

Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
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The Germans in Indianapolis.

By George Theodore Probst. Revised and edited by Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis: German American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1989. 200 pages. \$14.70.

The First Mayor of Cincinnati: George A. Katzenberger's Biography of Major David Ziegler.

By George A. Katzenberger. Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1990. 72 pages. \$18.95.

Probst's work on the Germans of Indianapolis is one of the most important works written on how German settlers influenced the development of an American city. It chronicles the important role of leading German citizens in the formation of Indianapolis, a city often regarded as the quintessential all-American city. If anyone still gives credence to the argument that Germans came to America, dropped their German ways and assimilated into the existing, primarily English-American culture, this work should provide sufficient proof that the argument is wrong. The Germans came to Indianapolis, by and large, with the idea of playing a role in the formation of the life of the city. Probst shows this is exactly what they did. They influenced the development of financial and business institutions, schools, and churches. Music and art were produced and supported by them. Many of the architectural treasures of the city were designed and built by them. Even the Indiana Capitol building was completed by Adolf Scherrer, a Swiss-American. As the largest of the immigrant groups, they touched every aspect of life in Indianapolis.

It is also clear that the German settlers were a very varied group. They covered the religious spectrum from staunch Catholic to anti-cleric free thought. They were from various regions of the German-speaking world. They were often not in agreement with each other, nor with the other groups that constituted the population of Indianapolis. Probst documents the conflicts that resulted, particularly between different generations of immigrants and those of different religious and political persuasion. Probst also documents in an even-handed way the backlash against America's German element during and after World War I as well as the clash between the Puritan cultural trend reflected in Prohibition and German-American cultural and economic interests.

It is understood that the book has the limitations of a work which was written originally in 1951 and which treats German-Americans only from 1840 to 1918. It also has a limited social-historical point of reference. The lower social strata of the German population in Indianapolis are not as fully treated. However, the work has been very much enriched by the excellent illustrations, an index, and an appendix with lists of various early *Verein* members. Reichmann has done a great service to German-American studies and historians of American history by providing access to this work which serves as prolegomena to any future treatment of Indianapolis's ethnic or general history.

In a similar way, Tolzmann has done a great service in again making available Katzenberger's biography of Cincinnati's first mayor, the Revolutionary War hero David Ziegler. Ziegler had a fascinating career before he became mayor of an American city. He served Frederick the Great of Prussia and the German-Russian Czarina, Catherine the Great. After his emigration to North America, he served in the American Revolution against England. He was in charge of Fort Washington in what was to be Cincinnati, became ultimately a very successful businessman and the city's first mayor. While the work reflects the limitations of a less than exhaustive historical study, it is valuable for the insight it provides in the life of early German settlers and the leadership role many of them played. Unfortunately, even before World War I produced an anti-German bias in American historiography, Katzenberger noted the lack of interest on the part of historians in the role of German-Americans in the history of the United States. The availability of Tolzmann's new edition, which contains some valuable additional information on Ziegler and the period, comes at an opportune time when interest in the German background of the Midwestern United States is increasing.

Both books, in effect, stand between being primary and secondary sources. Both authors had access to some of the people about whom they are writing and are thus able to report on interviews held with them.

The two studies make it clear that German-Americans helped define American culture, and that there is a great deal of German heritage in the lives of Americans in the two Midwestern cities treated. Even though the two books, each in its own way, may be limited in their scope and approach, they are invaluable.

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Giles R. Hoyt

The Riddle of Amish Culture.

By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 304 pages. \$8.95.

Amish Roots: A Treasury of History, Wisdom, and Lore.

Edited by John A. Hostetler. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 319 pages. \$29.95.

I looked forward to reading these two works by major researchers of the Amish lifestyle, men who have lived and worked in Amish communities. Each promised to bring the reader into the Amish community and to shed light on the Amish way of life. Unfortunately, neither delivered fully on its promise.

Kraybill's work, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, is intended as an introduction to Amish culture rather than a comprehensive exploration of the Amish way of life. By studying the Amish community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, he

attempts to resolve for the reader the riddle of the many apparent contradictions in Amish communities: Why, for example, do they use telephones but refuse to install them in their homes? Why will they ride in cars but not own them? Why do they adopt technological innovations like the pocket calculator and not others? And, most importantly, how do the Amish survive in the face of growing pressure from the modern, non-Amish world?

It is an impressive and fascinating exploration. Kraybill begins by taking the reader from the struggles of the first Anabaptists to the founding of the Amish settlement in Lancaster County and through the subsequent divisions in the Lancaster community, demonstrating at each step both the Amish resistance to change and the Amish willingness to negotiate with it. He then explores the results of this on-going, uneasy negotiation with the world in everyday Amish life, looking first, in general, at the social structure of the community and then, more specifically, at the changes in Amish life that are the result of their acceptance and rejection of technological advances in the society around them. In short, the reader is led to understand how, as Kraybill puts it, "compromises between tradition and modernization . . . have both safeguarded Amish survival and spawned the perplexing riddles of Amish life" (21).

Nevertheless, the reader may also come away with a false picture of the Amish, for, although Kraybill announces in the introduction his intention to focus on the Amish community in Lancaster (viii), in the rest of the book he writes as if he were describing all Amish. The introductory note is insufficient to blunt the impact of constant references to "Amish" rather than "Lancaster Amish." Indeed, statements such as "This chapter explores the link between Amish society and the larger world," "This chapter explores the religious rites that reaffirm and preserve the Amish moral order" (94), and "We have been tapping the wisdom of a traditional society as we explored the riddle of Amish culture" (250), can only indicate that what is being said is true of all Amish. Even the title, *The Riddle of Amish Culture*, suggests a broad look at all Amish groups.

Although many of Kraybill's assertions may hold up in Lancaster, they may not hold up elsewhere. On page 65, for example, we are told that Amish buggies are gray because "Amish leaders insisted on the traditional gray as the best expression of *Gelassenheit*. . . . Retaining gray was the surest way of preserving Amish identity for tourist, neighbor, and fellow Amish alike." Only in a footnote on page 270 is it acknowledged that the insistence on gray may be unique to Lancaster. Earlier, in his discussion of carriage accessories, Kraybill writes that "Today's carriage is equipped with battery-operated front lights, turn signals, flashing rear lights, and a large triangle reflector. All these modern accouterments are required by state law" (64). The implication is that all carriages are adorned with these devices; there is no mention of the problems numerous Amish groups have had because, despite state law, they will not use these things. Saying that "The Amish, in essence, have refused to concede the traditional form and color on the carriage's exterior but have accepted modern technology under the surface" (68) is to make an overgeneralization that can only mislead the reader.

The reader must ask constantly whether what Kraybill says applies to all Amish or just to those in Lancaster. Was Bishop Beiler's anti-electricity influence felt only in Lancaster or, since Kraybill refers often to "the church's decision," did it reach other groups? In discussing "the history of Amish dress" (56), Kraybill notes that "Today the beard symbolizes marriage rather than church membership" (57); is this true in all Amish communities? Further complicating matters, in his discussion of the controversy that followed school consolidation, Kraybill refers often to Amish communities elsewhere in Pennsylvania, and to

state-level politics, making it clear that the conclusions he draws apply to Amish groups outside Lancaster (cf. ch. 6) and leading the reader to believe that other assertions are also generally true.

Even assuming that references to "Amish" or "the church" refer to "Lancaster Amish" and "the Lancaster Amish church," a reader with some knowledge of the Amish will be confused. The *Ordnung* is presented as if there were but one for the entire community under discussion, yet there seems to be considerable variation in what some Amish accept and others do not. Do the conservative districts to which Kraybill refers have the same *Ordnung* as the liberal ones (e.g., 64)? Are they in communion with each other? Kraybill notes that "Some bishops permit phones in shops, but others do not" (148). Are there two different kinds of *Ordnung*, as an Amish friend of mine insists there must be to allow such variation?

Purporting to be a study of the Lancaster Amish, there is no discussion of the differences between the Lancaster community and other groups. Having as a more ambitious goal the explanation of the "riddles" of the Amish lifestyle, it explores the history, culture, and beliefs common to all Amish groups yet without noting the subtle and not so subtle variations between groups that arise from these beliefs and this common history. Thus, it fails to explain the most confusing riddle of all, why one Amish group accepts things others do not. The picture of a homogeneous Amish community minimizes the often major differences between various Amish sects and distorts the relationship many Amish groups have with the non-Amish world.

Like Kraybill, John Hostetler also sets out to explain the Amish lifestyle, yet his approach is radically different. He begins his work with a brief introduction that explores Amish history, values, survival patterns, and contributions to the American way of life, and then he lets the Amish speak for themselves. Contemporary and historic Amish voices combine with modern scholars to comment on a host of topics, from early Anabaptist history to schools, legends, misfortunes, and controversies.

Reading *Amish Roots* is often like listening in on a conversation; most of the pieces have an informal tone, and they cover topics of everyday interest. There are selections from such well-known and prolific Amish writers as David Luthy, who covers such diverse topics as "Pests in New Mexico" and "*Rosanna of the Amish*," Uria R. Byler, who discusses "Discipline in School," and Gideon L. Fisher, who writes about "The Lancaster Farmers Market" and "Tourists in Lancaster County." Then there are excerpts from letters written by Amish who could never have imagined their words being published in a book. A special delight for me was coming across a story by an old friend, Susan Wickes's "Troyer's Dead Cows." Numerous full-color plates display Amish embroidery, drawings, and illustrated book plates, and shed new light on the culture of a people thought of as "plain."

Yet, although the overall effect is fascinating, not all pieces are equally informative, interesting, or relevant. John Wenger's exploration of "The Anabaptists: Their Beliefs and Practices," a valuable introduction to the Anabaptist movement, stands in sharp contrast to Franklin H. Littell's work on the same subject; Littell makes broad claims that go unsubstantiated and, worse, unanalyzed (e.g., "The nation-states demanded that the church bless their ambitions and sanctify their warring" [15]), and refers to Amish "views" and teachings without explaining what these views and teachings are. This piece served well in its original context, as introduction to a larger work, but it is not very useful in this collection. Other pieces seem to have little relevance to the collection. For example, in Paul I. Speicher's retelling of "The Legend of Nancy

Zook," it is never clear that the child is Amish or that her history or upbringing is typical or even illustrative of the Amish.

There are, moreover, voices missing. Of over two hundred selections in this anthology only nineteen are attributable with any certainty to female authors, and not all of these are Amish. The selection on "Amish Women and Their Kitchens" is written by a man (Bill Randle), and an "outsider" at that. Where are the women talking about child rearing and teaching, quilting and canning? The section on "Legends" contains none of the Amish equivalents of "urban myths," the stories I have heard Amish mothers tell teenage daughters of the terrible things that happen to innocent Amish girls who disobey their parents to go out with English boys. Where are the photographs of dolls and quilts, the art of women that serves the daily needs of the family and helps the community economically? In Hostetler's book, half the Amish world is silent.

Amish Roots is an absorbing work that gives the reader an introduction to Amish culture unlike any other. In reading it one can begin to understand how the Amish think and why their culture survives in the face of challenges from the outside world. But, it gives us only the world of Amish men and, thus, is incomplete.

Hostetler and Kraybill have produced books that will hold the interest of the reader who knows nothing about the Amish and be useful to fellow researchers of Amish life and culture. Each book covers a range of topics, and each has an extensive bibliography. Each, in its own way, provides the reader with a detailed portrait of Amish lifestyle, values and concerns. Yet neither provides a complete picture, and some of the omissions are disappointing.

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The German Forty-Eighters in America.

Edited by Charlotte L. Brancaforte. *German Life and Civilization*, vol. 1. New York: Peter Lang, 1989. 305 pages.

The German-Speaking Forty-Eighters: Builders of Watertown, Wisconsin.

By Charles J. Wallman. Madison: The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989. 110 pages.

In the past there have been only three major works dealing generally with the forty-eighters: Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (1952), A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters in America: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (1950), and Eitel Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (1958), so that the two works by Brancaforte and Wallman represent welcome additions to the historical literature on the topic, especially in view of the fact that the year 1998 will mark the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Revolution. Although quite small in number, the forty-eighters exerted a profound influence on American society in general, and on German-America in particular. Brancaforte has edited a solid collection of seventeen essays based on the contributions presented at a 1986 symposium on the forty-eighters, sponsored by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, while Wallman has examined a community, Watertown, Wisconsin, where he has identified more than sixty forty-eighters who settled there. The former represents the work of professional scholars, while the latter is that of a highly qualified local historian. They both enrich our knowledge of the forty-eighters, providing us with illuminating

perceptions, which not only deepen our understanding of a fascinating group, but also raise questions, and suggest areas in need of further research. Rather than attempt to comment on the individual contributions, historical information and analyses provided by these works, it would appear to be more constructive to focus in this review on the major themes which emerge from these books, and to address them in terms of the challenges they provide for those in the field of German-American studies interested in the role of the forty-eighters.

A first question which comes to mind is definitional: What constitutes a forty-eighter? Are all the ca. one million Germans who came to the United States in the 1850s forty-eighters, or only the ca. 4,000 who came after participating in the 1848-49 revolutions? In the Wallman book Brancaforte, who apparently subscribes to the broad definition, writes in the preface "About 70,000 people, it is estimated, fled from the German-speaking countries to the U.S. because they had experienced, or feared, reprisals for their participation in the revolts of 1848-49" (vii). However, in her volume the opening essay by James F. Harris on "The Arrival of the *Europamiide*: Germans in America after 1848" indicates that there are two ways of defining a forty-eighter: A forty-eighter can be defined "as a radical participant in the revolutions of that year—that is, one who resorted to force to achieve his or her goals . . ." But he notes that if a forty-eighter is so defined "then we have a problem, because very few did that" (1). The other, broader definition, he writes is to equate forty-eighters "with those who left for political reasons in a very broad sense . . ." (2). Wittke, Zucker, and Dobert have defined the term in the narrow sense; Wittke writes, for example, "the term Forty-Eighter is used in a limited sense, and applies only to those who in some way actually participated in the liberal movements and the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, and left their homes" because of this (*Refugees of Revolution*, 4). In short, there appear to be two definitions, the limited and the open definitions, of what constitutes a forty-eighter. Perhaps this is something which bears further discussion and definition, especially as we approach the 150th anniversary. In this regard, Theodore S. Hamerow's essay on "The Two Worlds of the Forty-Eighters" provides direction by arguing that emigrants chose to leave by a ratio of ten to one for economic, rather than political reasons. This would seem to underscore the limited definition, that few came for political reasons and, moreover, even fewer were actually involved in the revolution.

A second theme which emerges is that of the diversity of the group in terms of the social, cultural, and political orientation of each individual forty-eighter. The most famous forty-eighter, Carl Schurz, presents a model with which others can be compared, and many present quite different experiences and activities. We are dealing here with a quite diverse group, and there is a need for more individual studies of individual forty-eighters.

A third theme one encounters is the deradicalization of the forty-eighters. Some of them remained radical, some returned to Germany, others despaired, but most of them shed their radicalism, and most had probably done so by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. This point needs further investigation. This evolutionary process and development would provide further insight into the forty-eighters and their role in American society.

Finally, another fascinating aspect is the relationship of the forty-eighters to the German heritage in the United States as this relates to the acculturation process. As they were primarily political in their orientation, they appear to have been mainly concerned with active involvement in the political process, which meant the central focus was outside the German community. Especially La Vern J. Ripple's essay on New Ulm suggests that what defined German-American heritage was not the forty-eighter influence, but rather the conservative German

Catholic and Protestant religious bodies. He notes that New Ulm, considered one of the most German towns in the Midwest, is not so because of the turners there, but because of the German religious groups.

Both of these works are of exceptional value for enriching our understanding of the forty-eighters, and also for identifying some emergent themes worthy of further investigation and study. First, the definitional question of what constitutes a forty-eighter. Second, the question of the internal diversity within the forty-eighters as a group. Third, the whole process of the deradicalization of the group. And, finally, the role they played with regard to acculturation and the German heritage. These two new works on the forty-eighters have made important contributions to the field of German-American studies by focusing on and identifying the status of our current understanding of a significant group in German-American history, and by pointing the way for future researchers in the area.

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Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen.

By Peter Pabisch. *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika*, vol. 1. Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1989. ill + 63 pages. \$5.00.

Der Morgen leicht wie eine Feder: Gedichte.

By Peter Pabisch. *Lyrik aus Österreich*, vol. 47. Baden bei Wien: G. Grasl, 1989. 64 pages. ÖS 90.00.

Peter Pabisch's creative writing career began in 1984, when his first volume of poetry, *Arroyo Seco: Amerikanische Stimmungen*, appeared. His two recent volumes are similar in mood, subject matter, form (free verse with no capitalization or punctuation), and length of poems, but there are significant differences. *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen* (1989), the first publication of a series entitled "Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika," contains an afterword which provides an introduction to the poetry and some biographical information.

Peter Pabisch, born in Vienna in 1938, moved with his family to the United States in 1969: first to Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, where he received his Ph.D. Since 1972 he has taught at the University of New Mexico. A frequent visitor to Europe, in 1985-86 he spent a full academic year teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Vienna, thus reinforcing his bonds to his native country.

The first poems of *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen* focus on the American Southwest during several seasons and at different times of the day. The volume's first section, "Amerika," consists primarily of nature poems; an awareness of mortality ("vanitas," "gerippe") and recollections of his former homeland are also common themes. Variations on the nature poems recur in the shorter second section, "Europa," with an emphasis on Vienna and Middle Germany. There is a delicate balance between the two sections.

A European-born poet experiences the new homeland with all his memories of his own traditions, his past, his history. The reader finds seven drawings ("Sekundenskizzen") by the author that illustrate the themes of his poems. Two of them ("Taos Ski Valley," "Rio Grande mit Manzanobergen," both dated Albuquerque 1987-88) bear a resemblance to the Austrian Alps. A similar blend of American locations and memories of the former homeland is found in a number of poems, for example, a flower in the Taos valley evokes joy in "Calypso Bulbosa": "sieht dem frauenschuh der alpen/ sehr ähnlich/ wächst aber/ im long canyon von taos" (11). In "Kakadu: Erinnerung an ein ölbild in

Wien," a picture seen in a specialty shop in Santa Fe triggers playful puns on the word "Kakadu" and memories of Vienna: "kakanien/ k und k/ ka lust ka freud/ kakashit/ die blaue donau blüht/ wo der wein/ der wein ich aber sehr/ wein um 1900/ hört man sie jetzt lehren" (23).

Poems in which a balance between the humorous and serious—when grammatical structure breaks down at the end of a verse in an unusual way—is successfully attained, are most memorable. One such poem, "15. Mai 1988," combines both elements so characteristic of Pabisch's work—a playful blending of European historical events against the background of an American South-western landscape:

new mexico
sonntagsglocken läuten
restlaute des heiligen römischen reiches
in dem die sonne nicht unterging
zur ehre gottes
und
zum zweck des goldes
nie gefunden

in meinem wien
dem goldhaupt ohne körper
feiern sie einen staatsvertrag
der freiheit brachte

der herrgott in frankreich
feiert mitterand

karl der fünfte
hat seinem francois nie verziehen
wegen suleiman

karl brauchte geld für seine kriege
zur ehre des katholischen gottes

aus dem reich läuten restlaute
suleiman der große
schenkte seinen frauen
türkis auf gold

türkis auf silber
schätzen wir
hier in new mexico
während wir von jungen orchestern
mozarte türkenmelodien genießen
so lebt heute alles ineinander

es lebe der staatsvertrag
der supermächte
die um die sonne streiten
an sonntagen
da die glocken glucksend läuten
und
eine aussicht auf heitren himmel
so belvedere
wohlklang
vortäuscht (26–27)

Sunday bells in New Mexico trigger memories of historic importance "in meinem wien," namely the signing of the treaty on 15 May 1955 which restored the country's sovereignty. References to leaders of France (mitterand) and Turkey (suleiman) and the "mozarte türkenmelodien" are blended, culminating in the sentence "so lebt heute alles ineinander," which could serve as a motto for the entire Sioux collection.

Much of the success of this poem is a result of its direct and unpretentious language. The regular rhythm, suggesting both the ordered world on a Sunday morning and the unbroken connections between vastly different traditions, continues almost to the end of the poem. In the last five lines, however, the pause (after "und") and the rhythmic shift (in "so belvedere") as well as the pun on "aussicht auf heitren himmel" and "belvedere" slow the poem down and underscore the irony of its final words. The bells, which initially recall an ordered world, become an image of deception: "die glocken glucksend läuten/ . . . so belvedere/ wohlklang/ vortäuscht."

The diversity of the collection as a whole would not be apparent if one failed to draw attention to the many poems that help create a playful, humorous, and at times silly tone. "Gerippe" (14) is a comical love poem that compares the sound of the lover when he/she was alive ("muschelmund deine zunge/ lalalalala") with the skeleton ("fleischlos/ dein mund/ klipperdiklapp"). The poem "Der Kakadu" (21-22) plays with comically transposed English and German words and phrases: "zweitausendvierhundert/ . . . / dollars? dollars!/ dallasdollars?! what?! . . . / nana du/ loveloveyou/ kein kakadu/ . . ." (22).

What is surprising in the "Amerika" poems is the lack of reference to the American people. Apart from a series of dedications to and reminiscences of a number of specific friends, the absence of the human element in these poems is striking.

The second section, "Europa," begins with a drawing entitled "Flughafen Tegel, Berlin, 14. 3. 1988," depicting various people in an airport setting. The first poem, "Larissa—mehr nach hinten zu" (39), begins as a typical Pabisch landscape poem which highlights in a snapshot fashion various aspects of nature, but then attention shifts to people ("zigeuner stöbern darin/ . . . / in fröhlicher gesellschaft/ vertraute augen lachen mir zu"). In the second half the horizon expands to include people who live and shape the landscape before us.

The rhythmic movements and the general tone shift slightly in the later poems. Memories of youth and visions of destruction are awakened when looking at people, objects, or specific locations. Although some poems are longer and more reflective than in the first section, they are presented in a fragmented, laconic style: "Wien—Straßenbahnlinie 60 in der Früh—Auf Besuch aus Amerika nach 16 Jahren" (43-44) and "Landschaftsblitzlichter: Mit-teldeutschland vom Zug aus" (53).

Pabisch's colorful, picturesque language creates powerful visual effects. The use of capitalization and punctuation is lacking for the most part. A rhythmic pattern is revealed by the blending of poetic descriptions and the flow of conversational language, and dialect ("de uhudla is mei brennstoff/ ohne den konnend oaweidn"; "'s soll ja nich alles schteaba!"). He even draws on the tradition of phonetic poetry (Kurt Schwitters) and shows similarities with concrete poets such as Ernst Jandl.

A playful-ironic (even self-ironic) element as well as a tendency to a conversational tone is evident in Jandl and in some of Pabisch's poems:

On a clear day
(singet die melodei)

in schwaben
 schonnensein
 und die welt
 kervehrt

 sprache wird chraspe
 ein mensch schnappt über
 sorgt sich nicht mehr darum
 ob man in stervehen kann
 sieht die schandlaft
 und senkt dich eins

 seine manusprikte
 ablegeht

 slödbinn puzlibieren nir wicht
 nir wicht!

 na tho wath
 (wie englisch *thousand*)

 da wird dem kerl
 alles blu zöd
 oh
 die scheenä schwäbschä derflä
 ruft er
 tervräumt
 zum henster finauscklibend (52)

On the surface the poem plays with comically transposed, backwards-written words, phrases, and whole lines, but it is ultimately a commentary on two very different literary traditions. The last stanza seems to be a parody of a Romantic motif, but the combination of Swabian dialect with reversed High German phrases unexpectedly broadens the scope: when his manuscripts are rejected ("slödbinn puzlibieren nir wicht/ nir wicht") he gives up ("da wird dem kerl/ alles blu zöd") and turns backwards himself, ("tervräumt/ zum henster finauscklibend") but not to conformity (he changes the words). His language shows a refusal to conform and the poem becomes a playful rejection of traditional images.

The remainder of the Europe section reaffirms what the writer has experienced when driving through Europe. The title "Landschaftsblitzlichter: Mitteledeutschland vom Zug aus" (53) captures this mood and point of view. A succession of fragmented visions of German towns and their people pass before the reader's eye. The rhythmic regularity indicates an unbroken rhythm in the lives of these people. "Spätfrühling am Rhein" (56) achieves much of its success through the juxtaposition of a list of flowers and trees with the reality of modern-day technology ("kräne/ tolldreiste schellstationen/ stahlbetonkonstruktionen"), but seen from the perspective of an old woman who says: "tja/ . . . / viele sehen nur das böse." With a tinge of melancholy in her voice, but without illusion, she captures the mood.

Pabisch's second collection, *Der Morgen leicht wie eine Feder*, contains forty poems. Many are reminiscent of *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen*, but seem to have a wider perspective. The human element, already indicated in the motto, "patricia sagt seufzend/ die leut/ die leut" (4), becomes increasingly more significant. Nature poems can still be found in abundance, but they include the subjective perspective of an observant and critical speaker: "über dem rio grande/ meinem neuen lebensstrom/ . . . / schwankt er so wie ich" ("kraniche" [10]).

The title poem suggests images of nature and lightness and a personal reaction to nature and time:

der morgen leicht
wie eine feder

ein hauch schwankt zur erde
da mußte eine friedenstaube feder lassen
kühl
sitzen wir in der dämmerung
erahnen einen strahlenden tag
voll der motorisierten betriebsamkeit
saugen das dasein
heller sinne
in unsere sparkassen der erinnerung
das frühstück schmeckt

die hohe pinie
pinonschwanger
gewinnt konturen
es tagt (5)

The winter-autumn landscape of the *Sioux* collection is interwoven with hints of light. Themes of remembrance ("sparkassen der erinnerung") and a critical stance toward modern technology ("voll der motorisierten betriebsamkeit") remind the reader of the *Sioux* poems. Equally important are references to America and Europe. Roughly the first half is devoted to the American experience whereas the latter half deals with memories of Europe and its history. The Rio Grande, the Manzano Mountains, New Orleans, Houston, Spokane, Mesa Verde, Albuquerque are some of the geographical locations that are mentioned. The attitude toward some American cities has changed from one of admiration and awe (in the *Sioux* collection) to a more critical view: "new orleans/ . . . / wo/ sklaven verkauft/ franzosen und spanier sich abwechselten/ und anglos/ ihre macht beanspruchten/ wo/ weiße früher sterben/ wo /romantik und kaufkraft/ sich die waage halten" (15-16); houston/ . . . /seine dynamik ein vulkan/ nimmerendendes grollen des schlundes/ die reichsten der reichen/ hochburg des kapitals/ pompeij des dollarflusses" (17-18).

A Sunday walk along the Rio Grande triggers a comparison of different groups of people ("albuquerque/ . . . / der reiche golf club/ und/ die armen sonntagsfischer auf tingley beach" [24]) and geographic settings ("die frischbeschneiten sandias/ drüber/ strahlender federwölkchenbezogener himmel / . . . / naturschutzgebiet/ verkommene joggerpfade/ wilde motorrad-jugend" [(24-25)]).

As the self-questions grow louder ("albuquerque/ unsere stadt?/ noch lange?" [25]) the reader anticipates a turning back or return to Europe. By way of Greece ("gedanken zu dion" [27]) and Italy ("toskana" [29]) the journey goes to "hallstadt" where again the present clashes with the past: "älpler jodeln heimatlich/ gasmasken als schautücke" (30) and "geballte kraft von gestern/ . . . / eitel gähnt das heute" (33).

These critical observations are made in a poetic style and language that play with traditional phrases ("wien/ du stadt meiner ängstlichen träume" [34]; "kunst und leben/ wie ein weben" [37]) and adjectival combinations ("langgeschrilte herrscherpiffe/ . . . / voll jugendstilschem schwung/ . . . / sargenhaftes bunt" [35]). A rejection of European tradition ("unsre graecolatinische

tradition/ hinter mir gelassen/ pflücke ich ginkoblätter/ für die erben" (38)) is evident, but one still finds respect ("symbole ideale brauchen wir/ meint ein freund/ . . . / wasserschauer/ erfrischen/ griechen römer den weibmann/ mäni und mich" [38-39]).

Not all of Pabisch's poems are equally successful. An occasional poem employs a technique that seems contrived and artificial, and therefore unconvincing. Those examples are rare.

Pabisch, however, has displayed again and again that he is at his best when he plays with words, puts common phrases in unexpected witty contexts, comically transposes whole lines, and achieves a balance between serious awareness and playful rhythmic patterns. The last poem of this collection, "wortspiel," again combines the unpretentious with the humorous and forges a skillful link between form and content:

wortspiel
dem tag noch schnell eins zugespielt
ein wort
aus trug und fug
klingt gut
sagt manches
füllt raum und zeit
zeugt von verzug
atmet
wehrt der stille
lacht mit uns
tut uns gut
sagt viel
fordert lächeln
wärme
springt vor freude in die luft
bringt jugend
wo längst steifer sinn bedroht

wort für wort
erspielt
sagt nichts und alles (62)

Wright State University

Elfe Vallaster

The Mysteries of St. Louis: A Novel.

By Henry Boernstein. Translated by Friedrich Münch. A modern edition by Steven Rowan and Elizabeth Sims. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1990. xvi + 303 pages. \$12.95.

Students of nineteenth-century German-American fiction will be familiar with a literary genre which George Condoyannis has called the "urban mystery novel," a type of work which flourished briefly between 1850 and 1864. All of the novels belonging to this class were palpably influenced by the writings of the liberal French author Eugène Sue (1804-57), whose lengthy popular novels were originally written for newspaper serialization. Sue's novels, particularly *The Mysteries of Paris* and *The Wandering Jew*, were soon translated into German and found an enthusiastic reception among liberal-minded German readers in both Europe and the United States. This popularity soon gave rise to imitation, so that German novels with titles such as *Die Geheimnisse von Berlin* and *Die*

Geheimnisse des Praters soon began to make their appearance. Not long afterwards several German-American authors produced novels in a similar vein, but utilizing such American urban settings as New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. The writers who produced these novels were all journalists who initially wrote for newspaper serialization. Without exception they were also political radicals who were in sympathy with Sue's liberal ideas, including his rampant anticlericalism.

Heinrich Börnstein (1805-92) was a typical specimen of the type. He arrived in St. Louis in 1849 and a year later acquired the *Anzeiger des Westens*, a local German-language newspaper which he then used to campaign in behalf of the antislavery issue and similar liberal causes. Börnstein was a man of singular gifts whose life was nonetheless clouded with controversy. At once a journalist, practical businessman, politician, and man of the theater, Börnstein ultimately returned to Europe after having become embroiled in various political squabbles in St. Louis. His last years were spent in Vienna, where his attention was mainly turned to the theater.

Börnstein's novel was originally published as a newspaper serial under the title *Die Raben des Westens* ("The Ravens of the West"). Beginning serialization in February 1851, it was one of the earliest of the German-American urban mystery novels. It was soon published in book form as *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* and was immediately translated as *The Mysteries of St. Louis*. The translator, Friedrich Münch (1799-1881), shared Börnstein's liberal views, though he belonged to an older generation of German immigrants to Missouri.

The Mysteries of St. Louis is a melodramatic, at times polemical work revolving, like Sue's *Wandering Jew*, around an insidious Jesuit conspiracy. Father Antonio, the chief Jesuit villain, is a monster whose crimes include rape and murder. As in *The Wandering Jew* there is a legacy which the Jesuits are bent upon seizing for themselves. Although the story is centered on the Böttcher family, the legitimate heirs to the legacy, other characters in the novel have mostly French or English names. An interesting detail in the plot is the introduction of a band of counterfeiters whose subterranean hideaway is reached from a house on a hillside. This motif reappears virtually unchanged in Mathilde Franziska Anneke's 1864 novel *Das Geisterhaus von New York*, another book in the urban mystery tradition.

Whether in the original German or in the Münch translation, *The Mysteries of St. Louis* must be taken as a quaint piece of mid-Victorian Americana, of greater historical than esthetic interest. It is, however, better written and more interesting than most German-American novels of its time and is unusual in having been translated into English.

The present edition provides, however, a good deal more than a reprint of a literary curiosity. The editors have succeeded admirably in producing a version for the modern reader by judiciously adjusting spelling and punctuation to current standards and by providing useful explanatory notes. Best of all, this edition comes with an illuminating introductory essay by Steven Rowan. Local historians should find particular satisfaction in this book, the earliest full-length novel to be set in St. Louis. Its broader significance, however, is that it provides a glimpse into a seldom visited alcove in the many-chambered museum of America's diverse cultural legacy.

Amerika zwischen Traum und Desillusionierung im Leben und Werk des Erfolgsschriftstellers Balduin Möllhausen (1825–1905).

By Horst Dinkelacker. *American University Studies, series 1, Germanic Languages and Literatures*, vol. 86. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris: Lang, 1990. 189 pages.

We are indebted to Horst Dinkelacker for resurrecting still another important figure in German-American literature, Balduin Möllhausen. Möllhausen, as Dinkelacker informs us, was one of the most widely read authors in Germany between 1860 and 1880. However, like many representatives of the *Amerikaroman* (e.g., Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, Armand, Ruppis), he fell into literary neglect by the turn of the century (to be eclipsed by the literary phenomenon of Karl May) and is now only familiar to a few specialists.

Möllhausen began his literary career, similar to many practitioners of the *Amerikaroman*, with an autobiographical account of his travels in America—*Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee* (1858). Dinkelacker describes young Möllhausen's contribution to the historically significant Whipple expedition (1853–54), which was not only an important rite of passage for Möllhausen, but a significant event in the exploration of the United States.

Möllhausen, however, differed from other German-American authors in one important respect: he had at an age critical for a would-be author an extraordinarily famous patron—Alexander von Humboldt. Dinkelacker's treatment of the relationship between the two men illuminates new aspects of Humboldt research as well as the cultural history of Berlin in the *Vormärz*. The fact that Humboldt wrote an introduction to Möllhausen's first book enabled Möllhausen, who was otherwise unknown and without connections, not only to gain entry into the literary world, but also into the Humboldt household, where he eventually married the daughter of Humboldt's secretary.

But Dinkelacker illuminates other important literary-historical connections. We discover, for example, that Friedrich Gerstäcker wrote a very critical letter to Hermann Costenoble, the publisher of both writers, in 1861, dismissing Möllhausen's work as literary pulp. On the other hand, we learn that Theodor Fontane, who, like Möllhausen, was a member of the *Dreilinden-Kreis*, wrote approvingly of Möllhausen's narrative skills. Most interesting is Dinkelacker's description of Möllhausen's relationship to Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg—a relationship which contains the initiation drama so common to German-American literature.

What is perhaps most significant about Dinkelacker's book is the scholarly feat of locating, collating, and assessing what Dinkelacker refers to as "ein kaum überblickbares erzählerisches Werk" (74). Möllhausen's literary production, according to several experts, bordered on two hundred volumes with the additional difficulty that Möllhausen's work—at least for his publishers—is not easily classified into the novel, the novella, and the short story. Hence the difficulty of deciding on an authoritative edition of Möllhausen's oeuvre still remains unresolved.

Möllhausen is assigned by Dinkelacker to "the tradition of the transatlantic-exotic novel" (61) to which he applies the appellation of an earlier scholar—Preston Barba—who labeled Möllhausen "the German Cooper" (61). It is not clear in Dinkelacker's book whether he endorses this literary judgment completely, but, of course, it is quite obvious that given the enormous complexity of Cooper's work and the fact that nearly all writers in this tradition were profoundly influenced by Cooper, such a judgment becomes difficult to support.

Other judgments in Dinkelacker's book also become difficult to sustain. For example, to categorize Sealsfield's work as being suffused with "republi-

kanischem Pathos" (63) is perhaps not to appreciate the significance of the republican vision in Sealsfield's work as well as in the transatlantic political tradition in general. Still, Dinkelacker offers important insights into the ideology and the reception of the *Amerikaroman*. Möllhausen's literary efforts were successful for various reasons. First they appealed to the moral perceptions of the middle classes in Germany, the principal readership of the *Amerikaroman*, in that moral ambiguity was studiously avoided. Second, Möllhausen's novels reflected and nurtured conservative attitudes and values that tended to legitimize the newly established German Empire. Finally Dinkelacker argues that Möllhausen's work satisfied the needs of his middle-class public in their affirmation of German culture and national identity. In Möllhausen's work as well as in the *Amerikaroman* in general, "der überlegende und überlegene Deutsche" (148) as a basic motif appears with the corollary that America is transformed into a symbolic foil for the emergence and consolidation of German national identity. Thus, Horst Dinkelacker's study provides a valuable introduction to a vast, yet neglected area of scholarship—the transatlantic novel, an area which, despite recent significant publications, further invites new attempts at synthesis.

University of Turku, Finland

Jerry Schuchalter

Pragmatic Prophet: The Life of Michael Robert Zigler.

By Donald F. Durnbaugh. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1989. 416 pages. \$24.95.

Pragmatic Prophet is a most fascinating work dealing with the life of Michael Robert Zigler (1891–1985). In twenty-four chapters the author traces in detail the remarkable life of one of the major figures of the Brethren Church in this century. One is presented with an individual who rose from humble origins to excel in higher education and to dedicate his life to the mission of peace for which the Brethren have always stood.

The format of this volume concentrates upon the chronological events of Zigler's life. It is meticulously evolved from his birth to his leadership in his church, through his work after World War II, especially in Europe but also in Asia, to his energies in the quest for greater ecumenical activities among all churches of Christendom.

Each chapter is developed in detail and concentrates upon a particular aspect of Zigler's work within the service of his church. Some chapters begin with an introduction to the material to be presented; some end with a summation of the preceding writing. Perhaps it may have been prudent to organize each chapter upon such a basis. In any event, the reader will never be at a loss to follow the life and thoughts of this most dynamic and loving man.

This tome offers valuable insight into the work of the Brethren Church and focuses extensively upon its mission on behalf of peace, including pacifism, which, of course, is a major tenet of Brethren teaching. It illuminates the work in common with the two other Christian pacifist groups and with additional Christian denominations which, if not pacifist as such, are dedicated to the sacredness of human life and to the responsibility of each individual for the dignity of his fellow man. This includes also interracial concerns, internationality concerns, and interreligious beliefs. How else could Zigler express his Christian agape if he were not active in each one of these areas?

Of particular interest to the scholar, and to readers in general, are the chapters dealing with the ecumenical outreach of the Brethren within their own

five separate branches to one another and to other Christian denominations. One gains major insight into the delicate balance within the Brethren Church.

Of major import are the chapters dealing with the relief work of the Brethren Church, especially in Europe after World War II. Working out of Switzerland, the Brethren were active, not only in devastated Central Europe, but also in Western and Eastern Europe. It would seem that the Brethren and especially, Zigler, made a humanitarian contribution of such a magnitude which only those who suffered can really appreciate.

This study is a major source not only for a theologian but also for a historian, especially one interested in the cultural and intellectual history of the twentieth century. One finds oneself in American society of the twentieth century with all its advantages and disadvantages and in the traumatic years of Europe following the Second World War.

The organization of this volume can be followed with alacrity. Extensive footnotes appear at the end of each chapter; the reader is never at a loss for source material. Interspersed throughout the chapters are quotes from Zigler's letters and speeches and from letters written to him. These offer other scholars incentive for further research.

The appendices, too, are extensive and offer further impetus for future work. A bibliography of Zigler's writings, of major scholarly value needless to mention, rounds out this volume together with a bibliography of articles and books dealing with the thoughts and the undertakings of Zigler. Printing errors are extremely few. This book culminates in an extensive photo collection which highlights the life of such a remarkable individual. An extensive index will assist all in researching still further in the life and thoughts of Zigler and the Brethren Church in general.

So much can, has been, and will continue to be written about Zigler. Perhaps the following quote by the actor Don Murray will offer further insight into a remarkable life:

Unlike Caesar, Napoleon, Hitler, M. R. Zigler left no armies, no altered borders, no booty to divide. Unlike Homer, Plato, Shakespeare, Voltaire, he left no great literature as his legacy. He has left only us. Left us to each other. Left us to ourselves. But insofar as he's left an enlightened us, a dedicated us, he has not left children of a lesser god, but children of the Only God.

He has left PEACE-MAKERS.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60.

By David A. Gerber. *Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989. 531 pages. \$34.95.

This is a major work, centered in Buffalo and its German community, but with implications that go far beyond them. David Gerber could draw upon a solid basis of earlier works on the city by Laurence Glasco, Andrew Yox, Michael B. Katz and others. But the interpretations are very much his own, buttressed by a prodigious amount of research and an eye for the telling detail in German and English primary sources that is documented by an even one hundred pages of notes.

Gerber has been able to reconstruct the social geography of his home city

even below the ward level, almost on a block-by-block basis. Using the R. G. Dun credit reports to good effect, he presents a vivid portrait of the modest but widespread property holdings and the mentality that accompanied it in the artisan and small business milieu of the German neighborhoods on the East Side. But this is more than just urban history "from the bottom up."

This book goes beyond the garden-variety ethnic community study in several important respects. The first is the concept of "ethnicization": ethnic consciousness did not arrive fully formed; it only gradually developed through a fusing of "Old World cultural inheritance . . . and New World experiences" (118). Second is the multi-ethnic perspective. Besides the Germans it also examines the Irish, and old-stock Anglo-Americans and their more recently arrived British and Canadian cohorts. But because of the German numerical prominence in Buffalo and because they, in their interactions with Americans, provide the best example of the developing pluralism that is the central thesis of the book, Germans loom large in Gerber's overall account. (They rate more than a full page of index entries; Irish less than one half.)

Gerber draws upon the insights of various "new" histories of the last generation while avoiding most of their shortcomings, particularly their compartmentalization. And he presents their (and his) findings in language accessible to the general reader, getting by with only one table and a handful of correlation coefficients for the entire book. While his picture of antebellum ethnicity does not diverge greatly from existing scholarship, he contributes a much more nuanced view that gives proper attention to the interrelationships involved. His social history is not isolated from the political, and his political history is cognizant of the crucial variable of power. Ethnoreligious identity and social class are posed as interactive rather than alternative sources of political affiliation. Like many other historians, Gerber recognizes the diversity of the German element, but he also realizes that the fault lines ran in different directions on various issues, and by no means inevitably led to fragmentation or impotence. Catholicism did not always mean hostility to the Republican party, nor were German Catholics themselves always unified. A good example of these complex interrelationships is the bitter trusteeship controversy in St. Louis Parish. The lay trustees who faced down the bishop were largely Alsatians, the oldest and most prosperous subgroup of Catholic Germans and one with a strong tradition of trusteeship in their homeland, they were likely to be active in secular *Vereine*, and they were among the most promising Catholic recruits to the Republican party. Similarly, most scholars of both labor and religious history have assumed that there was minimal overlap between *Kirchendeutsche* and *Vereinsdeutsche*, but Gerber actually investigates the question and finds that independent-minded Alsatian Catholics and more liberal Protestants often belonged to secular societies.

The Making of an American Pluralism traces political developments through the nativist crisis of the 1850s down to the Republican triumph of 1860. By this time, most Americans realized that the quasi-official status of interdenominational Protestantism and its accompanying cultural agenda could no longer be upheld in the face of increasing ethnocultural diversity. What emerged was "not always equal but nonetheless mutual accommodations" (317), a pattern that has continued with subsequent immigrant groups ever since. While restricting his focus to Buffalo, Gerber documents developments which took place to a greater or lesser extent in most cities in the "German quadrangle" between Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, though native Republicans were not everywhere as capable of learning or as successful in recruiting German allies as those in Buffalo.

Thus both methodologically and substantively, this book has much to offer to members of the SGAS. One can only hope that it will be widely emulated, particularly in its comparative aspects.

Texas A&M University

Walter D. Kamphoefner

**Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America
Edited by Samuel Urlsperger.**

Edited by George Fenwick Jones. Volume XI (1747), translated by Eva Pulgram; Volume XII (1748), translated by Irmgard Neumann. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. 132 pages. Volume XIII (1749), translated by David Roth and George Fenwick Jones; Volume XIV (1750), translated by Eva Pulgram, Magdalene Hoffman-Loerzer and George Fenwick Jones. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. 245 pages. Volume XV (1751-1752), translated by George Fenwick Jones. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990. 327 pages. \$40.00 per book.

In 1734, just two years after the colony's founding, some two hundred Lutherans from Salzburg arrived in Georgia, thereby beginning a most remarkable and fascinating chapter in southeastern German-American history. Like so many of their fellow countrymen to the north in Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Virginia, the Salzburger Exiles, as they are now known, have left us with extensive written records of their experiences in the New World, mostly in the form of letters and diaries. Their spiritual and secular leader, the Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius, theological graduate of the University of Halle and a man of multiple talents including agricultural and commercial, was even charged by colonial authorities in England and church sponsors in Augsburg, Germany, with submitting his daily reports to them at year's end, so that they might be examined to determine the progress of the community and eventually published. Thus, Boltzius's journals came into the hands of the senior Lutheran clergyman in Augsburg, Samuel Urlsperger, whose job it became to edit the contents and oversee their publication. Urlsperger apparently deleted, wherever possible, all mention of unpleasantness, and suppressed the proper names of those criticized by Boltzius for wayward or unchristianlike behavior. The first expurgated edition, containing extracts of journals 1-10 (Volumes I-X), was entitled *Ausführliche Nachrichten* (published 1743). This was followed by an inexplicable three-year lapse during which no reports were printed. Beginning in 1747 the series just as mysteriously resumed.

Over a quarter century ago George Fenwick Jones, then professor of German at the University of Maryland-College Park and since retired, assumed the mammoth task of overseeing the translating, editing and publishing of these chronicles into English, the first of which appeared in 1968. Jones, whose highly readable history *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Pr., 1984) earned him widespread praise in this field (see my review in the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter* 6.1 [1985]: 8), is without a doubt the foremost authority today on the subject of the Germans in colonial Georgia. Like Klaus Wust for Virginia and the late Dieter Cunz for Maryland, Jones exhibits his expertise through copious and ongoing publication. These volumes, too, should do much to enhance and strengthen his reputation.

The works themselves are quite extraordinary. After extremely concise, yet sufficient background remarks to each year's report, along with obligatory acknowledgements of financial support, Jones yields to Pastor Boltzius for

month-by-month, day-by-day accounts. Recurring themes include examples of Christian charity by the God-fearing citizens of the German community of Ebenezer; their many illnesses, sufferings, and, with God's mercy, deaths; and their frequent temptations and torments at the hands of godless outsiders—most of whom, it seems, were English-speaking. Far more interesting to today's scholars are likely to be the slightly less frequent discussions of weather, crop conditions, trade, and social events. On 17 January 1748, for instance, Boltzius comments at length about problems encountered with the rather limited amount of available currency in the colony:

In this country there is a lot of confusion about money in trading and in our dealings: we see hardly any English gold and silver money (since the law prohibits in strict terms the export of such coins from England), and copper coins do not stay in this country for very long either, since the captains of vessels from New York and Pennsylvania buy them up because their value there is almost twice what it is here and in England. (7-8)

He concludes somewhat wistfully by stating: "I cannot understand why the money in a king's country cannot have the same value, regardless of whether it is made of silver, paper, or leather" (9). Would that he could have lived a few centuries later! In agricultural affairs Boltzius seems to have been exceptionally gifted, advising the planting of hardy Sicilian wheat rather than the weaker northern strains; and supervising the growing silk and timber industries, which by 1750, according to Jones, provided the principal economic sustenance of the community. Through Boltzius's eyes—and pen—one can still relive the daily occurrences of a place and time nearly two-and-a-half centuries past. These people become amazingly familiar to us; their joys and sorrows incredibly real.

Less satisfactory is, at times, the translation itself. Although it is unquestionably accurate, it is also too often literal. When, for example, on Thursday, the 28th of April 1748 "[t]he pious Mrs. Thomas Bacher received a deep impression from her old husband's departure from the world . . ." (40), there can be no doubt as to how the original German text reads. Nevertheless, such an archaic style detracts from the expected flow of a twentieth-century rendition. Jones would have been better served by making all his translations modern and idiomatic, and, if necessary, saying so in his introductions. More to his credit, however, is the fact that each meticulously documented volume concludes with a thorough index which will be invaluable to future scholars using these reports for reference.

The dedication of Jones, the organizations which sponsored him, and the University of Georgia Press to this painstaking endeavor is most commendable. It is rare that a venture of this sort gets the attention, let alone the support it deserves. What both George Fenwick Jones and Johann Martin Boltzius have done through these fine volumes is to insure evermore that the history of the Germans in colonial Georgia will not be neglected.

Marshall University

Christopher L. Dolmetsch

Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration.

By Frederick C. Luebke. *Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. 198 pages. \$22.95.

Eight of these ten essays have been published elsewhere in whole or in part.

They range from a piece first appearing in 1965 which gave reasons for the conservatism of Luebke's own religious denomination, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, to a new historiographical essay on "what historians have learned during the past quarter-century about German immigrants and their place in American history."

In a brief introduction, Luebke explains how he broke away from the Missouri Synod historiography of "leaders, theology and institutional change" to a socio-historical interpretation based on his reading Oscar Handlin and H. Richard Niebuhr. Then he turned to socially interpreted political history inspired by historians Lee Benson and Samuel P. Hayes along with sociologists and political scientists. Later in his career, he explains, the cultural geographers and anthropologists guided his interests and methods.

Along the way, Luebke also broadened his concerns from the Great Plains and the Midwest to Germans all across the United States, and from the nineteenth century to the twentieth as well. His essay on German-American national leadership between the two world wars seems especially original. Three essays represent a further broadening of interest to study Germans in Brazil and to compare them with Germans in the United States. In pursuit of this interest, Luebke learned to read Portuguese.

In short, these essays form a documentary intellectual history of their author's development into a major figure in the revival of interest in German-America during the last twenty-five years. But the essays only refer to, and occasionally draw upon, their author's three book-length monographs: *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1800-1900* (1969), *The Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (1974), and *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (1987). The reviewer believes *The Bonds of Loyalty* remains Luebke's most impressive effort.

Concerning the individual essays, it is surprising how well the 1965 essay on the Missouri Synod has aged. The new epilogue is not to be missed for its blunt description of the "traditionalist revolution" which took place in the Missouri Synod from 1969 to 1974. The reader who wants more on this topic may wish to consult a little-noticed work not cited by Luebke: James E. Adams's *Preus of Missouri and the Great Lutheran Civil War* (1977) is filled with revealing detail despite an exposé tone and journalistic approach.

One of the best essays in the collection is the last one concerning recent historiography. While few German-language works are cited, the essay cites a wide array of English-language material and contains surprising insights. Note 34 is a valuable characterization of the body of historical writing about German-American religious groups. Note 37 is a brief but informed guide to basic works on German Jews in the United States. Toward the end of the essay, Luebke describes much of the research about Germans in the colonial period as lacking "sophistication of concept and method." He notes several exceptions at different places in the essay. Another exception he might have noted is A. G. Roeber, "The Origin and Transfer of German-American Concepts of Property and Inheritance," *Perspectives in American History*, n.s. 3 (1986): 115-71.

For all its attempted breadth, a social-scientific approach to the issues of the historiography of German immigration to the nineteenth-century Midwest seems to flavor this entire collection. To what extent that is due to its author and to what extent that is due to the field of German-American history in our day is open to question.

States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years: Lectures from the Tricentennial of the Germantown Protest against Slavery.

Edited by Randall M. Miller. Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989. 101 pages.

This collection of five lectures is a first attempt to analyze inter-group relations between blacks and Germans in America. Readers expecting to find a wealth of information on interpersonal relationships, shared cultural experiences, economic ties, or political alliances between the two groups over a three-hundred-year time span will be disappointed. Most of the articles focus on one aspect of the subject—namely, the German-American position towards slavery and related issues. The editor's comprehensive introductory essay, in which he identifies the circumstances under which Germans and blacks interacted with each other throughout the nation's history, is a welcome supplement to the lectures.

One common thesis which emerges from the book is that, contrary to popular belief, the German-Americans were not champions of the antislavery movement, and did not as a group support abolitionism. This reassessment of German attitudes toward slavery is especially brought out in three of the papers: Gary B. Nash's article on the events leading to Pennsylvania's gradual abolition act of 1780, Leroy T. Hopkins's study of Germans and blacks in nineteenth-century Lancaster County, and Terry G. Jordan's paper focusing on Texas Germans. Richard Blackett's article analyzes the responses of several ethnic groups to a proposal made by the American Colonization Society, which would relocate free blacks in African settlements. It does not, however, devote a great deal of attention to German-American reactions to the movement.

The complexity of German-American attitudes toward slavery is well portrayed in James M. Bergquist's article, "The Mid-Nineteenth-Century Slavery Crisis and the German Americans." Bergquist shows how it was not always possible for German-Americans to cast their votes for antislavery candidates, without endorsing at the same time certain political positions that were discriminatory against Germans and other ethnic groups. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was introduced in 1854—an act which provided a legal basis for introducing slavery in these territories—most of the candidates opposing the bill also espoused nativist or temperance views.

Each article in the book is amply documented with notes that will be helpful for further research into this uncharted subject. The correspondence of German immigrants to those left behind in Europe is one source that was not fully utilized in this study. A number of letters in recently published collections, including "*Amerika ist ein freies Land . . .*" (1985), and *Briefe aus Amerika* (1988), show the range in attitudes of German immigrants toward blacks.

There is a consensus among the contributors that there was no single German viewpoint toward blacks. It would be interesting to turn the equation around, and see if any conclusions can be reached about the blacks' perceptions of Germans. Some answers might be found by investigating the interaction between the two groups in the educational sphere. Consider, for example, that Moravian schools extended bilingual instruction to blacks as early as the eighteenth century, and other German religious denominations organized German-English schools for black children in the nineteenth century. The Indianapolis public school board's first petition for German language instruction in schools came *not* from the German-Americans, but from a group of the city's black citizens. At their own request, the blacks in Cincinnati public schools received German instruction, at first in segregated "colored" schools, then later

in the city's integrated school system. Today, black children comprise approximately one-half of the enrollment in public German-English magnet schools in Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Pittsburgh.

In his preface, the editor lists several intriguing facets of the German-black experience in America that ought to be addressed. He further states that the book's success "hinges on the questions it raises more than any that it might answer" (xi). *States of Progress* certainly meets that goal by leaving the reader with a desire to see additional research into this provocative subject.

Ohio State University/Mansfield

Carolyn R. Toth

Sketches of Urban and Cultural Life in North America.

By Friedrich Ratzel. Translated and edited by Stewart A. Stehlin. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1988. xiii + 319 pages. Cloth, \$38.00. Paper, \$15.00.

Historians have long recognized the value of travel accounts for viewing a particular age through the eyes of contemporaries. This is especially true, as Stewart A. Stehlin points out in his valuable introduction, in the case of an observer who himself was a trained academic, in this instance a geographer who later gained prominence through his analysis of the relation of politics and the structure of the state to geographic forces—what he termed *Lebensraum*. Ratzel's account of his journey of 1873–74, first published in Germany in 1876, is significant because of his central thesis: that urbanization was the principal factor of progress and modernization, and that in this respect the United States was ahead of Europe. At a time when most Americans romanticized the frontier and rural life, Ratzel's emphasis on urban development was unique.

Although he visited numerous American cities, by organizing his observations and analysis around this urban theme, Ratzel was able to create an internal coherence for his sketches, as well as provide a comparative framework for the reader. Thus, Ratzel investigates the geographic location of a city, its effects on that city's development, the process of urbanization, the layout of a city, its educational, economic, transportation, and cultural facilities, and its potential for further development and growth. At the same time, he integrates these urban sketches into a broader perspective, showing not only how cities acted as a magnet for regional growth, but also how rural isolation was being overcome by the steady encroachment of urban influences. And in all of this, Ratzel sees the United States as a forerunner of an urbanizing process just then beginning to transform Germany and Europe.

In his analysis of American cities, Ratzel cites four distinguishing characteristics: the broad, straight streets; the heavy traffic; the small size of the average house (i.e., the prevalence of single-family housing); and the sharp division between business and residential areas. In addition, Ratzel emphasizes the extensive park areas in American cities and the vital importance of the superb American transportation system.

Although focusing on environmental factors, Ratzel makes it clear that a city grows to importance primarily because it knows how to exploit its location. Thus, Boston lags behind New York and Philadelphia because it cannot shake a certain provincial narrow-mindedness. By the same token, the southern cities cannot keep pace with their northern rivals not only because of the impact of the Civil War and the end of slavery, but because they exhibit a higher degree of indolence and lack of energy. Along the same lines, Ratzel provides a fascinating

analysis of why Chicago, the quintessential railroad city, was bound to outdistance St. Louis and Cincinnati, its contemporary rivals.

Nestled alongside his scholarly analyses are personal observations of various facets of American life—the open talkativeness of the people; the more advanced role and position of women; a distaste for American architecture; an ambivalence toward blacks, whom he regards as indolent and slovenly while sympathizing with their long years of oppression; and a recognition of some of the negative consequences of too rapid development.

Ultimately, though, Ratzel's account is fascinating because of his uncannily accurate insights into the ways American cities developed, why some grew more significant than others, and the impact they had on the general culture. This, then, is not a typical nineteenth-century travelogue, but the observations of a man who sensed that he was witnessing an era of great change and who understood that urbanization was becoming the motive force for modernization in the Western world.

East Tennessee State University

Stephen G. Fritz

Amerikanische Einwanderungswerbung in Deutschland 1845–1914.

By Ingrid Schöberl. *Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, vol. 6. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990. 254 pages. DM 48.00.

Ever since William Penn published an appeal to Germans in 1681 to immigrate and join him in his "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania, there have been several attempts by individuals or groups to encourage German immigration to the United States. But not until 1845, when Michigan became the first American state officially to attempt to encourage immigration, did the scope of efforts to attract immigrants to the United States become broader. Through the Civil War's dreadful manpower drain, several American states became increasingly active in the postwar years in promotion of immigration.

It is this subject Ingrid Schöberl examines in her meticulously researched and well-written study on the activities on the part of several states to promote immigration in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I. In this first comprehensive study of its kind, Schöberl examines in seven well-organized chapters subjects such as the first beginnings of states' initiatives in the 1840s, the federal act of 1864 to encourage immigration, the organization, methods, and means of advertisement, cooperation as well as competition of states, the latter especially between northern and southern states. Although the southern states invested the most in trying to attract immigrants, immigrants preferred the North because land was more plentiful and cheaper than in the South. Schöberl properly limits herself to the states' initiatives, but also includes private sector efforts, such as the railroad companies, when they overlapped with the states' interests. She concludes with a chapter on official German reaction toward the American endeavors to promote immigration.

The promotional activities reflected sociodemographic conditions, economic cycles, shifting immigration policies, different perceptions of immigrants, e.g., with the "new immigration" from eastern and southern Europe beginning in the 1880s, and needs of the American labor market. But they also indicate social and economic conditions in Germany. It is always difficult to balance the amount of information on these complex issues with the main story, but Schöberl is able

to find the appropriate framework without rewriting the social and economic history of Germany and the United States in the nineteenth century.

The flow of information by letters between the already immigrated and the potential emigrant is pivotal in understanding the process of chain migration. Nobody chooses a *terra incognita* as his or her new home. Undoubtedly, personal ties between already emigrated family members, friends, and neighbors possess a greater priority in explaining the motives for emigration, especially when one considers the German social context where there existed a general mistrust against published official information.

Schöberl demonstrates in her concluding remarks that she is quite aware that American endeavors to attract immigrants were but one contributing factor in the complex structures of motivations which underlay the emigration process. She realizes the difficulty in assessing the actual success of the promotional efforts, especially since state legislatures did not approve funds for a statistical evaluation. Quantitatively speaking, we will never know how many immigrants actually left their home because of American promotional activities. This question, as Schöberl rightly points out, is not the appropriate one when examining emigration motivations. Presumably only a potential emigrant was interested in the promotional brochures the American states distributed in Germany. Their very existence for a considerable time span and their reception demonstrates their relevance. We have to know about these activities to understand better the complexities of push and pull forces within the migration process.

In addition to illustrations and statistical tables, this book includes an excellent index, which one seldom finds in German research literature.

Schöberl's study is another fine work in the series "Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (vol. 6), edited by Günter Moltmann, who also was Schöberl's adviser for this dissertation.

German Historical Institute, Washington, DC

Jörg Nagler

The First Description of Cincinnati and Other Ohio Settlements: The Travel Report of Johann Heckewelder (1792).

[Translated by H. A. Rattermann.] Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988. 71 pages. \$13.25.

This slender volume was a most appropriate German-American birthday present for the Queen City's 200th anniversary in 1988: the first description of the fledgling community and other pioneer settlements in the Ohio Valley. In 1792-93 Johann Gottlieb Ernst Heckewelder, the eminent Moravian missionary to the Indians, traveled, mostly in the company of General Putnam, from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to St. Vincent (Vincennes), Indiana. Fortunately, he captured his observations in a diary that was then published by the Halle historian and geographer Matthias C. Sprengel in the series *Auswahl der besten ausländischen geographischen und statistischen Nachrichten zur Aufklärung der Völkerkunde und Länderkunde* (1797). The genesis of the rediscovery and translation of this little gem is told in the editor's introduction. The original German version had remained virtually unknown in this country until H. A. Rattermann published excerpts in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1881). In 1887 the meritorious German-American historian translated the Cincinnati-area parts of the diary for

a lecture on the occasion of the city's centennial. The unpublished Rattermann manuscript was rediscovered by Tolzmann in time for the city's bicentennial.

The volume is divided into "Editor's Comments," "Rattermann's Introduction," "Heckewelder's Journal" with a conclusion by Rattermann, and "Notes" by Tolzmann.

Heckewelder was a keen and impartial observer of life in the Ohio Valley and its settlements during the late eighteenth-century frontier period when the Indians struggled fiercely against the white man's intrusion. With a few words he captured the essential features of the area, both natural and human. While basically quite impressed by what he saw, he did not hesitate to state that Cincinnati seemed "chiefly filled with bad people" (54). Despite the ever present dangers—ambush, kidnapping, scalping, killing—Heckewelder subscribed to Judge Symmes's policy that "love and friendship" with the Indians was "a better protection . . . than a regiment of soldiers" (57).

Rattermann, a German-Cincinnatian by choice, rated Heckewelder's account as "the most vivid picture of Cincinnati and the Ohio settlements." Tolzmann points to the publication of Heckewelder's journal in Germany as a contributing factor in making Cincinnati the destination for thousands of German immigrants.

The Travel Report of Johann Heckewelder in Rattermann's English-language version is not only fascinating for the scholarly community but for the general public as well.

Indiana University

Eberhard Reichmann

Catalog of the German-Americana Collection: University of Cincinnati.

By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. 2 vols. München, New York, London, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1990. xxxi + 447, 391 pages.

From the founding of the Society for German-American Studies in 1968 to the emergence of this field as a legitimate arena of academic endeavor, we have at long last—after perhaps excessive delays from the publisher, and after baited anticipation on the part of the academic community—the catalog of one of the major collections of German-Americana.

Consisting of two volumes, this catalog contains just over 5,000 entries of monographs, journals (and journal articles), letters, manuscripts, and newspaper clippings by and about German-Americans and German-Americana in the United States dating from the early periods to (essentially) the present day. The scholarship of Tolzmann as both librarian and historian of German-Americana is without a doubt paralleled by but few others. This, together with the wealth of material held in the German-Americana Collection at the University of Cincinnati has resulted in a magnificent reference tool.

The purpose of the catalog, as defined by Tolzmann, is fourfold:

. . . to provide access to one of the largest collections of German-Americana in the United States. . . . [To] provide the user with a basic reference manual to a substantial amount of source material in the field . . . [to] encourage further research and study of these various source materials. And, . . . to provide a model for the cataloging of the many fine regionally or specially focused collections of German-Americana. (ix)

The subject arrangement of the catalog basically runs the entire gamut from reference works, through history, literature, education, and social life, to

agriculture. Entries contain bibliographic data, collection numbers (as the collection itself comprises seven smaller collections), annotations (in most cases), and further references (in some cases).

The first aforementioned purpose is initially accomplished by a meticulously thorough historical description of the collection. In providing further access, Tolzmann has undertaken the indexing of fifteen major journals and series devoted to German-Americana. Among these are perhaps the best known and longest running: *American-German Review*, *Der Deutsche Pionier*, and *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses*. Also included are some lesser known journals: *Atlantis*, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung*, *Der Deutsche Kulturträger*, and *Die Glocke*. Additionally, "when considered necessary" (x), most of the entries for these journals, as well as the entries of the approximately two thousand monographs, carry with them annotations, some of which are quite lengthy, especially in the section entitled "Works by German-American Authors." Finally, an index to entry numbers, rather than page numbers, fills out the work.

The catalog itself proves to be the embodiment of a basic reference manual, thereby satisfying the second of the proposed purposes. The third purpose is a noble aspiration indeed—the desire to encourage further research and study. However, the catalog can by no means accomplish this on its own, although it certainly establishes a firm foundation where before only scattered pieces could be found. Providing a model for the cataloging of other collections—the fourth purpose—would be more than helpful. Were other indexers and bibliographers to take a similar, if not identical, approach (at least within the foci of specific collections), the task of researching German-Americana would be greatly simplified. This, however, will only be proved over the course of time.

If there is one weakness of this work, it would have to lie in the content of some of the annotations. In many instances the annotations are simply English translations of the German title. This may or may not be indicative of the entire content of an article or monograph. On the other hand, there does not seem to be much purpose in annotating, for example: "Die Deutschen in Illinois" simply as: "On Illinois Germans" (265). Perhaps a bit more specific information could have been extracted from this article (as well as others) in order to indicate a special slant or focus taken by the author, or even any notable names. Granted, the "aim has been to keep [the annotations] . . . concise . . ." (xi), however, it is disappointing that the number of annotations falling into this category is so high.

Perhaps the greatest achievement manifested by these two volumes is the enduring efforts of Tolzmann to bring to the scholarly community the treasures within the walls of the University of Cincinnati. In conclusion, I highly recommend this work and believe it will be of invaluable use in the field of German-American studies.

Ohio State University

Cary S. Daniel

German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context.

By Carolyn R. Toth. *New German-American Studies / Neue deutsch-amerikanische Studien*, vol. 2. New York, Bern, Frankfurt a.M., Paris: Lang, 1990. xii + 201 pages.

Toth's informative and readable study, the second volume in a promising new series, is divided into nine chapters. The first two examine the early history of German schools in America. In some senses, this section is a condensed

summary of a complex topic. But it is not merely a recapitulation of the basics. In the first place, a thorough history of the subject, which might have been summarized, does not exist, so the author has had to locate many short studies devoted to aspects of the topic, regions of the country, and even individual schools; in the second place, Toth offers interesting comments on nineteenth-century pedagogy from a twentieth-century perspective.

The next two chapters turn to the Cincinnati schools, from the pre-history of the founding of the first public bilingual program in 1840 to the end of the tradition with the First World War. The program was remarkably successful. From 327 in 1841, enrollment climbed to 15,119 in 1875. It then remained fairly constant ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 until it declined sharply in 1917 and disappeared a year later. "It was not until 1959 that foreign languages were reinstated in Cincinnati's public elementary schools" (91), and by then the damage—from a German perspective—had been done: whereas more than 50% of Cincinnati children were enrolled in a German-American bilingual school in 1875 (61), of the FLES classes initiated in 1959 only 20% were German, the rest French and Spanish.

Chapters five through seven are devoted to the rebirth and evolution of German bilingual education in Cincinnati after World War II. Originally created by the school board as part of an alternative-school system for the purpose of avoiding involuntary busing, the German bilingual school was—and remains—an unqualified success. Not only was racial balance achieved, but the pupils excel in English and math, as well as in German. The degree of fluency attained by pupils in the program is perceived by teachers to be rather high, although no objective way to verify the degree of fluency has been found.

The final two chapters return to the "historical context," in this case other contemporary examples, and their relationship to the Cincinnati experience. Programs in Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Pittsburgh that are similar to Cincinnati's are briefly discussed; as Toth rightly remarks, with reference to the difficulty in evaluating the effectiveness of the German instruction noted above, "Now that the Kansas City German bilingual school has enlarged the German bilingual pupil population, it is becoming feasible to design studies of a comparative nature in German bilingual education" (174). Contemporary Amish and Hutterite schools are also discussed. A sixteen-page bibliography and comprehensive index conclude the book.

Toth has written a specialized, detailed study, primarily aimed at those interested in the history of education and more specifically, of course, in German bilingual schools. The scholarship is consistently impressive, but not stupefying: both the German and educationese are translated. The appropriate secondary literature has been utilized, and especially in chapters 5–7 extensive use is made of personal interviews and unpublished materials. One missing element, which can and surely will be the subject of a future study, in the otherwise meticulous research is a systematic selection of interviews with graduates of the present program. It is, of course and alas, too late to conduct a significant number of interviews with the graduates of the original program.

The potential readership, however, does not end with pedagogues. Most members of the SGAS will find at last some aspects of the book valuable. And given the political framework of recent bilingual education, any of the following could benefit from Toth's final two chapters: concerned parents in troubled school districts, school board members and other politicians, and, for that matter, any taxpayer, any citizen concerned about the quality of American schools.

Changes in an Obsolescing Language: Pennsylvania German in West Virginia.
By Silke Van Ness. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990. xiv + 161 pages.

Changes in an Obsolescing Language: Pennsylvania German in West Virginia (COL) examines the variety of Pennsylvania German and its variation as spoken in Sugar Grove and Franklin in Pendleton County, West Virginia. By analyzing forms elicited from eleven informants, COL focuses on the structural consequences of language attrition. Chapter one presents very abbreviated summaries of past research in language attrition, on Pennsylvania German language maintenance, and on the history and geography of Pendleton County. Chapter two describes each informant and gives Van Ness's subjective evaluation of their Pennsylvania German language skills. Chapter three presents the data and analysis for phonological changes, chapter four for morphological changes, and chapter five for syntactic changes. Each of the three chapters on structure emphasizes the features which exhibit "the most profound differences between Standard PaG and the West Virginia PaG" (4). COL analyzes the differences by viewing the diverging structures as innovations due to contact with English, as archaisms due to the isolation of the West Virginia communities, or as decayed variants due to the language attrition process.

Because of flawed methodological assumptions, COL fails to achieve its purpose of documenting changes in West Virginia Pennsylvania German (WVPaG) as an example of a dying language. Additional questions regarding the fieldwork and the failure of COL to view WVPaG within the context of attested varieties of Pennsylvania German limit the usefulness of the data and render the analysis suspect. I will focus on some of the most disturbing problems.

The greatest obstacle to a presentation of change in COL is its unacceptable answer to the question, change from what? COL uses Standard Pennsylvania German (SPaG) as a comparative norm, defined as follows: "The term 'Standard PaG' is not meant to imply the existence of a homogeneous standard, but rather a 'generalized, normed' PaG, from which none of the other dialects have changed significantly" (vii). The COL version of the SPaG relies most heavily on Buffington and Barba (1954) and several works by Carroll E. Reed. Buffington and Barba state as their goal the establishment of a norm of usage (vi), not the presentation of attested forms of a community located in time and space; some of Reed's works are based on fieldwork (1941, for example), but others are not (1947, for example). One cannot assume that the SPaG with which COL compares specific grammatical structure was ever spoken in these West Virginia communities at any given time. In addition, COL argues that the West Virginia settlements were established before the so-called leveling of Pennsylvania German; this argument would also indicate that a SPaG was *not* spoken in these communities. The listing of differences between a hypothetical, unattested SPaG and WVPaG does not provide acceptable evidence for language change or attrition.

COL presents data elicited in interviews with eleven informants, only five of whom completed the questionnaire. Van Ness conducted the fieldwork within a two-week period using a revised and expanded version of the Reed-Seifert questionnaire of approximately one thousand lexical items and syntactic structures. Informants were asked to supply the translation for isolated lexical items, the Pennsylvania German equivalent of English sentences, and a free text narrative on taking a trip. Van Ness reports some of the informants' reactions to the interview tasks: "If I could have had your list the day before then I could have practiced some" (27) and "If I had long enough time to study these things,

maybe they'd come back in my mind" (26). This reviewer is very sensitive to such comments. I recall when Van Ness as a graduate student asked to interview some of my informants in central Pennsylvania. Afterwards, one complained to me, "She went so fast. I didn't have no time to think." I knew the informant to be an excellent speaker, as did the community where she often performed in Pennsylvania German skits. My point is not to criticize Van Ness, but to indicate that the methodology developed by the dialect geographers in the late 1930s is not adequate to provide evidence for language attrition.

Research on receding languages requires substantially more than a two-week visit on site, not only to gain the trust of the informants, but also to understand the discourse contexts in which informants find it appropriate to use the language. The fieldwork procedures used to gather data for *COL* preclude the full demonstration of the informants' Pennsylvania German language skills. Speaker #69, for example, states, "If I were with my brother (speaker 67) just a little while, I could pick it up right away again. I wish we could get together . . ." (22). This speaker is expressing how unnatural the interview task is for her. It is no wonder that informants became embarrassed (18), needed extensive coaching (29), or did not complete the questionnaire (17). One informant, for example, could not provide discourse on the topic taking a trip (23), but many rural (and especially elderly) informants would not be able to talk about a trip, not because of limited language skills, but because they do not take trips! Van Ness cannot know by using this methodology during a two-week stay whether speakers do not have the requisite language skills or simply find the interview task alien.

The analysis of translation data presents still other problems in *COL*, where pragmatically acceptable renderings are often considered linguistic deficiencies. For example, the speaker was to translate 'These apple trees are ours,' but produced the Pennsylvania German counterpart to 'These apple trees belong to me.' *COL* questions this translation as follows: "In this case, one can not be certain whether it was not again the case of a communication problem as opposed to linguistic deficiency." Similarly, *COL* interprets the past tense as "a form which to most of the speakers seemed to 'feel' more natural and, consequently, presented fewer problems" (110) when informants produced it instead of the required present. *COL* does not recognize that direct translation requires a skill quite separate from other language skills. In this unfamiliar task, speakers attend to items of content in the sentence to be translated, not to grammatical form. How well one can translate does not indicate how well one can speak a language.

Because *COL* does not present the data within the context of attested Pennsylvania German, the analysis is severely hampered. In many cases explanations are only very tentative; in other cases they are ad hoc, often ascribing change unnecessarily to contact with English. The *COL* treatment of aspect is a case in point. Reed's (1947) study of aspect is based on published Pennsylvania German, and his analysis is skewed because of that. Huffines (1986) finds substantial disagreement between spoken Pennsylvania German across interview tasks and Reed's analysis. Van Ness relies on Reed and her version of SPaG. Consequently, *COL* explains the frequent use of the progressive aspects (122) and the use of /duds/ (132) as interference from English. The aspectual usage of /du:ne/ is incorrectly analyzed as the emphatic used in interrogative and negative statements. No mention is made of the aspectual use of *als* to express repeated action in the past. Van Ness also misses some interesting features in her data which would support the argument of an early separation of WVPaG from other varieties of Pennsylvania German. The

exclusive use of /tsu/ with infinitives, for example, contrasts with other varieties of Pennsylvania German which have replaced /tsu/ with /far/ (Huffines 1989).

What value does COL have for the language research community? The value does not lie in its analysis of change. The methodology does not support that analysis. COL is valuable for its presentation of elicited forms by individual informants grouped by location. While the forms are limited and may not present a complete picture of the status of Pennsylvania German in West Virginia, their existence will be helpful to others who use attested forms as a point of departure within a broader Pennsylvania German context. For that contribution, we can be grateful.

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Marion Lois Huffines

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