

Book Reviews

Edited by Jürgen Eichhoff
The Pennsylvania State University

Islands of Deutschtum: German-Americans in Manchester, New Hampshire and Lawrence, Massachusetts, 1870-1942.

By Robert Paul McCaffery. New German-American Studies, vol. 11. New York [etc.]: Lang, 1996. 254 pages.

Having grown up in New Hampshire during the 1950s, I well remember the malaise of the many milltowns located on the small and large rivers of the state. Nowhere was the condition more apparent than in Manchester: lining the dark waters of the Merrimack River, the desolate grandeur of the Amoskeag Mills extended forever. The channel which no longer directed water along the inland side of the brick mill buildings separated them from solid granite-corniced workers' housing mounting the hill towards Elm Street, Manchester's main street. The elegant New England vernacular, neo-renaissance mill towers spoke of times when workers flocked into the huge spindle and loom rooms, in which tons of cotton were converted into miles of woven cloth.

Originally, many of the millhands in Manchester and Lawrence were dexterous girls recruited from the hardscrabble backcountry farms. As time went on, however, and as the mills became ever more prosperous, the word spread worldwide, attracting immigrants—the Irish, the French-Canadians, and the Germans. The Irish presence in northern New England's socioeconomic contexts is well documented, as is the Canadian French, of course. It is to the considerable credit of McCaffery that the Germans of Manchester and Lawrence have finally received their due.

The monograph under review is a revised University of New Hampshire dissertation in History (1994). The flow of chapters proceeds from a backgrounding chapter on Germans in New England, to include a discussion of the failed eighteenth-century German settlement of Waldoboro, Maine (12-13), followed by a second chapter on the Merrimack River "Textile Cities: Manchester and Lawrence." The former began its development as a milltown in 1825 (the Amoskeag Mills closed in 1935), the latter in 1845 (the industry in

Lawrence founded after World War II). The author's choice to focus on a comparative documentation of the two cities was a judicious one. They were historically and economically linked and shared a single German-American newspaper. The *Lawrencer Anzeiger* (founded in 1883) merged with the *Manchester deutsche Post* in 1896. The resultant *Anzeiger und Post* continued publication until 1942 and was an invaluable source for McCaffery. (Of interest, perhaps, is that the present-day *Manchester Union Leader*, New Hampshire's preeminent stateside daily and one known for its influential role in U.S. presidential primaries, has a German-American connection [see note 96, p 200-01].)

In an important third chapter, McCaffery details the socioeconomic conditions in Saxony which led to the emigration of weavers, dyers, machinists and loomfixers to Manchester and Lawrence: "In time, Saxons made up more than one-third of the Germans living in the textile cities" (26). The predictable push and pull factors, as well as the phenomenon of chain migration are well explained and documented in tables and maps, but what is most engaging and validating is the author's analysis of the reports by the various American consuls general located in Saxony (30-37), as for example one from September 1888 cited: "[Saxon] Artisans, mechanics, or skilled laborers do not [go] to the United States for the purpose of temporary employment during certain seasons of the year, and return at the expiration of such employment; but go in good faith to become citizens of the United States" (34).

Consul Mason's view proved to be very correct, as is made abundantly apparent in a fourth chapter, "Establishment and Early Growth of German Communities in Manchester and Lawrence, 1870-1899." As in Cincinnati's "Over the Rhine," the Manchester and Lawrence Germans clustered together; unlike Cincinnati, however, the German presence was never statistically dominant. In 1910, for example, but 1,225 persons were German-born in a Manchester population of some seventy thousand; like numbers for Lawrence in 1910 are 2,301 of some eighty-six thousand. "Since the total German-American community was relatively small, the ability of the Germans to keep [. . .] their ethnicity alive for so long is quite an achievement" (40). It goes without saying that the aforementioned newspaper was a factor in furthering ethnic cohesion (61-65), as were factors of regional identity among the Germans (33.6% were from Saxony, 13.8% from Bavaria, 6.9% from Silesia), of identity with a single-industry employer, not to mention the inevitable linguistic, social, religious, educational, political and recreational factors. The Manchester *Turnverein*, for example, was established in 1870 and the handsome woodframe, clapboard *Turnhalle* (pictured on page 153) became "the site of musicals, dances, and political rallies" (53; interestingly, there is still a Turner Street in Manchester, which most people assume to be an Anglo-American designation). McCaffery is meticulous in his documentation of names, dates, and developments, thereby offering a well-nigh complete picture of intact late nineteenth-century German

ethnic communities. For the sake of contrast, it might have been useful to include a thumbnail sketch of the equally vital French-Canadian community.

Subsequent chapters deal with the periods 1900-14, 1918-40, 1940-50. The early twentieth century is typified as an era of high hopes. Even if the pressure of assimilation into American society began to take its toll on the younger generation of German speakers, the activities of the *Vereine*, of churches, schools, as well as the exhortations in the *Anzeiger und Post* served as a counterbalance. A photograph from 1916 pictures a tableau: two women in costume, Columbia and Germania, stand on either side of a liberty bell (150)—“Germania, we honor you/always as a Mother,/but to you Columbia,/our bride, we belong” (78). Such professions of German and American patriotism became even more pertinent in the immediate context of World War I, phenomenon well researched for other areas of the United States. Interestingly, the ugliest excesses of nativism were not visited upon these New England German-American communities, a fact at least partially attributable to the economic clout of the Germans. The Irish-American mayor of Boston, speaking to a gathering of Lawrence Germans, put it this way: “Yours is a commendable citizenship for any nationality, and your progress here [. . .] has attracted many good Americans [. . .] Germans of Lawrence control \$12,538,650 of realty [. . .] or one-fifth of the total valuation of the city” (96). This is not to say that the German-Americans were not put on the defensive, rather that their various institutions and newspapers adapted to the challenge in an effective manner. “Periodically, the *Anzeiger und Post* devoted space to sell Liberty Bonds” (103), for example.

It is to McCaffery’s considerable credit that he extends his study into the World War II era. Analogous to Tolzmann’s study of *Cincinnati Germans after the Great War* (Lang, 1987), it becomes clear that the small German-American communities of Manchester and Lawrence hardly succumbed to the socio-political pressures of the times. Indeed, their rather differentiated response to Hitler and Nazism reveals the extent to which they identified with unhyphenated American values (120-27). And anyway, it was not primarily these issues which plagued the integrity of these small ethnic communities, rather it was the demise of the industry which supported their way of life. When the mills either moved south (to be closer to the supply of cotton), or when they closed down on location during the depression (the Amoskeag Mills in 1935), it was the entire community, ethnic or not, which lost out. When the United States entered World War II, the Manchester and Lawrence German-Americans were finally “overtaken by the process of assimilation” (135).

McCaffery’s monograph might well serve future scholars as a model of meticulous scholarship. While he clearly sympathizes with his subjects, as evidenced by his interviews and exploratory tours of the attics of old buildings, he retains the dispassion of an historian. His bibliography invites the reader to continue the exploration, especially through the pages of the *Anzeiger und Post*. As a New Hampshire German-American, whose father’s German New

Hampshire poetry has been published recently (*New German-American Studies*, vol. 8), I have learned much.

University of Cincinnati

Richard Erich Schade

Contented Among Strangers: Rural German-Speaking Women and Their Families in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest.

By Linda Schelbitzki Pickle. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1996. xii + 311 pages. \$49.95 hardcover, \$14.95 paperback.

Linda Pickle has attempted to survey and synthesize what can be learned about the hundreds of thousands of German-speaking women who lived during the last century in rural areas in five midwestern states—Illinois, Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, and Nebraska. To do this, she has used the letters of the Bochum Emigrant Letter Collection, the oral history interviews of the Amana Historical Society, the archives of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, and the archives of the Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood. She has also made a detailed study of the probate records of Cooper Country, Missouri, and has used collected letters and family papers in state historical repositories in each of the states covered. The archival materials were supplemented with published primary and secondary material. Well over 500 published items are cited in the volume's 553 endnotes.

This most extensive research has been condensed into a highly informative narrative about how women were perceived in Germany, the difficulties of emigrating and finding a niche in America, as well as alienation and adaptation in the new land. Communities of Russian Germans in Kansas, Missouri Old Lutherans, women of the Amana, Bethel, and Communia colonies, and orders of Badenese and Swiss nuns are described in detail.

The author ends the main body of her narrative with an analysis of the cultural legacy of rural German-speakers and their descendants. As a metaphor for modern America's ethnic mix which is in many ways more descriptive than Israel Zangwill's "melting pot," Frederick Jackson Turner's "frontier crucible," or the favorite of contemporary pundits—"ethnic mosaic," she suggests: "a slow cooker, simmering various ingredients into a savory but somewhat lumpy stew, while allowing the flavor of the separate ingredients to be identified and appreciated" (199). Is this metaphor too subtle to gain acceptance among scholars and the public? For the sake of apt expression and accurate thought, let us hope that it is not.

Before the reader comes to this metaphor, there are times when the narrative is a bit prosaic, with its generalizations about the lives of ordinary women, few of them known outside their families and neighborhoods, people not of the hegemonic culture or gender, far removed from rising metropolises and in one of the most mundane regions of the country. But the author more

than compensates the reader with the breadth and depth of her research into a little-known topic.

The reviewer has two reservations about this book. First, the thesis that German women, more often than not, were "contented among strangers" would have benefited from additional support. Secondly, since so many different published sources are cited, the publisher should have provided this book with a bibliography. Suppose one is interested in the author's comment on page 195 that contemporary ethnic festivals "can bear little or no resemblance to the original immigrants." To learn what sources may have influenced the author on this point, one is referred to note 34 on page 295 in the endnotes section. There one finds a quote from a source identified only as "DeBres." Instead of being able to look up "DeBres" in the bibliography, one has to work backward 27 pages through an incredible 289 endnotes to note 170 on page 268 to find a full citation for "DeBres." The author and her readers deserve better.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

Von Einwanderern und Feierabenddeutschen: Forschungsbericht zur Geschichte und Gegenwart der Deutschamerikaner in Buffalo, N.Y.

By Karl Markus Kreis. Dortmund: Fachhochschule, 1996. 113 pages.

For more than three decades after World War II, American studies in Germany had, with some significant exceptions, neglected the immigration of Germans to the United States. In the 1980s, a new interest in emigration and immigration as well as in German ethnicity in the United States arose among German scholars in a variety of disciplines. One characteristic of this research is a focus on specific communities and their cultural and political stratifications. This focus contrasts with earlier (pre-World War II) research on German-American culture in that it is not driven by the motivation to establish a "significance" of the German element for the United States or even its "greatness" but looks at German-Americans within a broader spectrum of ethnic cultures.

Markus Kreis's relatively short study on German-Americans in and around Buffalo, New York, fits this description but also goes beyond it. Rather than emphasizing German-American culture in its beginnings and heyday, Kreis looks at German-American organizations and cultural manifestations emerging from them, from the 1930s to the present (thus denying again the popular thesis of World War I as the inferno for German-American culture). This includes two very different periods: from Hitler's takeover through America's entry into World War II, and the postwar era.

The study of German-American organizations during the Nazi period has already become an object of increasing interest among American as well as German scholars. Nevertheless, the few pages Kreis devotes to this topic, e.g., by looking at the mutation of the *Buffalo Volksfreund* from a traditional voice of

the German ethnic community to the official "Mitteilungsblatt der 'Deutschamerikanischen Einheitsfront'" (50), shows how much can be done by scholars on both sides of the Atlantic in that field, and how much more should be done. One wonders, for example, what kind of instructions the German diplomatic speakers as well as American political representatives were given when attending the annual "Deutscher Tag," but also what American elected political representatives said on such occasions.

Kreis's study focuses on the development of the *Volksfreund* (discontinued in the early 1980s but reestablished in 1994) and the "Deutscher Tag" as important expressions of political and cultural identity of German-Americans in the Buffalo area. On the one hand, one is struck by a sense of continuity, in spite of the numerical thinning of the German ethnic presence in the area over the decades. On the other hand, Kreis's observations, which confirm Richard D. Alba's findings in *Ethnic Identity: The Transformations of White America* (1990), suggest the transformation of ethnic identity from a political and interest-based one to a symbolic level. In the main part of his investigation, he attempts to explain the continued existence of German cultural organizations ("Feierabenddeutsche") in spite of the marked decrease in the German-American presence ("Einwanderer").

An important point the author implicitly and explicitly makes throughout his study is that German visitors (including academics) at events organized by German-American cultural groups (whether *Schuhplattler*, *Gebirgstrachten Verein Edelweiß* or the *Buffalo Zither Club*, and even more so at Octoberfests), often feel embarrassed by such events (24). Kreis observes that

[es] scheint sich in Amerika 'gemütlich' immer auf soziale Situationen zu beziehen, so z.B. die Stimmung auf einem sonntäglichen Fest mit der Familie in der 'typischen deutschen' Atmosphäre, die dann durch gemeinsames Singen von 'Ein Prosit der Gemütlichkeit' ausgedrückt wird, samt 'Zicke-zacke, zicke-zacke . . .' und 'Eins, zwei gsuffa' (99).

This is a manifestation of German-American culture "wobei es Besuchern aus Deutschland oft ungemütlich wird," where German visitors feel embarrassed and as a consequence tend to ridicule the activities of German-Americans as a whole. Kreis makes a plea to take these manifestations of a culture seriously and to appreciate them in their difference from present-day German culture(s).

Although Kreis does not mention the term, he studies the symbolic construction of German-American ethnicity in this century. His findings indicate that this symbolic ethnicity will survive in spite of the well-known demographic developments. The question is whether this German-American culture can in some way interact with present-day German culture. His work concludes with the question: "Oder will man den Kulturaustausch nur den Folkloregruppen überlassen?"

This is obviously not desired. But in order to put this relationship on a new footing, many Germans involved in German-American exchange need to develop what has become a matter of course in dealing with other cultures: respect for the 'other.' German-American culture and its symbolic manifestations are a part of the 'other.' It needs to be studied to be appreciated. Karl Markus Kreis has made a good start. (This publication is available from the author, Fachhochschule Dortmund, Postfach 105018, 44047 Dortmund.)

Universität Dortmund

Walter Grünzweig

Holding the Line. The Telephone in Old Order Mennonite and Amish Life.
By Diane Zimmerman Umble. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. 192 pages, illustrated. \$35.00 paperback.

This book is a welcome addition to the growing number of studies of the Old Order communities of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

An outgrowth of Umble's Ph.D. dissertation, this book is a historical and ethnographic study of the response and accommodation by Lancaster County Old Order Mennonites and Amish communities to the introduction of the telephone in the late nineteenth century and their ongoing debates, negotiations and divisions about managing change and sustaining particular values in the face of overwhelming technology. Although her primary focus is Lancaster County, Umble contextualizes her work by including the interactions and relationships of Lancaster area communities to those in the Midwest. She draws from a wide variety of primary and secondary sources, such as oral traditions, private correspondence and extensive interviewing. Writing in a clear and direct style that includes a delightful sense of humor, she sets the tone of her book in the preface by describing individual situations in which Old Order Mennonites and Amish engage in the personal use of cellular telephones and fax machines.

As one born and raised a Mennonite in Lancaster County, Umble brings the perspective of an insider to her subject. Aware of her role as community member and researcher, Umble found that one of her difficult decisions was the degree to which she included herself in the book. The mark of good ethnographers is the recognition of their own role in their studies and that the nature of the interactions informs the work. Umble's study is enhanced by this self-reflection and her familiarity of the local social landscape. Equally important is her attention to the ways in which her subjects organize their communication practices and utilize these conceptual or interpretive frames in their relationship with her and others. Part of the study data was the nature of fieldwork interactions, which provided not only sources of information but also informed the author's theoretical approach and became clues, or maps, to the interpretation of other data.

Umble's carefully researched work is organized into three parts, totaling nine chapters. The first three chapters included in part one, which is entitled "Conceptual and Cultural Foundations," establishes the theoretical framework for the study, explores the historical and social foundations of the Old Order communities, and describes their web of traditional communication practices and patterns. The author provides a descriptive analysis of models for understanding and studying Old Order communities and the rituals that organize communication patterns which perpetuate and transform communities. Umble's background chapters are thorough and concise enough to provide an overall understanding of the central tenets and basics of the Old Order way of life for readers unfamiliar with the groups and set the stage by illustrating the differentiation of Old Order way of life in the nineteenth century prior to the coming of the telephone.

In part two, "The Coming of the Telephone to Lancaster County," Umble chronicles the early development of countrywide telephone service at the turn of the century and the extensive web of social and family involvement in the organization, management and ownership of the local telephone companies by leading farmers and businessmen, including Amish Mennonites, Mennonites and Old Order Mennonites. Her familiarity with the local community and its resources enabled the author to utilize private collections of papers, diaries, family histories and photographs, and personal reminiscences and anecdotes of local telephone pioneers. She provides numerous examples, anecdotes, quotes, tables, charts, diagrams, and maps to clarify and augment points. This not only supports the interdisciplinary nature of her work but provides for enjoyable reading.

In the final section, "Divine or Sinful? Competing Meanings of the Telephone," Umble expertly describes the contrasting meanings, competing interpretations and differing reactions to the telephone among leaders and members of the Old Order Mennonite and Amish communities. Although the telephone was initially viewed by many Old Order communities as an efficient and practical necessity, the appropriateness of owning a telephone and company stock soon became a subject of intense debate that divided many religious communities. Representing a physical and symbolic connection to the world and worldly attitudes, the telephone became a threat to the traditional ritual of face-to-face communication which has been central to the reinforcement of Old Order values. The concluding chapter explores the contemporary compromises and changing discourse about the telephone and other modern technology amid the occupational shift of Amish communities from farm to shop and the geographical separation of Old Order communities. In a contemporary shifting perspective, the telephone has become an economic necessity and social link.

Umble's study illustrates the importance of the telephone troubles in setting the terms of the ongoing debate and negotiations about the management of communication and new technology with regard to the balance between social identity and economic survival. The response to and debate about the

ownership and use of telephone is revealing of the processes that the Old Order communities use to confront and mediate other changes. The paradigm of telephone rules, or cultural repertoire, created precedents for evaluating and rejecting the use of new technology such as electricity, radio, television and computers.

Holding the Line enlarges our understanding of Old Order communities in several important ways. In keeping with previous studies of the Amish by scholars such as Don Kraybill, Umble presents them as not static and homogeneous, but actively involved in confronting the modern world and setting limits. Readers will arrive at a clearer understanding of social and religious issues raised by the introduction of modern technology into a traditional community. Umble also exposes the enterprising, progressive and innovative nature of local farmers and businessmen, many of whom were members of Old Order communities, who helped organize, operate and utilize the telephone.

This study has wider cultural implications and invites reflection on modern dilemmas. How do we balance the rights of the individual with the needs of community? What changes are brought about by the intrusion of technology into our lives? What are the moral and ethical implications of how we manage that change? In their ongoing analysis and interactions with the forces of modernity, the Older Order communities provide a useful example to other members of modern society in their insistence on setting limits, and their negotiation and compromise in the struggle to understand and control change.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Patricia Levin

Emigration and Settlement Patterns of German Communities in North America.

Edited by Eberhard Reichmann, LaVern J. Rippley, Jörg Nagler. Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis: Max Kade German-American Center, 1995. 380 pages, illustrated. \$28.00 paperback..

This volume presents the result of a conference on emigration and settlement patterns of German communities held at New Harmony, Indiana, in the fall of 1989. Dedicated to two distinguished scholars in the field of German-American studies, Günter Moltmann and Peter Assion, it is a welcome publication.

Moltmann's keynote address about the concept of integrated historical studies emphasizes that research on emigration and immigration should no longer be conducted in isolation but be brought together into a comprehensive picture. Such an approach would bring out the "patterns" which should function as a kind of ordering system to hold the separate parts together. This is a valid point but if it is conceptualized to provide access to comprehensive

cultural patterns, then it is not elaborate enough to serve as an epistemological category for constructing legitimate context.

The volume consists of an interesting and illuminating conglomerate of articles that deal with different aspects of the immigration process. What we do not find is a discussion or reflection of the debate on poststructuralism or the textuality of history.

The leading terms are "settlement patterns" and "forms of community" as suggested in the volume's title but they are used in a very broad sense. There is no relation to layout, spatial structure, symbolic architecture or functional aspects of locales. Nevertheless they deserve the scholar's attention because of the variety of themes and methodological approaches. Examples for the latter are A. Fogelman's quantitative immigration analysis for eighteenth-century America and L.A. Kattner's thorough study on "Land and Marriage" in German-Texan towns.

The contributions are organized in seven chapters ranging from demographics to "Pros and Cons" of emigration and immigration. Some are of a more general character and deliver information on source materials and documentation (G. F. Jones); others look into places such as the villages of the Inspirationists, the socialist frontier town of New Ulm, the secular Llano Cooperative in California or the city of St. Louis (J. G. Andelson, J. Nagler, H. Keil, W. D. Kamphoefner). The remaining papers cover subjects of church and community, ethnic-cultural continuity in rural areas, e.g., the "Osnabrück" congregation in White Creek, Indiana (A. Holtmann), or the role of females during their first years in New York City (A. Bretting). G. Bassler contributes a critical study of German-Canadians and their significant role in Canadian history, whereas W. Helbich contrasts the perception of "the Americans" as presented in letters by the more educated observers and the common immigrants, respectively.

In dealing with early German immigration the articles have their explorative and scholarly merits but they do not convey extended historical statements. The reviewer misses the overall conceptualization or a connecting theme about cultural identity or the varied acculturation processes of the newcomer population which could serve as a guide rail for coherency in the research agendas of future historians.

John F. Kennedy Institut, Berlin

Rainer Vollmar

Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora samt andern merkwürdigen Nachrichten von den inneren Theilen Neu=Spaniens und Reise aus Amerika bis Deutschland.

Von Ignaz Pfefferkorn. Reprint der Ausgabe Köln 1794. Hg. und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Ingo Schröder. Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte, Bd. 1. Bonn: Holos, 1996. Bd. 1: [3(Vorwort)] + 464 pages; Bd. 2: xiv + 461 pages. 1 Karte. Kart. DM 205.00.

Wenn man dem Anspruch von "German Studies" gerecht werden will, muß man sicherlich nicht nur Abschied vom traditionellen Kanon nehmen, sondern auch eine neue Definition des Begriffs "Literatur" suchen, die sich nicht mehr bloß dem überlieferten Konzept des Schöngestigen verpflichtet weiß. Das hier zu besprechende Werk überbrückt die traditionellen Trennlinien zwischen Germanistik und Ethnologie und darf als wichtiger Beitrag zu beiden Forschungsbereichen angesehen werden. Es handelt sich um eine Reisebeschreibung des Jesuiten-Missionars Ignaz Pfefferkorn, der als erster dem deutschen Publikum in großer Ausführlichkeit und zugleich mit einer beachtlichen narrativen Begabung die Landschaft Sonora, heute teils im Norden Mexikos, teils im amerikanischen Bundesstaat Arizona liegend, vor Augen führte. Pfefferkorns *Beschreibung der Landschaft Sonora*, 1794 und 1795 zuerst in Deutschland erschienen, verdient sowohl wegen ihrer literarischen Qualität als auch wegen ihrer ethnologischen und geographischen Aussagen unsere Aufmerksamkeit. Die Landschaft Sonora diente vor allem den jesuitischen Padres seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert dazu, missionarische Strategien zu entfalten, doch waren schon damals die klimatischen Verhältnisse so schwer zu ertragen, daß nur diejenigen vom Orden als Missionare in die engere Wahl gezogen wurden, die eine ausgezeichnete körperliche Kondition aufwiesen und eine gründliche Ausbildung genossen hatten.

Theodore E. Treutlein publizierte 1949 eine englische Übersetzung des Werkes, die 1989 als Nachdruck erschien, denn dieses Werk gilt als Klassiker der Literatur von Neu-Spanien. Eine spanische Übersetzung brachte A.H. Durazo 1984 heraus, während Exemplare des deutschen Originals nur noch in wenigen Archiven lagern. Der Beitrag Ingo Schröders besteht darin, auf zwei Seiten kurz die Biographie Pfefferkorns vorzustellen und den Wert dieses umfangreichen Textes aus ethnographischer Sicht zu beurteilen. Die wenigen Angaben entstammen alle der Einleitung Treutleins und berücksichtigen nicht die neueren Forschungen. Aber selbst B. Hausberger (*Jesuiten aus Mitteleuropa*, 1995) hat praktisch nichts anderes auszusagen gewußt, obwohl er weit mehr als ein Dutzend weiterer bisher unbekannter Dokumente von oder über Pfefferkorn für seine Bibliographie aufspüren konnte.

Der Wert dieses Faksimiles ist aus literarhistorischer und ethnologischer Sicht selbstevident. Die Frage, inwieweit das Werk auch für die German Studies wichtig ist, muß noch erörtert werden. Pfefferkorn schreibt einen spannenden und lebendigen Reisebericht, in dem uns die Natur und die Menschen Sonoras

unmittelbar vor Augen treten. Streckenweise liest sich der *Bericht* wie ein Vorläufer von Karl Mays Romanen, obwohl Pfefferkorn primär daran gelegen ist, einen enzyklopädischen Überblick zu entwerfen. Er stützte sich offenbar auf andere Publikationen, doch sind die meisten Beobachtungen gewiß weitgehend von ihm selbst gemacht worden. Der erste Band bezieht sich im wesentlichen auf die Fauna und Flora, dazu auf den Stamm der Seis, während der zweite besonders die Menschen Sonoras, die Pimas, Opatas und Eudebes u.a., in ihrer Erscheinungsweise und Kultur behandelt. Pfefferkorn missionierte viele Jahre unter diesen Menschen und vermittelt einen faszinierenden und detaillierten Eindruck von ihnen, wobei sich natürlich zeittypische Vorurteile gegenüber den Indianern, dann aber auch gegenüber den Spaniern bemerkbar machen. Streckenweise nehmen die Darstellungen der Sonora-Landschaft geradezu lyrischen Charakter an. Während die Literaturgeschichte bisher praktisch nur die Schuldramen der Jesuiten des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts beachtet hat, demonstriert nun diese Edition, daß die Reiseberichte der Missionare ebenfalls ein wichtiges Studienobjekt abgeben können, dessen sich vor allem auch die amerikanische Germanistik annehmen könnte.

University of Arizona

Albrecht Classen

An Immigrant Soldier in the Mexican War.

By Frederick Zeh. Translated by William J. Orr. Edited by William J. Orr and Robert Ryal Miller. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1995. xx + 177 pages, illustrated. \$35.00.

In recent years there has been an increase in the number of works that chronicle the war between Mexico and the United States during 1846-1848, yet relatively few firsthand accounts have come to light which discuss the conflict from the perspective of the lower ranks. Still fewer are connected with the German-American community, despite a strongly growing presence at the time and a record of participation in the struggle. Published some thirty years after the fact in the prominent German-American journal *Der Deutsche Pionier*, the extensive account by Frederick Zeh of a soldier's experiences in the Mexican War was long forgotten before the appearance of this English-language translation, the first book-length account of a German-American participant to appear in English.

Zeh was born in Nuremberg, Bavaria, on 26 December 1823 and emigrated to the United States in 1846. After an extensive education in the German area, Zeh worked briefly near Philadelphia as a farm laborer before restlessness and dissatisfaction set in. In December 1846, Zeh answered a call for new recruits enlisted in the Ordnance Department of the United States Army, and after a month of training joined the amphibious forces of General Winfield Scott in a march from Veracruz to Mexico City. As a laborer in the armed forces, Zeh's

primary responsibility was to maneuver heavy field artillery and ammunition, though his account makes clear that he also saw significant involvement in armed combat. Consistent with his status as a participant, the Zeh memoirs provide a fresh perspective on the Mexican march, the military skirmishes along the way, and life of a soldier in the war. There are frequent references to how the enlisted men ate, slept, and entertained themselves on a daily basis. No less valuable are discussions of ethnic conflicts between soldiers of diverse backgrounds, relations between officers and soldiers, battlefield medical practices, and relations with Mexican civilians, all of which help demonstrate the darker side of the war experience and provide an account of the conflict best seen from a firsthand perspective.

Noteworthy in Zeh's account of the Mexican War is the evenhanded nature of the discourse. The professionalism and fairness of the officers is acknowledged, but not at the expense of accounts of occasional neglect or even brutalization. Frank discussions of the wartime lifestyle make clear that plundering and vandalism were common occurrences, and that most troops—including the author himself—held the Mexican people, the preparation of their cuisine, and their culture in low regard. On various occasions Zeh concedes the warmth and beauty of Mexico and its landscape, but does not overlook the less admirable qualities which he encountered. The author is particularly critical of the Mexican upper class and is quick to denounce the "prevailing idleness and utter lack of morality [which] give the privileged classes the means to keep the mass of people in abject servitude" (52). Thus, it is not surprising that Zeh refused to glorify or romanticize the war, its causes, and its effect upon soldiers and civilians alike; references to heroism and lust for adventure are capably balanced by depictions of suffering and bloodshed, on both sides of the battle lines. An added bonus is the lively and engaging style through which Zeh imparts his account. Better educated than most soldiers, the author yields a clear, vivid description of people, places, and experiences that likely would have been lost in the hands of a less-enlightened participant.

The English-language version of the Zeh account renders the original into a readable and accessible form. An editors' introduction provides useful background on the Mexican War for readers largely unfamiliar with the conflict and highlights important events in the pre- and postwar life of the author. Additional introductions are inserted before each chapter, offering more specific historical background on the places and events described. The editors wisely choose to minimize alterations to the original text—the primary exception being subtle corrections of spelling mistakes in Spanish-language names obviously unfamiliar to Zeh—although completists may object to the exclusion of several paragraphs which, according to the editors, digress from the narrative and are unrelated to the main premise of the work. Selected illustrations, including a copy of Zeh's army discharge certificate, add a welcome visual dimension to the people and places the author encountered during his military service, and are distributed judiciously throughout the text. A brief epilogue concludes the body

of the work and chronicles the postwar life of Zeh until his undocumented demise, presumable in early 1902. Foremost among the revelations provided here by the editors is that Zeh maintained little contact with the German-American community, despite the publication of his memoirs in a prominent German-American journal and his residence in several cities—most notably Cincinnati—with a well-defined German presence.

The English-language version of the Zeh original succeeds on two primary levels. First, it confers upon the author a recognition that for the most part eluded him during his lifetime and to a greater extent in later years with the general unavailability of *Der Deutsche Pionier* and the fading use of the German language in America. Second, the work provides a well-written, updated narrative of an understudied portion of American history and reinforces our knowledge of its German-American connections. The editors have done a valuable service to a wide cross-section of scholars with the translation and republication of the Zeh work, and through important additions have enhanced the value of a text which, as they aptly point out, allows the reader to participate vicariously in a memorable experience.

San Antonio, Texas

Timothy J. Holian

The Diary of Hermann Seele & Seele's Sketches from Texas.

By Hermann Seele. Translation, Introduction, and Notes by Theodore Gish. Austin: German-Texan Heritage Society, 1995. 476 pages. \$27.50.

Despite the well-established importance of the Texas German community, there remain instances in which primary source materials lay undisturbed in Texas archives and collections virtually unresearched and untranslated to the present day. Many scholars who otherwise would bring to light this information have been deterred by the nature of the original documents which are often in old script and thus illegible to researchers unaccustomed to this form of writing.

With these points in mind, Theodore Gish has published in a single volume English-language transcriptions of *The Diary of Hermann Seele* and *Seele's Sketches from Texas*. The *Diary*, a personal chronicle of the early German presence in Texas, documents the early residence of Hermann Seele in the northern German city of Hildesheim; his sixty-six-day journey to the Texas Gulf Coast; a brief stay in the port settlement of Carlshafen (better known as Indianola); and his subsequent relocation to the Texas German settlement of New Braunfels. The original diary long has resided in the Sophienburg Memorial Museum and Archives in New Braunfels; despite the existence of previous publications on the life and work of Hermann Seele, there is no evidence that his diaries were consulted as a source of information. *Sketches from Texas* is a forty-page travel guide which was written for family members and friends in Europe who desired to emigrate to the United States but lacked practical information on conditions

in the New World. The usefulness of the piece was not limited to a European audience; one section of the text ("On the Brazos in April 1844") was reworked by Seele for subsequent publication in the United States.

The importance of the Seele diaries and travel guide can be seen on two levels. First, Seele provides invaluable information on the experiences of the German colonies in Texas as well as the environmental and social conditions which made their development unique from those in other areas. Seele kept an almost daily account of his life from 1843 to 1845, and on a sporadic basis during 1853 and 1861, in which he detailed the earliest days of several significant German areas in Texas such as Carlshafen Indianola and New Braunfels. As a result, contemporary readers are able to see such key areas arise before their eyes and trace their growing importance as centers for German-American history and culture. Second, Seele provides a unique firsthand insight into the formative years of his life, as one of the most important of the Texas Germans. Among many other accomplishments, Seele is known for having been the first school teacher in New Braunfels; church secretary there for fifty-seven years; the innovator of the Texas tax-based school district; organizer of the first New Braunfels *Schützenverein* and *Gesangverein*; and even the author of a German-Texan musical, *Texas Fahrten*. The publication of the Seele diaries sheds important new light on Seele as a German-American pioneer, and the deeds which led to his longtime status in New Braunfels as the "*eigentliche Seele der Stadt*," before his death in 1902.

As Gish points out in his introductory remarks, the Seele diaries represent a document of unique historical, literary, and sociological significance. Historically speaking, they remain the only known document of German-Texan interest which chronicles extensively the period from 1843 to 1861 when many important Texas German settlements were established. As such, Seele's diary entries represent the only comprehensive account of the settlement of Texas as seen virtually on a day-by-day basis chronicling the Texas German immigrant experience from its origins. The entries of the Seele diaries begin in Hildesheim on 1 May 1843; subsequent passages present an intriguing insight into the everyday conditions in Germany at the time. Seele's optimistic nature is evident throughout the diary but does not hinder his ability to discuss truthfully the less pleasant side of the immigrant experience, particularly the rigors of a protracted shipboard journey to the New World: "There are general complaints from the passengers about the very bad food, their treatment, and steerage, all of this in comparison with other ships. Everything seems to be set up for pigs rather than for human beings" (55-56).

On a literary level, the diaries and travel guide both serve as important forerunners for Seele's later publications, including an illustrated novella entitled *Die Cypresse*; a dozen historical sketches; and hundreds of poems, some of which can be found in the present works. Diary entries show Seele to have been a deeply religious person, one who freely expressed his emotions. It is a testimony to Seele's early literary abilities that his many religious and emotional

outpourings do not come off as tedious; on the contrary, Seele shows an impressive tendency to capture his convictions and moods in a clear and concise manner. No less obvious is the profound influence on Seele of German Romanticism and the deep emotional link to nature which was characteristic of the movement. As a result, the reader is brought into greater focus with the life of the subject and the factors which influenced many literary German immigrants of the 1830s and 1840s. Socially, the Seele diaries are significant not only for their portrayal of settlements such as New Braunfels at a critical juncture but also in terms of their depiction of fellow settlers. Seele provides many insightful portrayals of close friends and companions, and several of his love interests, all of which provide a fuller picture of his life and by extension, the German-American community.

Valuable as *The Diary of Hermann Seele* and *Sketches from Texas* are in and of themselves, Gish has presented the works in a manner which makes their information easily accessible to contemporary scholars. Eliminating the problem of the old-script original German text, the English-language edition allows the texts to be used by historians and other interested parties without a strong knowledge of German. Editing is done judiciously; the omission of daily prayers does not eliminate passages of importance to the text. An introduction on the life of Seele provides extensive biographical information and clarifies a number of points which otherwise might cause confusion in reading the diary entries. A brief introduction to the diaries is of interest for background knowledge while a similar overview of *Sketches from Texas*, although only one page long, presents salient points concerning the text in an illuminating manner. A two-page section of notes regarding the translation and editing of the Seele texts clarifies procedural questions and demonstrates the efforts of Gish to remain as true as possible to the linguistic and grammatical components of the Seele originals. Separate sections of notes are provided by the editor for the *Diary* (here entitled "Epilogue") and the *Sketches*. Highly helpful in the Epilogue are biographical data on people and geographic information on places presented in Seele's text. Also in the Notes sections, Gish presents the German-language original versions of Seele's poems for those who wish to compare the German with the English translations present in the body of the texts.

In sum, *The Diary of Hermann Seele* and Seele's *Sketches from Texas* represent a valuable addition to the canon on the Texas German-American presence and an unparalleled perspective on the experiences of a German-American leader and the developing community he served. The reader will be thankful to Theodore Gish for his effort to make these works available and will share in the hope that the publication of this book will spur others to perform a similar task where such primary resource materials remain neglected and underutilized.

San Antonio, Texas

Timothy J. Holian

Wild River, Timeless Canyons: Balduin Möllhausen's Watercolors of the Colorado.

By Ben W. Huseman. Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1995. (Distributed by University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.) 232 pages, illustrated. \$70.00.

When exploration of the American West began in earnest during the pre-Civil War era, photography was still in its infancy and artists had an important role to play in bringing back information about the new lands beyond the Western frontier. One of the most interesting of these artists was Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen (1825-1905), who was better known during his lifetime as an author of popular novels in the manner of James Fennimore Cooper. Born near Bonn, Möllhausen made three trips to the U.S. as a young man and returned to Germany after taking part in three scientific expeditions to the American West between 1850 and 1858. Although primarily engaged as a topographic artist, he also sketched plants, zoological specimens, geological formations, and scenes from the tribal life of indigenous peoples. He was, however, less skilled in his figure studies than in his landscapes.

Until recently the researcher interested in Möllhausen's work as an artist had little to go on besides the illustrations which appeared in Möllhausen's publications, including the reports of the topographical surveys in which he was a participant. Möllhausen's original watercolors for these illustrations were assumed to be lost until a collection of 46 of them unexpectedly came on the market in 1982 and were acquired in 1988 by the Amon Carter Museum in Fort Worth, Texas. This collection, together with another 48 watercolors recently found in a museum in eastern Germany, now constitutes a substantial nucleus of material making it possible for the first time in this century to undertake a serious appraisal of Möllhausen's work as an artist.

Ben W. Huseman, a former editorial assistant at the Amon Carter Museum, has been engaged for the last ten years in studying Möllhausen's life and work. The result is this remarkable volume, which contains 221 illustrations, 51 of them in color, plus a wealth of text, maps, and bibliographical information. In short, this book has transformed Heinrich Balduin Möllhausen from a superficially known artist into one of the more carefully studied German-American artists of the last century.

The available Möllhausen watercolors all relate to his last western expedition, undertaken in 1857-58 to determine the navigability of the western Colorado River. The pictures have considerable historic importance as the earliest known views of a number of places in the Southwest, including the Grand Canyon. Because the original watercolors are in most instances superior to the engraved and lithographed versions previously known from books, we are now able to see Möllhausen as a much better artist than was previously thought.

Huseman's book provides us with biographical details about Möllhausen's life and also gives full information about the expeditions which he accompanied. More important, however, is the fact that for the first time we have some

account of how Möllhausen, who lacked formal training as an artist, nonetheless became a skilled and competent craftsman. In particular, Huseman examines Möllhausen's position among other typographical artists of the Western frontier and supplies valuable insights as to possible influences affecting Möllhausen's art. In short, this is a most welcome, well-researched and well-written book which provides us with an authoritative source on Möllhausen that sets the record straight on a number of details which have been inadequately or inaccurately reported in the past.

Florida Atlantic University

Peter C. Merrill

Those Damn Dutch: The Beginnings of German Immigration in North America During the Thirty Years War.

By Christian Gellinek. Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 1996. 130 pages. DM 48.00.

In 1992, this reviewer published *The First Germans in America, With a Biographical Directory of New York Germans* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books) for two reasons: First, this work aimed to "provide information on the first Germans in America," and secondly, "to identify and establish the actual beginning date of German-American history" (p. v). In the past, the pre-1683 German element had been relegated to almost total obscurity, especially after the 1983 German-American Tricentennial which erroneously referred to the founders of Germantown as the first Germans, or as the first group immigration of Germans to America. Germantown was the first permanent all-German settlement, but the necessary clarification of *The First Germans in America*, of course, was that there had been German settlers in America since their arrival in 1608 at Jamestown, and that there had also been groups arriving well before 1683. The reviewer also provided an index of more than six hundred pre-1683 German emigrants to America.

Gellinek looks at each colony along the coast from Maine in the north all the way down through Maryland and Virginia, with the greatest detail on New York (pp. 29-54), and justifiably so, as New York/New Amsterdam was the pre-1683 center of the German element. He also provides profiles of the origins of the settlers, average ages upon arrival, professional status, approximate taxes, places of settlement in America, as well as two useful indexes: an index to the place of origin of the first Germans (pp. 93-104), and an alphabetical name index of 432 settlers (pp. 104-14). Also included is a bibliography of primary and secondary sources (pp. 115-30).

Rather than commencing his study with the Jamestown Germans, the author begins in the north with the German settlers in the Dutch colonies, and traces the German settlers southwards along the coast so that the reader does not come to the Virginia section until page 64. His approach is geographical, not chronological, and hence may confuse the reader who approaches the work

expecting an historical overview. It is worth mentioning that in a recent essay, "Who Were the First Glassmakers in English America?" [*The Report: A Journal of German-American History* 43 (1966): 37-42], Gary C. Grassl has established that the glassmakers whom Captain Smith brought to Jamestown in 1608, were indeed Germans; they produced the first glass in colonial America.

The question arises as to why Gellinek has listed only 432 names of pre-1683 Germans when more than six hundred have been identified. Which ones has he eliminated and on what grounds? Has he been all too quick to eliminate names which are in fact German? These names are in need of further research, as in New Amsterdam many were adapted to the Dutch language, and in the English settlements many were Anglicized.

As to the book's title, we find use of "the Damn Dutch" unfortunate. As is well known, Captain Smith coined the phrase when he found out that those German glassmakers were befriending the Indians. It later became America's paramount ethnic slur. A chapter on this topic in a historical context would have been valuable.

Those interested in the pre-1683 Germans will want to examine the volume, as it points to the need for continued research on the topic. Some questions to be addressed in the future are: What do the Dutch sources in New York, particularly those of the Dutch Reformed Church, reveal about the New York Germans? What can be discovered about the pre-1683 group immigration of Pomeranians to New Sweden? What more can be ascertained about Germans outside of New York and Jamestown?

University of Cincinnati

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism.

By Lance J. Sussman. *American Jewish Civilization Series*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995. 312 pages, illustrated. \$39.95.

"The history of American Judaism and that of Isaac Leeser are one and the same," Henry Morais wrote in *Eminent Israelites of the Nineteenth Century* (1880). Although Morais's assessment may sound like an admirer's hyperbole, this excellent biography of Isaac Leeser (1806-68) by Lance J. Sussman confirms Leeser's leadership in the nineteenth-century American Jewish community. Between Leeser's emigration from Münster, Germany, in 1824 and his last years as hazzan (cantor) of Philadelphia's Congregation Beth El Emeth, Leeser worked as a writer, translator, and institution builder to implant his vision of Judaism in America. The great accomplishment of *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* is Sussman's ability to contextualize Leeser's life in the larger story of European immigration and cultural transformation. To become acquainted with Isaac Leeser through this fascinating book is, much as Henry Morais said, to discover the formative period of American Judaism.

The year of Leiser's birth, 1806, also marked the recognition of Jews as citizens of Napoleon's empire and the loss of their medieval, communal status. Leiser remained poised between tradition and modernity throughout his life, and the cultural situation of Westphalian Jews during his childhood helped to set him on this road. Although he received his elementary education in a *heder*, where pupils studied Torah, Talmud, and later rabbinic commentaries, he completed his schooling at Münster Institute in the 1820s, learning classical languages, history, mathematics, and science. The reforms of Jewish education and rabbinical duties Leiser advocated in America reflected his respect for intellectual clarity, a cornerstone of the Enlightenment. He took a catechismal approach to religious learning, both at the Sunday school of his Congregation Mickveh Israel in Philadelphia, established in 1838, and in his *Catechism for Young Children* (1839). He battled Jewish skepticism of preaching to make sermons part of Sabbath worship. His *Discourses, Argumentative and Devotional, on the Subject of the Jewish Religion* (1837) was the first collection of Jewish sermons published in America. This emphasis on the uses of reason in religion did not align Leiser, however, with the German-Jewish Reform movement. Convinced that the entire Talmud, not just the Hebrew Bible, represented God's will, Leiser, in Sussman's words, championed "tradition in a modern orthodox mode" (p. 147).

Leiser's immigration to America as a seventeen-year-old orphan was the decisive event of his life. In Richmond, his first home, he learned the Sephardic ritual that prevailed in American synagogues before the arrival of large numbers of northern European, Ashkenazic Jews. In 1829, he was elected hazzan of Philadelphia's Mickveh Israel, where he remained until 1850. Through the years, Leiser was inspired by the promise of America as well as buffeted by its conflicts. He saw the constitutional separation of religion and the state as the civic groundwork for a revival of Judaism. His efforts to bring unity to American congregations—both socially, through a national organization, and intellectually, through his periodical *The Occident, and American Jewish Advocate* (1843-69)—were driven by his hope for Jewish religious rebirth. At the same time, ethnic tensions between Sephardim and Ashkenazim, religious differences between orthodox and reformers, and congregational disputes between lay boards of trustees and their spiritual leaders made day-to-day Jewish life in America contentious. Although nearly identical strains appeared among Protestants and Catholics during this era of democratized religion, Leiser would probably not have been consoled by the thought that conflict was the religious norm. Only toward the end of his life did Leiser achieve simple job security and widespread respect.

Perhaps Leiser's most lasting achievement were the writings that laid an intellectual foundation for American Judaism. Leiser produced bilingual (Hebrew-English) Sephardic and Ashkenazic prayer books, issued the first American vocalized Hebrew Bible, translated pious German-Jewish works, and wrote defenses of Jewish rights. Although Leiser was neither a traditional rabbinic scholar nor an original thinker, it is impossible to imagine Jewish life

in America without his numerous texts. An abrasive and ultimately lonely man, he found greatest peace in his writing. The early American Jewish community benefited from his personal shortcomings as well as from his talents and dedication.

Readers of *Isaac Leeser and the Making of American Judaism* will be rewarded with impeccable scholarship, fair judgments, and a clear presentation of an impressive body of evidence. The life of Isaac Leeser offers a revealing window on the migration of German-Jewish culture to America. Lance Sussman has done full justice to the potentiality of his subject.

The Pennsylvania State University

Anne C. Rose

Mencken: A Life.

By Fred Hobson. New York: Random House, 1994. xx + 650 pages, illustrated.

Henry Louis Mencken (1880-1956) was a brilliant author, editor, and critic who began his career as a journalist but emerged in the 1920s as a leading figure in American letters. Although there have been several previous biographies of Mencken, this one has a particular value because it is the only one based on the full corpus of Mencken's private papers, some of which were kept under seal until as recently as 1991. Mencken always took great relish in offending the sensibilities of his hypocrite readers and was often denounced by his contemporaries. He would have no doubt been amused if he could have foreseen how his politically insensitive private papers would be opened in an era of cautiously correct communication. But although Mencken remains a nuisance and embarrassment in some quarters, he can never be entirely dismissed or forgotten.

Like his contemporary Babe Ruth, Mencken was born in Baltimore and descended from German-American stock. Although he disdained to consider himself a hyphenated American, he was acutely aware that three of his four grandparents had been immigrants from Germany. He traced his German ancestry with scholarly thoroughness and was proud of the fact that the Menckens had been a family of distinguished professors, jurists, and writers which had flourished in Leipzig during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There is even a street in Leipzig named after one of his ancestors as well as a family memorial window in the Thomaskirche. Mencken's paternal grandfather, a direct descendant of this line, was a cigar maker who settled in Baltimore in 1848 and three years later married Harriet McClellan, a woman of Scotch and English descent. Mencken's father founded his own successful cigar factory, but Mencken abandoned the family business for journalism at the first opportunity. On his mother's side he was descended from less illustrious ancestors, the Gegner family of Bavaria and the Abhau family from Hesse. His mother, Anna Abhau

Mencken, spoke fluent German but preferred to express herself in carefully enunciated English.

During the years of Mencken's childhood, the city of Baltimore had a population of some 400,000, about a quarter of which were recently arrived German immigrants and their families. As a child Mencken enjoyed family outings to a local *Schützenpark* and attended Knapp's Institute, a local German-American school. He never spoke German at home but learned some in school and later undertook a serious study of the language when he became interested in the writings of Nietzsche. Although Mencken came only gradually to an appreciation of German literature, his appreciation of German music was lifelong and absolute. As he put it himself, "There are only two kinds of music, German music and bad music."

With the outbreak of World War I in 1914, Mencken almost immediately found himself put on the defensive. Nietzsche was now being reviled as the intellectual architect of the war and Mencken soon found himself denounced as Nietzsche's most conspicuous American apologist. Suddenly several ideas that had been building in his mind for years were crystallized into a decision. In this struggle he was clearly on the side of German culture and against the moralizing cant that he found so objectionable in Woodrow Wilson and in American culture in general. During 1914 and 1915 his commentaries on the war for the *Baltimore Sun* became so pro-German that his regular column was ultimately suspended. In the summer of 1916 he proposed to the editors of two American newspapers that he be allowed to go to Germany as a war correspondent. The project was approved and with clearance from the State Department and a German visa Mencken set off at the end of December aboard a Danish steamer. Proceeding via Scandinavia to Berlin, he was immediately granted permission to visit the eastern front in Lithuania, where he spent five memorable days. He then returned to Berlin, where he received the news that the United States had broken off diplomatic relations with Germany. Leaving Berlin on February 10, he made his way south by train to Switzerland and was able to return home later that month by way of Spain and Cuba.

On 6 April the U.S. declared war on Germany. Mencken found that he was under investigation by the Department of Justice and that government agents were intercepting and reading his mail. The provisions of the Espionage Act made it unwise to publish anything about the war. Later he would write, "The war was the period of my withdrawal into myself." Discouraged during the postwar period from writing about political issues, Mencken took up literary criticism and satire. A book which turned out to be the start of a long-term enterprise was *The American Language* begun in 1919.

The Smart Set, which Mencken had edited with George Jean Nathan since 1912, was abandoned by them in December 1923. In its place appeared *The American Mercury*, an innovative literary journal which Mencken edited from 1924 to 1933. Largely because of this magazine Mencken's reputation reached its zenith during the early 1930s.

Hobson's biography gives a thorough but balanced analysis of Mencken's life, clarifies a number of minor points, and fills in some of the gaps that are glossed over in Mencken's autobiographical writings, including information about the women in his life. Missing, however, are the irony, humor, and sheer entertainment value of Mencken's early autobiographical writings, particularly *Happy Days* (1940) and *Newspaper Days* (1941). It is one of the paradoxes of Mencken's character that he never would have considered writing the sort of well-rounded assessment of his life given here by Hobson, but that he meticulously assembled all the notes and documents that a future biographer might need to carry out such a project.

Florida Atlantic University

Peter C. Merrill

Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. [Revised and edited by C. Richard Beam.] Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 1995. 242 pages. \$18.00.

Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. [Revised and edited by C. Richard Beam.] Millersville, PA: Center for Pennsylvania German Studies, 1995. xxii + 149 pages. \$16.00.

Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans.

By Edwin Miller Fogel. With an Introduction and Bibliography by Wolfgang Mieder. *Sprichwörterforschung* 17. Bern, New York [etc.]: Lang, 1995. xxxvii + 231 pages. \$55.95.

Linguists, folklorists, and aficionados of Pennsylvania German will relish the new availability of Edwin Miller Fogel's works, the *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* and *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans*, the latter of which is out in two new editions. *Beliefs*, the first of Fogel's works, was published originally in 1915. It represented for Fogel a serious attempt "at putting into permanent form a phase of folklife which will soon disappear into the background and thus be irretrievably lost" (*Beliefs*, p.6). *Proverbs*, published in 1929, is a collection of what Fogel termed "the very bone and sinew of the dialect, the spontaneous expression of one's own experience, a judgement [sic] or dictum which has gained vogue or taken on a definite form as the result of years of observation" (*Proverbs*, Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p.l). Both works, *Beliefs* and *Proverbs*, shed light on the state of Pennsylvania German in the early twentieth century and on the world of those who spoke it. As such, these texts are fun to read and will prove of great interest to speakers and scholars of Pennsylvania German language and literature. They provide access to the folk wisdom of an earlier time and, to varying degrees, to the Pennsylvania German dialects spoken in North America around the turn of the nineteenth to the

twentieth century. Each of these collections is different; together, they are mutually informative. Apparent in the two versions of the *Proverbs* are the different goals of modern-day dialect researchers.

The reissuing of Edwin Miller Fogel's *Beliefs and Superstitions of the Pennsylvania Germans* and his *Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans* by the Center for Pennsylvania German Studies is a by-product of the Pennsylvania German dictionary project directed by C. Richard Beam, director of the center. The Beam editions are quite similar to the originals. In each work, Beam has kept Fogel's basic arrangement of the item in Pennsylvania German followed by an English translation and, when Fogel could find one, a parallel item in standard German. In *Beliefs*, Fogel also noted where an item was collected—information missing, unfortunately, in the *Proverbs*. Items in *Beliefs* are grouped in categories that include childhood, omens and wishes, marriage, omens concerning death, cats and dogs, and weather. *Proverbs* is arranged alphabetically. A drawback of the Beam version, but not of the Mieder version, which reproduces Fogel's *Proverbs* without revision, is that the Beam text no longer italicizes, as Fogel did, the key word in each proverb according to which it is arranged alphabetically. Both the Mieder and the Beam texts include the additional proverbs Fogel gathered after completing the search for parallel proverbs (proverbs 1888-1938) and Fogel's "Supplement to Proverbs of the Pennsylvania Germans" or, as Beam labels the section, "Vulgar Proverbs" (proverbs 1939-2028). In Mieder's reprint, it is clear that Fogel did not intend the latter for "public perusal" (p. 223), and instead published them in a separate pamphlet for private distribution.

Unfortunately the reprints also share many of the drawbacks of the originals. Beam notes that the late Mac E. Barricks pointed out several shortcomings in the first edition of *Beliefs*, including the lack of information on informants, data collection techniques, and the context in which the item was used (*Proverbs*, Beam ed., p. xvii). This remains a serious problem for the dialect researcher. Moreover, Fogel's general failure to put the beliefs and superstitions into cultural and historical context renders this work of limited value for the researcher of Pennsylvania German folklore. The introduction to *Beliefs*, in which Fogel relates to pre-Christian Thor-worship such seemingly disparate actions as tying red wool around a finger to stop nose bleed and eating greens on Maundy Thursday, provides an intriguing glimpse at what could be gained were background contextual material available. Indeed, by linking the days of the week to the German gods from whom their English names descent, Fogel ties myriad behaviors in Pennsylvania German society to pre-Christian god cults, making a strong case for viewing rural twentieth-century Pennsylvania German Americans as firmly tied to their ancient German forebears. Such contextualization is absent from the listing of the superstitions themselves, leaving them largely incomprehensible and certainly shorn of their wisdom. Similarly, in both editions, *Proverbs* lacks information on the way in which items were elicited or from whom, a surprising and important failing since Fogel was determined to catch the proverb "on the wing" (*Proverbs*, Beam ed., p.v;

Mieder ed., p.1) in the course of conversation. One has no way to determine that the proverbs listed are in any way representative of the Pennsylvania German communities Fogel studied.

In addition, in the Beam versions there is information missing that Fogel himself made certain to include in the originals. In preparing these volumes, Fogel was attempting to reproduce the vernacular. As he wrote in the introduction to *Beliefs*, "[a]ll material was written down just as it was given [. . .] to get a permanent record of the spoken vernacular with all its dialectal peculiarities [*sic*]. This accounts for the variation in spelling and word usage and is the main reason for publishing the superstitions in the original, since by this method, it is made possible to have a permanent record of a distinctive German dialect [. . .]" (*Beliefs*, p. 10). Fogel made no attempt to cull proverbs from books or newspapers and canvassed both Franconian and Alemannic dialect speakers "for the purpose of getting the dialectal peculiarities and variations of each" (*Proverbs*, Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p. 1).

In preparing to reissue these works, however, the goal of editor C. Richard Beam was to present a unified set of data that would complement the dictionary project and prove of interest to, among others, dialect storytellers, orators, and others of "the faithful," and to "readers who are ready to deal with the mind and language of the Pennsylvania German nearly a century ago" (*Beliefs*, p.5). In *Proverbs*, for example, Beam makes this clear, both in his quoting of written texts to illustrate the way in which leading Pennsylvania German prose writers have used Pennsylvania German proverbs and in his assertion that, "[a]lthough Fogel's sources were primarily oral, it is impossible to draw a line between proverbs in print and proverbs in the memory of the folk" (*Proverbs*, p. xi). In the reprinted editions, all of Fogel's entries have been retyped and respelled according to the Buffington-Barba-Beam system of Pennsylvania German orthography. As Beam writes in his preface to *Proverbs*, "[s]ince great strides have been made toward the establishment of a standardized, i.e. normalized PG orthography, it was neither practicable nor advisable to retain Fogel's spelling" (p. xii). In effect, Fogel's text, representing the varied pronunciations of unstandardized, unwritten Pennsylvania German has been standardized. The language the Pennsylvania Germans spoke nearly a century ago has been converted to that of the 1990s transcriber, and the varied pronunciations of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania German speakers have been lost.

Fortunately, although it lacks Beam's useful index, the Mieder edition of the *Proverbs* reprints the Fogel text exactly, thus proving clues to the varied pronunciations of Pennsylvania German as Fogel heard them; in addition the Mieder text includes Fogel's guide to the orthography. Writing not only for those engaged in the study of Pennsylvania German, Mieder presents Fogel's work in its original form to make data useful to scholars interested in comparative dialect study.

These new editions of Fogel's work provide an important resource for the researcher, and both Mieder's and Beam's introductions to these works are

interesting and informative. In *Beliefs*, Beam places Fogel's research in the larger context of the Pennsylvania German dictionary project. In his more extensive preface to *Proverbs*, Beam places Fogel's work in the larger context of the study of folk proverbs and provides a historical look at Fogel's research and its reception. Similarly, in an essay that is more inclusive and far-ranging than Beam's, Mieder places Fogel's work in the wider context of Pennsylvania German studies, historical work on German proverbs, and past and present work on Pennsylvania German proverbs. Mieder provides, as well, a useful bibliography of proverb bibliographies, German dialect proverb collections, scholarship on dialect proverbs, and major studies of Pennsylvania German.

One can learn from these volumes much about Fogel's own period and assumptions. Whereas nowadays Pennsylvania German is dying out in non-sectarian groups and, indeed, may be said to be relatively healthy only among the Old Order Amish and the most conservative of Mennonites, Fogel collected items from representatives of almost all the Christian denominations. Nevertheless, he noted that "[i]n many sections of the Pennsylvania German territory English is rapidly supplanting Pennsylvania German or German as the pulpit language under the influence of the public schools and a consequent apparent disregard for German" (*Beliefs*, p.9). Fogel respected early twentieth-century sensibilities with "toned down" translations of superstitions concerning sex and medicine. Theological and ethnic biases are evident in Fogel's inclusion of Christian Science with fortune-tellers, palm readers, and "gypsies" (*Beliefs*, p.18). Similarly, in his 1929 introduction to the *Proverbs*, reprinted in the reissuing of his collection, Fogel writes that "[i]t is natural that the Pennsylvania Germans should use the proverb extensively because of the fondness of the Germanic peoples for this form of expression" (Beam ed., p.v; Mieder ed., p.1).

Mieder and Beam envision different audiences for these volumes. Mieder offers his edition of the *Proverbs* to "students and scholars interested in proverb studies" (p.v), suggesting that the reprint will not only interest "Americans of German heritage, especially folklorists, linguists, and cultural historians engaged in the study of the Pennsylvania Germans" but also dialect scholars in Austria, Germany, and Switzerland. No doubt this audience will find Mieder's edition of *Proverbs* challenging and useful. Beam aims at a larger audience, desiring that this collection in the *Muddersprooch* enable descendants of Pennsylvania German speakers "to better understand the world their greatgreatgrandparents lived in" (*Beliefs*, p.3). Collected from people who lived on farms in a world without electricity, these sayings, beliefs and superstitions may, Beam hopes, help the young folk of the twenty-first century keep a sense of their roots. Whether these collections will prove of interest to such a wide audience remains to be seen.

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Karen M. Johnson-Weiner

Israels letzter Psalm: Gedichte

By Alfred Gong. Edited by Joachim Herrmann. Aachen: Rimbaud, 1995. 92 pages. DM 28.00.

It has repeatedly been observed by scholars of exile literature that refugee writers often use their former homeland rather than their country of exile as the setting for their literary works. Alfred Gong (1929-81), born in Czernowitz, and twice in hiding from dictatorships—the brown one of Germany and the red one of Eastern Europe—forms in many of his poems an exception to this general rule. A great number of his poems are set in New York or make at least passing reference to the “Eiland Manhattan” (“Robinson,” 74), where the poet spent thirty years of his disheartening exilic life. But other poems represent something even more interesting than reflections of his final city of asylum. Beneath the surface reality of his New York setting are discernible, palimpsest fashion, imprints of his European provenance and the millennia of his Jewish heritage. This seamless jointure of Europe, America, and biblical texts as the material of his poetry will fascinate any reader, but is of particular interest to the perusers of this journal with its hyphenation of two nationalities.

With the *SGAS-Yearbook* reader in mind this review will focus on the vignettelike poems about New York or about American metropolis in general, and on the lyrics which straddle past and present and/or old and new homelands. To make such a delimitation is in no way intended as a slight of Gong’s dirge-like poems about the Holocaust, earlier persecutions, or complaints about his lost homeland, the latter exemplified by the last poem in this splendid collection (“Bukowina,” 75). Their merits and occasional weaknesses have been previously analyzed by Joseph Strelka, Gong’s rediscoverer, and by Jerry Glenn, to whose analyses subsequent researchers of the poet will inevitably be indebted.

Two of Gong’s poems celebrate—albeit in harsher terms than say, Emma Lazarus’s optimistic welcome chiseled in the base of the Statue of Liberty—the foreigners’ arrival in America. “Dieses Volk” (40-41) catalogues the multicultural immigration to America and the integration of the newcomers into an alien society. Arriving with a “Buckel aus Erinnerung,” they emerge a harder and therefore more indestructible people:

Am gleichen Feuer schmolz Vergangenes.
Im gleichen Feuer wuchs der Guß:
ein Volk, hart, unverwüstlich
wie sein Gold.

While the last lines surely do not portray a newfound idyll, another poem, “Grünhorns Blues,” (143) paints an even harsher reality. The new arrivals, greeted at first with an unending series of pats on the shoulder and with practical advice, must also learn to cope with paltry wages, take on a second job (“Ein

zweiter Job tut's"), and must choose between a harsh new life or the old fossilized culture:

halt mit or go home
zu deiner fossilen Kultur.

In one of the most fascinating poems, "Manhattan Spirituals," (48-49) Gong transposes the (and his) biblical myths to Manhattan and at the same time demythologizes them. Adam becomes a wife-beater; Noah, tired of the flood, sips martinis; Joshua fails to blow down the structures of steel and glass; a sheared Samson puts on a wig; the inhabitants of Manhattan are enjoined to read an abridged Bible, in "Westentaschenformat."

In the midst of some of these American poems Gong inserts European points of reference. The onlookers in "East Side Ballade" (46-47) were born between "Seoul and the first Berlin blockade." In a poem entitled "Kalender," (66-67) the poet observes:

Der August ist auch im Ausland
nicht viel anders.

That would be true of Europe, of course, but not south of the equator!

But the bridge Gong builds across the Atlantic assumes a still more subtle form. Gong has obviously absorbed the whole panoply of the traditional German lyric and he uses it as an intertext for his "American" poetry. In the above-named poem "Manhattan Spiritual," he invokes Viktor Scheffel's "Im schwarzen Walfisch," in "Kalender" Goethe's "An den Mond." Johann Martin Usteri's "Freut euch des Lebens" is deconstructed in "Pythia" (73) and the children's song "Maikäfer flieg" gains added grisliness in "Wiegenlied" (35). Finally he uses the incantatory children's rhyme "Zehn kleine Negerlein" in "Interview mit Harlem" (52-53) to conjure up an urban Afro-American counterculture.

It is to the credit of the editor, Joachim Herrmann, that he has put together an anthology of Gong's best previously published poems together with an astonishingly rich selection of unpublished texts mined from the Gong archive at the University of Cincinnati. He has arranged them by topics, its chapter headings borrowed from Gong's poems, and has added a useful epilogue, designed to acquaint a larger public with a poet who fully deserves one.

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Guy Stern

"Es ist ein Aschensommer in der Welt." Rose Ausländer: Biographie.
By Cilly Helfrich. Berlin: Quadraliga, 1995. 365 pages. DM 48.00.

In 1974, Rose Ausländer was a little-known sixty-seven-year-old poet whose fifth collection of verse was issued by a small publisher. In 1984 she was an eighty-three-year-old writer of stature whose collected works were appearing in S. Fischer Verlag, one of Germany's premier publishers. In 1995, seven years after her death, a full-length biography of one of Germany's most respected literary figures is published. Readers who did not catch the arithmetical discrepancy above are in good and plentiful company. Until 1981, Ausländer, who was born in 1901, successfully passed off her birth year as 1907, although even superficial reflection on the relationship between this date and the few facts of her biography known at the time should have revealed major problems. Indeed, until her posthumous papers became available, the events in the life of this fascinating figure were for the most part shrouded in mystery.

Helfrich has drawn copiously and resourcefully from the papers, especially from various unpublished "autobiographische Notizen" and letters, both those addressed to the poet and copies of letters she wrote to others. The author also draws on personal communications, interviews and letters, from persons who knew the poet. The quotation from one of Ausländer's poems in the title is indicative: numerous passages from her works are included, creating a kind of spiritual/literary autobiographical component of the story.

The first chapter, "Das bewältigte Wort," anticipates the final one, "Leben im Wort," appropriately reflecting the importance of writing in Ausländer's life. Then follows a chapter on her native Bukovina, which was no less important to her than it was to so many others from this mythical region, most notably Paul Celan. The actual report of Ausländer's childhood is rather sketchy. A brief reference to the high grades in one report card suggests that more information might have been available, but Helfrich does not tell us if the sketchiness is a result of choice or necessity. Following a long excursion on "Die Philosophie Constantin Brunners" (which was important in the poet's intellectual development), with much about the poet's relationship to Brunner and his wayward Czernowitz disciple Friedrich Kettner, the fifth chapter is devoted to Ausländer's first period in America, 1921-1931. This will be of interest to students of immigration and acculturation, as well as to literary historians. Although I am not normally a fan of writing literary biography on the basis of an author's works, Helfrich uses this approach convincingly and effectively, examining, for example, the use of the words "grün" and "grau" in the poems of this period as evidence of Ausländer's continuing sense of alienation in New York.

Although she had become an American citizen, various factors led to a return to Europe, where she was caught in the nightmare of the Second World War. She miraculously survived the war in the Jewish Ghetto of Czernowitz. In 1946 she returned to America, although she had in the meantime lost her

citizenship as a result of her absence from the country. This time she seems to have made an effort to become acculturated, even turning to English as the language of her poetry. In 1957 while on a trip to Europe she wrote to her American friend Mimi Grossberg: "Ich sehne mich nach New York zurück—es klingt mir selbst unglaublich, ist aber wahr" (242). The attempt was not successful. Her few friends and acquaintances were fellow German-speaking immigrants (or, in many cases, "refugees"), and negative references to New York increase. In the late 1950s she stopped writing in English and returned to her native German. Through the intercession of Alfred Gong, the Austrian Bergland publishing company accepted a manuscript of poems, and *Blinder Sommer* was published in 1965, the year in which she permanently returned to German-speaking Europe, settling in Düsseldorf. Her *Vaterland*, the Bukovina, was beyond her grasp, and her *Mutterland*, the poetic German word, had grown all the more important to her. She felt the need to be in an environment in which German was not foreign and strange. With the exception of a few trips, to visit New York (which she by now hated) and Italy (which she loved), she remained in Düsseldorf, increasingly confined to her room by arthritis and other ailments. Bedridden for the last decade of her life, she truly did "dwell in the word" of her poetry, and the final chapters of her biography consist perhaps primarily of quotations from her poems.

Helfrich's biography has many positive features. It is well written, nicely illustrated with photographs from various periods of Ausländer's life, supplied with an index of names, and is attractively produced. Although extremely sympathetic, it makes no attempt to conceal the dark side of its subject: "Rose ist keine einfache Freundin. Viele stößt sie vor den Kopf, und die meisten Freundschaften gehen früher oder später in die Brüche" (276). On a few occasions I questioned the author's procedures, e.g., quoting at length from Mimi Grossberg's description of how happy Rose appeared in photographs taken during a trip to Europe in 1957, and failing to reproduce one of the pictures. For the most part, my criticism is that this is a first biography. Numerous details remain to be filled in, and many of them relate to Ausländer's time in America. Although seventy years have passed, it should still be possible to learn more about her brief stay in Winona and Minneapolis, and tracing in greater depth her path in New York in the 1920s would be an interesting if challenging project. Equally interesting and surely a more manageable task would be to examine in greater detail her life in New York from 1946 until her return to Europe.

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Jerry Glenn

German Emigration from Bukovina to the Americas: Results of Initial Investigations and a Guide to Further Research.

Edited by William Keel and Kurt Rein. Lawrence, KS: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, 1996. 300 pages. ISBN 1-888326-01-8. \$15.00.

This compendium of essays includes in addition to several by the editors, various tracts by Oren Windholz, Helmut Schmeller, Irmgard Hein Ellingson, Norman Saul and others organized into ten units including bibliography, using a chapter breakdown according to the German system of, e.g., 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, etc. Covering the gamut of Bukovinian immigration to the western hemisphere, the editors offer 1) background in the European setting, 2) the recent historical status, 3) geographical setting in Europe, 4) Bukovina on the eve of the emigration, 5) the migration process, 6) the settlement of Bukovinians in the U.S., 7) their adaptation and contributions to the new homeland, 8) tips for genealogical research, 9) detailed appendix of replicated documents, dialect samples, illustrations, diagrams, and 10) a selected bibliography.

For the novice, Bukovina [German: *Bukowina* and *Buchenland*] now incorporated into Ukraine and Rumania, but until 1918 an Austro-Hungarian crownland, lay on the eastern rim of the former Austrian Empire, south of the Austrian strip of Poland called Galicia, on the western periphery of today's Ukraine and northeast of Austro-Hungarian Rumania, having major cities like Czernowitz and Radautz. From villages in the region around these cities [e.g. Badeutz, Fürstenthal, Fratautz, Karlsberg and others] between 1880 and 1915, thousands of German-speakers reached especially the plains states of Kansas and Colorado, the Canadian province of Saskatchewan and the cities of New York and Chicago. As was the case universally for transborder Germans in Eastern Europe in the 1940s, either the Bukovinians were resettled by the Hitler government or expelled from their homes by the Red Army, assuming they had not fled ahead of its arrival. Like other expatriates in the German Federal Republic, the Bukovinians today enjoy German government support for the Bukowina-Institut in Augsburg which aided the Bukovina Society of the Americas at Ellis, Kansas, and supported the production of this scholarly effort.

Emigrants in two waves, adding up to approximately 40,000 in total, the first in the 1880s and early 1890s, and the second around 1900 [so-called old and new migrations respectively] traveled on trains by way of Lemberg [L'vov], Cracow, and Berlin to the ports of Bremen/Hamburg or via Lemberg, Cracow, and Vienna to the Italian port of Trieste, for embarkation to America. The primary port of entry was at New York but they also arrived at secondary ports like Galveston and New Orleans. Often inland travel involved stopovers in Chicago with farmer types then heading for Ellis, Kansas, with woodcutter Bohemian Germans among them heading farther west to Chehalis, Washington. The latter, Catholics who had come from western Bohemia before settling at Karlsberg in Bukovina, also migrated as some thirty farmer families to Ellis County, Kansas, before 1900. Lutheran Germans from Bukovina also settled in

the Ellis periphery where they founded rural Lutheran churches, arriving in Bukovina originally from the Palatinate and Swabia, where they left Tereblestie and Illischestie for Ellis County undoubtedly at the behest of railroad agents. Over time, of course these families blended somewhat with the Volga German and other neighbors, though they remain proud of their German heritage.

Authored by a variety of researchers, some of the essays repeat information contained in others, and after each is repeated a condensed version of the content in German. Accompanying the text is a fine appendix of documents, personal accounts and dialect samples, a questionnaire and selected bibliography as well as maps, diagrams and illustrations scattered throughout the text, which in composite fabricate a highly useful compendium for the explorer of this small but important branch of German immigrants. The volume is a good sample of the hundreds of thousands of transfrontier Germans or *Auslandsdeutsche* who came to the United States and other western hemisphere countries and affiliated with so-called Reich Germans here.

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La Vern J. Rippley