Book Reviews

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Review Essay: Belles Lettres

Informative Definitionen.
By Rita Terras. Providence, RI: Trebusch, 1989. 25 pages.

Santa Fe, Etc. Etc. Etc.: Gedichte & Skizzen/Poems & Sketches.
By Peter Pabisch. Austin, TX: Dimension, 1990. 77 pages. $12.00.

Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag: Ausgewählte Gedichte und Essays.
By Ernst Waldinger. Edited by Karl-Markus Gauß. Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1990. 232 pages. öS 248.00.

Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika: Gedichte.
Edited by Lisa Kahn and Werner Kitzler. Freeman, SD: Pine Hill, 1990. 63 pages. $10.00.

Informative Definitionen is the second poetry collection of the German-born author Rita Terras. Eight years have passed since the publication of her first, *Unterwegs* (1981), but one can recognize similarities in subject matter, simplicity of style, images (especially color), metaphors, and the distinctive poetic voice. None of her poems is longer than a page. The form varies in both collections.

Terras, born and raised in Bremen, came to Chicago in 1952 and earned a Ph.D. in German from the University of Wisconsin. From 1972 until her recent retirement she taught at Connecticut College. Her research concentrates on twentieth-century literature and, as can be seen in the numerous allusions made in both volumes of her poetry, German Classicism and Romanticism. Through the years she has maintained her interest in

writing poems and has constantly renewed her ties to Europe by frequently traveling between the two worlds.

The main theme of her latest volume centers around the concept of language, broadly defined from a personal to a more existential point of view. Languages as a poetic motif is the topic of the opening poem, "Schreiben," which deals with the difficult task of a poet who searches for the ultimate meaning of words, knowing that they have an existential function: "Sprache bleibt ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln / Öffnen kann man nur eins / Das der Kommunikation / . . . / Warum nicht nie wieder schreiben?" (5). The last poem as well takes up this theme and thus balances the collection as a whole.

Language is also linked to expressing ideas, especially abstract philosophical concepts. As expected from the title, *Informative Definitionen*, the reader encounters lists of nouns, in a nominal style, used to define concepts such as freedom ("Freiheit" [12]), life ("DAS Leben—EIN Leben" [13]), eternity ("Ewigkeit" [16]), time ("Die Zeit" [17]), existence ("Dasein" [18]), dimensions ("Dimensionen" [19]), numbers ("Die 8" [21]) and the past ("Vergangenheit" [24]). It is apparent from these titles that language is closely linked to the other dimensions of human life, existence, time, and space—the main themes of the collection.

Time, or rather a timeless zone where the past and the present are constantly interacting ("Ist / Vergangenes gegenwärtig gesehen / Ist / Gegenwart / Grammatisch vergangen ausgedrückt" [24]), is central to this collection and is also connected to another thematic category pervasive in the latest poems: the process of aging and transience. Variations of this theme recur throughout the collection.

In Terras's verse, time is an all-encompassing philosophical term that includes opportunity as well as confinement, that which lasts as well as a fleeting moment. Her lyrical style, which is at times explosive, at times reflective, alternates between nominal and verbal structures, thereby contributing to the poems' movements and constantly shifting focus. The diction links colloquial words ("Die Zeit / läuft ständig vorbei / Sie ist futsch, weg, erledigt" [17]) and specialized scientific terms ("Lupe," "Helium," "aus einer chemischen Wahlverwandtschaft")—always a convincing technique to synchronize two different views. One of the most memorable poems illustrating that shifting movement is "Die Zeit":

> Die Zeit
>
> läuft ständig vorbei
> Sie ist futsch, weg, erledigt
> vorbei auf immer und ewig
>
> Es ist nicht wahr
> was Uhren und Wissenschaft sagen

daß Zeit in zwölf Stunden oder zwei Tagen
wiederkehren wird

Ich träume, schlafe, denke, schreibe
die Zeit rast, links und rechts, vorn und hinten
vorbei, vorbei, vorbei
niemand kann sie halten

Sie geht, eilt, läuft, rennt
und springt aus dem Nichts in das Nichts
mahnend, drohend, kichernd, stöhnend
vorbei

Die neue Zeit wird alte Zeit
Die neuere Zeit ist—war—vorbei

Alte Zeit zieht neue Zeit nach sich
Nur meine Zeit läuft unaufhaltsam ab (17)

The lines "Es ist nicht wahr / was Uhren und Wissenschaft sagen" epitomize perhaps what Terras means by *Informative Definitionen*: diversity and shifting view points, reflecting polar perspectives.

It is therefore not surprising that we encounter a critical perspective of life in America; significantly the references to America are much more pervasive in the new collection. A critical attitude toward the new homeland is often found in German-American authors, but Terras is both captivated and repelled by cultural traditions. The poem "Amerikanischer Erfolg" (10) exemplifies this ambiguous attitude toward America: an ironic attraction to economic opportunities ("Go West, young man, go West / Dort gibt es Gold"), social opportunities ("Es schwitzt nicht mehr / Es glänzt / Erobert Washington / Und dient dem Staat") as well as educational and cultural benefits ("Und wenn man Opernhäuser stiftet / Schulen baut / Und Bildergalerien bestückt"), but a critical tone is apparent toward the end of the poem when individuals are made uniform by the system and thus lose their colorful differences: "Dann sind die Brown und Ames Brüder / Aufgerückt / Christlich und farblos / In die Klasse der Brahmanen" (10).

A poet who writes even more extensively about his impression of America (the Southwest) and his native Austria is Peter Pabisch. His fourth volume of poetry, *Santa Fe*, continues in the tradition of his previous works: His favorite subjects are nature (the landscape of New Mexico and parts of Europe) and memories of Europe (especially Vienna and Berlin). *Santa Fe*, however, has a dual-language format, and is therefore accessible to those with an interest in German-American authors, but lacking a knowledge of German. The Viennese-born poet has lived in the United States since 1969. By frequently

visiting Europe and spending time teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Vienna (1985-86) he regularly renews his ties to his native land.

The volume under review is enhanced by thirty-eight sketches by the author, some of them illustrating the poems, others standing alone. The first—for the most part very brief—poems focuses on animals in the Albuquerque zoo and people looking at them. Drawings of animals and people at local restaurants follow. Santa Fe is the focus of the next set of poems, primarily nature poems presented in a humorous fashion using playful puns. In "Santa Fe," for example, we read: "canyon road / can yon road? / yon can road! / which yon? / which road? / yon can't road?" (27). The illustrations which follow show specific locations in and around Santa Fe (road, hotel, restaurant, cathedral, opera). The presence of people in most of the sketches reveals the poet's emotional involvement. The sketches depict their subjects in an exaggerated pictorial detail, which is also characteristic of Pabisch's poetical style. One such poem, "James River, South Dakota" (45), describes every detail one could observe there: the cool morning wind, the song of birds, the sun, the thirst of the traveler, meadows, trees, a police car, even a mosquito. A typical landscape poem, "Über der Prärie: Sioux City" (47), emphasizes in snapshot fashion various elements of nature: from crops the eyes wander to birds, a road and farmsteads, the towns, trees, cattle, rivers, forests, fish, and boats.

The poems as well as the drawings invite the spectator to share experiences and interact with the sketches. The reader can taste, touch, see, feel and hear what the poet observes. What will be familiar images for an American—the "White House and Lincoln Memorial" (50), "The Capitol and Washington Monument" (51)—enable a European reader to gain a better perspective of American history by studying both the sketch and the poem. "Gegensätze" (53) critically looks at the contrasts found in the vicinity of the White House. People are the main focus of this poem and others in the last third of the collection. In "Gegensätze" we hear of tourists, the homeless, beggars, dead military personnel. A sketch of the hair style of a black stewardess (56) and drawings of two menbers of the Yiddish Cultural Association in Albuquerque (57) complete the images of the American people.

The collection concludes with one poem and three sketches about Vienna and three longer poems and four sketches on Berlin. The "Wien" poem achieves much of its success through the juxtaposition of common stereotypes ("wien ist gemütlich / wien is berühmt / ich bin a wiener / . . . die oper ist sehr berühmt / und erst da wein / waunna guad is," [59]) and the reality of being born during the Third Reich and witnessing the Nazi's treatment of Jews in Vienna ("die judn meegns noimma ned").

As in his earlier collections, Pabisch's critical observations are made in a poetic style and diction that play with traditional phrases: "wien wien nur du allein," "mei muattal woara weanarin." The sketch following this poem,

"History of Vienna in the Year of My Birth," shows a Jew scrubbing the pavement with a toothbrush under the supervision of a German soldier.

The critical historic perspective shifts to the present in the last three poems, which deal with Berlin and the events following November 1989. "West Berlin Ost" (65-71) is visually arranged in two halves along a word that spells "Wallwallwallwall . . ." and is written vertically in order to represent the division of the wall. Graffiti slogans and opposing statements are arranged on the two sides of the "dividing wall." Sketches of former East German and West German sights follow the longest poem in the collection.

Pabisch's playful combination of humor and puns (often in Viennese dialect) and serious content contributes to the quality of his best poems. Most of the poems are enhanced by the author's skeleton drawings. Sometimes the union of picture and word is not achieved and the sketches stand isolated next to the written word. The translations, by A. Leslie Willson, Michael Gienger, and Pabisch, are for the most part excellent.

A rather similar picture of Vienna, emerging from the very different viewpoint of an Austrian Jew who was forced into American exile in 1938, is presented in *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag*, a collection of poems and essays by Ernst Waldinger (1896-1970). A native of Vienna, he witnessed the rise of National Socialism and directly experienced anti-Semitism. He published eight volumes of poetry, two before and six after his arrival in New York. His first ten years in exile were the most productive, which did not go completely unnoticed by his homeland: he was awarded the "Theodor Körner Preis" (1958) and for his seventieth birthday the "Goldene Ehrenmedaille der Stadt Wien." Twenty years after his expulsion a half-hearted attempt was made by the Austrian government to bring Waldinger, who exhibited a fervent Austrian patriotism and strove to make Austrian literature more widely known in New York, home to Vienna. Waldinger decided against permanently returning to Austria, but visited it on three occasions. Celebrated in the USA as one of the greatest Austrian exile poets (H. Zohn), he has not received appropriate recognition in Austria: His books have been out of print for many years.

Karl-Markus Gauß, the editor of *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag*, draws on the work of more than thirty years. Only thirteen poems were chosen from the first two pre-exile volumes; with thirty-one poems *Die kühlen Bauernstuben*, which was first published in American exile in 1946 and deals with that experience, receives the most weight; the last four collections, which grew out of the turmoil of the early to late 1960s and the poet's controversial trips to Austria, are underrepresented. Any collection of poems and essays faces the difficulty of having to unite diverse themes and objectives into a frame that provides the reader with the impression of a coherent volume. *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag* perhaps does not completely convey such a continuity. Included, however, are selections from Waldinger's late work, a group of previously uncollected and some unpublished poems, most of which are dated and are therefore valuable in tracing his development. Unfortunately, the poems are

not presented in chronological order, which would have allowed a better insight into Waldinger's development. A glimpse of the complications and highlights of the poet's life is provided in the introductory pages.

Five essays by Waldinger (not in chronological order either), some editorial notes, and an afterword by Gauß conclude the book. Nothing from the extensive exchange of letters that Waldinger had with several well-known contemporary poets and artists and none of the autobiographical manuscripts were selected; however, an address in Vienna is provided for readers who would like to obtain more information. *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag* is an important contribution to the rediscovery of an almost forgotten German-American author.

A gap has been filled with the second volume in the series *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika* (1990), a forum for German-American poets published annually at the Unversity of South Dakota. The anthology introduces the poems of fifteen writers born in Germany and Austria, as well as previously neglected American-born poets who chose German as their vehicle of expression (Louis Brister, Bernhardt Blumenthal, Rhonda J. Vander Klay, and Peter Kahn). From the short autobiographical sketches given at the end of the anthology, one notices that few authors regard themselves as Germans, but rather as German-Americans or Americans. It is therefore not surprising to find very little dealing with the experience of immigration, love of and longing for the old homeland, and problems of assimilation—typical subject matter for earlier German-American authors. Implicit and (rarely) explicit identification with their adopted homeland seems to be established and now they can focus on being at home in two worlds with the advantage of having two different languages.

Although the poems were not chosen with a thematic focus in mind, the reader is struck by how many share concerns expressed so lucidly in Gert Niers's "Ich versuche": "So fern wie möglich. / Schreiben aus der Ferne. / Ferngespräch. / Selbstgespräch" (35). Throughout the collection we find allusions to separation and aloneness, the inability to connect, and the unfinished selves cut off from a whole. References to America or Germany do not dominate; a variety of different nations are mentioned. Traveling between these countries would leave a poet disconnected if it were not for the connections established by reaching out and accepting responsibilities as a human being: "Als ich mir / in meiner engen Fremde zu fremd geworden, / entschloß ich mich zu nähen" (Christiane Seiler, 37).

Lisa Kahn uses familiar stereotypes of Germany and fairy-tale images to humorously point out the illusion of longing for a return: "schon der alte Winzer Wollersheim / einst aus Deutschland angereist / wußte dies—ach was blieb / nach dreihundert Jahren was von / Deutschem übrig außer Wurst / und Bier und Wein?" (18).

The presence of a variety of geographic locations in several of the poems suggests a wider scope of reference. Greece, Rome, and to a certain extent

Spain are prominent. In addition to these European locations, places throughout the United States (e.g., Manhattan, Madison, New Mexico, Texas) and Mexico are specifically mentioned, resulting in a cosmopolitan feeling enthusiastically embracing the benefits of multilingual cultures.

We should not be surprised to find so much travel imagery in the poetry of people who frequently move back and forth between countries and continents for professional and personal reasons. No longer do memories of Europe or comparisons between Europe and America prevail, but rather intensely personal poems emerge that compel us to participate in the grief experienced during the "Journey through Life." Rhonda J. Vander Klay, one of the American-born contributors, captures and explores the profound effects and memories of life's journey in "Der unerwartete Weg ins Leben":

> Mit vierzig ein Kind—Vaters letzter Stolz—
> erzogen anfänglich mit der Hand der Scheinliebe,
> wie Frühlingsmaikäfer, andauernde Triebe;
> ein Blick in die Gegenwart, Paradies hier
> für das Kind, unschuldig—sein Vater—
> stolz und stur.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Mit einundzwanzig, endlich, die Ironie steigt,
> geworfen aus dem Haus, von Elend in Jammer
> wie ein Winterkönig, ausgenutzt, verboten seine Kammer;
> ein Blitz von dem Sturm, gefangen von der Flut,
> Vater gegen Kind—gefleckt von
> Feigheit und Blut! (52)

This remarkable collection explores topics as diverse as a description of a "45-Watt-Birne" (Fritz König); paintings by Brueghel (Lola Gruenthal), Van Gogh (Erika A. Metzger), and John Day (Rita Terras); and governmental tyranny during the recent Chinese Revolution (Rhonda J. Vander Klay). On the lighter side, there are also humorous themes, written in a style ranging from a provocative, innovative and playful tone (e.g., "Schüttelreime" by Horst Jarka) to a more traditional, classical form (Thomas Wolber, Horst Ludwig). And Gert Niers does not allow us to forget one important point, amidst all the struggles a German-American author faces: "Über die Anstrengung, / ein deutscher Autor / in Amerika zu werden, / habe ich versäumt, / meinem amerikanischen Sohn / Deutsch beizubringen" (35).

Deutschschreibende Autoren makes accessible a body of contemporary German poetry that for the most part has been neglected, and is accordingly a welcome addition to the field of German-Americana. It is likely to become an indispensable resource for readers of German and American literature

(perhaps one day in dual-language format), as well as a point of departure for the German-American literary scholar. Unfortunately, however, in the present volume the reader finds it very difficult to read the extremely small print in the introductory pages and is even more perplexed when the print gets even smaller in the closing pages. One hopes that the editor will avoid different type sizes and adopt a more legible printing format in future issues.

Wright State University *Elfe Vallaster*

German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario.
By Werner Bausenhart. New York, Ottawa, Toronto: Legas Press, 1989. 124 pages.

Emigration from Central Europe to Canada as well as German and Swiss emigration to Canada from the American colonies and from the later United States, especially from Pennsylvania and New York, is a most interesting research area. Excellent studies have been published in the field; yet much work remains to be accomplished. The earlier German emigration, the period from the colonial era through the nineteenth century, centered upon Upper Canada, i.e., Ontario. Agricultural opportunities in Ontario, rich and fertile land, were most attractive to these Germans. Also the opportunity to purchase land considerably more reasonably than on the East Coast of the United States, especially in Pennsylvania, was a major factor.

Bausenhart traces the emigration from Central Europe directly to Canada, from Central Europe to the United States and then to Canada, and the movement from the United States, particularly at the end of the eighteenth century from Pennsylvania and New York to Ontario. The major area of settlement was in Waterloo County; however, the author points out that this was not exclusively the region of settlement and discusses briefly the Germans who moved into Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces. His main interest, of course, concentrates upon Ontario.

This development is chronologically evolved through seven chapters; each deals with a major aspect of German emigration to Canada and the German-Canadian experience in an essentially Anglo-Celtic society. Of particular interest to scholars in the United States would be chapters one and two, which trace the emigration from the American colonies and later the United States into Canada. Slightly disappointing is chapter five, which concerns itself with the emigration of Germans to Ontario during the Second German Empire. The author editorializes rather strongly against the Bismarck Empire, but on the other hand, still offers valuable information about German immigration in Ontario during this period. Perhaps personal opinions should be avoided in an objective scholarly work.

Many are aware of the plight of Germans in North America during World War I. The government of the United States did not treat its German-American citizens and German immigrants well. In Canada the situation would seem to have been rather similar. The author is most polite to refer to "internment camps" for those of German origin who were treated, as the author notes, as "prisoners of war." The national government in Canada, as the author well illustrates, undertook a concerted effort to destroy the German language press in Ontario and Anglicize the Germans in church affiliation, in schools, and in daily life. The author briefly discusses the first European expedition to North America, the Germanic Vikings around 1000 A.D. Most scholars acknowledge that Germanic tribes were in North America almost 500 years before Columbus. The German among the Vikings, Tyrkir, although the foster father of Leif, remained an outsider since he was not an Icelander. Bausenhart uses this example to show that the Germans, despite all their contributions to the development of Ontario, continued to be outsiders, due to prejudice on the part of Anglo-Celtic society in modern times.

The "Conclusion" is excellent. It summarizes the strivings of the Germans and their contributions to the development of modern Canada, e.g., in the areas of agriculture, the trades, literature, journalism, and the arts. The enlightening list of maps and tables documents the extent of the German settlements in Ontario and shows their exact locations. Needless to say, this is a major aid for future research. This volume offers those unfamiliar with the German-Canadian experience in Ontario an excellent introduction and will encourage still further research in the field.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Teaching German in America: Prolegomena to a History.
Edited by David P. Benseler, Walter F. W. Lohnes, and Valters Nollendorfs. Monatshefte Occasional Volumes, no. 7. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988. 304 pages. $14.00 paper; $25.00 cloth.

This volume of nineteen articles derives from a conference on historical perspectives of German teaching in America held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1983. The papers cover a wide range of subjects, including general overviews of German teaching and methodology in America, literary criticism, the kindergarten movement, German teaching during the eras of the two world wars, German programs at specific institutions, nineteenth-century elementary textbooks written for German-English schools, the aims and activities of the American Association of Teachers of German, analyses of wartime articles in professional journals, German in the Iowa Amana colonies, Mark Twain's experiences with the German language, and an interview with an emeritus professor of German. The diversity of topics

should attract a broad readership. The book concludes with a twelve-page index which is complete with respect to proper names, but less so for subjects.

In the first article, Victor Lange suggests that we examine the shifting role of foreign language learning in the American educational system, the resulting changes in methodological approach and materials, and the function of literature in America as opposed to Germany. He stresses that the role of German studies in America is "fundamentally different from that of *Germanistik* in Germany" (8) and urges us to interpret the country and its literature from a more American point of view.

A paper on the history of teaching methods reviews some of the fashions in foreign-language methodology and shows how national interests and reports by committees of the Modern Language Association have shaped foreign-language policies in the United States. Renate Schulz concludes that we have yet to devise a foolproof system for teaching languages, and that the overriding factor is time rather than method.

Ted Frank's article on the nineteenth-century textbook series *Der Amerikanische Leser* will be informative for those who have not had the opportunity to examine such texts firsthand. There are, however, a few errors and inaccuracies. The series was published under the pseudonym "Germanus," not "Germanns." Furthermore, the claim that most German texts were geared towards adult English speakers prior to the 1854 publication of this series is not altogether accurate. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania-German presses printed a number of texts and primers for German-American children, as Klinefelter shows in his 1973 study, "The ABC Books of the Pennsylvania Germans."

Some of the articles address issues and concerns of German in higher education. Craig Nickisch's article about West Point focuses mainly on the period between 1808, when the first of many proposals was made recommending the addition of German to the academy's curriculum, and 1941, when a German program was finally launched. Ruth Bottigheimer's research on German at Princeton led her to the surprising conclusion that "German as a discipline appears to be far more rigorously defined and taught today than it has been in the past" (83). Her analysis of staffing at Princeton, particularly problems arising from a predominance of German-born professors after World War II, is of particular interest. This touchy issue is also raised in the first article of the volume.

Two papers are devoted to literary criticism. Richard Spuler concentrates on the nineteenth century, the phase during which *Literaturwissenschaft* became institutionalized. In the early part of that century, in the absence of any academic superstructure, nonprofessionals could and did publish their views. Later, however, German literary criticism became the exclusive property of Germanists and educated German-Americans, culminating in an environment where discourse about German literature became restricted to "scholars talking to each other" (157) in a highly ritualized and, to a degree, alienating setting.

Jeffrey Peck's study is devoted to twentieth-century trends in literary criticism in America, particularly the English departments' long love affair with New Criticism. He asserts that a domestication of *Germanistik* should not be built upon a rejection of the German model, and argues in favor of a philosophical and historical hermeneutics that draws from the Romantic tradition of Schleiermacher and Schlegel.

Of the six articles which cover the World War I and II eras, the best is Susan Pentlin's "German Teachers' Reaction to the Third Reich, 1933-1939." The depth of her research is impressive, and her appraisal of the profession's stance is convincing. The subject is not merely of historical interest, for Pentlin raises a fundamental question: Do German teachers have a "special responsibility in assessing the policies of the German-speaking countries" (247)? With reports of growing social unrest in a reunited Germany, it behooves us to reexamine this issue.

The German teaching profession is still waiting for a definitive and authoritative account of its historical development, particularly one which encompasses the last thirty years. Edwin Zeydel's 1961 monograph on the history of German teaching, which is published here in condensed form, remains the most comprehensive study on the subject. In their introduction, the editors propose several projects that need to be taken on in order to complete the investigation. The current volume is a good beginning.

Ohio State University-Mansfield *Carolyn R. Toth*

The German Coast During the Colonial Era 1722-1803: The Evolution of a Distinct Cultural Landscape in the Lower Mississippi Delta during the Colonial Era.

By Helmut Blume, trans. Ellen C. Merrill. Destrehan, Louisiana: The German-Acadian Coast Historical and Genealogical Society, 1990. 165 pages. $15.00.

In scholarly work in German-Americana the tendency has seemed to focus especially on the Middle-Atlantic states and the Midwest. Needless to mention, these areas have a large German population, i.e., descendants of eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth-century immigrants. Perhaps other areas of the American continent have not been so well researched with respect to their ethnic groups. Is Canada solely English and French? Is New England only British? Are the far western states simply Spanish-Mexican? Much work remains to be done with reference to other ethnic groups in these areas. German immigrants played a major role in all of these areas. An extensive study of their contribution to the westward movement of the United States will, one hopes, be forthcoming.

The South of the United States has, in this respect, often been an enigma. One may find studies on the German settlements in Texas, the Carolinas, or

Georgia, for instance. Yet definitive studies of these enclaves must be pursued. In this work by Helmut Blume one finds such a study—an economic-geographic history of the German settlements on the Mississippi, slightly north of New Orleans, the so-called Côte des Allemands. The author clearly states his objectives, i.e., to deal with economics and geography and no other aspects of the German settlements of this area of the Mississippi. In this respect, the study is a veritable gold mine for anyone working on colonial economics and agriculture of the South and their impact upon the social development of the Louisiana area.

Perhaps one has underestimated the influence of German immigrants in Louisiana because they tended to become integrated into the French-American culture rapidly after the colonial period, i.e., after 1803, in contrast to German settlements in the Middle Atlantic states and in the Midwest which long maintained a degree of ethnic autonomy, some even into the present. Blume has meticulously illuminated the agricultural foundation and the success of these German settlements. He has scrupulously researched the extant historical, financial, immigration, and census records of the colonial period under French, then Spanish, and again French, rule in Louisiana.

The six chapters of the volume illustrate the industriousness of these German pioneers—the small farms as well as the larger ones; those on the west bank and those on the east bank of the Mississippi. The records which were minutely researched in Louisiana, Paris, and Madrid show exactly what these German farmers achieved, especially when considering the adverse climatic conditions, e.g., unaccustomed heat and also floods. The exacting documentation presented must indeed have been a labor of love and offers an invaluable source of information to anyone interested in colonial economy of this area of the United States. Blume discusses the difference between large and small farms, the variation of crops, e.g., corn, tobacco, indigo, and cotton—with exact production figures, during the various administrations.

A most interesting aspect of this study concerns slavery in the German and the French areas. So much information is offered on this topic that one would hope a social historian might pursue it still further in order to reflect the attitude of the German and of the French settlers toward slave ownership. Perhaps it was only an economic difference, but further research is necessary.

In addition to the six detailed chapters dealing with agricultural and economic conditions, this work offers an extensive bibliography of published and unpublished material and an important table for the conversion of measurements from the French and Spanish colonial periods into modern terminology. The extensive index, which includes, e.g., a listing of crops and a register of colonists, is most helpful. Numerous illustrations and maps enhance an understanding of the German contribution during this era in the development of Louisiana.

This English translation which is offered of Blume's work, originally published in 1956, has been carefully undertaken and the translator deserves

high praise for her efforts. She has produced a translation in fluent English with many footnotes for clarification.

The German Coast of Louisiana offers many other research possibilities. Perhaps one would wish to concentrate now upon historical and social research on these settlements since this economic and agricultural study is definitive.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution.
By Johann Conrad Döhla. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. 276 pages. $28.95.

Of the approximately thirty thousand German soldiers who fought in the American Revolutionary War on the British side the vast majority, nearly seventeen thousand, came from the state of Hesse-Cassel. Thus, although others hailed from Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anhalt-Zerbst, Waldeck, and Ansbach-Bayreuth, the term generally associated with all these troops today is Hessian. Most Hessians were conscripts: poor, relatively uneducated laborers and craftsmen who became a financial boon to their provincial rulers by being sold into the service of the English crown. Few had any knowledge of, let alone interest in the conflict in which they were engaged, and so some quickly deserted their units, while others fought with little enthusiasm or vigor. Now, however, the diary of one Private Johann Conrad Döhla provides us with a somewhat different image of the Hessian.

Born 6 September 1750 in Oberhaid near Zell in the Fichtel Mountains of Bavaria, Döhla was the son of a brickmaker, who saw to it that his son received "a solid upbringing" (xx) and a basic education. At the beginning of 1777 Döhla entered the Ansbach-Bayreuth military and soon thereafter his unit was dispatched to fight in the North American Colonies. After landing in New York in June of that year, Döhla spent over a year in transit going up the Hudson River, then south to Philadelphia, back to New York, and finally to Rhode Island before seeing any significant combat in July 1778. After departing Rhode Island for New York in October 1779, Döhla spent most of his time in garrison until May 1781, when his unit sailed for Virginia to join the command of General Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis. There they became prisoners of war following the British surrender at Yorktown, and Döhla spent the next year and a half in confinement in Virginia and Maryland before being released in May 1783. After his return to Bayreuth, Döhla left the army for civilian life, became a master brickmaker, like his father, and may even have taught school for a while. He married, but died childless on 14 January 1820 in Zell.

What makes the story of Johann Conrad Döhla of particular interest today is not merely the account of his life and military service as related above, but rather the fact that from the vague notes and hasty scribblings he compiled during his wartime service, he was able to reconstruct a full narrative account of his daily experiences, which he compiled in 1811 for "the benefit of a former regimental comrade and old friend, Johann Adam Holper" (xii). The journal manuscript, a copy of which is housed in the Bancroft Collection of the New York Public Library, was edited for German publication in 1913 by W. Baron von Waldenfels. It is this edited version of the diary which Bruce E. Burgoyne has now made available in English. Clearly Döhla's writings reveal the benefits of his own historical hindsight. People he neither knew nor could possibly have met are recounted often in vivid detail, and places and events he never witnessed, or likely even heard of while abroad, are described in full. Some of these "remembrances" are intentionally indistinct while others are wholly wrong. Nevertheless, they lend the impression that Döhla was keenly aware at the time of the major events and figures of the war and even had a deep appreciation and understanding of the arguments being espoused on both sides of the fighting. Such insights would seem to us to be truly unusual, even coming from a prominent person of that day. Coming as they do from a mere Bavarian private like Döhla is remarkable and gives this book extraordinary advantages over other accounts of a similar nature (cf. *Hessian Journals: Unpublished Documents of the American Revolution*, edited by Valentine C. Hubbs [Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1981]). Burgoyne's idiomatic rendition is most readable making for an enjoyable rather than a tedious text. Döhla's account should be included in any library or collection of monographs about the Revolutionary War. It provides us with an important and invaluable addition to our knowledge of the German presence in North America during those formative years.

Marshall University *Christopher L. Dolmetsch*

German-American Names.
By George F. Jones. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990. 268 pages. $25.00.

Since the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots*, several important research tools have appeared which focus on the previously neglected area of German-American family history. However, most of them completely disregard or give only scant treatment of onomastics, an essential element of effective genealogical research. The few that do treat name changes and name origins are so technical that they are of limited value to the average genealogist or family historian. What has long been lacking is a German-American

equivalent of Hans Bahlow's *Deutsches Namenlexikon*. Jones's *German-American Names* is a major step in filling this gap.

This hardbound A-Z dictionary of German-American names gives spellings, meanings, and variants for nearly 13,000 names derived from the German language and its dialects "even if changes in pronunciation and spelling have rendered [them] unrecognizable" (2) (e.g., "Beam," "Dice") and regardless of the nationality of the persons who bore them. Excluded are names derived from other languages even though they may have been borne for centuries by families in German-speaking areas of Europe. Most of the names were extracted from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ship manifests. Some were taken from American telephone books, newspapers, and television programs. Following each name is an entry indicating its meaning or origin. Names derived from places "sufficiently populated to appear on maps and gazeteers [sic]" (59) are marked with a special symbol.

Preceding the index to names is an introduction composed of five chapters. Collectively, they comprise an interesting treatise on onomastics. Each paragraph in the introduction is numbered. Cited in entries in the index are numbers referring to paragraphs in the introduction which explain related names. The first chapter ("Given Names—Significance and Origin") defines terminology, traces naming practices (beginning with the Germanic tribes), explains the Germanic Sound Shift, and assays the influence of Low and High German dialects and other languages on German names. The second chapter ("Surnames—Their Need and Origin") treats the influence of Scandinavian patronymics and discusses how German names were derived from castles and houses, tribal and territorial origins, places of business, occupations, terrain features, and physical characteristics and afflictions. Nicknames are also discussed from the perspective of personal behavior, imperatives, and expressions. The third chapter ("Christian Names") considers the names of saints; treats Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Hebrew name influences; and gives a detailed account of the origin of German-language names frequently borne by Jews. The fourth chapter ("The Americanization of German Names") surveys the various reasons for variant spellings and changes of German names in America. The final chapter of the introduction ("Suggestions for Using the Name-list") contains a concise set of instructions on how to deduce names not listed in the index "by observing the various roots and the way they are combined in the names that are listed" (58). Also included in this section are comments to guide the reader's interpretation of the meaning of the names and a note on the significance of current orthographic reforms.

Following conversational writing principles with excellent examples to explain his points, Jones skillfully covers all of the bases necessary to make this book a useful tool. His introductory chapters not only deal with the Americanization of German names, but also give the reader a superior explanation of the social and historical phenomena that have contributed to

their distinctive character. He has avoided folk etymology and opted for transliterations rather than interpretations of the names included in the index.

A future edition of this dictionary could be enhanced by the inclusion of references to the sources from which these names were taken. A bibliography of unconsulted sources pertaining to German-speaking immigrants would also prove helpful as would a list of commonly used German name lexika, such as those by Bahlow and Josef Karlmann Brechenmacher (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Familiennamen*).

Baldwin-Wallace College *Robert E. Ward*

The Germans of Colonial Louisiana 1720-1803.
By Reinhard Kondert. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart, 1990. 150 pages.

Studies concerning the Germans in Louisiana during the colonial period must finally be considered as a serious research area for German-American studies, as this volume demonstrates. Even if the German population was but a relatively small group on the Mississippi just north of New Orleans, it was a most important one. Indeed, the agricultural endeavors and successes of these small enclaves may have been the salvation of this French and Spanish colony. Without the produce of these Germans in the eighteenth century, the colony of Louisiana may well have been doomed to failure.

Kondert presents a detailed view of colonial Louisiana from the perspective of the German population, concentrating on the economic, social, military, historical, and ethnic developments of the lower Mississippi region. A summary in German precedes the text which is of considerable value to our colleagues working on such topics in Central Europe. Next follow various documents in French, referring to the German colonization, with English translations; translations into German would also have been helpful.

The following introduction outlines the clear intent of the author, i.e., to detail where these German colonists originated, essentially from southwestern Germany, Switzerland, the Alsace, and some few from the north; how they crossed the Atlantic, including the extensive difficulties they encountered—among others, many deaths from disease before the departure from France; their arrival in Louisiana and the incredible initial problems which were encountered, especially those associated with difficult climatic conditions.

Of particular interest is the concentration by the author upon the rapid Gallicization of the German settlers. Being surrounded by an essentially French-speaking population, these few hundred colonists rapidly had their names Gallicized, intermarried with the French population, and became staunch supporters of French aspirations on the Mississippi. That is to say, in contrast to the Germans in Pennsylvania of the eighteenth century, or the

Germans in the Midwest in the nineteenth century, their German cultural heritage became so assimilated that it virtually ceased to exist in an active sense, but remains rather in a historical one.

In five chapters one is presented with detailed information on the immigration and the Company of the Indies, which initiated the move of Germans to Louisiana; the original government of the French and its impact upon the German colonies; the Spanish government after 1766; the interaction of the German colonists with the Indians, essentially a positive relationship, coupled with the military aspects for the protection of the Côte des Allemands; and finally the religious aspects of the German enclaves (most were Roman Catholic, although there were also Lutherans and Reformed). There seems never to have been religious friction among the Germans or between the Germans and the French or Spanish government of the colony.

The "Conclusion" offers a useful overview of the results established by this study. The extensive notes will be of value to further research. Finally, an appendix of the Gallicization of German names and an extensive bibliography round out this superior study of the Germans in colonial Louisiana.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

Eine Republik der Arbeiter ist möglich: Der Beitrag Wilhelm Weitlings zur Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1846-1856.
By Hans-Arthur Marsiske. Forschungsberichte des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung, vol. 5. Hamburg: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 1990.

Attitudes toward the figure of Wilhelm Weitling have long been an ideological marker of where a writer stands in the ideological spectrum of European socialism. Weitling, an artisanal socialist who broke with Karl Marx and what was to become the Communist party in the mid-1840s, promoted worker self-help associations and communist communities, thus making himself a target of Marxian criticism as a "Utopian." Avidly sought by the police, he fled in 1846 to the United States, where he played a role for a decade as a figure in the workers' movement among German-speaking residents of the East and Midwest. In more recent times, Weitling has been seen as representing a more idealistic, but also more practical, course for the workers than the two actually pursued in the United States: Gompers-style trade unionism and the foreign-steered, apparatchik-style CPUSA.

Hans-Arthur Marsiske is interested in reviving the writings of Weitling, which he feels have been muffled by too much scholarly analysis. As he says in the introduction, "Weitling's texts moved me, but the research literature left me cold" (9).

Writers, usually associated with the Left, have either looked at Weitling as a "forerunner" of something which would ripen later, or they have criticized

him as a naïve non-Marxist. Marsiske is interested in reconstructing Weitling's career chronologically, in order to understand the social and economic forces within which he operated and make his writings understandable in their own terms. He is particularly interested in making the articles Weitling wrote in the *Republik der Arbeiter* in New York accessible to the reader. He also concentrates on Weitling's interaction with the utopian commune of Communia in Iowa, where a book of protocols has surfaced which can be used to check the accuracy of articles in the *Republik*. In the final section of the book, Marsiske tries to work out Weitling's position in contemporary politics as clearly as possible, partly to disprove the usual comment that Weitling was unrealistic in his plans to develop communes and organize systems of barter-exchange among workers.

Weitling arrived in New York in late 1846 after having won both the enmity of the police of most European states and the disdain of many Leftists. In 1846 he broke with the Brussels Correspondence Committee, led even then by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, over how workers were to be helped in modern industrial society. Weitling accepted an invitation from Hermann Kriege to edit the *Volks-Tribun* in New York, and for the following decade he was an important figure of the radical Left in the United States. His main efforts concentrated on setting up workers' exchanges and cooperatives, as well as trying to bring about a central congress for workers. To Weitling, the United States was a "Babylon of capitalists, merchants, lawyers and clergymen" (41). Weitling advocated a transformation of currency into a true record of labor time.

After a spell in Hamburg during the 1848-49 Revolution, Weitling returned to launch his *Republik der Arbeiter*. In the first half of the 1850s, he was deeply involved in raising membership and steering the Workers' League (*Arbeiterbund*). To Weitling, workers were to be helped through the establishment of a labor exchange and through collecting dues to invest in common institutions and refuges.

In the early 1850s the Workers' League became associated with the communist settlement, Communia, in Clayton County, Iowa (founded 1847). This brought Weitling into direct contact with Heinrich Koch of St. Louis, the virulently anti-Catholic agitator who had led a Leftist militia unit off to the Mexican War, afterwards encouraging his comrades to pool their enlistment bounties to purchase a block of "Congress Land" in Iowa. Communia was the lineal descendant of another attempted utopian community, Neu Helvetia, established in 1844 on the Osage River, five miles northwest of Westphalia, Missouri. The link between the *Arbeiterbund* and Communia would prove to be a stormy one, since Weitling saw it as a place to invest membership funds with the expectation that members of the league could move there. Soon conflicts broke out between Weitling and the residents of Communia, and in the end the land of the settlement was privatized and the commune dissolved (1856).

Marsiske seeks to place Weitling in the context of the politics of the 1850s by tracing similarities to the National Reform movement, which combined concern for working men with a policy of free land distribution and currency or banking reform. Other contemporary reformers whose ideas impinged on Weitling included Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Edward Kellogg, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and Josiah Warren. The currency of the United States at the time, which was a manifest scandal due to rampant instability of the banking system and the irresponsibility of the administrations, made Weitling's proposals less radical than they might appear to our own eyes. Weitling was certainly not alone in demanding a radical reworking of property and exchange, though Marsiske concedes that American writers of the time had no direct influence on Weitling. The communitarian experience Weitling won in Communia taught him: "What we can certainly obtain in colonies of the Workers' League is homesteads for members in need of pensions. They can get those for certain. We do not hope for more" (242). In contrast with Cabet, Weitling came to see communistic societies not as experimental models for the larger society, but as social institutions with a certain marginal usefulness as part of a larger social policy. It can be seen from this that Weitling cannot be understood simply as a utopian socialist, at least at the end of his American experience.

The appendices provide editions of documents on the history of the *Arbeiterbund* from the German Society in Philadelphia, the Library of Congress and other sources.

This study will prove useful to those trying to interpret the ideological development of Weitling's writings, more within a European than within an American context. Still, Weitling does not emerge from this study a more sympathetic character than before. While the Marxists are probably incorrect in categorizing him solely as a utopian, Weitling remains a sort of socialist Don Quixote, tilting bravely with the windmills of capitalism without understanding how the windmills came to be there.

University of Missouri-St. Louis *Steven Rowan*

Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80. *By Stanley Nadel. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. vii + 242 pages. $37.50.*

The Lower East Side of Manhattan is best known as the center of Eastern European Jewish settlement in the United States. Beginning in the 1870s, *Ostjuden* poured into that part of New York City, as anti-Semitic pressures increased in the lands of their birth. Moses Rischin's excellent work, *The Promised City* (1962) provides details of the formation and development of that community. But at the beginning in the 1840s, the Lower East Side

was a German immigrant community, mostly gentile, and the first huge foreign-language settlement in an American city.

Nadel provides an overview of "Kleindeutschland," as it was called by German-speaking people, before the influx of Eastern Europeans. The first half of the book deals with the community's regional origins within the German Confederation, with demographic patterns of the German population of "Kleindeutschland," family structure, living arrangements, and occupational distribution. For this section, samples of the United States manuscript census schedules were analyzed using the techniques of quantitative social history. Some material was also taken from the New York state censuses.

Several scholars have recently demonstrated that the regionalism or particularism of German-speaking Europe was carried over to the rural settlements and even to the cities of America. Nadel demonstrates that similar phenomena occurred among Germans in the largest and most cosmopolitan city in America and in the largest of all German-American communities. For example, in 1880, 43 percent of the married American-born children of Bavarian immigrants had married other second- or first-generation immigrants from Bavaria. An additional 22 percent had married first or second-generation immigrants from adjacent German states. Nadel finds "evidence of a pervasive informal social separation" (156) based on regional and local origins which was more than the mere mechanical result of chain migration and the consequent residential clustering.

For the second half of the book, Nadel relies much more on previous studies and the nineteenth-century German-language newspapers to treat religion, *Vereinswesen*, trade union activity, class conflict, and politics in "Kleindeutschland." According to the author, this community gave birth to modern American socialism. The churches of "Kleindeutschland," on the other hand, seem to have been less central than in other German-American communities. German Protestants and their institutions seem to have been especially underrepresented. Nadel notes that many *Kirchendeutsche* moved to Brooklyn, which was not a part of New York City until after the period covered by this study. Could it be that more Germans who were city dwellers before immigration and correspondingly fewer Germans of peasant origins stayed in New York compared to other American cities?

"Kleindeutschland" declined as wealthier Germans moved uptown, the newest immigrants settled in Yorkville, *Ostjuden* moved into the lower wards, and the whole of German New York gradually transformed itself from a community divided by region of origin and religion into a society differentiated by social class.

The book is an entirely competent and workmanlike study. Its introduction evidences impressive theoretical sophistication. And yet, sometimes the reader pauses. Nadel claims to be writing a history of all of German New York, but he uses census samples only from the four wards of "Kleindeutschland." Only "about half" of New York City's Germans lived there.

No exact figures are given for the German population of these wards. Nadel does provide figures for the German-born in New York City as a whole along with a revision of these figures to include "those born elsewhere who are nonetheless part of the community" (41), but how did he decide which of the American-born were part of the community and which were not? In what sense was "Kleindeutschland" "the capital of German-America" (36)? Most Germans in Europe were united in 1871, but Germans in America were never united except in their response to a very limited number of political issues. The author does not make clear just how "Kleindeutschland" and German New York "form[ed] communities at different levels" (3), although his characterization of "the fluid and multiple ethnicity" (7) of German New York seems highly appropriate.

While room remains for other studies of German New York from other methodological perspectives, Nadel has certainly added to our understanding of the topic. For comparative purposes, a modern overview of all the Germans of Chicago, which contained the second-largest German-American community by 1880, might be informative.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

The German Language in Alberta: Maintenance and Teaching.
By Manfred Prokop. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1990. xiii + 407 pages. Can.$18.95.

In spite of contributing some 20 percent to the ethnic mosaic of the Province of Alberta with approximately 340,000 members, the German element in the province remains both invisible and inaudible, and the future of German as a home language holds little promise. This is the keynote of Prokop's book given to the reader already on the cover. What he sets out to offer between the covers are answers to questions—any questions—anyone may have in regard to "the Germans" in the Province of Alberta concerning the present situation. But also brief, and at times not so brief, excursions into the past are offered in order to "establish a 'German Presence' in Alberta," and to present actual efforts of language maintenance and teaching in a historical perspective.

Beginning with a stocktaking of the present situation in the province (chap. 1), the author is quick to add that in spite of a seemingly rich cultural life of "the Germans," in spite of German clubs and associations, German newspapers, films, plays, radio and TV programs, and businesses catering to Germans, German as an active language in daily life is on the decline for lack of a German-speaking younger generation. Making prolific use of statistics, both official and based on data gathered by means of self-designed and self-administered questionnaires, Prokop offers glimpses of settlement history of "the Germans" in the province and examines the use of German in the daily

life of the speakers (chap. 2). We are now told why he refers to "the Germans" always in quotation marks throughout the study: "It is clearly inappropriate to refer to 'the Germans' in Alberta as if they were a homogeneous ethnic, linguistic, or sociocultural group, adhering to and motivated by a common set of social values and beliefs" (54). The one thing, however, they all have in common, is a progressive loss of their German mother tongue as their first language of use in the home. The whole of chapter three is dedicated to this phenomenon. Again with the aid of history for parallels, we are told that with the third generation the use of German has virtually disappeared. Several factors are held responsible such as sex, place of residence, time of immigration, birthplace, level of education, occupation, age, and marriage partner. But two groups are singled out where this process is significantly retarded, among some of the Low German-speaking Mennonites, and particularly among the Upper German-speaking Hutterites living on collective farms, *Bruderhöfe*. In both instances religion plays an important part in language retention. This phenomenon is the subject of chapter four.

Chapter four and the bulk of the remainder of the book (chaps. 5-9) deal with efforts by groups and institutions at language maintenance and teaching. These chapters offer a wealth of information on the role played by churches, church schools, and the public and private school systems in teaching German, which in the case of native speakers also amounts to maintaining their mother tongue. Extensive discussions of statistics, past and present curricula, methodology, textbooks, and examinations end with the conclusion that enrollment on all levels, except at university, is on the decline. As one of the highlights of Prokop's presentation may serve his discussion of German-English bilingual education in the Alberta public school system. He makes the rest of us blush with envy when we learn that beside Edmonton, only Winnipeg (Manitoba) and Milwaukee (Wisconsin) are experimenting in this area.

Chapter ten predicting the future of German in the provinces comes as somewhat of an anti-climax, since we have been told all along what the future holds. The reviewer would have liked to see here a few comments regarding the Hutterites, who, exhibiting what the author calls type-A behavior, will be virtually the only group among "the Germans" whose efforts at language maintenance will be crowned with success.

In spite of being very heavy on statistics, numbers, tables, graphs, etc., the book is very readable, perhaps for the absence of cumbersome academic jargon. It is obligatory reading for anyone interested in ethnic studies in general and German-Canadian studies in particular. For the German-Canadian it may serve as a mirror in which one's own efforts at language maintenance may be reflected.

University of Ottawa *Werner Bausenhart*

Sozialistische Bestrebungen deutscher Arbeiter in St. Louis vor 1848: Der St. Louis-Communistenverein.
By Walter Schmidt. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Gesellschaftswissenchaften, Jahrgang 1990, no. 5/G. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1990. 65 pages.

In October 1988, Walter Schmidt, who was then the director of the Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic, spent over a week in St. Louis as a guest of the University of Missouri-St. Louis. During that time, Schmidt conducted extensive research at the St. Louis Public Library as well as at the Missouri Historical Society. The result of that effort was a detailed analysis of German-speaking communists in St. Louis before the beginning of the great political migration following the 1848 Revolution. Schmidt's report was among the last items published by the academy before the demise of East Germany as a result of German unification on 3 October 1990. This study deserves special attention, then, both because it provides a unique example of an expert in the arcane discipline of European Marxism-Leninism at work on Midwestern local history, and because its place and language of publication will make it hard for American historians to locate in the future.

Missouri and St. Louis are familiar to historians of the communist movement in the nineteenth century, since it was one of the most popular objects for emigration societies and utopian speculators (see particularly Rolf Weber, ed., *Das Land ohne Nachtigal: Deutsche Emigranten in Amerika 1777-1886* [East Berlin, 1981]). Joseph Weydemeyer, one of Karl Marx's closest friends, passed the last years of his life in St. Louis, where he was elected county auditor. It was through Marx's voluminous correspondence with Weydemeyer that Marx and Engels learned most of what they would ever know about the United States (Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Ein Lebensbild 1818-1866*, 2d ed. [East Berlin, 1968]; the first edition was *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Socialism* [New York, 1947]). Walter Schmidt has already made extensive references to persons living in Missouri in his two-volume biography of Wilhelm Wolff, secretary of the Brussels Correspondence Committee which would eventually become the heart of the Communist International (Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff: Sein Weg zum Kommunisten* [East Berlin, 1963]; idem, *Wilhelm Wolff: Kampfgefährte und Freund von Marx und Engels, 1846-1864* [East Berlin, 1979]).

The central figure of proletarian agitation in St. Louis was the clockmaker Heinrich Koch. He was born in Bayreuth on 27 March 1800, and he was persecuted for opposing princely despotism as early as 1830. He arrived in St. Louis by 1834, where he commenced writing for Wilhelm Weber's *Anzeiger des Westens*. He was noted for militant anti-clericalism, which eventually caused him to leave the *Anzeiger* and found his first journal, *Der Antipfaff* (1842-45). Koch waged a virtual war against the Old Lutherans, making him a frequent

target of C. F. W. Walther's *Der Lutheraner*. But his hostility was increasingly directed against the rule of the privileged in general as well as just the clergy. In 1845, Koch briefly published and anti-Whig paper called *Vorwärts*. In that same period, a number of communists had gathered in St. Louis, many of them refugees from the recent failure of the Neu Helvetia colony in Osage County, Missouri.

In early 1846, Koch reemerged as a spokesman for St. Louis communists by becoming a local correspondent for the *Volks-Tribun* of New York, a paper which supported the free homesteading of public land. The newspaper, edited by Hermann Kriege, was the organ of a secret organization called Jung-Amerika, whose leading members included Gustav Körner of Belleville, Illinois. Jung-Amerika was associated with the League of the Just, which was the immediate ancestor of the Communist Party. By April, Koch had published a "confession of faith" for a group of about sixty adherents to form the St. Louis Communist Society (St. Louis Communistenverein) as the local branch of Jung-Amerika. This society held weekly meetings to discuss abstract social questions, overseas liberation movements, and plans for establishing a freethinkers' school for German children in St. Louis.

The most peculiar initiative of the St. Louis Communist Society involved the Mexican War. The usual progressive reading would have been that war in general was a capitalist plot victimizing labor, and that the Mexican War was doubly suspect as a war of annexation. The *Volks-Tribun*, however, considered encouraging volunteers to fight for the United States, since the feudal system of Mexico could only be revolutionized in the aftermath of such a war, and the distribution of land in the conquered regions would undermine land speculators in the United States.

The only community where such a worker unit actually marched was St. Louis, where Heinrich Koch became the captain of a volunteer company to march to Texas. Koch marched out to Forth Leavenworth in March 1846 but his company returned with the entire St. Louis Legion in September. Despite their never having seen combat, members of the company were rewarded with forty acres of "Congress Land" each. These grants were pooled to serve as the basic endowment of the communist utopian colony of Communia in Iowa.

The ideological content of the St. Louis Communist Society could be boiled down to a criticism of landed property when divorced from labor. Although many additional maxims were added, one after another, this one basic position remained and prevailed. This placed it, and American communists in general, in opposition to Marx and the Brussels committee, which could not accept the notion that a free distribution of land was basic to the distribution of property in general.

On the other hand, the St. Louis communists did oppose liberal and petty-bourgeois initiatives among St. Louis Germans, such as the attempts to gather money to support agitation in Europe. Koch believed that such endeavors would dull efforts to improve social conditions in the United States.

A movement to establish a shoemakers' cooperative in St. Louis was opposed by local businessmen in the name of freedom of association and trade, but communists replied that constitutional freedoms alone could not guarantee men a decent life. "Our times demand more," they replied.

After repeated attempts, Koch's new weekly, *Der Reformer*, began appearing in January 1847 though there were disputes from the outset over Koch's high-handed methods. In March 1847 there was an anti-Koch walkout, leading to the formation of a separate Social-Reform-Verein. Despite this schism, the Communist Society managed to establish the new colony of Communia, which Koch controlled until his departure in a huff in September 1849. Soon Communia came to be associated with Wilhelm Weitling, and it managed to survive as a communist community until the mid-1850s. As early as 1846, Weitling adherents had promoted the establishment of a workers' exchange bank, and by 1850 St. Louis was well represented in the first German Workers' Congress in Philadelphia. Weitling's ideas appear to have temporarily triumphed over those of Heinrich Koch: Koch himself settled in Dubuque, Iowa, making clocks and brewing nostrums for malaria. He died in the 1870s.

In conclusion, Schmidt sees the St. Louis Communist Society as the westernmost of all branches of the League of the Just, peripheral and unable to make the transition to "scientific communism." In its ethnic isolation it would prove to be typical of the early phase of the American radical labor movement: as late as the 1880s, Friedrich Engels would complain about the sectarian nature of German socialist workers in the United States, which helped to starve the English-speaking movement of ideological weight.

The appendix of Schmidt's monograph contains the "confession of faith" of the St. Louis Communist Society; a letter by Heinrich Mink from St. Louis to the *Volks-Tribun*, 26 April 1846, describing the organization of communist workers; August Marle's "Views of a Communist" from St. Louis, 1846; and several documents dealing with the foundation and organization of Communia.

Walter Schmidt's labors in the history of the St. Louis communists of the 1840s help to raise the covers from the obscure topic of St. Louis social history before the Civil War. Precisely because of its ideological structure, his investigation opens a window on both German intellectual history and the history of the American Middle West. A strange swan song for the communist critique of American society!

University of Missouri-St. Louis *Steven Rowan*

Twice Removed: The Experience of German-American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century.
By Dorothea Stuecher. Foreword by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies, vol. 1. New York, etc.: Lang, 1990. 250 pages.

Stuecher's book has something to offer to both the novice and the expert in the field of German-American and immigrant studies. Her goal is to elucidate the lives and careers of the German-American woman author by focusing specifically upon three women: Therese Robinson (pseud. Talvj, 1797-1870), Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-84), and Kathinka Sutro-Schücking (1838-?). The book begins with a concise introduction to German-American studies, outlining the different immigration patterns and explaining the general circumstances of the immigrant author, combined with a discussion of the "cultural context" of the German-American woman author of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The second chapter continues with an in-depth look at the works—which due to their inaccessibility are synopsized in an appendix—and major themes of the three authors. Each author is discussed in terms of her background, her total fictional oeuvre, and those works which deal specifically with the woman's immigrant experience.

The three authors, although they belonged to different generations, each with its own problems, share a common bond. All wrote at least one belletristic "immigrant work," in which the main female characters tend not to be German or even immigrants, although they do face the same problems as the German-American immigrant: "Imperilled family unity, isolation, problems of role definition, and conflicting forces of assimilation and cultural maintenance" (52).

The first half of the book offers a clear and concise discussion of the problems which Robinson, Anneke, and Sutro-Schücking faced, and of their successes. Not only were these authors set off from mainstream literature due to their gender, their immigrant status caused a further rift. Of the three women, Robinson, by distancing herself from the limitations of immigrant literature and focusing on purely German or American audiences, seems to have attained the highest level of acceptance as an author. She wrote her works in the language of her intended readers: German for those works published in Germany and English for those published in America. She did not believe in the "dream of a united German-American community" (68) and thus avoided any connection with it.

Anneke, because of the revolutionary tendency of her works, struggled in vain for success in the immigrant literary world. She eventually found her niche not as a successful author, as she would have liked, but as an educator.

Sutro-Schücking's works portrayed the home as the main focal point in life, despite the fact that her main characters were men. "In the hermetically enclosed atmosphere of the home, the tribulations and triumphs of women assumed heroic proportions, while the personal failures of men simultaneously underwent magnification" (85). The placement of her novels in the Anglo-American world and the masking of her German-American characters as Anglo-Saxons allowed her to criticize without alienating her German-American audience.

Unfortunately, this highly informative book is marred by numerous typographical and stylistic errors. The first half flows very nicely in spite of an occasional misprint, whereas the second half almost seems to have been written by another, more careless author. The number of misprints, which often distort the meaning of the text, increases, and quotes, previously integrated into the text, are overused and interrupt the flow of Stuecher's prose.

The third chapter is a culmination of all the scattered mistakes found in the book. This section is devoted solely to a portrait of Anneke as a German-American woman writer. This unbalanced approach is explained neither in the introduction nor in the conclusion. Due to chronic miscounting, the endnotes in this chapter have been rendered almost useless; the numbers in the text do not correspond with those in the notes. Anyone interested in doing further research on Anneke would be forced to rematch each endnote to its corresponding number in the text.

Stuecher's book is not only interesting, it also constitutes a significant contribution to the field of German-American literature. The errors and stylistic problems, all of which could be easily corrected in a second printing, should not discourage anyone from using this book. The author has succeeded in relating both the positive and negative sides of the German-American woman author's career. Not only did these women face incredible hurdles in publishing their works, they also had to contend with the stereotype that women's realm was the family and the home. In conclusion it can be noted that *Twice Removed* is not only useful for the German-American scholar, but also for anyone interested in immigrant, specifically women's immigrant literature.

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