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## Toward a 1993 Definition of German-American Studies

Cross-disciplinary by nature, the study of German immigrants in North America defies us to coin a definition with any exact precision. It means of course the transfer of people from the boundaries and regions of Europe where the German language specified a culture that emerged over the centuries from the gradually homogenized Germanic core of people that mainly inhabited Central Europe. The definition therefore includes all speakers of German and its multitudinous dialects, whether verbalized in Europe, the Americas or in the Asian parts of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The geographic origins comprise therefore, in addition to Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, large portions of current-day Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, the former Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Russia, Ukraine as well as borderline regions of Holland and Luxembourg but stops short of embracing Belgium or Denmark even though Danish and Dutch are categorized as Germanic languages, and even though there are thousands of German speakers in the North Schleswig region of Southern Denmark, who feel a bond with their German Schleswig-Holsteiners to the South.

German immigrants therefore encompass peoples who came to North America from the mainline German states but also if they arrived as second-time migrants from the daughter colonies established by earlier German migrants in the North during the heyday of the Hanseatic League, 1200-1400. Likewise included are German-speaking people from port cities in the Baltic regions established at the instigation of the Teutonic Knights, 1200-1500. Or if they came from the eight-hundred-year-old Transylvanian Saxon settlements in Siebenbürgen, or from along the lower Danube River, where they settled during the expansion period of the Habsburg Empire under Maria Theresia, 1750-90, they are German-Americans. Many German speakers of course came also from the slightly

more internal but still peripheral regions of German culture, notably from the former Austrian portions of Poland and Ukraine known as Galicia and Bucovina, respectively, and from the outer periphery of the Czech and Slovak republics, especially the so-called Sudetenland and the Schönhengst district of Silesia, now in western Slovakia. Large numbers of Germans also migrated to North and South America from the steppes of Russia along the lower Volga River, where they had settled at the invitation of Catherine the Great in the 1760s. Equally large numbers of Germans, especially Mennonites, settled in the Ukraine at the invitation of Alexander I beginning in 1789 and found their way to the New World. They also arrived here from more exotic places like Namibia (formerly South-West Africa), Togo, the Bismarck Archipelago and Samoa.

German-American studies concerns the causes and the process of emigration. It involves therefore much study of geography, history, linguistics, politics, sociology, religion—even the natural sciences, psychology, literature, music, technology, and of course family history and genealogy. For without the tiny chips that make up the microcosm, there can be no definitive macrocosm. If the effect was the migration of people from German-speaking areas to North America, then the cause has to lie especially in Europe where the "push" factor resulted in the "pull" agent because—the axiom applies now as then—"the well-off and the satisfied do not leave home." Emigration and immigration insinuate the opportunity as well as the desire of a people to live elsewhere. During the long Stalinist years of the Soviet Union few emigrated, not because they did not want to but because it was forbidden. Being interdicted from trekking may take many forms other than the obvious political one; for, religious oppression was equally real, inheritance and ownership laws played their part, as did technology whether for sailing vessel design, readily available steam power, or overland railroad construction. Nationalism, social-class liberation or equalization, the myth about a land of unlimited possibilities coupled to literature and song, all coalesced to trigger an explosion of informational exchange across the Atlantic resulting in the outflow of a human tidal wave.

German-American studies should exclude from consideration many topics that have crept into the field for lack of a proper definition. A significant number of the essays included in the two volumes containing the essays presented at the 1983 Tricentennial of German Immigration[1] do not belong in the arena of German-American studies. Topics such as "From Nazism to NATOism," how the United States failed in its relationship to the Weimar Republic, how Anti-Americanism periodically affects Germany, and how Roosevelt coped with the National Socialist threat—none of these, though competently written essays, falls into the category of German-American studies, tightly defined. The waxing and waning of American isolationism is not pertinent to the field of German-

American studies. Nor is German literature written in America for a German audience the appropriate subject matter for our field. Whether Thomas Mann wrote his *Doktor Faustus* in America or whether Brecht's *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe* takes place in Chicago is of no consequence to German-American studies. On the other hand the novels of Charles Sealsfield [Karl Postl], of Friedrich Gerstäcker and perhaps even some of those written by Karl May are the appropriate subject matter for investigation by scholars in German-American studies.

*The German Quarterly* editor, Reinhold Grimm, recently solicited and published a double issue under the theme "1492-1992: Five Centuries of German-American Interrelations."[2] Opening the collection is a poem by Cologne-born New York resident, Margot Scharpenberg, written extra for the issue. The offerings continue: "The Columbian Legacy in Postwar German Lyric Poetry," topics about early modern travel discoveries and reports from the New World, Heinrich Heine on the slave trade begun by Columbus himself, can, according to essayist Robert C. Holub, easily be argued as belonging to German-American studies. Edith Wharton's love of Keller, Fontane, and others, motifs in Frank Wedekind [an American citizen with the baptismal name of Benjamin Franklin Wedekind] and his role in Hollywood cinema, East German novelist Jochen Laabs' *Der Schattenfänger* who had visions of Indian Chief Crazy Horse, and an allusion to Marlene Dietrich as Germania or the Marshall Plan at the movies qualify as German-American studies.

All the essays in the *German Quarterly* double issue meet the standards for German-American studies and demonstrate exactly what the sbject matter of Germanistik on this continent ought to be. Instead of American literary scholars trying hard to outdistance their counterparts in Germany they ought to spend some effort on what is "American" about the Germanistik found in this northern hemisphere. In this particular issue are printed articles about literature—German literature, film and the like—without the usual implicit self-denial coupled to a self deprecatory assumption that if it is German literature we study, then we cannot admit of an American bias, interest or even curiosity. German-American studies has struggled with this very inferiority complex for virtually the whole of this century. Two World Wars have guaranteed the depths of the inferiority feelings.

Emerging from the insecure "Me-tooism" that pervaded the pioneer work by Albert Bernhardt Faust,[3] German-American studies since about 1970 has evolved into a very sophisticated discipline of study. Scholars today can evaluate and dissect this large component of American society. They can thus analyze a huge, now successfully assimilated ethnic group that as a result of its dissolution in the melting pot scarcely ever needs to apologize or toot its horn. German-American studies treats a mature people that has largely forgotten its roots. German-American studies thus

targets a segment of the American melting pot that as a body has been fully accepted as "mainstream" because it has achieved entirely equal status with any other successful immigrant group, be they arrivals from England, Scotland, Ireland, or anywhere else. Germans in America are part and parcel of that amorphous mainstream which other immigrant groups—Mexicans, Vietnamese, and even perhaps Italians—are still seeking to join.

In 1983 the United States decided to officially celebrate the 300th anniversary of German immigration by a presidentially appointed tricentennial commission, indicating that it was politically correct at the time to acknowledge, if not to honor, this large group. In like manner, the Postal Service issued an attractive postage stamp, many governors and hundreds of mayors made proclamations, and in those states where German immigrants settled in numbers there were conferences, concerts, performances by dance groups, picnics, parades, and perhaps a thousand "Oktoberfests," even though in Germany itself there is only one such festivity annually.[4] Also in 1983 the Society for German-American Studies upgraded the quality of its newsletter, published a special "invited authors" issue of its yearbook, and "gloried" a bit in being co-sponsor of a highly visible tricentennial symposium in Philadelphia.

Because such festivals reveal as much about an ethnic group as do more formal definitions, it would be well in this search for a definition to contrast the 1983 event with what happened in 1883. In 1983 the event that most solemnly commemorated the arrival of the Krefelders under Pastorius in 1683 was the Tricentennial Conference of the Society for German-American Studies held in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania. This academic-ceremonial ethnic event culminated in a banquet dinner which [it was hoped] would be attended by then President Ronald Reagan but at which Vice President Bush was his envoy. In his after dinner speech the Vice President quipped that if he could just add that little "c" in his name—a reference to the family founders of the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Company, the Busch Gardens in Florida and other relics of the Busch's legacy—then in his own right he too would belong to this "highly prized and praiseworthy" ethnic group.

At the parallel celebration a century earlier, however, the atmosphere was quite a bit less nostalgic and a lot more self-satisfied. The New York German humor magazine *Puck* in October 1883 ran an elaborate full-page color cartoon titled "A Family Fest—The 200th Birthday of the Healthiest Lad among Uncle Sam's Adoptive Children."[5] Parodying the Last Supper, Uncle Sam and Miss Liberty plus others gather around a banquet table under portraits of Baron von Steuben, George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette. Flanking them are stereotypes of each immigrant group—a Swede in laborer's clothes, a Frenchman as chef, an Italian with his music box and monkey, accompanied by an Irishman dressed as a

terribly disgruntled Judas. To the right of the Christ figure is the beloved apostle, the Englishman. And the Christ figure? Standing tall and blond, while smoking a cigar with a confident smile behind his glass of wine, his beard and hat reminiscent of the glory days of 1848, his dress a symbol of his full integration into American society—well, that, of course, is the German. How radically things had changed by 1983!

German-American studies has been massively hampered by the negative forces of the Nazi movement and the aftermath of World War II. For if not the Kaiser, then surely Hitler, Goebbels, and the like succeeded in turning the public image of the German in America from any resemblance to a Christ figure into that of a diabolic creature. Just as it is impossible entirely to exonerate the white race for its enslavement of the black, so too the German, at least in the eye of America's public media, can never be entirely exempted from the Jewish Holocaust. This issue becomes exceedingly clouded, especially as the crimes of Communists, Cambodians, Somalian warlords and a hundred others come to light— including, one might add, the knowledge that the United States wilfully starved post-World War II German prisoners of war in European holding camps.

Be that as it may, it is not the task of German-American studies to clear the image of the German-Americans who joined societies like the Friends of the New Germany later called the "Bund" for short.[6] Nor can German-American studies engage in political activities whose objective is to restore justice either to victims of the Elizabeth Holtzman Amendment,[7] or of television programs that brutalize German military figures. The task and the duty of German-American studies is to observe, to interpret, and to report facts and not to pursue justice or generate enthusiasm for causes no matter how justified. Neither can German-American studies seek to right wrongs, or in any way to emulate the behavior of Germany's or German-Americana's detractors. That would be counter productive. It is rather the obligation of German-American studies to critically expose facts and figures that present the German immigrant element as it really was and is. In our own backyard, this is the task to be accomplished by among others the officers of the Society for German-American Studies and the editorial board of the *Yearbook of German-American Studies*.

Several relatively recent studies provide a representative cross section of what German-American studies can be. Phyllis Keller's *States of Belonging*[8] delineates on a sophisticated level the anguished intellectual conflict that loyalties to two cultural, political and psychological nationhoods engendered for three German-Americans: Hugo Münsterberg, George Sylvester Viereck and Hermann Hagedorn. Harvard psychology professor Münsterberg held a middle of the road course. Publicist Viereck militantly advocated the German cause in America but raised four sons who were absolutely upright Americans. But poet-biographer

Hagedorn became a passionate American superpatriot. Curiously, these latter two individuals were highly similar— both literary aces—both with intense mother attachments to America coupled to strong father identities to Germany, and both waylaid by hero worship for Theodore Roosevelt. How could these two men have such opposite public lives as occasioned by the World War I experience? Here is a challenging task for German-American studies.

For the 1983 centennial of German group immigration to the United States the Volkswagen-funded research group at Hamburg University published in English the volume *Germans to America*.[9] In due course this team under the guidance of Günter Moltmann, including Hartmut Bickelmann, Agnes Bretting, Michael Just and Ingrid Schöberl, produced in German a series that deals in a sophisticated technique with such fascinating topics as the social problems of German immigrants in New York City, transition obstacles and reception (or opposition) within America, shipping companies, and both German and American societies that aided immigration within the limits of economic realities. These are fascinating studies that plough virgin soil.[10] Some equate nicely with books published in America about similar topics, for example Stanley Nadel's *Little Germany*[11] in which the author demonstrates not only the vast and numerically large interweave of German everyday life in New York City but also the clustering of German with Germans, and the subgrouping of Germans within German communities to the extent that Germans married not just Germans but Badensers (Württembergers, Bavarians, Prussians, Rhinelanders) chose if possible Badensers (or their counterparts) as spouses.

Delving equally vertically into a specialty problem of German studies is Bruce Levine with his *Spirit of 1848*.[12] Here we find the forces of industrialization, class formation, political polarization and slavery integrated on the basis of an elitist German immigration that participated in a revolution before leaving Europe and then accelerated the anti-slavery one on new soil. On another plateau have come recently several brilliant forty-eighter studies worthy of mention here, especially Herbert Reiter's *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert*, in which he defines "a political refugee" in the German-American framework.[13] Political asylum in the United States was different from its status in France, Belgium, Switzerland or England. Also worthy of mention here is the recent dissertation by Joachim Reppmann on Schleswig-Holstein immigrant revolutionaries to the United States who, in contrast to the forty-eighters elsewhere in Germany, succeeded in implementing democratic reforms north of the Elbe. In a sense, then, Schleswig-Holstein became an incubator for republican ideas that affected the later acculturation of these immigrants most of whom settled in Iowa and Nebraska. Seemingly Schleswig-Holstein was on the one hand small enough and on the other a special

case due to its proximity to Denmark to yield special outcomes.[14] In early October 1994 the Society for German-American Studies held a special symposium in Davenport, Iowa, to commemorate the "Hans Reimer Claussen Centennial 1894-1994." These are international perspectives that we as a nation need to realize. In this period too were the beginnings of the American labor movement that ended with the triumph of those such as Walter Reuther who was "crowned" president of the joint AFL-CIO in 1952.[15] It is the duty and the achievement of German-American studies to put European memories, traditions and values into the political, cultural, industrial and national realities of America in our time. A great thrust toward labor equity in America was the result of German immigrants and their distinctly social nineteenth century German ideology as amply exemplified in the publications of Dirk Hoerder.[16]

The studies of Chicago German workers by Hartmut Keil[17] and his associates demonstrates the rich immigration lodes waiting to be mined by competent scholars, all consummate examples of German-American studies. From the same geographic setting comes the recent study of Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt*, a dissertation about the lives of German immigrant women in the Chicago neighborhoods along Ashland Avenue and State Street between Chicago and Fullerton Avenues in north Chicago.[18] This tract leads us through the little known spheres of immigrant German women as domestic workers, housewives and mothers, workers in a variety of industries and professionals, as well as the newspapers, schools and old-folks homes that concluded their lives. The book is a model of what needs to be undertaken for at least a dozen other American cities.

Thematic conferences of late also have resulted in published volumes that yield inspiring if not always cohesive advances on specific topics, for example Wisconsin's Max Kade Institute publication *The German-American Press*.[19] Here the issue of definition implies that if the language was German then the subject matter of a newspaper automatically belongs to the field of German-American Studies. Fascinating to the grammarian are such problems as the interpolation of English words to cope with the enigma of new or more familiar concepts, e.g., "buggy", "tractor", "farmer", "creek", "fence" and many others. The press is of course much more than vocabulary. It delineates identity, influences politics, plays a role in the book trade, brings a certain level of literary product, factors in religion, guides the immigrant, facilitates accommodation and assimilation. [20] The planned publication of the proceedings of the 1989 New Harmony conference[21] when available will demonstrate a similar success— incisive short studies that while perhaps distracting to each other make deep probes into related subject matter. In a similar vein is the 1989 publication of the Wisconsin Max Kade Institute conference proceedings about *The German Forty-Eighters*.[22]

The German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C.,[23] has concluded some studies that fit well the definition of German-American studies. The Kathleen Neils Conzen booklet *Making Their Own America*, about German peasant pioneer assimilation theory comes readily to mind.[24] It has initiated others, such as "Intellectual Reparations or Scientific Transfer?: How German Technology and Scientists Served the Allies after 1945 in Electronics, Optics, and Precision Mechanics" and "German Immigrants and African Americans in Mid-Nineteenth Century America."

On the topic of minorities several contemporary studies have been compiled about the Amish, e.g., a collection of essays by Donald B. Kraybill[25] demonstrating the thin-line walk the Amish negotiate between state-driven modernity and bible-belted tradition, between American style individualism and early modern German religious community, between media-spurred self-assertion and paternalistic *Gelassenheit* [submission], in short between the kingdom of Caesar and that of God. The collection demonstrates perceptively and authoritatively how a German-speaking minority copes with the American majority's social security, slow-moving vehicles on highways, health care and its providers, land use and zoning, but in the process helps to invigorate the noblest guarantees of America: e.g., the United States Supreme Court in 1972 exempted the Amish from obligations under truancy beyond the eighth grade. In an insider-effort Kraybill also teamed lately with Lucian Niemeyer in preparing *Old Order Amish: Their Enduring Way of Life*, a stunning photographic achievement with bridging texts about Amish life in the United States.[26]

Before concluding we should try to arrive at a more succinct definition of what our German-American studies discipline is. At the outset, I offered a clarification of what German-American studies can be by delimiting what it is not. The subsequent survey of recent investigations shows representative examples of what German-American studies has become.

Back in 1988 Don Tolzmann along with Eberhard and Ruth Reichmann writing in *Monatshefte* distilled guidelines.[27] Tolzmann calls the discipline the "scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe." Tolzmann stresses that the unifier is the language, not the geographic or national origin and he emphasizes that on this side of the Atlantic it incorporates both continents. In the development of the discipline, Tolzmann enumerates three phases: 1) the church history time—Colonial America 2) the pioneer period 1850-80 3) Filiopietism from 1880 through World War I 4) the post World Wars period and 5) the ethnic revival of the 1960s. One might say that the German-Americans have experienced a "Heritage Fulfilled."[28]

The Reichmanns label the field "an interdisciplinary endeavor drawing on the methodologies and expertise of disciplines such as *Germanistik*, history, geography, anthropology, linguistics, sociology, folklore, fine arts, music and literature." To these Tolzmann-Reichmann lists should be appended the disciplines of economics, labor history, religious studies, political science, physical education, theater, and philosophy. Needless to say German-American studies fits uniquely into more up-to-date disciplines, such as women's, multicultural and minority studies.

Beginning in 1980 the United States census posed the question "What is this person's ancestry?" In response, only three percent of the population reported origins that are even partly indigenous. Thus in a spectacular way America is defining by its origins, its ethnicity. Oscar Handlin in 1951 stated: "Once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American History. . . . As I worked, the conviction grew upon me that adequately to describe the course and effects of immigration involved no less a task than to set down the whole history of the United States."[29] In a way, the history of immigration to America has become a history of the world. Using the 1980 ancestry survey it is apparent that the people of Irish ancestry in the United States is eight times the combined population of Ireland and Northern Ireland (40,166,000 or 17.7% of the population) and that the Scottish descendants number twice the population of Scotland (10,049,000 or 1.5%). But the Germans in the United States comprised in 1980 49,224,000 or nearly 22% of the United States population and 63% of that in Germany while in 1990 the German-American figure leaped to 58 million, holding right at the 22% level.[30] The next closest ethnic group to the Germans are the Irish with 39 million and the English with 33 million.

German-American studies is uniquely American. The largest ethnic group in the United States by its size alone ought to command attention. However, the emphasis must always be on the American perspective and on assimilation. The Pulitzer prize winning American historian Arthur Schlesinger in his current best-selling book worries about the issue of multiculturalism in America.[31] Schlesinger quotes Michael Ignatieff (the English-resident son of a Russian-born Canadian diplomat) who writes of Canada: "Here we have one of the five richest nations on earth, a country so uniquely blessed with space and opportunity that the world's poor are beating at the door to get in, and it is tearing itself apart. . . . If one of the top five developed nations on earth can't make a federal multiethnic state work, who else

can?" The answer, we have continued for two centuries to hope, is the United States.

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## Notes

[1]Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

[2]*The German Quarterly* 65. 3-4 (Summer/Fall 1992).

[3]Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909).

[4]See in general Fredrick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1990), chap. 10, "Three Centuries of Germans in America," 157-89.

[5]The cartoon is reproduced with the article by Kathleen Neils Conzen, "German-Americans and the Invention of Ethnicity," in Trommler and McVeigh, 1:132.

[6]Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974).

[7]The amendment written by Holtzman, a representative from Brooklyn, was enacted as Public Law 95-549 on 30 October 1978. To enforce the law the Justice Department established the Office of Special Investigations on 4 September 1979 by which any immigrant who was involved with Nazi activities can be summarily expelled from the United States without any trial by jury as happened in the celebrated John Demjanuk case. Other examples were the cases of Croatian nationalist Andrija Artukovic, Transylvanian Saxon Martin Bartesch, Frank Walus and Fedor Fedorenko.

[8]*States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[9]Günter Moltmann, *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683-1983* (Stuttgart: Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations, 1982).

[10]The series is called "Von Deutschland nach America: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," ed. Günter Moltmann. The six titles are 1) *Deutsche Überseeauswanderung in der Weimarer Zeit* (1980), 2) *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (1981), 3) *Ost- und südosteuropäische Amerikawanderung 1881-1914: Transitprobleme in Deutschland und Aufnahme in den Vereinigten Staaten* (1988), 4) *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845 bis 1914 (1990)*, 5) *Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (1991), 6) *Schiffahrtsgesellschaften, Deutsche Gesellschaften, Deutsche Siedlungsviertel in New York* (1991), all published by Franz Steiner in Stuttgart.

[11]*Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990).

[12]*The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict and the Coming of the Civil War* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

[13]Herbert Reiter, *Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1992) and Joachim Reppmann, *Freiheit, Bildung und Wohlstand für Alle!: Schleswig-*

*Holsteinische Achtundvierziger in den USA 1847-1860* (Wyk auf Föhr: Verlag für Amerikanistik, 1994).

[14]Günter Moltmann, *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert—Sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976), 4.

[15]La Vern J. Rippley, "Imperial German Socialism in the Life and Work of UAW President Walter Philip Reuther," *The Report 42: A Journal of German-American History* (Baltimore: Society for the History of Germans in Maryland, 1993), 43-58.

[16]Among Hoerder's many publications on this topic is Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Class During the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985). Hoerder directs the "Labor Migration Project" at the University of Bremen.

[17]E.g., Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, *German Workers in Chicago: A Documentary History of Working-Class Culture from 1850 to World War I* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), plus others by the same team.

[18]Christiane Harzig, *Familie, Arbeit und weibliche Öffentlichkeit in einer Einwanderungsstadt: Deutschamerikanerinnen in Chicago um die Jahrhundertwende* (St. Katharinen: Scripta Mercaturae, 1991).

[19]Henry Geitz, ed., *The German-American Press* (Madison: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin, 1992).

[20]The best systematic analysis remains Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), while the best index and citation resource is Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Mayer, 1961).

[21]Eberhard Reichmann and La Vern J. Rippley, eds. Contact NCSA Literature, Nashville, IN 47448.

[22]Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Lang, 1989).

[23]Address: 1607 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20009, Telephone (202) 387-3355.

[24]Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Making Their Own America: Assimilation Theory and the German Peasant Pioneer* (New York: Berg, 1990).

[25]Donald B. Kraybill, ed., *Amish and the State* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[26]Donald B. Kraybill and Lucian Niemeyer, *Old Order Amish: Their Enduring Way of Life* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

[27]Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "German-American Studies: History and Development" *Monatshefte* 80 (Fall 1988): 278-88, and Eberhard and Ruth Reichmann, "German-American Studies: A Research Field in Search of a Classroom," ibid., 289-96.

[28]This is the title of the third volume in a series of books about the Germans in Minnesota. Cf. Clarence Glasrud, ed., *A Heritage Fulfilled: German-Americans in Minnesota* (Moorhead, MN: Concordia College Press, 1984).

[29]Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations that Made the American People* (Boston: Little Brown, 1951), 3.

[30]U. S. Department of Commerce, *Census '90: 1990 Census of Population Supplementary Reports: Detailed Ancestry Groups for States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1993).

[31]Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *The Disuniting of America* (New York: Norton, 1992).