# Book Reviews

*Edited by Marc Pierce*

## Music, Art, and Film

**Music and the New Global Culture: From the Great Exhibitions to the Jazz Age.**
*By Harry Liebersohn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. 336 pp. $97 (cloth), $32 (paper).*

From around 1850 through the outbreak of the First World War, culture, or rather people, ideas, and objects moved in new and unprecedented ways. European colonial expansion and conflict, scientific and technological advances, as well as the industrialization of daily life created a maelstrom of change that left few aspects of human life untouched. In the realm of music, this period witnessed the invention of the phonograph, the acceleration of the European encounter with non-Western music, as well as gave rise to the deafening noise of the modern industrial city. Under the pressure of such change, traditional understandings of what music meant, what it could or should be, became difficult, if not impossible to maintain.

Historian Harry Liebersohn's *Music and the New Global Culture* traces the lives and works of historical figures who embraced, catalyzed, and in even more significant ways embodied this new, emerging, global modern culture. To start, Liebersohn focusses on individuals not from traditional centers of music culture, but its margins. Neither composers nor critics nor even music educators at conservatories, they are academic outsiders, amateur inventors, scientists, craftspeople, immigrants, and entrepreneurs. Aside

from marginality, mobility is another key characteristic of this study's main protagonists. So while the historical subjects at the center of Liebersohn's narrative all originated in one of three national contexts (Germany, England, or the United States), they made their most significant contributions to music culture between, or better beyond the traditional boundaries of these states.

The work itself is organized into three thematic sections that reflect this outside-in approach to music history: craft, science, and commerce. In the first section on craft, Liebersohn uses the biographies of instrument collectors Carl Engel, a German immigrant to England, and Alfred James Hipkins, originally an English piano tuner of great renown, to track the evolution of ideas and practices that produced European knowledge of non-Western music. Before the advent of sound recording, this meant above all the study and collection of musical instruments from various world traditions. This section charts the organization and cataloguing techniques of Engel and Hipkins and suggests they approached non-Western music with neither hubris nor notions of superiority, but with openness, understanding, and appreciation. As Liebersohn suggests, these qualities were not accidental, but, at least in part, a function of these figures' own experiences of migration and the global dimensions of their lives.

The second section is on science and continues the back-and-forth exchange between Germany and England. Specifically, it explores the transnational origins of ethnomusicology via Alexander J. Ellis and Carl Stumpf. Both were interested, on the one hand, in situating Western music within world music traditions and, on the other, in finding unbiased ways to represent and understand non-Western music systems. Against the grain of much discourse in this period, Ellis, for instance, viewed the European tonal system not as natural or universally valid, but as the product of historical accident and error. What was required for cross-cultural musical comparison was a new system, which he then supplied in his 1885 essay "On the Musical Scales of Various Nations." By dividing each semitone of the diatonic scale into one hundred gradations, Ellis created the cent system, a means of representing any individual tone without forcing its translation into the limited Western system of notation. While Ellis's ideas did not fall upon fertile ground in England, in Berlin, a small group around the psychologist Carl Stumpf began to elaborate on his ideas and methods, eventually creating the new academic field of *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* (comparative musicology or ethnomusicology). Like Ellis, Stumpf at first sought out visiting global musicians as sources for his comparative analyses, a telling example of the global interconnectivity of the nineteenth century European metropolis. Then, in 1900, Stumpf selected Erich Moritz von Hornbostel,

an Austrian-Jewish scholar, to lead a new *Phonogramm-Archiv*, whose mission was to record, document, and preserve world music cultures. While the introduction of the phonograph meant that Hornbostel and Stumpf no longer needed to visit entertainment venues in Berlin, the introduction of this new technology hardly untethered the archive from European colonialism and global capitalism. Apart from their obvious reliance on local, indigenous performers, Hornbostel and the Berlin archive developed extensive contacts with German travelers, missionaries, and businesspeople across the globe who were responsible for conducting the on-site recordings.

In the final section on commerce, Liebersohn builds on the motif of interpersonal interconnectivity through a discussion of the early recording industry. Rather than to technology, he looks at human interaction, esp. between Western and non-Western actors, as central to the development of the new marketplace for sound. Much of this argument proceeds via a comparative global history of Thomas Edison's and Emile Berliner's firms. Whereas Edison marketed his American technology and repertoire primarily on the basis of their supposed "superiority," the German-Jewish American immigrant Berliner valued adaptation to local market demands. Relying heavily on regional expertise, Berliner's company produced unique recordings for individual regions using local artists. Liebersohn shows this strategy at work through a discussion of the peripatetic career of sound engineer Fred Gaisberg, detailing, for example, the latter's collaboration with the singer Gauhar Jaan in India. Berliner and Gaisberg's lives and approach embody what Liebersohn calls "practical transnationalism" (233), a form of Western global engagement that, while not disavowing white, male, colonial privilege, was equally marked by relative receptivity and respect for non-European, non-white actors. While such practical transnationalism did not erase or even necessarily oppose inequity between Western corporations like Berliner's and indigenous peoples, it did open up new spaces of possibility for "genres of music…that no longer fit the old cultural molds," that is to say, for genres of music that "were expressions of transit, modern urban experience, and encounters between classes and peoples long held apart" (236). Though his study ends on the eve of the First World War, Liebersohn uses the conclusion to argue that the global conflict accelerated rather than gave rise to fundamental changes after 1918. To take one example, Liebersohn claims that the rise of jazz in the 1920s represents not so much a radical departure from the pre-war era than an "unleashing" (253) of prior cultural shifts. Though generally persuasive, given the presence of the term "jazz age" in the book's subtitle, a more substantive reading of the dissemination of jazz in light of his argument would have been a welcome addition.

Wide-ranging in scope, yet with equal attentiveness to detail, Liebersohn's study offers innovative takes on a number of key questions within globalization studies as well as music and sound studies. First, the transnational, comparative framework of *Music and the New Global Culture* adds significantly to our understanding of the origins of ethnomusicology, the history of the recording industry, and of popular music more broadly speaking. Second, his focus on human interaction, especially his centering of experiences of marginality and migration in shaping cross-cultural encounters, offers a compelling counterpoint to more technology-driven approaches to these subjects. As a result, this work will particularly valuable to scholars interested in the role of migration in shaping cultural creativity and music in the late-nineteenth century.

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**George Grosz in Berlin: The Relentless Eye.**
*By Sabine Rewald. With an essay by Ian Buruma. New Haven and London: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, distributed byYale University Press, 2022. 180 pp. $45.*

Georg Grosz is, of course, well known in Germany with *Das Kleine Grosz Museum* in Berlin dedicated to him. By contrast, the first and last display of his works in the U.S., where he spent time in New York in exile, was at the Whitney Museum of American Art in 1954. Hence, an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art planned for summer 2022 was intended to bring renewed attention to this famous and notorious artist but fell victim to COVID-19. Fortunately, the *Staatsgalerie Stuttgart* took over the project, and it was turned into reality there from November 2022 to February 2023.

This catalogue, which has been published in both in English and German (*Georg Grosz in Berlin: Das unerbittliche Auge*), consists of two richly illustrated essays: Sabine Rewald's "George Grosz in Berlin. The Relentless Eye" and Ian Buruma's "A Voluptuous Rage." The subsequent catalogue as such with further text on individual paintings and sketches makes up the majority of the volume. Notes on the essays and catalogue, a selected bibliography and index complete the catalogue.

Rewald's longer essay is more biographical in nature as she traces Grosz's beginnings, early influences, devastating experience of World War I, the exceedingly critical view of Weimar society, his dabbling in communism, participation in the Dada movement, Italian Pittura Metafisica and Neue

Sachlichkeit, and the artistic successes that made him the famous, hated and popular artist he was. As we know, his street scenes, bar, café and restaurant interiors, prostitutes, wounded soldiers and corrupt politicians, profiteers and bigoted clergy are brutal in their satiric depiction of the moral decay that Grosz perceived in Weimar Germany, especially in Berlin. A series of trials between 1921 and 1931 for defamation of the Reichswehr, offending public morality and religious blasphemy only enhanced his notoriety. Nazi Germany ended up classifying his art as "degenerate," and so it may very well have saved his life that he accepted a position to teach at the Art Students League in New York starting in June 1932. As necessary as this essay is to set the stage for the exhibition and catalogue as such, it does not present any particularly new perspectives on Grosz.

In contrast, Buruma's shorter essay takes an interesting stab at getting beyond the obviously politically critical aspect of Grosz's work. He sees the artist's rage as having also had an aspect of attraction to his subject matter: "What gives his best pictures so much zest is the love that was always mixed with the hate, the love of clothes, American myths, life in the big city, art, sex. The not-so-guilty secret of Grosz's art is that he was rather bourgeois himself. Even in his angriest, most graffiti-like images, there is an interesting tension between revolutionary provocation and the homme moyen sensuel" (49). According to Buruma, Grosz identified with the people he so detested: "He got a kick out of his own disgust" (52). It is a thesis convincingly presented and worth considering, and one that lets the reader view the subsequent drawings and paintings of the catalogue itself in a new light. These drawings and paintings also reveal the great variety of Grosz's work that extends beyond the images of Weimar Berlin that we typically associate with him and include his forays into Futurism and, at the other end of the spectrum, a poignant realism with high sympathy for the subjects he portrayed.

As the catalogue title clearly states, the focus is on Grosz in Berlin when his art was much more provocative. Once he made it to the "country of my longing" (39), he embraced the U.S., and his art lost a lot of its critical power. In fact, Grosz apparently fantasized about becoming a Norman Rockwell kind of illustrator. This development is unfortunately only briefly sketched, and thus the German American studies scholar left somewhat hanging in that regard. Nonetheless, the catalogue is a high-quality contribution to the continuing fascination with one of the most unique Weimar artists.

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**Lyonel Feininger: Portrait eines Lebens.**
*Von Andreas Platthaus. Rowohlt Berlin Verlag, 2021, 448 Seiten, Euro 28.*

Andreas Platthaus legt hier eine dicht gewobene Künstlerbiographie vor. Der Chef der Ressorts Literatur und Literarisches Leben bei der *Frankfurter Allgemeinen Zeitung* hat gründlich recherchiert und Informationen über den amerikanischen Maler Lyonel Feininger zusammengetragen, die er detailreich und spannend geschrieben an den Leser weitergibt. Die zum Teil jedoch überlangen Sätze erfordern volle Konzentration, die Informationen sind so eng gesetzt, dass sie beim Lesen keine Entspannungsabschnitte zulassen. Eigentlich könnten drei weitere in das Buch eingearbeitete Biographien ein Durchatmen ermöglichen, aber auch diese sind in ihrer Ausführlichkeit nicht dazu angetan, dem Leser Erholungspausen zu gönnen. Bei aller Informationsdichte weiß man den Menschen Lyonel Feininger nicht recht einzuordnen, was aber vielleicht auch an dessen Widersprüchlichkeit liegt. Selbst dem Autor scheint es gelegentlich so zu gehen, oder würde er sonst ein Kapitel mit dem Satz beginnen, ein Charakteristikum Feiningers war die Treue zu Menschen und Orten, nur um im letzten Satz desselben Kapitel darauf hinzuweisen, dass Feininger einem wichtigen Vorsatz untreu wurde. Der Anfangssatz über die Treue geht darüber hinweg, dass Feininger seine erste Ehefrau, die Halbjüdin Clara Fürst und seine zwei kleinen Töchter verließ, um seine neue (ebenfalls verheiratete) Liebe, Julia Berg, zu heiraten und drei Söhne zu zeugen. Zwar zahlte er regelmäßig Alimente, aber die erste Familie scheint für ihn keine wichtige Rolle mehr gespielt zu haben. Ein großer Teil der in die Biographie eingeflossenen Informationen ergibt sich aus dem umfangreichen Briefwechsel Feiningers mit seiner Frau Julia. Interessant in diesem Zusammenhang ist der Hinweis in Platthaus' Danksagung, dass er zwar einerseits, unter erheblichen Schwierigkeiten, Zugang zu dem Original-Briefwechsel hatte, teilweise aber nur auf Feiningers Briefe in einer von dessen Frau für die Öffentlichkeit geschönten Version zurückgreifen konnte. Wie auch immer - was Platthaus wunderbar schafft, ist, den Künstler Feininger und sein Werk lebendig werden zu lassen. Die Analyse seiner Kunstwerke wird kenntnisreich eingerahmt von zeitgenössischen Stellungnahmen.

Das 448 Seiten umspannende Werk enthält sowohl Photographien, die Einblick in Feiningers Privatleben bieten, als auch eine Vielzahl seiner Werke, angefangen mit den Karikaturen/Comics, mit denen Feiningers künstlerischer Werdegang ursprünglich begann. Dieser Magier der Leinwand, der sich auch mit Zeichnungen, Aquarellen und Holzschnitten hervortat, ging seinen Weg unbeirrt, nachdem er sich für die Malerei bzw. Kunst entschieden hatte. Es hätte auch anders kommen können, denn als Kind zweier Musiker, der zudem ein begabter Geiger war, schien für kurze Zeit in jungen Jahren seine berufliche Zukunft in der Musik zu liegen. Der Amerikaner Feininger lebte

fast 50 Jahre in Deutschland, hegte zunächst sogar Sympathien für Hitler, entschied sich 1937 aber für eine Rückkehr nach Amerika, da seine (wenn auch getaufte) Frau Jüdin war. Kurz nach der Ankunft in Amerika wurde seine Kunst in Deutschland als "entartet" bewertet. Auf in Deutschland erstellte Naturskizzen zurückgreifend, malte Feininger bis zu seinem Tode.

Wie oben bereits angesprochen, wird in diesem Buch das Leben dreier weiterer Personen ausführlich geschildert und natürlich in Beziehung zu Feininger gesetzt. Da diese Biographien mehr als ein Viertel des Buches ausmachen, ist es wert, kurz auch auf sie einzugehen. Da ist zum einen Galka Scheyer, die sich seit 1924 darum bemühte, der aus den Malern Alexej Jawlensky, Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee und Wassily Kandinsky bestehenden Künstlergruppe "Die blaue Vier" ("The blue four") zu Bekanntheit und Ruhm in Amerika zu verhelfen. Die drei anderen Maler außer Jawlensky waren Bauhaus-Künstler und -dozenten. An dieser von dem Architekten Walter Gropius 1919 gegründeten Kunstschule war Feininger der einzige Künstler, der von Anfang bis zur Auflösung als Formmeister wirkte und über einige Jahre, wenn es ihm auch eher lästig war, lehrte.

Der Kunsthistoriker Alois Schardt erwarb als Direktor des Städtischen Museums für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe in Halle diverse Werke von Bauhaus-Künstlern, darunter der von der Stadt Halle an Feininger in Auftrag gegebene, letztendlich aus 11 Gemälden bestehende berühmte Halle-Zyklus, sowie 29 Zeichnungen Feiningers. Als Wegbereiter der Moderne ließ Schardt sich auch von zunehmenden, durch die Naziregierung verursachten Restriktionen nicht von seinem Einsatz für moderne Kunst abhalten. 1939 ging er ins amerikanische Exil.

Den dritten biographischen Abstecher unternimmt Platthaus bezüglich Marguerite Friedländer (Wildenhain), eine deutsch-englische Keramikerin und Porzellangestalterin, die in ihrem Freund Feininger ein Vorbild sah: Sie bewunderte dessen Konzentration auf die eigene Arbeit.

"Die Lehre stand für Feininger im Dienst seiner Kunst, aber zugleich bot sie die Möglichkeit, anderen das Selbstverständnis beizubringen, dass alles im Leben dem kreativen Schaffen unterzuordnen sei." (305) Die Künstlerin jüdischer Abstammung setzte die einfache und strenge Lehre des Bauhaus-Konzepts sehr erfolgreich in den USA um, wohin sie nach mehrjährigem Aufenthalt in Holland 1940 emigrierte.

Man möchte sich nach der Lektüre des Buches unverzüglich ins Lyonel Feininger Museum in Quedlinburg (Sachsen-Anhalt) begeben, das einzige Feininger-Museum weltweit. Es ist zugleich Ausstellungshaus für Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts und der Gegenwart.

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**A Critical History of German Film, 2nd Edition.**
*By Stephen Brockmann. Rochester: Camden House, 2020. 677 pp. $60.00.*

The second edition of Stephen Brockmann's *A Critical History of German Film* expands upon his first, highly serviceable iteration (2010) to include more contemporary films and round out the initial canon set forth in his first survey of German cinema. Indeed, the bulk of the updates (approximately 150 additional pages) in this volume consist of new film analyses, leaving much of the introductory and previous treatments of films untouched.

Brockmann's text begins with an introduction that creates intentional links between the fields of German studies and critical film history. What follows are thirty-nine chapters in seven parts that cover a period of German film history, e.g., Weimar Cinema or Postwar West German Cinema. Each part begins with an historical overview of both the film industry at that period and any relevant German cultural and political context, followed by films that the author deems emblematic of that period in Germany's long cinematic history. For his tome, Brockmann begins with the first presentation in 1895 at Berlin's Wintergarten theater by the Skladanowsky brothers of short, early movies and works his way through the next one hundred and twenty years to close with a brief conclusion that situates German cinema's future within a global cinematic discussion (13, 643-45). Brockmann expands the final paragraph from the first iteration to meditate on the roles of reality and truth in image as a way of understanding how moving images fit into our daily lives and perceptions (643-645). While an interesting jumping off point, this conclusion to the volume, which purports to think about the prospects of German cinema, takes an abstract turn in thinking about the role of media and the viewer and is a bit incongruous to the preceding meticulous examination of German films, its personnel, and history. Moreover, the challenges Brockmann suggests affect the future of German films, i.e., streaming services and individualized screenings via personal communication devices; the impact of Hollywood globally; digital vs. analog filmmaking (641-643), are hardly unique to this national cinema but are existential perils that cinema faces worldwide.

Of course, with only thirty-two films to represent the entirety of German cinema, this book is a rather traditional disciplinary interpretation of German film studies, mainly focusing on many famous and well-regarded films and common, chronologically-based markers of this national cinema. The films presented were all produced in Germany and in the German language, which largely sidesteps the issues of German directors, actors, camera operators, etc. in exile, e.g., Fritz Lang's *Fury* (1936) or the émigré-filled *Casablanca* (1942) and contemporary films made by German directors in the English language,

e.g., Wim Wenders' *Paris, Texas* (1984) or Tom Tykwer's *Perfume: The Story of a Murderer* (2006). While such films and discussions of German film may garner a mention within the text, Brockmann resists opening his definition of German cinema, which, given his approach, makes sense and creates an understandable framework for approaching this national cinema.

And, as with texts that mainly deal with canonical works, some frustrating blind spots to Brockmann's updated edition emerge. While a thorough investigation of the greatest hits—from *Metropolis* to *Triumph des Willens* to *Lola rennt*—and even a few films lesser known outside Germany, e.g., *Rossini*, the volume does little more than nod at queer cinema or experimental cinema within Germany's borders. It does a little better at including women filmmakers, with the incorporation of three additional films made by women (in comparison to only one film in the original), but representation of a diverse and multicultural Germany on film falls largely to a reading of superstar director Fatih Akin's *Gegen die Wand*.

However, the upside of Brockmann's approach to presenting German film history in such a neat package is that the volume lends itself well to teaching. Because Brockmann does not stray far from well-known films and directors, even in this expanded edition, many films are widely available in both physical and digital, i.e., streaming formats, to screen, and the clear and straightforward manner of writing provides an easy entry point for anyone interested in Germany's film history. In addition, this book is an excellent companion text for someone teaching a straightforward survey of German cinema. Students will learn both film criticism and analysis, as well as about various film periods in the national film history. Brockmann excels at providing important contextual information to situate players within the film industry through extensive production histories or to help readers understand the impact of historical events on the films he studies. And, while perhaps not providing entirely new analyses, his research pulls together most of the important and well-known discussions of the films cited, particularly within German Studies, and related cultural theories, e.g., a discussion of Freud's *Unheimliche* and castration anxiety in relation to *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari*. Indeed, with its conversational tone and familiar asides, this text is highly accessible both in language and format and recommended for a broad audience.

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**History**

**Inside the Texas Revolution: The Enigmatic Memoir of Herman Ehrenberg**.
*Edited by James E. Crisp, with the assistance of Louis E. Brister and translated by Louis E. Brister, with the assistance of James C. Kearney. Austin: Texas State Historical Association, 2021. 680 pp. $40.00.*

James E. Crisp, currently Professor Emeritus of History at North Carolina State University, has been researching and writing about Texas history for over half a century. At the beginning of his career, Crisp read a typescript of Edgar William Bartholomae's 1925 master's thesis ("A Translation of H. Ehrenberg's *Fahrten und Schicksale eines Deutschen in Texas*, with Introduction and Notes") in the basement of the Old Tower Library at the University of Texas at Austin. Twenty years later, in December 1992, Crisp returned to Ehrenberg when he realized that the anti-Mexican language attributed to Sam Houston had actually been written by Ehrenberg. Crisp set the record straight on this point, but, as he explains, "I was still haunted by the actual author of the 'Houston Speech'—the mysterious teenaged volunteer whose own origins and ancestry no one seemed to know for sure" (xvi). *Inside the Texas Revolution* is the result of Crisp's fascination with Ehrenberg and his determination "to solve as many as possible of the mysteries that enveloped his life and his memoir of the Texas Revolution" (xvi).

Ehrenberg has both fascinated and puzzled scholars for nearly one hundred years. Bartholomae got Ehrenberg's birthday and place of birth wrong. The first published book-length translation of Ehrenberg's narrative (*With Milam and Fannin: Adventures of a German Boy in Texas' Revolution*) mangled Ehrenberg's life in an attempt to make the book suitable for children. Benjamin Sacks discovered that U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater's grandfather knew Ehrenberg in the Arizona Territory. Crisp and Brister began collaborating on a new translation of Ehrenberg's narrative in the 1990s. Although the translation was completed by the end of that decade, Crisp felt that there were "too many anomalies and 'black holes' in Ehrenberg's known life to proceed with immediate publication" (6). *Inside the Texas Revolution* does not just offer a translation of Ehrenberg's narrative, it is another example of historical detective work, like Crisp's *Sleuthing the Alamo: Davy Crockett's Last Stand and Other Mysteries of the Texas Revolution*. Crisp and Brister's work provides a biography of a complicated man who often misrepresented events or exaggerated his participation in some of the key moments of the Texas Revolution.

Readers who wish to read Ehrenberg's narrative without any editorial interventions should skip the chapter introductions and the endnotes. However, Crisp cautions, readers need to be aware that Ehrenberg "wrote to entertain as well as to inform, and thus not all of his statements should be taken at face value" (17). Consequently, it makes sense to read the chapter introductions and the endnotes at the same time as Ehrenberg's text to comprehend the volume as fully as possible. Ehrenberg, as he described Texas and its revolution, also wrote for German readers. A lengthy defense of independence and self-government in chapter three, for example, was intended for German readers and anticipated the revolution that erupted in 1848. Ehrenberg's account of the battle of Coleto, the lives of the prisoners, the massacre, and his escape, as well as his subsequent travels after his escape, offer an important perspective about common soldiers during the Texas Revolution. Some of Ehrenberg's text borders on fantastic – for instance, his assertion that he turned himself in to the Mexican army and, moreover, got into a verbal sparring match with General José de Urrea! Still, even fiction such as this can hold important lessons for scholars and readers. A lengthy Epilogue follows Ehrenberg from the end of the Texas Revolution through his untimely death in Arizona Territory and explains how he gradually faded from memory.

*Inside the Texas Revolution* makes important contributions to understandings of the Texas Revolution and early Texas history. This book will work in classes examining Texas history, Nineteenth Century U.S. History, the history of race and racism, immigration and ethnicity, and in classes dealing with historical methods. The information in this volume is important, but so is the careful detective work of the authors that allowed them to create a full portrait of an enigmatic German who fought in the Texas Revolution and the complicated record of events he left in his narrative.

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**The Missouri Home Guard: Protecting the Missouri Home Front During the Great War.**
*By Petra DeWitt. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2022. 242 pp. $40.*

In this book, Petra DeWitt has produced an interesting and highly readable study of a hitherto neglected institution. In examining the Missouri Home Guard, DeWitt uses this World War I-era civilian adjunct to the more widely known National Guard as an opportunity to explore broader questions

of manhood, patriotism, and race in the early twentieth century. The Home Guard was one manifestation of the preparedness movement in the United States, asking able-bodied men to voluntarily devote time to military and survival training in preparation for future military service or to ready its members to take up the state-level mission of the National Guard while the latter was deployed overseas. The Home Guard also fulfilled important symbolic functions, as its members publicly drilled, participated in parades and other spectacles, and served as one way for men on the home front to publicly brandish their patriotic credentials. DeWitt possibly overstates the case when she contends that for Missourians this organization "became *the* [emphasis original] visual representation of a war fought thousands of miles away," (5) but it undoubtedly was of a piece with similar organizations in other states. It was certainly a key element in a mass-mobilized propaganda, fundraising, and recruitment effort that drew upon a network of what Christopher Capozzola has designated "coercive volunteerism" in his *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (2010).

*The Missouri Home Guard* is organized thematically across eight chapters. The first explores the broader history of militia service in Missouri and contextualizes the wartime movement to train and arm the organization's members, who disproportionately hailed from white-collar backgrounds, amid fears of neurasthenia and feminization brought on by industrialization and professionalization. After establishing this ideological grounding, the next chapter turns to the Home Guard's actual formation, composition, and resources. Exploring its constituent units one by one, DeWitt suggests that this could be an arena for conflict between German-Americans and other ethnic groups, particularly in areas that had seen German-Americans mobilize disproportionately in favor of the Union some fifty years before (33-34). Chapter three highlights the logistical difficulties the Home Guard encountered in securing supplies and weapons, before the fourth chapter looks at the social dynamics of the organization's members. In particular, DeWitt argues that "Serving in the Home Guard also defined who was patriotic and who was disloyal" (64) both in men's initial decisions to volunteer and to keep up with training requirements over time.

Chapter five contains perhaps the most engaging of the book's thematic investigations, exploring the efforts by black Missourians to form and support segregated Home Guard units. DeWitt contextualizes their actions within the broader history of racial minorities advancing claims to citizenship both through military service and an emphasis on respectability politics. On a practical level, too, DeWitt suggests the "The establishment of a Home Guard

was… not just an expression of patriotism for African American men but also reflected the need for self-defense and protection from a white mob" (88) as race riots erupted in Missouri and nationwide in 1917-18. Although black communities' efforts met with imperfect success and their opportunities were often limited by local conditions, this is a fascinating glimpse into competing motivations for and forms of quasi-military organization, and a useful contribution to the historiography of black military service broadly.

The sixth chapter holds out a potentially fascinating glimpse into how gendered expectations shaped women's contributions to the war effort, but the reader might be left disappointed by its brevity. Though DeWitt amply demonstrates that Missouri women seized upon the prewar preparedness movement and wartime mobilization to challenge conventional gender roles and to push for suffrage, relatively little of this activity seems to be related to the Missouri Home Guard as such. This is presumably due to a dearth of sources, but is perhaps also an opportunity for future research. The much longer seventh chapter details the Home Guard's law enforcement and symbolic tasks – most prominently strikebreaking – that it took over from the National Guard. It is in this section that DeWitt most clearly demonstrates the Home Guard's usefulness as a quasi-military establishment, struggles with supplies and membership retention notwithstanding. Chapter eight concludes with the Home Guard's disbanding in 1919 and an assessment of its legacy, summing up their contributions by arguing that "the Home Guard assured a relatively quiet home front for Missouri… In short, they helped preserve the state's image of loyalty despite the presence of a sizeable population that opposed the war" (139).

While limited in geographical and chronological scope, *The Missouri Home Guard* is a worthwhile and eminently readable study. Readers familiar with the German-American World War I experience will note that, as DeWitt identifies throughout the book, demands of loyalty were backed by a state-sponsored, potentially coercive organization. Historians of militia service will recognize in the Home Guard a path not taken, whose relative laxity and reliance on volunteerism stands in contrast to the National Guard system that was codified around the turn of the twentieth century. Above all, students of social history will appreciate DeWitt's ability to deftly link local, state, and national social and political trends.

*University of Wisconsin* *Michael Kaelin*

**The Mind in Exile: Thomas Mann in Princeton.**
*By Stanley Corngold. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2022. 280 pp. $34.95.*

The juxtaposition of Thomas Mann, Princeton University, and Stanley Corngold on the title page offers great promise for the reader. Although Corngold is most often associated with his work on Kafka, his reputation as a distinguished scholar, particularly in German literature and philosophy, precedes him. Princeton, of course, is a prestigious university known to many as host to several intellectual refugees from Nazi Germany, most notably Albert Einstein. Thomas Mann spent the initial two and one-half years of his fifteen-year sojourn in the United States at Princeton after his works were banned in Germany and his citizenship rescinded. As the bulk of Mann's time in America was spent in the Los Angeles area, Corngold's text offers the possibility of illuminating a lesser-known period in Mann's American exile. Moreover, to those of us who trained in the 1960s and '70s, a discussion which evokes the memory of Germanists of the stature of Harry Levin, Victor Lange, and Theodore Ziolkowski is a particular treat.

Much of the promise of the title is, in fact, realized. In his preface, Corngold establishes both his own credentials as an expert on Mann and his intention of "reviving our cultural memory of Thomas Mann at Princeton" (xiv) by recalling his own early years as a young assistant professor and the ultimate rehabilitation of Mann in the wake of the dismissals of his work by Paul de Man and deconstructionism. The first of the five chapters establishes the parameters of the discussion—Mann's literary and political writings and lectures during the two and one-half years between September 1938 and March 1940—and sets the scene admirably by recounting the details of the Mann family's move from Europe to New Jersey in some detail. The chapter establishes an almost intimate atmosphere which combines entries from Mann's letters and diaries with descriptions of the house in which the Manns took up residence in Princeton. Particularly noteworthy is the mention of Erich Kahler, a good friend and neighbor in Princeton, and of Mann's son-in-law Giuseppe Antonio Borgese. Both were willing interlocutors in earnest discussions on the state of German culture under the Nazis and potential American involvement in the political situation in Europe. Corngold's remarks on the frequency and intensity of those discussions highlight their importance for Mann as a newly arrived exile who took his role in representing the best of German values and encouraging the American public (and President Roosevelt) to support the war against Hitler and fascism quite seriously.

The tone of the first chapter endures in the third and fifth chapters, "A Roundup of Political Themes" and "Toward a Conclusion" respectively. The

writing is clear, and Corngold's knowledge and erudition contribute considerably to the reader's understanding of both the political situation in America and the role Mann's lectures and writings played in influencing public opinion in the United States. Corngold includes and comments on excerpts from Mann's diaries which provide insight into Mann's efforts to find the time to be the representative of all that was good in German culture while leaving enough time to devote himself to his literary writing. Chapters two and four, on the other hand, differ significantly in approach.

The second and fourth chapters, with 119 and sixty pages respectively, constitute more than eighty percent of the text. Of the two, chapter two is not only considerably longer but also for me the most problematic of the five. Although Corngold provides a short, three-page prologue, the text, entitled "Reflections of a Political Man," contains sixteen separate lectures or articles published during the time of Mann's residence in Princeton with only a minimum of commentary. By conscious design Corngold presents "… what Mann wrote in his moment" (28) with very little "intervention." Despite what might be seen as a high-minded goal of letting the reader "savor" Mann's words without guidance, the decision seems unfortunate. The title of the chapter itself alludes to Mann's fraught relationship with politics and his long-term struggles to preserve the notion of German culture as he understands it while fighting the perversions of that culture under Hitler and continuing to represent the best of the German spirit in his literary endeavors. The problem becomes even more complex in the United States as Mann tries to balance his need to write on a daily basis with the demands made on him by his university assignments as well as his desire to use his influence and reputation to urge the United States to actively join the war against fascism. To truly appreciate and evaluate the value and impact of the various pieces, one needs to be a particularly sophisticated reader well-versed in Mann's works and attitudes as well as the particular moment in American history.

The fourth chapter "Thomas Mann, Nobel Laureate," deals with Mann's literary and philosophical output during his time in Princeton—work on *Lotte in Weimar*, Freud, Wagner, *Die vertauschten Köpfe*, and later sections of the "Joseph cycle". The political situation in America and Europe, which was crucial to an understanding of the import and impact of the works discussed in the second chapter, plays little role here. Mann's artistic concerns predominate, and the mix of diary entries, other commentary, and Corngold's glosses make the text eminently readable, instructive, and illuminating. The sense of intimacy which made the first chapter in particular so rewarding is lacking but has been replaced by a discussion which makes excellent use of the three elements which seem so promising on the title page—Mann's own thoughts

on the situation, the unique situation in Princeton in the late 1930s, and Stanley Corngold's ability to assess the combination.

*The Mind in Exile* has much to recommend it. There are many biographies of Thomas Mann and numerous studies of his literary and philosophical output, and the material presented is not new per se, but only Stanley Corngold has the experience and insight to bring the disparate elements together. The amalgam is unique and well worth the effort which the reader might need to bring to some parts of the text, the second chapter in particular.

*Loyola University Maryland* *Randall P. Donaldson*

**Surveillance, the Cold War, and Latin American Literature.**
*By Daniel Noemi Voionmaa. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. 290 pp. $99.99.*

Postmodernist critiques of modernity and the intertwining of knowledge and power have been ubiquitous within critical scholarship for at least the past 50 years. *Surveillance, the Cold War, and Latin American Literature* by Daniel Noemi Voionmaa attempts to expand the theorization of the panoptical gaze by exploring the effects of surveillance and secret police agencies on the writings and lives of Latin American literary figures during the Cold War. By delving into archives in Mexico, Chile, and Guatemala, Voionmaa investigates the secret police reports on Gabriel García Márquez, Pablo Neruda, Octavio Paz, Elena Poniatowska, José Revueltas, Otto René Castillo, and Carlos Cerda. Voionmaa, who formerly taught at the University of Michigan, where he began the project resulting in this book before joining the faculty at Northeastern University, frequently contributes to *El Desconcierto*, the most significant online daily in Chile, explaining the strong emphasis on Pablo Neruda and Chilean records in this book. By examining records from 1950 to 1989, *Surveillance* argues that the Cold War through surveillance, recordkeeping, and archival production itself created an objective reality in order to control narrative and transform Latin American society.

Chapter 1 is a breakdown of the theoretical framework the author uses in his analysis; a trajectory of social control—the gaze—based on perspective and surveillance with its theoretical origins in the Italian Renaissance with Filippo Brundelleschi's 'Perspectiva artificialis,' further developed by Bentham's panopticon, Robert Barker's panorama, discussed by Foucault, and finally perfected by Cold War governments. Chapter 2 applies this theoretical framework to the archive itself, where Voionmaa examines archives as

artificial knowledge products and producers. Chapter 3 examines the rise of anticommunism and its modern gaze towards Asturias and Neruda. Chapter 4 takes us out of Latin America towards East Germany where surveillance of Carlos Cerda by the Stasi is revealed via the Stasi archives. Chapters 5, 6 and 7 examine the surveillance apparatuses of the governments in Chile, Mexico, and Guatemala and how these tactics influenced the writings of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, Jose Revueltas, Otto Rene Castillo, Mario Payeras.

What the author does in this study is done well, but there are certain issues that could arise depending on the reader. This book is heavily theorized, and not intended for a popular audience. Frequent name drops and quotations assume the reader will have a thorough background in post-modernist literature to appreciate and understand the full context in which Voionmaa is working. For example, statements such as "Crime control is a calamity; it is hard to escape the absurdity of this endeavor. There is an attempt to measure, classify, regulate, and to control reality, which only brings us back to Linnaeus, reminding us of Foucault's ideas, reminding us of paintings where there is a central point from which, as Alberti explains, there are 'straight lines to each of the divisions we have established in the baseline'" (126) require a thorough understanding of the philosophical underpinnings of postmodernist critiques to completely understand the author's point. Additionally, the author tends to wax and wane poetically in his writing. While making for a more enjoyable read, this style may turn off some scholars used to more formal paragraph structure with introductory sentences stating the main idea of each paragraph. For instance, the author begins one paragraph with, "Journey and labyrinth. Entering the archive is first and foremost a journey of searching" (42) and begins another with, "The aerial gaze. Horror penned from above; airplanes that fly over the fragile Guatemalan democracy." (58) The scope of the book is ambitious, yet the author's emphasis on Chile and Chileans remains obvious. A more balanced structure in the book with each nation given equal weight and analysis would have been apt for a project of this kind. Still, this book will be of interest to Germanists for its use of postmodernist critiques of East Germany and its examination of the effect of surveillance on a Chilean exile in GDR found in Chapter 4 entitled Spying and Knowledge: The Stasi and the File on Carlos Cerda.

*University of Iowa* *Samuel Boucher*

**The Burden of German History: A Transatlantic Life.**
*By Konrad H. Jarausch. New York/ Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2023. 188 pp. $120 hb; $29.95 e-book.*

In the interest of full disclosure, Konrad Jarausch was on my doctoral committee. In fact, I call him my "Doktorstiefvater" and was included among his genuine advisees in a collection of reminiscences presented to him in 2017. An anecdote from my early career gives a hint at his character. When I left for a postdoc in Germany, I was scheduled to give a paper at the Southern Historical Association, and Konrad agreed to read it for me. As I later learned, he introduced it with the following quip: "In the old German tradition a busy *Ordinarius* would send his *Assistent* to a conference to read a paper for him; here in egalitarian America it's the other way around." So obviously I am much indebted to Konrad but can also offer some close-up insights like this.

I have referred elsewhere to Jarausch's cohort as a fatherless generation—sometimes literally with war casualties, sometimes figuratively with men discredited by their complicity in the Nazi regime—for whom the United States was a big brother in the benign sense, rather than the Orwellian sense that it became for many younger Germans in the Vietnam era. Jarausch was fatherless in both respects, although his father's Protestant nationalism was tempered by empathy for the Russian POWs he administered—a *Reluctant Accomplice*, as characterized in the title of the volume of Konrad's letters from the Eastern Front published in 2011.

Jarausch deals with *The Burden of German History* at three levels: personally, with respect to the transatlantic history profession, and with German society and politics in general. At all three levels one detects a strong sense of personal responsibility. Jarausch has made important contributions to *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (confronting the German past), although he never uses that term.

For those not familiar with his life and work, Jarausch, born in 1941, left the "constricting and provincial" Adenauer Germany and family expectations behind at age 18, and used family connections for what was intended to be a "gap year" working in Wyoming. Instead, it turned into a B.A. in American Studies as co-valedictorian of the state university, and what Jarausch's conservative uncle called a veritable "America mania" (42). Similarly, MA studies to round out his American stay morphed into doctoral studies at the University of Wisconsin, this time in European history under émigré scholar Theodore Hamerow.

Jarausch and his new bride Hannelore were hired before their dissertations were completed by the University of Missouri. "Though it was no Harvard,

Mizzou was also no Wyoming" (64). Jarausch declined the offer of a C-4 professorship at Saarbrücken in 1976, but in 1983, frustrated by budget cuts under a Republican administration, he left Mizzou for a chair at the University of North Carolina, the self-described "Southern Part of Heaven." Before retirement he encountered the same kind or Republican retrenchment at UNC (80), but Jarausch found much to do in the interim, on a transatlantic basis. The fall of the Berlin Wall surprised him as much as the rest of us, but it opened up another entire field of activity. From 1998 to 2006 officially, and informally before then, Jarausch served as co-director of the Zentrum für Zeithistorische Forschung (ZZF: Center for Research in Contemporary History), spending eight months of the year in Potsdam.

The autobiographical sections of the book include many reflections on motivations and (shifting) identity: "the question of how to relate to my German identity after the war and the Holocaust continued to trouble me my entire life, since I found the excuses of the perpetrator generation for their ethnic nationalism utterly repugnant" (10-11). It records his mixed feelings when taking on American citizenship some thirteen years after arrival (90). It also portrays the challenges of a sometimes transatlantic marriage of two academics, now in its sixth decade. Wife Hannelore née Flessa, a professor of French, was also a German immigrant, albeit of the "1.5 generation," having arrived at age 8.

Sections of the book are a perfect historiographic introduction for graduate students in modern German history, because Jarausch has been in the mix with nearly all the recent debates. His dissertation and first major book (Wisconsin also published his MA thesis) was on Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann Hollweg, tracing Germany's course in World War I and walking a tightrope between "apologists like Gerhard Ritter . . . and Anglo-American scholars like A.J.P. Taylor [who] wrote in the accusatory vein of war propaganda" (68). (The most recent synthesis, Christopher Clark's *The Sleepwalkers* (2012) appears to have borne him out and is cited in his bibliography.) Jarausch next turned his attention to Germany's *Unfree Professions* and the *Rise of Academic Illiberalism* that led people like his father to fall prey to Nazi blandishments. In the process he added quantitative approaches to his methodological toolbox, constructing social profiles of German professionals and publishing a guide to quantification first in German (1985) and later in English (1991).

The collapse of the GDR and Jarausch's personal and scholarly involvement with this part of Germany and its recent history precipitated a changing focus and a dozen or so authored or (co)edited books in both languages on this place and time, among them *The Rush to German Unity* (1994). Jarausch's latest concerns have focused on history and memory, and the experiences of

ordinary Germans, especially his parents' generation, typified by the edition of his father's war correspondence, and by *Broken Lives: How Ordinary Germans Experienced the 20th Century* (2018).

Jarausch reflects on his role as a "transatlantic mediator, an insider and outsider on both sides" (95; see also 158-9). One advantage is illustrated when he told a Brandenburg official, "I don't need you. I have a US chair, but you need me" (106). It also equipped him to argue that "the Europeans have developed a credible alternative to the American way of life in terms of peace, prosperity, and equality" (141), one of the themes of his 2015 *Out of Ashes: A New History of Europe in the Twentieth Century*. In contrast to many "scholars [who] felt uncomfortable in this affirmative role" (162), Jarausch spells it out on his final page: "Though many Americans see themselves as teachers of democracy, even they can learn something from German history" (167).

*Texas A&M University* *Walter D. Kamphoefner*

**Moderate Modernity: The Newspaper *Tempo* and the Transformation of Weimar Democracy.**
*By Jochen Hung. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press. 274 pp. $75.00.*

If journalism is indeed the first rough draft of history, as the saying goes, then Jochen Hung's monograph reveals the complicated process by which such drafts are produced. Looking at the important, yet overlooked daily newspaper *Tempo* (1928-1933), this work explores how ideas of democracy and modernity were constructed and contested by this paper's editors, journalists and readers. Hung aims beyond the microhistorical, however, and intends to demonstrate with this case study that the Weimar Republic was characterized not only by the hyper-modernity of the avant-garde or the anti-modernity of reactionaries, but also by the moderate modernity of liberals.

The book itself is organized into three main chapters, each covering two-years of *Tempo*'s existence. In the first and longest chapter covering 1928 and 1929, Hung spends considerable time laying out the thematic foundations of his argument. He begins by noting the key role played by consumption and technology for *Tempo* in promulgating its vision of moderate modernity. Though many of the products featured in its regular column on new consumer technology (cars, vacuum machines, refrigerators, etc.) remained beyond the means of the paper's lower-middle class and white-collar readers, the "virtual consumption" (46) involved in reading about and desiring such products, helped readers buy into the idea of a prosperous future. In a similar vein, the United States, as a mecca of technology, consumerism and popular

culture, figured prominently as aspirational model within *Tempo*. A second theme here is democracy and democratic culture. As Hung convincingly shows, *Tempo* carved out a pro-democratic position that was not bound to any individual party, but to democracy as idea and process. Gender and the construction of masculinity and femininity comprise the third major theme. *Tempo* presented its young urban readership with a set of behavioral codes that placed rationality and *Sachlichkeit* (objectivity) above blind adherence to tradition. A case in point is the paper's positive reporting on the phenomenon of the *Kameradschaftsehe*, wherein women and men cohabitated for economic, rather than romantic reasons. Still and in evidence of its moderate, rather than radical modernity, on the matter of sexuality *Tempo* remained generally conservative, as Hung also shows.

Chapter 2 traces these same thematic elements for the following two years, 1930 and 1931. This period bore witness to spiking unemployment numbers, repeated breakdowns in the parliamentary system and, of course, the rise of the Nazi party. Like other media outlets, *Tempo* had been slow to perceive the Nazis as a threat to Weimar democracy. After the Nazi party's breakthrough performance in the September 1930 elections, *Tempo*, like other liberal media outlets, concluded that white-collar workers – the same demographic courted by the paper – had turned the tide for Hitler. Though as Hung points out, later historiography would debunk this notion, this conclusion resulted in a loss of faith in young, urban white-collar workers by *Tempo*'s and further moderated its stance toward democracy and modernity. While it remained a staunch defender of consumerism, US culture and phenomena like the American "Girl" came to be viewed much more critically. In sum, while far from abandoning its core principles, by the end of 1931 *Tempo*'s optimism had decelerated under the weight of the ongoing economic and political crisis.

The final substantive chapter covers 1932 through the paper's closure in late 1933. As Weimar democracy ground to a standstill, *Tempo* attempted to hold the line of rational politics by promoting the idea of fidelity to the state and the Weimar Constitution. In the run up to the 1932 presidential election in which Paul von Hindenburg squared off against Hitler, "*Tempo* did not call on its readers to support parliamentarism, the democratic system, or even the Republic, but much more basic values, such as personal freed and German culture itself" (193). This embrace of the aged Hindenburg was paired with growing skepticism toward youth culture, which increasingly came to be seen as dangerous and irrational. Following the appointment of Hitler to chancellor, the paper quickly became a target of Nazi attacks. The precarity of its position within the new state, coupled with precipitous declines in readership and advertisement revenue, led the Ullstein publishing house to shutter *Tempo*'s doors in August 1933.

The conclusion turns outward from Weimar to explore how the issues of democracy, technology, consumerism, "Americanism," and changing gender norms played out in interwar Britain, France, Japan and the US. Faced with similar, though hardly identical challenges, in each national context these same questions were vigorously debated, producing unique alternative modernities (a concept he takes from Dilip P. Gaonkar). Pushing back at the idea that Weimar liberal discourse was anomalous or a failure, he writes in the penultimate sentence of the monograph: "The moderate modernity constructed in *Tempo* did not pave the way for the Third Reich. Rather, it was a vision of the future, competing with the alternative modernities of the Nazis and other groups, over the definition of a modern German society" (239).

Hung's monograph is thoroughly researched and written in an engaging and convincing manner. The construction of the work around three sets of two-year intervals is highly effective at showing both the significant shifts in the liberal press' vision of modernity as well as revealing key continuities. That said, and acknowledging this is not Hung's focus, greater discussion of the role and meaning of print media in the period – within the political sphere, but even more so everyday practices – could have added significantly to the argument. As Hung notes, *Tempo* was not only a newspaper covering popular culture and consumption but part of popular culture itself. This minor quibble aside, *Moderate Modernity* makes an important and needed contribution to the historiography of the Weimar Republic and twentieth century German cultural and political history. Further examples of "moderate modernity" can undoubtedly be found within and outside Weimar-era discourse and Hung's work will prove essential to better contextualizing them.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee* *Jonathan Wipplinger*

**Asylum Between Nations: Refugees in a Revolutionary Era.**
*By Janet Polasky. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2023. 320 pp. $45.*

This study focuses on the migrations of thousands of Europeans who fled the French Revolution and the backlash after the Revolutions of 1848, and tracks their fates in destinations that were more open and welcoming than others: German Hamburg, Danish Altona, the federated Swiss Cantons, the newly independent Belgian monarchy, and the United States.

The perspective synthesizes masterfully philosophical and political tracts on the treatment of refugees with primary sources in letters and diaries that bring their circumstances to life. Janet Polasky, Presidential Professor of History at the University of New Hampshire, is the author of *Revolutions*

*without Borders: The Call to Liberty in the Atlantic World* (2015, Yale University Press), *Reforming Urban Labor: Routes to the City, Roots in the Country* (2010, Cornell University Press), *The Democratic Socialism of Emile Vandervelde: Between Reform and Revolution* (1995, London, Berg,) *and Revolution in Brussels, 1787-1793* (1987, University Press of New England). She draws from a wealth of sources.

Her synthesis is remarkable in light of scant uniformity in the stories of her subjects. It is, in effect, an exercise in hitting moving geographic and social targets. Some were wealthy, well educated, and had access to their wealth while in exile while others, just as wealthy and educated, had to take up trades of all sorts to get by. Many had extensive family and contacts in their new homes. Others started from scratch as strangers. Many found secure places in their new communities, married into society, joined prestigious organizations, and even sat on city councils. Others were not so fortunate and lived in perpetual flux. Many wished to settle permanently and sought citizenship. Others migrated many times until they found homes. Still others were content to live in a sort of suspended tourist status. Until the 48ers came to the United States, and even then, citizenship itself could be a moving target that shifted with the political wind: the number of refugees, the economic strength of the community, unemployment, and public opinion.

Such a kaleidoscope of fates tends to obscure generalized conclusions, and, yet, this history makes three important points for the times studied and those we are living in. First, the refugees in this study landed on their feet and established a level of security that made life possible for their heirs. Second, the communities that welcomed them benefitted from their presence economically and culturally. Third, the countries that can offer help in the twenty-first century need to prepare for an impending human disaster, namely, sea level rise. Millions of people, mostly but not only poor, will be driven from their homes and perhaps their countries. As Polasky asked, "Who will take them?" In spite of the Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, and the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, international law governing their treatment is "a Kafkaesque legal vacuum." Polasky does not go into the science in detail but it is worth mentioning that The United Nations Protocol on Climate Change has gravely misled the world on this danger by predicting only a one to three foot rise in this century when scientists agree that the average will be closer to ten feet, fifteen in the worst case--regardless of how we contain carbon to limit global warming. Disaster is rising around us. The time to talk and plan is now.

*Susquehanna University* *Susan M. Schürer*

**In Humboldt's Shadow: A Tragic History of German Ethnology.**
*By H. Glenn Penny. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2021. 230 pp. $32.00*

Do not be misled by the title of this beautifully written and fascinating volume. The great Alexander von Humboldt is present only as a beacon and éminence grise. A full history of German ethnology would need to cover the theories of Kulturkreise and cultural materialism and the gamut of scholars from Georg Forster to Adolf Ellegard Jensen. Instead, this is the story of one pivotal figure, Adolf Bastian (b. 1826), his successors, and their efforts to establish the Berlin Ethnological Museum. The story is indeed tragic, notwithstanding notable triumphs.

Bastian sidestepped evolutionism and diffusionism in favor of a program inspired by Humboldt's notion of *Kosmos*. He sought to confront the multitude of diverse world cultures holistically, in order to reveal a unitary human history. The literal workshop for this endeavor would be the ethnological museum, a massive warehouse of material culture items collected from around the planet. Bastian believed that material objects were virtually all that constituted the history of non-literate societies, and that they were concrete impressions of *Volksgeist*, the spirit of the people who made them. The process he envisioned needed to be a long and patient one, and like his protégé Franz Boas, who would later steer the development of American anthropology, Bastian eschewed grand theory in favor of careful collecting and analysis. Bastian and his followers valued everyday items as well as artworks and icons, and most understood that it was essential to gather native knowledge and environmental context along with the objects. Examination of cultural artifacts would reveal the *Weltanshauungen* (world views) of the world's peoples and disclose underlying natural laws of human development. It was also a form of *Bildung* (self-edification) for Bastian personally, and for Germans individually and collectively.

Bastian set the pace for acquisitions, traveling worldwide beginning in 1850, residing for half a year in a Burmese palace, hauling a crate of ancient bronze axe heads by mule through the snows and desert sands of Ecuador. Along the way he mastered local languages and published groundbreaking, thorough ethnologies. Almost everywhere he was aided by local networks of German officials and merchants, themselves often keen students of culture and collectors of antiquities.

Bastien was equally dogged in urging completion of a museum building in Berlin, and would be named its first director, but the facility was already inadequate when it opened in 1886. It lacked enough space and light to

function as the intended laboratory. Instead, select items were displayed in *Schausammlungen* (show collections), organized in simplistic didactic groupings, amounting to little more than a hall of wonders. The bulk of the collections were sent to storage. Bastian died in 1905 while visiting Trinidad, his vision compromised. Succeeding museum director Wilhelm von Bode preferred show collections and shifted museum resources from the sciences to the arts.

Nevertheless, Bastian's intrepid acolytes continued collecting, despite setbacks resulting from World War I. Felix von Luschan purchased precious carved ivory and many the famed Benin bronzes, ancient masterworks seized from the Nigerian kingdom in a British military action. Johan Jacobsen secured Native masks and skulls from Alaska. Franz Termer, aided by expatriate coffee capitalists, gathered glorious textiles in Guatemala. Africa, Asia, and Oceania yielded further booty. Hundreds of thousands of articles were amassed, and the German collections became so copious that sister museums sprung up in eighteen cities besides Berlin, and a brisk trade developed among them in duplicate artifacts.

World War II was, to the Bastian program as to all else, devastating. German ethnologists accommodated in various ways to the Nazi regime and its sinister construction of race science. Nazism disrupted the expatriate communities. As conflict approached the German homeland, the enormous holdings had to be dispersed and hidden; when the war ended much had been destroyed, seized by the Allies, or simply lost. Bastian's original building was demolished. An enduring aura of mystery and shame fell over the collections, which the author encountered during his doctoral research in the mid-1990s. The Soviets in East Germany were the first to enable some reconstruction of the German holdings. Unification led to more opportunities and motivations, and now about half of all the materials have been recovered, spurring recent efforts to establish a new museum.

There is a pathetic irony in how the cultural patrimonies of many far flung and often extinguished societies became the national treasure of a troubled modern state. But coming as it does in the wake of new works about Humboldt, and as the new museum, called the Humboldt Forum, takes shape, and as some of the Benin bronzes are being repatriated from London and Berlin to the Oba of Benin, Penny's account of the Bastian saga is timely. It will appeal to those interested museum studies, the history of science, and German cultural history, colonialism, and identity. Modern museologists will feel either expiation or despair upon reading how old and persistent their problems are. Others will reflect on the ethics of colonialism and its handmaiden anthropology, or marvel at the global reach of German influence and the energy of German intellectuals. Ultimately, Bastian offers

mediation between tribal and universal conceptions of humanity. Thus, the author concludes with a convincing plea to salvage Bastian's agenda, even as the formation of German national identity continues.

*University of Texas at San Antonio* *Daniel J. Gelo*

**Breathing in Manhattan: Carola Speads – The German Jewish Gymnastics Instructor Who Brought Mindfulness to America.**
*By Christoph Ribbat. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2023. 131 pp. $35.00.*

Christoph Ribbat, Professor of American Studies at Paderborn University, writes that every biography is "incomplete and subjective and any sense of unity just some construct cobbled together by the author" (113). In *Breathing in Manhattan*, a book previously published in German (*Die Atemlehrerin: Wie Carola Spitz aus Berlin floh und die Achtsamkeit nach New York mitnahm* [Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2020]), Ribbat has assembled the equivalent of an aesthetically-pleasing cobblestone road. What emerges is a picture of a German Jewish woman who, after fleeing Nazi Germany, remakes her life as an instructor of mindful breathing in New York City during the second half of the twentieth century.

Ribbat describes the life of Carola Speads – formerly Carola Henrietta Spitz/Spitzová and born Carola Joseph – through five chapters. These chapters describe her early career in Berlin, her participation in the "Wandervögel" movement, and her time as a student of Elsa Gindler, a gymnastics teacher interested in mindful movement and breathing, who allegedly "cured herself of tuberculosis" (36). In the 1920s, Carola was a licensed gymnastics instructor and ran her own studio in Berlin while also teaching for Gindler. That she was a registered member of the German Gymnastics Association meant "that she's an expert and not a quack" (40). In 1932 she married a man who owned a cigarette factory, Otto Spitz, a German-speaking Czech Jew, and everything changed. Here was a breathing expert who sometimes delivered cigarettes even as the Nazis campaigned against smoking. Economically privileged, and with her husband Otto's Czech passport, the family thought they were fine in Berlin until Otto was taken by the Gestapo and imprisoned in 1937. Ribbat provides a description of the process of Otto's release and the family's subsequent journey through Europe to the United States.

Carola and Otto settled among over 70,000 other German Jews in the Washington Heights neighborhood of Manhattan. When Otto's business failed, Carola supported the family by teaching and lecturing to massage ex-

perts, psychoanalysts, and Jewish organizations. Setting up a studio in an apartment adjacent to Central Park, Carola Speads distinguished herself from physical therapists by focusing on mindful breathing. She provided a relaxing environment for New Yorkers who concerned themselves with the Cold War while breathing in smog – the "city is prepared for nuclear attacks, but not for bad air" (23) – while she herself could not relax because of family and business stressors. In addition to taking clients (including psychotherapist Ruth Cohn and physiotherapist Berta Bobath) and teaching classes, Speads provided interviews on various topics. In 1970, a journalist for *Mademoiselle* referred to her as a "guru" (57). Her book, *Breathing: The ABC's* (New York: Harper, 1978) hit the market at a time when therapeutic culture was spreading across the United States.

Ribbat uses a variety of primary sources, including Otto and Carola's papers, her diaries and reports from teaching Gindler's courses, and an unpublished anthology of work by her students. He evidently took a Gindler course in Germany, and he also interviewed a number of experts and practitioners as well as Speads' students and acquaintances. This allows Ribbat to place Speads in the broader context of the mindfulness movement. In the final chapter he leads the reader through the geography of Speads' life in New York City. The text is supplemented with a few photographs, some by Speads herself of subjects in her studio.

The book contains a few typographical and grammatical errors, which may be translation issues. A major issue is the fact that endnote numbers are continuous throughout the chapters, but numbering of the notes themselves restarts per chapter. Some readers may find it disorienting that the chapters are not in chronological order. Ribbat interweaves present tense narrative with anecdotal renditions of earlier periods, and the text regularly flows from what is at times a bare narrative to bits of great detail to background and analysis.

*Breathing in Manhattan* shows clearly that while today's mindfulness trend may well be a passing fad, it has a complex history. Ribbat argues that the work of Speads and her contemporaries "had an emancipatory power for women" (105). The reader can decide whether Speads qualifies as a "subversive immigrant intellectual," however (106). Nevertheless, she had a lasting influence on the disciplines of physical therapy, psychoanalysis, and gestalt therapy.

The book provides an interesting study in escapism. Juxtaposing the death of Speads' mother and brother in Auschwitz with her life in New York helping others breathe and understand their bodies, the book "sheds light on the 20th century, which destroyed and limited so many lives and made so many biographies seem downright absurd" (107). The book is historical, yet

present, scholarly and rigorous, yet interesting and fun to read. The casual reader interested in New York immigration or German Jewish refugees and the modern mindfulness practitioner will both find value in it.

*Iowa State University* *Jesse David Chariton*

**Oktoberfest in Brazil. Domestic Tourism, Sensescapes, and German Brazilian Identity.**
*By Audrey Ricke. Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2023. 250 pp. $110.*

Audrey Ricke's *Oktoberfest in Brazil: Domestic Tourism, Sensescapes, and German Brazilian Identity* is one of the first ethnographies to analyze domestic tourism based on German cultural heritage in southern Brazil. Ricke focuses on the sensory experiences and emotions surrounding domestic tourism associated with German Brazilian cultural heritage, including the largest Oktoberfest in Blumenau, Santa Catarina (a city established by immigrants from what is today Germany).

The author introduces the "economy of aesthetics" as a new framework to analyze how the "sensescapes" function as a means for the negotiation of ethnic identities, national and transnational belonging, social distinctions, and human-environment relations. Ricke defines the frameworks as "the complex interactions among sensory experience, emotion, form (e.g., the organization or structure of movements and sounds), and their various social meanings and value systems." While the term "sensescapes" has been used in geography, tourism management, and anthropology, Ricke refers to it as "multivocal and multisensory lived experiences produced through interactions with culturally constructed and biophysical environments and with those that inhabit and move through these spaces." The unique contribution of the economy of aesthetics framework is its ability to capture sensory aspects of "culturally produced landscapes," such as gardening, folk-dance performances, and the Blumenau Oktoberfest, in the negotiation of belonging and citizenship.

For her book**,** Ricke interviewed people on all levels of government and tourism, tourists, university professors, students, employees of German cultural herniate tourism industry, elementary school teachers, merchants, band leaders, dance performers, local residents, and visitors from Germany.

Chapter one traces the history of Germans in Brazil from the first German-speaking immigrants in 1818 to public images of German Brazilians today. European countries and the United States have served as Brazil's reference

point for defining itself as a modern nation. Therefore, "The Making of Ethnic and National Imaginaries" explores how certain values, such as whiteness, modernity, and strong work ethic, became associated with German Brazilians and have influenced public opinion.

Ricke analyzes in chapter two how German Brazilians in the Itajai Valley cultivate their communities and identities through their relationship with the landscape. It illustrates how the lived experiences involved in creating, cultivating, and maintaining the gardens promote certain values, such as dedication to work. Ricke differentiates between modern- and traditional-style German gardens that can symbolize the movement into or retention of middle-class social identity as well as intergenerational distinctions.

Besides cultivating a German Brazilian identity through gardening, German folk dance performances have contributed to domestic tourism in southern Brazil. Chapter three illustrates how the economy of aesthetic serves to maintain ties with Germany and counter the public image of German Brazilians as *fechado* and *frio* ("being closed and reserved in personal interactions and not showing emotions"). By drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's social capital theory, Ricke argues that members of a German folk dance group can expand their social capital by producing connections within and across particular social groups. According to Ricke, the emotion of "natural joy" (*alegria* in Portuguese) can facilitate a connection to Brazilians audiences and overlaps with the German concept Gemütlichkeit, indicating a German transnational identity.

Ricke's last chapter focuses on how Blumenau's Oktoberfest creates "sensescapes" that promote sensory citizenship, shifting individuals' perception of German Brazilians. For two consecutive years, Ricke engaged in participant observation and interviewed approximately two hundred mostly (Southern) Brazilian tourists and local residents at the Oktoberfest and its associated activities. The *alegria* evoked by music, dance, and tourist interactions can influence and reinforce German Brazilians' social status as a group. Those experiences are juxtaposed with those of gender- (female beauty), race- (white), and class-based distinctions (middle-class), reflecting social exclusion.

Ricke succeeds in bringing a new perspective to tourism spaces with her emphasis on domestic tourism and her "economy of aesthetics" framework. *Oktoberfest in Brazil* is an important addition to ethnographies of Southern Brazil and German cultural heritage sites around the world. Even though Ricke created an engaging read with (sometimes too) personal stories, the garden and Oktoberfest chapters could be structured differently in order to avoid repetitive responses about work ethic and being *fechado* and *frio*. Due

to the location and nature of the Oktoberfest interviews, Ricke barley covers the surface with her qualitative (and partially quantitative) analysis of the paraphrased and translated statements.

Nevertheless, *Oktoberfest in Brazil* provides historical and contemporary insights into the politics of citizenship associated with German cultural heritage in Southern Brazil. Since tourism is constantly changing (as the COVID-19 pandemic has shown), the need to analyze and find different ways of communicating through sensory experiences has increased.

*College of William and Mary* *Sabine Waas*

**The *Heimatklänge* and the Danube Swabians in Milwaukee: A Model of Holistic Integration for a Displaced German Community.**
*By Julia Anderlé de Sylor. Bern: Peter Lang, 2021. 318 pp. 55,60 €.*

This book investigates how the *Heimatklänge* newsletters from the Danube Swabian community in Milwaukee by attempting to "provide insights into the challenges and successes" of the immigrant community. Key methods for this analysis and discussion is the defining of Structured Grounded Theory, as well as de Sylor's in-development Model of Holistic Integration. The Model of Holistic Integration is used to examine the trauma undergone by the immigrant community and how to reconcile these traumas with the challenges faced in their new homeland.

De Sylor begins with Chapter 1, introducing the community in focus and discussing the immigration of Danube Swabians to the Milwaukee region of Wisconsin. She highlights the importance of the Catholic religion to the immigrant community, as well as the impact of the religious connection to the newsletters in focus. De Sylor also spends time in Chapter 1 introducing the methods of analysis, namely the qualitative method of Structured Grounded Theory, which is inspired by Charmaz's Constructivist Grounded Theory. This method appears to have influenced the methods of coding the newsletters, with which de Sylor looks to analyze the Danube Swabians changing ideas around *Heimat*. There is also a mention of a Model Holistic Integration proposed by the author, which in turn proposes "strategies for the parishioners to face their past "breaks in attachment" (traumatic experiences of WWII) and their current 'tensions' as immigrants in Milwaukee". A further explanation of both methods is promised in subsequent chapters.

In the literature review, Chapter 2, de Sylor focuses extensively on defining trauma and PTSD, as well as models proposed to address stressors,

which were all briefly mentioned in the abstract and introduction. This felt like more of a shift than expected based on the discussion in Chapter 1, but de Sylor reconnects this back to the methods used for later analysis by discussing literature around trauma as it relates to the narratives in the *Heimatklänge* newsletters. The author also discusses how the immigrant community underwent acculturative stress as they experience intercultural contact and adjusted to their new *Heimat.* However, the focus on trauma responses and strategies felt slightly out of place when considering how the topic was first introduced. Chapter 3, focusing on the methodology used for de Sylor's analysis, discusses the Structured Grounded Theory and the development of a Model of Holistic Integration. De Sylor also begins a discussion of *Heimat* through examples from the *Heimatklänge* newsletters. De Sylor's explanation of these qualitative methods for analyzing narrative from and about the immigrant experience of the Danube Swabians is well-organized, but some of the references to the author's dissertation might be unnecessary. This chapter also bridges into the discussion and analysis slightly more than one would expect. The development of the Model of Holistic Integration is an interesting concept that could be applied to broader studies, but the discussion of the methodology of the model using examples from later chapters' analyses tends to overwhelm the explanation of best practices. With so much time spent on discussing the structure of each later chapter, much of the discussion found within those could already be picked out. Without the examples, however, the model would not be as clear.

Chapter 4, "Breaking Down *Heimat*", introduces the analysis of the *Heimatklänge* newsletters using the theories and models outlined in the previous chapter. De Sylor discusses the breaks in attachment and loss of a *Heimat* experienced by the Danube Swabians, using the narratives from the newsletters. Also included are the different categories of attachments and how the immigrant community experienced either the loss of or rebuilding of them as they joined the greater Milwaukee community. Chapter 5 then develops the Model of Holistic Integration further through a discussion of tensions faced by the Danube Swabians between their old and new *Heimate*. The parishioners of the Catholic church that published the *Heimatklänge* newsletters continued to need to define *Heimat* in their new environment, and de Sylor focuses in this chapter on how their attachments developed through their immigrant experience. The author spends this chapter exploring the *alte* vs. *neue Heimat* in this chapter, repeating many of the arguments made in previous chapters and focusing on the different tensions in attachments faced by the Danube Swabians. The Model of Holistic Integration that de Sylor first mentioned in Chapter 1 also appears to have been used here, but

it is not fully clear how this model is that much different than the methods already used to discuss process immigrants faced in the formation of their new *Heimat* in Milwaukee. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 expand on this, however.

De Sylor focuses in these next three chapters on a process already mentioned which she refers to as *Beheimatung*. This can be understood as the process of a place becoming home. The author acknowledges the difficulties in coding the newsletters texts and found that the *Beheimatung* process appeared to have multiple stages. Chapter 6 is intended to begin the discussion of this process by focusing on the breaks in attachments, as mentioned in Chapter 5, as well as how the immigrant community created new attachments through their refugee experiences. Chapter 7 then describes the actual theory of *Beheimatung*, which feels slightly out of place, since the analysis has already been begun in the two earlier chapters. The only truly new information added to de Sylor's overall argument in this new chapter is inclusion of strategies for identifying and reducing the tensions first introduced in Chapter 5. Chapter 8 then concludes de Sylor's discussion of *Beheimatung* with an expansion of the categories of tension and attachment discussed in earlier chapters. Here, the large number of religious references in the *Heimatklänge* newsletters are analyzed in how they contribute to the process of *Beheimatung*. De Sylor connects this process to theories stemming from psychology and child development. While the shift feels sudden, de Sylor connects these ideas back to her original discussion of *alte* vs *neue Heimat*.

Concluding with a summary of the findings from Chapters 4-8 before turning back to the Model of Holistic Integration, de Sylor ends where she began: with a discussion of how we can best interpret and analyze the immigrant experience of past experiences, current tensions, and future strategies for creating a new sense of home and belonging. While a more in-depth discussion of trauma might be expected, de Sylor does provide sufficient evidence that the *Heimatklänge* offer a wide array of immigrant narratives from the Danube Swabians available for analysis. Her proposed model for holistic analysis presents interesting possibilities for the further investigation of the impact of attachments to and detachments from both an immigrant community's homeland and their new surroundings.

*University of Texas at Austin* *Ellen Jones Schoedler*

**Radikale Beziehungen: Die Briefkorrespondenz Der Mathilde Franziska Anneke Zur Zeit Des Amerikanischen Bürgerkriegs.**
*Edited and translated by Victorija Bilic and Alison Clark Efford. Wiesbanden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2023. 250 pp. $59.*

"Süße Franziska Maria" wrote Mary Booth in several of her letters to the German-born revolutionary, journalist, educator, and activist Mathilde Franziska Anneke. These words of endearment attest to their intimate relationship and valuable friendship during the turbulent socio-political upheavals of the mid-19th century on both sides of the Atlantic. Their exchange of letters is part of a wider epistolary collection, edited and translated by Alison Clark Efford, a leading scholar of German American migration at Marquette University and Victorija Bilic, professor of translation at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

Besides her passionate relationship with the abolitionist and writer Mary and their struggle for gender equality, the collection of letters sent between 1859 to 1865 illuminate debates around slavery, revealing an astounding reach and depths of transatlantic entanglements between European and U.S. abolitionists and feminists. Eventually, Mathilde became a leading woman suffragist in the U.S., working with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony. Unsurprisingly, such a prominent figure has already received scholarly attention. This volume adds a fresh look on her highly mobile Civil War years, traveling back to Europe with extended stays in Switzerland and France, and finally returning to Milwaukee in 1865.

The volume begins with a reflection on translation methods (most letters are translations from their original German) and a biographical overview of the main protagonist Mathilde reminding us to be careful in transferring 21st century categories to understand the same sex relationship between Mathilde and Mary. Herein lies the interdisciplinary potential of the edited volume, offering perspectives for, among others, immigration and Civil War historians, Queer Studies, and linguistics who might be interested in sentences such as "An Deinem 'Germanischen English' haben sie im Sentinel nur noch zu fixen gehabt" (60). Moreover, the person, place, and subject index are very helpful tools.

Beginning with a (translated) letter by Mary to her sister in February 1859, the epistolary narrative develops in seven chronological chapters. Chapter 1 sets the scene by introducing the reader to the close relationship between the Anneke and Booth family. Through their correspondence, we follow the emotional weight and eschewing financial burden of the court case against Mary's infamous husband Shermann. He was eventually prosecuted for raping a 14-year-old girl, though it were his antislavery activities which

landed him into jail in 1860. Interestingly, even though their marriage fell apart (in a private letter to her mother, Mary calls him "Blutsauger" und "Blutegel" [119]), she and Mathilde tried to get him out of prison, albeit unsuccessfully. This is but one of the many examples emphasizing the women's strong sense of justice and liberty.

Meanwhile, as Fritz left the family in May 1859 to cover the fight for Sicilian independence for the Wisconsin Free Democrat, Mathilde's letters regularly allude to the recurring themes of Heimweh and loss of both, her husband and father of their children. Their daughter Hertha features frequently in her letters as a mouthpiece to articulate her wish to join him in Italy, e.g., "Hertha fragt mich heute; sagt mir, wann gehen wir zum Papa in Italia" (68).

Personal woes, financial problems, and chronic illnesses within each family reinforced each other. In Chapter 2, Mathilde's letters show her difficulty in getting paid for her journalistic work as well as serious health problems. Chapter 3 starts with a family reunion as Mathilde followed Fritz to Europe in August 1860. However, already in the next year, Fritz went back to the U.S. to join the Union army. While his letters are lost, Mathilde's and Mary's correspondence allows us to follow their lives in Zürich, at the time a hotbed of leading radicals such as Ferdinand Lassalle and Emma Herwegh. While consistently worried about finances ("Ich lebe jetzt von Nichts, d.h. vom Schuldenmachen" [129]), Mathilde ardently kept track of Fritz's articles for German speaking newspapers, commenting on the political developments in the U.S. and in Europe.

Economic frustrations and health problems continue to be central themes in the letters of chapter 4 as the Civil War dragged on and Fritz's Union army career was not progressing. At times, the letters read very melancholic, full of sorrow and fears which also translated into (private) political side blows against their revolutionary contemporaries, most notably Carl Schurz. Fritz had served alongside Schurz during the failed revolts of 1849 and while Schurz became a general officer with a promising career in the U.S., Fritz got discharged from the Union army.

Mathilde's letters reveal not only these personal frustrations (and jealously) but also her deep concerns about the cause of liberty in the U.S. She sees parallels between the Civil War and the European Revolutions of 1848, in which she and Fritz had participated – yet this time, she lived far away in Zürich. Here, Mary and Mathilde developed a deep affection for each other: "Du bist der Morgenstern meiner Seele, der wunderschöne rosige Glanz meines Herzens, die heilige Lilie meiner Träume, die tiefdunkle Rose, die sich jeden Tag in meinem Herzen entfaltet, versüßt mein Leben mit Deinem flüchitgen Duft", wrote Mary to Mathilde in 1862 (155).

Chapter 5 follows the end of Fritz's military career due to what he called the "tyranny" of the Freemasons (165). After he was (in his view unfairly) suspended and detained in jail for mutiny, disregard of command, and flight from imprisonment, he got officially dismissed in September 1863. Like many 48ers, he got more and more frustrated with the Republican Party. In the meantime, Mathilde worried about their reputation (Fritz a deserter?) and how to make ends meet. Their passionless marriages became a partnership of convenience for their children.

Mathilde had to say goodbye to Mary who left Zürich for the U.S. in chapter 6. By then, Fritz had moved to St. Louis and started working for the (Neuen) Anzeiger des Westens – an interesting turn as the newspaper was the antithesis to the ideals of the 48ers. Chapter 7 follows Mathilde's move to France for a supposedly better education of their children where she became friends with Cäcilie Kapp who inspired her to start a girl school in the U.S. After Mary's death in April 1865, Mathilde finally also left for the U.S though she refused to join Fritz in St. Louis, not only because the climate would be detrimental to her health but also because she saw no future in working for a Democratic Paper in a "alte Sclavenstaat" (232).

The edited collection of letters highlights 19th century transatlantic radicalism and networks spanning the U.S., Germany, Switzerland, and France. Moreover, this collection attests to the rich periodical culture and offers personal glimpses into the emotional, financial, and intellectual (everyday) life. Its main female protagonist is making her voice heard in a male dominated world. Housed in the collection of Anneke manuscripts at the Wisconsin Historical Society, Efford and Bilic allow us access to a fascinating collection of letters, useful for research and teaching alike.

*University of Texas at Austin* *Jana Weiss*

**Lone Star Vistas: Travel Writing in Texas, 1821-1861.**
*By Astrid Haas. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2021. 215 pp. $45.00.*

This volume focuses on travelogues concerning Texas dating from the period between Mexican independence and the beginning of the American Civil War. Rather than being merely a collection of travel writings, Haas has put together a comparative analysis, covering three main genres – those dealing with military-scientific exploration, colonization and settlement, and professional journeys – from three main perspectives – that of the Mexican, German, and Anglo-American. Haas identifies these three population groups as the ones "whose text production most profoundly shaped public perceptions and representations of Texas," which persist to the present (x).

Of these three groups, the German perspective is of most interest to readers of this journal, and thus will provide the primary focus here. However, there is a high degree of uniformity among the various perspectives, especially between those of the Anglo-American and German. Haas' analysis of their respective texts illustrates the general low regard in which these two groups held both the preceding Native and Mexican inhabitants of the territory. They portrayed the region under these groups as something of an economically underdeveloped wilderness which would benefit from Anglo-American and German settlement and cultivation.

The middle section of the book concerning colonization and settlement is itself divided into three subsections, the first covering travelogues related to Anglo-American colonization, followed by two from the German perspective, with the first detailing travel narratives promoting German settlement of Texas, and the second those warning against such migration. For her analysis of the pro-migration sentiment, Haas uses the accounts of three German writers from the period, Detlef Dunt, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels, and Ferdinand Roemer. Representing the voices warning against German settlement, the writings of Eduard Ludecus and Jakob Thran are included.

Haas points out that, although the "colonial gaze" with which settlement-promoting German travelogues viewed Texas mirrored that of their Anglo-American counterparts, it was those same Anglo-Americans which often served as a "foil against which writers affirmed the German national character and German approaches to solving social and political problems" (81). However, the Anglo-American society was simultaneously held up "as an almost utopian model," and "one that implicitly outline[d] the political deficiencies in Europe" (83).

The German depiction of the topography of the region, and its function in the pro-settlement sources, is another key point in Haas' analysis. The emphasis on the natural beauty and favorable comparisons to European locales served to "familiarize an alien and remote terrain for [the] German target readers" (85). However, the writers would also include frequent comparisons of the landscape to "gardens," as the cultivation of which was seen as an absolute prerequisite for contemporary civilized modernity. The writers who were attempting to discourage potential immigrants, though, often portrayed the terrain as inalterably indomitable and perilous. Yet, it was the narratives of the pro-settlement voices, such as those of Detlef Dunt and Ferdinand Roemer, that ultimately won over the target audiences in the German-speaking lands of Europe, with the impact of the ensuing migration and settlement, particularly in areas such as the "German Belt" of central Texas, still tangible today.

Due to Haas' meticulous methodological approach, researchers beyond those specializing in the history of German American immigration, including those interested in Texas history, cross-cultural encounters, or immigration more broadly, should find this book an enjoyable and worthwhile read.

*Indiana University* *Bradley Weiss*

**God on the Western Front: Soldiers and Religion in World War I**. *By Joseph F. Byrnes. University Park: The Pennsylvania State UP, 2023. 252 pp. $114.95.*

When the guns of August 1914 ushered in what was then known as the Great War, no one could have predicted that four years later soldiers from most of the European nations, North America, Asia, and Oceania would still be killing each other as they continued to battle over the same landscape. Byrnes ties together this panoramic experience in his focus on soldiers and religion: that is, how religion influenced soldiers, clergy, and theologians as they interpreted in a spiritual sense the brutal reality that confronted them.

Byrnes's view of the war can be seen as somewhat kaleidoscopic, as the soldiers involved were, among others, Germans, Austrians, Brits, Frenchmen, Australians, Gurkhas, and Americans; of all ranks; military chaplains, including, in the French forces, ordained clergy serving as enlisted soldiers; and theologians, most of whom were located far from the front. If anything is clear from this cacophony of witnesses, it is that those who served close to the action were most often free of illusions as to the nature of war.

The evidence that Byrnes cites—from diaries, archives, sermons, military records and histories, and a variety of other sources—is both varied and compelling. It includes what he refers to as "God talk" and "nation talk," soldier stories and clergy stories, and uses an interfaith focus that includes the voices of Roman Catholics on both sides, Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, Lutherans and other Evangelicals, Hindus, Muslims, and the unique testimony of the Jewish soldiers, who were present in almost all of the armies.

At the beginning, he says, "Church leaders gave the soldiers no reason to believe that there was any conflict between their religion and war" (31). In fact, the opposing sides were most eager to enlist much of the available Christian hagiography for the purpose of lifting the spirits of their armies. French Catholics made full use of Joan of Arc, and the Sacred Heart imagery of Jesus, while Anglicans invoked the spirit of St. George, and German Protestants called upon the archangel Michael, the patron saint of soldiers and a national warrior image. The early battles of Mons and the Marne were portrayed

by the French, especially, as miracles of military deliverance from looming battlefield defeats, although evidence of divine intervention is absent.

On the other hand, Byrnes's description of the Christmas Truce of 1914 (54-60) makes clear that the event was directed by neither temporal nor divine leadership, but by an unplanned outbreak of fraternizing among the opposing common soldiers. They used the unexpected respite to sing choruses of Christmas carols and even arrange for peaceful burial details. The Christmas spirit brought about opportunities for musical harmony, with the English singing "O Come All Ye Faithful" while the Germans responded with the Latin wording of the same hymn, "Adeste Fideles." In Byrnes's view, "The truce was inspired by nostalgia, homesickness, war weariness, and awareness that the enemy soldiers were suffering the same horrors" (60). For a moment at least, the propaganda that painted opponents as monsters, as representatives of the anti-Christ, seemed to be disproven.

The motivation of individual soldiers was often inspired less by loyalty to God and country than for more clearly pragmatic reasons, seen among African-American troops and Jewish soldiers on both sides: showing loyalty to their homeland "offered the possibility of first-class citizenship" (85). For instance, French Jewish chaplains, according to Philippe Landau, sought "to define the role of Judaism in this time of trial as an heir of the Revolution of 1789 and a protector of the republic" (126).

The nearer one approached the soldiers in the trenches, the more apparent it becomes that religion was hardly a source of comfort for many of the combatants. As British Pvt. J. Bowles wrote in his diary, "Men go to their deaths with curses on their lips and religion is never mentioned or thought of…. being killed is spoken of as being 'jerked to Jesus'" (160). Many would conclude that "The war was not only evil, but church support made it worse" (163). This point was completely lost on the French clerics who attacked German Catholicism in a screed entitled *La guerre allemande et le catholicisme*, and its German response *Deutsche Kultur, Katholizismus, und Weltkrieg*. Ironically, the leading voices in the two documents were made both cardinals after the war (177).

The final chapter of Byrnes's study, "Theology out of War Experience," is perhaps the most compelling. Here he presents the thoughts of the Jewish reconnaissance officer Franz Rosenzweig and three Christian chaplains whose views became central to the theology of the 20th century: the German Lutheran pastor Paul Tillich; the French Jesuit Pierre Teilhard de Chardin; and the Anglican priest Geoffrey Studdert Kennedy. Byrnes's summary of their thought is a model of historical objectivity and balance.The war experience shared by these four helped them gain the insight that formed their philosophy. For Rosenzweig, that meant "to prioritize, even absolutize the individual

human being in the face of death" (196); for Tillich, it meant to reformulate the doctrine of justification by faith, which lay at the root of Lutheran belief; Teilhard de Chardin was compelled by the wanton destruction of life he witnessed to formulate a transfigured cosmos as the foundation for his thought; and Studdert Kennedy reached the conclusion that war was sin, and that "prayer can change nothing in physical life but can ensure that the real person is not destroyed" (212).

Byrnes's work is uniquely successful in applying a broad international and interfaith approach to a study of modern religion and war. His sourcing and documentation are impressive, and the text is well organized and lucidly written. It is highly recommended for both academic and general collections, and will appeal to historians, theologians, and serious general readers.

*Longwood University* *Geoffrey Orth*

**Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik: Leben zwischen Deutschland und Amerika.**
*By Frank Trommler: Böhlau Verlag, 2022. 384 pp. €28,00.*

In the first lines of Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik, Frank Trommler writes (translated):

> The six-year-old boy in the little village of Zwönitz in the Ezgebirge had often heard of the Americans. Talk of them was friendlier than that of the Russians, much friendlier. But the Americans were far away and the Russians were approaching ever closer. Suddenly, in April 1945, there came days when that was no longer true. Adults warned children not to go out too far into the open since there had been sightings of low-flying American military planes that shot at people on the roads. They would swoop down in the middle of the day, very quickly. And very quickly one would have to make for the bushes.
> Finally, it was no longer true, what they said about the Americans.

Reading an opening such as this, one would likely expect the book to be a gripping, first-hand account of life in Germany during the Second World War, perhaps a work of fiction. This is engaging material and Trommler is a gifted writer whose elegant, accessible prose makes this hefty tome a joy to read from cover to cover. Though the through line of the book is autobiographical and includes many compelling personal stories, it is primarily a memoir of

the intellectual, social, and political currents in Germany and the United States of which Trommler has been, for a good six decades, been both an observer and participant.

Born in Saxony in 1939, Frank Trommler's earliest years in eastern Germany during the war and immediately following, as one can imagine, were profoundly turbulent, marked not least by the tragic death in 1950 of his father, who had been a victim of both Nazi and communist oppression. Trommler's mother fled with her children to West Germany, eventually settling in Offenbach, where Trommler completed his Abitur in 1959. These years are documented in chapters 1 and 2 of the book, "Eine östliche Kindheit" (An eastern childhood, 15–43) and "Mein Offenbachiade" (My time in Offenbach, 44–60).

Trommler originally set his sights on a career in journalism, for which he was clearly well suited due to his obvious gifts as a writer and the experiences he collected in postwar West Germany and travels as a youth across Europe and North Africa, which are discussed in chapter 3, "Hitlers Erben auf Reisen" (Journeys of Hitler's heirs, 61–77). Though still intending to become a professional journalist, Trommler decided it was important to earn a doctorate, and studied Germanistik, first at the Free University of Berlin, then in Vienna, and finally in Munich. He completed his degree in 1965 with a dissertation on the works of three early 20th-century Austrian novelists, which appeared in revised form the following year under the title *Roman und Wirklichkeit: Musil, Broch, Roth, Doderer*. An extended visit to the United States, which was partly financed by lectures he delivered at several universities, inspired Trommler to seriously consider a career in academia instead of journalism. His fate was sealed when he was invited to teach as a Visiting Lecturer at Harvard from 1967 to 1969. In 1970, Trommler was hired as an associate professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania, where he taught until his retirement in 2007.

Of the books nineteen chapters, eleven center on Trommler's experiences throughout his long and successful career in German studies in the United States. Of special interest to those interested in the history of the field are chapter 10 "Die amerikanische Universität bietet besondere Chancen" (The American university offers special opportunities, 207–232), chapter 11 "German Studies: ein Reformprojekt" (233–251), and chapter 12 "Der jüdische Anteil an German Studies" (Jews and German studies, 252–270). In these chapters, Trommler discusses how German studies in North America developed away from Germanistik through the efforts of European émigrés like Trommler, including several German and Austrian as well as many native-born American scholars. Trommler describes in detail how his intellectual horizons were widened through interactions with colleagues at Penn and

elsewhere, including those working outside of German. For example, one section of chapter 10 is devoted to the influence of Trommler's colleague at Penn, Barbara Herrnstein Smith, a Shakespeare scholar and critical theorist whom he credits as enabling him to "make the leap from Continental to Anglo-Saxon thinking" about modernism and post-modernism (211). Trommler writes at length in chapter 11 also about the growth of the German Studies Association, which he served as president in 1991-92.

Over the course of the 1970s, Trommler's intellectual focus was on German literary studies. His professional activity broadened to include German American studies especially after he became chair of Penn's German department in 1980. The previous year, Edward G. Fichtner, a medievalist from Queen's College, City University of New York, had been a visiting faculty member at Penn and pointed out to Trommler that 1983 would mark the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Germantown, the first permanent German settlement in America. Given Germantown's proximity to his university and the fact that Penn's German department was America's oldest, Trommler, in his role as chair, decided that this anniversary should be marked by a scholarly conference. In chapter 8, "Es wird ernst mit Amerika" (Things get serious with America, 182–206), he devotes several pages (190–196) to a discussion of his organization of the Tricentennial Conference for German-American History, Politics, and Culture, which was held at Penn October 3–6, 1983. This important event brought together American and European scholars from multiple social scientific and humanistic disciplines and was capped by a banquet attended by 1,500 guests that featured speeches by German Federal President Karl Carstens and US Vice President George H. W. Bush. The two-volume collection of proceedings from the conference, America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History, which Trommler coedited with Joseph McVeigh, was a watershed in the development of German American studies as a rigorous scholarly discipline. Trommler's description of how he navigated the multiple challenges of organizing this huge event, not least of which included financing it and doing his best to ensure that it would not be tainted by filiopietism, makes for fascinating reading.

Trommler's first engagement with German American studies occurred in 1975, when, while conducting research for an article on German American poetry, he visited the Joseph P. Horner Memorial Library at the German Society of Pennsylvania, an organization founded in Philadelphia in 1764. The society's original charge had been to support German-speaking immigrants, especially indentured servants, however by the end of the 18th century its mission changed to promote German language and culture. The library was founded in 1817 and over the course of the 19th century became

an important repository of not only German American literature, but also precious archival materials related to German American history and culture. Trommler devotes chapter 16, "Die Rettung der deutsch-amerikanischen Bibliothek in Philadelphia" (Saving the German American library in Philadelphia, 322–332) to his successful efforts to raise the funds necessary to catalog some 30,000 titles and restore those in critical need of repair. Trommler pays important credit in this chapter to Elliott Shore, originally the Director of the Historical Studies-Social Science Library at the Institute for Advanced Study (IAS) at Princeton and later the Director of Libraries and Professor of History at Bryn Mawr, whose expertise was critical to the success of the project, which was completed in 1999. The capstone of Trommler's and Shore's efforts was a conference held that year, The German-American Encounter: Conflict and Cooperation between Two Cultures, 1800–2000, which built on the achievements of the 1983 tricentennial conference and resulted in a collection of revised presentations edited by Trommler and Shore that appeared in 2001.

*Die hellen Jahre über dem Atlantik* is an utterly fascinating book that will appeal to readers with an interest in Germanistik, German studies, German American studies, and German and American history, among other fields. As mentioned at the outset of this review, Trommler's gifts as a writer, which were clearly honed during his early years of journalistic activity, make reading this book a pleasure. Each of the eighteen chapters is subdivided into titled subsections that are around five pages in length, which, complemented by the superb binding and bookmark ribbon, makes it easy for readers to move back and forth through the text. However, I suspect many readers will share my experience and want to read the entire book from cover to cover.

*University of Wisconsin–Madison* *Mark L. Louden*

**"Wo Sie sind, ist Deutschland!" Biographie, Briefwechsel mit Thomas Mann. Texte. Bilder. Bibliographie.**
*By Wolfgang Born, edited by Dirk Heißerer. Munich: Konigshausen & Neumann, 2023. 406 pp. 39.80 €.*

Those who have seen Visconti's film *Death in Venice* may find it impossible to forget the melancholy tones of Gustav Mahler's *Fifth Symphony*, the music accompanying the hero's slowly moving ship on the way to his final destination. For all practical purposes, the music in that film has become an integral part of Mann's prose narrative. Those melancholy tones have totally transformed the person of the novella, the "other" Gustav, the victim of an

obsession and seemingly inevitable fate. Thomas Mann himself could explain why this unusual combination of music and prose narrative could happen. But we need the present edition to understand how and why.

The unexpected combination of prose, music, and film become accessible with Dirk Heißerer's publication of Thomas Mann's correspondence with Wolfgang Born. Born (1893-1949), an artist and art historian, has remained practically unnoticed by Thomas Mann scholars, and yet their correspondence, spanning four decades, reveals much about shared struggles, imposed on both by German history under Hitler and the difficult years of adjustment to exile in the United States. What Heißerer reveals for the reader and scholars of Thomas Mann's novella is new and fascinating.

Thomas Mann's 1921 letter to Born, introducing Born's collection of *Death in Venice* lithographs revealed for the first time how Aschenbach had "inherited" Gustav Mahler's profile. During Mann's 1911 stay in Venice Thomas Mann learned in the Viennese newspapers about Mahler's illness and death. Reading about the concerned and respectful bulletins about the composer's last hours inspired Mann to assign his Aschenbach the mask and background of the composer. The extraordinary combination, joining the demoralized hero with the famous composer (who impressed Mann greatly when he saw Mahler conducting his *Symphony a Thousand*, his Faust symphony, in Munich), restrains the reader from quick and uncompromising condemnation of Aschenbach's character and achievements. The moral failure is also a tragic failure.

What impressed and amazed Mann about Born's image of Aschenbach was the fact that Born, who had been totally unaware of Mann's inspired characterization of his hero, was nonetheless able to create that specific profile, solely on the basis of Mann's prose description. How could such an artistic depiction, based solely on Mann's prose, create a convincing Mahler's profile? The resulting profile Thomas Mann understood the result as a compliment; it showed the power of his precise articulation. Born had achieved a startling close approximation of Mahler.

Mann's praise for Born's (and his own) success need to be somewhat moderated when we compare the initial lithographs that Born initially showed to Mann. In two cases there are substantial differences, which the present edition of the letters effectively demonstrate. In one case Born had depicted the imagined scene of a naked Phaidros (i..e., Tadzio) next to Socrates (i.e., Aschenbach). This explicit sensual display Thomas Mann found unacceptable. He must have asked Born to retain between pupil and teacher a semblance of the intellectual nature of the relationship. In the case of the final image of the novella the artist was again evidently prompted to make changes. But in this case it is more difficult to determine to what extent Thomas Mann

influenced those changes. In that significant, final scene the clouds became darker and more threatening. The gesture of Tadzio beckoning Aschenbach has changed in a subtle way; Tadzio appears to be luring Aschenbach toward the underworld. Moreover, Aschenbach's profile has also changed slightly. It appears that Born might have actually looked at a photograph of Mahler; the resulting profile appears a slight degree more convincing than Born's previous effort. To achieve this result, it is reasonable to suspect that in the conversation between author and artist touched on the identification of Aschenbach and Mahler.

With his extraordinary, illustrated edition Heißerer provides fascinating insights into the creation of Mann's famous masterpiece. The complex way in which novella, music, and film merge has become more evident and meaningful.

*University of Kansas* *Frank Baron*

**The Frankfurt School in Exile**.
*By Thomas Wheatland. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2023. 415 pp. $30.00.*

The Frankfurt School originated in the Weimar Republic when Marxist intellectuals were perplexed after the proletarian revolution predicted by Marx failed to take place in the Spartacist winter of 1918-19. Jewish Marxist Feliz Weil, having completed his doctorate, established an Ins*titut für Sozialforschung* to study German Marxism. The *Institut* was generously endowed by its founder's father—a wealthy grain dealer. The first director, Carl Grunberg, like Weil and the other early members, was from a highly assimilated, bourgeois Jewish family. In 1923, Grunberg became a department chair at the University of Frankfurt as well as director of the *Institut*. The latter had close ties to the German Communist Party (KPD) and attempted to develop a theory of contemporary society within a Marxist framework.

In 1929 when Grunberg retired, Max Horkheimer, "who had recently received a chair in social philosophy at the University of Frankfurt" (23) became director of the *Institut*. He wanted to combine empirical research with an attempt to find a general theory of society as desired by Hegel. Horkheimer removed the *Institut*'s endowment from Germany so that when the Nazis came to power in early 1933, a move from Frankfurt to Geneva was easily accomplished. But fearing that all continental Europe would become fascist, Horkheimer moved the *Institut* from Geneva to Columbia University in New York City in 1934. Julian Gumperz and Robert Lynd convinced

Sociology faculty head Robert MacIver, fearful that his faculty were being bested for leadership in the discipline by the University of Chicago, to extend an invitation to the *Institut* and to provide it a building on the Morningside Heights campus.

There, the *Institut* continued to finance empirical research in Europe by paying for questionnaires and interviews in the Netherlands and elsewhere, but its main emphasis was on the development of Critical Theory. Horkheimer insisted that members of the *Institut* stay out of politics, and he continued to publish the *Institut*'s periodical, Zeitsc*hrift für Sozialfor*schung in academic and highly stylized German. During its first year in New York, the *Institut* gained, by immigration or the post, Theodor Adorno, Otto Kirschheimer, Franz Neumann, and Walter Benjamin. Adorno and others began to work with Paul Lazerfeld's Radio Research Project. No members gained faculty positions at Columbia at the time, but members joined MacIver's Sunday Night Seminars for faculty at his home. The *Institut* offered its own evening seminars where Columbia faculty and graduate students, including Daniel Bell, attended. Erich Fromm became the Institut's most visible and popular member. By March 1936, Fromm's *Studien über Autorität und Familie* was ready for publication. It was not until 1940 that the *Zeitschrift*, which Horkheimer thought of as "one of the last bastions of authentic German thought and culture" (65), became a journal in English entitled *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*.

In 1937 due to bad investments, the *Institut* lost a major portion of its endowment and had to cut expenses. Fromm departed, although when his *Escape from Freedom* was published in 1941, he became "the first highly accessible public intellectual transmitter of Critical Theory in the United States" (178). Horkheimer searched for foundation grants.

In addition to limited interaction with Columbia faculty, Wheatland devotes considerable space to how the Institute was soon engaged with "the New York Intellectuals" who published the Greenwich Village little magazines: William Phillips and Philip Rahv of *Partisan Review*, Dwight Macdonald of *Politics*, Irving Howe of *Dissent*, Eliot Cohen of *Commentary*, and others. The first direct contact was with Sidney Hook, "perhaps the foremost [American] authority on the writings and legacy of Karl Marx" (102) in the 1930s. The Horkheimer Circle, as the Institute was called, thought Hook had misinterpreted Marx by viewing his work in the light of John Dewey's Pragmatism. During WWII, the Institute's financial problems were eased when Marcuse, Neumann, and Kirchheimer all went to work for the government in the Central European section of the OSS. There they worked with such accomplished historians as Hajo Holborn and William Langer.

In the 1940s and 50s, both the New York Intellectuals and members of the Horkheimer Circle came to embrace American democracy.

Horkheimer and Adorno returned to Frankfurt in 1949. Others, such as Marcuse, stayed in America. Much of the latter part of this book is devoted to demonstrating that Marcuse was not the guru of the 1960s New Left student rebels that the American media reported him to be. And only in a single essay did he seem to endorse violence. Marcuse's books were not *Flaschenposte* or messages in bottles found by Students for a Democratic Society or others in the 1960s. Nevertheless, Wheatland ends by suggesting that the academics who have studied the Frankfurt School and teach at major American universities in our time may today serve the *Flaschenposte* function.

Wheatland has certainly been a diligent researcher and writes clearly, but familiarity with continental philosophy since Kant is required to fully grasp the author's assertions.

*Independent Scholar* *Robert W. Frizzell*

**Humboldt Revisited: The Impact of the German University on American Higher Education.**
*By Gry Cathrin Brandser, New York: Berghahn Press, 2022. 392 pp. $145.00.*

Social scientist Gry Cathrin Brandser examines the new meaning of the modern university, one Brandser deems the "service university" (1). The Humboldt university system based on the legacy of Wilhelm von Humboldt emphasized the continuous search for scientific knowledge (Wissenschaft). Brandeser argues, however, the modern service university system understands the search for scientistic knowledge as a "mode of production" because of "historically discontinuous reactions against the Humboldtian university" (6). In turn, the modern understanding of what makes the university system legitimate has changed significantly over the past century. This book explores how the American university system both received and rejected Humolditan ideals in forming their own academic identity.

Brandser guides the reader through each chapter with clear questions that illuminate the transformation of the American university's identity. The first chapter dives into the history of the creation of the Enlightenment university system, Mythos Humbdolt, based on four concepts established by Wilhelm von Humboldt in 1806: academic freedom, the unity of knowledge, education (*Bildung*), and principles of academic research methods. This new "liberated education" offered a different sense of academic freedom-based reason and free-thinking which differed from the medieval university system previously in place.

The next two chapters examine how Humboldt's university expanded to the United States. Between the mid-nineteenth century until the beginning of World War I, the American university system both accepted and rejected the new German university model. After World War II, however, debates about an individual's education and the university system's goal occurred. At the same time, the United States looked to German universities as the search for scientific knowledge ran rampant during the Cold War. By 1960, "a renaissance of science studies" tasked the American university system with creating a "knowledgeable society" (189). At the same time, the American university system also transformed into a service institution. In the last section of the book, Brandser explores how the American university system operates and addresses how the modern "academic identity" relates to the Humbolditan traditions (10). Notably, Brandser centers the last section of the book's argument on the work of German philosopher Hannah Arendt. Due to the ambiguities in Arendt's writing, according to Brandser, Arendt's work provides a space to discuss American reception of Humbolditan traditions and legacies. The emphasis Arendt places on the "urgent need to think" illustrates the Humboldt tradition continues, although changed in the modern American university system.

*Humboldt Revisited* engages with the past to better explain the present condition of the American university system. In doing so, Brandser draws on a series of scholarship dedicated to understanding the service university drawing specifically on Michel Foucault's idea of genealogy. As a form of history, genealogy seeks to trace the conditions of an object (the university) to understand how its transformation. Aware of her own contemporary bias, Brandser chose to incorporate Humboldt's original texts alongside other interpretations and recent scholarship to provide a better, accurate overview of the formation of the Humboldtian tradition. In examining Humboldt, Brandser also draws on two, in her opinion, "neglected sources of inspiration" from Humboldt: debates about Enlightenment in public salons and Humboldt's inspiration from the life sciences (12).

Although Brandser's work lends itself to a wide audience, casual readers may find the theory-heavy pages cumbersome and frustrating to parse through. Brandser introduces concepts such as Foucault's theory of genealogy, but the heavy reliance on various theoretical approaches often muddles Brander's own opinion. At the same time, however, the state of public universities currently serves as a popular topic of debate among many state legislatures and underscores Brandser's discussion on the transformation of the American university system. Hence, any reader invested in education would benefit from *Humboldt Revisited*.

*Texas A&M University* *Sophia Rouse*

**Linguistics**

**Deutsch in sozialen Medien: *interaktiv – multimodal – vielfältig.***
*Edited by Konstanze Marx, Henning Lobin, und Axel Schmidt. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Deutsche Sprache, Band 2019. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2020. 378 pp. 99,95 €.*

This issue offers a comprehensive review of several studies investigating the German language in social media contexts. The book is divided into the four following sections with individual articles in each appealing to different aspects of online language use and behavior (the original German titles are in parenthesis):

1. Social media as a mirror of the times (*Soziale Medien im Spiegel der Zeit*)
2. Specific phenomena of social media under the magnifying glass (*Spezifische Phänomene Sozialer Medien unter der Lupe*)
3. Social media in use (*Soziale Medien im Einsatz*)
4. Methodical approaches to social media (*Methodische Zugänge zu Sozialen Medien*)

The final section of the book includes several descriptions of various ongoing as well as long-established online corpora (*Kaleidoskop*). Twenty-three articles in total comprise the five sections of the book, all written in German with minimal English quotes from other researchers as well as English examples from online entries or postings.

The book begins with a short introduction from the editors outlining the forthcoming chapters for the reader, as well as stating in bullet point format the guiding research questions which concern linguists in the field and shaped the articles in the current issue (xii). This list gives the reader a practical sense of the topics covered with the research questions ranging from how social media influenced general communication to which roles social media played in societal and political processes (xii). Although the articles in this collection are at times pedantic, especially regarding the care taken in some articles to explain online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter as well as the possible meanings of emoticons in text messaging, the authors do well by providing an exhaustive account of current linguistic trends in social media which will benefit future readers if these social media platforms cease to exist and/or the behavior on such platforms shifts.

In the first section, "Social media as a mirror of the time," the two beginning articles by Schlobinksi and Dürscheid present the reader with an

extensive review of internet linguistics and current problems in the field. Of note, Schlobinski mentions the vast array of opportunities for online users to not only communicate but also to create a lingua franca through web-based jargon and emojis. He further states that although the amount of data in internet linguistics is vast, the methods to research and analyze these data are lacking which hinders the field from further developing, leaving many topics untouched. He argues for more research in the areas of internet linguistic theories, methodology, and artificial intelligence (12-13). In the following article, Dürscheid answers Schlobinksi's call for more research by investigating the use of emojis on social media platforms, newspaper articles, and emails. Her research suggests that companies use emojis as "eyecatchers" in subject lines for emails to catch the attention of readers, specifically women (43).

The remaining articles range from investigating the gendered use of emojis to the investigation of "fake news" on online platforms and the "shitstorms" that ensue on Twitter and Facebook following a provocative blog post about the tragic Germanwings Flight 9525 and an advertisement for a park in Hesse, Germany. Stefanowitsch defines "shitstorms," a supposed technical term, as a coordinated event against either a person or organization in which social media users attack them through a series of posts (185). These so-called "shitstorms" are reminiscent of blitzkriegs in that they are rapid in nature and their intent is to destroy the reputation of the person or organization in question. Although perhaps comical at first, both studies included exemplify how pervasive online forums are and how they have become a part of international online culture as the unofficial "digital town square," as coined by Elon Musk.

Other topics covered in this book range from the multimodal nature of social media platforms which provide a plethora of ways to analyze user data and linguistic choices (265-288) to blogs as an ideal place to exchange ideas, develop projects, and interact with others from around the world (244). Contributors also praise Wikipedia as a "multilingual, multimodal, interactive, and dynamic" online tool for users to engage with (255) and promote the idea that internet-based communication is a "third way" to communicate, apart from normal oral and written communication (296). As such, it has influences beyond everyday interaction, combining the culture and intelligence of a variety of users, and is closely linked to daily events as well as the reactions of the users to these events (296-297). Emoji-use is researched multiple times in this issue, with one study confirming that women tend to use emojis more than men in WhatsApp communication (104-105) especially when they are chatting with other woman; however, men are more likely than women to express love through emojis than words (106-107). Further, although most of the data for the studies in this book come from Germany, some articles include

developments in other countries, such as China and their social credit system controlled by artificial intelligence (29-30).

Lastly, some authors (Abel & Glaznieks) tackle the pedagogical implications for this field by researching the benefits of online communication. In their study, they compare online writing practices and the violation of grammar rules, specifically in German clauses which require verb final position (66-67). Würffel continues with this thread by advocating for the use of social media and wikis as a practical tool in German language-learning classrooms (228).

Finally, the corpora at the end of the book provide an interesting look into the developing online databases available for internet linguists. These corpora range from WhatsApp message banks (349) to so-called "virtual" corpora (373) and dialogues with bots (363). In sum, this *Jahrbuch* provides an in-depth look at the current state of digital linguistics regarding online users through a series of different lenses: writing, pedagogy, emojis, sociology, anthropology, and research methods. This book also presents digital and social media linguists with several ideas for future research by providing several unanswered research questions as well as possible corpora to mine for data. Considering the number of digital natives, or those who have grown up with online media, will only increase in the coming years, I would argue that studies included in this book will continue to be relevant and needed to analyze how we connect online and if those online interactions affect interpersonal communication and linguistic habits for future generations (219).

*Furman University* *Emily Krauter*

**The Verticalization Model of Language Shift: The Great Change in American Communities.**
*Edited by Joshua R. Brown. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. 256 pp. $90.*

This book contains a number of papers exploring the verticalization model of language shift (the replacement of one language by another in all contexts, e.g., the replacement of German by English in numerous communities in North America). Earlier models of language shift often pointed to factors like core values, religion, and prestige (among a wide variety of others), but some of these ideas are problematic in various ways (e.g., it is probably impossible to define 'prestige' exactly). The verticalization model, on the other hand, connects language shift to "a change from local control of tightly connected institutions to more external or 'vertical' control of those increasingly independent institutions" (8). These institutions include the schools,

the press, and religious organizations, among others. As the limitations of this forum preclude an exhaustive discussion of all the papers, here I discuss only three chapters that I believe will be of particular interest to readers of the Yearbook. Two of the papers discussed here focus on German, while the third introduces the verticalization model. (The other papers in the book address a wide range of languages, including Cherokee, Finnish, and Norwegian. There are also two chapters of commentary and a chapter responding to the commentaries.)

The first paper to discuss is the introductory chapter, "A Verticalization Theory of Language Shift," by Joshua Brown and Joseph Salmons. Among other things, this chapter lays out the basic premises of the book, describes the verticalization model, and presents some arguments in favor of this model. (The authors contend, for instance, that the verticalization model is testable, since verticalization can be located chronologically within a community and then it can be seen if language shift took place around that time in the same community.) Other issues discussed in this chapter include resistance to language shift, exemplified with Yiddish and Pennsylvania German, and the limitations of the studies contained in this book (most prominently, they all focus on the USA, and it is therefore currently unclear if the verticalization model can be applied successfully to situations outside North America, where the institutions involved can be very different. The authors deserve considerable praise for this frank and open acknowledgement.)

The second paper considered here is "The Great Change in Midwestern Agriculture: Verticalization in Wisconsin German and Wisconsin West Frisian Heritage Communities," by Joshua Bousquette. The chapter uses the verticalization theory, synthesized with the Danish ethnologist Thomas Højrup's idea of 'life modes' and the concept of social networks (utilized very successfully in sociolinguistics and historical linguistics by scholars like James and Lesley Milroy), to show how the division of labor in a community, and changes in this division, can lead to language shift. Assessments of language abilities are drawn from US census data. Bousquette looks at four communities in Wisconsin, three German-heritage and one Frisian-heritage, and concludes that in all four communities labor-related changes do indeed lead to verticalization and then to language shift (e.g., on the more micro level a change from working for oneself to working for wages can lead to drastic changes in an individual's social networks and thus to changes in an individual's language use).

The next paper to discuss is "Language Shift and Religious Change in Central Pennsylvania," by Joshua Brown (also the volume's editor). This chapter looks at the role of religion in verticalization in an Anabaptist community in Pennsylvania. In it, Brown demonstrates convincingly that a num-

ber of vertical religious changes (i.e., changes that created ties to the larger community), most importantly probably a reinterpretation of what exactly "separate from the world" meant (125), led to a number of vertical linguistic changes, especially the increased use of English. The old situation of stable Pennsylvania German-English bilingualism has been replaced by a largely monolingual English situation, thus supporting the verticalization model.

The verticalization model is a very promising way to account for language shift. I am not entirely convinced that it is always the best way to do so, and it is unfortunately probably impossible to determine if this is in fact the case. (This is because different interpretations of the same situation are possible, e.g., it is clear that German-language newspapers in Texas tended to stop publishing or to switch to publishing in English after World War I, but at the same time it is not clear if this is the result of the economics of the newspaper business itself, or is part of the verticalization process, or stems from anti-German sentiment.) But the analyses presented in this volume all seem to work, the papers are all worth reading, and the volume deserves a wide circulation. I also look forward to analyses of language shift situations outside of North America relying on the verticalization model, as such analyses would go a long way towards confirming its value as a model.

*University of Texas at Austin* *Marc Pierce*

**Selected Proceedings of the 10th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA 10).**
*Edited by Arnstein Hjelde and Åshild Søfteland. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2021. 78 pp. Printed edition $240.00. [Also available at https://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/10/index.html]*

**Selected Proceedings of the 11th Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA 11).**
*Edited by Kelly Biers and Joshua R. Brown. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2022. 78 pp. Printed edition $250.00. [Also available at https://www.lingref.com/cpp/wila/11/index.html].*

The volumes reviewed here are the proceedings of the Workshop on Immigrant Languages in the Americas (WILA), one of the most important conferences in the scholarly area, which started in 2010 and continues today. The papers in these volumes cover a wide range of languages, including German, Frisian, Norwegian, and Arabic, among others. In what follows,

I concentrate on the papers focusing on German, as those papers are of the most interest to readers of the Yearbook.

The proceedings of WILA 10 contain two such papers, as well as two additional papers that address German among other languages. The first paper on German is "Phonological and Lexical Maintenance of Swiss German in Ohio and Misiones," by Robert Klosinski. This paper looks at the use of the Swiss German dialect Bernese in Ohio and Argentina, focusing on two phonological developments (/l/-vocalization and a velarization process) that Klosinski sees as being potentially particularly susceptible to language contact. While both speaker groups have generally preserved l-vocalization, they behave differently regarding velarization, which is generally retained in Ohio but not in Argentina. Klosinski suggests that these differences regarding velarization may be due to greater exposure to standard German on the part of the speakers in Argentina (since standard German does not show this velarization), but notes that further study is necessary. The second paper on German is "Language Use and Codeswitching in the Trilingual Diary of an East Frisian Immigrant to the USA," by Maike Rocker. The material considered in this paper is drawn from a handwritten 160 page diary written in German, Low German, and English; Rocker gives the background of the diarist (a man from East Frisia who emigrated to Iowa in 1924), reviews the literature on codeswitching in such documents, and investigates the use of the different languages in the diary. She shows, for instance, that the diarist wrote most often in German, the first language he learned to write in, which "indicates that language maintenance is stronger in the written than the spoken domain" (57). The two papers looking at German alongside other languages are "Competition at the Left Edge: Left-Dislocation vs. Topicalization in Heritage Germanic," by Joshua Bousquette et al, which looks at Heritage German and Heritage Norwegian; and "Post-Hoc Proficiency Measures as a Tool for Cross-Community Comparison," by Nora Vosburg and Lara Schwarz, which looks at German, Low German, and Icelandic.

The proceedings of WILA 11 contain a number of papers on German. As there are too many to discuss all of them in this forum, I comment only on two that I found particularly stimulating. (But note that, as pointed out above, all the papers in the volumes are worth reading.) The first of these is "Reducing the Role of Prosody: Plural Allomorphy in Pennsylvania Dutch," by Rose Fisher, Katharina S. Schuhmann, and Michael T. Putnam. Standard German shows a preference for noun plurals that end in a syllabic trochee (i.e., a two-syllable foot with stress on the leftmost syllable, e.g., adding *-e*, i.e. [ə] to *Berg* 'mountain' to form *Berge* 'mountains' creates such a foot);

this paper investigates the potential role of this prosodic requirement in Pennsylvania Dutch. The authors conclude that prosody does play a role in Pennsylvania Dutch plural formation (e.g., in *Hemm ~ Hemmer* 'shirt ~ shirts'), but that it plays less of a role than it does in Standard German. The second is Samantha M. Litty's "Historical Sociolinguistic Contexts: Networks and Feature Availability in 19th Century German Letter Collections," which looks at a collection of 99 documents from a family in Wisconsin (mostly letters). All of the documents are written in a "standard-like H[igh]G[erman]" (42), but also include features from Low German, Northern German, and Eastphalian Low German, as well as features that could be attempts to represent pronunciations orthographically. These include examples like the Low German -s plural where standard German requires a different plural (e.g., *Augens* 'eyes' instead of standard German *Augen*). Litty's analysis of this material is a first step towards determining early inputs to what became Wisconsin Heritage German.

It is important to note that these are conference proceedings. As such, the papers were not refereed or edited as stringently as they might otherwise have been, and they also had to conform to very strict length limits. The results are thus somewhat unfortunate: there are more typos and stylistic issues than one would wish, and, more importantly, the papers could not go into as much depth as would be necessary for a full treatment of the topics. To give an example from one of the papers on a non-Germanic language, Reda Mohammed's very interesting paper on Arabic in the WILA 11 volume, is only six pages, which just is not enough space to cover the topics discussed in any depth. There are also, as is the case with any book, things that one might question and/or object to. (For instance, I am uncomfortable with Klosinski's formulation of the velarization process he describes as "the velarization of <nd> in coda position," as it conflates orthography and phonetics/phonology.)

Despite the limitations of the volumes, the papers are generally quite good, and the volumes are well-worth reading. One hopes that expanded versions of the papers, not subject to space restrictions, will also appear. (Some of the material discussed in these volumes is discussed by the same authors in more detail in Brown's recent edited volume on language shift, also reviewed in this issue of the Yearbook, which is to be applauded.) I am also happy to be able to report that future volumes will be published with the Bergen Language and Linguistics Studies (https://bells.uib.no/index.php/bells/issue/view/450), which will resolve the issues with length limits and copyediting mentioned above.

*University of Texas at Austin* *Marc Pierce*

**Amish and Mennonite Studies**

**Mennonite Farmers: A Global History of Place and Sustainability.**
*By Royden Loewen. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. 348 pp. $52.*

As Anabaptism has spread across the globe, through migrations and missions, the adherents to this creed have had to adapt to a wide array of problems stemming from the different environs in which they have farmed. In his new book, *Mennonite Farmers: A Global History of Place and Sustainability*, Royden Loewen has crafted a global comparative study based on his ambitious project of the micro-histories of seven different farming communities called Seven Points on Earth. Writing global history while paying attention to local circumstances is a difficult task, yet *Mennonite Farmers* exemplifies this approach while at the same time, exploring the complex intersection of religion and agriculture within these globalized localities.

As previously noted**,** the book offers an analysis of seven different 'Mennonite' farm communities: Santa Cruz in eastern Bolivia, Manitoba in Canada, Java Peninsula in Indonesia, Friesland in the northern Netherlands, southern Siberia (Russia), Iowa in the U.S., and Matabeleland in southwestern Zimbabwe. The scope of the project is bold, encompassing nodes of both the Global North (four points) and the Global South (three points), and would not have been possible without the aid of local interlocutors—a true bottom-up history—and a research team Loewen has been able to assemble from his time as Chair of Mennonite Studies at the University of Winnipeg. This book is an interesting and compelling addition to the growing literature of Mennonite environmental history since the call to action from Calvin Redekop's *Creation and the Environment*, which explored the unique perspective of Anabaptism and the environment. The seven communities are located in distinct climatic regions, such as tropical, semi-arid, and maritime regions, along with the corresponding soil types, such as alluvial deposits, chernozem clay, jungle silts, and glacially produced loess. Each climate and soil type provides an interesting case study of the ways in which farmers adapt to the local conditions. Additionally, the author explains the agricultural products developed in these regions. Broadly-speaking, farmers grow wheat and oilseeds in Manitoba and Siberia, corn and pigs in Iowa, soybeans and cheese in Bolivia, rice and cassava in Java, cattle and viscos in Matabeleland, and potatoes and butter in Friesland, among other crops. Four of the seven are communities settled by ethnic Mennonite farmers while two are linked to the Mennonite tradition via missionary activities in post-colonial contexts. The final region in the northern Netherlands is the birthplace of Menno

Simmons. Despite the immensity of the project, Loewen weaves in and out of each locale clearly and effortlessly, tacitly basing his global study on local interviews with a local perspective, and succinctly taking the reader back and forth between localities explaining the different local takes on global issues such as climate change or governmental power. Thus, by the end of the book, the reader will gain a familiarity with each of the above locations while still maintaining the bird's eye view of the broader globe—fitting perfectly with the new emphasis on Global Anabaptism within Mennonite Studies, (note the Centre for Mennonite Studies has recently been rechristened the Centre for Transnational Mennonite Studies).

While the first two chapters give an overview of Mennonite history leading up to each location, every chapter afterward focuses on a specific theme: technological change, religious belief, gender relations, climate change, government policy, and the global turn. Chapter 3 shows the ways in which these farmers have been linked to modernization and transfers of agricultural knowledge, and how Mennonite farmers adapted to agricultural innovations over time such as chemical fertilizers of the Green Revolution. Chapter 4 deals with the tensions and various interplays between religion and environmentalism, including the ways in which each community conceptualized the environment. In the fifth chapter, Loewen takes time to consider the "cultural variable of gender, focusing on how women in five of the seven places negotiated the nexus of the patriarchal farm household in different ways, in colonized and decolonized settings (Java and Matabeleland) and in white settler communities (Iowa, Siberia, and Bolivia)" (12). Chapter 6 explores biopower, or the way in which the state pursues an agricultural policy, and how these local communities benefitted or were punished from these policies. Chapter 7 broadens the discussion further by exploring the wider issue of climate change. Finally, Chapter 8 aimed to comprehend the various levels of transnationalism and globalization in farmers' lives and their approaches to the land.

Loewen is at his best as a historian when making these large comparative studies; his credits include *Village Among Nations, Seeking Places of Peace, Diaspora in the Countryside*, and *Family, Church and Market*—all comparative histories. *Mennonite Farmers* furthers this tradition as Loewen ambitiously takes on comparing seven different places. The book makes use of a great number of local interviewees in addition to the typical bread and butter of local history: personal memoirs and diaries. This focus on a the local is a slight critique of histories of nations as well as global histories. Loewen argues that despite the recent emphasis on the Global Turn, these histories cannot be understood without the local context. Farmers from each location adapted to the local conditions, drastically changing the universal problems

of agriculture and sustainability—as Loewen aptly presents. Yet, there is one glaring issue with the book. For a book entitled *Mennonite Farmers* and a focus on local history, there is not much explanation for what constitutes Mennoniteness. Loewen avoids the typical 'ethnic' debate of Mennoniteness as two of the communities were mission fields of Mennonite missionaries, but the community in Siberia did not self-identify as Mennonite either. Loewen writes, "As a 'Baptist' and a 'German,' interchangeable postwar terms that often replaced *Mennonite*, especially in Mennonite Brethren communities." (138) In this way, *Mennonite Farmers* as a study focuses on the *Farmer* aspect of the title than the *Mennonite* part, which could cause some confusion amongst readers interested in German-speaking Mennonite history. Still, this book will be of interest to Germanists as Mennonites represent a historically German-speaking sect and each locality has some form of connection with the transnational Mennonite network, either through tradition, ethnicity, history, or missionary activity.

*University of Iowa* *Samuel Boucher*

**All About the Amish: Answers to Common Questions.**
*By Karen M. Johnson-Weiner. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2020. 119 pp. $14.99.*

**What the Amish Teach Us: Plain Living in a Busy World.**
*By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2021. vii + 182 pp. $14.95.*

These small-format books provide introductions to Amish life and culture, written by experts. Karen Johnson-Weiner, Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology Emerita at the State University of New York-Potsdam, is a recognized authority on Amish and Mennonite language and culture. Donald Kraybill, Distinguished College Professor and Professor of Sociology Emeritus at Elizabethtown College, also served as director and Senior Fellow at the Young Center for Anabaptist and Pietist Studies. Both authors have published well-received books on Amish life and culture.

Johnson-Weiner divides her book into seven parts that address general questions about the Amish. Part 1, "Who are the Amish?" presents Amish history, characteristics, demographics, and geographical spread. The second Part, "What are Amish communities like?" introduces the primary sociocultural units of Amish life, the family, and the church-community (*Gmay*). In Parts 3 and 4, "What does it mean to be 'Plain'"? and "What is it like to grow

up Amish?", Johnson-Weiner describes how the Amish differentiate themselves from mainstream society, including religion, dress, language, education, recreation, and technology. Amish young adulthood is covered in Part 5, "What are Amish courtship and weddings like?". The descriptive portion of the book ends with Part 6, "What is life like for Amish adults?", which explains male-female relations, work, ageing, retirement, death, and funerals.

Johnson-Weiner depicts a culture that is not nearly as strict and homogeneous as mainstream people might assume. For one thing, the Amish embrace individual free will; for instance, membership in the church results from voluntary adult baptism. Additionally, because important decisions tend to be made by autonomous *Gmays*, there is a spectrum of responses to challenges presented by the secular mainstream. Twice-yearly negotiation of individual communities' rules (*Ordnungs*) by all baptized members ensures a variety of rules that reflect acceptance, accommodation, or rejection in response to changing economic, legal, and social circumstances in mainstream society.

Part 7, "What Will Amish life be like in the future?", considers the potential effects on the Amish of largescale internal shifts, for instance, the increasing abandonment of farming in order to pursue more financially rewarding work, as well as external influences, for example, the growing ability to access the mainstream via smart phones. Johnson-Weiner notes that the Amish manage these threats to their way of life skillfully, "redraw[ing] the lines that separate [them] from the world" (102). The book concludes with the author's observation that, as the Amish continue to thrive by defining themselves against mainstream society, this rejection enables them to remain cohesive and present a "visible alternative to modern society" (103-4).

Kraybill's book also espouses the notion that the Amish lifestyle represents a positive and healthy option to modernity, offering readers a "critique of modern culture" with the Amish playing the role of "silent social critics" (x). The author derives the book's twenty-three short essays from lessons learned over forty years of research, including fieldnotes, conversations with hundreds of Amish people, and introspection about his research experiences and encounters (xii-xiii). He focuses his musings on the Amish present, covering many of the same sociocultural topics as Johnson-Weiner: family life, the church-community, religion, education, technology, childhood, adulthood, ageing, retirement, and death. Kraybill enhances these discussions with thoughts about the role of dense personal ties in ensuring "an identity, a secure place, and a sense of personal dignity" for all community members (25). These ties within small communities, enforced by shunning (*Meidung*) and excommunication (*Bann*), bind the Amish to their communal lifestyle and reinforce separation from the mainstream. Kraybill praises Amish religious and cultural values such as modesty, humility, tolerance, patience, forgive-

ness, nonviolence, free will, and submission (*Gelassenheit*). Especially compelling are discussions reflecting on the interplay between free will and *Gelassenheit*. For instance, young adults are free to join the church through adult baptism, and 85% of them do so. *Gelassenheit* requires that they then submit to their *Gmay*'s *Ordnung* for the rest of their lives.

Kraybill concludes his book with a longer essay on negotiations within and outside the Amish community, indicating the tension that exists between individuals' choices and their *Gmays'* rules as the Amish react to the many complications inherent in their dealings with the modern secular world. He illustrates this tension and negotiation through the group's creative response to the telephone, whereby all but the most conservative church-communities prohibit ownership of telephones yet tolerate their use outside the home. He contrasts this reception of "solid technology" with the acceptance of "liquid technology" such as smart phones into Amish life. Most communities have reacted to smart phones with acceptance, rejection (shunning or even excommunicating owners of smart phones) or negotiation (limiting their use to mobile telephones without smart applications). However, some Amish have persevered in using smart phones, which are small, portable, and concealable, in spite of the rules imposed by their *Gmays* (146-49).

Both Johnson-Weiner and Kraybill present the Amish in a very positive light as a viable alternative to mainstream lifestyle and values. While Kraybill provides more scholarly depth than Johnson-Weiner, his essays are tinged with a palpable negativism regarding mainstream society, presenting it as a "self-first," "speed at all cost," and "hate-filled world" (17, 94-95,138). While readers can discover much to admire in the small Amish communities and their dense ties, neither author mentions the constraints under which individuals participate in Amish communal life. For example, James A. Cates, a psychologist who serves the Amish, has written about the problems of Amish homosexuals in *Serpent in the Garden: Amish Sexuality in a Changing World* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2020). Individuals who deviate from Amish heteronormative values must either suppress their desires or leave the *Gmay*, which functions as a source of identity, acceptance, and security. Similar costs are borne by victims of familial sexual abuse who must submit to the community's requirement that they forgive and continue to live with offenders. A more balanced description of the Amish ought to encompass both the benefits and the costs of communal life for communities and individuals in order to accurately and fairly shed light on both Amish and mainstream culture.

*University of South Dakota* *Carol A. Leibiger*

**Amish Women and the Great Depression.**
*By Katherine Jellison and Steven D. Reschly. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2023. 186 pp. $49.95.*

Toward the end of the Great Depression, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor and the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture conducted the Study of Consumer Purchases (SCP). As part of this large research project, Old Order Amish women of Lancaster County were interviewed about their household spending habits, farm crops and income, farm and household equipment, home production, dietary habits, leisure time practices, and family size. The data gathered in the 1935/36 federal government's survey served as a source for a quantitative study on production, consumption and gender relations in Amish households published in the 1993 article by Katherine Jellison and Steven D. Reschly in *Agricultural History*. The researcher duo collaborated once again on an analysis of the SCP statistics as a principal source for their book *Amish Women and the Great Depression*. In addition to the data gathered by the Works Progress Administration in the 1930s, Jellison and Reschly consult with qualitative sources to enliven the SCP data in their current publication. Qualitative evidence is sought in the diaries and memoirs of Lancaster County Old Order Amish women, accounts by and about these women in the weekly Amish newspaper *The Budget*, and photographs of their farms and families taken by federal employees. The researchers also drew from an extensive oral history with Walter M. Kollmorgen, the author of a study of Old Order Amish community stability commissioned by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in 1942. By combining the statistical information with qualitative material, Jellison and Reschly aim to provide a fuller picture of the experience of Amish farm women during the Great Depression.

As the most economically stable agricultural community in the nation, the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County were designated by the US Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture for interviews as a potential model for viable rural community life. In form of surveys and questionnaires, more than 1,200 farm families in Lancaster County were interviewed including 74 Old Order Amish families. The surveys, that captured production and consumption activities of the interviewees, reveal how Old Order Amish women sustained family farming during the Depression-era. Jellison and Reschly analyze the documented farming practices and daily lives of these women with comparative data about practices of their non-Amish neighbors. Their study draws a picture of 1930s Amish women as having agency and crossing gender-role boundaries to ensure the success of their family farms. In that context, chapter one of *Amish Women and the Great*

*Depression* discusses the cooperation between the sexes as key to accomplishing the work needed to sustain family farms during the economically devastating time. The authors link mutuality of labor to the absence of large gasoline power farm equipment symbolizing manhood among non-Amish farmers. With their rejection of mechanized, capital-intensive agriculture, Old Order Amish practiced a traditional, labor-intensive family farming style that necessitated cooperation and allowed for flexibility of gender work roles.

In the following three chapters, the authors focus on different areas of women's labor in and beyond the household. Sewing is reported as an activity in which Old Order Amish women outdistanced other Lancaster County women, thereby keeping costs of clothing, bedding, and linen to a minimum. Likewise baking, canning, poultry dressing, and dairy production are listed as activities with which Old Order Amish women helped feed their families and earn necessary cash to finance farm expenditures. It is also noted that women worked in the fields (largely grain, tobacco, or potato) during busy seasons, and they birthed farm-family labor force at a higher rate than their non-Amish neighbors.

Chapter 5 addresses women's recreational lives. The authors give evidence that the Old Order Amish favored leisure time activities that were organized around the family, neighborhood, and church. Quilting bees and other labor frolics reinforced Amish work ethic and community solidarity. The religiously based recreational habits and low-cost entertainment proved to be economically practical for the hard times during the Depression. Likewise, the group's religious practices, noted in chapter 6, were traditional and home-based. Weddings, funerals, and bi-monthly Sunday services were held in private homes and organized and catered by the women of the household and church community, thus saving Old Order Amish families much needed cash resources. In chapter 7, the women's role in times of medical crises is discussed. Their healing practices and eldercare labor saved community members money to compensate for the otherwise high medical costs due to frequent childbirths and farm accidents. Women also performed necessary communication labor in reporting the outcomes of medical treatments to community members via *The Budget*. Within their culturally assigned roles as care givers and social communicators, Old Order Amish women significantly contributed to the group's coping with medical concerns.

The final chapter pertains to the 1942 report on Amish agricultural success written by Walter M. Kollmorgen. The cultural geographer provided an account for the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on how the Old Order Amish of Lancaster County skillfully weathered the Great Depression. The analysis attributes the community's success to the patriarchal system under which Amish farmers and homemakers functioned. Although Kollmorgen

reported on the Amish dependence on women's labor, it needs to be mentioned that he received first-hand information entirely from male community members and only partially told the women's story in his narrative.

With their current study, Jellison and Reschly aim to part with the male-dominated focus on the 1930s Old Order Amish life to reveal the vital nature of women's work and provide an authentic picture of the diversity of tasks and labor they conducted partially under male supervision and sometimes autonomously. The wealth of SCP data and secondary sources used in this study is quite remarkable. The authors cite extensively from memoirs, *The Budget*, and federal government reports. The short chapters are visually enriched with photographs from federal office collections portraying Amish practices, farmhouse interior, and participation at markets, and the appendix includes scans of some consumer purchase questionnaires and additional information about SCP's background, findings, and use. In an effort to examine and compare Old Order Amish consumption and production with those of their non-Amish neighbors, some sections include long lists of items and numbers with general reflection on cultural or historical implications. In the chapter on accidents and illness (which includes several reports of childbirths to which neither of the two terms in the chapter title relates) a per capita rather than household analysis of expenses would give a clearer picture of Amish medical needs of that time. Nonetheless, the book makes a unique contribution to Anabaptist studies by enabling the narrative voices of Amish women to be heard. *Amish Women and the Great Depression* serves as a valuable resource to those interested in American and Anabaptist history of the early 20th century.

*University of Colorado – Boulder* *Berit Jany*

**Fooling with the Amish. Amish Mafia, Entertaining Fakery, and the Evolution of Reality TV.**
*By Dirk Eitzen. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2022. 248 pp. $44.95.*

In 2012 the so-called reality TV show *Amish Mafia* debuted on the Discovery Channel. It ran a total of four seasons and reached an audience of up to 3.65 million viewers. As its oxymoronic name of the show suggests, it draws a picture of Amish society that is in stark contrast to concepts commonly associated with the peaceful and pious faith group. At the center of the action stands a violent gang of Amish enforcers and extortionists who are equipped with guns and ready to engage in nefarious operations in and around Lancaster County. In the first episode, the head of the group, Levi, and one of his sidekicks catch an Amish leader in the act of hooking up with a prostitute and capture

the moment of the man's philandering on camera. Other episodes feature drug-carrying pigeons, a premarital sex training camp for Amish couples, gambling, racketeering, and Satan worshipping. The content of this reality TV show is obviously fake. Non-Amish and ex-Amish people were hired to act out made-up scenarios. In *Fooling with the Amish*, Dirk Eitzen, professor of film and media at Franklin & Marshall College and resident of Lancaster County, investigates how the fakery in *Amish Mafia* was engineered. In his monograph, he points to mechanisms and effects of deception in reality TV in general and employs the uniquely contrived fake show *Amish Mafia* as a specific case study for his media explorations.

In his search for answers to questions about the appeal of reality TV and the role of contrivance and fakery in this genre of television programming, Eitzen starts his study by examining *Amish Mafia* and explaining how the show creates an illusion of reality, thereby confounding and deceiving viewers. He also reveals true identities of the Amish subjects of the show and exposes misleading representations of the Amish community. In the following two chapters, the author puts *Amish Mafia* into historical perspective and gives an account of the long tradition of deception in entertainment, starting with celebrated hoaxes in the nineteenth century and early cinema culture to contemporary TV and "fake news." Furthermore, he gives an overview of the history of reality TV and illustrates how trickery has evolved in shows leading up to *Amish Mafia*. In chapter four, Eitzen analyzes the pleasures of deception in reality TV. In particular, he presents findings from interviews with *Amish Mafia* fans and industry experts, consults with scholarly work on reality entertainment, and shares results of small-scale experiments led by student researchers on viewer perception using clips from *Amish Mafia*. As an outcome of these investigations, a connection between reality TV and gossip is drawn in chapter five. After clarifying the evolutionary origin and social functions of gossip, Eitzen analyzes the role of deception in gossip and how it relates to *Amish Mafia*. The final chapter deals with the ethics of manipulation in reality TV. Here, too, *Amish Mafia* serves as a case study both for the extent of deception and the criticism that the trickery has generated with regards to treatment and exploitation of Amish.

*Fooling with the Amish* combines two projects: it attempts to explain the social and psychological appeals of reality TV; and it documents how Amish people got involved in reality TV and what impact their engagement with this genre has made on their community. On a larger scale, however, Eitzen's work addresses nothing less than the current concerns about the increasingly widespread practice of deliberate dissemination of false facts, often accompanied by mistrust of mainstream journalism and science. He traces the "truth decay" back to social factors and psychological causes, particularly the hunger for sensation and longing for emotional validation and moral superiority, all main

ingredients for gossip. Through a cognitive cultural approach, Eitzen studies deception and fakery in reality TV, with *Amish Mafia* as a main focus. He aims to understand the topic objectively and to critique it fairly by assuming a dual perspective, one that does not judge media consumption, producers' interests, or critics' rationale and motivations.

As Eitzen peels back the façade of the Amish-themed pseudo reality show to help readers discover the underlying interests of viewers, producers, and critics, he utilizes an engaging writing style. His captivating way of narrating about his research includes humorous analogies, puzzles addressed directly to the audience, and cognitive tasks that actively involve the readers. Furthermore, his monograph is visualized by a collage of screenshots, viewer analysis diagrams, images of questionable tabloid stories, and pictures of historical entertaining con. The writing style and images contribute to making this book on critical media analysis an entertaining experience.

The author does not only approach reality TV with the critical eye of a media scholar and careful attention to details. Eitzen has also worked as a filmmaker himself and made documentary films including a nationally broadcast public TV documentary about the impact of tourism on the Amish. As an expert in the field, he dissects individual scenes from the show and reveals filmic techniques and tradecraft used as trickery. His shot-by-shot analysis of camera work, dialogue, and scene setup by which audience is deceived into thinking that what they are watching is real, makes Eitzen's work a suitable reading for critical film studies courses. An accompanying collection of *Amish Mafia* clips analyzed and researched in this book may further support its implementation in the classroom. The diachronic overview of deceptive entertainment and the evolution of reality TV as well as the comprehensive analysis of one particular program is congenial to an arts and media curriculum, regardless of special interest in Amish or plain Anabaptist studies.

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## Literature

**German Literature as a Transnational Field of Production, 1848–1919.** *Edited by Lynne Tatlock and Kurt Beals. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture. Vol. Nr. 235. Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2023, 344 pp, $120.00.*

This collection of fourteen essays is focused on German-language literary production from 1848 to 1919. Norbert Bachleitner examines the relation-

ship of Austrian and German literature in the second half of the nineteenth century, while Daniela Gretz's piece is centered on the international and transnational aspects of Stefan George's literary magazine *Blätter für die Kunst* and the establishment of an international media network. Tobias Boes tackles the early twentieth century *Schriftstreit* at a time when publishers of German literature debated whether to use *Fraktur* or *Antiqua*. The volume also includes fresh perspectives on the (trans)national reception of well-known German authors. In his chapter entitled "Visualizing the End: Nation, Empire, and Neo-Roman Mimesis in Keller and Fontane," Sean Franzel maintains that Keller's anthology *Zürcher Novellen* (1877/1889) and Fontane's historical novel *Schach von Wuthenow* (1883) both rely on images that transcend national borders and include repeated references to the city of Rome for example. Todd Kontje analyzes the "Eurocentric Cosmopolitanism in Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks*." He concludes that Mann's saga about the demise of a family from Lübeck is both "ein sehr deutsches Buch" and characterized by a "double worldliness." Paul Michael Lützeler examines writings by Victor Hugo and Bertha von Suttner, and Caroline A. Kita analyzes Gustav Mahler and *Weltliteratur* through a musical lens. The essay collection also includes chapters on lesser-known German writers, such as the Forty-Eighter Johannes Scherr, who, according to Thomas Beebee deserves to be a little less forgotten. The broad focus of this fascinating volume is also underlined by chapters entitled "Hermann Graf Keyserling and Gu Hongming's Ethics of World Culture: Confucianism, Monarchism, and Anti-Colonialism" (Chunjie Zhang), "Canon Fire: Dada's Attack on National Literature" (Kurt Beals), "Arbiter of Nation? The Strange Case of Hans Müller-Casenov's The Humour of Germany (1892/1893)" (Birgit Tautz), and "Ernst Brausewetter's Meisternovellen Deutscher Frauen (1897-98): Gender, Genre, and (Inter)National Aspiration" (Lynne Tatlock). Scholars in the field of German American history and translation studies will find the chapters by Vance Byrd and Kristen Belgum especially interesting. In "Reading Stifter in America" Byrd analyzes Adalbert Stifter's (1805–1868) work and readership in the United States by focusing on previously neglected sources: German- and English-language reviews and newspaper coverage of Stifter publications appearing in the United States from the 1840s until 1919, concluding that through these translations and editions Stifter became a classic beyond Austrian borders. Kirsten Belgum's contribution examines a text type that is transnational by nature: travel writing. More specifically, Belgum studies the transnational travel writings of Austrian author Ida Pfeiffer (1797–1858) whose literature was widely read in Austria, the German lands, and beyond. Similar to Friedrich Gerstäcker, she also became a household name in English speaking circles. In her outstanding piece, Belgum describes Pfeiffer's work as "born translated" and focuses on

how Ida Pfeiffer became a global celebrity due to her unconventional style, advanced age, and modest travel budget, but especially due to her international connections in science and publishing.

The fourteen case studies included in *German Literature as a Transnational Field of Production* show that international and transnational concepts played a significant role and shaping German literary production during the so-called Age of Nationalism. By focusing on these international forces, the authors highlight the transnational dimensions of the literary and cultural field in Austria and the German lands during this pivotal time in history. This excellent volume should be interesting to students and scholars in the fields of German American history, German studies, and translation studies.

*University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee* *Viktorija Bilić*