Book Reviews

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The Germans in the American Civil War.
By Wilhelm Kaufmann. Translated by Steven Rowan; edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann with Werner Mueller and Robert E. Ward. Carlisle, PA: John Kallmann, Publishers, 1999. viii + 392 pages. $49.95 (cloth); $29.95 (paper).

Nearly ninety years after Kaufmann's German-language original appeared (*Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* [Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1911]), scholars and students of both the German element in the United States and the American Civil War now have access to what may be the most thorough account—albeit not without a tinge of filiopietism—of the massive German-immigrant participation in that conflict. Kaufmann's original work appeared at the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of the Civil War, at a time when the surviving German-American veterans of that war, especially those who had served on the Union side, were still enjoying the respect and admiration of their fellow countrymen. That era of "good feelings" toward German-Americans as well as any opportunity for Kaufmann's book to have much impact fell victim to the anti-German hysteria which engulfed the nation during the First World War. Now, thanks to the masterful translation of Steve Rowan and the careful editing of Don Tolzmann, Werner Mueller and Robert Ward, we can attempt to recast the history of the Civil War with due acknowledgment of the war-time contributions of the newly arrived Germans, Swiss and Austrians as well as the descendants of earlier German immigration.

Following Kaufmann's original, the main body of the text consists of five chapters. The first chapter provides cultural and political background of the North and the South leading up to the secession crisis following Lincoln's election in November 1860. The second chapter details the statistics of German participation in the war as well as the pro-Union sympathies of most of the recent immigrants and the role of the Forty-Eighters. The third chapter exam-

ines briefly German units in the Eastern theatre of the war in 1861 while concentrating on the crucial role of German volunteer units in saving St. Louis and Missouri for the Union cause from April 1861 until the Battle of Pea Ridge in March 1862—the fate of Forty-Eighter Franz Sigel throughout this period is described in some detail. The fourth chapter first describes the participation of German units and German officers the Union campaigns in Tennessee during 1862, including the Battle of Shiloh (April 1862), and then focuses on those in the Eastern theatre—featuring again Franz Sigel in the Second Battle of Bull Run (August 1862)—taking the reader through the decision to issue the Emancipation Proclamation and the bloody Battle of Fredericksburg in December. The final chapter follows the German units through the battles of 1863 (Chancellorsville and Gettysburg in the East; Vicksburg, Chickamauga and Chattanooga in the West) and continues on to the end of the war in April 1865. The 1864-65 period describes German units involved in both Grant's final campaign against Richmond as well as Sherman's march through Atlanta to the sea and then north through the Carolinas. Considerable attention is again given to Franz Sigel in his final defeat in the Shennandoah Valley at New Market (May 1864). It is indeed remarkable how frequently the action of a particular German officer or largely German regiment is characaterized as "one of the greatest moments of glory on the battlefield." Of course, Kaufmann is writing to set the record straight; a record he believes has neglected to include the accomplishments of the large number of German officers and units during that war.

Following these detailed descriptions of the important engagements involving German units and German officers, Kaufmann provides an appendix containing a "Biographical Directory" with information on some 500 Union officers—as well as a few important civilians—of German, Austrian or Swiss birth and over thirty who served in the Confederate Army as officers, including the infamous Henry Wirz, who had the misfortune to end up commanding the Andersonville, Georgia, prisoner-of-war camp and was hanged by the Union victors after a court martial. Kaufmann goes to some length to downplay the importance of Franz Sigel vis-à-vis other German general officers in the Union Army such as Peter Joseph Osterhaus or August von Willich. On the other hand, he repeatedly defends Sigel's and other German officers' reputions against the critical opinions and machinations of the cliquish West Pointers who—as Kaufmann claims—did not have sufficient respect for the "foreigners" in their officer ranks. A second appendix contains a variety of short supplementary articles on such topics as "Pastorius and the True Beginning of German Immigration," "The Old Germans in the Shenandoah Valley," "The Sioux before New Ulm," and "The Treatment of War Prisoners." The translated original notes are supplemented by notes from the translator and the editors. The volume also includes thirty-six original maps detailing the German troop movements in the various campaigns and battles and brief selected bibliography by the translator and editors.

Despite the filiopietistic tenor and the many instances of exaggerated praise or defense of German officers and units, Kaufmann's depiction overwhelms the reader by its detail of the German participation in the Union cause. He rightfully focuses much attention in the first year of the war on the enthusiastic German participation in saving the Union from being rent asunder by secession, especially in the critical border state of Missouri. One can at the same time also understand the antagonism of nativists toward those they termed the "Damned Dutch" or "Damned Hessians" when one realizes that many of the early skirmishes and battles in Missouri were fought with "native" Missourians on the side of the South and units whose ranks approached 90 percent German-born on the Union side. One of the most interesting aspects of Kaufmann's book is its depiction of the internal politics involved in appointing German general officers in the Union Army. Lincoln was frequently at odds with his staff officers, primarily West Pointers, when attempting to satisfy the demands of the "Germans," perhaps believing that the wrong move might cost him re-election in 1864.

Kaufmann's original book had a number of flaws. Apparently some of Kaufmann's errors were corrected by the translator and editors. Others have not been corrected, leaving the reader with some uncertainty about the accuracy of the material. This is espcially problematic given that Kaufmann provided no sources for his information—his justification for that omission is understandable given the circumstance in which he produced his book, but nonetheless troubling (3). Such errors can even be found in the biographical information of important figures such as Colonel Carl Eberhard Salomon (318). He is listed as colonel of the 3rd Missouri Regiment—the 3rd was actually the regiment commanded originally by Franz Sigel; Salomon commanded the 5th Missouri Regiment (both regiments were routed at Wilson's Creek in 1861). Kaufmann also seems to have had some difficulty with American geography, especially river directions. For instance, in describing the attack on Fort Henry in the winter of 1862, he wrote that Grant's forces moved "south down the Tennessee"—they were actually going up river (153). Since Kaufmann relied so heavily on the recollections of surviving veterans nearly a half-century after the conflict, a number of the many descrepancies were perhaps unavoidable. One editorial matter also puzzled this reviewer: The editors state that a selected bibliography follows the introduction (iv); however, the bibliography compiled by the editors does not appear until after Kaufmann's main text and two appendices (347-48).

Despite the book's factual flaws and a number of typographical errors—in an early section there is an annoying omission of apostrophes—Rowan's translation of *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* should have a place in every library devoted to the coverage of the German-American element and the American Civil War. Civil War buffs will find it a fascinating volume. By detailing the involvement of several hundred thousand Germans, Austrians and Swiss in the American Civil War, this book is a lasting memorial to the dedication and

sacrifices of a unique generation of German-Americans for their adopted homeland.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Louisville Breweries.
By Peter R. Guetig and Conrad D. Selle. Louisville: Mark Skaggs Press, 1995. 305 pp. + index. $24.95.

Louisville Breweries presents the most extensive overview to date of the history of brewing and malting activity in Kentucky, focusing on Louisville proper but with a concurrent examination of breweries in nearby New Albany, Indiana, and their history. German contributions to local beermaking activity are given heavy emphasis in the book, including reproductions of numerous German-language advertisements from the *Louisville Anzeiger* of the late nineteenth century. While credit for finding these resources goes to Guetig and Selle, they acknowledge a heavy debt to the late J. William Klapper, formerly of the SGAS and the Kentuckiana Germanic Heritage Society, whose services to the authors included translations of many German-language advertisements and extensive histories of the various pre-Prohibition breweries.

The book is organized according to several categories of information, beginning with a general overview of the history of brewing in Louisville. Early sections of the book—there are no chapters, *per se*—briefly discuss the origins of brewing activity in Kentucky, the role of British immigrant brewers, the arrival of German brewers and consumers, and rapid expansion of the industry during the mid-to-late-nineteenth century. The onset of Prohibition and its effect upon brewing in Louisville is also treated, along with the rebirth and later decline of local brewing, leading up to the modern-day regeneration of beer production in the form of microbreweries and brewpubs. Foremost among the revelations presented here is the existence of a previously undocumented brewery, the first in Kentucky, preceding the oldest otherwise known by almost forty years; the authors reproduce an advertisement placed by John Nancarrow on 8 September 1789 (12), about a brewery in the Bluegrass region at Scott's Landing on the Kentucky River.

Subsequent early sections of the book, comprising roughly forty pages of narrative, are given over to a treatment of various aspects related to the production process and packaging issues. A brief discussion of brewery working conditions is followed by an overview of malt production and malthouses, draft beer production and the manufacture of beer barrels, and the importance of bottled and canned beer. The early role of common beer—a precursor to lager beer, which would dominate the market thanks largely to German immigrants beginning in the 1840s—receives welcome attention, given its importance to early American brewing operations and its general lack of coverage in many other

brewing history books. Included in this part of the text is a detailed discussion of bock beer, serving to dispel several myths about the origin of the beverage. Its Germanic heritage is reinforced through the reproduction of eight rare advertisements from long-gone breweries, seven of which are in German and, presumably, are culled from microfilm copies of the *Louisville Anzeiger*.

The middle part of *Louisville Breweries*, the lengthiest portion of the book, offers the histories of the many breweries which operated in Louisville from the early nineteenth century until the closure of its last old-line brewery, the Falls City Brewing Company, in 1978. Given that the vast majority of brewers in Louisville were of German descent, references to German-American customs and culture abound, and are augmented frequently by German-language advertisements and translated passages from publicity campaigns. Illustrations of many pioneer German brewers also are present, along with brief biographical references where information on the individual brewers has been found. While many of the German-related images are taken from the *Louisville Anzeiger*, numerous photographs—particularly of the few brewing concerns that survived Prohibition, such as Oertel, Frank Fehr, and Falls City—are taken from the archives of the University of Louisville as well as private collections. Photos of the brewery complexes, delivery trucks, and packaging materials give the companies a human face and serve as a welcome reminder of the days when the local beers outsold now-dominant nationally-manufactured brews with few if any ties to the community.

A final section of *Louisville Breweries* covers brewery sites in Shippingport—originally a separate settlement, but now a part of Louisville—and New Albany, Indiana, and also discusses independent beer bottlers and the saloon trade in Louisville. As with the previous sections of the book, there is ample evidence of the dominance of German culture in the saloon setting, including a reminiscence by Klapper about the times when, as a youth, he was sent by his father with a small bucket to fetch beer for the family from a local dispensary. The practice, commonly referred to as "rushing the growler," has its roots in the German saloons of the mid-nineteenth century and remains one of the fondest memories of the heyday of German-American drinking establishments.

Several features enhance the usefulness of *Louisville Breweries*. A comprehensive directory of fifty-six known Louisville brewing sites, with opening and closing dates where available, makes clear that the city served as a center for brewing activity in the Ohio Valley, as well as the extent to which it was dominated by German-American interests. A hand-drawn map of the Louisville area shows where each concern was located, making it possible for latter-day explorers to see where remnants of Louisville's brewing past may be found. An index is provided, making it easy to find entries for the individual breweries. A spot check of index references revealed them to be accurate—something that, experience has shown, cannot necessarily be taken for granted in other, comparable works. However, there are several areas in which room for improvement may be noted. While many illustrations taken from microfilm copies are "clean,"

others (often important to the textual references presented) suffer from occasional microfilm spots and lines which, in extreme cases, detract from the readability of the message; some basic work with Adobe Photoshop or comparable software could have rectified this problem with relative ease. Although an extensive bibliography is provided at the end of the book, specific references seldom are given within the text to where the authors found their information, making it difficult for future scholars to corroborate some of the more interesting revelations. Also, the quality of photo reproduction throughout, while acceptable, generally is inferior to other recent publications in the area. Presumably for cost reasons, the authors chose to utilize basic paper stock; some scholars of the brewing industry will be left wanting for clearer copies of the photographs, particularly those from the University of Louisville archives, given their rarity and importance. All illustrations are presented in basic black-and-white within the book, although color copies of some of the materials are known to exist.

Taken as a whole, *Louisville Breweries* represents a welcome and worthy addition to the growing canon about the American brewing industry and its social and economic importance. The strong focus upon German-American participation in brewing will be particularly appreciated by scholars in this field. No less importantly, the book does an admirable job of demonstrating that Louisville, far from being a provincial outpost as it is occasionally portrayed to be, in fact served as a center of brewing activity and beer culture for well over a century, and contributed a healthy share of innovations that continue to be felt to this day.

Missouri Western State College *Timothy J. Holian*

Das Deutschlandbild in der amerikanischen Literatur.
By Waldemar Zacharasiewicz. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998. 419 pages. DM 64.00.

The image of Germany and of the Germans in the literature of the United States during the past two centuries is the focal point of this major contribution to scholarship. This monograph precipitates an understanding of the zeniths and the depths of the social, political and economic relationships between these two nations and two peoples. With his extensive research findings, the author communicates easily with an erudite public and he also reaches those who may not be experts in the field.

The scope of this monograph is outlined in the introduction: it will examine the images of Germany and of the Germans in the nineteenth and in the twentieth centuries in many but, of course, not all literary works published on the western shores of the Atlantic. The emphasis is essentially upon literary works, but the author—recognizing the significance of periodicals, belletristic,

media and other forms of popular culture, especially in the twentieth century—includes also these facets as they become manifest in the U.S.-American experience. Excluded, because of its extensive dimensions, is the news press. It itself would necessitate a most voluminous separate investigation.

This study is chronological in approach. At the outset a brief discussion of the images evoked by Germany and the Germans in eighteenth-century America is sketched in order to establish an unbroken evolution thereof. As a result of this uninterrupted verbal panorama, one becomes cognizant that the German image has vacillated from high plateaus to deep valleys and also often found and finds itself somewhere between these extremes.

A broad spectrum of literature in both centuries is examined. Most of the authors scrutinized are household names; a few are perhaps more esoteric. The introduction, a most helpful one in focusing upon the task to be undertaken, might well be augmented by the reader before commencing with the detailed examination of the text by reviewing chapter 9, "Resumee und Ausblicke." With the presentation of such a wealth of detailed material, one might tend to lose direction. Chapter 9, the concluding chapter, eliminates this with alacrity through its summation of the two examined centuries of German images and also codifies succinctly the well-documented conclusions achieved by the author.

As an Austrian, the author is part of and yet slightly on the sidelines of the controversies surrounding the German image, as it were. This lends itself, it would seem, to greater objectivity. To be sure, Austria as a cultural contribution in the broader sense to the German image is not neglected. The importance of the milieu of Vienna and of Salzburg, for example, upon the American literati experience during their respective physical or mental sojourns in Central Europe is included.

How essentially positive images of the nineteenth century, even if often highly romanticized, became superseded by negative ones prevalent in many but not all American literary works after the Franco-Prussian conflagration and after the founding of a strong economic and military empire under Prussian authorship is minutely examined. The romantic images of the nineteenth century became shattered by the catastrophe of World War I and the events leading up to it. From an image of a land of poets and thinkers immersed in a whimsical land of forests, rivers and castles, negative clichés and stereotypes emerged of a stubborn, arrogant, even ruthless people, perceptions which have continued to haunt the German image to the present day. The effect of anti-German propaganda efforts toward the end of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century are shown to have a long-range and continuous impact upon the image.

The works of authors of German, German-American and "purely" American background are examined in order to determine if personal ethnic origins may have colored the pictures presented in the works of the respective writers. Such a possibility is dealt with here with psychological finesse and cultural insight. The period of the Weimar Republic and the early 1930s, as reflected in literary works, offered in general a respite from the negative images of the pre-

ceding decades and resulted often from an understanding on this side of the Atlantic of the unfairness of the Versailles Treaty and a recognition of the conscious attempts of many Germans on all levels of society to rebuild upon a model of democratic principles.

Yet, during this tumultuous period, when the seeds of National Socialism were being sown, some American writers remained oblivious to the possibility of an impending disaster. This often seems to have been fostered by a willingness to see the German dilemma as one which would be self-solving. Few, even in the earlier years of the National Socialist regime, recognized or perhaps wanted to recognize what was occurring. After September 1939 an about-face on the part of many writers became prolific. With it came also the conjuring up of clichés and images employed in the World War I period. They were and perhaps are, it would seem, dormant, having never been eradicated, and may well surface if external or internal, public or personal factors call them forth.

In the early post-World War II period American society was facing its own problems of racism. This led in part to an avoidance of a complete condemnation of everything German. Authors rather tended to condemn immoral acts committed by an immoral regime rather than condemning Germany and the German people carte blanche. There is no shying away, of course, from the images which have been evoked through the trauma of the Holocaust. Pointed out and well-documented is the fact that the virtual preoccupation with the Holocaust as a theme does not become manifest until rather late, i.e., essentially not until the 1960s. The reasons for which are also scholarly documented and resulted in part through the recognition by American literati of parallels in domestic society such as the plight of the Afro-Americans and the treatment and virtual extermination of Native American culture.

At the conclusion of the study, translations into German of all English language literary quotes cited in the study serve as a guide for the non-English language reader. Also the copious "Anmerkungen" as well as the bibliography offer a wealth of still further readily available topical information. The index of persons and topics, the final pages of this monograph, could perhaps have been more detailed. Political cartoons, also a factor in creating the German image generated in the United States, are interspersed throughout the volume, often illustrating literary views expressed in the respective periods under consideration.

The author presents here a milestone in the understanding and in the evolution of the image of Germany and the Germans in the American psyche during the last two hundred years, as seen in its literary works as well as—especially on the contemporary scene—in other forms of communication. A question also is tacitly posed: how will the newly unified Germany and its emergence as a superpower, at least in Europe, influence the image held by Americans today and in the future? Will it evoke pejorative images similar to those when a united Germany emerged before, more than a century ago, or will Germany be viewed through the rose-colored glasses as a society of poets and thinkers as it was

during a good part of the nineteenth century? Or rather will the future and the literary works of the future aim at objectivity in which a recognition of the human condition on both sides of the Atlantic will supersede stereotypes?

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Preußens und Sachsens Beziehungen zu den USA während des Sezessionskrieges 1860-1865.
By Michael Loeffler. Edited by Willi Paul Adams and Knud Krakau, John F. Kennedy-Institut für Nordamerikastudien Freie Universität Berlin. Studien zur Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft Nordamerikas, vol. 10. Münster: Lit, 1999. 353 pages.

The political and economic forces associated with national unity and unification form a major theme in U.S.-American history as well as in the history of Germany during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century. It is, consequently, readily comprehendible that the U.S.-American Civil War, fought in the 1860s, has so captivated the curiosity also of scholars of history in Germany. The parallels between these two nations in these years is marked. The author of this study examines in detail these historical similarities.

The Civil War in the United States ended in 1865; it was in 1866 that the North German League was established in Germany. Although the conflagration itself on North American soil ended in 1865, the period of reconstruction, the era when internal unity was firmly cemented, lasted well into the 1870s. Again it was also during the 1870s that Germany too finalized its internal unity. Historical similarities continue. Both nations achieved unification through the power of their northern states. These centers of power on both sides of the Atlantic evolved respectively into entities which emerged politically, economically and militarily as the stronger or strongest. These years in the nineteenth century were the time when both geographical areas, in Germany and in America, emerged as industrial states and were also led by men, however different, who exhibited strong political convictions which, to be sure, were intensely guided by instinctive pragmatism.

The author further documents how and why the industrial might of Germany was concentrated in the North, essentially in Prussia and Saxony. In the South, however, the largest state, Austria, remained more indebted to an economy dependent upon concepts of a previous era. It should not be surprising, this study demonstrates, that these two northern German states stood strongly behind the cause of the Union in North America. The interrelationship of three major factors within the development of Prussia, Saxony and the United States and their reciprocity, namely economic, political and ethical concerns, are focused upon in this monograph. How and why this political affinity with the

northern states in America manifested itself in both Prussia and in Saxony is examined. The author pursues, therefore, the developments in both German states which intertwine themselves with interests in North America: emigration from both states to America; the significance of reciprocal political, economic and commercial interests; and the question of ethical issues. Of course, these German states had political and economic ties to the United States prior to 1860 but, as is verified here, the war with its results radically altered forever the scope and significance of these relationships.

In regard to the third topic studied, the question of ethical issues, i.e., primarily the institution of slavery, the author is candid. This concern was a significant one particularly for the Prussian aristocracy, i.e., Junkers. Indeed, the Junkers had in reality much more in common with the land barons of the South in temperament and orientation than with the Americans of the North, emerging manufacturers, artisans and farmers. Why then did Prussia so strongly support the American North? Bismarck's pragmatism overcame class consciousness with the recognition of future Prussian political and commercial interests as being paramount.

The author structures his study succinctly in order to illustrate his conclusions factually. Initially he details German immigration to the northern and to the southern states before 1860 and its socioeconomic and intellectual influence upon America. From the outset, and consistently followed throughout this monograph, is the separate attention of the specifically-researched topics as they relate on the one hand to Prussia and then on the other to Saxony. Yet their interrelationship, in similarities and dissimilarities, is well documented.

Following a detailed introduction, concentration falls upon the period of the Civil War itself. An extensive discussion of formal governmental relationships between Prussia and the United States and between Saxony and the United States is preceded by one dealing with the economic and commercial relationships of both German states to the North as well as to the South. An observation of the influence exercised by German-Americans in the northern states and in the southern ones follows. The subsequent section examines the role and the orientation of the press in Prussia and in Saxony as it reflected public and personal views. This detailed chapter is enhanced by a shorter but no less significant review of the orientation of the press in other German states. Augmenting this detailed study is an extensive number of pages consisting of governmental and private correspondence and reports. These documents offer insight into the complex dealings of major figures participating in the events of these tumultuous years. A prolific bibliography of scholarly studies in the field is also included. The last pages offer an extensive and most useful index of individuals and places.

The author is to be commended for undertaking such a momentous task and for his diligence in researching the wealth of extant materials in so many archives on both sides of the Atlantic. This work firmly establishes the new direction into which the American economy, as a result of the war and its con-

sequences, would evolve. There came a new perspective to the fore in which industrial development would take precedence over agriculture. The emergence of a powerful new nation, the United States, was recognized especially by Bismarck. This, with his pragmatism, influenced essentially the orientation of Prussia toward the efforts of the North and Bismarck's astuteness in cementing strong ties to Washington. In Berlin and in Dresden one recognized that the victory of the North laid the foundation for the United States to become the economic-industrial-technological giant known today.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Early German-American Imprints.
By Heinz G. F. Wilsdorf. New German-American Studies/Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 17. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. xvi + 259 pages. $51.95 (cloth), $34.95 (paper).

The publication of Arndt and Eck's *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America* (2 vols., 1989) laid the bibliographical foundation for research into the history of the printing activities of the early German immigrants, despite the regrettable fact that the originally projected third volume, covering the ca. 1,000 German language broadsheets surviving from this period, never appeared, so that it continues to remain a *desideratum* devoutly to be wished for. Nevertheless, this foundation provides the basis for in-depth studies of the activities of the early printers, the social, political, cultural, and economic conditions under which they had to work and struggle, their role in the intense religious controversies of the time, and the problems of operating in a pioneer society, to name but a few potential venues of research.

Heinz Wilsdorf's intention is to provide an English-language introduction to the study of German-American imprints, fleshing out, so to speak, some of the bibliographical information in Arndt and Eck, thus facilitating future research into the German-American press during colonial times and in the early days of the Republic and familiarizing monolingual Americans with an important aspect of their history. He sets out "to give a brief overview of the emergence of German language printing in this country with an emphasis on cultural developments in predominantly German language communities." He distills the bibliographical information into "a number of tables . . . which provide convenient summaries," and makes "extensive use . . . of facsimile title pages which not only give an impression of the artistic flavor of the book art at the corresponding time and its gradual evolution but also serve often as abstracts of the books' content" (4).

The author indicates in his "Acknowledgement" (xvi) that his book started its existence as a series of essays, a fact which is clearly obvious from the structure of his publication. After two brief four-page chapters, "Historical Intro-

duction" and "The Printer in a Frontier Society," the first and main part (15-123) of the work under review deals with three important early enterprises which he calls "Printers of Distinction" (21): Benjamin Franklin as a German-language printer, the Saur family, and the Ephrata Cloister press. Occasional overlaps between these sub-chapters are indicative of their previous existence as three separate essays now assembled under the roof of a monograph. Their value lies not so much in original research, as they rely heavily on C. William Miller (1974) for Franklin, Edward F. Hocken (1948) for the Saurs, and Julius F. Sachse (1899-1900), among others, for Ephrata. It is rather the condensation of previous detailed research into a form more easily digestible for many non-specialist readers and bringing it between the covers of a single book, which makes this work attractive and commendable. That it seems to satisfy a demand and fill a void is witnessed by the fact that at the time of writing this review (November 1999), the hardback edition had already sold out. The author's judgments are generally sound, some minor reservations on specific points notwithstanding.

The second major part, "Expansion of German Language Printing into the 19th Century" (125-212), shows more original work, offering valuable statistical information and insights into the expansion of the German printing trade after the earlier groundbreaking efforts. One irritating problem which rears its head repeatedly (139, 142, 147, and passim) is that despite being generally aware of the fact that in the early days printing and bookbinding were, as a rule, separate activities, the author in his discussion of specific copies of certain books treats their bindings as if they were the result of marketing decisions by the printers, comparable to modern publishing houses, and not based on the tastes and preferences of individual buyers. Christoph Saur, Sr., of course, had done both, but this was rather an expression of his incredible commercial versatility that included running a glazing shop, a clockmaking shop, and a lamp-black factory parallel to his printing and bookbinding business and, on top of that, working as a barber-surgeon and apothecary.

An appendix contains what previously had been a fourth essay, "Johann Arndt: *True Christianity*" (229-49), which would not have fitted well into the main body of the study concentrating on the pioneering efforts of the early practitioners of the printing art. This work, by a former "General-Superintendent des Fürstenthums Lüneburg" (1555-1621) enjoyed, together with its companion volume *Paradies-Gärtlein*, great popularity particularly among pietist congregations and groups with mystical leanings. Wilsdorf traces its American printing history from the first edition in 1751 at Franklin's press to an 1872 edition by the large Philadelphia publishing company of Ignaz Kohler and, in the process, provides the reader with much information (though he could have mentioned that it was printed well into the twentieth century). Useful for purposes of comparison would have been D. Peil, "Zur Illustrationsgeschichte von Johann Arndts 'Von wahrem Christentum,'" *Archiv für die Geschichte des Buchwesens* 18 (1977): 963-1066.

All in all, this is a very welcome contribution to the literature on early German language printing in America. Particularly welcome are the numerous (112) facsimile reproductions of title pages, frontispieces and illustrations, which are of great assistance to the reader to visualize the subject matter under discussion and are often quite indispensable. The author even goes to great trouble, not always successfully, to translate the frequently difficult and convoluted title pages of pietist and mystical works into English. He capitulates, however, before a short, four-line laudatory poem on Jacob Böhme (189, fig. 93), which he describes as "almost incomprehensible." This reviewer finds it perfectly comprehensible.

Finally, one general criticism: This work would have benefitted immensely from a last round of revision and proofreading. I am not concerned with misprints, though there are substantially more than are unavoidable; rather I wish the author had eliminated the large number of stylistic and linguistic infelicities and embarrassing *faux pas*, beginning with his list of abbreviations (xi).

University of Cincinnati *Manfred Zimmermann*

Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855.
By Wynfrid Kriegleder. Tübingen: Stauffenberg, 1999. 494 pages. SF 121.00.

The subtitle of Wynfrid Kriegleder's study, *Vorwärts in die Vergangenheit: Das Bild der USA im deutschsprachigen Roman von 1776 bis 1855*, is an unfortunate one, because it engenders the expectation that the author intends to follow a traditional methodology in a corpus less familiar to the reader, but which, nevertheless, does not promise to yield particularly fresh insights. Quite the contrary, however, is true. In the revised version of his *Habilitation* thesis, Kriegleder attempts to provide a methodological expansion of the now popular discipline of imageology. If such a study is to prove valuable, it ought to attempt to present a new approach or at least revise and refine existing approaches, the result of which is that such a study should yield new insights and raise new questions about the subject at hand. Moreover, in the case of German–American literature it is imperative now, after many of the works of the more well-known writers have been discussed, to locate and explore other neglected works—texts that previously have not been subjected to interpretive scrutiny.

Kriegleder addresses these issues in his study. He carefully develops an approach that attempts to locate the novel depicting American settings, motifs, and ideograms in what he refers to as the larger discourse systems of the respective period. In contrast to previous studies, Kriegleder incorporates pragmatic as well as semiotic concerns to ascertain not only how the image of America is constituted in the fiction of the period, but also "which argumentative interests

it serves" (14). In order to transcend the traditionally mimetic approaches to this subject, Kriegleder not only connects these novels with historical givens, but also with the available knowledge, ideological and mythic constructs, as well as other literary forms of the period. The latter point is very important, because Kriegleder argues that "Die gewählte Gattung—das ist eine zentrale Hypothese dieser Untersuchung—bestimmt in hohem Ausmaß das je realisierte Amerikabild" (13). The result is that such traditional terminology as the *Amerikaroman*, the *exotischer Roman*, all acquire a new significance in the context of the larger semiotic systems of the period. Furthermore, the traditional terminology of the *Amerikaroman* gives way to a more accurate and historical understanding of the significance of America for the German novel and how the German novel molded the idea of America to suit its variegated purposes. America was not restricted to one type of novel, but became the property of a whole series of different types of novels from the *Individualroman* to the *historischer Roman* and included such novelistic types as the *Robinsonade*, the *Thesenroman*, *Gesellschaftsroman*, *Liebesroman*, and *Familienroman*, to mention only a few.

Perhaps Kriegleder's most significant contribution in this study is to bring otherwise unknown and hardly known extant works back within the purview of scholarly inquiry. In each of the three sections of his study, Kriegleder offers the scholar a list of the works read and examined—most of these, of course, being widely read during the period in question, but at present thoroughly forgotten. Thus, in the first section, which covers the time span from 1770 to 1805, we find not only Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, but also David Cristoph Seyboldt's *Reizenstein* (1778–79), Sophie Merau's *Das Blüthenalter der Empfindung* (1794), Sophie von La Roche's *Erscheinungen am See Oneida* (1798), to mention only a few, as well as the works of the better-known Johann Daniel Zschokke. In the second section, covering the time period from 1805 to 1830, in addition to Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, we also find Therese Huber's *Die ungleiche Heirath* (1820), Henriette Fröhlich's *Virginia oder die Kolonie von Kentucky* (1820), as well as Eichendorff's *Ahnung und Gegenwart* (1815). In the final section the more well known novels of Ferdinand Kürnberger, Charles Sealsfield, and Friedrich Gerstäcker are examined as well as the works of other lesser known writers, e. g., Theodor Mügge's *Deutsche Liebe in Kentucky* (1836), F. R. Eylert's, *Rückblicke nach Amerika* (1841), Talvy's *Die Auswanderer* (1852), among others. Kriegleder's achievement here is that he has virtually exhumed a lost canon of fiction that runs the gamut from the *Trivialroman* to more serious *Belletristik*. In this process of exhumation our understanding of the fiction of this period is enhanced, not only because the affinities between popular and serious fiction are illuminated, but also because the connections and boundaries between different novelistic forms and their different modes of interpreting history and social knowledge are charted.

Finally, the insights derived from such a study point to the complexity of a subject that traditionally has been neglected or ignored by scholars. Kriegleder extricates the *Amerikaroman* from its marginal position in the field of German

Studies and shows it to be an essential preoccupation of the German novel. But other insights also prove to be important. Although the fiction dealing with America is complex and diverse, the essential ways America is used in the German novel prove to be similar. All of these works, Kriegleder notes, contain a "conspicuous continuity" since Seyboldt's *Reizenstein* (401). Regardless of whether the novel is intended to be a conservative novel of edification (*Erbauungsroman*) or what he calls a novel couched in the tenets of liberalism, both types upon examination reveal a "conservative deep structure" (405). Whether they represent America as a realm outside the pale of history or as a place where the laws of history can be regulated to preserve an ideal state free from the excrescences of modernity, or where the cycle of history can always be transcended by recourse to an earlier stage (Sealsfield and the frontier) or where America becomes the portent of a future gone awry (Kürnberger), all of these constructs are ultimately Eurocentric. They all reveal either an antipathy or ambivalence regarding modernity and modernization. Kriegleder here is indebted to Peter Brenner's seminal study *Reisen in die Neue Welt* (1991)—especially his thesis that the German construction of America is based on a "Flucht in die Zukunft" as well as a "Flucht vor modernen Entwicklungen." However, it is Kriegleder's achievement that he plots this entire development between these two concepts with meticulous accuracy, showing that the development of an image is at the same time the development of a society and culture. His final thesis that Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* (1855) concludes a tradition of novelistic writing on America is important, because it means that America becomes appropriated within the ethnocentric narrative of emerging nationalisms. That America merely becomes, according to Kriegleder, "ein Land wie jedes andere" (428) is strongly contested by Jeffrey Sammons's recent study *Ideology, Mimesis, Fantasy: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Karl May, and Other German Novelists of America* (1998).

One further point ought to be made with respect to Kriegleder's study. The writers of such surveys and interpretive syntheses are expected to review the secondary literature critically. Kriegleder does this masterfully, not only by trenchantly summarizing the criticism on the *Amerikaroman* but also by presenting his case persuasively, especially in his discussion of Charles Sealsfield, where he argues forcefully both against a Bakhtinian reading of Sealsfield's fiction as a polyphonic narrative as well as the thesis of Sealsfield as a proto–modernist sustaining multiple perspectives in his fiction. Kriegleder is a careful analyst who places his own literary agenda to one side before delving into the text, all the time considering literature both in its historical context and form.

One reservation, however, may be made about the Kriegleder text. Because of the carefully designed structure of his study, in which the three sections of the work are subject to the same mode of analysis, many of Kriegleder's significant insights are attenuated by repetition. It is not possible to rewrite a brilliant insight in a variety of ways and still always sustain intellectual excitement.

In conclusion, Kriegleder's study is a significant work of synthesis that will

become a standard work in the further discussion of the German literary preoccupation with America.

University of Turku *Jerry Schuchalter*

Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure . . . : Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien zu deutschen Amerika-Texten 1912-1920.
By Deniz Göktürk. Literatur und andere Künste. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1998. viii + 265 pages. 27 illustrations.

Far beyond the period of time which is the focus of Deniz Göktürk's study, roughly the years between 1912 and 1920, stereotypical assumptions about the United States provided material for arguments in discussions about sociocultural changes in Germany. America and "Americanization" still serve as positive, as well as negative, examples in debates about different forms of societal change, which Göktürk summarizes as modernization. During the controversy in Germany in the summer of 1999 about whether German law should accommodate the consumer's wish to be able to shop on Sundays, this was certainly the case. This debate showed clearly the current political relevance of Göktürk's interdisciplinary investigation. Similarly, her work reviewed here is able to bring out interesting connections between research in the humanities and ongoing discussions in German everyday life.

Göktürk's study is situated at the crossroads of several discourses: literary, sociological, and historical discourse, but also German-American relations and, to a large extent, film studies. Primarily in the introduction of the book, the author tackles the political dimension of her inquiries. When she states its general agenda, namely how, in the first two decades of the twentieth century, the experience of the motion pictures and the (German) imaginations about America find their expression in literature, it becomes clear, however, that Göktürk's interest lies beyond political considerations and more in aesthetic representation. Indeed, several chapters of her study are classified as literary criticism: with respect to discussions on cinema contemporary to them, she reads a series of German novels from the 1910s which have America as their subject. The author complements these discussions of literature by examining movies, some of which were actually made from these novels. Other films investigated cannot claim a novel as their basis but share the subject of supposedly American imagery.

Chapter one contains an analysis of what is perhaps the most eminent artistic work treated in Göktürk's book, Franz Kafka's novel fragment *Der Verschollene*. An investigation follows of the "pact between the poet [*Dichter*] and mass culture," i.e., a contract of an established literary author with the motion picture industry. Gerhart Hauptmann, his novel *Atlantis* (published in 1912), and the movie of the same title supply the examples for such a "pact"

(chapter two). Göktürk then turns to the intertwining of "controversies on Berlin's industrialization and modernization, forms of life in the metropolis, traffic and new cultural institutions" on the one hand, and debates about "Americanization" on the other hand. This context provides the basis for the discussion of two German Science Fiction novels from 1913, *Der Tunnel* by Bernhard Kellermann and *Der Golfstrom* by Hans Ludwig Rosegger (chapter three). Yet another novel, Alfred Bratt's *Die Welt ohne Hunger* with a giant in the meat industry as its protagonist, is the focus of the next chapter. Interpreting this work, Göktürk explores the relation between the meat industry, film production, and the role of the mass media in social utopias such as "a world without hunger" (chapter four). In Chapter five, the author approaches a figure which still today tries to impress us as an "icon of male steadfastness" in cigarette ads: the cowboy. Her special interest in this figure is, again, not the "real" American cowboy, but his image in Germany during the years before and soon after World War I, an image cultivated by adventure novels (Karl Postl alias Charles Sealsfield, Karl May) and later by German cinematic contributions to the western genre. Göktürk surprises the reader in this context with probably the most unexpected materials of her book: silent western movies produced in Heidelberg and Munich in the late 1910s. Finally, the long forgotten Austrian writer Robert Müller is the topic of Göktürk's last chapter. Especially the analysis of Müller's essayistic works on "Americanism" and the connections between images of America and their realistic content round up her book on many different aspects of such images. Göktürk juxtaposes Müller's critique of literary "Americanism" which leads him to the provocative statement "America does not exist at all," with a discussion of his novel *Der Barbar*. According to Göktürk, this novel embodies the essence of his critique, namely that the possibility of representing the reality of America in literature is non-existent, although the book is decisively an *Amerikaroman*.

Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure . . . is an excellent source-book for discoveries in literature as well as in motion picture history. Göktürk brings long forgotten authors such as Kellermann, Rosegger, and Bratt back to the memory of the literary historian. Especially Rosegger's *Der Golfstrom* is a striking example that fascist ideology did not only surface in texts praising a distant past of the *Blut und Boden* literature, but also in the science fiction genre. Through her juxtaposition of this conservative novel with *Der Tunnel*, a work of the more liberal author Kellermann, she provides the surprising insight into how works of pre-World-War-I German authors with opposing political views draw from the same, basically negative, image of America. This image consists mostly of a country defined by a boundless market of media and publication which is at the same time threatening and fascinating. For the reader interested in film, in particular for American readers, Göktürk also proffers unexpected phenomena. She gives evidence to the fact that the Western movie genre, for example, was truly an international genre in its early developmental stage-somewhat unbelievable for a genre which is, through names such as John Ford, John Wayne, or Robert

Mitchum, from today's perspective so tightly associated with the United States.

Aside from supplying the reader with a lot of new and exciting information, the book is well-written and provides a good overview over the critical history of its topics. Through such a form of investigation, Göktürk does an excellent job of putting her work in a broader context. In particular, the book's introduction would be an ideal starting point for a class on the history of the representation of America in German culture.

Nonetheless, the book, which after reading its introduction brings the reader to expect a truly interdisciplinary study, leaves these expectations partially unfulfilled. The subtitle announces a contribution to the "history of culture and of the media" (*Kultur- und mediengeschichtliche Studien*). The investigation does, however, not wholly correspond to this declaration because a major part of it—the 233 pages of the main part of Göktürk's book contain, after all, discussions of six extensive novels—is "just" literary criticism. For example, the subject of cinema and its impact on the interpretation of the treated literary works rarely moves beyond the level of content; the theoretical relevance of the subject is a minor one. In the chapter about Kafka, a lack of substantial connection is most apparent. For although Göktürk's interpretative claim that *Der Verschollene* presents the reader with a reversal of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* is insightful and far-reaching, it does not appertain to cinema in the least. The discussion of Hauptmann's *Atlantis* in connection with the film which originated from it occasionally runs the risk of reducing the literary imagination to biographical and factual meanings. Another less positive aspect of the study is the marginality of its analyzed objects. That may, perhaps, be a matter of taste and therefore not deserve to be criticized. Still, to read several pages of plot summaries of not very sophisticated silent movies is a somewhat troublesome task after the reader was told by the author that these movies were, indeed, poorly made. A similar weakness surfaces in the chapter about Bratt's novel *Die Welt ohne Hunger* where Göktürk indulges in several pages of paraphrase coupled with lengthy quotes from the book. Such accumulation of detail would seem less tedious if it formed the starting point of original theoretical considerations. The immense potential of the notion of interdisciplinarity lies, after all, in innovative theoretical thinking. Nonetheless, with *Künstler, Cowboys, Ingenieure . . .*, Göktürk contributes a pioneering study to the field of German images of the United States which provides excellent information to anybody interested in literature, motion pictures, and the aesthetics of the early decades of the twentieth century.

University of Kansas *Paul Gebhardt*

Lives and Letters of an Immigrant Family: The van Dreveldts' Experiences along the Missouri, 1844-1886

Written and translated by Kenneth Kronenberg in association with C. Hans von Gimborn. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. xxvi + 210 pages. $45.00.

Anton and Theodore van Dreveldt were wealthy and intelligent brothers, troubled by a hidden family origin. Each migrated from the Prussian Rhineland to Missouri in the 1840s. Neither seemed fully at home either on their large European estate or in America. Even Anton's son Bernhard, the third principal writer of the letters collected here, and more Americanized than his father and uncle, dreamed of returning to Germany as a wealthy man. This collection of family letters is of considerable interest due to the events of the family's history, the personalities of its members, and the observations made by the van Dreveldts of the immigration experience and events around them in the new world.

The brothers were sons of a Catholic priest and his housekeeper in Emmerlich in Prussian Cleves. The priest, of Dutch descent, managed in 1813 to acquire an estate of more than 800 acres after Napoleon confiscated church lands. Anton took over the estate in the 1830s. Theodore, after joining a *Burschenschaft*, or political fraternity at the university at Bonn, served almost a year in prison when the fraternity was investigated. Afterward, he was denied entry into the Prussian civil service. Having read Gottfried Duden, in 1844 Theodore joined an old university friend along the Missouri River in Montgomery County, Missouri. There he waited several years for Anton to send the money which would have allowed him to become a large-scale farmer. He suffered from malaria and the usual frontier deprivations. He spent the winter of 1847-48 freezing in a miserable cabin in what was soon to become Minnesota Territory.

Early in 1849, Theodore returned to Germany. His letters reveal increasing disillusionment with the society that had been produced by the political freedom he had valued so highly. Yet why he returned to Germany just as the Revolution of 1848 was waning is not explained. Kronenberg's short chapter of background material on the Revolution of 1848 seems almost extraneous. Did personal reasons completely overwhelm the political in this instance?

Very soon after his return to Germany, Theodore married. Just as quickly, Anton, the older brother, migrated to St. Louis with his sons. By this time, however, Anton had become a quarrelsome alcoholic. He tried farming but with little success. Few letters from these years are provided. Anton was always reluctant to write. In 1855, he returned to Germany to sell the estate to Theodore, but by October of that year, he was back in America. He bought a large farm in Illinois only a few hours by wagon from St. Louis. His son Bernhard opened a store. After Anton died in 1859, Bernhard sweated out the American Civil War ever fearful of his business and of being conscripted into the Union Army. His letters from those years are much better informed about events than are most

such, yet, the racism he displayed as a unionist Democrat is distasteful to modern readers. Indeed, the politics of all groups during that era, except the radical Republicans, are distasteful to us now. Bernhard died in 1866 after which his widow and children returned to Germany. Here the book ends, although Theodore's sons and Bernhard's brothers-in-law also immigrated to America.

These were intelligent and articulate, if difficult, people. Their observations and example of how wealthy Germans viewed America in their time are of considerable value. Translations of original letters and documents comprise only half this book. The remainder is Kronenberg's attempt to explain the letters and provide historical background of the family and its times conducive to understanding what is said in the letters. The explanatory material pertaining to the times is generally reliable and essential for the general reader, but historians who know about nineteenth century Germany, German emigration to America, and the Civil War in the Midwest will find little that is new.

The letters themselves reveal much that even specialists will find of interest, but they leave many questions unanswered. Nor can the author-translator address all matters of potential interest. An example of the latter concerns the use of Dutch versus German. Apparently the letters were all in German, but Anton's grave marker in St. Louis is in Dutch. In general, however, Kronenberg has provided a treatment of the letters characterized by both intelligence and sympathy. Perhaps this owes in part to the parallels between American idealists of the "baby boom" generation (or which Kronenberg and the reviewer are a part) and German idealists of the post-Napoleonic era. Disconnection from family and heritage may also serve as an element linking the author to his subjects. According to the preface, Kronenberg is a Jew of German descent whose family was "largely destroyed in the Holocaust." That he could come to care for these German gentiles of a previous century and could work so well with their modern descendants in producing this book, gives us hope, indeed, touches the heart as much as does the story of the van Dreveldts themselves.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

A Strong Mind in a Strong Body : Libraries in the German-American Turner Movement.

By Dolores J. Hoyt. New German-American Studies—Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 12. New York: Peter Lang, 1999. 205 pages. $48.95.

The growing body of research in the field of German-American Studies has not yet paid significant tribute to the importance of libraries in shaping the intellectual life of German-Americans. In particular, research on the American Turner movement has yielded surprisingly few publications to illustrate the role of reading and libraries within the German-American communities and

societies. This may be surprising in view of the proclaimed Turner motto, "a strong mind in a strong body." Dolores Hoyt's recent study, which focuses primarily on the Midwest between 1848 and 1918, presents a welcome contribution to the understanding of German ethnic groups, as well as library development in the United States. Numerous charts and tables illustrate the author's findings in detail. She also entered the statistical data collected from library remnants, historical societies, and archives—such as the American Turners Archives at Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis—into a database to run correlation analyses.

Starting with an overview of American Turner organizations and their libraries, the author examines in detail the Turner library holdings in several Midwestern communities, the organization and maintenance of the collections, their content and usage, as well as the interaction with emerging public libraries. The communities range from the small Turner settlement of New Ulm to the large metropolitan areas of Chicago, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Indianapolis. The early bylaws of the National Federation of American Turners indicated that each Turner society was to create a library for its members. The author demonstrates that over 50 percent of the societies achieved the established goal. Thus, they contributed to the professed objective of the liberal Germans emigrating after the failed Revolution of 1848, to "challenge its members intellectually and make them informed, critical-thinking citizens" (131).

All of the libraries examined showed a definite emphasis on German literature, which was also the most frequently used category. Popular titles included the classics, especially Schiller and Heine. The author also intends to support the widely-held premise that the new German immigrants were interested in more than their own background. Their goal was to actively engage in the democratic process of their new fatherland. The heavy circulation of books dealing with American history is seen as proof that "assimilation was desired by the Germans, but not at the expense of the complete abandonment of their cultural and linguistic heritage" (3). Unfortunately, the author can base her hypothesis on only limited direct evidence of the actual use of Turner libraries. Many records were destroyed, actual borrowers' records are often incomplete or tangential. Thus the discovery of the borrowers' record book of the Wilmington Turngemeinde in Delaware must suffice to provide a case study of actual usage.

Despite an increasing overlap with emerging public libraries, the Turner libraries were often the primary or only source for liberal political texts, such as the writings by the radical Forty-Eighter Karl Heinzen, or Gustav Struve's controversial, multi-volume *Weltgeschichte*. Obviously, the Turner libraries also specialized in publications on gymnastics and physical fitness. In comparing her study of Turner libraries with public libraries, Hoyt can utilize Robert Cazden's categorization which identified the Turners as one of the major groups impacting the development of public libraries. An interesting phenomenon is the New Ulm Turner Library. It constituted the primary library until 1937, when the New Ulm Public Library was founded. However, the newly emerging library

refused accepting the Turner collection when it was offered to them, citing the German titles as being of little interest or relevance to the modern community. Whether the rising Nazism in Germany had any bearing on this decision is, unfortunately, not discussed. Another interesting case study pertains to the St. Paul Turnverein in Minnesota. This is a rare situation of a gymnastics society developing out of a literary association, the German Reading Society.

The author concludes her study with the realization that the Turner libraries followed the development of the Turner societies themselves. Whereas the early immigrants were committed to education and proclaimed liberal and radical ideas, later generations shifted their interest to physical education. Mental gymnastics gave way to physical fitness. The Turners continued fostering the "sound body," but they had to increasingly turn to public library German-language collections to nurture the "sound mind." Moreover, not only did the younger generation feel more at ease with the English language, but also German as a mother tongue became jeopardized.

Indiana University Purdue University Indianapolis *Claudia Grossmann*

Migration—Siedlungsbildung—Akkulturation: Die Auswanderung Nordwestdeutscher nach Ohio, 1830-1914.

By Anne Aengenvoort. Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte, 150. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999. 371 pages. DM 136.00.

The interconnected processes of emigration, settlement and acculturation lie at the heart of German-American studies. Aengenvoort's detailed analysis of the causes and the course of emigration from selected northwestern territories of nineteenth-century Germany in itself would make this study of great value. However, in following those emigrants as they selected areas for settlement in West Central Ohio in the 1830s, built their communities and established their institutions, and ultimately acculturated themselves to their new American environment, the author has provided us with a comprehensive picture of the German immigrant experience in both the Old and the New World. Building on the earlier immigration and acculturation studies of scholars such as Kamphoefner, Gjerde and Conzen, Aengenvoort confirms and elaborates their essential findings with much detail and at the same time poses questions for further research.

Her study is bolstered by its focus on the transfer of a very compact group of emigrants, nearly all of them from neighboring districts in the Prussian province of Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, and the Kingdom of Hannover, to a similarly compact area in the southern townships of Auglaize County in Ohio. Reflecting the religious differences in the places of origin in Germany, the settlers formed three contiguous and yet distinctive communities in Ohio: Minster/Catholic; New Bremen/Lutheran; New Knoxville/Reformed.

Despite the bond of a common linguistic heritage—closely related dialects of Low German—each of these communities developed distinctive German-American institutions and cultures. Despite much change and the overall acculturation of these communities to a more or less mainstream American culture, the original religious distinctions continue to be reflected in the varying development of those communities to this day.

In addition to an introductory and a concluding chapter, Aengenvoort's study has four main divisions. In her second chapter, she explores the economic, social and personal factors that culminated in the decision by so many in rural northwest Germany to leave their homeland for America in the third decade of the nineteenth century. She provides a detailed analysis of the interaction of industrialization's impact on the rural cottage weavers, population growth, and even religious intolerance in creating a mentality susceptible to the idea of emigration. The interplay of so-called "push" and "pull" factors, especially reports and letters from friends and relatives already in America, ultimately led hundreds of families to leave in a chain migration to Ohio. Aengenvoort's third chapter details the process of selecting the location of the new settlements and the establishment of the new communities. Newer immigrants tended to follow the earlier ones to a particular community largely on the basis of common religious belief and relationship, either through family ties or common origin in Germany.

Her fourth and fifth chapters explore the transition from German immigrant settlements in mid-nineteenth century to German-American communities by the beginning of the twentieth century. In the fourth chapter she focuses on the social and economic aspects of that transition. In the fifth chapter, Aengenvoort argues that religion and language played the most significant roles in the maintenance of German ethnicity. Paradoxically, the distinctive religious beliefs of the three communities (Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed) prevented the formation of a larger German community—a "little Germany"—in western Ohio, despite the common regional and linguistic origins of all three communities. Even in the preservation of the Low German dialects, each community perpetuated a distinctive dialect reflecting the different origins of the immigrants in northwestern Germany, rather than developing some kind of homogenous settlement dialect. Ultimately, Aengenvoort argues that common religious belief rather than common German origin is the critical factor in the formation of these communities.

Beyond her contribution to immigration and acculturation research, Aengenvoort provides a wealth of detailed information for the linguistic researcher of German-American *Sprachinseln*. The role of a common religious belief in maintaining the linguistic cohesion of an immigrant settlement is strongly confirmed by Aengenvoort. Similar patterns of linguistic acculturation have been documented for Low German, Swiss, Mennonite, Volga German, and Bukovina German settlements on the Great Plains. Where the religious beliefs require continued use of German in worship services the results are also clear

for maintenance of some type of German dialect in everyday speech (e.g., Amish, Hutterites). One minor problem though—and this is not uncommon in linguistic studies as well—are references to masses held in German in the Catholic churches (in Aengenvoort p. 278) of German-American communities. Until after the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s, we should be very skeptical of claims that Catholic masses were held in German rather than Latin. At best such statements are misleading. There can be no comparison to regular use of High German in the German Protestant services and its impact on the preservation of German and German dialects in such communities.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

Memoirs of a Nobody: The Missouri Years of an Austrian Radical, 1849-1866.

By Heinrich Boernstein. Translated by Steven Rowan. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1997. $34.95.

This well-edited book consists of the second half of Boernstein's autobiography, which was first published in 1879. Of particular interest to intellectual and regional historians, Boernstein's life (1805-92) reveals the failure of European radicalism in the post-Civil War period. His personality and social pretensions led many to dismiss him as a crackpot. Rowan states succinctly that because of "his own pretensions to higher culture, he was more schlockmeister than auteur, pitching sensationalism and scandal with a thin admixture of tony material" (4). At any rate, he became a failed and forgotten idealogue before his death; the Rowan edition has rescued him from oblivion and provided the reader with an interpretation of the era which will serve as a model for decades to come.

Rowan's judicious editing is evident throughout the text. He has retained successfully the original flavor of the text and added meticulously researched and polished footnotes that enhance the text. Rowan consistently uses language accessible for the general reader not only for textual terms, but also for references and allusions as part of the background of the period. In particular Rowan succeeds brilliantly in detailing the panoramic setting of St. Louis and its relationship to the Upper Mississippi Valley. He also provides a remarkably cogent account in the footnotes of Boernstein's Civil War adventures in western Missouri. This section is very valuable for students of the Failed Southern Rebellion.

Rowan is at his best in providing crucial information on the rise of Boernstein and explaining his importance as a Freethinker, an almost archetypal American intellectual of the nineteenth century. Boernstein arrived in St. Louis on 20 April 1849 on the steamboat *Sarah*. Within a year he became the influential editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens*. This is the most miraculous transformation

in the entire autobiography. How could Boernstein become a successful homeopathic physician in the town of Highland, Illinois, some one hundred kilometers to the east of St. Louis? Boernstein blithely tells the reader that a three-page letter changed his life. He traveled to the home of Theodore Olshausen, a radical politician from Schleswig-Holstein, and stayed the night. He had dinner and found that "the friendly, cozy tone of a north German home was elevated and rendered more beautiful by the American sense of independence. There were readings, music was played, the events of the day were earnestly discussed, and over everything there reigned a cheerful and hospitable spirit binding everything together" (132). Possibly there was a rekindling of memories of his youth in Hamburg, from the fire and friendship of Olshausen. Perhaps more of a discussion of medicine at mid-century would have been helpful to the reader.

By 1857 Boernstein had become a wealthy man and a community leader of St. Louis, a supporter of literature, education, and popular theater. Additionally, he sponsored a number of voluntary organizations such as the Society of Free Men, which rapidly replicated itself in Burlington, Davenport, and other cities settled by Germans in the 1850s. This organization sponsored festivals, picnics, concerts, and theatrical presentations for the public. There were also cultural clashes in this period over the rise of the American Party, or as it was called by its enemies, the "Know Nothing" Party. In the election of 1852 there were demonstrations in St. Louis and other Midwestern cities. In March Ned Buntline (E. Z. C. Judson) arrived and organized against the Democrats of the city. Boernstein thought they were just a bunch of rowdies who tried to disrupt the city elections of 5 April 1852. In his editorials he railed against a mob of 1,000 that was "joined by a number of plundering Irishmen" who set houses afire (179). Luckily for the property owners, German militia companies quelled the disturbance.

This is a very interesting moment in American history because Buntline later helped "Buffalo Bill" Cody to write his first biography in 1869. Further, a young printer, Sam Clemens, experienced his first taste of community violence, which he later incorporated into his stories as "Mark Twain." This is popular culture synchronicity of the highest order, deserving of the analysis of the next generation of German-Americanists.

Scott Community College *William Roba*

Hometown Beer: A History of Kansas City's Breweries.
By H. James Maxwell and Bob Sullivan, Jr. Kansas City, MO: Omega Innovative Marketing, 1999. 300 pp. $59.95.

From a historical perspective, it has been easy to overlook the contributions of northwestern Missouri to national beer production and the German-American role in it. Often-neglected for its status as a neighbor to long-dry

Kansas, the region was home to several major producers in Kansas City and St. Joseph, few of which have been afforded more than perfunctory mention in assessments of brewing activity in the American Midwest.

That oversight has been rectified to an admirable extent by *Hometown Beer*, in which the many aspects related to brewing and selling beer in Kansas City are explored. The book begins with a useful prologue, followed by a two-page overview of key dates in American beer history from 1612 (the founding of the first brewery in the New World) to 1994 (when it finally became legal to mention specific alcohol content on beer containers). A chapter on lesser-known breweries in Kansas City provides available information on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century producers from which little historical documentation has survived. In the case of brewers with a more visible profile, Maxwell and Sullivan have gathered materials from a variety of sources to piece together lengthy overviews of their operating years, the products they manufactured, and the reasons for their ultimate demise. In lesser hands, many of the narratives might have degenerated into a redundant summary of business practices, yearly output, and names of beers produced, but the authors skillfully weave information about the brewer barons and other people key to business operations together with salient details about local beer manufacturing and distribution operations. The result is a series of engaging profiles not only of important area businesses, but also of civic-minded individuals—such as the Muehlebachs and the Heims, both of whose family legacies are felt to this day—who transformed local brewery operations and served as community leaders at a time when the city was coming of age.

Much of the focus of *Hometown Beer* is placed upon breweries which operated in Kansas City before and after Prohibition, most notably the aforementioned Muehlebach and Heim concerns as the most prominent beer producers in the city's history. But in the interest of completeness, the authors have also included detailed discussions of beer depots established in the city by breweries located outside of Kansas City. As a result, chapters devoted to operations such as Anheuser-Busch (headquartered in St. Louis), Lemp (also of St. Louis), Dick Brothers (Quincy, Illinois), and others shed light on the extent to which "foreign" beers, distributed by local agents although manufactured many miles away, penetrated the Kansas City market before Prohibition. Two other chapters pursue a related theme, the post-Prohibition development of brewing operations in Kansas City by producers with established breweries located outside of the city, specifically Schlitz (Milwaukee) and Goetz (St. Joseph).

Although there is no chapter in *Hometown Beer* specifically devoted to German-American contributions, elements of German-American culture run throughout the work. Images of pre-Prohibition breweriana, particularly that of the Heim Brewing Company, reveal a strong connection with the local German community. In one specific case, the authors shed light upon the long-mysterious crescent-moon and number 11 emblem that served as the brewery's corporate symbol. As Maxwell and Sullivan explain the story, the emblem has

its roots in nineteenth century German *Biervereine*, gentlemanly drinking societies in which beer served as a social emollient. Ten strict rules of conduct governed such associations, but an eleventh, unwritten order ("*Es wird wieder getrunken*") also was emphasized—and later was adapted by Heim to advertise its name and products (138).

While the text of *Hometown Beer* will more than satisfy those curious about Kansas City's brewing heritage, the illustrations presented are the real selling point of the work. The authors have included hundreds of rare photographs—where possible in full color—and advertisements from archives and private collections throughout the region. Reproduced in large size and with excellent clarity, and printed on deluxe paper stock, many of the images appear to jump off of the page, bringing to life much of what was unique about each brewer and distributor. Maxwell and Sullivan also utilize an attractive, computer-generated layout to present the materials in a fresh, uncluttered way, making it easy for the reader to digest a large volume of information.

With *Hometown Beer*, Maxwell and Sullivan have raised the standard of excellence for the field of brewing industry scholarship. While the price of the book is higher than that of most works in the discipline, even a cursory examination reveals that the cost differential is more than justified by the large number of rare images presented, particularly those reproduced in color, as well as the broad variety of information provided. Clearly the authors undertook this project as a labor of love; readers of *Hometown Beer* will be thankful not only for their work to clarify the importance of a significant midwestern brewing center, but also that they have remained faithful to their expansive vision for the project.

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