, explaining why he speaks accent-free English. His disappointment is great and becomes more intense because of his failure to develop any positive contact with the Germans. The one exception is his grandfather who from the beginning has a good rapport with the boy and involves him in his garden work.

Finally, after more than a year, an agent of the Army's Counter Intelligence Corps befriends him. Both the agent and his wife work to get the two Jacobs boys back to the U.S. In a poignant scene with his new friends, "the Angels from Kansas," and his parents, the latter agree to allow the boys to leave them and return to the U.S. The German-American Dreyer family, owners of a large ranch in Kansas, provide a loving home for the boys. "Arch," as he became known, settles in quickly and remains deeply and sentimentally attached to the memory of his "American parents." The selfless kindness of this family seems to have made up for some of the hurt that Jacobs's beloved America had done to him, even though it would be eleven years before he would see his real parents again. Jacobs certainly became a resolute individual as a result of his remarkable experiences.

The Jacobs story is one more piece, and an extreme one to be sure, in the growing collection of evidence that considerable injustice was done to German-Americans as a result of their heritage and the vagaries of a justice system affected by wartime exigency. Jacobs's story is a deeply personal one, and is told from that perspective. Nonetheless, it is the story of a dedicated American citizen who like others is still seeking exoneration through official recognition of the injustice of his family's plight. It is part of the story of German-Americans that cannot be ignored.

*Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis*

*Giles R. Hoyt*

**A German Regiment Among the French Auxiliary Troops of the American Revolutionary War: H. A. Rattermann's History.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing, for Clearfield Company, 1999. xii + 60 pages. \$12.00.*

Every proverbial American schoolchild knows (or used to know) that during the Revolutionary War German troops from Hesse and several other principalities fought on the side of the British, though American public opinion is still divided on whether to despise them as mercenary tools of a foreign oppressor or pity them as poor wretches sold by tyrannical princes. Less well known is the fact that American independence was not won solely by American valor, but also had the support of a sizeable French expeditionary force. Even less well known is that, by conservative estimates, at least one-third of these French troops were ethnic Germans.

Don Heinrich Tolzmann has now made accessible, with a useful commentary, a previously unpublished manuscript by Heinrich Armin Rattermann (1832-1923), nestor of German-American historiography, outlining the involvement of one regiment consisting entirely of German-speaking soldiers, the "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment Zweibrücken," or "Royal-Deux-Ponts." During the latter part of the eighteenth century, the Duchy of Pfalz-Zweibrücken under Duke Christian IV was a French satellite state and provided troops for the French crown through the use of *Subsidienverträge*, much like the treaties that brought units from Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst to the colonies. When this regiment left Europe with Rochambeau's forces, it was under the command of two sons of the ruling duke from amorganatic marriage, Colonel Christian von Zweibrücken and his younger brother Lieutenant Colonel Wilhelm von Zweibrücken, who left an account of his experiences in America, as did several other officers and enlisted men. The Royal-Deux-Ponts later played a decisive role during the siege and battle of Yorktown, when they stormed the key British fortification known as "Redoubt 9" under the personal leadership of Count Wilhelm.

Rattermann's manuscript is undated, but internal evidence suggests that it hails from the late 1870s or the 1880s and was intended as the basis of a lecture before an



English-speaking audience. He relies heavily on the 1868 English-language edition of Count Wilhelm's diary by Samuel Abbott Green (*My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William de Deux-Ponts, 1780-1781* [Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1868]), though he did some original research in the Pennsylvania state archives in Harrisburg. Because his essay is reprinted verbatim, it is obvious that Rattermann was thinking in his native language when he wrote it: Vocabulary, phraseology, and punctuation are clearly German. This makes for a certain period charm, but present-day American readers might find it somewhat irritating. Since at the time of writing this review (November 2000) the first edition has already sold out and a second edition is being contemplated, this would be a good opportunity for some editing. Reference could also be made to the substantial article by Albert R. Schmitt, "The Hessians and Who?: A Look at the Other Germans in the American War of Independence," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983), 41-61, which is based on the diaries of Captain Ludwig von Closen, aide-de-camp to Rochambeau, and published in an English translation by Evelyn M. Acomb (*The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783* [Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1958]).

It is gratifying to know that the Zweibrücken Regiment is not totally forgotten. While the exhibits at the Yorktown Battlefield Historic Site mention it only in passing, a sister-city relationship was entered into between York County, Virginia, and the city of Zweibrücken a number of years ago. It was formalized in 1978 with the dedication of a Yorktown-Straße in Zweibrücken in the presence of a Yorktown delegation. The American side reciprocated on October 16, 1981, when, with great pomp and circumstance, a Zweybrucken Road (for some reason the American partners preferred the eighteenth century spelling) was unveiled. German and American military color parties carried the flags, speeches were made by local dignitaries, the *Oberbürgermeister* of Zweibrücken responded, and the Tactical Air Command Band played the national anthems as well as the "Royal-Deux-Pont-Marsch" by Zweibrücken composer Rudolf K. Tröss. A student exchange program was initiated and is still going strong.

In sum, this is a very useful publication on an extremely interesting episode in the history of Germans in America and deserving of a wider audience.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Manfred Zimmermann*

### **Justina Tubbe: Der weite Weg einer Brandenburgerin vom Oderbruch nach Texas.**

*By Gisela Laudi. Berlin/Bonn, Bad Münstereifel: Westkreuz-Verlag, 2000. 248 pages. DM 39.00.*

How often does a little treasure cross one's desk? Here is one—the life story of a hard-working, diligent, loving Christian woman from Brandenburg who, with God in her heart, lived through many difficulties in her Prussian homeland and emigrated to Texas in her mature years. There she was to become, as it were, a matriarch of



Texas-Germans.

This single volume is presented as two books. The first traces Justina Tubbe's life in Oderberg, Prussia from her birth in 1795 to her departure for America in 1855. The second details her journey to Texas and her life there together with her family and also many other German immigrants until her death sometime after the American Civil War and probably before 1870. The author is related to Justina Tubbe and narrates her great-great-grand-aunt's life in the Old World as well as in the new one.

Many studies exist which detail the negative social, political and economic conditions in the German territories during the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, circumstances which may well have led to emigration. Such investigations are extensively documented with statistics, names, ships, shipping agents, government bureaucrats, etc. and are invaluable to the scholar in the field of social history, the history of emigration and immigration, and that of acculturation and assimilation. The author has not set as her task the inclusion of statistical data, although they too are found as needed, but rather she relates a human story as if one were reading the diary of a perhaps simple but at the same time grand lady.

Book one introduces this technique which is maintained throughout. The "diary" begins: "Ich, Justina Tubbe, will euch berichten: Anno 1861 in Texas: [interjection from her granddaughter] 'Grand-Ma Justina, wenn August und ich später mal Kinder und Kindeskind haben, dann möchten sie bestimmt gerne wissen, wie dein Leben so abgelaufen ist. Was musst du alles erlebt haben—ist das nicht fast wie ein Roman?'" (9). The author has set the tone in these first sentences. She relates through Justina's "own words" her life in retrospect on both sides of the Atlantic.

Justina's childhood and adult life well into her fifth decade were spent in Oderberg, a smaller town east of Eberswalde on the Old Oder, i.e., in the region known as the Oderbruch in Brandenburg. Her birthplace was Freywalde, today Bad Freywalde, slightly south of Oderberg. She was born into a hard-working lower middle-class family and grew up learning respect for church and state in the tradition of nineteenth-century Prussia.

The life of the "average" citizen during these decades flashes before our eyes. The Oderbruch region is one in constant danger of a natural catastrophe: flood. These conditions caused great difficulties for the Tubbe family many decades ago; they are in our time still a hazard. We read of the impact on daily life of the French Revolution and its policies of aggressive eastward expansionism. The years of Restoration (Biedermeier) are portrayed as are those of the Revolution of 1848. Such personal details are related in such a manner that the reader is convinced to be seeing Justina's own narrative before him. One learns about the schooling and the influence of the church and the respect of the "average" citizen for the king and the laws of the state even when they seemed too harsh given the daily difficulties those in rural Brandenburg encountered. What was the place of the woman in society? She was to care for the home, the children and be active in the church. That should have been clear in those days; yet, it was not merely accepted by this strong-willed woman as she "wrote": "Diese dumme Politik der Männer, kann sie uns Frauen nicht endlich mal in Ruhe lassen?" (37). Neither did she really accept her step-father's adage: "Du bist



ein Mädchen! Was interessierst du dich für Männerangelegenheiten? Frauen gehören hinter den Herd!" (39). Justina had the opportunity to attend school and became formally educated to the extent it was possible for a female in Prussia of the early nineteenth century.

Rather than relating statistics on social conditions, the reader experiences them in the daily life of the Tubbe family: from food, or the scarcity thereof, on the daily table; the toils of the artisan; interpersonal relationships; marriages, rituals, births and deaths and how a family copes with these events; economic difficulties as a weaver with a home workshop; the relationship with the few Jewish businessmen and their families in the town; and many more insights into the life of "average" citizens in Brandenburg.

The Revolution of 1848 did play a major role in Justina's life. It brought forth a critical examination and extensive discussion of democratic ideas such as freedom of the press, freedom of movement, the question of absolute government and more. The structural order of the Prussian state was beginning to be questioned and not only in intellectual circles. The Revolution of 1848 did, though, fail. Was this failure enough to lead many to consider most seriously an emigration to America? Perhaps it was for some intellectuals, but was it for the "average" hard-working, diligent citizen, who lived by the sweat of his brow and accepted this and viewed the body politic as having been fostered essentially by an acknowledged respect for the king and the Prussian style of life? Perhaps not and no attempt is made here to maintain that political ideas led to Justina's emigration, although they were constantly—if ever so quietly—in the background. Of immediate concern was one's daily existence. The Tubbe family in Oderberg had become small in number through death, emigration to the city (e.g., Berlin) for greater social mobility, and the emigration of part of the younger generation to Texas, more for personal and economic reasons than for political ones. This stratum of Prussian society was not in an enviable economic state and the glowing reports of boundless opportunities in America were widespread. Justina heard them also from her own sons already there. She, for that time considered an older woman and also widowed twice, had little to hold her now in her homeland except her love for it which she would also never abandon. The magnetism of her own sons already in Texas and the knowledge that she would be cared for there in old age were the essential factors for her emigration.

Book two, "... in die Neue Welt," commences with descriptions of the extensive bureaucratic red-tape involved in legal emigration from Prussia which Justina and her now few family members still in Oderberg experienced. Next the railroad journey through Berlin and on to Bremen is detailed and also offers a glimpse of German political particularism. The trip across the Atlantic was no joy and the detailed accounts of personal experiences and conditions on board offer perhaps greater lasting insights than do statistics of diseases, hunger and deaths. After six weeks at sea, this gallant sturdy woman and her small entourage set foot on American soil in New Orleans. Justina was astonished, perhaps dismayed, by that which she encountered. Was it a new culture? Yes, one which was initially French-Spanish and multiracial. How different this was from Brandenburg! This pious independent Lutheran was shocked when



actually encountering slavery in practice. Her disdain for this institution flows throughout her "diary" for she knew it to be against the will of God. The value in New Orleans of the German Agent for Immigrants is noted impressively; one feels a great indebtedness.

With the arrival of her son Willi from Texas—he had settled there several years earlier—the journey by paddle steamer and covered wagon to Eastern Texas commenced. Since a number of Germans had already settled in the area, Justina would not be too isolated socially. Was this, though, the paradise in the New World which had so long been propagated in the old? "Nein, nicht ganz," she noted (189). Texas was still an untamed land and there were the Indians, perhaps dangerous, the Mexicans, often unfriendly, and the Anglo-Americans and now, too, the ever increasing number of German settlers. Life as a pioneer was, to say the least, arduous. Practical necessities did not exist; everything had to be created from virgin territory in order to establish a habitable environment. Interaction with Native Americans was limited, in that they usually were farther west or north. Strongly and critically noted, though, is the renegeing of the United States government of the treaties it had negotiated with them and this is contrasted with the steadfastness with which the Germans held to their concords with the Native Americans.

Social interaction with other Germans, quite limited initially but more common later, made daily life palatable for Justina. Of course she experienced great loneliness at first; she had left a more than fifty-year existence in a well-organized social environment. As such, it is not surprising that she felt it to have perhaps been a mistake to leave Oderberg. Justina was now in her sixties and knew that a return to Prussia could not even be considered. She did criticize the lack of church life and social decorum on the frontier and experienced difficulties resulting from the hot humid Texas summers. She was strong and self-sufficient, as always, and she prevailed. The experiment of Prince Carl Solms von Braunfels on the Texas frontier receives, if only marginally, criticism as naive folly. The last decade of Justina's life witnessed still another dreadful conflagration. She had experienced so much loss of life already in Europe as a result of war and now the American Civil War. This was an emotionally difficult time for her, with her sons serving the Confederacy, since war supposedly had been left behind in the Old World.

A number of texts in the "diary" attempt to show how the German language was already being influenced in syntax and in vocabulary by English but this, of course, can remain only speculation. The language-leveling process suggested here, though, is of merit and may hold some validity. Such forms are not uncommon among newer German-American immigrants. Celebrations—especially weddings—among these Germans are extensively illustrated, since inter-marriage with Anglo-Americans occurred already from the early days on in Texas. Her sons made rapid economic progress initially with agriculture and cattle but later also in real estate. She, even in her modesty, was proud of her now American family.

Justina came to feel herself as an American or better as a German-American. Her sturdy Prussian background ingrained her with the qualities that made her the strong-willed but also lovable individual she must have been. She would always look



upon her Prussia with a little *Heimweh* but also felt that Texas too was her homeland. She loved its openness and personal freedom even at the time of its early development with its daily travail. In this new homeland America she wanted for nothing material, and her spiritual life, if not institutionally fulfilled, was sustained and continued in her Bible reading and exemplary Christian life.

The entries of this "diary" are interspersed with questions by the grand-children which lends an even stronger human character to the narrative. Photos and sketches of life past and present in Oderberg, in other areas of Prussia and in Texas offer additionally an illustrated insight into the life of this extraordinary lady.

Justina Tubbe's legacy to Texas is witnessed here. It is an irony that her son August at the age of seventy-seven, after sixty-three years in the United States, was jailed during World War I as an enemy alien. He had never taken out United States citizenship although he had renounced his Prussian allegiance at emigration when fourteen years of age. Today there are at least 150 descendants of Justina Tubbe. They are the gifts she has bestowed upon her beloved new homeland.

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

### **Von Heuerleuten und Farmern: Die Auswanderung aus dem Osnabrücker Land nach Nordamerika im 19. Jahrhundert/Emigration from the Osnabrück Region to North America in the 19th Century.**

*By Walter D. Kamphoefner, Peter Marschalck and Birgit Nolte-Schuster. Bramsche: Rasch, Druckerei und Verlag, 1999. 120 pages.*

Three major topics pertaining to emigration from the Osnabrück region of northwestern Germany to the settlement of these people in the Midwest of the United States in the nineteenth century are examined in this volume. The monograph is printed in parallel columns, German and English, which allows accessibility to a wide audience of scholars as well as to others interested in the history of emigration/immigration and colonization.

Each of the authors details a major aspect of the migration and the settlement in the New World. This is pursued chronologically: first, why the emigration occurred; next, an examination of the manifold phases preceding and during the crossing of the Atlantic; and finally, the third chapter examines the development of the new settlements in America.

Chapter one critically reviews the social structure within the population of the Osnabrück region in the years of approximately 1835 to 1880, considering the impact of political, social, economic and demographic developments as well as reviewing the historical reasons for these developments. It was an agricultural region which consisted of a population constrained within a stringent social structure. To merely record that these emigrants were farmers would not clarify the strata of this rubric. Within the agricultural population a strict hierarchy prevailed: from landed farmers—who



were usually well off—to tenant farmers and still further down this social stratum to day workers. Both of these latter groups found themselves in general in dire financial difficulties. Those in the lower social strata were often not in an economic position to maintain an acceptable human existence from their labors on the land. Consequently, they often would be forced to supplement their meager incomes through additional work within the home, e.g. weaving, or also to take on another additional menial job in neighboring Holland. Daily life among those of the lower strata of society was indeed unpleasant. When no other alternative to such dismal social conditions seemed to present itself, emigration to America became a viable alternative.

To maintain that the voyage across the Atlantic was difficult would be a cliché. Chapter two examines the many hardships encountered when organizing the trans-Atlantic migration and those faced during the voyage itself. Given the often intolerable conditions these land workers in the Osnabrück region encountered (as seen in chapter one), it is not surprising that the area became fertile ground for emigration in the nineteenth century. The goal of this exodus to the Midwest became essentially Missouri, and to a lesser degree also Ohio and Kentucky. There was a minute movement to California as a result of the discovery of gold there, but this is not of major significance for this study. The port of entrance to the New World could be either New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, or even New Orleans. The use of this southern port by immigrants to Missouri should not be a major surprise, since from there the journey proceeded rather easily up the Mississippi to Missouri aboard riverboats. Ship travel on the major rivers of the United States by the mid-nineteenth century had already developed extensively, and since the railroad was still in its infancy, the crossing of the continent from an East Coast port of entry could well be a much more arduous journey. The wave of immigrants consisted, in general, of either individuals or of complete families. Yet, to a lesser extent, at times whole groups from a single town or village undertook this adventure and finally settled as a community together in their respective enclaves in Missouri.

Shipping agents came to play a major role in this exodus. Their contributions, even unsavory ones, are documented in detail because of their importance. The perspective emigrant had to be in possession of official written documents in order to depart; often, because of military obligations, skirmishes with the law or domestic financial obligations, even minor ones, this could be a major hindrance. Then there was a multiplicity of regional governance which further encumbered the departure. Often shipping agents would circumvent bureaucracies, legally or illegally, to attain their fees.

Chapter three examines the evolution of the new settlements founded by these Osnabrück newcomers socially, economically, and culturally in America, essentially in Missouri, during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The majority of these settlers were drawn by the prospect of cheap and rich agricultural land, as is to be expected, since most were impoverished farm laborers. Therefore, larger German regions in the Midwest, such as Chicago or St. Louis, were not as attractive as was rural Missouri to these land-oriented immigrants. In addition, often letters from



earlier emigrants from Osnabrück to Missouri sang the praises of the unlimited possibilities offered in this rural area. The examination of census lists reveals that whole villages simply left Osnabrück and settled together, continuing their shared community life in the new homeland. Often such groups transplanted their German village names to their new home. Numerous difficulties were, of course, also encountered such as epidemics or financial hardships. These are extensively documented in this chapter and further illustrated by detailed descriptions of specific families. The author furnishes, as it were, not only "dry" statistics but also enlivens his text through narratives of human interest. By 1850 more than 80 percent of these once virtually destitute immigrant farmers had achieved the status of landowner. How impossible this would have been in Osnabrück when one recalls the stagnant social structure described in chapter one. In fact, the German farmers seem to have prospered considerably more extensively than even their Anglo-American counterparts in the same Missouri region.

The author casts a discerning eye upon the cultural developments within these emerging German-American communities. What could be a better way to hold a fledgling society together than a common bond, namely language? Of course, as with all immigrant groups in the United States, these new Germans were living within an Anglo-American society. How long would or could they continue to maintain their "Germanness?" The detailed information offered in this study may be surprising. Usually original immigrants maintain their own mother tongue and from then on the Americanization process begins to engulf already the first born-in-America generation and definitely infiltrates strongly the second generation. If common language bonds together, how is it maintained? Two major institutions, the church and the school, are examined. The evolution among these German-Americans seems to run counter to commonly held views of acculturation. It is shown that into the third generation German was still the dominant spoken language, but also by this time the third generation was essentially bi-lingual, German and English, although the command of German was more often than not greater than that of English.

Churches usually conducted services in German and into the 1920s confirmation was still in German. At the beginning of the twentieth century, when a number of the children attended state schools, English was the language of instruction, but among themselves these youngsters—already the third generation in the New World—still employed German for daily communication. The majority of the young people at this time, though, still attended parochial schools, Old Lutheran, Union (Lutheran and Reformed), or Roman Catholic ones, where German was the medium of instruction and English was taught as a foreign language. When considering the use of German in these rural enclaves, it must be pointed out that it was usually the *Osnabrück Plattdeutsch* rather than Standard High German. However, by 1919—that is, after World War I—a transition seems to have occurred. That year a school dedication was conducted in both German and English. From then on in the 1920s and 1930s, the churches often began to employ English in services, i.e., weekly or monthly English language services were also held. In the ensuing years English gained a more prominent position, so that by approximately 1939 English achieved equal status with

German in most churches. What is amazing in German Missouri, and in contrast to many other German-American areas, especially urban enclaves, is that the First World War did not eliminate the use of the German language, but rather it was replaced well after the war by the expected evolutionary acculturation and not by political and social pressures.

The last segment of this study, "From Gehrde to New York—and Back," relates the personal experiences of one immigrant family from the Osnabrück region, their difficulties in the New World, and their ultimate return to Osnabrück. Also emphasized is that such a return to Germany was an extremely isolated case. Yet the insight into this family illustrates, in general, the immigrant experience.

This book is handsomely embellished with many family portraits, photos of dwellings, shipping lists, advertisements for emigration, and extensive original personal and official documents of emigration. One not familiar with the Osnabrück region or with the geography of Missouri might have wished also for several detailed maps showing the exact locations in Northwest Germany, especially with respect to the Protestant and Roman Catholic areas, as well as the work sites in Holland and the detailed areas settled in Missouri with exact population figures and dates of settlement. This, though, should not detract from a valuable and easily readable study in emigration from northwestern Germany to the American Midwest in the nineteenth century.

*Lehigh University*

*Alexander Waldenrath*

### **Hollandgänger, Sträflinge und Migranten. Bremen und Bremerhaven als Wanderungsraum.**

*By Horst Rössler. Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000. 279 pages. DM 39.90.*

"Heimat: das Land . . . in dem man geboren ist oder bleibenden Aufenthalt hat." Home is the place where one was born or has permanent residence; thus was the concept explained in the famous *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm in 1877 when the fascicle with the entry for "heimath" appeared. When this was published, millions of emigrants left Europe for a better life in America. Their journey as well as the many pages in Grimms' dictionary dealing with "heimat" made it very obvious that mobility and migration were among the most important issues in nineteenth-century history.

In four extensively and excellently footnoted studies, Horst Rössler deals with migration from the Bremen-Bremerhaven region between about 1750 and 1914. In German-American history the importance of Bremen-Bremerhaven as a major German and European place of departure for millions of emigrants to the New World—above all to the United States—is well known. Rössler, however, looks at both cities and the surrounding region from a different perspective. He places the move overseas into a broader historical context and shows that, in the social



history of the area, various migration movements played an important role. Thus Rössler analyses at greater length the traditional seasonal movements of (non-inheriting) sons of small peasants, cottagers, and laborers from northwestern German territories (including the rural areas surrounding Bremen) to the Netherlands in search of work. As late as the turn from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century about 30,000 people were involved in these yearly migrations (*Hollandgängererei*). Among them were quite a number of lower rural class members from villages near the Hanseatic City of Bremen, who already from about 1770 onwards preferred to go to England to work mostly in London sugar refineries.

However, as the author demonstrates, from 1830 onward these migrations were increasingly replaced by two others. On the one hand more and more people began moving to the cities. Bremen and Bremerhaven (the latter only established in 1827) became magnets for tens of thousands, men and women who in search of permanent work and better living conditions made their way into these expanding urban centers. Rössler shows that near-distance migrants came from the very areas in which seasonal labor migration had been important for many generations. But in contrast to the *Hollandgängererei*—an exclusively male movement—women played a particularly prominent role among those leaving the surrounding rural areas for the city. While throughout the nineteenth century near-distance migrants dominated those coming into Bremen and Bremerhaven, a considerable number of urban craftsmen coming from far away places were also among the in-migrants. Thus in one study the author deals with skilled British workmen whose know-how was needed in the process of early industrialization. Until the 1890s, however, urban labor markets could not offer enough job opportunities for all those who could no longer make a living at home and were forced to leave rural districts. Therefore, on the other hand, for many men and women going across the Atlantic, America (that is, the United States) was a most attractive alternative to moving into the cities. Again, it was those places in northwestern Germany which used to be centers of seasonal migrations to the Netherlands which became in turn centers of emigration to America.

As far as German emigration to the United States is concerned, Rössler focuses on a hitherto much neglected aspect of German-American history: the illegal "transportation" of convicts (*Sträflinge*) from various German states (e.g., Hannover, Braunschweig) via Bremen and Bremerhaven to America. Though comparatively small numbers were involved, the landing of former prison and workhouse inmates in New York or Baltimore was time and again used by nativists during the mid-nineteenth century to denounce all German and European immigrants as criminals (and paupers) and demand restrictions on free immigration.

The book is richly illustrated and includes a number of highly interesting documents which have been transcribed from old German handwriting. Documents give voice to the seasonal labor migrant (*Hollandgänger*) who asks the authorities for a passport to work in the Netherlands; to the pioneer emigrant to Texas, who in a letter describes this state as a kind of poor man's paradise; to the widely traveled artisan who in his résumé mentions that he worked for a couple of months in the

"establishment of Steinway & Sons, 15 Street, New York;" or, to the servant maid being imprisoned for some weeks for petty theft who asks the Senate of Bremen to set her free because she wants to leave home for good and start a new life in the United States.

With these documents Rössler not only publishes interesting examples of archival holdings from the Bremen and Bremerhaven area, but he also adds supplements to many biographical portraits and sources in his book. The author's studies thus contain a wealth of historic information along with a description of general migration patterns. Through this double approach Rössler's historic examples lead to issues that are widely discussed in all countries of emigration and immigration today. His studies on the *Zuckersieder* in England tell about economy and transfer of technology; the life of the Polish textile workers in Bremen's neighboring town of Delmenhorst tells about cultural pluralism and xenophobia; the journey of the farmhand to America tells about the process of acculturation; and every migrant's life in foreign parts tells about the pursuit of happiness.

*Bremerhaven, Germany*

*Wolfgang Grams*

**The German Element in St. Louis. A Translation from German of Ernst D. Kargau's *St. Louis in Former Years: A Commemorative History of the German Element*.**

*Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Translated by William G. Bek. Baltimore: Clearfield, 2000. 374 pages.*

This translation of Kargau's *St. Louis in früheren Jahren: Ein Gedenkbuch für das deutsche Element* (1893) is based on an unpublished 1943 manuscript by William G. Bek, noted historian of the German element in Missouri. Tolzmann has now published Bek's translation with the permission of the Western Historical Manuscript Collection of the University of Missouri at Columbia, making this valuable resource for the history of the German element in St. Louis accessible to the larger English-reading audience. While the publication appears a first glance to benefit primarily those with an interest in German family history in second-half of the nineteenth century in St. Louis, it also makes abundantly clear just how ubiquitous those of German ancestry were in that city at the time of its zenith and just a decade prior to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904. Whether Kargau is cataloguing the commercial and professional offices, the manufacturing facilities, the cultural and recreational activities, or merely the histories of private individuals, the reader is overwhelmed by the impact of the German element in the city. Urban historians will also find a treasure trove of information on the city's early history as well.

Tolzmann's edition presents Kargau's descriptive narrative in three larger divisions, each in turn divided into a number of short chapters. First, a guide to St. Louis



takes the reader street by street through the main part of the city detailing the historical development, business establishments and prominent homes of twenty distinct neighborhoods. The second division depicts the rich variety of German-American life in the city. We are introduced to the beautiful city parks with beer gardens and band concerts as well as the many halls for the opera, orchestral, and theatrical performances frequented by the Germans. The many churches with German congregations are presented followed by the organizations of Free Thinkers. Social organizations such as the German Immigrant Society and the many gymnastic clubs organized by the Turners are described in some detail. A final division outlines the German contribution to business and industry in St. Louis with special attention to rail and river traffic.

In addition to providing the narrative with an overall organizational structure, Tolzmann contributes a brief introduction providing the reader with biographical information on Kargau—he worked for various St. Louis German newspapers, including the *Anzeiger des Westens* and the *Westliche Post* and also wrote some essays and short literary works. Tolzmann also links the German element in St. Louis with that of Milwaukee and Cincinnati to form the “Triangle” of German-American culture in the Midwest, again emphasizing the importance of the development of these three centers in our understanding of German-American history. Tolzmann completes this volume with a selective list of works focusing on the history of the German element in Missouri and St. Louis together with a number of bibliographical resources followed by an index of some 2,500 individuals mentioned in Kargau’s text. All in all, Tolzmann’s edition of this translation is a solid and detailed reference work about the German-American character of the fifth largest city in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.

*University of Kansas*

*William Keel*

### **America’s Invisible Gulag: A Biography of German American Internment and Exclusion in World War II.**

*By Stephen Fox. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 23. New York: Peter Lang, 2000. xxiv + 379 pages. \$34.95.*

For all that has been written and reported regarding the presence of ethnic Germans in the United States during the World War I era, history has been remarkably quiet on the experience of this same group a quarter-century later, when World War II again brought to the fore the role of legal residents aliens and others who, despite no direct involvement in the political or military issues of the day, were obliged to defend themselves against charges of disloyalty and potentially subversive actions, often despite a lack of clear evidence of wrongdoing and at great personal cost for years to come. Recent history has scarcely been more kind. In the last twelve



years, Congress has passed various legislative acts which provide formal recognition of governmental misconduct—especially with regard to selective internment of enemy aliens and wholesale exclusion and evacuation—toward members of the Japanese-American and Italian-American communities; in the case of Japanese-Americans not only was a formal apology offered, but also financial compensation. As of this writing, disenfranchised German legal resident aliens and Americans of German extraction have been consistently excluded from such measures, based in part on incomplete (such as *Personal Justice Denied*, the report which served as the basis of the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 recognizing the Japanese-American situation) and also inaccurate information, perpetuated by well-meaning but underinformed scholars and news reporters.

Compounding the problem has been a reluctance on the part of former internees to discuss their wartime experiences. Thousands of effected ethnic Germans have gone quietly to their graves, while others have steadfastly refused to comment after the fact, in both cases for fear of ridicule or even persecution by federal authorities. This silence has long hampered the efforts of researchers to set the historical record straight. But it also has provided scholars with additional motivation to document the cases of those ethnic Germans who, half a century later, are now willing to share their stories before it is too late for them to be heard. Offering proof to this end, Stephen Fox has assembled *America's Invisible Gulag*, labeled as a "Biography" of German Americans—he purposely does not hyphenate, "because it less obviously qualifies their Americanness" (xxiii)—negatively impacted by the events surrounding American involvement in World War II. True, Fox does tie together the various elements involved in the complex issues of ethnic internment and exclusion, skillfully putting a human face on processes which by their nature were inherently dehumanizing. But in many ways the text can just as easily be labeled an "Autobiography;" in the prologue, Fox readily acknowledges that his work is fundamentally an oral history project. In line with this view, Fox wisely makes the centerpiece of his study the personal stories of over thirty former internees, excludées, and their relatives, allowing them to share remembrances and otherwise make points that would be rendered less effective in a third-person format. Thus what sets *America's Invisible Gulag* apart from other studies of ethnic German wartime internment and exclusion is the degree to which those directly impacted relate the story. It is left to Fox to tie their narrative threads together into a readable, informative, even entertaining account—which he does quite well.

*America's Invisible Gulag* is divided into nine separate parts, all of which faithfully bring together scholarly documentation and analysis of German internment and exclusion with personal remembrances of their many effects on those involved, both positive and negative. While each segment has enough first-hand material to keep readers eagerly engaged, several of the chapters are of particular interest. The second part, "Arrest," discusses the formal background behind the apprehension of individuals deemed a threat to national security and the initial experiences of those who were taken away as a result. One consistent thread running through the narratives



provided is the total surprise that was felt at being arrested and detained, often under suspicion of pro-Nazi activities and club memberships; as one individual recounts, his father had come to America precisely "to get away from all that garbage [in Germany] . . . 'I came over here and thought I'd have a peaceful life'" (47). Parts four and five, "Army Camps" and "Immigration and Naturalization Camps," provide an illuminating glimpse into life in an internment facility, most notably the Fort Lincoln (North Dakota) and Crystal City (Texas) camps. Stories regarding the latter establishment admirably emphasize that, while internees did not choose to live in such an environment, they were treated by authorities in an altogether humane manner and even managed to enjoy certain aspects of their stay: "To tell the truth, I had a good time because there were many young people my age and many boy-girl relationships. . . . We surely had much freedom, probably a lot more than I would have had in Albany" (160). Part nine, "Repatriation," makes eminently clear that the conclusion of internment did not necessarily mean the end of wartime persecution for selected German legal resident aliens and their families. In fact things would become much worse in some cases: the terms of a December 1941 repatriation and exchange plan with Germany allowed the United States to send several thousand individuals back to Germany, both during the war and in its immediate aftermath, with much of the area in ruins. The inevitable result was a climate in which the former internees were welcome neither here nor there, left to fend for themselves in a culture of distrust and a nation which had ceased to exist: "The Germans didn't trust us; they thought we were American spies. Anybody who returned to Germany then and could speak English, well, there had to be something wrong. When the Americans came in they didn't trust us either because they thought the same thing. Anybody who speaks English and knows German, well, they have to be spies" (243).

It is stories such as these which set *America's Invisible Gulag* apart from previous scholarly works in the area. It succeeds admirably in relating the misfortunes of over 10,000 ethnic Germans at a time when one's place of birth and ancestry assumed much greater importance than otherwise would be the case. Through their own simple, occasionally passionate words, these German Americans offer a compelling tale of the human cost of internment and exclusion—a vital point all too often lost in ongoing scholarly debate over the internment issue and how it is reported. Half a century after the fact, we can be thankful for their willingness finally to speak for the record, and for Fox's diligence in piecing together their stories. They are decidedly worth hearing.

Missouri Western State College

Timothy J. Holian

### **Freedom, Education and Well-Being for All!: North Germans in the USA 1847-1860.**

*By Joachim Reppmann. Verlag für Amerikanistik/Hesperian Press, 1999. 283 pages.*

The thesis of this study—that emigration from Schleswig-Holstein to the



Middle West of the United States after the failed revolution against Denmark in 1848 resulted not so much from dire economic conditions in the homeland, although such did exist, but essentially rather from the political powder keg during and after the conflagration of 1848—is documented in detail. This underlying proposition is to be supported by examination of the emigration from Schleswig-Holstein within the context of its social history. Further in this investigation, the process of acculturation in all its manifold ramifications is viewed as part of the social history of the new country. The examination thereof is delineated into four distinct main chapters in which each has the task of clarifying one facet of the proposal.

Chapter one consists of a relatively detailed introduction to the general proposition and defines and limits the scope of this undertaking. The reader is made aware of the smaller number of pre-1848 immigrants from Schleswig-Holstein already residing in the American Midwest. These were the seventy well-educated individuals who settled in Wisconsin as “Latin farmers,” i.e., men who would be engaged partly in agriculture but also who would be dedicated to continued political work in one form or another in their new homeland. These early emigrants formed a nucleus and acted as a conduit for those who would follow, the so-called forty-eighters, in the years from 1848 to 1856. The term forty-eighters is defined as those intellectuals who left Schleswig-Holstein for political reasons during these years. One question remains relatively open, namely, how many forty-eighters were there? A determination is difficult and would rest essentially upon the definition of a “revolutionary” in Schleswig-Holstein at the time. The number has been estimated to be as low as 500 and as high as 10,000. More research remains to be conducted on this aspect of the study. The author, essentially concerned with the political motivation for emigration, does allow that the catastrophic economic conditions of the time also fostered the emigration of large numbers of farmers, day laborers and their respective dependents. He feels justified to consider them also as part of the forty-eighters since most had fought as volunteers in the conflagration against Denmark. The reader, for purposes of orientation, is reminded of the novel political position in which Schleswig-Holstein found itself, one which, perhaps, is often not fully considered in other studies which concern themselves with mass emigration. Schleswig-Holstein was ruled from Copenhagen and the king was lord over Schleswig but a vassal of the German Kaiser with respect to Holstein. In addition, both duchies were under Danish administration by reason of a personal union with the Danish crown. The emigrant Schleswig-Holsteiners to be studied here settled, as was often the case with other emigrant/immigrant groups, essentially in a few rural areas in the American Midwest so that the process of their acculturation can be documented with relative alacrity.

The subsequent four chapters present the scholarly research undertaken. Chapter two, “Schleswig-Holstein Prior to the Revolution of 1848,” reviews the particular status politically of this southern area of the Danish kingdom. King Christian VIII attempted to establish his singular and complete control over the duchies. This



finally led to the political rupture between Schleswig-Holstein and the Copenhagen government and also would lead to contact with the growing pan-German nationalism. Strict censorship of the press in the duchies, singularly imposed by the Copenhagen government, infuriated many intellectuals and led to their actively trying to burst the bonds of Danish authority and also to seeking a closer association with the German Federation. Men whose names today are still well known in Schleswig-Holstein—such as Theodor Olshausen and Hans Reimar Claussen, to mention only two—were active in the homeland in this anti-Danish movement and later after emigration would continue to be highly influential in the developments occurring in their new homeland in America.

Agricultural production formed the economic base of the two duchies; industrial development, emerging in the cities, was still in its infancy. Economic conditions for at least 30 percent of the population, day laborers on the farms, had deteriorated successively since the earlier part of the century so that an agricultural proletariat had become a reality. These dire economic conditions did play a role in the revolution and in emigration. The author maintains, however, that the majority of the emigrants departed not only because of such economic factors, as may well have been the case in other German territories, but rather as a type of substitute revolution. This resulted from the realization that no political solution would be forthcoming at home in the foreseeable future.

"Forty-Eighters in Schleswig-Holstein, 1848-1851," chapter three, examines the broad political spectrum among the revolutionaries. By no means did these men form a homogeneous political group, but rather fanned across the political landscape from the left, those with communist leanings, to the right, those of strong conservative views. The common bond among them, though, which held them together even if loosely, was the desire of terminating the "oppressive" rule exercised by Denmark.

The newspapers of those years in Schleswig-Holstein are drawn upon extensively to illustrate the major political events and political sentiment in the duchies. Not only is the press also in other German territories researched but that too of the United States with a discerning scholarly eye especially upon the German-American press. Thereby, the measure of political temperament and concern with respect to the Schleswig-Holstein question can be measured on both sides of the Atlantic.

The final two chapters, and especially chapter five, form another major impetus of this study: "Expectations About and Mass Emigration to the Midwest" and "Citizenship and Acculturation in the Midwest." The aim here is to investigate "... the problems of acculturation in the land of reception" (13). Further, "it is precisely the decade before the American Civil War that offers us, in the case of a homogeneous emigrant group like the Schleswig-Holsteiners, the opportunity to evaluate critically the very superficial and general theses of the time concerning the socio-economic and political behavior of the German-speaking immigrants" (13).

Economic necessity, given the dreadful conditions many experienced, especially those at the lower strata of society, contributed to no small extent to the wave of emigration. This the author does accept. Extensive literature glorifying life in



America—especially in the Midwest, which enjoyed wide circulation in Schleswig-Holstein—induced many to emigrate. In addition, personal accounts, either in the form of glowing letters from Schleswig-Holsteiners in the New World or as personally presented reports by returned travelers, are shown to have exercised major impact upon the actual decision to depart for the American Midwest. Following his principle thesis, the author documents extensively that the major underlying reasons, though, were not economic but rather of a political nature—the defeat of the revolution and a yearning to establish democratic rule in the new homeland. Initially this “exile” to America was viewed by many of the emigrating intellectuals as only a temporary respite; the hope remained that a return to Schleswig-Holstein would be possible, in order to establish a democratic republican state between the North Sea and the Baltic.

This emigration can readily be viewed as a chain migration in these years, i.e., from one region to another region, from Schleswig-Holstein to Iowa and Wisconsin. It is, therefore, justified to speak of Schleswig-Holstein colonies in the Midwest of the United States. A detailed account of the acculturation and assimilation of these immigrants in their new homeland forms a most interesting chapter of this work. It was no easy evolution but it did occur over a relatively short time span. The newcomers had become Americans, who were and whose successors today are still proud of their heritage. Social institutions, schools, churches, social clubs, lodges, sports organizations, etc., although initially German in their character, found their way into the fabric of domestic American life. The process of acculturation, given the ever-so-strong bonds to the homeland, could not and cannot be halted. The concerns for developments within Germany slowly but definitely began to take a back seat. Economically these immigrants were usually quite successful. Even if it appears that the process of acculturation may have been initially slow, the American Civil War, as is here demonstrated, gave the final thrust towards Americanization.

In addition to the text of the study, annotations for each chapter—a total of seventy-four pages—are provided in great detail. Of interest are also the pages of photographs of the major figures referred to as forty-eighters; a biography of Theodor Olshausen from the Davenport Democrat of 22 March 1879; an appendix of military officers; an extensive list of sources and bibliography; and finally an index of names. One may have wished for a more extensive index to include also subject matter. The inclusion of maps of Schleswig-Holstein and of the Midwest of the United States would perhaps have been helpful as well.

This volume presents a major undertaking in the field of emigration/immigration history. The reader should be careful not to lose sight of the main thesis, political concerns above economic ones, within the wealth of presented material. It may be an aid to consult the conclusions of each chapter before reviewing the detailed material in the respective chapter, in order to incorporate intellectually the contribution made by each chapter sub-section to the final conclusion. The author is to be praised for his diligence and extensive research.



**Over The Barrel: The Brewing History and Beer Culture of Cincinnati.  
Volume One: 1800-Prohibition.**

*By Timothy J. Holian. St. Joseph, MO: Sudhaus Press, 2000. 356 pages. \$24.95*

This work is a rare treat, a perfect combination of history and brewing bottled together into a solidly researched, easy- and fun-to-read book that appeals to history buffs, German-American scholars and beer lovers alike. The author's skillful narrative coupled with the hundreds of illustrations, charts and notes will simultaneously entertain and educate the average reader even as it satisfies historians, sociologists and zymurgists. What is truly amazing is how Holian takes a subject that is indeed literally *ein Fass ohne Boden* and gets his hands around 120 years of Cincinnati history so deftly. The author not only knows his subject, but he loves it. This book is a labor of love.

Cincinnati's tradition as a brewing center is indeed as colorful, important and interesting as that of St. Louis or Milwaukee. The city's strategic location on the Ohio River helped it become a major gateway to the West. Its rising population of immigrants assured the growth of the brewing industry during a time of rapid expansion and industrialization. Its good water, and ready access to hops and barley of the Midwest, made it a natural brewing center. As America grew, so did Cincinnati—and so did its breweries: The John Hauck Brewing Company, Windisch-Muhlhauser (Lion Brewery), The Christian Moerlein Brewing Company, Foss-Schneider Brewing Company and Wiedemann, to name but a few.

Cincinnati's formal brewing history began roughly at the turn of the nineteenth century with the establishment of several commercial ale breweries. Porter, stout and ale (top-fermented beers) were forging brews, cheap and easy to make, with a brewing to consumption time measured in mere days and weeks. These were beers brewed locally to satisfy local thirsts.

When the Germans arrived in the late 1840s, they brought with them the latest in brewing breakthroughs: lager yeast. The resulting bottom-fermented lager brews were bright, clear and lighter in color than their ale cousins. They revolutionized brewing worldwide and turned Cincinnati's brewing tradition on its ear. Suddenly, Cincinnati was a lager beer town. This change of allegiance from top- to bottom-fermentation took place nationwide, not just in Cincinnati. Indeed, only New England with its strong English tradition and relatively small numbers of Central European immigrants continued to brew ale as a primary product line. As went the nation, so went Cincinnati. There was not enough of that clear golden, smooth-tasting elixir to go around. Lager breweries sprang up like mushrooms after a rain.

The author does a masterful job of explaining how an ever-growing number of Cincinnati brewers were able to satisfy their own local market at the expense of export-minded brewers in St. Louis and Milwaukee. The Cincinnati lager brewers had a remarkable lock on their own market that easily survived the impact of the Civil War on brewers and suppliers. In fact, by the end of the Civil War, Cincinnati had one of the largest per capita beer consumption rates in the entire



United States. In 1867, there were 28 breweries in the city of Cincinnati and another six in nearby suburbs. The city was awash in suds.

The post-war boom with its technological advances ensured that the next generation of German-American lager brewers had more than a local market clamoring for their beers. Refrigeration, the railroad and modern technical advances (i.e., bottling machines, steam-powered brewing operations) made possible the mass production and shipping of lager beer state- and nationwide. Fortunes were made in the handling and processing of malt, hops, yeast and water during the 1880s. This was the golden age of Cincinnati brewing.

But such expansion and growth was ultimately unsustainable and led to inevitable consolidation within the brewing industry. Again, Holian explains this nationwide trend within the context of Cincinnati's own particular social, labor and industrial framework of the time: national expansion westward, anti-immigration sentiment, the depression of the early 1890s, growing labor unrest, disputes between breweries and saloonkeepers, Cincinnati politics—and the Temperance and Prohibitionist movements.

Growing Prohibitionist sentiment coupled with early twentieth-century legislation sharply limiting distilled and malt liquors chilled the brewing climate further and quickened the pace of brewery consolidation. Brewers across the United States, not just in Cincinnati, grossly underestimated the power of the Anti-Saloon League that blurred the distinction between beer and hard liquor while associating beer almost exclusively with the German element.

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 many cities, including Cincinnati, wartime Prohibition measures brought beer brewing to a halt. Formal nationwide Prohibition brought legal brewing to an end. Breweries tried to make near-beer, soda and ice to stay afloat, but many never weathered the four-year drought. But that is the subject of another book. *Over the Barrel* is a two-volume work. Holian plans a second book to complete the Cincinnati brewing saga from Prohibition to the present. Holian brings history to life, with illustrations, pictures, advertisements and newspaper accounts, and with a warmth and sense of humor that make the book truly enjoyable for a wide audience.

*Dublin, Ireland*

*Paula Weber*