

Book Reviews

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Review Essay: Emigration and Immigration in the Nineteenth Century

Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert.

Von Agnes Bretting und Hartmut Bickelmann. Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bd. 4. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991. 288 Seiten. DM 88.

Auswanderung und Schiffsverkehrsinteressen, "Little Germanies" in New York, Deutschamerikanische Gesellschaften.

Von Michael Just, Agnes Bretting, and Hartmut Bickelmann. Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, Bd. 5. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992. 241 Seiten. DM 76.

Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika: Massenauswanderung, nationale Gruppenansiedlungen und liberale Kolonialbewegung, 1816-1860.

Von Stefan von Senger und Etterlin. Nomos Universitätschriften: Geschichte, Bd. 5. Baden-Baden: Nomos, 1991. 467 Seiten. DM 78.

Reisen in die Neue Welt: Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Von Peter J. Brenner. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, Bd. 35. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991. 450 Seiten. DM 136.

Die vier besprochenen Bücher bilden trotz der unterschiedlichen Herangehensweise ihrer Autoren einen engen thematischen Zusammenhang: Das Phänomen des ungeheueren deutsch-amerikanischen Migrationsprozesses, der sich vorwiegend im 19. Jahrhundert vollzog, und dessen Einwirkung auf die gesellschaftspolitischen Prozesse des jeweiligen Herkunfts- und Aufnahmelandes.

Dem äußerst komplexen Vorgang des Wanderungsprozesses kann nur gerecht werden, wenn ihm bewußt ist, daß die einzelnen Faktoren dieses Vorganges ein Ganzes bilden. Motive für den jeweiligen Entschluß zur Auswanderung sind vielfältig, und erst solide Detailstudien können zu einer neuen Synthese in der Migrationsforschung führen, die es uns dann ermöglicht, komparativ zu arbeiten, d.h. andere Wanderungsbewegungen in zeitlicher oder geographischer Unterschiedlichkeit bewerten zu können. Die vierten und fünften Bände der von dem nunmehr emeritierten Hamburger Historiker Günter Moltmann herausgegebenen Reihe "Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" leisten dazu einen hervorragenden Beitrag.

Im vierten Band (dieser Reihe)—*Auswanderungsagenturen und Auswanderungsvereine im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*—setzt sich zunächst Agnes Bretting mit der "Funktion und Bedeutung diese Agenturen in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert" auseinander. Sicherlich trifft es zu, daß die Auswanderungsagenturen primär eine Logistik des Auswanderungsvorgangs zur Verfügung stellten und damit dem Vorgang als solchen mehr Struktur verliehen. Eine zweite Funktion dieser Agenturen, unseren heutigen Reisebüros nicht unähnlich, lag in der Werbung für die Auswanderung, da hier geschäftliche Interessen relevant waren. Die Kardinalfrage ist hierbei allerdings, inwieweit der Entschluß zur Auswanderung letztendlich auf die Werbung von Auswanderungsagenturen zurückzuführen war. Hier lassen sich, wie Bretting auch betont, sicherlich keine endgültigen Urteile fällen. Fest steht, daß Werbung einer von vielen Faktoren in dem komplexen Geflecht von Motivationssträngen war, die schließlich dazu beitrugen, die endgültige Entscheidung des Individuums zum Verlassen seines bisherigen Lebensraumes zu fällen. Auf diese Fragestellung ist auch bereits Ingrid Schöberl ausführlich in ihrer Arbeit *Amerikanische Einwandererwerbung in Deutschland 1845-1914* (Stuttgart, 1990) eingegangen, die ich im *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 25 (1990): 237-38, besprochen habe. Auch Schöberl sieht die Schwierigkeit, Auswandererwerbung aus dem Motivationsgeflecht fein säuberlich herauszutrennen, was auch keine sinnvolle Aufgabenstellung bedeuten würde.

Gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts übernahmen die großen Reedereien den Transport der Auswanderer in eigener Regie; dies schloß dann nicht nur die eigentliche Schiffspassage, sondern auch den Transport per Eisenbahn zu den Auswanderungshäfen ein. Auch die stark abnehmende Zahl der deutschen Auswanderung gegen Ende des Jahrhunderts führte dazu, daß die Auswanderungsagenturen an Bedeutung verloren.

Der zweite Beitrag in diesem Band, "Auswanderungsvereine, Auswanderungsverkehr und Auswanderungsfürsorge in Deutschland 1815-1930" von Hartmut Bickelmann, beschäftigt sich ebenfalls mit den Organisationen, die den Prozeß und die Realisierung der Auswanderung erleichtern sollten. Für den potentiell Auswanderungswilligen war die Bereitstellung eines "Know How" relevant und kann in einigen Fällen vielleicht den letzten Ausschlag gegeben haben, den Schritt in die Neue Welt zu wagen. In der Tat spielten Auswanderungsvereine in diesem Zusammenhang eine wichtige Rolle. Eine Vielfalt von philanthropischen, national-politischen und karitativen Motiven kam für das Zustandekommen dieser Auswanderungsvereine zusammen.

Bicklemanns Rahmen ist weit gesteckt: ihm geht es um die Funktion von Auswanderervereinen innerhalb des Auswanderungsprozesses in dem Zeitraum zwischen 1815 und 1930. Gleichgültig, ob von deutscher Seite aus Auswanderung als Verlust oder Entlastung empfunden wurde; gemeinsam war diesen Stimmen die Kritik an dem bisherigen Verlauf der Auswanderung. Die Forderung, Auswanderung zweckmäßiger zu organisieren und in Gebiete zu kanalisieren, wo Deutsche ihre Nationalität bewahren konnten, wurde ebenfalls artikuliert. Bickelmann gelingt es in diesem Aufsatz, durch detaillierte Quellenarbeit Unterschiedlichkeiten und Gemeinsamkeiten dieser Vereine und ebenfalls deren soziales Profil aufzuzeigen.

Der fünfte Band dieser oben vorgestellten Reihe enthält drei Einzelbeiträge, die sich mehr mit der amerikanischen Seite des transatlantischen Migrationsvorgangs auseinandersetzen, obwohl Michael Justs Beitrag "Schiffahrtsgesellschaften und Amerika-Auswanderung im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert" noch zum Teil auf die deutsche Seite eingeht. Just schließt damit an die Untersuchung Bickelmanns an, in dem er die Rolle der Reedereien im Auswanderungsprozeß—wie zum Beispiel Hapag und den Norddeutschen Loyd—untersucht. Wie er richtig anmerkt, kam diesen Reedereien dabei gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts eine fast staatliche Funktion zu, was aufgrund der engen Verschmelzung zwischen Kommerz und Staat zu Kritik im In- und Ausland führte. Hinzu kam, daß Auswanderer die negativen Auswirkungen der Monopolbildung des Ausreiseverkehrs zu spüren bekamen, z. B. in der abgesprochenen Preispolitik der beiden großen Reedereien. Als Vorteil allerdings konnte geltend gemacht werden, daß Auswanderer nun eine Logistik vorfanden, die ihnen die Kleinarbeit des Auswanderungs-

vorgangs erheblich erleichterte und gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts sogar die Organisation der Unterbringung der Auswanderer im amerikanischen Zielort beinhalten konnte, oder auch ein Bemühen der Reedereien um verbilligte Tarife bei der Weiterbeförderung der Auswanderer per Eisenbahn. Auch gingen in diesem Zeitraum die Reedereien dazu über, Auswanderer aus dem Osten und Südosten Europas zu rekrutieren.

Der zweite Beitrag dieses Bandes, "Deutsche Siedlungsviertel in New York City 1830-1930" von Agnes Bretting, ist ausschließlich der amerikanischen Seite des Wanderungsprozesses gewidmet. New York als Haupteinwanderungshafen bietet sich als Studiengegenstand an. Dieser als Aufsatz angelegte Beitrag kann freilich nicht erschöpfend alle Aspekte der Geschichte der deutschen Siedlungsviertel New Yorks aufzeigen, was Bretting selber betont. Sie hat 1981 selbst eine grundlegende Studie zur Situation deutscher Einwanderer in New York City veröffentlicht, die allerdings zeitlich nicht einen so großen Rahmen steckt, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981). So erklärt sich auch die manchmal fehlende Einordnung der deutsch-amerikanischen Gegebenheiten in den gesamtpolitischen amerikanischen historischen Kontext in diesem Aufsatz.

Der dritte Beitrag innerhalb dieses Bandes stammt von Hartmut Bickelmann: "Deutsche Gesellschaften in den Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Funktionen im deutsch-amerikanischen Wanderungsprozeß". Anders als die zahlreichen deutsch-amerikanischen Vereine, widmeten sich diese Gesellschaften der Übergangsphase zwischen Aus- und Einwanderung. Diese Tatsache macht sie zu einem besonders interessanten Forschungsgegenstand. Durch bestimmte Informationen konnten diese Vereine für die Zukunft der Auswanderer Weichen stellen, indem sie Informationen über Ansiedlungsbedingungen und den Anseidlungsplatz zur Verfügung stellten und somit selbst zu einem bestimmten "Pull"-Faktor im Wanderungsprozeß wurden. Bickelmann hat in akribischer Arbeit eine Vielzahl von Gesellschaften untersucht und deren Quellen ausgewertet. Er kommt dabei zu dem Schluß, daß sie wichtige Vermittler im Integrationsprozeß der Auswanderer darstellten, die, sobald sie sich dann niedergelassen hatten zum Teil wiederum in diesen Gesellschaften tätig wurden.

Das Phänomen der Auswanderung beschäftigte das national und liberal gesinnte deutsche Bürgertum seit den großen Auswanderungsschüben um 1816-17 und nach 1832. Es formierte sich sehr bald eine Bewegung, die die unerfüllten Träume von nationaler Einheit und Freiheit auf die Idee eines "Neu-Deutschland" in den USA projizierte. In dieser heterogenen Bewegung befanden sich Befürworter eines besser geregelten Auswanderungswesens und ebenfalls nationalpolitische Vertreter, die ein weltweites deutsches kulturelles

Geltungsstreben in die Tat umsetzen wollten. Diese Bewegung untersucht Stefan von Senger und Etterlin in seinem *Neu-Deutschland in Nordamerika* ausführlich, und zwar für die Jahre 1815–60. Die uns heute als geradezu absurd anmutenden Pläne für die Errichtung eines neuen Deutschland in den USA sind nichtsdestotrotz aber wichtige Zeugnisse über ideologische Wurzeln des späteren deutschen Kolonialismus wilhelminischer Prägung und deshalb eine Analyse wert. Von Senger und Etterlin hat die Entwicklungsstufen der im Rahmen der Neu-Deutschland-Idee verfolgten Ansiedlungspläne in seinem lesenswerten Buch anschaulich untersucht. Während die ersten Ansiedlungspläne der 1820er und frühen 1830er Jahre stark von einem romantisierenden Charakter geprägt und mehr von einem liberalen Impuls gesteuert waren, so erlebten die restlichen 1830er Jahre und dann vermehrt das Jahrzehnt darauf mehr konkrete Pläne mit bewußt starken nationalen Klängen. Die Ernüchterungsphase setzte dann, von einigen wenigen Versuchen abgesehen, in den fünfziger Jahren ein und versiegte dann gänzlich in der (durchaus realistischen) Einsicht, daß die Gelegenheit vorbei sei, in den USA ein neues Deutschland gründen zu können. Erwähnt seien hier nur Karl Follens Plan einer Gelehrtenrepublik, Gottfried Dudens "Idylle" am Missouri (1824–27), die Gießener Auswanderungs-Gesellschaft (1833–34) und die Kolonie des Mainzer Adelsvereins in Texas. Deren unterschiedlichen Zielsetzungen macht von Senger und Etterlin transparent und bettet sie in den jeweiligen historischen Kontext ein.

Die Gliederung der Untersuchung in drei Hauptteile—Voraussetzungen in Deutschland, Koloniegründungen in der Praxis und Bedingungen in der Aufnahmegesellschaft—führt unwillkürlich zu Wiederholungen und Überschneidungen. Besonders überzeugt von Senger und Etterlin dort, wo es ihm gelingt, ideologische Konzepte und deren versuchte Umsetzung in Form von Siedlungsprojekten miteinander zu verknüpfen.

Der Haupttitel des Buches *Reisen in die Neue Welt* von dem Literaturwissenschaftler Peter Brenner läßt zunächst nicht auf die bisher besprochene Thematik der Auswanderung schließen. Der präzisere und mehr angebrachte Untertitel *Die Erfahrung Nordamerikas in deutschen Reise- und Auswandererberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts* jedoch trifft genauer den Kern dieser Habilitationsschrift. Obwohl der Autor in seiner hochtheoretischen Einführung in die Probleme der Reiseliteraturforschung—komparatistische Imagologie, Mentalitätsgeschichte und Hermeneutik werden herangezogen—versucht, dem Leser die Reise als Grunderfahrungstypus zu verdeutlichen, sind die folgenden Darstellungen eher traditioneller Art. Es gelingt dem Autor aber nicht, dem Leser die Unterscheidung zwischen dem Prozeß der Reise und der Auswanderung deutlich zu machen. Es sei denn, wir begriffen menschliche Existenz als eine permanente Reise, was durchaus legitim

wäre—ansonsten arbeitet Brenner nicht genügend den grundsätzlichen Unterschied zwischen diesen beiden Phänomen heraus. Reisen bedeutet, das Gesehene Fremde von vornherein aus einer anderen Warte aus zu betrachten. Der Reisende sieht und fühlt das fremde Land mit dem Bewußtsein, zurückzukehren; mit Ausnahme der Rückwanderer und saisonbedingten Wanderarbeiter, trifft dies für den Auswanderer des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts in den meisten Fällen nicht zu. Er/sie ist notgedrungenenerweise gezwungen, das fremde, neue Land als zukünftigen permanenten Wohnort zu betrachten. Hieraus ergibt sich eine fundamental andere Perzeption. Die Stimmen der Auswanderer überwiegen eindeutig, wenn Brenner versucht, die deutsche Wahrnehmung der USA zu kategorisieren. Vieles ist dabei schon von Migrationshistorikern aufgearbeitet worden, wie z.B. die oben besprochenen Themen der Auswandererwerbung- und Agenturen sowie Bemühungen um Bewahrung deutscher kultureller Identität im Aufnahmeland. Wirklich genuines Neuland betritt Brenner dann erst, wenn er sich wirklich auf Reisende konzentriert. Insbesondere seine Abhandlungen über deutsche Forschungsreisen in die USA und deren mentalitätsgeschichtliche Dimension machen ein interessantes Bild der deutschen wie auch amerikanischen Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert transparent. Brenners Buch sollte zusammen mit Juliane Mikoletzky's hervorragender Studie *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur* (Tübingen, 1988) gelesen werden. Beide Untersuchungen ergeben dann ein abgerundetes Bild der Reflexion der Neuen Welt im Deutschland des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Alle hier vorgestellten Bücher sind wertvolle Mosaiksteine in dem noch zu vollendenden Gesamtbild der deutschen Amerika-Auswanderung des letzten Jahrhunderts.

Kiel

Jörg Nagler

Reviews

Breweries of Wisconsin.

By Jerry Apps. Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1992. 252 pages. \$29.95.

Breweries of Wisconsin provides an overview of one of America's largest brewing centers, chronicling the development of the Wisconsin brewing industry since 1835. While Apps pointedly dedicates the book to his "German ancestors and their fellow Germans," German-American specialists should be advised that this is not a scholarly work detailing the role of German immigrants in the growth of the Wisconsin brewing industry. Rather, *Breweries of Wisconsin* deals more with Wisconsin's rise

to national brewing prominence, as well as the role its regional breweries played in the lives of Wisconsin residents and the towns and cities in which they resided. More often than not, the role of German immigrants and German-American society is only implied, or briefly mentioned, in discussing the development of the breweries and their roles. Apps indicates the German origin and time of immigration of prominent brewers such as Joseph Schlitz, Frederick Miller, and Jacob Best (of Pabst fame), and also discusses some of their initial employment and brewing experience in America. On the other hand, brewery workers, many of whom also were German immigrants, and the communities they lived in receive little attention.

Apps divides his work into three main parts. The first, "Beer Around the World," details the history of beer and its earliest presence in the American colonies, the beginnings of the Wisconsin brewing industry, the ingredients used in brewing, the brewing process, and varieties of beer produced. These sections are interesting and informative; however, excepting Wisconsin's early days of brewing, the discussions are only marginally related to the Wisconsin breweries themselves. Nevertheless, several interesting points are noted, including reference to Peter Minuit's New Amsterdam brewery (1633-38) and George Washington's personal beer recipe. Apps also succinctly outlines how and why Milwaukee became a brewing center, acknowledging the importance of the coming of the Germans and the taste for lager beer they brought with them (which subsequently helped revolutionize the brewing industry).

In part two, "Turbulent Times," Apps discusses the blossoming temperance movement and its transformation into a full-fledged Prohibition movement, with detailed attention to the Prohibition years in Wisconsin and how Wisconsin's brewing industry was affected. Apps effectively explains the main factors influencing temperance reform efforts, including the role of anti-German sentiment, and how prohibitionists came to have legislation enacted which virtually shut down Wisconsin's, and the nation's, thriving brewing industry. The discussion of Prohibition makes clear the reasons for the movement's failure, such as home-brewing and bootlegging operations; excerpts from an interview with a long-time Wisconsin cooper who worked for Chicago gangsters during the period are especially enlightening. However, as Apps concludes his discussion of the repeal of Prohibition, he again digresses somewhat, with chapters on beer-barrel manufacturing and advertising.

Part three, "In the Time of Giants," is the strongest section of the book. Here Apps discusses in depth some of Milwaukee's brewing legends and their histories, as well as several of the surviving regional breweries which have made their mark on Wisconsin. In his examinations of the Blatz and Schlitz breweries, Apps documents the cases of two former brewers of national prominence who succumbed to

changing times and the pressures of competition. On the other hand, the discussions of the Pabst, Miller, and Heileman breweries amply describe the reasons for their continued survival and prominence. Apps is at his finest in discussing the remaining regional breweries, such as Leinenkugel, Stevens Point, Huber, and Walter, which despite stiff competition from national brewers have managed to retain their local markets in a time of nationwide failures of small breweries.

For the most part, the appendices are highly useful and informative. Appendix A discusses the history and current status of some of Wisconsin's remaining brewery buildings, accurately observing that Wisconsin's small towns, and the state itself, can be seen as a "brewery graveyard" (174). In Appendix B, Apps discusses brewery failures since 1950, taking a closer look at some of Wisconsin's notable regional breweries on which competition from richer, more efficient national brewers took their toll. Apps ably illustrates the painful fact that, with each closing, not only did a vital local business close its doors, but also an irreplaceable part of a given town's history and heritage was lost forever. Appendix D provides a partial yet lengthy list of Wisconsin breweries from 1835 to 1985, including brewery sites and locations, as well as opening and closing dates for each establishment. Appendix C, however, is a superfluous seven-page discussion of home-brewing which neither fits into the framework of the book nor adequately informs and directs those few readers who may want to venture into this hobby.

Breweries of Wisconsin is amply illustrated, often with appealing contemporary pictures of brewery buildings and workers, advertisements, and letterheads which illustrate some of Wisconsin's contributions to the national's brewing heritage. Of interest to German-American specialists is a photo of the Wausau Liederkrantz in Sheboygan circa 1913. Apps also includes a color section of beer labels, which give insight into some of Wisconsin's legendary brewing activity past and present. While such positives resound throughout the book, some disconcerting points must be mentioned. Several minor historical inaccuracies, such as crediting Schlitz with the introduction of the modern tab-top can (an honor which actually goes to the Pittsburgh Brewing Company's Iron City beer), detract somewhat from the reliability of the text. Also, in basically cutting off his research in 1988, Apps virtually disregards the growing microbrewery trend, chronicling only Middleton's Capital Brewing Company.

Shortcomings aside, *Breweries of Wisconsin* is a highly entertaining, informative book. Those readers looking for a definitive study of the German-American presence in Wisconsin's brewing industry likely will

not be satisfied, but *Breweries of Wisconsin* remains worth reading, perhaps best so with a mug of locally brewed beer at one's side.

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Sanctuary Denied: Refugees From the Third Reich and Newfoundland Immigration Policy 1906-1949.

By Gerhard P. Bassler. *Social and Economic Studies*, no. 48. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research (Memorial University of Newfoundland), 1992. 285 pages. \$24.95 Canadian.

"Government records and newspapers document the fact that between 1934 and 1941 some 12,000 refugees from Nazi persecution sought sanctuary in Newfoundland, but only a handful of them managed to enter" (2). Thus Gerhard P. Bassler poses the basic problem to be confronted in his work on refugees and Newfoundland refugee policy in the interwar period. In this book, Bassler illuminates the larger issue of the dilemma facing thousands of refugees from Nazi persecution and the indifference with which their plight was met by other nations, by exploring in depth the attitudes and policy decisions of one potential sanctuary, the British Dominion of Newfoundland. Himself an immigrant to Newfoundland, Bassler displays great sensitivity in discussing the refugee crisis of the 1930s, although he at times understates the problems to be overcome in the solution of this crisis.

Bassler's thesis is straight-forward and argued cogently throughout the book. Newfoundland had a relatively generous refugee law, a low population density, a moderate climate, and was greatly in need of the economic stimulus that would likely result from the inflow of a number of skilled and resourceful immigrants, yet it failed to provide sanctuary to thousands of desperate refugees from Nazi persecution. Why was this? To Bassler, the combination of a closed, ethnically homogenous society, a xenophobic attitude which regarded all foreigners as undesirable, anti-Semitism, tight political and economic control by a local elite unwilling to share power, and the unemployment crisis of the 1930s all contributed to a popular mindset and public policy which favored the exclusion of virtually all immigrants not of "British stock." Once the war began, this isolationist mood was intensified by an unwarranted and near-hysterical fear of possible fifth-column activity by foreign refugees, even those of a Jewish background. As Bassler consistently emphasizes, not only did those seeking sanctuary suffer, but Newfoundland, a desperately poor country, also missed a unique opportunity to promote economic and industrial development by drawing on the skills and financial resources of a select pool of refugees.

Therein lies the major difficulty with Bassler's work. Certainly in hindsight one can see that the long-range economic development of Newfoundland would have been enhanced by this influx of refugees, but few people live or make decisions based on the long-term. Given the historic isolation of Newfoundland, the closed nature of its society, the economic misery inflicted on it by the Great Depression, and the implausibility of some of the refugee economic development schemes, it would be unrealistic to have expected Newfoundland's government suddenly to open its doors to a large influx of immigrants in the 1930s. Then, during World War II, a number of plans for resettling refugees came to nought, not primarily because of opposition from Newfoundland, but because of bureaucratic muddle in London, Ottawa, and Washington.

In all of this, of course, one can see a chronic pattern demonstrated in country after country. Newfoundland was perhaps more resistant to the entry of refugees than most, but was depressingly similar to many other nations at the time which, for seemingly the best of reasons, lacked the imagination to understand the magnitude of the refugee problem and thus failed to rescue thousands of people from the Nazi murder machine. Bassler, like other chroniclers of the sad history of the refugee crisis, desperately wants to believe that something could have been done to save many of Hitler's victims. But given the persistent economic crisis of the period, the consequent unwillingness of most societies to absorb refugees, the general anti-Semitism of Western society, and Britain's unwillingness to allow Jewish refugees into Palestine, the advantages lay with Hitler. This is a conclusion which is not only unsatisfactory, but also defies our deeply held notions that all problems can be solved if only a rational and reasonable solution is found.

By thus reacquainting us with the complex realities of the time, even if unwilling, Bassler has made a solid contribution to refugee studies. His is a well-researched and thoroughly documented work, with the use of personal accounts to illustrate his general argument especially interesting. Bassler certainly does not write with flair, but his prose is clear and straight-forward. All in all, then, this is a serious book on a controversial subject that, by investigating a narrower facet, sheds light on the larger problem.

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Life at Four Corners: Religion, Gender, and Education in a German-Lutheran Community, 1868-1945.

By Carol K. Coburn. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992. xii + 227 pages. \$29.95.

Carol K. Coburn enlarges our understanding of rural German-American communities in two important ways. First, she provides a detailed example of just how the ideology and local institutions of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod were used to form and maintain a closed, patriarchal community. Secondly, Coburn's most important source for her community study is a series of interviews with fifteen elderly residents, thirteen of them women, done in the mid-1980s. She has used these interviews supplemented with church, census, and other records, to construct a remarkably full picture of the lives of the community's women over three generations. From the highly respected midwife who came in the 1860s to the third-generation women who worked as maids in Kansas City in the 1920s, Coburn gives us a detailed, analytical, respectful, realistic portrayal of the everyday lives of German-American women and the roles they played in the community.

Hanoverians from Benton County, Missouri, and families from Posen who had lived for a time near LaPorte, Indiana, established the Block community in Miami County in eastern Kansas in the 1860s. Additional *Plattdeutsch*-speaking Lutherans came from Illinois and other states. The author completed her research before the appearance of an excellent study of the Missouri community of origin, *Hier Snackt Wi Plattdeutsch* (Cole Camp, MO: City of Cole Camp, 1990). She reveals little about how and why the first Germans came to Block. Given the timing, one wonders if the Civil War massacre of Germans in the Missouri community in 1861 might have been a factor in prompting some to move westward to Kansas.

Trinity Lutheran Church, the community's central institution, was organized in 1868. By 1920, ninety-nine adult men could vote at the congregational meetings, and total membership peaked at 485. The congregational school also began in 1868. In 1916, it had 85 pupils. "Institutional education was authoritarian, traditional, and total" (154). Within the family as well as within the community, gender roles were also religious imperatives. But that did not mean that women were unimportant to the community. In addition to bearing and raising the children and keeping the house, women were substantial economic producers via their gardens, poultry, and dairying. They also formed a supplementary labor force for male-dominated field work. It was often the women's production which carried families through difficult economic times.

Coburn is well-grounded in the social history and feminist studies pertinent to her topic, although her use of the previous findings of social history and of quantitative methodology is seldom obtrusive. She startles the reader with her frankness, such as when she says her community "falls on the accommodation-assimilation continuum between religiously conservative, rural communities and the religious exclusivity typical of Amish, Mennonite and Mormon rural communities" (8). The clergy often taught that "associating with 'outsiders' was a sin and a threat to . . . salvation" (8). She speculates on physical abuse of women and children in an admirably logical and restrained way despite her informants' unwillingness to discuss the matter.

In reviewing a book which delivers so much, one hesitates to ask for even more, but comparative data would have greatly added to the study. Did the German farmers vary from New Englanders and others in the speed and way in which they accommodated themselves to local agricultural conditions? Did German women differ from their non-German neighbors in the way in which they were freed by the automobile? Can anything be learned of the rival world view of those dissenters who chose the Zion Evangelical Church at nearby Highland?

The author makes an occasional lapse. Missouri Synod Lutherans voted Democratic *except* in Missouri (including Benton County) where they voted Republican. So the Block community must have voted Democratic for some reason other than its Missouri origins. Secondly, could it have been 30 dozen eggs per week rather than per day that Marie Block Prote's Leghorn hens produced? The former number would have required keeping perhaps 500 hens, a Herculean task for one woman, even aided by her children, in the age of free-range poultry husbandry, especially if replacement hens had to be raised from chicks hatched on the farm. Thirdly, Coburn cites Stanley Nadel on regional endogamy but then says nothing about whether Block residents' marriage partners from other German communities were also Hanoverians. Finally, one might expect a professor of education to devote more space to the parochial school's curriculum.

Despite such minor concerns, Coburn has taken a major step forward in the social history of rural Midwestern German-American communities and of communities dominated by the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. Anyone interested in these topics will find her study most rewarding.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

The Story of Low German and *Plautdietsch*: Tracing a Language Across the Globe.

By Reuben Epp. Hillsboro, KS: The Reader's Press, 1993. xvi + 133 pages. \$12.95.

Written for both the general reader and the specialist, Epp's overview of the historical development of Mennonite Low German or *Plautdietsch* within the context of Low German dialects throughout the world establishes the legitimacy of *Plautdietsch* and lays the foundation for more detailed grammatical and sociolinguistic studies of the language. After an introduction in which the terminology dealing with the numerous Low German dialects is explained, Epp devotes the first three chapters to the general historical development of that group of dialects which emerged from the pre-historic North-Sea-Germanic branch of West Germanic. He thus sets the linguistic context for the later emergence of *Plautdietsch* as part of a process which includes the separation of the dialects which came to be Old, Middle, and Modern English as well as the continental developments towards the linguistic entities known as Frisian, Dutch and the Low German dialects of modern Northern Germany. Epp focuses particularly on the role of Low German as a language of diplomacy and commerce in the latter Middle Ages in the cities of the Hanseatic League. In the three subsequent chapters, Epp traces the development of *Plautdietsch* from its origins among the dialects of the Netherlands and northern Belgium, especially Frisian and Flemish regions, and those of northwestern Germany. The transition from literary Dutch to High German during the Mennonites' period of settlement in West Prussia from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century parallels the assimilation of their Netherlandic dialects to the spoken Low German of West Prussia. Differences in the Low German dialects of the Molotschna and Chortiza colonies in southern Russia are reflected in the subsequent settlements on the Great Plains of North America. A final chapter chronicles the status of Low German dialects in Germany and throughout the world as well as providing a discussion of the use of *Plautdietsch* in literary texts. The inclusion of several sample texts, charts, and maps enhances this overview of the origins of Mennonite Low German.

For those especially interested in the history or current status of *Plautdietsch* in North America, Epp's book is somewhat disappointing. Despite scattered mention of some lexical and phonetic characteristics of the varieties of *Plautdietsch* spoken in Canada, Mexico, and the United States, the reader is not given any useful information about the speech communities or the use of the language. There is a very brief description of the three waves of Mennonite emigration from Russia to North America (1870s, 1920s, post-World War II), but we learn nothing regarding the location, size, or viability of the settlements (84-85). A set

of maps indicating the settlement areas of at least the 1870s immigrants would have been a most welcome addition for modern students of these dialects. Epp's bibliography should also have mentioned Marjorie Baerg's Ph.D. dissertation "Gnadenau Low German: A Dialect of Marion County, Kansas" (University of Chicago, 1960). In fairness to Epp, one must assume that his intention was to present an overview of the historical development of these dialects prior to the migration from south Russia to the Americas, and in that regard this reader-friendly volume is a success.

University of Kansas

William D. Keel

Van de Ene en de Andere Kant: Nordniederländische und Nordwestdeutsche Auswanderungen nach Amerika im 19. Jahrhundert. By Annemieke Galema, Wolfgang Grams, and Antonius Holtmann. Groningen: Universiteitsbibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit / Oldenburg: Stadtmuseum, 1993. 120 pages.

This study presents valuable information on the emigration from the northern areas of the Netherlands and from northwestern Germany (now Lower Saxony) to the United States during the nineteenth century. It is written in parallel columns of Dutch and German, which makes it easier for scholars at home in either language to pursue further studies.

The book, which is divided into five chapters, offers material dealing with the reasons for emigration and the development of Dutch and German settlements in the United States. The extent of emigration from Germany in the nineteenth century is common knowledge, but less is known about the emigration from the Netherlands, and the authors make us aware of this phenomenon as well.

The reader is informed of the importance of Rotterdam and Bremen, the extremely difficult conditions encountered during the crossing, and the hardships confronting the new immigrants upon their arrival in the United States. The majority of them settled in the Midwest, and the authors supply the names of cities and towns they established. Immigration to other areas of the United States is not neglected, nor are the difficulties encountered there, especially the problems northwestern Europeans had in the American Southwest. The economic and religious reasons for emigration are detailed objectively, in lieu of the many clichés one often encounters.

The extensive references to letters written from America to the Netherlands and northwestern Germany are quite interesting. Most present a favorable report of the conditions in the New World and recommend emigration to others. Several refer to adverse conditions and express a desire to return to Europe. This may well be an excellent area for further scholarly pursuit. Individual families are traced through

several generations in the United States and it is accordingly possible to observe the overall trend of upward mobility in initially poor immigrant families. This, too, might be a fruitful area for further research.

The nineteenth-century "American" citizen of the United States did not always exhibit a cosmopolitan attitude toward the new immigrants. The authors do not shy away from relating exact details of discrimination the Dutch and the Germans experienced after disembarking in the land of freedom and opportunity.

The volume is embellished with extensive photos of travel advertisements, certificates, family photos, etc. It is a joy to view these valuable, carefully selected documents. Each chapter concludes with an extensive bibliography, although footnotes, rather than a bibliography, might have proven to be more helpful. It might also have been prudent in a scholarly work to avoid including one's political views in reference to the present ethnic strife in Europe; editorials are a better place for such matters than academic books.

In brief: an excellent study offering insight into an infrequently studied aspect of emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

The German-American Press.

Edited by Henry Geitz. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, 1992. xii + 270 pages.

In 1987, a conference on the German-American press was held at the University of Wisconsin. The articles in this volume represent a sampling of the papers that were given there and are not intended to be comprehensive, but to "be viewed as an introduction to further work" (xi). The eighteen articles are organized in eight sections, each containing one to three papers: I. Immigration Guides and the Early Press; II. The Issue of Religion in the German-American Press; III. Accommodation and Assimilation in the German-American Press; IV. The German-American Press as a Historical Resource; V. Ethnic Identity and the Rural Press; VI. The German-American Press and the American Political Scene; VII. The German Book Trade in America; and VIII. The German-American Press Today. The term "press" has been interpreted to include not only newspapers and other periodicals, so that an article on music publications of the German-American religious press and one of the German book trade prior to World War I are included.

All the articles appear in English in the volume, though two were translated from German. Many authors took care to include thorough

English translations of German terms and quotations, but other articles contain substantial passages in German with no translation given. This could make the volume less desirable for scholars with little knowledge of German. The style of documentation also differs from article to article, and one contribution has no footnotes at all. In all such collections there are variations in the quality of scholarship and writing, and this volume is no exception.

The wide variety of articles and their interdisciplinary nature makes for very interesting reading, particularly when a solid background is given for the benefit of readers whose expertise lies elsewhere. Such is the case with two of the articles from Section VI: "The German-language Press in the Debate Over the Ratification of the Constitution 1787/88" and "The Transformation of the German-American Newspaper Press, 1848-1860." Both articles provide sufficient background for the non-historian to adequately understand the important relationship between journalism and politics during these two turbulent periods in American history.

Two of the more unusual contributions to this volume are in Section III: "Religious Music/Secular Music: The Press of the German-American Church and Aesthetic Mediation" and "Masthead Iconography as *Rezeptionsvorgabe*: Producing *Die Abendschule's* Family of Readers." The former concerns itself with the juxtaposition of sacred and secular music and its role in "reflecting, even shaping the patterns of ethnicity in German-American history and culture, and with assessing the particular role played by the press in mediating this confluence of German religious and secular music" (70). The article includes printed samples of religious music from American publishers and an intriguing transcription of a field recording made in 1978 in Wisconsin, which documents spirited rhythmic deviations from the original German folk tune. The article on masthead iconography seeks to show how the *Abendschule's* masthead could "pre-program or pre-structure the reader's experience" (93). A detailed analysis of the periodical's mastheads from 1854 to 1898 and a comparison with mastheads of similar publications which appeared in German follows.

In sum, this volume contains a rich variety of articles on a fascinating subject and will be very useful to scholars and students in the field, both as a resource and as an impetus for future research.

Northern Kentucky University

Nancy K. Jentsch

Homeland.

By John Jakes. New York: Doubleday, 1993. 785 pages. \$25.00.

The life and times of the German-American Crown family of Chicago is the focus of John Jakes's latest saga, *Homeland*. This novel, which takes place in the last years of the 19th century, is billed as "the towering epic of the immigrant adventure," and to a certain extent fulfills this promise. The reader is swept along by the compelling story of Pauli Kroner, a fourteen-year-old street urchin from Berlin who goes to live with his wealthy brewer uncle in America, Joseph Crown (Josef Kroner). When uncle and nephew do not see eye to eye, young Pauli, now known as Paul Crown, strikes out on his own and eventually makes his living as a moving-picture photographer in turn-of-the-century Chicago. On his way to success, he makes friends, covers the Spanish-American War as a journalist, and meets the girl of his dreams, a pampered heiress whose robber baron father deems her too good for an immigrant boy.

As entertaining as this novel can be, it is uneven and suffers from serious faults. Many readers who are not born Chicagoans, budding sociologists, or nascent historians will find Jakes's detailed accounts of turn-of-the-century labor unrest both tedious and immaterial. Those with a sound background in American history will find errors in his research. More disquieting is the author's unfamiliarity with German culture and his inability to use correct German in his quotes. Jakes's mistakes in the German language are compounded by sloppy editing on the part of Doubleday, who should have hired a German-speaking editor to vet the manuscript. [Some, but not all, of these errors have been corrected in the recent paperback edition released in spring 1994.] Finally, Jakes's fondness for weaving actual historical figures into his tale becomes excessive. By the end of the book, the Crown family has either met, worked with, photographed, competed against, or become friends with 74 different characters, including Teddy Roosevelt, Clara Barton, Adolphus Busch, and Jane Addams.

In short, *Homeland* is an engaging story, but is neither historically accurate nor convincing as a portrayal of German-Americana. It is a good read, faults notwithstanding, destined to be followed very soon by a sequel.

San Antonio, Texas

Paula Weber

The Georgia Dutch: From the Rhine and Danube to the Savannah, 1733-1783.

By George Fenwick Jones. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. xi + 364 pages. \$45.00.

For generations German colonial migration to North America has been associated with Pennsylvania. In both *The Georgia Dutch* and *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens, 1984) Jones corrects this misconception. He notes the earlier work was his "Vorstudie" for *The Georgia Dutch* and the latter is a "chronicle, not . . . an analysis" (ix). The two studies are similar. They rest substantially upon Jones's translation of *The Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America* (16 vols.; Athens, 1968ff.). He also consults a multitude of manuscripts on opposite sides of the Atlantic as well as published primary and secondary works. They have many of the same illustrations. *The Georgia Dutch* provides extensive endnotes.

Both works open with a glimpse of the emigrants' world of origin. This includes not only the 1731 Edict of Expulsion that forced Protestants to leave Salzburg, but also details of their trek across Europe to Prussia or England, where many arrived destitute. Jones notes that in other German-speaking areas of eighteenth-century Europe people were viewed as a natural resource and migration was officially discouraged, despite the efforts of immigration recruiters.

A peek at the world of transport is also provided when the author recounts the nefarious schemes of various transporters on both the Rhine and the Atlantic that resulted in many arriving in Georgia as bonded servants. He details the death and disease experienced during the Atlantic crossing.

In presenting the world of destination, Jones assumes his reader is cognizant of the official reasons for the founding of Georgia and of its colonial history. He does not dwell on the role the new colony was designed to play as a buffer between Carolina and Spanish Florida. He barely explores the reasons for the early prohibition of slavery, male-only landownership, and small land grants—all designed to insure a large colonial militia.

The main body of both *The Salzburger Saga* and *The Georgia Dutch* provides extensive accounts of life in Ebenezer and its satellite settlements, populated primarily by Salzburgers. Johann Boltzius, as both religious and secular leader of Ebenezer for over thirty years, figures prominently in both studies. Jones gathers much of this information from Boltzius's written accounts to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) headquartered in London, and to the Lutheran Fathers at Halle University. SPCK worked closely with the Trustees for Establishing a Colony in Georgia, whose best-known member was James

Oglethorpe. Although much detail is given to various aspects of the life of the Lutheran Germans at Ebenezer and its surrounds, this portion of the work remains essentially the story of Boltzius.

The last segment of *The Georgia Dutch* attempts to thematically summarize subjects that had earlier been mentioned chronologically. These themes include pre-Christian and Christian folkways of the migrants as well as economic patterns, natural resources, military concerns, and race relations. If the work had been an "analysis" rather than a "chronicle," these summaries might have been developed as the main thrust of the study. Instead they appear as an addendum to appease the critics of *The Salzburger Saga*. In his comments on race relations the author states that this "study is about Germans in Georgia, not about the Indians; so the native Americans are seen only as they affected the Germans, that is, through German eyes" (258). Jones's use, however, of such terms as "redskins" (258) and "palefaces" (262) with an apparent straight face questions his comprehension of the nature of the European invasion and conquest of North America. Likewise his views on the Trustees' early prohibition of slavery and its later introduction are couched essentially in economic rather than racial or humanistic terms.

Throughout all his work Jones displays an excellent command of the German language and its various dialects. His work also continues the erosion of the Anglo-centric canon of British hegemony in North American colonial settlement. It might have been sufficient, however, to let his research rest on *The Detailed Reports* and *The Salzburger Saga*. The former was translated and edited for scholars. The latter was written for genealogists and the general reader. *The Georgia Dutch* appears to have been written in response to critics.

Chicago Public Library

James A. Stewart

Atlantische Brücke.

By Lisa Kahn. Lewiston, NY: Mellen Poetry Press, 1992. 78 pages. \$9.95.

This slim white volume of poetry is introduced with a quotation from Wittgenstein that asks, "Kann ich in die Vergangenheit gehen?" The volume reverberates with the question, from the first poem to the last. The first, "Wir wolln die goldne Brücke bauen," also takes up an autobiographical tone that resounds throughout. A trip with grandchildren evokes connections between past and present "so gehen wir zusammen / lauschend sprechend / Schritt für Schritt / Flug um Flug / durch Raum und Zeit / . . . hin und her und her und hin / bleiben Brückenbauer / lebenslang" (6). Kahn's poems of America build bridges back to the other side of the Atlantic; her European images echo with

symbols springing from American soil. *Atlantische Brücke*, the reader realizes easily, is a bridge constructed by words, linking childhood in Germany to an adult life in the United States. It is a bridge that does not diminish the distance between one home and another, a bridge for both coming (home) and going (home). "Das bittersüße Land" presents a quintessentially German-American view of America accepted as a new home. Straddling two shores the writer realizes that Europe has become too small for her: ". . . und selbst die kleinen Flüsse hier / die Bäche mangeln der braven Zementierung / ihres Bettes sind nicht zahm rollen / nach Wolkenbrüchen braunwütend und / schäumend über die Ufer schwappend / wie es der altersschwache Vater Rhein / kaum noch schafft" (7).

In these verses, however, a home has been found: "ach daß wir uns nirgends / bergen können es sei denn / im Herzen andrer" (17). Many of Kahn's poems come to terms with the loss of a childhood home, as illustrated in "Omas Küche": "Da Blaukraut wohl mit Äpfeln / durchzogen gesellt nach strengem Brauch / seinen Duft hinzu der trägt uns / ins Kinderland" (33-34). Especially poignant are the memories evoked in "Verspätete Liebeserklärung an Recklingshausen." As an only child, she joins her cousins in an empty general store to play on Sundays, entering the cellar: ". . . man steigt mit pochendem / Herzen ins dunkle Gewölbe / da riecht es anheimelnd zwar / nach Gürken Hering / Sauerkraut aus den Fässern / doch man kann nie wissen / und zumindest hocken Spinnen / in klammigen Ecken" (37-38).

Interspersed with such powerful evocations of memory and meaning are poems of place: "Mudejarschloß," "Reise nach Minnesota," "San Francisco," "Minneapolis," "Giverny," and the sensually provocative "Death Valley" ("In Rot getauchte / ewige Windmuster / künden von Liebe Feuer Blut / sind Erinnerungen / weisen auf Zukünftiges," [24]). Except for "Cezanne" ("Aus der Luft / wo die Spur / unsrer Geheimnisse / liegt / nimmst du sie / legst sie auf / Leinwand bloß," [31]), the poems exploring the role art plays in our lives, "Römische Rhapsodie" (I, II, and III), "Zu Brahms Erster," or "Parish Friedhof Church von St. Anne," contain cosmopolitan or private allusions that may distance or draw the reader closer.

The bridge-crossings end with "Flug," a return refreshed by the memories of homes left behind: "Meine Schmetterlingsmaschine flattert / weiter / —als wär nichts geschehn— / westwärts / meerwärts / und wieder westwärts / nach Houston" (76). Readers appreciating the evocative power of landscape will enjoy Kahn's poetry; "Night Tree" is a good example of its strength: "Stahlbaum / reckst deine anthrazitfarbenen Arme mit harten eckigen / konturen ins Blau" (63). Kahn's gift for bridging person and place, present and past, creates in

Atlantische Brücke a liberating intimacy—with nature, with places we have been and will go, with our own memories.

University of Cincinnati

Suzanne Shipley Toliver

Somewhere in Southern Indiana: Poems of Midwestern Origins.

By Norbert Krapf. St. Louis: Time Being Books, 1993. 107 pages. \$16.95 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper).

These poems are the poet's attempt to define more closely his own origins and to discern the directions his life has taken. He seems surprised and awed by the secrets the past divulges to his reflections, and by the difference between his life today and life as his German-American forebears experienced it. Several poems reflect on the customs and lifeways of Indiana's early Germans: "The Weddings" and "Butchering: After a Family Photograph." "The Forefather Arrives" mingles metaphors reflecting the old world and the new: children clinging like cockleburrs to a man's coat, cobbled Bavarian streets contrasted with flat, uncultivated ground; a woman listening for distant church bells contrasted with the song of unfamiliar birds. This poem flows with quiet but irresistible movement through its use of such motifs as walking and shoes, commonplace things that moved a nation of immigrants forward.

There are poems that capture the mystery of the early western frontier with a balanced use of nature imagery, such as "Entering the Southern Indiana Wilderness." The passing of the passenger pigeon is the object of "The Pigeons of St. Henry." The German Catholics were like other Americans in their misuse of that particular resource, overharvesting them. But in general, their ways contrasted with the cut and burn tactics of the Yankee settlers who tended to use up an area and then move further west.

The poet frequently uses photographs as the visual springboard to his ruminations about the past, sometimes with a touch of delightful whimsy as in "A Postcard from Missouri" where his father's pretty cousin is depicted in front of a rosebush in 1919. The message from her is prosaic—that they had been planting corn. The poet adds humor and emotion when he says he would plant corn with her any day. Again, the photograph plays an important role when the poet addresses the image of his grandfather with his great black moustache. The grain of wood, one of Krapf's universal themes, leads from the grandfather, the sawyer, through the poet's furniture-making father to the poet himself who sits at a desk, presumably made of wood. It is a progression from the man who cuts the wood to the man who uses it both figuratively and literally to

reflect on the past event of wood cutting. The poet sees himself prefigured in the shadow of the photographer visible in the picture.

The poet admits the impossibility of finding his own lost past even when he recursively tries to find that past by reflecting on his own written poems. "The Woods of Southern Indiana" has part of the poet's persona, the wild, youthful part, left in the woods leaving perceptible tracks along with the other wild things of the woods, but it can only be glimpsed briefly, never held. The step motif is used to contrast the feet that carried him to far away places and a different life with the tracks left by that part of himself. There often resounds the theme of words spoken too late, of words impossible to find.

The passing of the generation that was the German-language connection is chronicled in "Tillie, Josie, and Marie." The little boy did not understand his great aunt, but his father could and interpreted for him. When she died, the little boy wonders where all the German words went with their magical powers that could even wake her if they could but be found. "To Obscure Men" is a poem that is directed to the lonely old men subject to deadly melancholy when they are forgotten and left behind in the hills of one's youth. It is only when one reaches a certain age that one sends them a poem as a letter that is too late.

The experience of nature defined early the sensitivity of the poet to certain animals and trees of Southern Indiana that take on metaphoric meaning in the mind of the poet and become that connecting points between time past, nature, and the poet's present: indigo buntings, squirrels, pin oaks, and sweet gum trees. That which is eternal for the poet seems to extend from the ever-rolling hills of Southern Indiana. The chicken hawk glides in a never-ending circle seeking small gradations in the landscape from which it lives. Nature in its simplicity is all that is eternal.

Man's creations are ever so fragile, even if they seem massive. "Two Bricks and a Board" are all that is left of the massive brick house built by the poet's great-great-grandfather. The sense of lost connection to the past, a past that sustains as one reflects on it, is overwhelming in this somewhat long poem. There is a need to preserve at least a trace of that past in some tangible form that can be the catalyst for reflecting on one's interconnected humanity that informs the present and the future. "For to live / in the present / without remembering / the past is to / die a slow inhuman / death in a time / that leads nowhere / but back into / itself sealed off / forever from / life to come" (74).

It is the poet's right to indulge himself in reflection on the ethnic past and present, and in doing so preserve it by causing others to reflect on it. The poet chronicles "small lives deeply lived" that often spawned greatness. "German Fries" looks back to the passing of the poet's father and the family's relationship to the family of the present archbishop of

Indianapolis. The food motif, the symbol of life in the rural environment of many German-American families, is a unifying element. The poet also feels a certain kinship to Theodore Dreiser, a Hoosier German from Terre Haute and great American novelist. A reference in Dreiser's *A Hoosier Holiday* made during a trip through Southern Indiana mentioned a grove of beech trees that were like a cathedral. This shared respect for nature connects the poet with Dreiser, his German family, his Indiana background, and their Catholic heritage. Much of Krapf's poetry directs itself to finding hidden links and associations that exist because of shared German heritage. Yet, this book is not philopatric or exclusionary.

The dark side, the melancholy of German-American life in Southern Indiana is often present as in the Dreiser poem. This long poem tells much about why the novelist was a "Hoosier / German mystic masquerading as / a New York skeptic" (90). This is a side of the novelist, incidentally, that his friend H. L. Mencken, a German-American from Baltimore, also understood. The dark side of life is present also in the suicide of a friend and that of the "unhappy old men who withered / away in parlors, hanged / themselves from two-by-four / rafters in garages, or shot / themselves in smokehouses / with the twelve gauges / they'd hunted with for fifty- / five years" (69).

Krapf's imagery is gentle but resilient in its use of nature themes from the woods of Southern Indiana. The language has the flow of interconnected themes. It is the associative logic of the emotion which stays, however, on course throughout a given poem and the collection as a whole.

This is a collection of poems that with some exceptions seem to belong together in that they create in combination a more or less complete picture of a past time and place. That German-American time and place constitutes one of the grains in the wood of which American culture is made.

German-American themes mingle with what one might call "All American" themes, particularly the sports of basketball and baseball that played and still play an important part in the life of people in Southern Indiana. The curving ball like those formerly thrown by the poet's father he wishes "to send . . . curving / on in memory that is sacred" (105). This is more than about life among German-Americans in Southern Indiana; it is about life in America with all of its shared symbols, problems, and hopes. It is a very mature collection of poems by a poet who utilizes German-American themes to reflect on our common humanity.

The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War.

By Bruce Levine. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. xiv + 378 pages. \$39.95.

The revolution of 1848-49 that failed to turn German history ultimately helped to shape the character of antebellum America, since thousands of German revolutionaries were cast upon the shores of the United States seeking political exile. Between 1840 and 1860 at least one and a half million Germans emigrated to America. Despite the pressures of acculturation, by the 1850s German-Americans had created a pervasive social pattern in urban communities—a pattern that was inclusive of a wide variety of classes and occupations. Antebellum Germans were perhaps the most successful immigrants in establishing their own ethnic communities in urban centers, while assimilating into the American working class. Bruce Levine, in his *The Spirit of 1848: German Immigrants, Labor Conflict, and the Coming of the Civil War*, a volume in the series *The Working Class in American Society*, has added significantly to our understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and class. While scholars have traditionally examined ethnicity and class separately, the recent emphasis on the relationship between ethnicity, immigration, urbanization, and the rank and file worker has given rise to new and interesting developments in social history.

German immigrants and their children became one of the chief elements of the U.S. working class during the nineteenth century. By focusing on German-born craftworkers, Levine examines the key roles they played in the economic and political life of the wage-earning population of antebellum America. For example, he contends that "ethnic (religious and national) cultures were heavily freighted with both socioeconomic and political significance" (10). That American values were deeply marked by socioeconomic concerns was no more true then in the antebellum period, but according to Levine, issues bearing on ethnic and religious identity, conversely, loomed large for German-Americans. German-American craftworkers could not help but be influenced by these circumstances which ultimately came to define their role in the American workplace, especially since the German-American response to a range of ethno-political stimuli was also mediated by socioeconomic realities, including class identity.

By analyzing the relationship between immigration, industrialization, class formation, and the political polarization over slavery, Levine sheds new light in the development of the antebellum working class, the nature and appeals of partisan politics, and the conflicts that led to the Civil War. By rejecting what Levine labels the "either/or" approach to studying ethnicity and class, *The Spirit of 1848* reflects to some degree a new

approach in ethnic social history that "lays bare the manner in which cultural, economic, and political influences interacted to shape the experience of German-American craftworkers" (10). Scholars of ethnicity have traditionally focused on emigrating professionals, merchants, and landowners who constituted only a minority of the emigrants. Levine, however, centers on the small cultivators, handicraft workers, and laborers primarily in the North who comprised the overwhelming majority of the German emigrants and whose preservation in the New World naturally had much more to do with the workplace than with trying to achieve the realization of political liberalism. Levine contends that only by focusing on the interaction between the political, economic, and cultural influences of the craftworker "can we understand how these people perceived and responded to antebellum partisanship and mounting conflicts over slavery" (10).

Levine opens his story of the German-American experience by carefully delineating the background of these emigrants, assessing their involvement in the economic, political, and cultural developments that culminated in the revolution of 1848. He examines the economic, political, and cultural changes in *Vormärz* Germany as well as the revolution itself in an attempt to explain the impetus for the German emigration. In the tradition of earlier scholars of the German revolution such as Marcus Lee Hansen and Theodore Hamerow, Levine asserts that the economic disasters of the 1840s made German society's general economic crisis acute, and it "reflected the complex, contradictory, and uneven character of the nation's social and political development" (34). The push for national unity and a constitutional monarchy on a broad democratic basis by liberals ultimately resulted in a revolution that failed. Although the movement failed to achieve its political goals, it reflected the desire of German craftworkers, despite their various religious and political beliefs or backgrounds, to unite on some common ground and actively participate in changing the workplace.

Levine then traces the exile of these failed revolutionaries to the new world, where, according to Carl Schurz, "nobody need be poor because everybody was free" (53) and locates them within the multi-class German-American population struggling to assimilate into the American mainstream. The relative concentration in urban areas gave the Germans a disproportionate weight in many important centers, and the social structure of these communities naturally reflected this heavy urban concentration. In most cases the discovery in the New World of certain social-economic conditions associated with the Old World reflected some basic similarities in the form that economic development took in the United States and Europe. While improvements in the nation's transportation systems and the resulting integration of local markets, along with the growth of light manufacturing, introduced important

changes into the economy, they coexisted with—and were often mediated by—significant fragments of the more traditional, small-scale, artisanal economy which continued to develop on a decentralized basis. Although Germans experienced numerous hardships and faced numerous obstacles they were nonetheless absorbed into the workplace, which ultimately either positively or negatively pulled German-Americans together across social class. For Levine problems of adjustments—exacerbated by unemployment, poverty, and ethnic discrimination—tended to strengthen community cohesion and ethnic identity.

Levine analyzes the deepening political divisions within German-America, differentiating conservative, liberal, radical-democratic, and Marxist currents. In his analysis Levine highlights the challenge of slavery and sectionalism to the radical immigrants. Because German-Americans had earlier established a presence in the Democratic party, the newcomers refused to abandon the party since many considered slavery less of a danger to their daily lives than nativists. The more radical forty-eighters, however, who according to Levine had "long argued (against nativist and even immigrant critics) that their own outlook and goals were basically the same as those historically associated with the American Revolution and American Democracy" (217), implored their comrades to denounce slavery. This conflicted with the workers' interests in survival, especially since many German immigrants were employed in the textile industry—an industry with a southern tie. Radical German Republicans, comparing southern masters to European aristocrats, emphasizes the antislavery advocates' struggle for unlimited freedom, which seemed to transform slavery into a class conflict of the oppressed and the oppressor "in the spirit of the martyrs of the German Revolution" (217). It was the work of the radical forty-eighters, however, that afforded German workers an avenue to move into the Republican party during the Kansas-Nebraska crisis, despite the nativist elements within the party.

The concluding section of Levine's book focuses primarily on the political climate of the years immediately preceding the Civil War. While this section is much less detailed, it provides useful analysis of the German-American role in the development of the Republican party, the election of 1860, essentially concluding that Lincoln's success in the Northwest was less determined by the German vote than previously argued by scholars. While his insights into the role of German-Americans in the Civil War are perceptive, a more fully balanced account of the relationship between ethnicity, politics, and the military would serve to buoy up his argument. While the rank and file German-American soldier made a significant contribution to the Civil War, the absence of a those, such as Franz Sigel and Peter Osterhaus, who became prominent commanders, either positively or negatively, seems inconsistent with the attention given to those German-Americans who merited distinction in the

years prior to the war. Interestingly enough, the most prominent German-American of the nineteenth century, Carl Schurz, appears more for his role during and after the Civil War, when he was equally important from a German-American viewpoint, than as a radical Republican before the war rallying his countrymen to the Republican party in 1860. Other German-Americans Levine might have considered in his assessment of the German-American contribution include Gustave Koerner and Ludwig Blenker.

For readers of nineteenth-century ethnicity, class, and conflict, Levine's masterful study of German immigrants, labor, and the coming of the Civil War is an important work. It serves to accent what is both needed and extremely useful in antebellum scholarship—an original and exhaustive account of two elements that should more often be considered together in social history: class and ethnicity. Combining outstanding research with rich interpretive analysis, *The Spirit of 1848* cements Levine's place among the best in immigration studies.

Florida Atlantic University

Stephen D. Engle

Wortgrund Noch: Lyrik Und Prosa

By Gert Niers. *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika*, vol. 4. *Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota*, 1992. 92 pages. \$10.

The informative introduction by Werner Kitzler offers pertinent background information for approaching the poetry and prose of Gert Niers. Kitzler begins with a prologue-like reference to the series *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika*, its purpose of providing a forum for German-language authors residing in North America, and the contributions of Gert Niers to the field of German-American literature, in particular his journalistic and editorial duties in New York with both *Aufbau* and the *Staats-Zeitung*.

The forty poems in part one, "Durch das Nadelöhr der Zeit," deal primarily with considerations of language, both German as native tongue and American English as the instrument of communication in a new homeland. Niers is most successful when the poetry blends reflection on language with attempts at self-discovery. See, for instance, "Soliloquium" where the author expresses concerns shared by other German-American writers:

Ich versuche, mich vom Eintopf
der Eintagsfliegen fernzuhalten.
So fern wie möglich.

Schreiben aus der Ferne.
Ferngespräch. Selbstgespräch. (42)

In part two, "Aus dem launigen Logbuch," a diary without dates, we find an alternating series of aphoristic statements and fragmentary images. One of the more notable pronouncements is the following: "Deutschamerikanische Literatur: Hieroglyphen gegen das Vergessen" (48), a line which underscores the task facing Niers and other writers in the *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika* series, namely, the effort to preserve the German-American tradition so that future readers need not play the role of archaeologists deciphering the remains of an extinct culture.

Part three contains ten poems grouped under the heading "Bruchstücke des Herzens." Here we find poems both traditional and experimental in form. Among the more successful are "Erinnerung einer Kindheit im Ruhrgebiet" and the final poem in this chapter which concludes with the lines providing the book's title: "Unsere frostdünne Existenz / trägt Wortgrund noch" (64)—a neologism capturing the oft ambiguous essence of the German-writing author in America.

Part four, "Nichts zu danken," offers an ironical twist to the traditional travel report from America by using a series of six autobiographical anecdotes to illustrate the idiosyncracies if not dangers associated with the American way of life. Niers refrains from standard travel imagery, offering instead a narrative point of view embellishing the theme of a stranger in a strange land. Moreover, the mode of self-observation employed here provides a nice counter-balance to the concluding section of the book.

The final entry, "So wunderbare Worte gefunden," is another prose piece in a montage style incorporating satire as well as the grotesque. A fitting conclusion to this collection, the original manuscript dates from 1971, i.e., shortly before Niers's emigration, and reflects the author's early literary influences (dada and surrealism) to say nothing of the unmistakable *Zeitgeist* of the 1960s.

Wortgrund Noch offers the reader an excellent introduction to the work of an author born in Dresden in 1943, raised in Oberhausen (Ruhrgebiet), and living on the East Coast of the USA since 1971. On a concluding note, this review echoes the suggestion of Werner Kitzler in calling for publication in book form of selections from Niers's journalistic work in the field of German-Americana. Such would indeed be a most fitting companion piece to *Wortgrund Noch*.

St. Louis

Greg Divers

Rahmenwechsel: Fünfundsiebzig Gedichte mit dreizehn Zeichnungen und Umschlagbild von Gerhard Wind.

By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke, 1992. 128 pages. DM 20.

In *Rahmenwechsel* the Cologne-born author Margot Scharpenberg returns to a format she has used successfully in her previous volumes of poetry, merging poems and visual art: black-and-white drawings by Gerhard Wind accompany her poems. All are variations of the same abstract geometrical shapes. The title echoes that of the earlier collection *Verlegte Zeiten* (1988), since both suggest a process of transformation. In *Verlegte Zeiten* it is the concept of time which is being manipulated; in the present collection the frame surrounding the work of art is being shifted to create a new perspective. In Wind's drawings the white empty spaces create the impression that all forms are in motion, and the outline of the drawings motivates the spectator to fill in the empty space; in Scharpenberg's poems the reader is equally tempted to fill in his/her thoughts.

Scharpenberg is one of the few contemporary German-American authors who has received international recognition. Since 1957 she has published twenty-one collections of poetry and three volumes of prose. Her success reflects the continuing vitality of the German-American heritage: all of her volumes are written in German and published in Germany; a few poems have been translated and appear in American publications. A recent volume (21 [1993]) of *Carleton Germanic Papers*, published at Carleton University, Canada—where she worked for two years—was dedicated to Scharpenberg's work. She is included in the *Kritisches Lexicon zur deutschsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur* and in the *Frankfurter Anthologie* (1988). In 1988 she received the prestigious Ida Dehmel Prize for her collected poetry as well as the Robert L. Kahn Prize.

Her themes and images remain familiar. She divides her new collection into four sections: "Kindheit (Unsereins)," "Sprache (Bilder)," "Kalender (Schauplätze)," and "Zukunft (Nachrufe)." Language and time, central themes throughout her works, represent forms of change. The title, *Rahmenwechsel*, can be interpreted from this perspective. The first group of poems focuses on the experiences and memories of childhood; an awareness of mortality ("Ungeschützt," 12; "Es ging zu schnell," 24; "sterblich," 36) and recollections of earlier, more blissful times ("Bienensummen," 12) are common themes. Frequent references to day and night or light and shadow reinforce the connection between the poems and the black-and-white drawings. One example of this blending technique can be seen in "Nacht und Tag" and "Kindheit IX (Kind am Abend)": "Ich lege dich mir / als Augenklappe vor / damit ich besser / schlafen kann und sage / Gute Nacht / Nacht / . . . / vorm Licht /

verschließt du dich / während ich es / mit Haut und Haar / mit Klang
und allen Gerüchen / festhalten will" (30); "Wo der Schatten / Schatten
wirft / darf ich mich verstecken / Fensterleibung / Säulenfirst / Schwarz
in allen Ecken/ . . . / —Licht ist leicht / und zwingt mich kaum— /
werd ich neugeboren" (22).

The success of these poems is a result of Scharpenberg's direct, unpretentious language and lyric style. She sometimes employs a fairy-tale tone and uses typical fairy-tale images ("Fabelvogel," 35; "Feen," 19; "Hänsel und Gretel," 14), but always with a twist at the end ("Kindheit III," 14). Reinhold Grimm nicely summarizes this dominant stylistic characteristic, explaining that "Scharpenbergs dichterische Verwandlung von Bildinhalten in sprachliche Bilder sich häufig auch mit Hilfe von neubelebten—beim Wort genommenen, gegen den Strich gelesenen oder sonstwie kreativ variierten—bildlichen und/oder umgangssprachlichen Redensarten vollzieht" (*Carleton Germanic Papers* 21:55). The result is a change of perspective, a new frame for an old picture (*Rahmenwechsel*).

As is typical of her recent poetry, the theme of this volume centers around the encounter of language: the poems in the second section, "Sprache (Bilder)," address language directly, with an intimate voice: "Einmal mit ihr verlobt" (40); "Mit ihrem Namen/bin ich beringt" (41); "Sprache ist meine Schwester" (42); "schon mein Geburtsschrei ist Sprache" (45); "meine Freundin Sprache" (46). Language is not approached as a linguistic phenomenon, but as a fundamental experience linked to time, life, and death—the other main themes of the collection.

There are very few references in this volume to Scharpenberg's American residence, but several poems in the "language" section deal with her bilingual talent: "Meine Zwei Sprachen / Über die Köpfe / meiner zwei Sprachen / hinweg / verständige ich mich / mit mir selbst / . . ." (54); "Merhsprachig / . . . / je mehr wir in anderen / Sprachen rufen / je eher / so hoffen wir / fliegen de Vögel / in vollere Sicht / . . ." (51); "Dialog / . . . / mit Verlaub / von welcher Sprache / ist hier die Rede / ich höre auf zwei / . . ." (52).

Scharpenberg's verbal wit, innovative images, and associations are presented in varied metrical forms and a more personal tone that creates memorable poems. The book closes with a series of remarkable poems that trace the significance of time: the past and the future. *Rahmenwechsel* is an important book which confirms Scharpenberg's position as one of the leading poets currently writing in German.

Wright State University

Elfe Vallaster

Die Resonanz des Exils: Gelungene und mißlungene Rezeption deutschsprachiger Exilautoren.

Edited by Dieter Sevin. Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur, vol. 99. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi. 1992. 403 pages, three photos. \$120 (cloth); \$40 (paper).

Since studies about the reception of literary works have provided essential information for literary history as such, it was only a question of time until this approach would also be applied to exile literature, in this case the literature written in German by those writers who fled their Central European homeland from Nazi persecution. The present volume examines the resonance of individual exile works both in the author's country of origin (Germany, Austria) as well as in the country where the author found asylum. Apart from literature, other forms of creative and intellectual activities are examined (e.g., art, film, theatre, philosophy)—which means that the collection is not only dedicated to exile literature (as the title suggests) but to the wider range of a general *Exilforschung*.

The twenty-eight essays collected by Dieter Sevin had previously been presented as papers of an "International Symposium on the Reception of German and Austrian Exile Literature" which took place at Vanderbilt University in April 1991. As any collective endeavor, Sevin's symposium harvest contains material of different outlook and quality. Although all contributors—more or less instinctively, it seems—are striving for objective and verifiable criteria to measure the impact of an author upon the public at a given time, there appears to be no clearly defined methodology of reception-oriented research: a calamity which Sevin addresses in his introductory remarks (5). Therefore, the concept of *Wirkungsgeschichte* as it is laid out by Helmut Koopmann (182) is not adopted in all of its aspects by all contributors. Still, whichever approach is chosen by the individual scholar, the results are—all in all—pertinent and noteworthy.

Among the different research topics of this collection certain *Schwerpunkte* become noticeable: two essays (one by Peter Uwe Hohendahl, the other by Dagmar Barnouw) deal with Adorno; two (Jost Hermand, Helmut Pfanner) are dedicated to Arnold Zweig; the Mann family receives the same amount of attention (Helmut Koopmann, Shelley Frisch), and so does Friedrich Wolf (Klaus Jarmatz, Gerd Labrousse). If I had to decide which of the collected essays offers the best scholarly argument and stylistic performance, I would opt for Helmut Koopman's contribution.

A somewhat neglected group of emigrés have been the artists, about whose fate and work the *Exilforschung* has not yet produced much coherent evidence. Ingeborg Hoesterey's essay examines the life, work, and recognition of Friedel Dzubas, Hans Hoffmann, and Richard Lindner.

With the tools of semiotics and deconstruction, she gets quickly to the point and provides the reader with valuable new insights.

Guy Stern, one of the *grandseigneurs* of exile studies, pursues in his essay a subject he had embarked upon already in 1986: the impact of the exile experience on the younger writers and their literary production. In this case, we are no longer dealing with German literature but with American writing. Stern now presents the authors Walter Laqueur, Sonia Wolff Levitin, Peter Viertel, Lore Segal, Frederic Morton, and Walter Abish.

Alexander Stephan takes a critical look at the file which the FBI had established on Lion Feuchtwanger. Their objectives and methods of gathering information are not too different from the procedures in totalitarian regimes: a bitter ironic twist in the fate of an emigré who nevertheless manages to stay above all petty adversities.

Shelley Frisch (on Klaus Mann) makes the well-argued point to apply Deleuze's and Guattari's concept of "minor literature" to the interpretation of exile literature. It is too bad that in her extensive conclusion this Germanist does not consider the Deleuze/Guattari concept as an interpretive approach to German-American literature. Among the articles which fascinated this reviewer are also Olga Elaine Rojer's evaluation of the German literary scene in Argentina and an analysis of the French situation by Albrecht Betz.

There is no question that within the vast field of exile studies every subject presented in this anthology is worthy of consideration. Nothing is unimportant. However, one observation which should not be suppressed has nothing to do with the intention of the book, but with its technical realization. I do not know (and as a reviewer, I do not have to know) if this was caused by the circumstances of the production: but I have not yet read a book with so many violations of grammar, spelling, and style as this one. It is not sufficient to give each author the opportunity to proofread the final copy of his/her contribution, as the editor proclaims in his foreword (4). An editor has not only the right, but also the obligation to intervene. Dieter Sevin has failed to do so, and his own introductory "Anmerkungen" are painful proof of his poor performance. For instance "Die Meinungen, inwieweit die Theorie eine größere Rolle einnehmen müsse und auch wie extensiv sich unsere Wissenschaft international komparatistischen Vergleichen hinzuzuwenden habe, wurden recht unterschiedlich eingeschätzt" (8). Assigning this passage to an intermediate language class for correction would probably produce interesting results.

The most grotesque blunder can be found in Viktoria Hertling's essay about the *Austro-American Tribune*: "Als nächstes riefen die Legitimisten im Februar 1942 die Frei-Österreicher-Bewegung ins Leben, unter deren Schirmherrschaft am 11. März 1942 in New York die größte

Veranstaltung zum dritten Jahrestag der Annexion abgehalten wurde" (36); in 1942 the *fourth* and not the *third* anniversary of the *Anschluß* was commemorated. As the source of her information, the author quotes the New York based newspaper *Aufbau* without clarifying, however, that this information was not conveyed in an article (as one would expect in a newspaper) but rather in an advertisement. Of course, the ad refers properly to the *fourth* anniversary. Clearly, the editor should have intervened and protected his contributor from professional embarrassment.

Even though for such reasons Sevin's volume cannot be welcomed without reservations, it still presents important incentives and new perspectives. It confirms the trend of incorporating into research other forms of exile existence than that of our *hommes de lettres*. The history of exile literature is thereby opened to an intellectual history of the exile (in the meantime also other professions—e.g., medical doctors, engineers—have become the topic of *Exilforschung*). To what degree a comparative point of view will open new horizons to exile studies remains to be seen: in most essays of this anthology the comparative effort had to be brought forth by the reader while deciphering the mosaic of subjects and opinions.

Ocean County College, NJ

Gert Niers

Deutsch-jüdische Exil- und Emigrationsliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert.

Edited by Itta Shedletsky and Hans Otto Horch. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993. vi + 302 pages. DM 138.

Given the growing interlinkage between various fields of specialization, today's Germanists will frequently find new primary and secondary sources in publications apparently only marginally relevant to their research. For the investigator of German-American relations, for instance, the steadily burgeoning field of exile literature and culture will yield increasingly valuable insights. The present anthology, for the most part a collection of papers presented at an exile symposium of 1989 at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, while not a prime example, will still serve to illustrate the point. Dealing *in extenso* with only a few exiles during their stay in America—a fact partially explained by the heavy involvement of scholars from Israel—the anthology, by virtue of four of its articles, will nonetheless benefit German-American studies.

Hans-Peter Bayerdörfer's "Nathan am Broadway," a superb analysis of Ferdinand Bruckner's adaptation of Lessing, confirms an abiding principle of exile, indeed of immigration literature: in order to succeed abroad a literary text must, beyond any intrinsic merit, appeal to the

tastes and predilections of the adopted country. That is the reason why in the nineteenth century, for example, Kotzebue outstripped Goethe in popular appeal to Americans.

Bruckner, when readying *Nathan* for Broadway, wanted not only to cement the bridges between enlightened German gentiles and Jews, but also "to bring both in contact with the spirit of America" (172). To that end he significantly altered Lessing's original. By omitting the figures of Sittah and Al-Hafi and by elevating the Sultan to a ruler in search of peace and justice, Bruckner stresses the problems inherent in the interaction of major religions with a secular nation, very much in the American spirit of a separation between church and state. Bruckner also substitutes a genuine love story, complete with a happy ending, for the somewhat antiquated, if symbolically valid, "family-of-Man" denouement. Also, in deference to America's more stringent segregation between the faithful of the various religions, Nathan feels the need to exculpate himself for keeping her true provenance from his daughter. Finally, given the urgency of Lessing's message, the need to marshal all anti-totalitarian forces, Bruckner transposes Lessing's envisioned age of tolerance from a utopian future to the here-and-now, a consummation brought about by Saladin's wise rule. The astonishing critical and popular success of the staging testifies to Bruckner's correct assessment of the mentality of the sophisticated American theatergoer. The revised *Nathan* becomes thereby a barometer for German-American relations as it prevailed among American intellectuals in 1942.

Three other authors who spent some of their exile years in America are also profiled in the anthology. Klaus Müller-Salget and Hanni Mittelman provide, respectively, some glimpses of Alfred Döblin's and Albert Ehrenstein's unsuccessful adjustment to America. Döblin, beyond his struggles as a writer, found himself confronted by another quandary in America: a convert to Catholicism he still depended for his subsistence on the generosity of American-Jewish committees. He solved his dilemma by concealing his conversion. Ehrenstein, uprooted in America from his language, "his last homeland" (246), thematizes this loss in his sparse American writings, often by means of animal fables. America, to him, became a cul-de-sac.

Hans Bodenheimer, in his article about Ernst Toller, also focuses (as did the two previously cited essays) on the writer's attitude to Judaism and religion. Nonetheless, we can glean once again, despite this focus, how Toller, while in America, nobly pursued his ideals: the helping of fellow refugees and enlisting aid for the Spanish Republic.

Judging the present anthology on its own terms—rather than as a contribution to German-American studies—it need be said that several articles dwell more on an author's pre-exile years and, in the case of Gertrud Kolmar, on her vision of an asylum abroad tragically never

reached. These deviations from the subject stated in the title do not necessarily diminish the scholarly value of the contributions, but they do impinge upon the thematic unity of the collection. For the scholar of German-American relations, however, parts of this anthology can serve as a welcome reminder that useful sources can be unearthed in studies devoted to exile in America.

Wayne State University

Guy Stern

The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940.

Edited by Elliot Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992. 247 pages. \$36.50.

The editors of this volume aim to examine ninety years of German-American radicalism represented in German-American newspapers (and labor publications) by way of ten selections. The purpose as put forth in the introduction is "to offer some thematic essays which provide a broad-based view of the complexity and richness of this press" (2). The book is divided into four parts: 1. The Radical Editors; 2. From Forty-Eighter Radicalism to a Working-Class Press; 3. A Press and a Culture; 4. Radical Visions. Additionally, there is a summation by Moses Rischin, a list of editors/journalists of German-American radical papers from 1865 to 1914 by Harmut Keil, as well as an excellent bibliography and index.

The essays include such topics as: the forty-eighters; specific activities in Chicago, Philadelphia, New York, and St. Louis; the treatment of women by the radical press; specific newspapers (*Freie Blätter*, *Der Arme Teufel*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*); and specific individuals (Franz Schmidt, Robert Reitzel, and Ludwig Lore).

For a general overview of the period and the individuals involved, readers should turn to Hartmut Keil's "A Profile of Editors of the German-American Radical Press, 1850-1910." Keil points out that in the post-Civil War years editors were recruited from Germany due to a dearth of qualified individuals already in the United States. Some of the editors had fled the anti-socialist laws enacted from 1878 to 1890, while others came from a working class background or were intellectuals. Keil remarks that this strengthening of the ranks helped raise the linguistic and cultural standards that had leveled off as a result of forces of adaptation from various angles. Editorships were marked by short tenures and high mobility due to instability, personnel changes, and ideological shifts in the papers' editorial policies.

He also notes that the radical press depended on the organizational backing of the cooperative associations and the labor organizations for

survival. The ill-fated fortune of the *Milwaukee'r Socialist*, for example, demonstrates that many a plan was rashly conceived and lacked that fundamental financial foundation, institutional backing, as well as a solid base of subscribers. Keil proceeds to characterize the editors in general terms: their origins, professions, reasons for immigrating, etc.

Bruce Nelson addresses the early years of the labor movement in the United States in his essay "*Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung: Chicago's Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870-1900.*" Nelson quotes an April 1880 issue of *Der Vorbote* "die Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten ist zugleich die Geschichte der Arbeiterpresse" (81) and uses this as his thesis in examining the workers' movement in Chicago. He then proceeds to provide a thorough overview of the numerous socialist and anarchist newspapers in various languages (although most were in German).

Basically the newspapers reached five distinct, although at times somewhat similar, audiences: the immigrant audience, workers, trade unions, party members, and the socialist movement's "sympathetic following." Nelson covers their content, publication, and circulation.

The role these newspapers played in the Haymarket riot is also examined. Nelson notes that the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* offered weapons instruction at an anarchist saloon, and the *Alarm* advertised an armed section of the American Group in the months preceding the riot. The day after the riot the police arrested everyone found in the offices of the Socialist Publishing Society, and confiscated all available records. Despite arrests of anarchist editors after Haymarket and promises of suppression of any inflammatory writings, the radical press continues a few days later where it had left off.

Rischin summarizes four of the essays of this volume and offers a subjective critique emphasizing their strengths as well as their weaknesses. He also notes the place this period (and its players) occupy in our understanding of American and German-American history.

Given the relatively small number of individuals involved in the German-American radical press (with regard to the general German-American population), the impact they had on the labor movement of the United States remains nothing short of astounding. This volume is essential to a fuller understanding of American radical political history. It makes great strides in opening the eyes of historians in recognizing the broad role of German-Americans in the history of the United States. Those interested in feminist and labor history will also appreciate this volume.

Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-Speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933 (Volume 2): Verzeichnis der Quellen und Materialien der deutschsprachigen Emigration in den USA seit 1933.

By John M. Spalek and Sanra H. Hawrylachak. Bern: Francke Verlag, 1992. 847 pages. \$115.

This is the second in a projected three-volume work (volume 1, 1978), which is basic to any research on the post-1933 German-speaking emigration. The 1930s brought a "mass exodus of science, art, and learning from Europe" (vii) into the New World. The impact on American Society in general, and on the German-American world in particular, was far-reaching. The aim of the work is to establish the location and content of archival materials pertaining to this emigrant group. The arrangement is alphabetical by personal name. This second volume adds 420 archival reports to the 300 found in the first volume; with the final and concluding volume the number will most likely reach the thousand mark.

Each archival report entry includes the following information: name of emigrant, occupation, birth and death dates, and the location of the archival materials. The latter are arranged in the following categories: autobiographical; correspondence; primary literature; printed materials (from newspapers and magazines); adaptations, tapes, records, slides, films; interviews; secondary literature; documents; photographs; descriptions of personal library; materials used by the author, scientist, etc.; memorabilia; manuscripts of others in the collection; and programs and posters.

Two reports can be cited here as examples. The report on Peter Lorre (Laslo Löwenstein, 1904-64), the noted actor of *Casablanca* and other films, is a compact fact-filled listing of materials. We learn, first, that a biography is being written by Stephen D. Youngkin, and that materials will not be accessible until the publication of his work. What will be available? Interviews, tapes, letters, etc. Especially of interest are Lorre's own scrapbooks and the materials he collected on his early theater career in Vienna and Munich. Anyone interested in the German-American contribution to the American film would be interested in consulting this report.

From the rather well-known Peter Lorre, we move to the lesser known, but equally fascinating Alfred Gong (Arthur Liquornik, 1920-81), the writer, whose papers are at the University of Cincinnati. The author of valuable works, including *Interview mit Amerika* and *Happenings in der Park Avenue*, Gong will be recalled for his contributions to the *American-German Review*. The report indicates that a more detailed (24 page) inventory of the Gong papers is available from the University of Cincinnati Archives, but again, one finds here a concisely detailed listing

of the various categories of materials available. For example, there are references to correspondence with Alfred Andersch, Julius Bab, Ulrich Becker, Peter Demetz, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Manfred George, Rudolf Hagelstange, Hans Egon Holthusen, Wolfgang Koeppen, Monika Mann, Ludwig Marcuse, Hans Sahl, Will Schaber, Johannes Urzidil, Carl Zuckmayer, and others. References to unpublished material, such as Gong's *Die Entmenslichungsmaschine*, provide the basis for future possible avenues of research and study.

Criteria for inclusion were based on the accomplishments of the individual, and the significance pertains both to the American and the European contexts. The first volume stresses "literature and writing in general, physics, mathematics, psychology, architecture, and to a lesser extent, the field of music (composers, performers, and historians)." The second volume "compensates for the lack of representatives from the fields of law, medicine, chemistry, biology, and social sciences." The final volume will include reports on representatives "from the fields of art (including art dealers), music, psychology and publishing, as well as film and acting" (x). The coverage and the archival categories are, hence, thorough. Indices provide access to the following: collections abroad, materials disposed, and personal and place names listed in the guide.

Paging through this guide not only illuminates the diversity of an illustrious group—from the likes of Stefan Zweig to Fritz Lang and Peter Lorre—but also provides the point of departure for future research by locating and detailing the availability of archival materials. Reference should also be made to the related monumental work John Spalek has coedited that contains essays on more than three hundred major and minor individuals active in the literary and publishing areas, as well as a number of thematic and topical essays (John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, eds., *Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur seit 1933* [Bern: Francke, 1976-89]). In this work one may seek further biographical information pertaining to many of the individuals listed in the archival guide. Taken together, these works are clearly essential reference/resource sources.

Like the forty-eighters in the nineteenth century, the exiles of the 1930s in the twentieth century represent an important chapter in German-American history. This archival guide is an outstanding contribution to the field of German-American studies in general, and to the bibliography of German-Americana in particular.

University of Cincinnati

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

The Brewer's Star.

By Paula Weber. Reston, VA: Bavaria Books, 1993. 799 pages. \$18.95

The Brewer's Star is the fictional account of Richard Kaempff, a strong-willed, Bavarian-born brewer and his family, covering the period of 1884 to 1902. It is the story of a German who settled in San Antonio and made good in the United States, rising from a poor immigrant to a beer baron dominating the entire state of Texas in his business dealings, despite numerous hardships and family clashes along the way to success.

The main focus of the novel is Kaempff, as the guiding light behind the Star Brewing Company, and his second wife Charlotte Karstens, a self-centered though beautiful and renowned opera singer from Hamburg, whom he met in Geneva. From their initial encounter in Geneva to Kaempff's sudden death in 1902, their relationship is seldom smooth; it is evident that while the Kaempffs love each other, they are able to coexist only with the greatest difficulty. After Kaempff, a highly respected member of San Antonio's German community, discovers he has fathered a child with Charlotte, he hastens back to Europe, where he coerces her to marry him against her wishes and return to America with him, a circumstance which would be the source of great resentment for Charlotte throughout their turbulent marriage and a significant contributing factor to the couple's many disagreements.

For Charlotte, life in San Antonio is anything but enjoyable, despite living in luxury from Kaempff's highly successful brewing operation. Having already had a child out of wedlock, fathered by none other than Richard Wagner, she finds herself friendless in America and shunned by San Antonio's high society, is unable to become comfortable with vastly different American ways and customs, masters the English language only with difficulty, and experiences constant discomfort in San Antonio's sweltering climate. By her own admission a less than perfect mother, Charlotte finds marriage to Kaempff is satisfying only on a sexual level; the two seldom agree on anything, most notably Charlotte's desire to return to Europe for at least four months of each year to sing professionally. Charlotte's insistence on pursuing her career, which made her one of the most famous sopranos in Europe, is a source of constant irritation to Kaempff; typical of the time, his stated preference is to work fourteen hour days at the brewery, with Charlotte playing the good German *Hausfrau*, devoting herself to their children at home, well out of the spotlight. For this and many other reasons, Charlotte and Richard quarrel fiercely and often, which at one point leads her to leave for Europe with no intention of returning.

In *The Brewer's Star*, Weber admirably incorporates elements of German-Americana, in the process creating a welcome addition to the corpus of German-American literature. Richard Kaempff is the

embodiment of the American immigrant's dream of becoming a financial success, in the typically German industry of brewing, all the while working with fellow Germans at the brewery and enjoying German festivals where his beer was served. Though he adapts well to his Texas setting, he remains true to his German roots, often longing to visit his Bavarian homeland, while retaining German character traits and fostering traditional German values at home. Charlotte likewise remains true to her German heritage, raising her children to be fluent in German as well as English and longing for German culture in Europe, implicitly bemoaning a perceived lack of culture in her new home country. The children are decidedly Americans and Texans first, though their appreciation of their German heritage can be seen throughout the text.

With its many plot twists and turns, *The Brewer's Star* is a realistic, highly readable account of life in San Antonio's German community, combining historically accurate detail from the turn of the century with numerous intriguing developments. Weber successfully recreates the image of a wealthy home and family atmosphere, eloquently capturing the trappings of a bygone era. The reader easily relates to her well-defined characters, who possess both desirable personality traits and typically human faults without falling prey to stereotypes. Descriptions of the figures and their activities are noteworthy for their scope and detail, though repeated references to Charlotte's physical beauty seem somewhat redundant. Weber puts her background as a brewer to good use in the novel, accurately describing the brewing process and brewery facilities without resorting to excessive technical terminology. The characters and companies presented are entirely fictitious, save for the portrayal of two notable beer barons from St. Louis and their business, whose names were changed for obvious reasons.

Though *The Brewer's Star* is written in English, occasional exclamations in German and even French are encountered, as well as several quotes in Bavarian dialect. Such quotes, a significant German-American thread in the book, help to define the characters first and foremost as being German. Weber tends to place exclamations at crucial points in the text, often at moments of instinctive reaction, rather than inserting them gratuitously. For readers not familiar with German, translations of the quotes appear in footnotes, with a guide to German names located at the front of the book.

By presenting both sides of the immigrant story, namely personal successes and joys intertwined with bitter loss and pain, Weber makes clear that the assimilation process was far from easy for many German families in America. Such a balanced portrayal makes *The Brewer's Star* a recommendable account of San Antonio's German community, one which frequently draws the reader into the text and makes it difficult to put the book down. Far from doing a valuable service only to those

interested in German-American community, Weber has provided a highly entertaining and engaging novel for all those interested in late-nineteenth-century America.

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