Book Reviews

Edited by Timothy J. Holian
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Die Hutterer: Eine alternative Kultur in der modernen Welt.
By Rolf Wilhelm Brednich. Freiburg, Basel, Vienna: Herder, 1998. 157 pages.

The Hutterites have shown that they understood how to form successfully small communal groups which, despite constant external pressures, have lasted for centuries. The author has spent considerable time living in a Hutterite enclave and has documented his experiences, both positive and negative, in this volume. In thirteen chapters an overview of the Hutterites, their evolvement, their sojourns in western and eastern Europe, and their current settlements in North America are presented.

The Hutterites emerged from the Anabaptist movement in the era of the Reformation. They are, though, a distinct Christian group not to be confused with the Amish or the Old-Order Mennonites; they do share similar theological views and perspectives on the world but go separate paths on many issues. The study is divided into thirteen chapters, preceded by a forward which briefly outlines that which follows, namely a concise review of the European origins of the Hutterites in the Anabaptist movement beginning in the sixteenth century, their settlements in east Central Europe and in Eastern Europe, and their emigration to North America. The two introductory chapters describe the views of the Anabaptists, how they were persecuted by both civil and ecclesiastic authority and their relocation from various areas of the Germanies into the Ukraine and Russia and in the latter part of the nineteenth century to North America. Today they are essentially found in parts of Manitoba and Alberta but also in Saskatchewan and South Dakota.

The Hutterites are divided into three groups, from least conservative to most conservative. They all share the practice of adult baptism, communal property, and the acceptance of various aspects of technology. The author believes this acceptance is one of their major differences from the Amish. To be sure, such an acceptance was a compromise of original beliefs but, apparently, a necessary one. The Hutterites did not arrive in the Middle West of North America until the last third of the nineteenth century. If they were to survive

and compete successfully in agriculture, this historical compromise with technology was mandatory. However, the farm machinery in use is, as the author experienced first-hand, rather primitive, old and old-fashioned, yet it does allow for successful farming through its modest employment.

Of the three groups among the Hutterites, the author chose to live among the most conservative. The remaining chapters, after one portraying the establishment of the Hutterites in North America, mirror the encounters of the author in a Dariusleut colony named Riverview, approximately twenty kilometers from Saskatoon. His months living, observing and actively partaking of the daily routine, as if he were a member of the colony, were spent under the roof of the preacher and his family. The Hutterites are a male-dominated society. Only males are to be preachers and only males may vote on community issues. Each man and woman receives an individual task while young (virtually as a profession) which will be a lifelong assignment. This extends from agriculture, the main occupation, to the trades necessary to maintain an independent society.

Although contact with the outside world is avoided in almost all matters, the colonists do sell their agricultural products and their wares on the outside. They even personally maintain stands at weekly public markets. All derived income is communal. Money is never needed within the society, which is self-sufficient, and is used to purchase land, usually for new colonies, farm equipment as needed, and automobiles. The only vehicles sanctioned are multi-person ones, e.g., station wagons, vans, etc. to be used for colony business. Dependency upon technology is limited to the aforementioned activities. Any use thereof for diversion, e.g., radio or television, is nonexistent.

All activities within the society are structured, with each hour of the day planned for everyone from morning hours to the evening. The day time revolves around religious practices and work schedules. Meals are communal with women cooking and serving. Much space is given to describing meals, which occur often during the day and are as bountiful as the Hutterite believes the Bible to prescribe. The author does not hesitate to point out that many members of the community are rather corpulent. The children eat separately in the school room with the teacher and the elderly receive meals in the own quarters. The society may be referred to as a cradle-to-grave community.

Education is limited to basic knowledge and terminated at the age of fourteen. The teacher is, as is the preacher, selected from among colony members. To be sure, education revolves around religion. The texts employed are religious ones, and mathematics consist of basic arithmetic. Language study is also included. English is taught by an outside person, here a Mennonite, and sandwiched between the lessons conducted by the colony teacher; the belief holds that this schedule minimizes any outside influence among the young. Standard German is "learned" by the memorization of religious works from their own tradition or of an historical religious nature. Consequently, the average Hutterite is hardly in a position to converse in Standard Modern German or for

that matter in English. Hutterite-German remains the medium of communication. Much space is given to this Bavarian-Austrian dialect which has become strongly interspersed with influences from the years in Eastern Europe as well as the century-long experience in North America. Since the Hutterites maintain an oral tradition, it was possible for the author to record several stories recounted by the preacher. They are reproduced here in a slightly more comprehensible dialect form. Socializing occurs by evening with visits among the colonists. They are highlighted by events such as storytelling. Marriages, either within the colony or in conjunction with another one, are major festive events taking several days to celebrate. Alcohol is not shunned, but rather is allowed in moderation and consists of beer and wine.

This tome is handsomely embellished with numerous photographs of Hutterite life. It took much persuading to have the colonists allow to be photographed, something their religious views disallows. The Hutterite community is increasing in numbers. After a colony reaches approximately one hundred inhabitants, it divides to form a new one. Presently there are about 382 colonies with 33,600 members. Yet difficulties were perceived during the months among the Dariusleut; included among those which will have to be addressed and soon are: tourist infringement upon their isolation; unsupervised and excessive alcohol consumption; a lack of cognizance of ecology in farming methods and daily chores; not understanding the importance of modern technology in agriculture; limited adequate sanitary facilities; the beginning of harboring possessions; an emerging exodus, particularly among younger men, from the colony into the world; and the danger of conformity replacing composure.

The study does not conclude pessimistically about the future but rather with the hope that the colonists themselves will recognize the growing stagnation within their society and, therefore, will themselves initiate needed reforms gently so that their harmonious communities will be guaranteed a fruitful existence also in the twenty-first century.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

German Settlement in Missouri: New Land, Old Ways.
By Robyn Burnett and Ken Luebbering. Missouri Heritage Readers Series. Columbia, MO and London, England: University of Missouri Press, 1996. xi + 124 pages. 50 illustrations. $9.95.

This concise volume provides an overview of German settlement in Missouri from the beginning of the nineteenth century through the end of the First World War. Despite its short length, the authors successfully portray to the reader the significance of German contributions to the settlement and growth of Missouri, and to a lesser extent the role played by Missouri's German

population in the development of the United States during a crucial one-hundred-year period in the nation's history.

The narrative begins with a brief summary of conditions in the German-speaking regions of Central Europe that prompted many to emigrate to America. The voyage across the Atlantic is then described in some detail. Finally, the authors discuss why these newly-arrived immigrants selected Missouri as their final destination. The remainder of the book is divided equally between the periods before and after the Civil War. In the section covering the time before sectional conflict, Burnett and Luebbering deal with a wide variety of topics including the establishment of community, preserving a sense of *Deutschtum*, frontier life, the significance of the Lutheran church in Missouri, relations with non-Germans and the influence of the forty-eighters in the politics of the state. During the Civil War, the overwhelming majority of Missouri Germans fought to keep the state in the Union. The authors use the war as a natural break in the monograph as well as a transition point in the growth of the Missouri's German community. Subsequent chapters focus on the increased influence of the German population in business (most notably beer and wine making), politics, and urban social life within the state during the remaining years of the nineteenth and first decade of the twentieth centuries. The First World War, coupled with the prohibition of alcohol, would strike a heavy blow to the German community—one from which, the authors point out, the community would never fully recover.

The book has many strengths. It introduces the reader to a wide variety of issues regarding German settlement in Missouri in a concise format that makes it a good supplemental text in a United States history course. The use of illustrations is also a welcome addition. Finally, the suggested reading list at the end, while by no means extensive, will provide readers new to the field with a basic bibliography of Germans in Missouri. However, the book's length is a weakness. In an attempt to cover a wide variety of issues, some chapters are very short and topics are not fully developed. This leads to a somewhat "abrupt" narrative style. More coverage of the German-American experience during the First World War would have been welcome, considering that Missouri possessed one of the more active National German-American Alliance chapters (the group is never mentioned in the book) during the period of United States neutrality.

These minor criticisms aside, *German Settlement in Missouri* provides us with an entertaining and informative introduction to the German-American experience in Missouri. It also shows us how that culture has become a part of the daily lives of the people in Missouri to this very day.

Valdosta State University *Charles T. Johnson*

Fruit of the Vine: A History of the Brethren, 1708-1995. *By Donald F. Durnbaugh. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1997. 675 pages. $39.95.*

"Given the tenacity of all religious organizations, there is little reason to fear, as some seem to, the imminent demise of the Church of the Brethren" (595). This sentence of the author in the epilogue of his voluminous work serves as a summation of this detailed history of the Brethren. Such a study can perhaps only be undertaken by a Brethren who believes in the inner light of the pietist tradition, as well as one who possesses first-hand knowledge of and experience with the church. To comment that the task of writing a comprehensive history of this church was indeed a difficult and strenuous one would seem to be an understatement.

The author furnishes a most detailed examination of the church from the days of its emergence in Central Europe to its present position, essentially in the United States east of the Mississippi River. This is undertaken in twenty-seven chapters preceded by a preface in which the previous lack of a comprehensive history of the church is explained. Although many works on aspects of the Brethren community exist, none offers as complete a view of its 250-year history as does this volume. The reader is made aware of the impossibility of presenting all important church developments and also is informed that, for example, doctrines, theological trends and sociological questions, as important as they are, only are noted peripherally. Also the author declares that he will not attempt to maintain complete objectivity relative to successes and failures of individuals and initiatives.

A prologue further notes that this historical study traces the development of the Brethren from 1708 on the village of Schwarzenau in the principality of Wittgenstein and its subsequent evolution through two and one-half centuries on several continents. Each of the twenty-seven chapters, arranged chronologically, deals with a major development within the Brethren movement. In addition, each chapter is divided by subheadings which facilitate an understanding of the complexity of and diversity within the study itself. The first three chapters, for example, examine the political and social climate of essentially, but not exclusively, southwestern Germany from whence this group of Pietists emerged. The chapters illuminate the conditions which made emigration virtually imperative. The seventy pages devoted to this historical perspective of this era and area in the early eighteenth century is lengthy but perhaps necessary in order to understand fully the journey of the Brethren to North America.

Since the Brethren settled in Pennsylvania upon coming to North America, the next chapters examine in detail the developments there as they affected Brethren in colonial times and in the early national period. Of particular note is the extensive information pertaining to the Sauer family and its press, as well as to the schism which led to the establishment of the Ephrata Cloister under Conrad Beissel. Also the relationships with the Mennonites and the Moravians, as well as with the Lutherans and the Reformed, are reviewed extensively; contact with the English churches remains more peripheral although the interrelationship with the Quakers is highlighted.

Following the colonial era and the years of early nationhood, the nineteenth century for the Brethren is shown as a period of geographical expansion, one of often new and also controversial directions for the church, as well as the era when a three-way division within the movement occurred which to this day has not been bridged. An issue of paramount conflict now became that of education. Initially the ministers had always been chosen from among the laity and schooling deemed to be necessary only for rudimentary knowledge; after all, the Brethren believed, the New Testament was the guide to all. Many in the church continued to maintain this position, while others did not. The latter views slowly came to prevail, as seen in the support for schools and colleges and the extensive printing of books and ecclesiastical material in general and with the ordination of academically-trained clergy. Industrial developments in the United States during the nineteenth century also brought with them a new dimension for the church, resulting from the recognition of social ills and the necessity of a Christian response. For many the acceptance of social action within the church was difficult since traditionally the Brethren had tended to shun the world beyond its own community, attempting to remain separate from political concerns. Despite strong internal opposition, the church as a whole did pursue, and continues to follow, a course of Christian action in the world. Indeed, its programs have become extensive in this century and are active on several continents.

The two major wars of the present century initiated difficult moral decisions for this pacifist church. Within its flock many compromises were made with regard to national military service, ranging from absolute conscientious objection to integration into the military. An extensive study of postwar aid, domestic as well as foreign, by the Brethren after both world wars forms a major focus of the last chapters of this volume. A list of reference abbreviations, most helpful when reading this lengthy study, and extensive endnotes, as well as a meticulous index, brings this major contribution on the study of the Brethren Church to its conclusion.

The past decades have brought major shifts in the Brethren community. These have occurred in part due to a growing diversity in the ethnicity of a once essentially German-dominated membership, in addition to closer ties with other pietist groups, especially with the Mennonites who had previously, due to various doctrinal differences, often been avoided. Although membership in the church today is rather small, the author remains optimistic for the future for they are "Enlarging the circle of peace—here is a vision reclaimed from the past that is worthy for Brethren to pursue in the twenty-first century, recognizing at the same time that the future is not held in human hands but rather in the hands of God" (596).

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

The Minds of the West: Ethnocultural Evolution in the Rural Middle West, 1830-1917.

By Jon Gjerde. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xiii + 426 pages. $39.95 (hardback), $19.95 (paperback).

In 1849, Rev. Albert Barnes, a Presbyterian clergyman, observed that "nearly all the world has its representatives" in the West. Barnes saw the unprecedented mixing of peoples as a "strange and mighty intermingling of minds of great power." Not surprisingly, he found reassurance in the presence of New Englanders and their culture. Barnes believed that the "Puritan mind" would infuse the region with love of civil and religious liberty and the desire for sound learning. Yet, much was at stake in the West, because Barnes also saw a "foreign mind" at work, with recent European immigrants, "not . . . yet amalgamated" and maintaining their foreign ways. Barnes and other prominent Protestants argued that the religious and political beliefs of these newcomers were incompatible with American ideals. Lyman Beecher and Samuel F. B. Morse even raised the specter of foreign domination and alleged that there existed a "Popish plot" to colonize the West with immigrants who would eventually undermine the Protestant foundations of American society.

Jon Gjerde tells of the encounter of these different minds in the Upper Midwest, a region that experienced heavy settlement by New Englanders. In the 1840s large numbers of European newcomers began to arrive in this area. The vastness of the thinly settled Upper Midwest allowed European immigrants to reestablish their institutions and retain their corporatist ideas. Isolated rural ethnic settlements offered favorable opportunities for the maintenance of ethnic cultures. Gjerde borrows the concept of the minds to highlight the differences between the liberal ideology of the Yankees and the corporatist ideas of European newcomers. He utilizes the "Puritan mind" and "immigrant mind" like Weberian ideal types to highlight their incompatibility.

The Minds of the West is a case study that focuses primarily on Catholic and Lutheran Germans and Lutheran Scandinavians, groups who sought to preserve their transplanted cultural heritage. It studies both cultural conflict between ethnic enclaves and cultural change within them. Gjerde traces the process by which immigrant groups created New World cultural identities that blended European traditions and American values. Gjerde describes migration patterns, the reconstruction of ethnic communities in the New World and the subsequent development of these communities. The author emphasizes that immigrant churches played a crucial role in preserving homeland values in an environment that fostered social and cultural transformation. Economic and educational opportunities, however, helped to undermine traditional authority and hierarchy structures.

Yankees from New England possessed a world view that was radically different from that of European immigrants. They celebrated their liberal republicanism and individualistic Protestantism. European immigrants, in

contrast, valued American liberty, but saw it as a means to preserve their corporatist values and cling to their cultural heritage. Gjerde introduces the term "complementary identity" to account for the dual loyalties of immigrant Midwesterners whose ethnic and religious ties coexisted with their American citizenship. Conservative immigrant Catholics and Lutherans viewed the patriarchal family as society's basic building block. Germans, in particular, articulated corporatist ideas that highlighted the central place of family, community, and church. Old World tradition underlined the importance of the family unit. It privileged the welfare of the household over the wants and needs of its individual members and concentrated power and authority in the hands of the male household head.

Gjerde describes rural ethnic settlements as church-centered communities and shows that immigrant clergymen often doubled as community leaders. These church leaders strove to preserve the purity of the faith, but also helped to shore up other parts of the Old World heritage. At the center of Yankee faith stood the personal search for salvation. New Englanders eschewed an individualistic Protestantism. Their pietistic religious tradition emphasized the pursuit of Christian perfection, heartfelt conversion from sin, and inward religiosity. At the center of the immigrant church, in contrast, was an elaborate and highly symbolic liturgy that emphasized sacraments and doctrine. Individuals obtained salvation through the church. New members were ceremonially confirmed after they attended catechism classes. Membership was generally only withdrawn if a member explicitly denied sacramental or doctrinal standards. The inclusiveness of the community-centered immigrant churches provides a striking contrast to the Yankee preoccupation with purity of heart that was exemplified by personal conduct. Yankees in fact were concerned with the behavior of all persons in society, not just their own congregations. They favored political and social action to advance their religious goals and were willing to use the state to enforce their version of morality.

Gjerde contrasts the conjugally-oriented Yankee family, which treated land primarily as a commodity, with the patrilineal European farm family, which carefully husbanded its resources and gradually enlarged the family estate. European immigrants gave higher priority to farm ownership continuity. They had larger families, which meant that the children of immigrants ended up with fewer assets than their Yankee peers. New Englanders had companionable marriages and granted considerable independence to their children, which were expected to make their own way. They had smaller families. Many children left their communities; fewer continued as farmers.

American political historians have in the last decades harnessed an ethnocultural framework to the study of nineteenth century Midwestern voting behavior. This framework links ethnocultural identities and political preference. It stresses the importance of ethnic and religious orientations. Gjerde argues that after the Civil War Yankees and ethnic conservatives increasingly clashed at the polls. Political conflict centered around key cultural issues, foreign-language

instruction, parochial schools, temperance, and women's rights. Elections pinned the Republican Party, Yankees and their pro-statist allies, against conservative immigrants who favored home rule. Despite their commitment to individual freedom and autonomy, Yankees opposed social pluralism and solicited state intervention. They sought to restrict the freedom of their ethnic neighbors in order to accelerate the Americanization process. Conservative German Catholics and Lutherans, on the other hand, opposed efforts by Republicans to empower the state. Ethnic Americans were fearful of state intervention in their families and communities and tried to stop any attempt to hasten the process of Americanization. They favored local control over community institutions and supported social pluralism, a precondition for ethnic group survival.

Gjerde skillfully interweaves his story with excerpts from Hamlin Garland and Iowa native Herbert Quick. He draws upon a wide range of primary sources, travel accounts, local histories, diaries and autobiographies. Material from German-language newspapers, primarily *Die Iowa* and the *Luxemburger Gazette*, frequently appears in the text. The author singles out a speech by Iowa governor William Harding, who in a 1918 World War I directive mandated the use of English in school, church, public conversations and even on the telephone. As Gjerde asserts, Harding's eager 100 percent Americanism struck at the heart of complementary identity, such that the Midwest's diverse immigrant minds "were being forcefully merged in a world at war into an Americanist whole" (325).

The geographer John Hudson has called the Midwest "a cultural hybrid" whose "distinctiveness arises from an overlapping of people from disparate sources." Ironically, Americans today view it as the least distinctive and most Americanized of all culture regions in the United States. *The Minds of the West* is an important book, because it unearths the roots of Midwestern culture. Building on the work of rural sociologists like Gary Forster, Richard Hummel, Robert Whittenberger and especially Sonya Salamon, Gjerde studies the persistence of ethnic patterns in Midwestern rural culture. This book will be standard reading for anyone interested in the history of American rural ethnic communities.

Indiana University *Heiko Mühr*

From Duppel to Truman Plaza: The Berlin American Community in den Jahren 1965 bis 1989.

By Gabriele Heidenfelder. 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. 5. Hamburg: Lit, 1998. 176 pages.

The exploration of a neglected field of research in German-American relations has been initiated in this monograph. The author examines the contact, or rather lack thereof, between the U.S. military and military dependents in Berlin with the citizens of Berlin during the two decades prior to the collapse of the Berlin Wall. The study concludes with lamentations shared by many who were living in Berlin during those years, the result of a sad state of affairs which is well documented here.

The author establishes the necessity of a U.S. military presence in the city for political and strategic purposes. Yet it is also shown that the presence was coupled with a virtually complete lack of contact between U.S. military personnel and the citizens of the city. This work concentrates upon twenty-four years (1965-89) of this military presence and draws upon extensive personal interviews with those who were there, Germans and Americans, as well as upon extensive research of the *Observer*, the newspaper of the American military community in Berlin. Studies pertaining in any manner to this topic are rare; this monograph will, therefore, give impulse to further research in a neglected field.

The study is wisely and prudently organized so that it attracts and retains the attention of the reader, even on those few occasions when tedious factual material or statistical information becomes necessary. There does exist a constant foreshadowing of the pregnant finale of the volume. The organizational methodology employed is to be praised. Six chapters deal with the American military community in manifold aspects of daily life. Chapter one, introducing the study, defines and limits the scope of the inquiry and briefly reviews extant published research in the field. In addition, two essential terms are semantically clarified for their specific employment in the work, namely community and command. Within the framework of the author's scholarship, their respective specific definitions allow for distinct comprehension of this study and are, therefore, readily acceptable. The subsequent five chapters are equally well organized. Each initially states a specific aspect of the American military community in Berlin to be dissected, then follows a minutely-detailed explanation of the topic and concludes with summary results.

The author documents extensively her principle thesis, namely that the American military community remained essentially isolated from the daily life of Berlin by enjoying the attributes of a typical American small town within its borders even though it was surrounded by a metropolis. Further, this isolation is seen as essentially orchestrated by the U.S. command in Berlin in order to

establish a model of the American way-of-life, to serve as an example for all non-Americans. The command wished to establish a window of America not only for the East, but also for the West. As such, the daily life style of the citizens of this American community is mirrored in its multiplicity, from supermarkets and movie houses to sports, medical care, schools, internal friendships, and living accommodations. Taken into consideration among the military personnel and military dependents are necessary distinctions in attitudes, for example according to rank (i.e., officers and non-officers), level of education, urban versus rural background, age and family status, etc.

The newspaper of the community, the *Observer*, flows as a motif of confirmation throughout the study. The newspaper was virtually void of national and international events, instead concentrating on the mundane events of the community. It serves well to illustrate the isolation of the American military community from the city in general and underlines the success of the command in its adherence to a policy of establishing, as it were, a test tube society. The final two chapters of the book, seven and eight, list secondary sources, exhibit charts and maps, and offer military definitions and explanations as needed. The final pages contain a ready useable index.

This study should initiate further research on a curious and apparently often overlooked development in the interchange of Germans and Americans. One might hope for a similar study of the period prior to 1965, which may well even strengthen the thesis presented here that the military indeed created all possible external conditions to facilitate an isolated "little America" community within the cosmopolitan city of Berlin. In the end, several questions remain open to the reader, such as: Was this status of isolation for the U.S. military desirable and even advisable? A lament seems to permeate this otherwise objective examination by this not directly posed question. Why were personal relationships between Germans and Americans not extensively fostered, indeed even subtly discouraged? Would not personal contact have cemented even more strongly ties between Berlin and Germany with the United States? The Berliner, the reader learns, was anxious for such contact and actively attempted its establishment, yet reciprocity was not forthcoming.

Although few would question the necessity in the post-World War II period of a strong American military presence in Berlin, one is left to ponder why did and do so many Berliners with respect to personal contact with members of the American community so often reply: "Es ist, als wären sie nie da gewesen" (141).

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Little Germany on the Missouri: The Photographs of Edward J. Kemper, 1895-1920.

Edited by Anna Kemper Hesse; Adolf E. Schroeder, Erin McCawley Renn, and Oliver A. Schuchard, contributing editors. Columbia, MO, and London: University of Missouri Press, 1998. 166 pages. 105 black and white photographs. Contains bibliography and index.

This book is a compilation of photographs taken by the farmer and viticulturalist, Edward J. Kemper. The photographs of Hermann, Missouri, and surrounding areas in Gasconade County, cover an important span of years, a "golden age" of German-American culture. The years from 1895 to 1920 were a time of burgeoning prosperity as well as economic struggle for this town of first and second generation German-Americans. Much of Hermann's prosperity was built upon viticulture and wine production. The wine production ceased during the years of Prohibition, but resourceful businessmen like Kemper were able to diversify from growing mostly grapes to managing successful fruit orchards. Edward J. Kemper, whose father had emigrated from Germany in 1848, did not have the advantage of serving a formal trade apprenticeship, as had his father and uncles in Germany, but rather worked hard and learned what he could by practical experience, supplemented by the study of horticulture at the University of Missouri. His improved, disease resistant wine-grapes won him an honorable mention at the Pan-American Exhibition of 1901.

As a hobby, Edward Kemper purchased his first camera in 1895, a Kodak with Bausch and Lomb lenses, and glass-plate negatives. According to Oliver Schuchard, who produced the prints for this volume from Kemper's original glass-plate negatives, Kemper's photographs "are pertinent and sensitively executed documents specific to the circumstance of community, family, and friends." A professional photographer might have been more technically proficient, but Kemper's photos have an artistic quality derived from complete familiarity with, and abiding sympathy and affection for his subjects. Edward Kemper was proud of the community he and his family were a part of, proud of his German heritage and anxious to document what had been accomplished in the half century since Hermann was founded. Edward Kemper's original photographic plates were donated to the Western Historical Manuscripts Collection in 1985 by his daughter, Anna Kemper Hesse, and a permanent display of some of Kemper's photographs may be viewed at the Deutschheim State Historic Site in Hermann Missouri.

There are three separate photographic sections of the work, each accompanied by an introductory essay, and each photo also has a brief explanation of its content. The first section documents life in Hermann and its surrounding areas and farms, especially Kemper's family and the family estate, Kemperhof. This section primarily deals with the everyday business life of Hermann, consisting mostly of portraits of businessmen and their employees. There are numerous views of the entire town from a variety of vantage points.

Particularly impressive are Kemper's shots along the river front, composed with an eye toward showing how important the river was for the commerce of the town, and how unpredictable: there are some particularly good photos of the 1903 flood. The second photo section deals with the vineyards and wineries of Hermann. The wine industry had been important in Hermann from the 1840s onward. In 1848, the year that Kemper's father came to Hermann, the first *Weinfest* was held. The plates show some of the more important wineries in the area, the people who worked them day to day, and how the immigrants were able to uniquely adapt their practices to the local conditions. The third photo section is entitled "Customs and Traditions: Old Ways Preserved." These photos show the importance of the close-knit society of church, school, and family in preserving the ethnic heritage of Hermann. There are a number of photographs of church and school groups, social events such as the *Maifest*, as well as portraits of individual families and their homes, clearly showing the influence of German architectural styles adapted to Midwestern conditions.

The book contains essays on the life of Edward J. Kemper, a brief history of Hermann, and an assessment of Edward Kemper as photographer. The essays by Anna Hesse, Adolf Schroeder, Erin M. Renn, and Oliver Schuchard are informative and easy to read. The scholarship is evident in the essays, but even without them, Kemper's photographs could stand alone as an eloquent source of information on the economic and cultural influences of German-Americans in the Midwest.

University of Kansas *Tom R. Schultz*

Finding the Grain: Pioneer German Journals and Letters from Dubois County, Indiana.
Edited by Norbert Krapf. Revised and Expanded Edition. Max Kade German-American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society Publications, vol. 9. Indianapolis: Indiana University Printing Services, 1996. xxii + 281 pages. $18.00.

In 1977 Norbert Krapf published a book entitled *Finding the Grain: Pioneer Journals, Franconian Folktales, Ancestral Poems*. This work contained three journals, one letter and a passport, fourteen Franconian folktales in the original German with English translations, and seventeen poems by the editor about his Indiana German heritage. The 1996 edition represents an expansion and revision of only the journal and letter sections of the original work. The other chapters have become three separate works: *Beneath the Cherry Sapling: Legends from Franconia* (1988); *Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins* (1993); and *Blue-Eyed Grass: Poems of Germany* (1997). Both the 1977 and the 1996 editions of *Finding the Grain* were motivated by Krapf's desire to learn about his ancestral heritage and to understand why his family and thousands like it had emigrated from Germany and settled in what he calls "the hilly wilderness

of southern Indiana" (xii). The first edition had appeared as part of the Bicentennial celebration in his native Dubois County, Indiana.

Krapf's intention is to make the meticulously edited and annotated documents available to the general public and the academic community. However, he considers the book's main audience the people of Dubois County, especially those readers who are curious about their German roots and family history. A great part of this volume's success is due to the match between the book's primary audience and the "obscure" voices that tell a story that is part of the much larger one of American immigration. The (hi)story of German emigration and the immigrant origins of Krapf's German-Catholic hometown and surrounding communities in southern Indiana is told "from the bottom up, the history of everyday life" (xvi), a phrase he borrows from Wolfgang Helbich. From the journals and letters of these mostly ordinary people, Krapf enables his readers to appreciate the emotional and subjective side of the emigration/immigration experience.

The first chapter contains sixty-six letters of Reverend Joseph Kundek, a Croatian missionary who arrived in Jasper, Indiana, in 1838 intent on satisfying the spiritual needs and increasing the size of the German Catholic population in Dubois County. An addition to the earlier edition, these many letters detail Kundek's vigorous recruitment efforts, his missionary trips within Indiana and to Ohio and Pennsylvania, the establishment of towns and parishes in Ferdinand and Celestine, the building of churches in numerous surrounding communities, and even his attempts to procure priests for southern Indiana from the monastery at Einsiedeln, Switzerland. Another topic of equal urgency that emerges from his letters is the poverty of the people. In a letter to his superior regarding a new settlement, he wrote: "Then to build the church, the school, I cannot rely on the people because they are dreadfully poor. In all my life, I have never seen more severe poverty" (61). This issue of poverty is mentioned in almost all of the succeeding chapters.

Also new to this edition is the biographical sketch of Kundek in chapter two by Reverend Bede O'Connor, one of the priests recruited from Einsiedeln who became the pastor of St. Joseph's Parish after Kundek's death in 1857. This depiction of Kundek offers the reader a succinct chronological summary of his pastoral activities in southern Indiana. Through Kundek's own correspondence the reader sees the official side of this busy servant, whereas the Bede sketch offers a much more human view.

Chapter three presents us with another addition, the Hassfurther/Gerhard Letters. These letters truly depict the notion of "history from the bottom up, the history of everyday life" alluded to earlier. Through this correspondence the reader is confronted with the emotions of emigration/immigration: the fear, anxiety, sorrow, anticipation, tribulation, and joy that accompanied it. Given Krapf's motivations and goals, this is by far the most outstanding chapter in the book.

The next three chapters reintroduce material that appeared in the first edition, albeit either in an expanded or improved version. Instead of letters, two of the chapters comprise journals, and one consists of a single letter and a passport. Together with very factual descriptions of their ocean voyages to America, these writers continue the portrayal of the harsh life experienced in the new world. But just as the others, they also allude to the support network provided by the established German immigrant population that helped make their new lives bearable.

The last chapter comprises two passport papers and two farewell poems. The poems, by far the more interesting entries, serve as a thematic summary of the contents of the book's other letters and journals.

Whether readers are interested in the specialized details of German-Catholic immigrants in Dubois County, Indiana, or in an intimate view of the emotional side of emigration, this book is highly recommended.

University of Missouri-St. Louis *Albert J. Camigliano*

Der Wanderer of St. Paul, the First Decade, 1867-1877: A Mirror of the German-Catholic Immigrant Experience in Minnesota.
By John S. Kulas. New German-American Studies, vol.9 / Neue Deutsch-Amerikanische Studien, vol. 9. New York, etc.: Peter Lang, 1996. xiii + 285 pages. $53.95.

John Kulas presents the history of the first ten years of the German-Catholic newspaper, *Der Wanderer*, and shows how this St. Paul, Minnesota newspaper answered the needs of its immigrant subscribers. For us the newspaper documents the immigrants' history; Kulas shows how it not only recorded, but also became "a collaborator in the historical process" (1). The author then goes one step further and places *Der Wanderer* into the context of the Catholic and the German immigrant experience in the United States.

Kulas's first chapter, "Looking at the Looking Glass," is a bibliographical essay which states the proposition of the study and lays out the various facets that need to be considered. One facet is the press: Kulas reviews research on the German-American press, the German-American Catholic press, and also the U.S. Catholic press. Another facet he considers is the history of German and German-Catholic immigration. German-American cultural development after immigration is another facet, and Kulas reviews the literature on assimilation and ethnic identity and the literature on Catholic and German-American culture, including German-American literature, music, and the theater.

Der Wanderer was edited and owned by Catholic laymen. After its founding in 1867, the newspaper provided needed information and reading material for the many German Catholics who emigrated to St. Paul and to the surrounding land recently opened to settlers. Kulas compares the patterns of German immigration

to Minnesota and to the United States. A chapter on "The Newspaper and the Community" contains background information on editors and founders (An appendix includes biographical information on the shareholders). Most of the editors and owners had established themselves in the St. Paul area before the Civil War.

In the early issues the editors published a statement of objectives and purposes of the newspaper. Kulas's argument is that *Der Wanderer* served as "an agent of preservation" of German culture, but it also served as an "agent of assimilation" of the German-Americans into the new culture. The immigrants felt a need to hold on to their culture, their identity, just as they needed to change in response to the new environment in order to survive. The author demonstrates how the various parts of the newspaper answered these specific needs.

European news provided a comforting tie to the homeland that immigrants had left: they could remain in touch; he states that they could "vicariously experience" (69) events in the homeland. This was very important to them when they arrived in the new land and it helped them retain their language and culture. Kulas studies especially the contents of the Feuilleton of the newspaper and editor's choice of poetry and novels. The serialized novels were by German, not German-American, authors and presented a Biedermeier-like world, which represented the continuation of the homeland's culture and provided nostalgic escape from the immigrant experience. Likewise the poetry chosen in all its variety still presented a similar and unified Catholic view of the world. Religious articles helped them preserve their German Catholic faith in the new land.

On the other hand, local and U.S. news reporting introduced the immigrants to the new land and its politics and society. It helped them cope with challenges. The many German societies organized by the immigrants provided training in leadership for their members, but the news reports of their events helped define the German-American Catholics as a group and made them visible. Immigrants became informed and involved in the wider arena and developed a voice, which placed them in a new context as a group alongside other groups. In this way the newspaper provided its readers the means for becoming part of the American culture.

The author compares *Der Wanderer* to Catholic periodicals of the time in Germany, and to the secular *Gartenlaube*. He also compares it to German-American Catholic and Lutheran periodicals. Since Kulas sees the newspaper's role as a dual one: 1) defending the old culture on behalf of the immigrants, and 2) presenting to these same immigrants the culture of the new world, he concludes in the last chapter that *Der Wanderer* was an example of a "successful failure" (205). It failed to remain a German newspaper; it became an American newspaper. But it accompanied the immigrants on their journey as German-Americans, and helped them succeed in making a new life in the new land. He concludes that "something was gained, something was lost, but more importantly, something new was created" (214).

While the author has chosen one small area for his investigation—a history of the first ten years of a St. Paul, Minnesota, German-Catholic newspaper—he relates it with great clarity to the wider world and the German immigrant experience. John Kulas has contributed solid research and valuable insights to the understanding of the immigrant experience.

It must especially be pointed out that Kulas writes in an engaging style that makes the book a real pleasure to read. The book contains illustrations, including the interesting masthead with its slogan "Glaube! Hoffe! Liebe!" and its "Bote" figure of long German tradition.

University of Cincinnati *Franziska C. Ott*

German-American Painters in Wisconsin: Fifteen Biographical Essays. *By Peter C. Merrill. American-German Studies, vol. 16. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1997. 161 pages.*

For many years, Professor Peter Merrill has devoted his considerable research energies to the topic of the German-American artist. (See e.g., vol. 32 [1997] of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* where his *German-American Artists in Early Milwaukee: A Biographical Dictionary* and *German Immigrant Artists in America: A Biographical Dictionary* are reviewed.) The present volume offers a continuation of this research and these publications. The thorough research and the painstaking documentation which one associates with Merrill's work is also present in *German-American Painters in Wisconsin*.

Preceding the fifteen biographies, is Merrill's extremely interesting account entitled "What Happened to the Panorama Painters." This article describes the project of the German-born Chicago businessman, William Wehner, who brought German artists to Milwaukee to create a panoramic painting depicting scenes from the Civil War. (Wehner had been influenced by the success of German panoramic paintings featuring images of the Franco-Prussian War.) This painting, which first went on public display in 1887, has been housed since the turn of the century in Atlanta where it is known as the *Atlanta Cyclorama*. In this essay, Merrill recounts the way in which these German artists went about the business of painting Wehner's panoramic painting, as well as other panoramic works, and what they did after the public interest in panorama paintings ended around 1890. Merrill concludes the article with short biographical sketches of the twenty-two participants. While only two of these artists are treated in the following biographies, the article itself is an apt introduction to them.

In his brief *Preface*, Merrill states that the majority of the biographical essays appeared originally in various journals. Most of these artists were born around the middle of the nineteenth century, while the oldest was born in 1814 and the youngest in 1879. While the lives and artistic activities of these German artists

varied greatly, there are, understandably, some similarities among them. Four (not two, as Merrill states in the *Preface*) were born in the United States of German immigrant parents. Their artistic training varied from being self-taught to lessons by local artists in Wisconsin or attending art schools in the state to schooling in the art schools and academies of Germany and in Paris. Several of them became teachers themselves. A few also branched out into the allied activities of lithography and photography. Two of the artists were involved in theatrical activities and one of them wrote poetry. While a number of the artists traveled to Germany either to study or for visits, only two of them returned home to live there.

For the non-English reading audience of his work, Merrill has provided German summaries for each biography. While these summaries leave out a good deal of the information of the English texts, they do provide the German reader with the major biographical facts for each artist. The volume also contains a number of photographs of the artists and their works (the latter of which unfortunately are reproduced, out of necessity, in black and white.)

In his essay on Hans John Stoltenberg, Merrill points out that it is not his view "that there is or ever has been any distinctly German-American school of art" (146). Consequently, this volume does not offer evidence of any ethnic artistic cohesiveness in the productions of these artists. The volume will doubtlessly have its broadest readership with a regional audience. But for all interested in German-American affairs, *German-American Painters in Wisconsin* offers a fascinating account of how these German-Americans became artists and what "German" forces, if any, were at play in their lives and their art.

The University of Houston *Theodore G. Gish*

Breweries of Cleveland.
By Carl H. Miller. Cleveland, OH: Schnitzelbank Press, 1998. 296 pages. $26.95.

In addition to studies by Germanicists, the Society for German-American Studies has published research by historians, sociologists, and scholars from other academic disciplines. Carl H. Miller's *Breweries of Cleveland* serves as a model for research in the field of business. Aside from an in-depth analysis from a business perspective, it presents the reader with unique insights into the personalities and multifaceted activities of leaders of the city's largest nationality community.

The author is the grandson of Franz Heinrich Müller who immigrated from Germany to Cleveland in 1923. A graduate of Cleveland State University, Carl H. Miller left his employment in the advertising and public relations field to become a freelance writer. In this book, he traces the evolution of the Cleveland brewing industry from the early nineteenth century to the present. Whereas he also treats the roles of the Irish, Bohemians and American-born brewers, he focuses mainly on the city's German breweries and their owners, the earliest of

whom, the Stumpf brothers, began operations about 1846. A future edition of this book should list Mathias Mack (born in Württemberg) as a German brewer. Due to an editorial oversight, he is listed among the Irish (46).

As Miller points out in his introductory comments, Ohio represented "the third largest beer producing state (behind New York and Pennsylvania) for much of the nineteenth century" (11). In the volume of production of beer in Ohio by Germans, Cleveland ranked only behind Cincinnati. Brewing in Cleveland was enhanced by the availability of rail and waterway transportation and the city's being a hub for grain processing which "created an abundance of inexpensive raw materials" (10). Before the advent of artificial refrigeration in the 1870s, beer brewing continued only as long as ice supplies held out. But Lake Erie afforded Cleveland brewers the additional advantage of large quantities of ice. As a result, they were able to establish distribution facilities in Pittsburgh, "where the scarcity and high cost of ice hindered brewing during the warm months" (10).

Researchers seeking information on breweries in other cities that had ties to the Cleveland companies will find this book to be informative. Among them was the Pabst Brewing Company of Milwaukee. It established bottling, packaging, and distributing branches in Cleveland and owned a number of the city's saloons and beer halls (85). Miller also discusses related Cleveland businesses, for example, the Loew Manufacturing Company, an important innovator in brewing equipment.

To place the history of the Cleveland brewing industry into proper perspective, the author treats the impact of competition and antitrust legislation, Prohibition, the assessment of alcohol taxes, labor relations, anti-German sentiment, local and national politics, and the activities of temperance groups (Carrie Nation came to Cleveland, too!). Of special interest is the his assessment of the managerial styles and personal values of the brewers. Jacob Baehr, for example, hired no one "who was not a proven churchgoer," permitted no employee "to engage in 'lewd talk' while on duty," and refused to sell beer "to anyone who was known to use alcohol in any but a moderate manner" (77). At Baehr's death, his wife, Magdalena, assumed management of the business, subsequently raising annual sales from 3,000 to 25,000 barrels and "personally making sure that every drop of beer reached its destination in the city" (78).

In addition to financial and production data and other valuable statistics, this book offers the reader a veritable mini-seminar on brewing terminology and processes. The author also provides interesting accounts of the architecture of the breweries and the brewers's homes. In addition to a discussion of the brewers's other business interests, Miller's extensive biographical profiles of the brewers and their families reflect on their cultural, social, philanthropic, and civic contributions to Cleveland.

Miller has drawn from many original sources and authoritative publications, in English and in German, and has carefully synthesized information which he presents in a fluid writing style. Complementing the narrative are hundreds of

photos and other illustrations, an appendix, a selective bibliography, and an index. The appendix contains brief histories of fourteen breweries not extensively treated in the main text, eight of which were German-owned. A hardbound book printed on a high quality glossy paper in an attractive format and well documented, *Breweries of Cleveland* represents the definitive work on one of Cleveland's leading industries, and on the Cleveland German brewers in particular.

Fairview Park, Ohio — *Robert E. Ward*

Cleveland and Its Germans. 1897-98 Edition.
Compiled anonymously by Jakob E. Müller, et al. Translated by Steven Rowan. Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998. xvi + 249 pages. [Originally: Cleveland, OH: German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1897-98]. $17.95.

Cleveland and Its Germans. 1907 Edition.
Compiled anonymously by Jakob E. Müller, et al. Translated by Steven Rowan. Cleveland, OH: The Western Reserve Historical Society, 1998. xx + 187 pages. [Originally: Cleveland, OH: German-American Biographical Pub. Co., 1907]. $14.95.

The funding for the publication of Steven Rowan's translations of *Cleveland und Sein Deutschthum* must be credited to the philanthropy of Dr. Werner D. Mueller, a great-grandnephew of the noted Cleveland forty-eighter, Jakob Müller (1822-1905). These editions represent two of the four German works translated by Rowan and published by the Western Reserve Historical Society as part of the Werner D. Mueller Reprint Series. The first, Jakob Müller's *Memories of a Forty-Eighter: Sketches from the German-American Period of Storm and Stress of the 1850s*, was reviewed in volume 32 of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*. The fourth, Rowan's translation of the 162-page fiftieth anniversary edition (1902) of Cleveland's longest running German newspaper, the *Waechter und Anzeiger*, is in process. In addition, Dr. Mueller has funded and coedited a translation of Wilhelm Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg* (1911) which is slated for publication in 1999.

Cleveland und Sein Deutschthum focuses on the lives of hundreds of immigrants and their descendants. Although it is mainly concerned with persons from the German states, it also treats the activities of German-speaking persons from Switzerland and the Austro-Hungarian Empire as well as several non-Germans who had ties to the local German community. Both editions were published by Jakob E. Müller through his Cleveland firm, Die Deutsch-Amerikanische Historisch-Biographische Gesellschaft, known also as the German-American Biographical Publishing Company. He also published similar

books on the Germans of Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit, and Toledo. Born in Gundersheim in 1850, he died in 1914 in Newark, New Jersey, while compiling data on the New Jersey Germans.

The prefatory sections of his 1897-98 and 1907 Cleveland editions each contain a foreword, a table of contents, and an index to the biographies. The earlier edition is divided into three parts: "History of Cleveland," "Germans in Cleveland," and "Biographies." The later one adds a part treating Cleveland businesses and the unveiling of the Schiller-Goethe Monument in Cleveland. Whereas his chapters on the arrival of the Germans and their establishment of the German press and organizations are brief, Müller's treatment of the development of Cleveland and its economic, social, political, religious, educational, and cultural institutions provides an outstanding backdrop to gauge the historical role of the Germans.

The 1897-98 edition presents 252 biographical sketches, most of which also make mention of the children and spouses, as well acquaintances of the subject persons. Following the same format, the later edition contains 211 biographical articles, 43 of which are repeated from the earlier edition, some of which are rewritten. The indexes in the original volumes and these translations list only the names of the subjects of the biographies. A future reprint of these translations would be enhanced by the inclusion of an index to all names mentioned in the book. Also missing from the English editions are the drawings and the hundreds of portrait photos of the subjects of the biographies. The translated volumes could also be made more useful if they would let the reader know whose portrait photos can be found in the German editions.

In his introductory comments, Rowan makes no mention of the fact that these editions are not the final ones published by their compiler. It should be noted that, after the original publication of these books, Jacob E. Müller expanded and republished both volumes without changing the publication dates on their title pages. Rowan has translated earlier editions of the 1897-98 and 1907 works. At least one later version of each was published. Around 1900 (but carrying the 1897-98 date on its title page), Müller reprinted the first edition with an additional fifty-eight pages of biographical information. The 1907 edition was reprinted around 1910 (but carrying the 1907 date on its title page) with an additional seventeen pages of biographical articles.

With the exception of "Jacob G. Mueller" instead of Jacob E. Mueller (249), "Botteler" (7, 60) for Votteler, and a few other typos, Rowan's translation presents accurate information. The English reads well and overcomes the sometimes complicated sentence structure of the German original. However, the translated names of some of the organizations do not reveal they were distinctly German. For example, in the 1897-98 edition Der Cleveland Gesangverein (the city's most prestigious German singing society) appears as "the Cleveland Singing Society" (60). Revised reprints of these translated editions could include the original German names of the German organizations by placing them in editorial footnotes.

Since serious researchers will want to consult the original German editions when making citations in their writings, it would be helpful if the English editions would make mention of errors in the German ones. For example, in the article on Stefan Buhrer (in the 1897-98 German edition) page 128 is incorrectly numbered as 110. Also, the 1897-98 English edition does not point to the error in the article on Karl Koebler. It states he arrived in 1838 (237) and that his wife died at the age of forty-seven in 1884 (237). However, the 1907 edition says she came with her husband in 1848 (146). If she were born in 1836 or 1837, she would have been too young to be married in 1848.

In his foreword to both of the English editions, Richard Ehrlich, executive director of the Western Reserve Historical Society, points out that the wealth of biographical information in Müller's two German editions has "remained effectively closed" (iv) to researchers who do not read German. Steven Rowan's translations not only provide genealogists and historians with valuable data and insight, but also contribute significantly to an appropriate assessment of the first seventy-five years of German activity in Cleveland.

Fairview Park, Ohio — *Robert E. Ward*

Brewing Beer in the Rubber City.
By Robert A. Musson. Published by the author. 265 pages. $24.95. Available from the author at 2989 Silver Maple Drive, Fairlawn, OH 44333.

During the last decade there has been a significant increase in the amount of scholarship which seeks to evaluate the importance of brewing activity to regional, and even national, social development and economic success. Traditionally important brewing states such as Wisconsin and Pennsylvania have been the focus of attention in the process, but no less importantly, other states which have made substantial contributions now have begun to receive long-overdue analysis. At the front of the pack stands Ohio, which as early as 1810 ranked third in the nation in terms of the number of breweries per state, yet has been curiously underrepresented in the extent to which its brewing heritage has been explored.

The genesis of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* came in 1994, when after almost two decades of collecting breweriana, Akron-native Rob Musson realized that no detailed literature existed on brewing activity in northeastern Ohio. An attempt to gather source material for an article or two on the breweries of Akron yielded far more information that could be done justice in such a confined space; over the next three years Musson compiled his findings and expanded the scope of his work into the form of the present volume. Primary sources of information for Musson include city resources such as the Akron city directories and local newspapers, most prominently the *Akron Beacon Journal* and the *Summit Beacon & Weekly Beacon*, in addition to county atlases, deeds, and listings

of property transfers. A more human element is provided by interviews with Akron former brewery employees and descendants of local brewery owners, who offer a number of engaging and enlightening insights into the business of manufacturing and marketing beer.

Brewing Beer in the Rubber City begins with a brief overview of the history of brewing activity in America and the early days of brewing in Akron, highlighted by the reproduction of a lengthy obituary for Fred Horix, known as "the father of Akron brewing." More comprehensive is the next section of the book, "A Tale of Two Akron Brewing Companies," which admirably relates the history of the Akron Brewing Company as a pre-Prohibition establishment; a second brewery of the same name, operational in the post-Prohibition years under different ownership and at a different location, is discussed in the next part of the narrative. Ample evidence is offered as to the German heritage of the brewery before Prohibition, most prominently through reproductions of advertisements for one of its primary products, Würzburger Beer.

The next two chapters of the book discuss at length the history of two other prominent Akron breweries, the George J. Renner Brewing Company and the Burkhardt Brewing Company respectively. In both cases Musson makes judicious use of illustrations, including reproductions of stock certificates, contemporary photographs of brewery business leaders, employee gatherings as well as festive occasions, and recent pictures of surviving brewery edifices. Of further use to brewing industry historians are the numerous newspaper advertisements for both firms which Musson has reproduced. Through the inclusion of these promotional materials, Musson succeeds in conveying the extent to which both breweries forged a business identity within the home community and stressed the German heritage of Akron, a point made particularly evident in long-running promotions for Renner's Grossvater Beer and a Burkhardt-sponsored essay contest designed to fight the growing prohibition movement during the 1910s. A comparison of pre-and Post-Prohibition advertisements for both companies also makes clear the extent to which brewery advertising changed from one era to the other, both at the regional and national level, from an early focus almost exclusively upon attributes of brewery product to packaging innovations and image-based slogans during the post-Prohibition years. While the depiction of both companies is generally positive, Musson makes clear the extent to which local brewing interests--in Akron as elsewhere--twice suffered debilitating blows to their existence, first by fourteen years of national prohibition and later by the competitive imbalance fostered by wealthy, free-spending national brewers able to outadvertise and soon outsell the hometown breweries, culminating in the closure of Renner in 1952 and Burkhardt in 1964, eight years after its purchase by the Cincinnati-based Burger Brewing Company. After Musson's chronicle of the demise of the Akron brewing industry, the next section of the text briefly discusses its revival as part of the growing field of microbrewing during the

1990s, in the form of a new Burkhardt Brewing Company (1991) and the Liberty Brewing Company (1994).

The remaining chapters of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* move away from a focus upon the breweries, in favor of discussions of special brewery product, how beer was sold and marketed in Akron, and the use of non-newsprint advertising among Akron brewers. Chapters on the production of bock and near beer make a strong impact, largely through reproductions of *Akron Beacon Journal* advertisements, and foster an appreciation for the traditional role of bock beer as an end-of-winter specialty product and the cumbersome effort required to remarket longtime staple products (such as Renner's Grossvater) and brewery-made soft drinks as nonalcoholic beverages during the early Prohibition years. The treatment of selling beer in Akron includes advertisements from a local retail establishment, showing the wide variety of brews which competed against Akron-made beers during the 1940s and their cost at the point of purchase. The final chapter of the book, "Collectible Brewery Artifacts," illustrates a wide range of Akron breweriana, including cans, serving trays, wooden cases, metal, plastic and lighted wall signs, coasters, and bottle labels, and provides collectors with a highly valuable resource guide to Akron brewery advertising.

While the text of *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* provides a more-than-adequate overview of the history of brewing in Akron, the greatest selling point for the book is the many illustrations which it contains. Despite the presence of a color cover, all illustrations within the book are black-and-white reproductions. Most of the newsprint advertisements are from microfilm sources, and all images are reproduced in photocopy form, often in marginal quality—an unfortunate but understandable circumstance, given the budgetary constraints inherent in self-publication. Nevertheless, the quality of the reproductions does not detract from the historical importance of the materials presented, nor does it significantly impair the visual impact they make.

In sum, *Brewing Beer in the Rubber City* provides an engaging, highly readable account of the manufacture and marketing of malt beverages in Akron from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. It breaks new ground in scholarly research of the brewing industry and, alongside Carl Miller's excellent recent treatment of the Cleveland brewing industry and a pending manuscript on brewing activity and beer culture in Cincinnati, helps to generate new interest in one of America's most important but long-overlooked brewing states.

Missouri Western State College *Timothy J. Holian*

Charles Follen's Search for Nationality and Freedom: Germany and America, 1796-1840.
By Edmund Spevack. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1997. 312 pages. $39.95.

Charles Follen was the first and, arguably, the most important of a long list of German radicals who sought exile in the United States in the nineteenth century. He was one of the foremost student radicals in Germany in the years immediately after the fall of Napoleon. Although Follen did not attend the Wartburg Festival in 1817, he was one of its central planners. He aided and may have inspired the assassination of the playwright August von Kotzebue in 1819, thus helping to bring about the hated Carlsbad Decrees against the German radical and student movements. When he immigrated to America in 1825, after several years's exile in Switzerland, Follen carried letters of introduction from none other than the Marquis de Lafayette.

Within a few months of his arrival, Follen was made an instructor of German at Harvard. From 1830 to 1835 he served Harvard as the first professor of German literature at an American college. Not only was he largely instrumental in introducing modern German literature and German idealistic philosophy to the Boston intellectual elite, but he introduced the latest German theological ideas as well. He lectured at the Harvard Divinity School in the late 1820s. By contact with William Ellery Channing, Henry Ware, Jr., and Theodore Parker, he helped shape American Unitarianism while he, himself, became a Unitarian minister. He spurred the construction of Harvard's first athletic grounds and introduced physical education classes of the type developed in Berlin by *Turnvater* Jahn. Follen's progress at Harvard and his path into Boston society was greatly facilitated by his marriage to Eliza Lee Cabot, a woman from one of the best Boston families and nine years his senior. Yet, owing to his outspoken anti-slavery agitation, by the time Follen was killed in a steamship accident in 1840, he was almost as unemployable in Boston and New York as he had been two decades earlier in Jena and Gießen.

While the basic outline of Follen's life is well-established, Edmund Spevack, who was a graduate student of Mack Walker's at Johns Hopkins, has done an admirable job in weaving together the story of Follen's life on two continents. Europe and America receive approximately equal attention. Spevack has searched archives in Gießen, Jena, Wiesbaden, Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, as well as Boston and New York. Yet most of the book is written from printed sources, especially from Eliza Follen's five-volume edition on her husband's works. When he was being investigated by the German police, Charles Follen destroyed most of the papers he accumulated as a student and instructor in Germany. Moreover, his posthumously published papers were carefully selected by an adoring wife. Thus any biographer of Follen works under a considerable degree of difficulty.

In contrast to some earlier biographers, Spevack emphasizes the continuity of Follen's life in America with his life in Germany and Switzerland. He sees the same moral idealism and the same inflexibility behind Follen's student radicalism at Gießen and Jena before 1820 and his uncompromising abolitionist sermons in New York two decades later. He compares articles Follen published in Switzerland with those he published in Boston. Yet some readers may find it difficult to reconcile Follen the Unitarian minister of the 1830s with Follen the student radical who advocated political assassination, or "la guerre des individus," as a step toward human freedom in 1819. Was it the same Follen who refused to accept Jews as citizens of his anticipated German nation in 1818, but who promoted African-Americans as full American citizens fifteen years later? And how, exactly, could this young conspirator to murder have so captivated Eliza Cabot, who was of such a stalwart Boston upper-crust family?

One presumes that sources which would give us greater insight into the personalities of Charles and Eliza are not to be found. Thus the book has a kind of stark tone as it provides the basic facts and analyzes Follen's writings. Unitarians sing about "the freer step . . . the grander view," but their intellectualism can hinder insight as it facilitates knowledge. One looks in vain in this book for an explanation that Follen, as an immigrant, must have progressed through (or found a way to bypass) widely shared stages of acculturation and psychological development. It would seem that before his death, for the second time in his life, Follen recognized that he was in a difficult personal position owing to his refusal to compromise the demands of his ethical sense. Had he lived in our time, it might be said that he was having a mid-life crisis.

One can only speculate about how, had he survived, such an intelligent and educated man might have resolved his personal crisis. Could he then have provided leadership in the years after 1848, as several thousand well-educated revolutionaries debarked on our shores due to further German political reaction? Of course, by 1840, Follen had already turned away from the idea of a German-American state within the union that would help liberate the European homeland. Yet one wonders if he could have helped shape the strengths of the forty-eighters into a more cohesive German-American progressive cultural and political presence which then could have itself felt on this side of the ocean? Follen would have been only sixty-five if he had lived to see the Emancipation Proclamation.

Follen did not live to see the slaves emancipated, and it was to be another hundred years before African-Americans began to achieve real citizenship. A German-American in our century, Reinhold Niebuhr, proclaimed that nothing really worth doing can be accomplished in one lifetime. Follen might have benefited from that insight. He died sure of his conviction but unsure of what he had been able to accomplish on either continent.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

Platt Düütsch/ **Low German: A Brief History of the People and Language.** *By Robert Lee Stockman. Alto, MI: Platt Düütsch Press, 1998. xii + 445 pages.*

One cannot help but be struck by the recent resurgence of interest in the Low German dialects brought to the American Midwest by the nineteenth-century immigrants from northern Germany—among them Pomeranians to Wisconsin and Minnesota, Schleswig-Holsteiners to Iowa and Nebraska, Oldenburgers to Indiana, Hannoverians to Missouri and Kansas, Westphalians to Ohio and Michigan, and the thousands of Low German-speaking Mennonites from the Russian Empire who established settlements from Kansas to the Canadian Prairie Provinces beginning in the 1870s. Heritage groups in Kansas and Missouri have attempted to revive interest in Low German with "theater" presentations in the local dialects. The American Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society in Iowa has been instrumental in organizing conferences dedicated to the study and preservation of the Low German in the U.S. (the third such Low German conference, organized by the Central Pomeranian Verein of Wisconsin, is to be held in October 1999 in Wausau, Wisconsin). Recent immigration of Mennonites from Mexico to southwestern Kansas has actually introduced a population of Low German-speaking children requiring English as a Second Language services in the primary grades of the local school districts. In the midst of these developments, we note also the recognition accorded to Low German as a protected minority language in northern Germany by the Council of Europe as of 1 January 1999.

Against this backdrop, Stockman's historical overview of the people who speak Low German and the Low German language—albeit with an admitted focus on his own version of Low German, a type of North Saxon brought to northwestern Ohio from the Lüneburger Heide by his ancestors—will provide those interested in Low German much to digest. Stockman's work focuses on the historical antecedents of Low German within the context of the Indo-European and Germanic language families (chapter 2) . He also provides an overview of the sound system and grammatical system of contemporary Low German (chapter 4). A third major section of Stockman's book is devoted to the differentiation of the contemporary Low German dialects in northern Germany (chapter 6). Roughly half of Stockman' book consists of two glossaries, each with approximately 5,000 entries: English--Low German (chapter 3) and Low German—standard German—English (chapter 5). Briefer chapters provide introductory and concluding remarks to round out the work.

Stockman's compilation of numerous comparative word lists, grammatical tables, maps, and discussions of the multifaceted development of Low German and its current status as a collection of dialects having their origin in the plains of northern Germany offers the diligent reader a wealth of information. From pronunciation variants to past participles, from Goths to Mennonites, from Martin Luther to Fritz Reuter, from Low Prussian to Low Franconian: In *Platt*

Düütsch one will find Stockman's comments and insights on just about everything imaginable that might pertain to Low German.

There are, however, several drawbacks to the work. Stockman himself admits in the preface that he is not attempting to produce a work of scholarship, rather a source of reference and enjoyment for anyone interested in Low German. Unfortunately, in working toward that goal, Stockman may have gone too far. The complete absence of any references or bibliography severely limits the usefulness of Stockman's book. Especially for the casual, uninitiated reader there should have been some direction given for further study. A revised edition of the work should definitely included list of references for further reading.

This lack of "scholarly" backup is telling given the numerous statements which do not give the reader an accurate understanding of the matter at hand. Some examples: Gothic is portrayed as the earliest form of High German (390). Stockman confuses the reader by mixing the terms German and Germanic repeatedly. In the preface, he states an enclave of a Slavic language (Sorbic) exists within the Low German area (7), however from his description of the actual dialect there (429) it appears that a form of Low German is spoken in that same area—admittedly an area that did have a Slavic language until the 1600s. In his discussion of the development of Standard German he remarks that the *Kanzeleisprache* of the Court at Dresden was a spoken language in use both there and in the surrounding area of Central Germany (57)—this is a now defunct theory propagated by Theodor Frings prior to World War II. For these and many more questionable statements, there should have been some references so that the interested reader might check further.

There are additional problems which detract from the book and demand a complete revision with careful editing. The most glaring is the plethora of typographical errors. Another area is the loose and often inaccurate use of linguistic terminology. Although Stockman claims the reader can ignore the terminology used, his use of it actually adds to confusion. For example, why did the author use the terms "present" and "past" for a description of English and Low German verb tenses and in the same table compare them to a German "präsent" [sic] and "imperfect" (173), especially when desiring to address non-specialists? Other linguistic errors can be found throughout the section on orthography and grammar: This reader was amazed to find "auf" listed as a German conjunction (172) and a mention of the "present case" and "past case" when referring to the tense system of verbs. In discussing the genitive case for nouns, Stockman presents as an example "Haus des Herrens" (182) for Standard German—an impossible form. Concerning orthography or at least Stockman's spelling of Low German in his glossaries, a final puzzle for this reader was his use of both "sh" and "sch" to express the sound [š] depending on the sound that follows the consonant. He is thus forced to spell forms of the same word differently: *sheet* "to shoot" and *schoten* "shot." There are more such examples which careful editing could correct.

One of Stockman's concluding hopes is that Low German can be preserved and can once again become a written language accessible to its thousands of speakers world-wide. His discussion of the ongoing debate regarding an orthography is one of the more positive aspects of his book. Stockman's version of Low German with populations of speakers both in Germany and in America has a special difficulty. Should the written language overarching the many dialects of Low German reflect the orthographic system of English or Standard German? Pennsylvania German and Mennonite Low German (*Plautdietsch*) whose populations are essentially removed from Germany have not been able to resolve that dilemma either (see review of Reuben Epp, *The Spelling of Low German and* Plautdietsch*: Towards an Official Plautdietsch Orthography* [*YGAS* 32 (1997): 208-9]). Stockman is absolutely right when he states, "a Low German literary language needs to be defined and promulgated." But the task of reaching consensus on such a literary form of Low German encompassing all variants of spoken Low German is formidable.

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