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## Lieber, Prescott, Schem, Zickel, and Schrader: Five "German-American" Encyclopedias

### 1. Introduction

Throughout the conflict, the War Department's Military Intelligence Division kept Mennonites and Amish under surveillance. A lengthy Division memorandum . . . detailed the domestic spying. Most of the government's information apparently came from articles in the 1911 *Encyclopedia Britannica* [sic], but the document also included original espionage material. . . . (Nolt, 227)

As late as 1915, Professor John J. Halsey recalled that from the *Americana* "I got a large part of my education—reading a large portion of it topically before I went to college." (Freidel, 80)

It is difficult to assess how encyclopedias influence our lives, our attitudes, and our perceptions of truth. According to the quotations above, their impact can be considerable. It is based on the belief that encyclopedias contain "pure," objective information. While consulting an encyclopedia for facts and statistics, most people do not consider that this information is indeed very subjective and dependent upon what the author of an article writes or what the compiler includes. This reputation for containing pure facts and truths, sets encyclopedias apart from other types of literature and gives them a considerable amount of influence on public opinion. The first quotation about the Amish shows that this influence can be harmful to a certain group or person that is portrayed with a strong bias. John J. Halsey's mentioning of encyclopedias as educational tools shows that people relied on encyclopedias for a good part of their education.

This study investigates "German-American"<sup>1</sup> encyclopedias.<sup>2</sup> These encyclopedias are of special interest to researchers in the fields of German-American studies and encyclopedia studies, because they portray American, especially German-American history as well as the history of encyclopedias.

making. German-American encyclopedias need to be seen in the contexts of world history, of immigration to America, of book trade, and of publishing.

Questions that arise and will be clarified in this study are: Why were German-American encyclopedias published in the United States? How were they connected to the European encyclopedia traditions? What purpose did they serve? Who were the compilers, printers, and publishers? Who were the readers?

In the following sections, I will give a short history of encyclopedias, introduce the three European encyclopedia traditions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and investigate five German-American encyclopedias chronologically, detailing their form and content as well as their stated objective.

## 2. A Brief History of Encyclopedias Prior to the Eighteenth Century

German-American encyclopedias developed out of a long and diverse international tradition of encyclopedia making. Although they were mainly a product of the surge in this development during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, German-American encyclopedias emerged at a time, when the encyclopedia, as a special kind of reference work had already celebrated its two-thousandth birthday. In those two thousand years, much had happened to make the encyclopedia what it was then and what it very much still is today. It all began in 370 B.C. when Plato's nephew Speusippos published the collected works of his uncle. He attempted what all encyclopedia-makers have attempted ever since: to compile all human knowledge into one book.

During the following centuries, much changed in form and content: the ordering changed from systematic to alphabetical (used first in the *Suidae lexicon* in the eleventh century); the language changed from Greek and Latin to other languages (the first non-Latin encyclopedia was written in Italian by Brunetto Latini in 1264); biographies of people were added (included first by Guglielmo da Pastrengo in 1350); and cross-references and indexes developed (introduced by Domenico Bandini in 1410).

In 1620, Francis Bacon laid out the modern principles of encyclopedia making in the plan for his work *The Great Instauration*. Collison (1964) describes Bacon's influence as being truly revolutionary in the light of older encyclopedias, which demonstrate "how curius [*sic*] and limited were the conceptions of the extent and ordering of human knowledge held by theologians, philosophers and scholars who were their compilers . . ." (Collison, 82). Bacon set the standards for what would become the three most famous European encyclopedias: the *Encyclopédie* in France, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in Great Britain, and the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon* in Germany.

### 3. European Encyclopedia Traditions: The Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

The eighteenth century saw a fundamental change in the pace of encyclopedia making. Encyclopedias appeared everywhere on the European continent and in many languages. Each country formed its own encyclopedia tradition. The encyclopedias produced by France, Great Britain, and Germany mentioned above would become the most influential works in the development of encyclopedia making. In spite of their shared significance, these encyclopedias were quite unique in their concepts and underlying philosophies.

Each of these works embodied the encyclopedia-making tradition and philosophy of its country. The French tradition was represented by the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751. The encyclopedia's first edition was completed in thirty-five volumes and included articles written by the most distinguished French intellectuals of that time, among them Voltaire, Diderot and d'Alembert. The British tradition was modeled by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* which appeared in three volumes in 1771. The British compilers<sup>3</sup> based it on the French work, "inspired by the stormy triumph of the *Encyclopédie*," but wanted to "improve on its shortcomings" (Collison, 138). The German tradition was embodied by the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon*, published in 1809. This encyclopedia itself was based on the tradition of the *Conversationslexikon*, a truly German concept of a guide for conversation between members of all classes, and had its roots in Schütz's *Reales Staats- und Zeitungs-Lexikon* of 1704.<sup>4</sup>

In comparing the *Encyclopédie*, the *Britannica* and the *Brockhaus*, the underlying concepts that developed into encyclopedia traditions characteristic of the respective countries become apparent. The *Encyclopédie* was the first and largest of these three important reference works. It was, at first, considered a revolutionary and antireligious work. Later, it was seen as both the "prophetic" vision of and the intellectual preparation for the French Revolution. Shackleton (1984) saw in the success of the *Encyclopédie* the outburst of a European "Encyclopaedic Spirit" and concluded that "the word *encyclopaedist* summarizes the spirit of the age" (Shackleton, 377). That in fact the European "age" was not as homogeneous as Shackleton believes, can be seen, when we compare the concepts of the three encyclopedia traditions.

The *Encyclopédie* was not only the "oldest" of the three encyclopedias, it was also the basis for the *Britannica*; and from the perspective of the writers of the British work, we can assess the differences between these two encyclopedias. The *Britannica*'s fourth edition contained a dedication note to the British king, in which the authors distanced themselves from the "unacceptable" underlying philosophy of the *Encyclopédie* and firmly stated their loyalty to the crown:

The French *Encyclopédie* has been accused, and justly accused, of having disseminated far and wide the seeds of anarchy and atheism.

If the Encyclopaedia Britannica shall in any degree combat the tendency of that pestiferous [*sic*] work, even these two volumes will not be wholly unworthy of your Majesty's attention.<sup>5</sup>

Gentry (1991) compares the French encyclopedia tradition with the German by examining the underlying concepts of the *Encyclopédie* and the *Brockhaus*. Again, what distinguishes these encyclopedias from one another are their attitudes towards the ruling powers:

. . . while Diderot and d'Alembert, the founders of the French *Encyclopédie*, considered themselves to be men of the Enlightenment entrusted with the responsibility of being the teachers of the nation, the liberators of their countrymen from the oppression imposed by the old structures of nobility and Church, and the cultivators of the French language, the Germans, doubtless due to the fragmented political situation, did not promote participation in political life, but rather sought refuge in the rather elusive concept of *Bildung*. (Gentry, 101)

In other words, while the French compilers attempted to create and nurture revolutionary thinking against the ruling powers, the Germans promoted *Bildung*, which meant distance from political activities and education for better citizenship.

The *Britannica* and the *Brockhaus* differ mainly in the subject areas on which they focus. The British tradition was based on a technically oriented encyclopedia tradition, started by John Harris's *Lexicon technicum* in 1704. The *Brockhaus*, on the other hand, focused mainly on fine arts and biography. Francis Lieber, who had based the *Encyclopaedia Americana* on the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon*, commented in the *Americana's* preface on the shortcomings of the *Brockhaus*, which underline these differences: "Some of the departments of science and literature, which were but imperfectly treated in the original German work, have been entirely re-written for this edition" (vi). Then he stresses the strength of the *Brockhaus*, which lies in the field of fine arts: "The articles on the Fine Arts are, in the original work, particularly complete; and I hope the *Encyclopaedia Americana* will, therefore, be found satisfactory in a department in which the English encyclopedias have hitherto been very deficient" (vii).

Thus, three very different encyclopedia traditions had developed in the Europe of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which were still similar in two main aspects: in their attempt to gather all human knowledge and in their popular success.

#### 4. The *Encyclopaedia Americana* by Francis Lieber

As I have mentioned above, the first American encyclopedia, the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, was rooted in the German encyclopedia tradition. It was an adaptation and translation of the *Brockhaus's* seventh edition of 1827-29. One might surmise that the German *Conversationslexicon* tradition was selected as the basis for the first American encyclopedia because of its concise style and its well-developed marketing methods (using supplement volumes and new editions after a short amount of time). In fact, the German encyclopedia tradition was, at least in theory, the most appropriate one for the American market considering that the British encyclopedia was too loyal to a kingdom from which the United States had won independence and the French version was too philosophical and esoteric.

But as it turned out, the true reason why the *Brockhaus* became the first American encyclopedia was a personal one. Francis (Franz) Lieber, a German immigrant, who had come to America in 1827, needed challenging work and money, mainly to succeed in the New World, but also to marry his beloved fiancée who was waiting in England to be called to join him in America. Yet even if the actual selection of the *Brockhaus* as a base work was only due to the personal needs of a young German immigrant, the eventual success of its American adaptation may indeed have resulted from the appropriateness of the underlying German tradition. This theory can be supported by a comparison with another American encyclopedia, *Dobson's Encyclopaedia*.

*Dobson's Encyclopaedia* was an American adaptation<sup>6</sup> of the *Britannica's* third edition and was published from 1789-1803 in twenty-four volumes.<sup>7</sup> It should have received the credit of being the "first" American encyclopedia but was considered too similar to its British source. Dobson had tried to make changes in articles "which he felt displayed British bias" (Wells, 43), but could not find enough people interested in buying the altered version. The encyclopedia was sold by subscription and found only "264 subscribers by the time the first half-volume was ready" (Tebbel, 116). After the publication of the eighth volume, the set sold only 1,000 copies. The enterprise had to be abandoned.

One reason for the failure of *Dobson's Encyclopaedia* might have been the *Britannica's* presence on the American market and its little-appreciated British bias. Another reason might have been the price. It sold for \$156.00 (in boards) and \$187.50 (in sheep). Dobson included six hundred copperplates, which made the encyclopedia quite expensive. It was not more expensive than the *Britannica*, which was sold in America for \$180.00, but probably not cheap enough to be its competitor. However, *Dobson's Encyclopaedia* was by far too expensive in comparison with the *Americana*, which had no copperplates and sold for \$32.50 a set.

The *Encyclopaedia Americana* is widely accepted as being the first American encyclopedia for several reasons. One of them is the failure of

*Dobson's Encyclopaedia*, another is the *Americana's* specific orientation towards the American reader, which probably led to its overall success. In order to make the *Americana* a prosperous undertaking, Lieber consulted prominent people and some of his friends in prestigious positions. He asked for their advice and willingness to participate in the enterprise. Among those people were: George Bancroft, one of the principals of Round-Hill Seminary; Edward Everett, a member of the House of Representatives; Charles Follen, a professor of German at Harvard; Dr. Goodman, an expert in American Natural History; Joseph Story, a judge on the Supreme Court; and Robert Walsh, an expert in American biography.

Lieber outlined the *Americana's* orientation towards an American audience in his preface to the encyclopedia:

In presenting this work to the public in the English language, my intention has been, by making such changes and additions as the circumstances of this country required, to render it as useful and acceptable to the general reader here as the original is in Germany.  
(v)

and later:

My idea of a good American encyclopedia has been, that it should contain, besides the most valuable portions of the English encyclopedias, and the topics of peculiar interest to an American reader, information upon all subjects of general interest on the continent of Europe. (vi)

Lieber's objective of writing an American encyclopedia instead of simply a German translation has never been doubted. A true dedication to the new homeland is shown in the change of his name from "Franz" to "Francis." Kennedy (1972) supports this argument: "He was clearly against the 'Germanizing' of America" (31) and quotes from a letter written by Lieber on 23 April 1847:

I love my country . . . but when they talk of Germanizing America, I spurn the idea. . . . What, Germanize America and draw out of our country the Anglican institutions as the bones of a turkey, and leave a lump, fit only to be dispatched? No, no—modern liberty, people may say what they like, is . . . essentially Anglican liberty; develop, modify, change, trim, improve, but keep the backbone. (Kennedy, 31)

In spite of his American focus, the true German-American in Lieber can be detected. He came to the new homeland and accepted it entirely but was still

aware of his roots in Europe. He planned to make the *Americana* an "American encyclopedia" (preface, v) but at the same time wanted to include "information upon all the subjects of general interest on the continent of Europe." And so is it that the *Americana* remained, despite its main orientation towards the American reader, a German-American encyclopedia, based upon a German work, translated by a German immigrant, and containing much "Germanness" in its content.

Kennedy (1972) also recognized the essential Germanness in Lieber's work. He titles his article, "Francis Lieber (1798-1872): German-American Poet and Transmitter of German Culture to America." Kennedy proposes that the transmitting of German culture took place in a very subtle way: through the content of the many articles on German life that Lieber included in the *Americana*. "In the *Americana* there was an emphasis on German civilization which was lacking in early English-language encyclopedias." And quoting Pochmann (1957), he continues:

Infinite and incalculable as the effect of this emphasis may have been, the wide circulation of this work served as a means by which a strong element of the German spirit was injected into the American mind, leading to a fuller understanding and appreciation of German arts, science, and institutions. (33-34)

In his study on the *Americana*, Kennedy further reports on having found "at least 265 individual articles on German writers, artists, composers, scientists, philosophers, theologians, and philologists," (34) of which he examined particularly the articles on Schiller, Goethe, Tieck and Novalis<sup>8</sup> as well as the twenty-three articles that were written by Lieber himself.<sup>9</sup> The eleventh volume of the *Americana*, in particular, gives insight into the extent of its German content. The section of topics that begin with the German spelling "Sch" contains a "gathering" of German scholars and places, from "Schadow" and "Schäfer" to "Schweitz" and "Schwerin"; there are 72 entries in all, of which 51 have German content (see figure 1).

Also apparent in figure 1 is Lieber's retention of umlauts, which he must have considered to be important. All German first names, though, are translated into English: "Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller" appears as "John Christoph Frederic von Schiller."

The portrayal of German-American immigration and settlement is yet another important part of the *Americana*'s German-Americanness. The article "Germantown," for example, shows an interest in German settlement in America which was unusual in a time period that had not yet seen any significant "wave" of German immigration to America (at least compared to the "waves" of the 1850s, 1870s and 1880s):

Schadow (John Gottfried).....	233	Schneider (John Gottlob).....	244
Schäfer (Godfrey Henry).....	234	[Schneider] (Eulogius).....	245
Schaffhausen.....	234	Schnepfenthal.....	245
Schandau.....	234	Schnorr (Veit J. von Karolsfeld).....	245
Scharnhorst (Gebhard David von)	234	Schoen (Martin).....	245
Schauenburg, or Schaumburg-Lippe		Scholastics.....	245
see Lippe).....	235	Scholia.....	247
Scheele (Charles William).....	235	Schöll (Maximilian Samson Fred.)...	247
Scheeren.....	235	Schomberg (F.H.).....	247
Scheererite.....	235	Schön.....	248
Scheik (see Sheik).....	235	Schönbrunn (see Vienna).....	248
Scheldt.....	235	Schoneu, or Scania Schoodic, or	
Schelling (Frederic William Joseph		Passamaquoddy (see Croix,	
von).....	235	St.).....	248
Schemnitz.....	236	Schoolmen (see Scholastics).....	248
Schenectady.....	236	Schools.....	248
Scherzo.....	236	Schooner.....	259
Schiavone (Andrea).....	236	Schoreel (John).....	
Schicht (John Gottfried).....	236	Schorl (see Tourmaline).....	259
Schill (Ferdinand von).....	237	Schorlite (see Topaz).....	259
Schiller (John Christopher Frederic		Schrevelius (Cornelius).....	259
von).....	237	Schubart (C.F.D.).....	259
Schiller-Spar.....	240	Schulens (Albert).....	260
Schimmelpennink (Rütger Jan)....	240	Schumla (see Chumla).....	260
Schinkel (Charles Frederic).....	240	Schuyler (Phillip).....	260
Schiras.....	240	Schuyllkill.....	260
Schirvan (see Caucasus).....	241	Schwabach (Articles of).....	260
Schism.....	241	Schwabenspiegel.....	261
Schlangenbad, and		Schwartz (Berthold).....	261
Langenschwalbach).....	241	Schwartzburg.....	261
Schlegel.....	241	Schwartzburg-Rudolstadt.....	261
Schleiermacher (Frederic Daniel		Schwartzburg-Sondershausen..	261
Ernest).....	243	Schwarzenberg (C.P.).....	261
Schleissheim.....	244	Schwarz.....	261
Schlosser (Frederic Chistopher)....	244	Schwarzwald (see Black Forest).....	261
Schmalkaldic League (see		Schweighäuser (J.).....	261
Smalkaldic League).....	244	Schweitz.....	262
Schmidt (Michael Ignatius).....	244	Schwerin (see Mecklenburg-	
Schneeberg.....	244	Schwerin).....	262
Schneekopf (see Schneekoppe).....	244	Schwerin (count).....	262
Schneekoppe.....	244		

Fig. 1. From the *Americana's* index (vol. 11, 608-9)



GERMANTOWN; a post town in Philadelphia county, Pennsylvania; 7 miles north of Philadelphia; population, 4311. It contains a bank, an academy, and several houses of public worship, for Presbyterians, for German Calvinists, for Lutherans, for Friends and for Mennonists. . . . Here is the principal congregation of the Mennonists in America. . . . (5:445)

Entries like this one established a philosophy of portraying German culture and settlement in America that was adopted later in the century by Schem's and Zickel's encyclopedias. Worth mentioning, though, is that in the Germantown article as well as in similar articles on other special German settlements in America (e.g., Ephrata, Bethlehem) no reference is made to their Germanness.

The *Americana* mentions all German religious groups and their leaders, among them, the Anabaptists-Mennonites ("Mennonists") and Menno Simons, the Moravian (Bohemian) Brethren and Count Zinzendorf, and the Lutherans and Melchior Mühlenberg.

Of great importance for the success of the *Americana* was its format. With thirteen volumes, it almost stayed within its planned limits of twelve volumes, a great accomplishment for an encyclopedia, compared to many other reference works which by far exceeded their limits.<sup>10</sup> The *Americana* was printed in two columns with plain headings. Lieber did not use any plates or tables. The index is an important difference to other similar encyclopedias (neither *Brockhaus* nor *Britannica* had an index). In addition to the above mentioned use of umlaut, the *Americana* used other possibilities to show the origin of German words or names: German and alternative English spelling: "Berlichingen, Götz or Godfrey"; and English spelling, original spelling and German spelling: "Lorraine [*Lotharingia*; in German, *Lothringen*]."

The *Americana* was very successful. Lieber, himself, estimated the sales as having "reached one hundred thousand sets" (Freidel, 80). Freidel also made special note of this success:

Sets of the *Americana* were to be found everywhere, from the British Museum to the Canton quays. Almost every well-to-do American home possessed one. When Lieber called on President Jackson he found the latest volume on a White House table. (80)

Further proof of this success can be found in newspaper articles, some of which were reprinted within the *Americana*.

Those who can, by any honest economy, reserve the sum of two dollars and fifty cents quarterly . . . may pay for this work as fast as it is published; and we confidently think that they never purchased so much general, practical, useful information at so cheap a rate.  
—*Journal of Education*.

Or:

The Encyclopaedia Americana is a prodigious improvement upon all that has gone before it; a thing for our country, as well as the country that gave it birth, to be proud of . . . the Encyclopaedia Americana is a work without which no library worthy of the name can hereafter be made up. —*Yankee*.<sup>11</sup>

After its first successful edition, the *Americana* was published in many revised, supplemented and new editions, and is today one of the most popular American encyclopedias. A new edition appeared in 1835 (with one supplemental volume) and with further editions "in 1838, 1848 and 1849, after which it lapsed" (Walsh, 8). In 1902 it appeared again in an entirely reworked edition. This edition was the basis for today's *Encyclopedia Americana*, which was characterized by Walsh with the following words:

The *Encyclopedia Americana* is unquestionably one of the best and largest encyclopedias in the English language at the present time and, in size, ranks second only to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. (44)

##### 5. The *Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie* by Thomas H. Prescott

The *Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie* was published in 1860. It was a true product of a new market awareness of Anglo-American publishers and of a new style of American subscription publishing. In 1860, German immigration into the United States totaled 54,491 people. In 1854, six years earlier, 215,009 Germans had come to the New World, a number that would be surpassed only once by the immigration of 1882. In these years, many German and Anglo-American book publishers became aware of the new market which was forming because of rising immigration numbers. The Anglo-American publishers began producing English books in German translation and sold them mainly by subscription. Although subscription publishing had been known for years, it changed significantly during these years. Cazden (1984) reports on the difference between the originally meaning of subscription publishing and the later developing American "style," as being mainly related to the form in which the money was collected. The original subscription method "meant the collection of orders in advance to guarantee printing costs" (361). In contrast, the American style was "the distribution of already published books . . . available in a choice of fancy bindings . . . supplied by authorized agents at fixed prices . . . [which] . . . could not be purchased through bookstores" (361). This was the market for which the *Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie* by Thomas H. Prescott was produced.

The *Encyclopädie* was actually a translation of *The American Encyclopedia of History, Biography and Travel* by William O. Blake using the pseudonym

"Thomas H. Prescott" (Cazden, 364). Cazden's report on the encyclopedia is the only research source available on the *Encyclopädie*. It reads as follows:

The Millers also published a German version with some new material in 1860 under the title *Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie* (1,032 pages). I have a copy with the imprint St. Louis, J. & H. Miller, 1861, and there is also an 1863 Columbus issue from the house of Gilmor & Segnar. (364-66)

The success of the *Encyclopädie* must have been significant enough to make Gilmor and Segnar interested in issuing another edition in 1863 in Ohio. Today, copies of the *Encyclopädie* are almost impossible to locate. I investigated the work in the library of the German Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia in 1995, which had the only copy I could locate in the United States (apart from Cazden's above mentioned personal copy). The society owns the St. Louis edition of 1860.

The *Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie* is of special significance because it was the first American encyclopedia to be written in German. As mentioned above, this fact shows the market orientation of American publishers, but also, and foremost, the change of the market itself, especially in the American Midwest, where it was published. German-language publications became profitable because of the increasing numbers of Germans immigrating to America. An additional factor, though, was the kind of immigrant coming to the United State in the 1850s and thereafter. Whereas the typical German immigrant of the eighteenth century was a farmer seeking religious freedom, the nineteenth-century immigrant was a "well-educated, liberal—if not radical-democratic" (Adams, 4) intellectual and therefore a welcomed consumer for the publishing industry.

The entries of the *Encyclopädie* are ordered systematically within three fields: history, biography and geography. This method of encyclopedia making was rooted in the Greek and Latin encyclopedia traditions, and best portrayed by the *Lexicon universale* by Johann Jacob Hoffmann (two volumes, 1677) which "dealt mainly with history, biography and geography" (Collison, 89). The *Encyclopädie's* main objective was to promote the public's understanding of the world by piecing together a puzzle from the parts contained in the three subject areas.

A special German-American focus cannot be found in this work, although the compilers of the first microfiche edition advertise their product with the following words:

Thomas H. Prescott, *Amerikanisch-Deutsche Encyclopädie*. (Columbus, 1863; Microfiche Edition: Erlangen: Harald Fischer Verlag. 1994) . . . An Anglo-American work which was translated

into German and revised for the German-American community, especially useful for Ohio-German history.

According to this advertisement, Prescott must have revised the *Encyclopädie* again for the Columbus edition, because I could not find any special mentioning of German-American history in the 1860 edition that I examined. Even the general chapters on United States history are exceptionally short (300-24; 406-13; 468-71; 555-77) and do not provide any special coverage of the Germans living in this country.

The *Encyclopädie's* biographical section is of some German interest. Although, again, German figures do not receive any preference, it seems as though important people from the Western world are generally portrayed without any country's bias. There seems to be neither a particular order in which the people are placed one after the other, nor any significant difference in the articles' lengths. Among the people mentioned, though, are Francis Lieber (as "Franz Lieber") and Charles Follen (as "Karl Follen"). Lieber is portrayed as an important political person, but not as the author of the *Americana* (691). Other Germans listed are Friedrich II, Kepler, Herschel, Goethe, Wieland, Klopstock, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Uhland, Freiligrath, Johannes von Müller, Niebuhr, and Alexander von Humboldt.<sup>12</sup>

The encyclopedia was published in one volume with 1,032 pages. It contained *Holzschnitte* illustrating various subjects, ranging from "Opium Schmuggel in China" (22) to "Beduinen Araber" (1012). The frontispiece reads: "Mit mehr als hundert Holzschnitten"; I counted exactly seventy-six.

The success or failure of the *Encyclopädie* could not be assessed; no information on its price or on the number of copies sold could be found. The only indication of its success may be the above mentioned fact that there actually were several editions printed in St. Louis, Missouri, and Columbus, Ohio, even under different publishers.

In terms of its content, the *Encyclopädie* was different from the German-American encyclopedias that were produced in the years that followed. This work did not address the primary need of German immigrants in the United States; it did not include information meant to ease their settlement in the new country.

## 6. The *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* by Alexander Jacob Schem

The *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* was first published in 1869. With its eleven volumes it was—and still is today—the largest American German-language encyclopedia ever printed. Cazden (1984, 450) reports that the *Conversations-Lexicon* was "planned as a German-American Brockhaus in eight volumes" which implies that not only its name but also its concept indicate a continuation of the German *Conversationslexikon* tradition. The *Americana* had

succeeded in extending this encyclopedia tradition into American culture in the English language; the *Conversations-Lexicon* was supposed to do so in German.

Information on the *Conversations-Lexicon* and on its editor is rare; the few pieces we have come from advertisements in a German newspaper, some notes by one of the publishers, Cazden (1984), and the "Vorwort" of the encyclopedia itself.

The editor of the *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* was Alexander Jacob Schem, a German immigrant who had arrived in America in 1851. Being a learned man with a university education from Bonn and Tübingen, Schem had distinguished himself as an author of encyclopedia articles even before he started the work on the *Conversations-Lexicon*. In 1859, he began working for Appelton's *New American Encyclopedia* (1859-64) by writing a large number of articles. Thereafter, he contributed to the *Annual American Cyclopaedia* (1861-72), to the *Cyclopaedia of Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature* (1867-73), and to the *New American Cyclopaedia* (1873). Schem wrote a *Latin-English School Dictionary* in 1857 in collaboration with George R. Crooks, and, most importantly, *The Cyclopaedia of Education* in 1877, which was published in collaboration with Henry Kiddle.

The *Conversations-Lexicon* was edited entirely by Schem, but had to be published under a number of different companies. The first publisher was Friedrich Gerhard, a forty-eight year old who had come to America in 1854. Schem's relationship to Gerhard was very close. He had worked for Gerhard as a tutor for his children, had fallen in love with his daughter, and had soon after become Gerhard's son-in-law. Gerhard had started the *Conversations-Lexicon* in 1869, but was unable to continue the enterprise even before the first volume was completed. A "Verlagsgesellschaft" was founded, but the first three volumes were still published under Gerhard's name. Volume four was credited to the "German Cyclopaedia Publishing Company," volume five again to Gerhard, but beginning with volume six, Ernst Steiger took over the enterprise and successfully issued the last six volumes. The *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* was completed in 1874.

Why was an original German work needed in America at this time? What were its objectives? In answering these questions, we will have to look back to the above mentioned changes in the American book-publishing market, which were due to mass immigration from Europe, especially from Germany. A German encyclopedia was undoubtedly needed. Steiger had recognized this need, and had planned—shortly before he took over *the Conversations-Lexicon*—to publish his own encyclopedia:

Wenn nun auch Gerhard's Weise der Ausführung verfehlt war, so erschien mir doch der Gedanke, daß die Deutschen in America solch ein Werk brauchten und kaufen würden, berechtigt. Darum zeigte ich im September 1871 an, daß "Steiger's Deutsch-Amerikanisches

"Conversations-Lexikon" in einem Bande erscheinen werde, . . .  
(1901, 175)

The objectives for the *Conversations-Lexicon* were laid out by Schem in the "Vorwort" to the first volume. After pointing out the importance of the *Conversations-Lexicon* as reflecting a special type of reference work in Germany, he concludes that the Germans living in America also needed this kind of reference work in this country, but one with a different focus:

Die im Auslande lebenden Deutschen haben als Bewohner ihres Adoptiv-Landes besondere Interessen, die den in Deutschland erschienenen Werken dieser Art ferner stehen und deshalb in denselben geringe oder gar keine Berücksichtigung gefunden haben.  
(iii)

Schem believed that the Germans living in America were foremost Americans and needed to accept their German past while focusing on their American present. The *Conversations-Lexicon* was intended to serve as a tool for exactly this purpose:

Dieses besondere Interesse nun, welches die Deutschen Amerika's an amerikanischen, und besonders deutsch-amerikanischen Verhältnissen nehmen, zu befriedigen, ist die Aufgabe, welche sich das deutsch-amerikanische *Conversations-Lexicon* gestellt hat. (v)

The *Conversations-Lexicon* was originally published in 110 parts (eighty had been planned) for a price of twenty-five cents each, which were later bound into eleven volumes (eight had been planned). Each volume contains around eight hundred pages. The encyclopedia was made plainly, with no artwork or extravagant tables, and displays the information in one column.

The name implies that the *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* is a German-American encyclopedia. It was written in German, printed in Gothic script, edited by a German immigrant, and directed towards the needs of German-Americans. Besides many articles on Germany and on people from Germany, the *Conversations-Lexicon* compiles information on German immigrants, immigration in general, and settlement in the United States. The extracted German-American articles would almost look like a "Who-Is-Who" combined with a "Where-to-Go," and offered a very good survival guide for Germans coming to America.

The typical article on a settlement, for example, lists exact location, size in square miles, population, German part of population, population growth, waterways, railways, condition of soil, existence of minerals, and presence of industry. Whenever possible, it lists even more information of special interest to German immigrants, such as German church and social life:

**Altoona**, Stadt in Blair Co., Pennsylvania, an der Central-Bahn, 244 engl M. westlich von Philadelphia, 117 M. östlich von Pittsburg. Sie liegt am östl. Flusse [sic] des Alleghany-Gebirges, enthält 11 Kirchen, 1 Hochschule, 2 Banken, 3 Zeitungsdruckereien und ausgedehnte Werkstätten der Eisenbahngesellschaft. . . . Der Ort wurde 1849 ausgelegt und 1868 incorporiert; hatte 1860 3591E.; gegen 1865 gegen 5500 E. In dem Orte leben zwischen 500-700 Deutsche, welche eine luther. Kirche mit Schule (50-60 Kinder) und eine kathol. Kirche mit Schule (60-70 Kinder) unterhalten. (1:372)

Other entries are shorter; some are so short, the places so small, and the mentioned number of Germans living in these places so insignificant that the question arises where Schem was able to obtain his information, and why he reported it nonetheless:

**Cambridge**, Stadt, Townships und Dörfer in den Vereinigten Staaten . . . 5) Posttownship in Washington, Co., New York . . . ; 2453 E., darunter 2 in Deutschland geboren. (2:795-96)

The reason for using every piece of information Schem could collect, might have simply been the attempt to be complete.

Another valuable quality of the *Conversations-Lexicon*, besides displaying German-American life from the perspective of settlement, was its emphasis on German-American biography. Many important immigrants were thereby introduced to an audience of German-Americans who wanted to and had to find a new group identity in a new homeland. In such a biographical listing, they could find a sense of belonging to a large German community which based their communal spirit on knowledge about the achievements of their distinguished members:

**Bromme**, Carl Rudolf, genannt Brommy, der erste deutsche Admiral, geb. am 20. September 1804 zu Anger bei Leipzig, bildete sich in Hamburg zum Seemann, diente hierauf unter amerikanischer Flagge auf allen Meeren. . . . (2:626)

But the biographical entries of the *Conversations-Lexicon* are exactly the area which was also strongly criticized. The editors of the German newspaper *Der Deutsche Pionier* reported on "shortcomings" in this area:

. . . doch darf man wohl sagen, daß die Behandlung gerade dieses Theils die größten Mängel zur Schau stellt. . . . Es ist freilich nicht ganz zu entschuldigen, daß sich so gar viele unbedeutende Menschen, so manche "Reporterlein" darin im eigenen Fette schmoren durften und dahingegen z. B. des Begründers des deutsch-

amerikanischen Buchdrucks und Journalismus, Christoph Saur, mit keiner Silbe gedacht wird; . . . (14 [1882]: 328)

Although I respect their critique on the exclusion of significant people, I see the appearance of the "Reporterlein," the "unbedeutenden Menschen," as a strength instead of a weakness. In this respect, the *Conversations-Lexicon* offers a wide range of information that can be found almost nowhere else: perhaps Christoph Saur should have been mentioned, but he will, nonetheless, not be forgotten; but the "Reporterlein" might have received only this one biography, this one place in history, in this lexicon.

The financial success of the *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversation-Lexicon* is a controversial topic. Ernst Steiger's opinion differs from that of the report given by newspaper articles in *Der Deutsche Pionier*. Steiger (1901) reports on a financial failure:

Schon vor Vollendung des I. Bandes war Gerhard's finanzieller Athem ausgegangen, und eine Verlagsgesellschaft wurde nun gegründet, die noch ungefähr \$30,000 zusetzte. (175)

And later:

Die Capitalisten, welche von den "goldenen Bergen" geträumt, haben an diesem "Deutsch-Amerikanischen Conversations-Lexikon" [*sic*] mehr als \$ 80,000 verloren und zwar einestheils, weil der Redacteur den angekündigten Umfang nicht einhielt, sondern 11 Bände statt 8 füllte—es hätten überhaupt nur 2 oder 3 Bände sein sollen—andernteils aber, weil von vornherein, der Ersparnisse halber, die technische Herstellung wie nicht minder die Redaction vernachlässigt worden waren, und endlich, weil sich die finanziellen Verhältnisse der Vereinigten Staaten durch stetiges Besserwerden des Papiergeld-Courses . . . so änderten, daß der Preis der Hefte (25 Cents) verglichen mit denen von Brockhaus und Meyer (damals 15 Cents) viel zu hoch war. (179-80)

Mention of the *Conversations-Lexicon's* financial success—on the other hand—can be found in the newspaper *Der Deutsche Pionier*, in the column "Editorielle Notizen" under "Vom Büchertische." It is possible that these columns served as advertisements and cannot be accepted as objective information. However, their content is worth mentioning. The newspaper reported regularly on the publishing of new parts of the encyclopedia. In the September 1869 issue, it asserted the sale of 38,000 copies of the *Conversations-Lexicon*, truly a magnificent number. However, this number is not confirmed by any other source and should not be used as factual data.



Whatever the true story of success or failure may be, the *Conversations-Lexicon* is of high value for historical study in the area of German-American immigration and culture in America and remains the largest original German-language encyclopedia ever published in this country.

#### 7. S. Zickel's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hand-Lexikon* by Salomon Zickel and Ernst Stein

Following Schem's *Conversations-Lexicon* chronologically was the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hand-Lexikon* by Salomon Zickel. The first volume of the *Hand-Lexikon* was printed in 1874, at a time when the ink of Schem's last volume was still wet. Both encyclopedias were published in New York City, a fact which confirms the above hypothesized change in the book-publishing market: one city was big enough to digest two German-American encyclopedias. However, Zickel must have known the market at least as well as Steiger, because he did not make Gerhard's mistake of attempting too large an enterprise. As Steiger had mentioned, the American market needed a German-American encyclopedia, but one with at most two or three volumes, not eleven as in the case of the *Conversations-Lexicon*.

Zickel arrived in America in 1857, started his own book publishing house soon thereafter, and imported German books and periodicals. His biography can be found in the *Hand-Lexikon* and reads as follows:

**Zickel**, Salomon, deutsch-amerikanischer Buchhändler, geb. 10. März 1829 zu Schmiegel, in der preußischen Provinz Posen . . . wandte sich . . . 1855 dem Buchhandel zu; 1857 wanderte er nach den Ver. St. aus und gründete 1859 in New York ein Verlagsgeschäft, mit dem seit 1865 auch der Import von deutschen Büchern und Zeitschriften verbunden worden ist. . . . (2:959)

Zickel employed the Austrian Ernst Stein as his editor for the encyclopedia. His biography can be found in the "Nachwort" within the second volume of the *Hand-Lexikon*:

Herr Ernst Stein, geb. am 10. December 1823 zu Wien, studierte Jurisprudenz, Philosophie und Theologie, wirkte zehn Jahre lang als Professor am k.k. Gymnasium zu Klattau und siedelte 1869 nach Amerika über.

Before we explore the form and content of the *Hand-Lexikon*, a word about plagiarism is called for. The purpose of encyclopedias is to collect all human knowledge and display it in an accessible form. "All human knowledge" consists of pieces of information from very different fields. If the Greek and Latin encyclopedias's goal was to gather all human knowledge, and they were

successful considering the amount of human knowledge that existed to be compiled, some centuries later this goal had grown out of reach. Therefore, more people were needed to compile an encyclopedia, more time was needed to collect the information, and more space was needed to lay it out. A good example for a lexicon compiled by many scholars is the *Encyclopédie*. But two major questions arose: Could a publisher still make enough money with a book that had many authors to be paid? and: Was there enough time to write original articles, and beat the competition? The answer to these questions is "no." In order to make money with reference works, publishers and editors had to use facts that had been previously compiled by other projects. Therefore, plagiarism was a common technique among encyclopedia makers: everyone used every possible source. But theft remains theft. One way to avoid plagiarism is to announce on the title page that—and which—other reference works were used as sources. Lieber declares on the *Americana's* title page, for example, "On the basis of the seventh edition of the German Conversations-Lexicon," and Schem's title page of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon* reads "mit Benutzung aller deutschen, amerikanischen, englischen und französischen Quellen." These encyclopedias used their sources honestly. Nothing like this appears on the front page of the *Hand-Lexikon*. In the "Nachwort," we find a mention of a dubious source: "Das Vorbild des 'Hand-Lexikons' enthält nach Angaben des deutschen Verlegers 52,000 Artikel." That is all the information one can find—no title, no date.

The objective of *S. Zickel's Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hand-Lexikon* was very similar to the one stated by Schem's *Conversations-Lexicon*:

Abweichend von ähnlichen Werken, enthält das "Deutsch-Amerikanische Hand-Lexikon" über diejenigen Gebiete, welche den Deutsch-Amerikaner vorzugsweise interessieren,—über Amerika und Deutschland Gesamtbilder. ("Nachwort")

The *Hand-Lexikon* was published in two volumes, each one about one thousand pages in length, and displays the articles in three columns. The style is similar to the *Conversations-Lexicon's*, although more concise; the articles are generally shorter.

**Schem:**

Northumberland, Counties in den Vereinigten Staaten.

1) Im mittleren Teile das Staates Pennsylvania, umfaßt 500 engl. Q.-M. mit 41,444 E. (1870), davon 1006 in Deutschland und 12 in der Schweiz geboren; im J. 1860: 28,922 E. Das Land ist hügelig, in den Thälern

**Zickel:**

Northumberland,

1) County im Osten des mittleren Teiles Pennsylvaniens, im Süden gebirgig, in den Thälern höchst fruchtbar, mit Eisen- und Kohlenlagern, hat 500 engl. QM. und 41,444 Ew.; Countysitz ist Sunbury. (2:355)

**Schem:**

Ohlshausen, Theodor, Bruder des Vorigen . . . geb. am 19. Juni 1802 zu Glückstadt, seit 1830 Advokat und städtischer Beamter zu Kiel, wirkte in dem . . . 'Kieler Correspondenzblatt' . . . war von März bis August 1848 Mitglied der provisorischen Regierung, lebte nach Abtreten der Statthalterschaft in Hamburg und ging 1851 nach den Ver. Staaten . . . (8:286-87)

**Zickel:**

Ohlshausen, Theodor, Bruder des Vorigen, geb. 19. Juni 1802 zu Glückstadt, lebte seit 1830 als Advokat und städtischer Beamter zu Kiel und übte durch das . . . 'Kieler Correspondenzblatt' . . . Einfluß auf die pol . . . Entwicklung . . . aus. War 28. März bis Aug. 1848 Mitglied der provisorischen Regierung . . . Nach Abtreten der Statthalterschaft lebte er zu Hamburg, ging aber im Juni 1851 nach Amerika . . . (2:377)

Fig. 2. A comparison of Schem and Zickel

The alphabetical structure dominates, but does not dictate the entire encyclopedia. The same is true for the three-column structure. Subjects such as "Deutsche Literatur" (1:588-90) or "Malerei" (2:214-15) display their fields chronologically, dividing the history of the field into periods or genres and listing developments under respective country headings. Worth mentioning for historical research is a "Universal-Münzen-Tabelle" in the second volume.

For an analysis of the German-American aspect of the content, I have to go back to the above mentioned accusation of plagiarism. Many of the articles on German-American settlement are very similar to those in Schem's *Conversations-Lexicon*. But even more interesting are the plagiarized articles on German-American immigrants. The articles on the German-American politician and journalist Theodor Ohlshausen reveal undisputable similarities.

Finally, in regard to Zickel's *Hand-Lexicon*, I would like to make an observation that seems to be a general phenomenon in encyclopedia making: very often publishers complain that the editors do not stay within the limits of the plan. When I analyzed Zickel's two volumes, I noticed that the first volume consists of the letters *A-H*, while the second volume includes *I* through *Z*; the first volume has eight, the second eighteen letters. Dividing further, the first half of volume one covers only three letters (*A-C*), the second half, five (*D-H*). In looking at the single letters, I found that *A* uses more pages than any other letter (287 pp.); that *B* (164 pp.) is only exceeded by *A* and *S* (172 pp.); and even *C* (104 pp.) finds its competition only in *A*, *B*, *D* (120 pp.), *M* (110 pp.), *P* (106 pp.) and *S*. What does this indicate? It indicates that the publishers' complaint is justified, and that the problem lies in the beginning: encyclopedia compilers tend to be too exhaustive within the first letters. What was analyzed for the *Hand-Lexikon* also holds true for the *Conversations-Lexicon*: it took five volumes to reach letter *I*, volume one did not even finish letter *A*.

#### 8. *Handbook . . . for German Americans* by Frederick Franklin Schrader

The last encyclopedia I want to investigate in this survey is Schrader's *Handbook*. Published in 1916, it takes us not only into the twentieth century, but also into probably the most difficult time politically for German immigrants in America in general.

Germans became a target of distrust and hatred in America for many reasons. Some had to do with World War I, others were related to national affairs, but all of them were in some way connected to the differences in heritage between German-Americans and Americans with English background.

At the time the handbook was printed, the United States had not yet entered World War I, but was about to consider joining the battle on the side of the British. A tension arose concerning loyalty and trust among Americans of different heritage in relation to the fighting parties.

Other conflicts concerned national affairs. The German-American Alliance had been founded in 1901, which tried to unify all Americans of German descent

for political reasons. They fought, for example, against prohibition, which was mainly a battle between English-rooted puritans and German-Americans. The struggle inside the country reached its peak when an explosion appeared in the New York harbor on "July 30, 1916 . . . destroying seven million dollars worth of explosives destined for the Allies . . ." (Ripley, 184) and was called a terrorist attack which was blamed on "German socialists, Irish revolutionaries, and their sympathizers" (Ripley, 184).

The *Handbook* comments in the foreword on this tension as being a reason for its existence:

Since the outbreak of the European war, early in August, 1914, Americans of German descent and birth have had to bear calumny and persecution. With a press which from the outbreak of hostilities has endeavored to participate the United States into the great conflict as an Ally of England, France, Russia and Japan, it has been impossible to obtain a fair hearing for the other side with which so many of us are connected by direct ties of blood. ("Foreword")

It furthermore attempts to offer "historical, political and sociological information" for and on German-Americans and, as one can read on the title page, "All Other Americans who Have Not Forgotten the History and Traditions of their Country and who Believe in the Principles of Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln."

Two closely connected aspects of the *Handbook's* objective should be considered before investigating its form and content. The first is the mentioning of Theodore Roosevelt's declaration of American principles in October 1914, which reemphasized the "hyphen" debate again, and the other is Schrader's reaction to this debate. In Roosevelt's speech in 1914, he, according to Schrader, considered "hyphens" as being people "who deserved to be shot in the back," an opinion which had led to the assassination of "Rev. Edmund Kayser, Pastor of St. James's Evangelical Lutheran Church at Gary, Ind., August 24, 1915." Schrader reacted with a powerful *Handbook* that emphasized the influence of German immigrants on American society, but, at the same time, takes the hyphen out of "German-American": *Handbook . . . for German Americans*. This act of compromising—the *Handbook* is written in English—seems to be of the highest importance for a book of its kind, and in a time of such tension.

In general, the *Handbook* is far from being compromising. In its aggressive way of attacking the English, it served as a weapon against misleading information about American history and about the German involvement in the building of the United States.

In comparison to the above investigated encyclopedias, the *Handbook* is a rather short work. Its 185 pages contain 277 articles. These articles are listed

alphabetically. The *Handbook* organizes the entries in an index at the end, which is also alphabetically ordered.

The *Handbook's* shortness should not be mistaken for incompleteness. Again, in comparison to the other German-American encyclopedias, this book details important facts on German immigration, while leaving unrelated material to other general reference works. These facts on German heritage are all related to the questions: What is America? Who is an American? Where is the United States situated within the context of World War I?

In answering these questions, Schrader hits especially hard on the American press, which he considers to be the force spreading intentionally wrong information about the German-Americans, Germans, and Germany. In the article "American Press and the Germans," we find a quote from the *London Chronicle* of 21 October 1914 which reveals the role of American newspapers in spreading false information:

The debt that England owes the newspaper world of America cannot be estimated. The editors of the best journals have been fearless and very shrewd champions of the Allies' cause. It is these editors who have made the German monster a reality to the American people, and this quietly and with most deadly logic. We have no better Allies in America than the editors of the great papers.  
(8)

The *Handbook* is clearly no encyclopedia that attempts to quietly inculcate knowledge or *Bildung* among the masses; this book obviously sets out to combat the loss of pride among Americans of German descent.

Schrader goes very far in his dismantlings and accusations. In the article "American Aviators with the Allies" he lists the names of Americans who had flown attacks with the Allies and bombed German cities. This list encompasses only six names, but offers personal information on the officers, such as names and place of residence: "J.M. McConnell of Carthage, N.C." (5) which could have made these soldiers targets for revenge.

All in all, the *Handbook* provides great insight into German immigration to America up to 1916, and especially into attitudes towards people of German descent and their pride in being of German heritage. Schrader attempted to compile all the pieces of information necessary to correct widespread, but false, beliefs about the United States, its population, and the people who had made it to what it was.

The success of the *Handbook* is hard to assess. Information concerning price or sales is not available; no research has been conducted to date.

## 9. Conclusion

Although the field of German-American encyclopedias has not yet received much attention from either people researching encyclopedias or people interested in German-American studies, I hope to have shown that these reference works are historically significant as research tools, mirroring the period in which they were published. All of the above investigated reference works, except for Prescott's *Encyclopädie*, carried a certain "Germanness" within their content which had either come from their compiler's, author's or publisher's bias as German immigrants and intellectuals, and/or from the German encyclopedias that were used as the underlying basis. As such a basis, the *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon* certainly played the most important role, influencing the *Encyclopaedia Americana*, the *Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexikon*, and *S. Zickel's Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hand-Lexikon*. The further-reaching influence of German *Bildung* and a certain German *Geisteshaltung* on American society, which Kennedy (1972, 28) calls "transmit[ting] of German Culture," can only be assessed for the *Americana*—and even in this case remains speculative—because of its orientation towards an all-American readership, its sales numbers, and its overall success. The other encyclopedias were very much oriented towards the German-American readership in using the German language or a very German-American content.

Holthusen, Germany

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## Appendix: Availability of these Encyclopedias

I have mentioned many times that some of the encyclopedias are very hard to locate and will list the research libraries that own these books. Computer-networks have made it easier for the researcher to access large amounts of information. This is very helpful, but still misleading because many libraries have not yet entered all their information. They often start with current materials, and older books are listed later. The list was compiled from the computer network-programs OCLC and RLIN and from my own knowledge. I am aware of the fact that the list is not complete and would welcome additions.

*Encyclopaedia Americana* (first edition 1829-33)

American Antiquarian Society  
Arizona State University  
Athenaeum of Philadelphia  
Brigham Young University  
Brown University

Bucknell University  
Buffalo and Erie County Public Library  
Case Western Reserve University  
College of Charleston  
East Texas State University

Free Library of Philadelphia  
Gettysburg College  
Hood College  
Lehigh University  
Library of Congress  
Minnesota Historical Society  
Mount St. Mary's College  
National Library of Medicine  
Pennsylvania State University  
Public Library of Cincinnati  
Saint Charles Borromeo Seminary  
Smithsonian Institute  
Southern Illinois University  
Stanford University  
State Library of Ohio

State Library of Pennsylvania  
Syracuse University  
Temple University  
University of Cincinnati  
University of Florida  
University of Georgia  
University of Michigan  
University of Pennsylvania  
University of Rochester  
University of Scranton  
University of Tennessee  
University of Texas at Austin  
US Army, Military Historical Institute  
Washington and Lee University  
Williams College

*Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie*

German Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia: St. Louis edition of 1860  
Robert Cazden (1984) reports owning a St. Louis edition of 1861  
Microfiche Edition: Erlangen: Harald Fischer Verlag, 1994

*Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon*

Brooklyn Public Library  
Buffalo and Erie County Public Library  
Johns Hopkins University  
Northwestern University  
Pennsylvania State University: Max Kade  
Institute  
Ohio State University  
Seton Hall University  
Stanford University  
State Historical Society of Wisconsin  
State University of New York at Albany  
State University of New York at Buffalo  
University of California, Berkeley

University of Cincinnati  
University of Dayton  
University of Delaware  
University of Maryland  
University of Minnesota  
University of Rochester  
University of Toledo  
University of Wisconsin, Madison: Max Kade  
Institute  
Villanova University  
Microfiche Edition: Erlangen: Harald Fischer  
Verlag, 1994

*S. Zickel's Deutsch-Amerikanisches Hand-Lexikon*

Buffalo & Erie County Public Library, New York  
College of William and Mary, Virginia  
Indiana University, Purdue University,  
Indianapolis  
Minnesota Historical Society  
Purdue University  
University of California, Berkeley  
University of Kansas: Max Kade Center  
Youngstown State University, Ohio  
Microfiche Edition: Erlangen Harald Fischer  
Verlag, 1994

*Handbook for German Americans*

Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies  
Harvard University  
Library of Congress  
Ohio State University  
State Historical Society of Wisconsin  
University of Arizona  
University of California, Berkeley  
University of Cincinnati, German-American  
Collection  
University of Florida  
University of Iowa  
Yale University



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> The term "German-American" in reference to the five investigated encyclopedias defines encyclopedias which were published in America, and written for and/or by German-Americans.

<sup>2</sup> "Encyclopedia" is spelled according to the American standard, except in reference to encyclopedia titles or in quotations. The terms "encyclopedia" and "reference work" are used as synonyms.

<sup>3</sup> The compilers and authors of the *Britannica* were three Scots: Andrew Bell (1726-1809), Colin Macfarquhar (c. 1745-93) and William Smellie (1740-95) (Collison, 138).

<sup>4</sup> Schütz's encyclopedia was also called *Hübners Reales, Staats-, Zeitungs- und Conversations-Lexicon* (Gentry, 100).

<sup>5</sup> The quote can be found in Collison, 1964, p. 141, fn. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Wells (1968) called it "piracy" rather than adaptation (43).

<sup>7</sup> Twenty-one volumes plus three supplementary volumes in 1803 (Tebbel, 116).

<sup>8</sup> Listed in the order used by Kennedy.

<sup>9</sup> The articles in the *Americana* were mostly translations from *Brockhaus* articles; or written by Lieber's friends and supporters (Bancroft, Everett, Follen, Godman, Story, Ticknor, Walsh, and Wigglesworth) and by Lieber himself.

<sup>10</sup> "It will be published in twelve volumes, of from six to seven hundred pages, handsomely printed on fine paper" reads a note in an advertisement (page 3) attached to the second volume of the *Americana's* first edition.

<sup>11</sup> Within the advertisement, there is no mention of the dates, when the newspapers issued their articles.

<sup>12</sup> I follow Prescott's order.

## Works Cited

### 1. Encyclopedias

*Amerikanisch Deutsche Encyclopädie: Ein Buch zur allgemeinen Belehrung, umfassend eine kurze Zusammenfassung der Geschichte, sowie Reise-beschreibungen und Biographien hervorragender Männer.* Ed. and trans. Thomas H. Prescott. 1 vol. St. Louis: I. & H. Miller, 1860.

*Deutsch-amerikanisches Conversations-Lexicon: Mit specieller Rücksicht auf das Bedürfniß der in Amerika lebenden Deutschen, mit Benutzung aller deutschen, amerikanischen, englischen und französischen Quellen, und unter Mitwirkung vieler hervorragender deutschen Schriftsteller Amerika's.* Ed. Alexander J. Schem. 11 vols. New York: Vols. 1-3: Friedrich Gerhard, 1869-70; Vol. 4: German Cyclopaedia Publishing Company, 1871; Vol. 5: Friedrich Gerhard, 1871; Vols. 6-11: Ernst Steiger, 1872-74.

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