Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
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The German-Americans: An Ethnic Experience.
By Willi Paul Adams. American edition, translated and adapted by La Vern J. Rippley and Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis, IN: Max Kade German-American Center, Indiana University—Purdue University of Indianapolis, 1993. 46 pages. $5.25

"Translators," said Goethe, "may be viewed as industrious panderers who praise as most desirable a half-veiled beauty; they arouse in us an irresistible longing for the original." In the case of W. P. Adams's 1990 work, *Deutsche im Schmelztiegel der USA,* Rippley and Reichmann have produced an excellent translation and adaptation that spares the English reader any need to visit the dubious world of panderers and unveiled beauties in search of a more attractive original.

This short work contains eleven chapters covering topics such as immigration causes and patterns; social and economic structures; church, school, and language; politics; American nativism; and the multicultural society. There are many pictures, a German-American chronology, and an English-language bibliography. Despite the focus on the German experience in the "melting-pot" of America, an important thrust of Adams's work (which seems to be part of a series, "Miteinander leben in Berlin") is how Germany, and in particular Berlin, might respond to the new demographic pressures brought about by increasing immigration. Adams wants to show that many of the efforts undertaken to deal with the flood of foreigners into German society were anticipated by the eventually successful process of German immigrant integration into

American society. He maintains that the tendency of foreigners to live in the same neighborhood, form their own clubs, frequent their own houses of worship, etc., which has been criticized in Germany as "misdirected development" (2), may in fact be necessary steps on the road to integration. In the English-edition preface the translators describe their view of America as a multicultural nation, in which each element can be a source of strength and pride. They see Adams's essay as a reminder that "each generation is called upon to work toward ethnic and racial harmony and to overcome tensions born out of indifference, misunderstanding and distrust" (1).

The translation is almost flawless, with only one or two awkward phrasings and a misprint of the date of a federal law (the translation first gives 1855 [12], then the correct year 1885 [35]). In general, the translators have remained true to the original. Their adaptations consist mainly of short deletions (some of which are paraphrased elsewhere in the text), and the addition of several references of interest to the American audience. A few of the additions/omissions/adaptations are a bit puzzling. For example: the reference to "militant particularism among the 'Krauts'" (24) does not reflect any view this reader could find in the original; the change from "*der* intellektuelle Achtundvierziger" to "*an* intellectual Forty-eighter" confuses the question of source (38); the change from "Chancengleichheit für *alle* (europäischen) Tüchtigen" (German edition, 39 [emphasis added]) to simply "*all* hardworking and talented immigrants" (40) may make Adams's statement more "politically correct," but distorts his point somewhat. These are perhaps quibbles about well-considered editorial decisions. There are just as many useful and clarifying additions. For example: the reference to Pennsylvania German (26); the Kurt Vonnegut quote about anti-Germanism during the First World War (29); and the German-American chronology (42-43), which will be helpful for newcomers to the field as well as more experienced teachers and scholars. In the concluding paragraph the translators have shifted the focus from Adams's more limited concern with the Berlin acceptance of foreigners to a broader consideration of the challenges facing the realization of a "functioning multicultural society" (41), and they second Adams's belief that the German-American experience can contribute to this realization.

As noted, the German and English versions are intended for two different audiences: the German for a city that is increasingly riven by ethnic divisions and xenophobia; the English for a country that, although not free of ethnic divisions, has at least demonstrated in the example of the German-Americans that "foreign bodies" can be successfully integrated into the larger society.

The pictures on the respective covers reflect these differences: the German edition shows a political cartoon of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, with the admonition that the hyphenated German-American is no longer acceptable ("Now It Must Be One or the Other"); whereas the translation carries a picture of a bronze group at the harbor of Bremerhaven, "Parents with Two Children," funded by German-Americans and expressing a sense of hope that new roots will be found in the new land.

Ohio University *Barry G. Thomas*

Michigan German in Frankenmuth: Variation and Change in an East Franconian Dialect.
By Renate Born. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1994. 135 pages, 2 maps. $59.00

Despite some relatively strong generalizations about German-American language islands and research on those dialects which are either misleading or erroneous, Born's study of the East Franconian dialect spoken in Frankenmuth, Michigan, is a welcome addition to the growing number of analyses of *Restsprachinseln* in North America, i.e., German settlement dialects which no longer serve an active communicative function in a speech community and are not being acquired by younger members of that community as their first language. Specifically, Born offers us a concise overview of both the sociolinguistic as well as the grammatical components of Frankenmuth German and contrasts the features of the German-American dialect with those of related dialects in the East Franconian area of Germany.

Born's first chapter deals with the settlement and the history of language use of the community whose origins are linked to attempts by the Lutheran Church in Franconia to convert Native Americans to Christianity. From its beginnings in 1845, the community has been dominated by immigrants from Franconia. A common religious (Missouri Synod Lutheran) and linguistic heritage firmly established it as a German enclave in Michigan. As in so many other German-American communities, the period between the two world wars marked the beginning of the transition to English in both literary and spoken varieties.

Chapters two and three provide descriptive analyses of the phonology and the grammar of the dialect. In addition to a thorough description of vowel and consonant inventories, Born also includes a section on phonotactics. In the grammatical description valuable comparative information is presented utilizing studies from the East Franconian dialect area in Germany. A discussion of case syncretism in

East Franconian reveals an acceleration of that process in Michigan which adds valuable information to the ongoing discussion of that topic in German-American dialectology.

A final chapter which briefly deals with the process of borrowing and discusses the types of linguistic variation and change detected in the Frankenmuth dialect, notably reduction of allomorphy and leveling of paradigms, is followed by three appendices: (1) sample texts in phonetic transcription; (2) a list of immigrants to Frankenmuth, 1845-85, with locality of origin and dialect region in Germany; and (3) a trilingual dictionary (Standard German, Frankenmuth German, American English) arranged according to semantic fields.

One problematic aspect of this volume is the apparent absence of any research context in German-American studies. This relates directly to several far-reaching assertions about dialect research within the field of German-American studies. For instance, the claim is made that Frankenmuth German represents the only example of an East Franconian speech community outside of Germany (xiii). There is no reference to the 1989 dissertation of Peter Freeouf on the dialects of Dubois County, Indiana, which include the pocket of East Franconian spoken in the northern part of the county surrounding the community of Haysville. Born also claims that there are no contrastive studies comparing a German-American dialect with the parent dialect in Germany (xiii). Again, the author appears to have no knowledge of Brian Lewis's work on the Swiss German of New Glarus, Wisconsin, spanning over twenty years which does precisely, and in much greater detail, what Born does in that regard for Frankenmuth German.

Such deficiencies would not have been so serious if Born had been somewhat more cautious in making sweeping generalizations. The same could be said about the claim made by the author that German language islands in the United States have dwindled to a mere handful (xiii). The reality is that there are still very many rural German-American communities where the last generations to have learned the immigrant dialect are still able to provide material for dialect research. This reviewer also questions Born's remark that a "female interviewer working alone has a decided advantage finding informants willing to cooperate" (xv). Finally, we should avoid labeling German-American dialects as "Michigan German," Texas German, Wisconsin German or the like—with the exception of the particular case of Pennsylvania German—unless there is some basis for doing so. We are actually dealing with a variety of German dialects in each state where significant German settlement occurred and which have very little, if any, connection to each other.

University of Kansas *William D. Keel*

The Golden Signpost: A Guide to Happiness and Prosperity.
Edited by Charlotte Lang Brancaforte and translated by Colin D. Thomson. Madison, WI: Max Kade Center for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993. 391 pages.

As implied by the title, this is a book of advice on how life should be lived. It originally appeared anonymously in German in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1881, just before the crest of the last great wave of German immigration to the United States. We are told that it was sold door to door and enjoyed three printings. We are not told how large those printings were, but the original is extremely scarce in today's libraries.

The authorship is attributed to William Horn, a German immigrant who rose to become a bishop in the Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*), a German-American denomination which patterned itself after the Methodists. The book is comprised of chapters of two to five pages in length giving advice and exhortations on widely scattered subjects: love for siblings and parents, charm, friendship, honesty, social life, clothing, reading, music, motherhood, the dangers of lust, guidance for letter writing, etc.

Sections concerning abstract philosophical considerations are interspersed with sections on surprisingly practical matters. A chapter on the progress of humanity is followed by a chapter on caring for houseplants. We are told both about the centrality of character to success and how to clean flyspecks from gilt picture frames. The outlook is generally that of a pietistic Protestant, especially one of the Methodist persuasion. The following passage is characteristic of Horn's point of view: "The more one wishes well to all around him, and strives to bring happiness to others, the more happiness and contentment enter his own heart" (52). There is much Victorian romanticizing about morality in the vein, "An honest man is invincible" (60). A few dreadfully sentimental fictional vignettes are interspersed between the admonitory chapters.

The book does have something to say to us today. The reality of the human condition and how best to confront that reality do not change a great deal from one age to another. Moreover, in its obsession with duty to family and to society, the book serves as a counterweight to our age's obsession with rights, freedom, and personal liberation. But the Victorian treacle in which its wisdom is stewed will restrict the readership of this translation to only the most highly motivated readers.

What then will these readers find? Many sections of the work reveal an outlook not markedly different from that of a typical nineteenth-

century American minister of British descent. Only in a minority of sections does the differing German Weltanschauung clearly appear. We know we are reading a German text when the author urges young women "to take a post . . . in another house" (233), or when he says progress owes to the development of "spirit" in such a way that both senses of *Geist* are implied. The author wants all parents to insure that their children become fluent in German—*Hochdeutsch*, not the parents' dialect. Children are to be trained to be thrifty, and, of course, to obey their parents better than American children do.

As both Brancaforte's foreward and the well-researched introduction by Sara Markham indicate, the author's attitude toward gender issues is not so restrictive as one might suppose. He calls for the education of women so that they can support themselves if the need arises. By its examples, the book is aimed at a largely urban audience. But as Brent Peterson found with respect to the *Abendschule* of the 1880s, this work cannot come to grips with the industrial era. The author agonizes over the conflict between employer and employee, but his prescription for ameliorating the problem is to treat one's household servants as members of the family.

Brancaforte argues cogently for an interpretation of the book as a guide for the acculturation of immigrants in a new country. But the work could probably also be analyzed with profit as part of another genre—the Victorian bourgeois advice book. Horn is writing for the unassimilated as his choice of language demonstrates. At the same time, he is writing for middle-class or potentially middle-class people from a perspective which attempts to deny important changes occurring in America. Horn writes for people attempting to assimilate not just into America but into that social class which enjoyed cultural hegemony.

A smaller concern with the introduction also merits attention. The appalling complexity of American Protestant denominational history necessitates precision with names. Bishop Horn's Evangelical Association (*Evangelische Gemeinschaft*), sometimes called the Albright People after founder Jacob Albright, emulated the Methodists and was headquartered in Cleveland. It is easily confused with another German-American body which also had somewhat more than one hundred thousand adult members in the early 1880s, the German Evangelical Synod (*Deutsche Evangelische Synode*). The latter group emulated the Prussian Union and was headquartered in St. Louis. Although between 1922 and 1946, the group to which Horn had belonged did use the name "The Evangelical Church," the editor invites confusion by using the phrase "German Evangelical Church" (xiv) to refer to Horn's group in the 1880s.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

Yankee Dutchman: The Life and Times of Franz Sigel.
By Stephen D. Engle. Fayetteville, AR: University of Arkansas Press, 1993. 333 pages. $36.00.

Franz Sigel was one of the two or three most important leaders of the revolutionary uprisings of 1848-49 in Baden as well as the American Civil War general most revered by German immigrants. Yet, this is Sigel's first full-length biography. Engle's work, originally his doctoral dissertation, helps to direct attention both to the significant role played by Germans in the Civil War and to that war's relatively neglected western theater of operations. But this is not an entirely satisfactory effort. The author devotes only a twenty-three-page opening chapter to Sigel's exploits in Germany. Thus the complexities of the Revolution of 1848 have to be ignored. Engle describes all forces opposing Sigel as "Prussians" (10), whether they were Badenese troops loyal to Grand Duke Leopold or Hessians sent in response to Leopold's request to the German Confederation for military aid. He uses "little Germans" and "great Germans" in a way which seems to deny an understanding that the terms "großdeutsch" and "kleindeutsch" were alternative models for German unification.

If Franz Sigel, precise about detail to a fault, could read this account, he would likely be disturbed by other small inaccuracies. The "Confederates" (64) whom Sigel fought at Carthage, Missouri, in July 1861, were, in fact, Missouri State Guardsmen only allied with the Confederacy. A month earlier, General Lyon's troops had steamed, not "marched" (62) up the Missouri River to Boonville. It was not after "months" (88) of correspondence, as Engle implies, that Lincoln countermanded General Frémont's 1861 proclamation freeing the slaves of Missourians participating in the rebellion. Frémont issued his proclamation on 30 August. Lincoln sent Frémont a final directive in a letter dated 11 September. A modern-day Sigel might also be displeased with all the typographical errors in the bibliography.

The account of Sigel's efforts against Stonewall Jackson and Jubal Early in the Shenandoah Valley after his transfer to the eastern theater is more carefully crafted. But even in this section, Engle can confuse the reader. We are told that Sigel rallied the German-American population and that he was a master of retreat on the one hand, and that he could not interact effectively with American-born generals and was slow to attack the enemy on the other. Were his strengths and accomplishments or his flaws and failures more important?

Sigel faced serious obstacles as a general officer appointed because of his popularity with an ethnic group whose support was necessary for the Union cause. Both the nativists and the West Point graduates believed no foreigner or political general should have the rank Sigel achieved. Sigel's own shortcomings, including an oversized ego, made a difficult situation much worse. He was relieved of his commands and sat out the last months of the war.

German-Americans continued to hold Sigel in high regard. He partially redeemed himself by writing and holding public office after the war. He remained a symbol to German-Americans of their struggle to free themselves of despotic European governments and to be recognized and accepted as part of America. Although *Yankee Dutchman* is not the last word on Sigel, historians of German-Americana will want to read and refer to this biography.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

The Fortunate Years: An Amish Life.
By Aaron S. Glick. Intercourse, PA: Good Books. 1994. 251 pages. $9.95.

Aaron S. Glick's *The Fortunate Years: An Amish Life* is a delight. Rather than a structured autobiography that begins with the author's birth and follows his life faithfully, *The Fortunate Years* is a collection of vignettes not only of the author's past, but of rural America's as well. Glick has grouped the twenty-four chapters of *The Fortunate Years* into four parts, each covering roughly twenty years. In the first, "Growing Up—1903-1920," we are introduced to the author's family and Smoketown, Pennsylvania, in a time when Teddy Roosevelt was President and "things were less complicated" (1). Glick continues:

> Automobiles were few and far between. Not many country people had seen one, much less had a ride in one. Telephones, radios, and televisions were somewhere off in the undreamed-of future. Scotch tape was not yet invented. There were no trucks.

The notion of "growing up" characterizes not only young Aaron during this period, but also rural Lancaster County, which was becoming increasingly mechanized and modern. Writing of his father, Glick notes his pioneering work in the baby-chick-hatching business and his development of a mail-order plant business. We read of the local doctor's efforts to improve the roads in rural Lancaster County, the initiative to get Smoketown its first post office, and the formation of a local volunteer fire

department. Forecasting a primary theme of the book, we read about new farm machinery and changing farming practices: the harvesting of hay, plowing, and silo filling.

In part two, "The Roaring Twenties," we are introduced to the author's sisters and brothers. We read about train excursions, revival meetings, the author's trip west, and, finally, his marriage. During this time, the Glick family changes its church affiliation from the Old Order Amish to the more progressive Peachy Amish-Mennonite Church (later affiliated with the Beachy Amish-Mennonite Church). There are visits, work, and ball playing. By the end of the 1920s, the author has a family.

Part three, "Crash, Depression and Recovery," takes us from the stock market crash of 1929 through the 1950s. The author buys his first farm, a home with no plumbing or central heating. In a time of little money, the Glicks still traveled. War brought ration books and the Civilian Public Service. And, in the early 1940s, the Glicks became dealers for Hayfinishers—fans designed to finish drying hay once it had been stored. We read about hoboes, the Glick's attendance at Mennonite prayer meetings, and the author's trip through postwar Europe and the Middle East.

Part four, "The 1960s and Beyond," begins with the resumption of the draft for the Viet Nam War and the author's appointment to the Beachy Amish Alternate Service Program. Glick takes cattle to Crete and visits his youngest daughter in Tanzania. By the 1960s, Lancaster County has become a tourist attraction, and the Mennonite Information Center is established. In the 1970s and 1980s, there are deaths—wife, Anna Glick, and son, Jay Elvin. The author ends his story as a ninety-one-year-old looking back at the fortunate years, at peace with himself.

The work is hardly an academic one, and those who read this in an attempt to learn about the Amish will be sorely disappointed. For example, although religion has clearly played a major role in the author's life, Glick hardly discusses it. He notes that his family's decision to leave the Old Order was difficult, but he tells us neither why it should be so nor what issues were involved. In the seventh chapter of part two, the Glick family is placed under the *Bann* for leaving the Old Order Church, but, in chapter twelve, Glick notes that his mother was reconciled with her brother who had pronounced the *Bann* on her; no details are given. Glick does not mention the schism that occurred in the Peachy Church in the mid-1920s, nor does he tell us about his role in the establishment of the Pequea Amish-Mennonite Church in 1962.

Glick discusses other aspects of Amish life and Amish culture in equally cursory fashion. He comments, for example, that the Amish, "then, as now" are apolitical yet presents stories of an Amishman running for office on the Bull Moose ticket (33) and of a cornhusking at which politics almost brought some to blows (105).

The lack of detail is particularly frustrating because the view of Amish life presented in this work contradicts stereotypes of a people removed from the world and clinging to a pretechnological past. The author notes, for example, that when the Amish Church limited tractor use to stationary power, his father hid the crank to prevent brother Jake from using the tractor on the sly to plow. Why and how, the average reader will wonder, did the Old Order Church forbid tractors, especially when, as the book implies, their use was widespread. What was the reaction of other Old Order farmers? And how does this retreat from technology fit with other anecdotes that show Old Order farmers at the forefront of technical innovation?

Those who expect *The Fortunate Years* to be an orthodox autobiography will also be surprised, for this is not a record of Aaron Glick's life, but rather a record of his memories arranged somewhat chronologically. Children and grandchildren suddenly appear in the story without announcement of their births. Brother Dave's death is mentioned in passing without explanation of how he died. Siblings and offspring have spouses, seemingly without courtship or wedding. Even the author's own wedding gets little coverage: the one paragraph accorded it stands in sharp contrast to the description of hog butchering that follows and takes nearly three pages.

Yet, although neither an academic work nor a standard autobiography, *The Fortunate Years* is a delightful, compelling look at a bygone era. In reading this book, one may feel a bit like one has been given a chance to sit by a fire and listen to an old man tell one story after another. If a memory is too painful or private, then, perhaps, not much time is given to it; the storyteller pauses in some personal reflection and quickly moves on to something else. On the other hand, if it's a good story, it gets told. In the end, after the listening, one feels as if one knew the people too.

To read this book, I had to be fast enough to grab it every time my mother-in-law put it down. It was worth it, however. After reading *The Fortunate Years*, I feel I have a better understanding, not only of the Glicks of Lancaster County, but of the Lancaster community and rural towns in general, and a better sense of what the twentieth century has meant.

St. Lawrence University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

George Grosz / Hans Sahl. So Long mit Händedruck: Briefe und Dokumente.
Edited by Karl Riha. Hamburg: Luchterhand Literaturverlag, 1993. 153 pages. DM 58.00

Increasingly the growing archives, preserving documents of twentieth-century German intellectuals—e.g., the Literaturarchiv in Marbach, the Deutsche Bibliothek in Frankfurt and the Leo Baeck Institute in New York—have become invaluable resources as well for the scholar of German-American intellectual history. As if to buttress this observation, the editor and critic Karl Riha has mined the Sahl and Grosz collections at Marbach to produce, pastiche-fashion, an incandescent portrayal of two vastly different refugees from Nazi Germany, tempest-tossed in January 1933 (Grosz) and 1940 (Sahl) onto the northeastern shores of the United States.

This is not the usual story of two resourceless Europeans, surviving, at least at first, in straitened circumstances as did their contemporaries Ernst Bloch and Julius Bab, or living, for the most part, in a hermetic circle of exiles as did Thomas Mann or, on a less exalted level, the denizens of Washington Heights in New York. The letters and documents in this book abound not only with the names of prominent fellow refugees, Walter Mehring and Erwin Piscator for example, but also with such American luminaries as William Carlos Williams, Edmund Wilson, Peter Viereck, and Thornton Wilder.

This is no mere "name dropping" on the part of the two correspondents. George Grosz, through his one-man exhibits, his teaching at the Art Students League, his occasional public lectures, and his sporadic penchant for bibulous parties; Hans Sahl through his translations of the foremost American fiction writers and dramatists—which earned him the Thornton Wilder Translation Prize—had stimulating access to the cultural life of the Eastern United States. For example, they both esteemed Edmund Wilson "as America's leading literary critic" (37, 51) and enjoyed the heady repartees at his house.

They were, each in his own way, bridge-builders between the two continents, both by their achievements and their personalities. This reviewer knew both, the ebullient painter George Grosz and the polemical writer and mild-mannered individual Hans Sahl. At parties in Huntington, Long Island, hosted by Karl and Lucy Frucht or by George and Eva Grosz, one would meet not only exiles, such as the Ashtons, i.e., Hertha Pauli and E. B. Ashton—incidentally one of the book's few victims of an identity-concealing typo (138)—or Robert Bendiner, then of the *New York Post*, but also the inhabitants of the Long Island art community and the fellow jazz musicians of son Peter Grosz. In the course of these riveting parties George Grosz displayed an undiminished *élan vital* and an admiration for women which also punctuate some of his letters. The more sedate meetings with Hans Sahl, mostly at the Leo Baeck Institute, centered around the often thwarted publication of his fiction and non-fiction books: major recognition came to Hans Sahl very late in life, and not until his return to Germany.

The letters reflect, down to their style, great mutual respect, affection, and admiration. It is amusing to see how Sahl's initially more formal style begins to imitate the ribald, occasionally mischievous and pun-filled style of George Grosz and how the latter lapses into a mock-academic style in response to Sahl's often witty, but definitely more puristic prose and poems.

Through the prisms of their letters we also can observe their reactions to the events of their times, the musings of two highly intelligent minds, ready to draw analogies across the entire spectrum of European history. They are not always right (Korea as the catalyst of World War III?) (34), but they are always fascinating to watch, especially how they combine nostalgia for the days of Weimar with fervent patriotism for America.

The letters, together with the reprinting of two essays by Hans Sahl about the painter and an afterword by Karl Riha, provide us with an entirely accurate picture of the two correspondents. The three essays erase once and for all the conception of an Americanized George Grosz, defanged as a social critic. He always alternated between the quest for beauty and the exposure of societal ills. In America these dual goals gain expression on the one hand in his Cape Cod seascapes and on the other in his Stickman series, a direct continuation of his acerbic drawings and paintings of social criticism during the Weimar Republic. Hans Sahl, appreciated usually for his cerebral poetry, stands out here as an art critic who sees and absorbs a painting down to the smallest but by no means insignificant detail. All the more the pity that he was all but blind during the last years of his life.

The volume was intended as a tribute to Grosz on his hundredth birthday, perhaps also as a supplement to the splendidly edited volume of Grosz's letters by Herbert Knust (Reinbek, 1979). It succeeds on both counts: it shows Grosz to the last as a pioneering figure in modern painting. Riha intimates that he pointed the way to Andy Warholism and to "happenings" (147). He might have added that he also parallels, if only in the deconstruction of words, the often scatological experiments of Arno Schmidt. His targets are, for example, the initials of an underappreciated Pablo Picasso and the first syllable of the erstwhile friend Piscator's name.

In a dual sense the collection of letters also becomes a tribute to Hans Sahl. It reveals a far more expansive, endearing, relaxed Hans Sahl—even while in the hospital—than emerges from his other texts. And the book appeared, if by coincidence, in 1993, the year Hans Sahl died in Tübingen, resolved after much vacillation to return to Germany as his permanent residence.

Wayne State University *Guy Stern*

Amish Society.
By John A. Hostetler. 4th ed. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. xi + 435 pages. Cloth, $45.00; paper, $14.95.

The fourth edition of Hostetler's *Amish Society* is an excellent way to mark the 300th anniversary of the Amish/Mennonite schism. Although, on the whole, little changed from the third edition, this work remains the definitive study of Amish society for the general audience, providing the reader a detailed survey of Amish history, lifestyle, and interaction with the surrounding, dominant English society.

Amish Society remains, however, an uneven work. In its portrayal of Amish life it is unsurpassed. As one born and raised Amish, Hostetler brings the understanding of an insider to his subject. Nowhere is this more evident than in his description of the various facets of Amish life: dress, courtship, education, and religious practice. When the first edition of the book appeared in 1963, there were few general works on the Amish, and, so far as I am aware, none that portrayed the diversity of Amish culture. The Amish have since become a very popular subject, yet the tendency to present them as a homogeneous group characterized by an unchanging lifestyle of resistance to technology remains strong. Often, in such works, the Lancaster Amish are given as the norm, and groups elsewhere are, by implication, more or less Amish as they measure up to those in Lancaster.

Hostetler recognizes the diversity and lays it out for the reader. For example, the discussion in chapter thirteen of change and fragmentation suggests the numerous ways in which Amish groups can vary; Hostetler notes buggy types and colors, the use of dashboards and battery-operated lights on carriages, men's hair length, suspender styles, and even the speed at which the *Loblied* is sung. To make the extent of variation even clearer, Hostetler discusses the groups in the Kishacoquillas Valley in Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, beginning with the ultraconservative Old School Amish and ending with the Beachy Amish, and then links this Amish continuum to a similar Mennonite one. Although Hostetler does not survey Amish communities in other states, leaving unmentioned other large, distinct Amish groups (e.g., the Swartzentruber Amish of Holmes County, Ohio, and several other states), he enables readers, nevertheless, to realize the many ways in which groups differ.

Hostetler provides the reader with numerous examples, anecdotes, charts, and diagrams to clarify difficult points. In addition, the work is well indexed, with a very good bibliography and numerous photographs. Nevertheless, while Hostetler's descriptions of Amish life are accurate and

engaging, the analyses he makes of Amish culture are generally less than satisfying.

Little of the theoretical discussion in the Amish Society has been changed since the third edition, leaving the impression that recent theoretical developments in anthropology, sociology, and history have little to add to our knowledge of Amish life. More unfortunate is the impression that Hostetler's attempts to place his description of Amish society in a broader theoretical framework are "tacked on," perhaps because a text of this sort seems to need them in order to be an academic work. For example, Hostetler devotes considerable space in chapter one to a discussion of "models for understanding Amish culture," yet these figure not at all in later discussions of Amish life. Why choose these particular models, and what bearing did they have on the descriptions of Amish life that followed?

Further attempts at analysis prove equally unsatisfying. In chapter fourteen, for example, Hostetler asserts that "conformity," or acceptance of the goals of Amish life and the approved means of achieving them, and "ritualism," or overadherence to the rules, are "supportive" modes of adaptation. On the other hand, he argues that "innovation," or the use of "other than approved means" to achieve the society's goals, and "retreatism," or adaptation in which both cultural goals and institutional means are rejected, are threatening. Yet how, one must wonder, can "ritualism" be a supportive adaptation if, as Hostetler suggests, it usually occurs "at the cost of stagnation." And, one must ask, is innovation never useful in supporting the community? Hostetler goes on to contrast "retreatism" with "rebellion," a mode of adaptation in which the individual rejects his/her culture and alienates himself/herself "from the parent social structure" (305), and cites, as an example of the former, two families who, estranged from their communities, took to the road in canvas-covered wagons on which were printed Bible verses. Unclear is why these families, having removed themselves from the community, are not "rebellious."

In Hostetler's schema, the relationship between these different "modes of adaptation" is unclear. Even more unfortunate is his failure to bring these classifications into later discussions. For example, in chapter seventeen, which focuses on responses to change, Hostetler describes the tendency of individuals to "overconform" to rules, and illustrates this tendency with examples similar to those used in the earlier analysis of "ritualism"; nevertheless, Hostetler does not relate this "overconformity" to either "conformity" or "ritualism" or to any of the other modes of adaptation. Nor does he use the notion of "mode of adaptation" in his discussions of social control, change and restraint, social avoidance, and cultural contradictions, although each of these issues requires an understanding of individual actions and community response.

There are, unfortunately, other gaps as well. In his discussion of quilting, new to the fourth edition, Hostetler notes that it has become a source of economic subsistence but does not explore the effect, if any, this has had on the family. In another section new to the fourth edition, Hostetler focuses on Amish lawyering and the activities of the Old Order National Steering Committee, as well as on community-generated political activism and the assistance granted Amish communities by neighboring lawyers. He fails to note, however, that the steering committee may not speak for all Amish groups and does not explore why this is so. Nor does Hostetler investigate (or even mention) conflicts outside of Pennsylvania, such as the ongoing battle against the slow-moving-vehicle warning triangle, which the Swartzentruber Amish have waged in several states.

Less important but frustrating are small textual inconsistencies. Writing of Jakob Ammann, Hostetler notes (43) that "his 'mark' but not his signature appears on archival and government documents" and that "he did not know how to write"; nevertheless, two pages later, we read of variations in his signatures. The representation of dialect and terms is inconsistent, e.g., *Ordnungsgemee* (82), *Attningsgmee* (109). Finally, and particularly aggravating to those of us who use this work as a classroom text, the quality of the binding has declined sharply from that of the third edition. Despite its shortcomings, however, this work remains an essential tool for the researcher of Amish life and a wonderfully detailed introduction to the subject for the reader new to the subject.

St. Lawrence University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . Edited By Samuel Urlsperger. Volume XVII (1759-1760).
Edited and annotated by George Fenwick Jones; translated by David Noble (1759) and George Fenwick Jones (1760). Athens, GA, & London: University of Georgia Press, 1993. 326 pages. $40.00

In the Southeastern United States, from Virginia to Florida and west to Mississippi, no one group of German-Americans has been as extensively chronicled as have been the Georgia Germans of the Savannah River. This can be attributed to the more than three decades of seemingly tireless work by one individual, namely George Fenwick Jones, now professor emeritus of the University of Maryland. Jones not only produced two of the finest histories of German-American settlement, *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans along the Savannah* (U. of Georgia Pr., 1983; reviewed in *SGAS Newsletter* 6.1 [1985]: 8), and *The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733—1783* (U.

of Georgia Pr., 1992), but he has also translated and edited, to date, seventeen volumes of the *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America*, the accounts—albeit highly expurgated—of the Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius, spiritual leader of the Savannah River Communities of which this is number seventeen (see my review of some earlier volumes in *YGAS* 25 [1990]: 232-33).

In a previous review of Jones's work I commended both him and the University of Georgia Press for their extraordinary devotion to realizing the completion of this project. There can be no doubt that these particular volumes might never have appeared were it not for the remarkable cooperation of these two. Publishers and scholars in other states should take a lesson from this welcome collaboration, especially given the wealth of unpublished diaries and journals still extent in the German-American community.

Approximately two hundred Lutherans from Salzburg, by way of Germany, arrived in the Georgia Colony in 1734. Having been sponsored in part by their church, it fell to Pastor Boltzius, a theological graduate of the University of Halle and a man of many talents including agricultural and commercial, to send his daily reports on the community back to Augsburg at the end of each year to be examined by church authorities and eventually published. The task of preparing these reports for publication was given to Samuel Urlsperger and he set about his work most zealously, deleting all references to adversity and unpleasantness within the Georgia settlement. This arrangement continued without interruption until 1759, when Urlsperger's son, Johann August, assumed editorship. Troubled by the publication of expurgated reports, Boltzius seized upon this opportunity to resign and turned his job over to Christian Rabenhorst, a younger assistant. As Jones notes in his introduction, Johann August Urlsperger was to prove an even more fervent censor than his father.

Needless to say, the daily entries in this volume bear great similarity in both style and detail to those appearing in the previously published reports. Births, deaths, and illnesses (including an apparent outbreak of botulism resulting in the deaths of several children in May 1759); the arrivals and departures of residents and their guests; the weather; and even agricultural conditions were all duly noted with great care. Perhaps of greatest interest to historians outside the field of German-Americana would be the copious references to the Cherokee Indian uprising occurring in the west of the colony, and the increasing local hostilities between the English and the French which we know would soon result in warfare (e.g., the entry of 30 November 1759).

For the months of June, July, and August 1759 separate entries by Boltzius and Rabenhorst are included; the former from his private journal; the latter from the official reports. The differences in both style and

substance are striking. Boltzius was obviously more concerned with spiritual matters, Rabenhorst with secular, as their separate entries for 12 June indicate. Boltzius mentions a meeting with the children from local confirmation classes and an afternoon prayer session at which Rabenhorst was present (62), whereas Rabenhorst writes of the continuing illness of a Mr. Lemke and the problem this has created for the school system (86). Note that no mention is made by Rabenhorst of a prayer session that day.

Once again the translated text is highly readable and quite entertaining. This work will surely join its companion volumes as a most useful resource for scholars in a variety of disciplines. I eagerly look forward to future volumes in this series to continue the story that is so well presented by Boltzius, Urlsperger, and, now, Jones.

Marshall University *Christopher L. Dolmetsch*

Today I Commanded the Wind / Heute befahl ich dem Wind.
By Lisa Kahn. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Poetry Press, 1994. 141 pages. $9.95.

There can be no doubt that Kahn is one of the premier German-American poets writing today, and there is no end to her versatility. In the past her poetic themes have ranged from scenes of a Greek island with a significant amount of social criticism, to scenes from East Texas with an equal mixture of love and detailed observation, to portrayals of works of art (i.e., paintings and statues), to the artistic process. The title of her latest collection offers not the slightest hint that something entirely new is at hand. An introductory one-page discursive statement introduces the seventy numbered poems as elegies to the poet's recently deceased ninety-six-year-old mother; writing them was therapeutic, a process that helped her "grapple . . . during the process of mourning" (vi). Here, as with the poems, German and English versions appear on facing pages.

The emotion expressed in these elegies is intense. The first word of the first poem sets the tone: "Immer" (3). At the beginning of the mourning period—although this is not the specific point of reference of the word in the context—the sense of loss is constantly, "always," present. In the concluding poem, there is light at the end of the tunnel: "Am Morgen / kommt die Sonne / ins Zimmer // . . . // Ich werde den Tag / überstehen" (141). Words related to time abound throughout the collection, contributing to the intense feeling of loss, the feeling of one generation yielding to the next. An especially poignant expression of this sense of change is found at the exact center of the book. In poem 35, the loss of the mother is felt especially deeply as a result of something that happened; and in poem 36, a different kind of loss is perceived in the

younger generation: the poet expresses her love of an apron her mother embroidered for her, and observes that she will do nothing comparable for her daughter: "sie würde die Liebe in der Handarbeit / nicht erkennen können obschon sie / keine Brille trägt" (73).

Kahn did the English versions herself (with, she acknowledges, the help of Edna Brown). We have, then, a very rare phenomenon: an established German-language poet who is virtually completely bilingual doing parallel poems in her native and adopted languages. I found it interesting that little attempt is made to retain verbal parallels, e.g., "hochfliegende" (135, lines 2 and 10) is translated first as "high-flown" and then as "lofty," and "Die Zeit . . . / ist nun vorbei" (91, lines 1-2 and 21-23) with totally different constructions. Most interesting, however, is how Kahn handles situations in which she addresses herself in the second person, as in poem 57, where "sie umringen dich / umstricken dich" (115) is translated "encircle me / surround me."

The decision to attempt to write a detached, objective review of these utterly personal poems was not an easy one, and it is rendered more difficult by the necessity of concluding with the observation that here, as in other of Kahn's recent collections, the number of typographical errors is excessive.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

Tagebücher 1951-1952.
By Thomas Mann. Edited by Inge Jens. Frankfurt/Main: S. Fischer, 1993. 928 pages.

This is the ninth volume of Thomas Mann's extant diaries published so far. Only the diaries from 1918 to 1921 had survived, by accident, the destruction of the earlier diaries, whereas the diaries from 1933 to 1955 have been preserved and chronicle the day-to-day events in Thomas Mann's life during his exile years, most of them spent in the United States. Mann noted the recurrent happenings of the day: sleep, meals, creative work, letters received and letters written or dictated, personal contacts, family problems, political events as reported in the media, and, on a regular basis, reviews of his books and the mentioning of his name in the media. Children and grandchildren came for visits, he insisted on his daily walk, duly recorded, and there were haircuts, visits to doctors, shopping, and last but not least his recurring ailments, prescriptions by the physicians, and their effect. During the summers of 1951 and 1952, the routine was interrupted by extended trips to Europe. Both times, he circled around Germany, spending most of the time in Austria and Switzerland. The summer trip of 1952 turned into a voyage with no

return. After agonizing debates and reflections, the decision still came somewhat unexpectedly, mostly dictated by the circumstances, such as the refusal of the U.S. Immigration Service to allow Erika Mann to reenter the United States, coming after the spectacular refusal to allow Charlie Chaplin to return to his home in California.

The diaries even record the packing and sealing of the previous diaries, that were to be opened not before twenty years after his death. The box carried the remark, "no literary value." This is correct: unlike Kafka's diaries, Thomas Mann's do not contain drafts of literary texts. Instead, they record the ordinary and extraordinary events of daily life, and that includes the circumstances of the writing of new texts, and the reception of the previous works that Mann followed eagerly. He wrote to authors of reviews and scholarly books, he was still proud and happy about honors and awards. He enjoyed most of all his direct contacts with audiences through lectures and readings; he liked to perform, and play a role. He was objective in his assessments of the performance, but was very proud when he was successful, and that was normally the case.

The diaries proper take up only three hundred and twenty-one pages, little more than a third of the volume. The text is followed by over four hundred pages of commentary, "Anmerkungen," and another one hundred pages of documents, mostly unpublished drafts of letters by Mann or letters to him. The index is sixty-seven pages long.

In 1951 and 1952, Thomas Mann was embroiled in many political controversies. The attacks came from two sides, but had the same underlying reason. In the United States, it was the season where the Cold War mentality dominated, and "communist traitors" had to be eliminated. Mann was obviously not a communist, but he had publicly supported Henry Wallace in his 1948 presidential campaign, and he was branded as a "fellow traveler" every time he lent his signature to a good cause, such as world peace. Albert Einstein suffered a similar fate. Mann never accepted the American point of view that communism would be so much worse than a third world war. He was appalled by the ongoing witch hunt for "traitors" and was opposed to the Korean War. It has to be remembered that he lived close to Hollywood which was wrecked by the hearings of Senator McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He knew what was going on in the academic world. In spite of his immense prestige, he was still suspect every time he supported a peace crusade. He was an American citizen and had planned to stay in this country, but his attackers called him, of course, a "German."

Even in his private circle, Mann was under pressure from two sides. His daughter Erika wanted him to get more involved, but his publisher Alfred Knopf cautioned him against it, and even more his friend and supporter Agnes Meyer, who was close to the events in Washington. So, while he seemed to live a rather secluded life in Pacific Palisades, he was

never above the political controversies, especially since he was not always aware of the effect of his signatures and statements.

Mann had a much clearer sense when he was hurting European, especially German, sensibilities; but he sometimes chose to do so. He deplored the separation of Germany and refused to take sides, as he was expected to do, especially by the Federal Republic of Germany. Seen in retrospect, his attitude may make sense, but in the fifties, his only protection was his fame and his advanced age. He could afford to be different, and when he decided to move to Switzerland, the Swiss were glad to be accepted by him. While his fame and prestige were enduring, he was not immune from attacks in Europe either, and he was especially sensitive about attacks from Germany.

In 1951-52 the cooler reception also translated into less success for his new books. It was the time of the publication and reception of the translation of *Der Erwählte*. Mann noted its much warmer reception in Europe, and he felt that when he moved, he would be among more sympathetic readers. It was also the time of the writing of *Die Betrogene* and *Felix Krull*, which was to have an unexpected success.

At this time, Mann began to feel more lonely. The diary keeps recording the death or serious illness of friends. The dominant feeling, however, is that of being threatened. He may have had the illusion that he had become an "American," a real immigrant, instead of an exile, but now he felt less and less welcome in the United States; he saw that Lion Feuchtwanger did not obtain his American citizenship, neither did Erika Mann, and he was so much less integrated than his friends Bruno Walter and William Dieterle. This was not only a question of language; but language certainly contributed to it. And in 1952, the diary records a growing obsession: Mann did not want to be buried in America. He wanted to move to Europe, he said to himself, not to live there, but to die there and to be buried in European soil.

In the end, Mann did not escape the fate of most German exile writers in the United States. They had identified with America's struggle against Nazi Germany until 1945, but then, in 1945, when return to Germany became thinkable, the real exile began. Unlike most of the other immigrants from German-speaking countries who were to become one of the most successful groups of immigrants ever, the writers, for the most part, never felt at home in the new country. Thomas Mann, whose political position was not that of Brecht, Feuchtwanger, or Stefan Heym, believed that he would feel good about staying in Pacific Palisades to the very end. But his circle there was almost totally "German," and America presented itself largely as an intrusion. It is remarkable that the "Americans" in these diaries are marginal: maids, lawyers, realtors, journalists, politicians, professors of German. He lived on an island, in a kind of splendid isolation.

Diaries of this kind are not a good reading for hero worshippers. While the routine, from breakfast to the listening to classical music (Wagner!) and his reading before going to sleep, is interesting, the diary, like any intimate document, reveals many weaknesses, supersensitivities, some paranoid fears and angers, the nervousness that comes with troubled times, and some signs of old age. It was indeed a time of personal crisis. The difficult decision to move to Europe disturbed his quiet life, and even more: the diaries record his preoccupation with the end of his productive life. He was also concerned about the end of the physical life, including the sex life. He felt elated by so many signs of praise and respect, but he knew he was becoming a legend. He belonged to the past. He saw the growing distance from his audience.

As far as it can be ascertained, the text has been edited with great care. Details about the commentary cannot be raised here. It may suffice to say that there is a great amount of information about Mann's last year in the United States and his move to Switzerland.

A last footnote: Mann never considered living in Austria, although he had liked to spend vacations there, and only once is there a serious mention of Germany: to rebuild the old house in Munich in a new style, and move there. That would have been a strange turn of events; but it only remained a mere possibility. Thomas Mann must have known that he could only "return" to Zürich. Considering such perspectives makes the reading of the diaries interesting beyond the often repetitive details.

Texas A&M University *Wulf Koepke*

Cincinnati German Imprints: A Checklist.
By Franziska C. Ott. New German-American Studies, vol. 7. New York, etc.: Lang, 1993. 378 pages. $58.95.

The imprint list under review may be evaluated as a small piece of a large puzzle—the bibliographic record of the German book trade in America since 1830. A sound foundation for this task has recently been provided by K. J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America*, 2 vols. (1989). Still valuable are older bibliographies which go beyond 1830: A. L. Shoemaker's, for the counties of Lehigh and Northampton, Pennsylvania; Klaus Wust, "German Printing in Virginia"; and Felix Reichmann, "German Printing in Maryland," among others. However, it is not unfair to say the post-1830 emigration has not been so well served as far as publishing and the book trade is concerned. Thus Franziska Ott's contribution is most welcome.

Not so long ago, Heinz Kloss called for a bibliography of German-American imprints after 1830, a plea reiterated by Tolzmann in 1977 (Ott, viii). An essential first step would be a new edition of K. J. R. Arndt and M. E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1953* (1965). Apart from revising the bibliography itself by correcting errors, adding new titles, and updating library holdings, an index of editors and publishers must be included. Such an index would be invaluable, since many of these individuals also participated in the book trade as printers, publishers, or authors.

Ott's checklist concentrates on known Cincinnati imprints as listed in certain bibliographies, catalogues, and data bases (3). Newspapers and periodicals were not consulted; and in most cases the books themselves could not be examined. This methodology inhibits explanatory notes on questions of authorship, readership, and historical significance. Another limitation is illustrated by Ott's summary of types of publishers and publications found (xv-xviii). Based on her own checklist these naturally are Cincinnati imprints. Taken at face value, her conclusions are a distortion of reality, for in addition to Cincinnati imprints there was a great diversity of German books available, from other American cities as well as imports from Europe.

A variety of German books were also published by Anglo-American firms and one important genre ought to be mentioned here: subscription books (American style). These were large, illustrated books with mass appeal, such as: self-help and domestic medical handbooks, religious and inspirational works, and volumes on American history and world geography. Subscription books were printed from stereotype plates and usually sold only by publishers' agents, who made use of sample chapters and specimens of available bindings to collect orders. This lucrative trade was a specialty of certain American entrepreneurs. Many such books, which by their nature enjoyed a wide distribution, were also made available in German versions. It is not generally known that these German translations frequently contained new material dealing specifically with German-American concerns. Number 125 in Ott's checklist is one such book: C. B. Taylor, *History of the United States . . .*, translated by Wilhelm Beschke and published by Mack R. Barnitz in 1856. (A note ca. 1844 by Ezra Strong appears on the verso of the title page.) The first American edition is dated 1831. Beschke's translation appeared in 1838, 1839, and 1843; expanded versions were published in 1855 and 1856. The 1838 German edition concludes with a supplement covering the years 1832-37 and a celebration of "Das Deutschthum" (535-600), all from Beschke's pen. The actual publisher of the editions mentioned above was the copyright holder, Ezra Strong of Connecticut, who owned the plates.

Bibliographic problems arising from stereotyping also marked the long career of Samuel Ludvigh, rationalist, freethinker, and anticlerical

speaker, best known as editor and publisher of *Die Fackel* (1843-69). Compelled to move his family from Baltimore to New York, and back to Baltimore, then to St. Paul and finally to Cincinnati, Ludvigh's stereotype plates remained his prized possessions. Some knowledge of Ludvigh's career would certainly clarify three entries found in Ott. For example, (no. 316) records the first German translation anywhere of the celebrated *Testament of Jean Meslier*, albeit of a corrupt text. Published first in Baltimore (1856), a second impression was immediately called for—also dated 1856. The third issue, from the same plates, was published in Cincinnati (1867). Following the same pattern, (no. 389), *Der Priester Spiegel*, Ludvigh's German version of Anthony Gavin's *Master-Key to Popery*, was first printed in Baltimore (1853), but the second stereotype issue has not yet been identified. A third issue was published posthumously in Cincinnati (1870) by Ludvigh's widow. Similarly, Ludvigh's *Reden und Vorlesungen* (no. 367) was first published in Baltimore (1850), with a second issue in 1854, and a third in Cincinnati (1869).

As useful as Ott's imprint list may be, its value would have been enhanced by a broader historical base. By that I mean: utilization of contemporary German-American newspapers; physical examination of more imprints; and recourse to primary and secondary sources. Needless to say, these suggestions go far beyond Ott's stated objectives and procedures (xviii-xix, 1-3). Another instance of buried significance is Ott's number 20, the fourth edition of Father Johann Martin Henni's historically important *Katechismus* (1844); Father Henni, the patriarch of German Roman Catholics in Cincinnati, published the first edition in 1835—but the first three editions are not listed in Ott.

It is common knowledge that the United States abstained from any international copyright treaties until the end of the nineteenth century. Consequently, an enormous amount of English literature, popular fiction, nonfiction, and translations of European literature was reprinted with impunity. (Cincinnati publishers were very active in this lucrative field.) The same conditions encouraged reprinters of German-language books. However, a glance at Ott's checklist reveals very few examples, and for two good reasons. Firstly, almost all the large-scale reprinters of German literature were located in New York, Philadelphia, and (after 1865) Chicago. These publishers could service the Cincinnati market easily and cheaply. Secondly, in Cincinnati as elsewhere newspapers and literary journals provided an abundance of reading matter ranging from the latest fiction to Georg Büchner's *Dantons Tod*—first serialized in *Die Turn-Zeitung* (Cincinnati), from December 1856 through January 1857. Samuel Ludvigh's *Die Fackel* reprinted not only *Dantons Tod*, but also Büchner's biography and letters, though only the letters were actually published in Cincinnati (vol. 19, 1866-67). Book pirates worked on both sides of the

Atlantic. In 1851 Eggers and Wilde published a German translation of Luther Stearns Cushing's *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* (Ott, no. 62). Their business acumen was confirmed when R. Kittler of Hamburg reprinted this volume in 1852.

There are many other entries in Ott's useful work that invite emendation or commentary. But there is also much that ought to stimulate new research as well as similar endeavors for other cities. Ott's checklist concludes with a number of appendices (some more useful than others) and separate indexes of publishers, titles, and names.

University of Kentucky *Robert E. Cazden*

Adventures of a Greenhorn: An Autobiographical Novel.
By Robert Reitzel. Translation and Introduction by Jacob Erhardt. New German-American Studies, vol. 3. New York, etc., Lang, 1992. vii + 94 pages. $35.95.

In his introduction Erhardt reintroduces us to Robert Reitzel (1849-98), a prominent member of the radical German-American community in the latter part of the nineteenth century and the subject of a monograph by A. E. Zucker in 1917, but today largely forgotten, even by specialists. As editor of and primary contributor to the Detroit weekly *Der arme Teufel* between its founding in 1884 and Reitzel's death in 1898, he continually delighted his adherents and raised the hackles of the more traditionally minded, in the German-American as well as in the Anglo-American community. Erhardt also gives a lively summary of the novel, which was originally serialized in *Der arme Teufel* (1886-88), and was later published as a book, first in an abridged version and later in complete but "faulty" form (viii); the translation is based on the original and complete version from *Der arme Teufel*. (I do not have access to the original source, a somewhat awkward position for a reviewer of a translation.)

The novel relates, in first-person form, the protagonist's adventures, beginning briefly with his emigration as a widely read but undisciplined twenty-year-old university dropout in 1870 and a brief but pleasurable interlude in Paris prior to arriving in New York. We are told in gleeful detail about his struggles upon his arrival: to find a scrap of bread, a glass of beer (or wine, or whiskey, or . . .), a warm, if temporary, place to sleep, and ultimately, of course, a job. At the conclusion of a series of events too strange to be fiction, he comes under the patronage of a pastor, and he himself becomes a minister, with his own church, after bluffing his way through the "theological exam which I had to take . . . before the honorable and laudable Board of the Reformed Synod of Maryland" (51); he was continually distracted from his studies by the likes of the "pagan"

Homer and—an author often mentioned as one of his favorites—the "carefree" Fritz Reuter (51). And then, of course, "The first sermon! The first students' duel, the first battle, the first declaration of love, the first hangover! It's all child's play compared to the first sermon" (55). While humor is certainly not lacking in the remainder of the book, the general tone does become more serious, as the narrator traces his development from a liberal preacher who makes token efforts to conform, to a radical freethinker, one who considers Heine to be a more appropriate subject for a sermon than the holy Trinity, and must eventually leave the ministry.

Social commentary of interest to German-Americanists is found throughout the book; one of the narrator's first realizations after landing in the New World is reflected in the observation: "I've never found people more indifferent to human misery than the German-American businessmen of New York" (13). The criticism becomes more persistent and more refined, reaching an early climax in a passage that might have influenced Brecht: "The servant of God admonishes us to pray and trust in God. This is wonderful advice, if praying would only fill an empty stomach and trusting in God would heat the house!" (30). His primary difficulty with the church is summed up in his musings on its failure to take seriously, in practice, the Biblical injunction that Love is the paramount virtue (e.g., 59), with the result that "I have not been proclaiming the religion of Christianity from this pulpit anymore but rather the religion of humanity" (83); ultimately the church is recognized as the enemy: "Indeed, this is the next task before me: I want to do battle against Christianity" (85). There are several recurrent minor themes in the book, including the narrator's difficulty with the English language (usually presented in a humorous fashion), and the reluctance of employers to hire a person who wears glasses (a situation in which little humor is to be found).

In general the translation seems professional, although there are signs of carelessness, such as an occasional awkward phrase, the misuse of commas, and (a different category) the somewhat frequent use of hyphens instead of dashes. And there is something I do miss: notes. Reitzel is fond of showing off his erudition, and whereas the reader of a translation might be counted on to recognize the name Goethe, and perhaps Heine, that is not true of many of the literary and historical figures who are quoted, mentioned, or alluded to. Reitzel is also fond of proverbial expressions. These appear in quotes, and some of them are familiar, even in translation; others, however, did not seem familiar, and I would have been grateful for information on when Reitzel was coining his own proverbs. I recommend additions of this sort if there is a second edition.

We can all be grateful to the translator and publisher for making this interesting work available to an English-speaking audience. It will be of

interest to scholars in a variety of fields, and could serve a useful role in courses on German-Americana taught in English.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

Palatines, Liberty, and Property: German Lutherans in Colonial British America.
By A. G. Roeber. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993. 432 pages. $49.95.

A. G. Roeber's book dispels any notions that the German immigrants assimilated easily into the Anglo-American culture of the British colonies. In his study of eighteenth-century immigrants from the Palatine, Württemberg, and Kraichgau regions, the author traces the various concepts of property and liberty in these groups. He does this in part one of the book by uncovering the source of these Germans' mentality, which lies rooted in religious thought, particularly Lutheran Pietism. Part two analyzes how the core concepts of liberty and property mutated in the cultural relocation to the American colonies, specifically to Philadelphia and areas in Virginia, Georgia, and South Carolina. The book's third and final section presents the German-American development of these ideas, an outgrowth which allowed them to be sympathetic supporters of the American Revolution.

Roeber's thesis is that German-American understanding of liberty and property were both unique and counter to the American cultural understanding of these terms. Two schools of thought characterized the German immigrants. For some, freedom meant being able to pursue the "good life" through hard work and its rewards. Others saw freedom as absence of constraint by ambitious lords. Neither view had a monopoly in America. It was not until German-Americans came to understand that the colonies wanted to protect private property that these immigrants agreed to support the patriot cause.

Freedom, which the immigrants understood primarily in religious terms, was for them a largely apolitical concept. Here Roeber sketches the deep roots of Pietism in the German southwest. Liberty meant freedom of conscience in the sense of Luther's essay "The Freedom of a Christian." This liberty is clearly distinguished from a political sense, such as the freedom to choose representation. Luther's teaching on the two kingdoms (*Zweireichlehre*) also shaped their thought. In this scheme there is a proper distinction between secular and spiritual authority. The rulers respect the private sphere of their subjects, and in turn, the citizens submit unquestioningly to secular authority.

Unlike Anglo-Americans, who equated liberty with security in one's property, the Germans, shaped by Pietist thinking, viewed property ambiguously. They viewed "worldly goods" with suspicion, while staunchly celebrating the virtues of the domestic hearth. Their thinking on the term was communal and marked by a tendency toward "inwardness." They retreated from secular authorities, and yet expected them to defend their property, as such defined.

Two types of cultural "brokers," argues Roeber, facilitated the transferal of these concepts. The first were Protestant pastors who were trained in Halle and embodied that city's brand of Pietism, emphasizing domesticity and withdrawal from secular politics. Most notable was Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who wielded power from the pulpit and in the conventicles. The second type of brokers were successful entrepreneurs, printers, tavern keepers, and booksellers. These brokers directed the German understanding of liberty and property toward confluence with Anglo-American thought. This aspect of Roeber's study is of much use to the scholar of German-Americana. With skill and insight the author fleshes a character like Mühlenberg, and demonstrates, based on sermons and writings, his substantial sphere of influence. Roeber likewise deftly demonstrates the role that printers and writers like Christopher Saur played in defining a German-American sense of key (legal) terms. The analysis of Saur's almanac, *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender . . .*, and its use of the literary conversation (a popular genre of fictitious dialogue) is particularly effective.

Also interesting to the German-Americanist is the book's initial discussion of English words and their German counterparts, such as private and *privat*, property and *Vermögen*, liberty and *Freiheit* or *Freiheiten*. The author shows how key terms were often left untranslated in German documents, suggesting the immigrants' inability to fully grasp their implications in the cultural transfer.

The author demonstrates German-American scholarship in the truest sense of the term. A professor of early-American history, Roeber learned to read the old German handwriting used in the reams of archival documents he consulted. His research of the Germans before emigration is as thorough as his inquiry into their experience in the colonies. The sizable bulk of meticulous notes also testifies to Roeber's mastery of the subject matter.

This detail, however, is the chief culprit in the book's flaw. Too many anecdotes and minutiae saturate the 400 plus pages. Roeber is best in introducing and concluding sections. In between he slips into reconstructive narrative that overwhelms the reader with incidents, names, numbers, and statistics. The descriptive element of the book too often outweighs its analytical component. Nevertheless, Roeber makes a strong contribution to German-American studies with *Palatines, Liberty,*

and Property. The book does justice to the complexities of German immigration and convincingly demonstrates how domestic, social, and political concepts were inextricably tied to religious and cultural understandings. It reveals likewise the involved process by which the settlers arrived at a German-American understanding of liberty and property.

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Das Ohiotal - The Ohio Valley: The German Dimension.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies, vol. 4. New York, etc.: Lang, 1993. 211 pages. $49.95.

On 13 October 1990, the German-American Studies Program, in cooperation with the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Cincinnati, sponsored a symposium: *Das Ohiotal - The Ohio Valley: A Saturday Symposium on the German Dimension.* According to the editor, the symposium was held to commemorate German-American Day by focusing on the German heritage in the Ohio Valley. The papers presented at this symposium, as well as other contributions, were collected and are presented in this volume.

The Ohio Valley, which follows the Ohio River, includes the states of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. People of German descent make up the largest ethnic group in most of these states. However, written historical accounts of these states usually mention only briefly, if at all, the massive German immigration and the great impact Germans have had on this area. The editor hopes that this symposium and collection of essays will encourage further research into the history of the German element in the Ohio Valley.

The first section, entitled "Old and New World Dimensions," discusses the causes of the massive emigration of German-speaking peoples from their homelands to other parts of Europe and to the New World. Intense political, economic, and religious conditions in the many German states and principalities over the centuries resulted in an unstable environment which many were eager to leave behind. A second essay focuses on Cincinnati and the German "image" of this city on the Ohio River. German-language publications before 1830, along with eyewitness accounts, gave a positive image of the "Queen City," which resulted in a large influx of German immigrants in the nineteenth century.

Literary, linguistic, and architectural dimensions are presented in the second section of this work. The three essays in this section cover the German press in Ohio, a brief history of Germans in Ohio, and the impact of German immigration on a northern Kentucky community. In addition,

the third essay presents the architectural influence the German immigrants had on this Kentucky town.

Four essays make up section three and focus on the sociopolitical dimensions of Germans in the Ohio Valley. The first essay presents the life of General August Willich, a prominent German "forty-eighter" and a social republican. The failure of the German Revolution of 1848-49 resulted in Willich's departure from Europe, and found him eventually becoming editor of Cincinnati's *Republikaner*. His political thought, writings, wartime contribution as a commander in the Union Army, along with his "republican" insights, resulted in his being labeled a legacy on both sides of the Atlantic. A significant but largely unstudied German-American organization, the turners, is the topic of the next essay. The first turner societies in America were established in 1848 in Cincinnati and Louisville, and by 1851 there were twenty-two societies in the East and Midwest. These societies eventually formed a national organization and began publishing a national newspaper, the *Turnerzeitung*, and also began to hold regular athletic competitions. By the 1890s, there were over three hundred clubs nationwide with over forty thousand members, resulting in an organization which provided German immigrants with many athletic, social, and cultural programs. The turner movement also played a key role in the introduction of physical education programs in the public schools. The home of the national archives of the turner movement is Indiana University—Purdue University at Indianapolis, and was designated so in 1989 by the American Turners. Despite these archives containing two major collections, there are still many gaps in the written history of the turners. The German Day Celebration in Cincinnati, known earlier as the Pastorius Celebration, is the topic of the third essay in the sociopolitical section. The connection of this celebration with those held in Cleveland is examined, as are the history, purpose, and goals of these commemorative occasions which began in 1883. The fourth and final essay in this section, which claims to be in no way a comprehensive study, gives an overview of the history of the German *Vereine* in Indianapolis. A listing of various German organizations by type (educational, athletic, musical, veterans', etc.) is given, along with a discussion of the role these clubs played in the lives of German-Americans. A brief discussion of current German-American social organizations in Indianapolis concludes this essay.

The four essays which make up part four, "Educational Dimensions," present information on the education of German-American children as well as the influence Germans had on the school systems in Ohio, including the establishment of the University of Cincinnati. Statistics on the number of German-language and German-English bilingual public and private schools in Ohio (1853-69) are given along with enrollment statistics for Cincinnati's bilingual schools from 1841 to 1917. Most

Ohioans, including those of German descent, are probably unfamiliar with the number of public and private German-English schools which at one time could be found in almost every part of the state.

"Religious Dimensions," the fifth and final section of this work, gives a brief history of the German Evangelical churches in Cincinnati, including a more detailed account of Cincinnati's Third Protestant Memorial Church. This essay includes lists of the church's oldest members, a list of the congregation's presidents from 1839 to 1885, and a list of former church organists. Finally, a brief history of Louisville's largest German Protestant church is presented, focusing on the controversy surrounding the Rev. John G. Stilli, whose political views, patriotism, and loyalties were questioned upon America's involvement in World War I.

The appendix includes the printed program of the symposium, along with the 1990 United States Proclamation for German-American Day, which the symposium was to commemorate. The essays in this work cover briefly some of the many aspects of German-American life in the Ohio Valley. It is hoped that this collection will spark an interest in further study of the German element in the Ohio Valley. The impact that German-Americans had in this area should not be forgotten, and further research will help establish a more complete history of this area.

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