

## Book Reviews

*Edited by Marc Pierce*

### Mennonite Studies

#### **Eating like a Mennonite: Food and Community across Borders.**

*By Marlene Epp. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2023. 294 pp. 39.95 CAD.*

Any potluck at a Mennonite church in the prairie states or southern Canada is not complete without at least one crockpot of borscht—a favorite Russian Mennonite soup—along with the discussion on whether the soup requires meat or no meat, cabbage, or beets. Many Mennonite family recipes favor the meat and cabbage variety over the no-meat, beet-based Ukrainian style, even though the soup's name itself evolved from the Slavic word for beet. An exploration of the soup's admission into Mennonite recipe collections is presented in Marlene Epp's new monograph *Eating like a Mennonite*. The work also reflects on the exploitative relationship that existed between Mennonite landowners and Ukrainian laborers that enabled the adoption of borscht as a signature dish into Russian Mennonite cuisine. Epp, who has written extensively about Canadian Mennonites, Mennonite women, and identities, discusses the formation and transformation of Mennonite culinary practices as the faith group encountered other peoples and cultures in the process of migration, colonialism, and missions, and presents a critical assessment of the relationships between Mennonites and food.

As with other ethnic, religious, or culturally distinct groups, a deep connection between identity and food exists for Mennonites due to their global embrace and the spread of an ethnic culinary tradition as well as their historic marginalization and consequent public attitudes toward their food practices

and customs. In her study of the social history of foodstuffs and foodways, Epp focuses less on what Mennonites have eaten in the past than on what food has meant and means for members of the faith community in diverse places and times. As Epp points out, food serves as memory aid and thus plays a significant role in constructing identity. The author not only observes traditional Russian and Swiss Mennonite food and folkways, but also incorporates the diverse range of cultural practices among all individuals and communities who refer to themselves as Mennonite or Anabaptist.

As such, the first chapter is dedicated to a variety of Mennonite communities and food encounters. It discusses the group's contact with other cultures as part of the historic migration experience and mission work where Mennonites embraced, imposed, appropriated, and modified foodways. It also addresses the crossing of cultural food borders that took place when Mennonite settlers encountered Indigenous peoples. Chapter two examines gendered notions of foodways, particularly the association between food and female natures. Epp illustrates how women's foodwork helped preserve memory in a sensory and practical way and how female self-worth was historically linked to food preparation and preservation. The women's work of building community, reinforcing identity, and celebrating the history of food production plays a role in the following chapter that examines cookbooks. Epp makes clear how these collections of recipes—whether published or not—serve as sources of cultural and historical meaning, bring food-related labor of women into the public sphere, and preserve ethnocultural identity. Chapter four narrates stories of hunger and scarcity in the Mennonite past, particularly the struggle with food insecurity in communities located in the (former) Russian Empire and Soviet Union, as well as today's situation in countries lacking adequate nutrition. Epp provides accounts of Mennonites who survived (or did not) long-term diet inadequacies and extreme hunger and acknowledges the experience of lacking nutrition having significantly impacted bodies and memories. The final chapter brings attention to food as part of Mennonite religious rituals, the importance of commensality, and the centrality of food in Mennonite relief programs. The author also addresses Mennonite practices of food charity and justice as they emerge from values and actions deriving from religious beliefs and historical sojourns.

Each of the five chapters includes recipes and photos illustrating the ways in which Mennonites carry culinary culture across various places and times. Epp draws from a variety of sources for her analysis, including personal memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, oral histories, cookbooks, food and culture blogs, and creative writing. She also acknowledges personalized scholarship as some family history informs her research. Her book is an outstanding study on culinary history in the context of Mennonites' lived experiences.

While the German language has largely been forgotten by many Mennonites whose ancestors migrated to North America, the traditional recipes have been carefully maintained as a signpost of identity. Epp's work reveals that some signature Mennonite recipes are in fact the result of migration that brought Mennonites in cultural environments that they absorbed and appropriated. Their foodways reflect a hybrid cuisine and a collective social memory. *Eating like a Mennonite* offers fascinating facts about Mennonite cuisine and multiple perspectives on the group's culinary history. It is a must read for foodies and those interested in Mennonite food history, cultural identities, and contemporary foodways.

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**Radicals and Reformers: A Survey of Global Anabaptist History.**

By Troy Osborne. Harrisonburg, VA: Herald Press, 2024. 400 pp. \$34.99.

As Anabaptists around the world approach the fifth century of their faith movement, several publications and events help observe the 500-year anniversary in 2025. In addition to the launch of the Anabaptist Community Bible and a resource kit consisting of children's books and devotionals, Troy Osborne's monograph *Radicals and Reformers* contributes to the celebration of the movement's half-millennial history. Osborne's book serves as a new authoritative introduction to Anabaptist history. The author was invited by Herald Press to write the survey of the movement's history for use in Mennonite colleges, universities, and seminaries. Additionally, his book is linked in the Anabaptism at 500 tool kit as a resource for the commemoration of the anniversary of Anabaptist beginnings.

Although Osborne starts with an account of the first adult baptism, which took place in Zürich on January 21, 1525, and is celebrated as the symbolic birth of the Anabaptist movement in this year's commemorative events, he does not follow the monogenetic approach of tracing the origins solely to the group of Swiss radicals who baptized one another in a private home as a way of renewing their commitment to scriptural models of faithfulness. Rather, he points out that Anabaptism had separate origins in several European regions. He refers to the legacy of 15th-century Hans Behem and Jan Hus, late medieval Christendom, and humanist writings when explaining the proto-Anabaptist movement. In his narrative, Osborne focuses on ways that faith was lived out more than what theological essentials may have existed during the different periods of faith formation. In addition to notable

early Anabaptist leaders and their diverse theologies, readers will also hear about the lay leadership of females in the early movement and about Anabaptist leaders and groups who followed theological precepts that today's peaceful believers would not find acceptable.

With a chronological commitment and the ambition to create an inclusive Anabaptist history, outlining both the faith and failures of the movement, Osborne does not shy away from addressing the complex and complicated developments and disruptions in the faith group's 500-year history. He points out that Anabaptists have been fallible, at times, whether by building an apocalyptic kingdom in Münster during the early years or by becoming absorbed in political and ideological directions of the surrounding social environment in the twentieth century. As the author gives an honest account of the Anabaptist story that includes troubling episodes of violence, inequality, and patriarchy, he also engages in a discussion on the movement's historiography itself. Through his deconstruction of Harold Bender's "Anabaptist Vision," he proposes a new study of Anabaptist history that acknowledges the movement's diverse, complex, and global character.

In the past 50 years, Anabaptists have transformed from a movement consisting of roughly 600,000 Europeans and North Americans into a global communion of 2.2 million members, many of them living in Africa and Asia and with the fastest growing communities in Latin America. More than one third of Osborne's book is dedicated to the global church, with a particular emphasis on mission work, aspects of continuity and change in Anabaptist congregations in Africa, conversion and adaption among Asian Anabaptists, and mission and migration as driving factors for Latin American Anabaptist groups. Osborne draws from a multitude of current scholarship in the field of Anabaptist history and gains insights into the global movement through histories written by local authors. His work is tightly written, with a range of visual sources, references to foundational documents, and numerous personal stories and outlooks to present-day realities in the global faith community. As the book attempts to tell the remarkable history of the Anabaptist movement, spanning over five centuries and five continents and with increasing complexity and diversity, it is, of course, impossible to include all local and global stories and faith practices. Some groups within the Anabaptist tradition receive little or no attention and evolving Black, Hispanic, and Hmong congregations in North America are largely left out of the chapters dealing with recent history. Nonetheless, *Radicals and Reformers* is an excellent resource for those studying church history at Mennonite colleges and seminaries and for those leaders and laity in Anabaptist churches who are curious about the history of their faith community.

## History

**The Emigration of the Saxon Lutherans in the Year 1838 and Their Settlement in Perry County, Missouri including an account of the emigration and founding of the Missouri Synod by C.F.W. Walther and a memorial by J.F. Koesterling to G.A. Schieferdecker.**

*By J.F. Koesterling. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2022. 245 pp. \$39.99.*

J. F. Koesterling's 1867 monograph documenting the early history of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri was published as the second work in the Concordia Historical Institute Monograph Series to mark the 175th Anniversary of the founding of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS). Although initially translated by Brian Lutz in 1993, it was revised for publication in 2021 by Matthew Carver. The staff at the LCMS's Concordia Historical Institute had first discovered the German monograph in its files some forty years earlier and decided, given its significance as one of the earliest studies of the church body's history, that the anniversary year offered a good opportunity to make it available to a wide audience.

The published work contains a number of documents beyond the study of the emigration to and the settlement in Missouri. Given that Koesterling had accepted a position at a controversy-ridden congregation in Altenburg, Missouri, his first-hand account of the controversy is given a substantial place in the book. An Appendix documents more information about the Altenburg congregation following the controversy and a "Memorial," previously printed in *Der Lutheraner* in 1892, provides information about Schieferdecker's life, preaching, errors and last years. Although seemingly a sideline from the broader focus of the book, the attention to Schieferdecker supplements what can be known about how Koesterling addressed his challenges as a writer and a theologian. It also provides an expansive study of one of the thornier theological controversies faced by the LCMS.

J.F. Koesterling was born in Dohlenshausen, Germany, in 1830. At 19 he immigrated to the U.S. and attended Concordia Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN, graduating in 1853. He served a number of congregations in Indiana before he accepted a position at Trinity Lutheran Church in Altenburg, MO. In his first year, he invited C.F. Walther, then a professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, to deliver an address about the settlement of the Saxons in Perry County, something in which Walther had participated and that took place in the congregation's immediate surroundings. Koesterling includes Walther's presentation as Part I of his monograph.

In Part II of the monograph, Koesterling provides his own analysis of what transpired before, during and after the settlement. It is a relatively brief account (ninety-one pages) in comparison to later studies like Walter Forster's highly regarded 1953 historical study, *Zion on the Mississippi* or Ingerose Paust's well documented 2015 historical novel, *Exodus of the Eight Hundred*. However, it provides the earliest published historical study of the controversies surrounding Martin Stephan, the initial leader of the Saxons, early theological debates on the office of the ministry, views on the nature of the church and on the second coming of Christ. For these reasons alone, this publication provides value to students of church history.

Koesterling's 1864 report of the 1839 arrival of the Saxons in Missouri, only 25 years after the actual occurrence, provides a fairly intimate review of the events in St. Louis, Perry County, and prior-to-arrival, on the ship. Objections to these now standard assumptions have been raised by Philip G Stephan, the great-great grandson of Martin Stephan in his 2008 book *In Pursuit of Religious Freedom: Bishop Martin Stephan's Journey*. However, the publication of Koesterling's early report on Stephan's behavior now solidifies assumptions about the validity of other reports.

In general, Koesterling's writing, and the excellent translation, is both readable and focused. On the one hand, in a substantial 20-page discourse (76ff.) he busies himself with concerns about the heresies of the Buffalo (New York) Synod with names like Grabau, von Rohr and Krause, but his analyses and use of language are easy to follow. Readers do, however, become quickly convinced that his battles, which are many, are mired in historical settings. Koesterling, perhaps with many clergy of his day, saw himself fighting with those who strayed from his interpretation of truth.

Given the focus on doctrinal controversy in Koesterling's writings, this book appropriately includes his analysis of the challenges faced by his immediate predecessor in Altenburg, Missouri. George Schieferdecker was a capable pastor and leader, but he found himself embroiled in a larger debate addressing the return of Christ. He was not the only Lutheran addressing this issue. Jan Kilian, writing from a log cabin in Serbin, Texas, told the LCMS President, C.F.W. Walther, not to insist that Christ's return could come at any time. From his, perspective, if it came before all the biblical prophecies were fulfilled, he felt, God couldn't be trusted! Surprising to many, all three of the men in Koesterling's purview (Walther, Kilian and Schieferdecker) were students at the same time at the University in Leipzig!

For the right historian, exploring the implications of this fact might provide helpful insights for further study into influences that Koesterling could not have known.

**Trauma and Blessings: Autobiography of a Prussian Immigrant.**

By Henning K. Sehmsdorf. *Lopez Island, WA: S&S Homestead Press, 2023. 119 pp. \$21.10.*

"You Can Take the Boy Out of Prussia, but Can You Take Prussia Out of the Man?" is the title chosen by Henning Sehmsdorf for the foreword to this fascinating but complex work. Its author, born in Königsberg, East Prussia (now Kaliningrad, Russia), is a retired University of Washington Professor of Scandinavian Studies and comparative literature who converted his Lopez Island, Washington, property into a self-sufficient farm based on Rudolf Steiner's biodynamic principles.

*Trauma and Blessings* begins with a detailed history of Prussia, from the early medieval period, when it was inhabited by indigenous *Borussi*, from which it derives its name. Early on, the author introduces and reflects upon the virtues that he considers characteristically Prussian, and later, the flaws that give Prussia its negative reputation in European history. It is significant that Sehmsdorf identifies primarily as Prussian, rather than as German. The author lists the virtues as "justice, obedience, loyalty, fortitude, discipline, and work ethic." The virtues and, to a lesser extent, the virtues' failings, constitute themes to which he repeatedly returns.

Chapter Four comprises the autobiographical portion of *Trauma and Blessings*: his 1937 birth, the war years near Dresden, his parents' postwar divorce, and seven years of boarding school rarely visited by his parents, apprenticeship in his father's business, an opportunity to emigrate to Muncie, Indiana (where he worked in a meatpacking plant), a position in Rochester, New York, again with his father's business, attending University of Rochester and attaining a Bachelor of Science, draftee service in the U.S. Army, followed by a return to Germany and a year of studies at the University of Frankfurt.

In Frankfurt, a year-long course taught by Theodore W. Adorno and exposure to the Frankfurt School, became a major influence on Henning Sehmsdorf's own life and philosophy. A scholarship allowed him to pursue a doctorate in comparative literature at the University of Chicago. Again, he was exposed to major twentieth century thinkers including Paul Tillich, Richard McKeon, and Saul Bellow, and to the cultural diversity of Chicago. Interest in pre-industrial European culture led him to study Norwegian folklore, a Fulbright to the University of Oslo, mastery of the Norwegian language, and a 1968 dissertation on Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson's use of folklore and rural dialect in his fiction.

Throughout his autobiographical chronology, the author returns to the Prussian virtues and to the unfolding philosophical and literary influences



that shape his self-perception and self-appraisal. The author lists three significant childhood traumas: witnessing, at age eight, the firebombing of Dresden, his parents' divorce following his father's return from war, and walking in on an intimate moment of his mother's life.

Sehmsdorf's appointment to the faculty of University of Washington's Departments of Scandinavian Studies and Comparative Literature begins to right the ship of his life. Divorce, after a thirteen-year marriage and two children, and his ensuing struggle with the nature of love, finally ends with his marriage to his wife Elizabeth. In the early years of his second marriage, the author begins to construct the life led by his philosophical and literary influences and by the positive Prussian virtues.

A joint vision leads the couple to purchase land on Lopez Island and gradually establish their home and farm. Among many influences leading Sehmsdorf in this direction were the shocking contradiction between the idea of sacredness of food and earth, with which Henning was raised in Germany, versus his experiences in the meatpacking plant and the Nixon-era "Get big or get out" movement in US agriculture. After Sehmsdorf's retirement, the farm became a nonprofit organization with several goals: providing low-cost food for San Juan Islands schools and low-income islanders, bringing public school students to the farm to witness and participate in farm activities, and developing the first federally inspected mobile butchering unit in the US.

*Trauma and Blessings* is no ordinary autobiography or memoir. It is deeply philosophical but also wide-ranging, and Sehmsdorf ties it together in his resolute Prussian identity. That is what makes this a remarkable work. Adding to the appeal of the volume is its photos. They include family photos (ancestral, author's childhood and early adulthood, and contemporary), and some charming old photos and post cards of locations in Prussia that connect with the storyline.

The narrative of *Trauma and Blessings* can, however, be hard to follow. The events in Henning Sehmsdorf's life are complicated and, for much of it, ever changing. The frequent digressions into philosophical reference and commentary and historical connection can make that even harder to follow. What makes it succeed is the remarkable circumstances in its author's life and how he has organized and made sense of them. He used them to create his vision of a moral and ethical life, albeit one out of economic reach for most Americans. In Sehmsdorf's view, he is the sum of his identities as *Prussian* and *immigrant*, and of the traumas and blessings that have shaped his life.



**Enemies Among Us: The Relocation, Internment, and Repatriation of German, Italian, and Japanese Americans During the Second World War.**

By John E. Schmitz. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021. xxviii, 386 pp. \$65 hb, e-book; \$35 pb.

It is not necessarily a bad idea to write on a subject with which one has a personal connection (if it is, *mea culpa*). John E. Schmitz was drawn to his subject as the grandson of a German immigrant and the son of a native-born U.S. citizen interned at Camp Crystal City, Texas, during World War II (xi, xiii-xiv). He claims his study is “the first to address comparatively all three major alien enemy and citizen groups” (6). While this comparative approach has the potential to provide new insights, in his zeal to vindicate his forebears, Schmitz engages in a false equivalency that minimizes the injustice against Japanese Americans and the racism that drove U.S. policies before and during the Second World War and beyond. It starts on page 2 with the assertion that “German Americans and Italian Americans . . . were interned in greater numbers than Japanese Americans.” That is true only if one accepts the euphemism of U.S. authorities that “112,700 Japanese American citizens and aliens” were merely removed from the Pacific Coast security zones to relocation centers whose “primary purpose was to help evacuees relocate and continue with their lives” (3). Behind barbed wire, Schmitz neglects to add. Nor does he mention House Resolution #442 (in honor of the highly decorated Nisei Combat Team), which became law as the 1988 Civil Liberties Act, providing a formal apology and compensation to victims of internment. Had Schmitz read the supportive testimony, he might have heard from Congressman Robert Matsui (D-CA), a U.S. native who was interned as child: “Some say internment was for our own protection, but if that was true, why were the machine guns on the towers above the barbed wire pointed in at us?” It takes until five pages from the book’s end before Schmitz spells out, in a quote rather than his own words, the fundamental difference from how German and Italian immigrants became enemy aliens: “through no fault of their own, or lack of interest, as alien Japanese have never been extended the privilege of becoming naturalized citizens” (287; cf. 185). Most German and Italian “enemy aliens” (a legal term, not a value judgment), would have qualified for naturalization had they exercised the right, and were at least granted hearings before they were selectively interned, superficial and subjective though these hearings may have been. Moreover, nearly two-thirds of interned Japanese Americans were not aliens, but U.S. citizens by birth whose only offense was their race. By contrast, practically the only natives of German or Italian parentage who were interned were those who voluntarily accompanied alien parents or spouses, as Schmitz’s father did.

Although citing naval intelligence officer Kenneth Ringle that “[a]t least 75 percent of Japanese Americans . . . were loyal” (94), Schmitz makes no mention of Ringle’s intelligence coup of burglarizing the Japanese consulate in San Francisco months before Pearl Harbor, obtaining a list of all Japanese agents, and more importantly, “repeated evidence that . . . official agents of imperial Japan looked upon most American Japanese . . . not as potential allies but as cultural traitors not to be trusted,” as Ringle’s son later related (Ken Ringle, “What Did You Do Before The War, Dad?” *Washington Post*, December 6, 1981). Schmitz also missed some important evidence from a book he cites, Max Paul Friedman, *Nazis and Good Neighbors* (2003). When Ecuadorian Gunter Lasken arrived at Crystal City in 1944, he was greeted with the words: “Listen up, kid. In this camp we’re all Nazis and anyone who doesn’t agree, we’ll break his skull” (Friedman, 136-7). Apparently, Schmitz does not read German; his bibliography is overwhelmingly English, save for Hitler’s *Mein Kampf*. If he had read *Das Lager* instead of the English-language camp newspaper, he would have seen that as late as 1944, Hitler’s seizure of power and the Führer’s birthday were celebrated in the Crystal City camp. But Schmitz’s family was probably among the passive majority rather than the active Nazi minority in the camp.

The family was mentioned only in the introduction, thus arousing curiosity, but Ancestry.com offered some answers, and provided a link to a 1997 interview with Schmitz’s father by the Ellis Island Oral History project. Grandfather Adolf Schmitz had been in the country since 1927 but was not yet naturalized, perhaps because he had immigrated illegally by jumping ship, although there was at least one amnesty for such persons before World War II. The author’s father, who later went by John Adolf, was apparently named Adolf John, a paternal name but also one that was making history in Germany when he was born in 1936. According to him, Grandfather Schmitz had registered for the draft, but told the F.B.I. when interrogated that he was willing to fight the Japanese, but not his brothers in Germany. He was temporarily released from Ellis Island a couple of times to store his furniture and arrange his affairs before he and his family were sent to Crystal City, Texas. His son related they were “treated like gold,” and ate better than average Americans. In this family’s case, U.S. authorities probably erred on the side of caution, or even paranoia, but they were not interned indiscriminately as Japanese Americans were (among them some U.S. Army veterans from World War I).

The book has a number of other weaknesses besides its false equivalency. Among missed opportunities, it ignores the symbolic significance of revoking the Italian ban from security zones on Columbus Day, 1942. It never mentions cartoonist “Dr. Seuss” Geisel’s racist caricatures of the Japanese Americans that he later regretted bitterly. It throws out statistical information with

very little contextualization; interned ship crews, for example, hardly deserve the designation German Americans. The book is poorly organized, repeatedly jumping back and forth in chronology. It includes an excess of blow-by-blow accounts of bureaucratic infighting, although that would be potentially important if more signposts had been set. Moreover, there is an excess of long block quotes, with some pages consisting of almost nothing else (130-31, 140-41, 249, 257, 283).

On the positive side, Schmitz is certainly correct that the internment of U.S. German nationals was less egregious than the indiscriminate deportation of Germans from Latin America (some of them Jewish refugees from Hitler!) for internment in U.S. camps. And last but not least, his warning about people “being treated as less than human, in part because of names and labels, many created and repeated by those with influential voices, including, sadly, the forty-fifth president” (xi), has lost none of its validity.

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**The Travel Diaries of Albert Einstein: South America, 1925.**

*Ed. Ze'ev Rosenkranz. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2023. 265 pp. \$30.*

That Albert Einstein, the most famous scientist of the twentieth century, was also a world traveler who kept a personal diary is potentially intriguing. The average person who at least knows his name might hope to find in this personal record comments that even a layperson can understand. The binding is attractive, and a lengthy eighty-three-page introduction provides a helpful analysis. However, the relatively brief diary of forty-one pages (accompanied by an English translation) is less interesting than Einstein's reasons for traveling to South America and writing the diary.

While working in the late 1980s at the Albert Einstein Archives at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Ze'ev Rosenkranz became fascinated with the travel diaries, largely because they provided “uncensored impressions and reflections” (xvii). One of 42,000 documents in the Archives, the *South America 1925* German diary was kept as a personal record, but also as “subsequent reading matter for his wife, Elsa, and his younger stepdaughter, Margot” (3). That comment seems surprising given that the book later contains letters he wrote to both, yet the diary never mentions them.

The editor's introduction suggests that Einstein's travel intentions are more personal than professional (76). On the one hand, he intends to dis-

seminate his theories to a wider audience and to re-establish international cooperation among scientists that had been severed since World War I. On the other hand, he has an interest in visiting a new continent and, at the same time, in ending a relationship with Betty Neuman that began when he was forty-four. Although Einstein was known to have had affairs with at least five women apart from his two wives, the editor tells us Einstein claimed he wanted to be known as a “conscientious and decent person” (16).

Einstein’s comments about Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil, reflect a negative view of the Americas (he had visited the U.S. four years earlier) in comparison with his positive view of Europe. He denigrates the outward cultural flourishes and oratory over against a German inwardness, a matter of style in which form superseded substance (42). For example, he resents that the German community of 30,000 in Argentina, had no interest in his presence, largely because he was a pacifist. He regarded them as more nationalist and antisemitic than Germany proper (49).

The letters in another section of the book give a more personal view of Einstein’s relationship with family and friends. A careful reading of the diary and the letters provides background information on Einstein’s views on Zionism and pacifism. One can also learn some things about the politics, social consciousness, and poetic sensibility of a mathematical genius who often wrote only in numbers and equations.

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### **Alexander von Humboldt. A Concise Biography.**

*By Andreas W. Daum. Trans. by Robert Savage. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2024. 208 pp. \$24.95.*

The Humboldt anniversary year of 2019 marking his 250th birthday led to a spate of renewed interest in the famous polymath, explorer, naturalist, geographer, writer and adherent of Romantic philosophy and science that treated him from a variety of perspectives. This interest included the original German version of the book being reviewed here, published in that same year under the simple title of *Alexander von Humboldt*. The translation has now been expanded to include additional passages, illustrations, endnotes, a selected bibliography and a guide for further reading of English sources to cater to the new reading audience.

As the author states in the introduction, he sets out to view Humboldt “through a refined biographical lens” that “suggest[s] a more nuanced inter-

pretation, portraying a multifaceted Humboldt whose thinking defies simple formulas" (3). Daum is alluding here to seeing Humboldt on the one hand as an overly intellectual mind far advanced for his time who was revolutionary, pre-Darwinian or discovered the interconnectedness of nature, such as he is heroized, for example, in Andrea Wulf's bestseller *The Invention of Nature* (2015). On the other hand., there is also the reduced Humboldt whose import is focused on his America trip of exploration from 1799 to 1804. Gerard Helferich's *Humboldt's Cosmos* (2004) or Lara Dassow Walls' *The Passage to Cosmos* (2009) fall more into that category, as did the 2020 exhibition in the Smithsonian American Art Museum with the corresponding catalogue by Eleonor Jones Harvey, *Alexander von Humboldt and the United States*.

To achieve the broader view, Daum's seven chapters place Humboldt within a large context of practical and economic factors, political expediency, prominent predecessors and collaborators, social relationships, and Humboldt's complex personality not only as a scientist but as human being driven by his senses. That is not to say that others have not done that as well, especially in the German-speaking world. In that regard, Manfred Geier's double biography of *Die Brüder Humboldt* (2009) or Rüdiger Schaper's *Alexander von Humboldt. Der Preuße und die neuen Welten* (2018) are worth mentioning. What ultimately distinguishes Daum's attempt at a differentiated view is that the mere two hundred pages hold true to being "concise" as indicated in the title – and this for the English-speaking world that is less familiar with Humboldt overall.

The author largely succeeds at the task he set himself. He takes us through a number of instances that relativize, yet still give Humboldt his due regarding his contributions to science and his stance on the political developments of the time. Just as he was nearly constantly in movement, so were his ideas on how to process the voluminous nature of the empirical evidence he gathered or how he saw his times evolving. To give a few examples, Daum points out that Humboldt was not just the objective scientist, but through Kant also well aware of the a priori mental constructs that shade our interpretations of the world. Thus, Humboldt, as open to the world as he was, could never completely shed his Eurocentric glasses. These included his romantic view of nature and the desire to unfold a panoramic view of it that runs counter to the objectivity behind the idea of an "Humboldtian Science" that Daum also debunks. Such was Humboldt's desire to unfold that sweeping "Naturgemälde" that he was never really in a position to bore down to the details of a theory of evolution as Darwin did. As much of a Romantic that Humboldt was, he also remained the pragmatist who on the political front was no revolutionary, but probably much more in favor of a reformed constitutional monarchy within a bourgeois legal framework. Yet, these insufficien-

cies and contradictions underlie our continued fascination with Humboldt. Near the end of the book, Daum unravels some of that fascination by harking back to his intention to place Humboldt in a larger context: "The tension experienced between his quest for a grand synthesis and his forced retreats into the fragmentary is evident in the sprawling and confusing character of his published oeuvre. Yet this dilemma was far from an individual problem. It encapsulated the epistemological challenge faced by an age that saw a true explosion of knowledge – a challenge we live with even more intensively in the twenty-first century. Unlike Darwin, Humboldt did not come up with a clearly defined theory that fundamentally changed scientific and social thinking. Humboldt was neither a revolutionary in the scholarly realm nor one in the political world. But he left us with myriad complex thoughts and incentives for further research" (151).

Indeed, the quote is very "concise" at encapsulating the very essence of Humboldt. On the way there, there are also occasions where the text leaves the reader asking for more, particularly when the influences on Humboldt are mentioned. Names are dropped and only briefly elaborated (e.g. the geographer Carl Ritter or the Sinologist Heinrich Julius Klaproth, among others). However, in that regard Daum has provided us with the aforementioned extensive back material (nearly a quarter of the book) that through recommendations for further reading, notes and a selected bibliography can guide us further in our exploration of Humboldt. In that sense, the very "conciseness" of the book is a virtue since it piques our interest in one of the most awe-inspiring figures of the modern world.

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*Reinhard Andress*

### **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 version 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 closer 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 successful in applying a broad international and inter-faith 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*

**Thunder and Flames: Americans in the Crucible of Combat, 1917-1918.**

By Edward G. Lengel. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2023. 470 pp. \$32.99.

Edward G. Lengel, Vice President of Museum Experience at the National Medal of Honor Museum, has written a well-researched and engaging narrative of the American Expeditionary Force's performance on the Western Front while under the command of the French. The author used American, French and German official records and combined them with the personal accounts of soldiers to analyze the evolution of the AEF between November 1917 and September 1918; its arrival in France and the beginning of the Saint-Mihiel offensive.

Individual chapters chronologically delve deeply into the battles that Americans participated in, including Cantigny, Château-Thierry, Belleau Wood, Soissons, and the Aisne-Marne Campaign. In the process, Lengel updates many of the misconceptions associated with the western front in 1918. Traditional scholarship has described a smooth transition from untrained doughboys arriving in France, who gained essential combat experience during spring and early summer to then become the overpowering army that wrapped up the war through concise battles in the fall. Lengel, instead sees a more complex story where individual division, regiments, companies, and squads developed combat cohesion at various rates and at different times. Although soldiers, squads, and companies fought valiantly, common problems such as confusion, disorientation, lack of coordination, intermingling of units, and unwillingness by American officers to learn from the French contributed to unnecessary casualties. As the author points out, some divisions performed better than others during a battle owing to local circumstances and the reliance on improvisation.

Lengel also updates the relationship between French and American leaders and soldiers. He argues that scholars have oversimplified and focused too much on poor interaction, thus ignoring the complex aspects of effective cooperation between American and French soldiers that contributed to victories despite dysfunction at the command and tactical level. Lengel avoids generalizations and argues that although the Franco-American relationship declined over time, several officers from both sides worked well with each other and on occasion soldiers fought effectively alongside each other. Perceptions of each other depended on performance during individual battles and achieved objectives or failures. The French often interpreted American actions as aggressive and hasty while Americans viewed the French as advancing

too cautiously without appreciating the lessons the latter had learned during four years of war. Previous historians argued that the Aisne-Marne Campaign contributed to an improved Franco-American relationship and demonstrated that the American military could be trusted to work on its own. Lengel, instead, points to reports that lamented continued disagreements between military leaders on both sides and persistent problems with distribution of orders, inefficient use of various types of weapons, and insufficient food supply.

One important contribution that Lengel makes is the use of German after-battle and intelligence reports. These reports, for example, recognized that the presence of American soldiers greatly improved the morale of the French. They also revealed the bravery of poorly led American soldiers while battling rapidly advancing German *Stosstruppen* at Seicheprey in April 1918. German intelligence officers rated the soldiers of the 2nd and 3rd Divisions at Belleau Wood as spirited fighters who lacked experience and seemed to ignore high casualty rates. These reports also revealed the miserable situation the Germans were in and the realization that they most likely would not be able to hold off a well-organized attack. Thus, General Ernst Ludendorff developed offensives that aimed to force victory before the Americans could learn effective tactics and have serious impact.

*Thunder and Flames* will be a fascinating read for academics and general readers alike. It offers detailed descriptions of battles in an almost hour by hour account of developments, which can be tedious at times. Lengthy quotes from personal diaries, officer memoirs, and official histories, however, add the voices of ordinary doughboys, enlighten the gruesome narrative of combat, reveal the gusto with which they wanted to fight the enemy, and tell the impact of constant artillery barrages, gas, and combat on their psyche.

As Lengel suggests, more research, especially through a combination of European documents, is necessary to gain an in-depth understanding of the American Expeditionary Force's experience during the entire Great War, but this monograph is an excellent beginning. The author purposefully ended the narrative with the beginning of the Saint-Mihiel Offensive on September 11 conducted entirely by the newly established US First Army. Americans had finally gained good enough experience to fight under their own leadership, although, as the author suggested, mistakes would still be made and lessons would still be learned.

**Spymaster: The Memoirs of Gordon M. Stewart, CIA Station Chief in Cold War Germany.**

*By Gordon M. Stewart, edited by Thomas Boghardt. Oldenbourg: De Gruyter, 2024. 212 pp. \$87.99.*

From a historical perspective, Gordon M. Stewart's connections with many leading figures of the Cold War era prove even more compelling than his exploits as a spymaster. His role as a station chief in the early years of the CIA were marked not so much by cloak and dagger work as by his working relationships with nearly all of American figures who played an important role during that era: General Walter Bedell ("Beetle") Smith, Eisenhower's chief of staff, the first post-war U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, and later the first Director of the CIA (DCI); Smith's successor, Allen Dulles, whose brother, John Foster, was Eisenhower's Secretary of State; the first two U.S. High Commissioners in postwar Germany, General Lucius D. Clay and John J. McCloy; DCI's Richard Helms and William Colby; and even British intelligence officer David Cornwell, better known by his pen name John Le Carré. Stewart's memoirs give an inside view of how the American intelligence establishment was built from the ground up.

But who was Gordon M. Stewart, and how did an earnest and inquisitive grad student at the University of Chicago end up becoming a member of the OSS and a key player in the postwar evolution of that agency into the CIA? As Boghardt makes clear in his preface, Stewart was hardly an outlier in the OSS as an academic. Even before his college years began, thanks to family resources Stewart was able to spend time in Germany during the dying days of the Weimar Republic, where he studied the language and culture of a nation not long before Hitler rose to power. His impressions, as he later became aware, were somewhat superficial: "We now know that supernationalists, xenophobes, and anti-Semites were well represented...[among] parts of the student population during the days of the Republic. They, however, were not the ones we met at social affairs for foreign students. They lived in a different world. Having little access to them, we underestimated their importance. In one of my letters I mentioned the radicals on the right and on the left, but then went on to dismiss them. I was far off the mark" (80). By the time that Stewart returned to Germany as a grad student in 1934-35, he writes that he "was nonetheless deeply aware of the force of the movement that had Germany in its grip.... Germany had set herself apart from the democratic world; she was marching while we stood complaining in the marketplace" (98-99).

During a break from his doctoral dissertation, he had worked for Montgomery Ward and elsewhere, gotten married, and with the outbreak of war, he soon found himself in the Army, gaining a commission in the artillery.

Luckily, his unique background attracted notice, and he soon found himself directing the research branch in the London office of OSS, gathering and analyzing German intelligence while working alongside fellow academic James Schlesinger, Jr., and German émigrés and later academic luminaries Herbert Marcuse and Hajo Halborn. He quickly adapted to an environment in which the “official language was broken English” (113). Stewart’s competence was complemented by a rare lack of ego and an ability to focus on long-range goals. Thus, when he found himself the victim of an internal bureaucratic coup, he accepted a transfer to the secret intelligence branch with equanimity. After his promotion to head of the intelligence branch in Germany, Stewart’s value to the service can be seen when he was ordered to fire Sid Hochster, a case officer who Washington feared was a communist. No stranger to political science, Stewart framed a “carefully balanced argument in which we acknowledged the Marxian origins of social democracy while at the same time maintaining that Hochster was solidly anti-communist” (131-32).

The close connection Stewart maintained with the local population and culture contributed to his success. When General Omar Bradley visited Heidelberg, he asked to meet with “a representative and informed German.” It became clear that Bradley sought “...some insight into the mood of the German public, on the impact of the occupation, and the direction in which German society was tending” (144). Fortunately, unlike the members of headquarters staff, Stewart knew such a person, the economist Alfred Weber. With Stewart translating, Weber and Bradley engaged in a highly stimulating conversation that gave the general answers to his questions.

A key question in Stewart’s mind remained how “people who had shown an almost total lack of social morality build a good society” (146). His own challenge is seen in his work with former Wehrmacht General Richard Gehlen, who with his staff moved almost seamlessly from the Nazis’ military intelligence apparatus to serve as independent contractors for the postwar allies, using their files gathered on Germany’s eastern front. The integration of the Gehlen team into the newly founded Federal Republic’s intelligence service became a major challenge, yet Stewart concluded that a keen knowledge of their common adversary made them “potentially good allies in work against the Russians” (159).

As intelligence collection ramped up in the early 1950s, Stewart never forgot the moral dilemma of a spymaster: “The collector risks little. As an employee of government serving abroad, he is protected by international law. His source has no such protection. He breaks the laws of another country and thereby risks the loss of liberty and sometimes life” (162).

In recounting the latter years of his career, Stewart underplays his role in the firing of the CIA’s chief of intelligence, James Jesus Angleton. He rec-

ognized early on that Angleton's obsession with identifying potential Soviet moles was destroying the morale of the organization. While Boghardt covers the Angleton affair lucidly in the preface, Stewart's note in the memoir was typically succinct: "I enjoyed his company and held him in very high esteem. Bill Colby was right to fire him" (182).

With the rebirth of Cold War sentiments in the wake of Russia's 2022 brutal invasion of Ukraine, led by an autocrat who cut his teeth serving as a KGB agent in East Germany, the publication of this memoir is more than timely. Stewart's steady hand and thoughtful, positive demeanor shine through in his writing, making his career and his private life seem in harmony. While he often takes an impressionistic approach to his subject, his editor's notes provide critical background to complete the framework of the narrative. The work is highly recommended for both academic libraries and general collections.

*Longwood University*

*Geoffrey Orth*

**Fate unknown. Tracing the Missing after World War II & the Holocaust.**

*Von Dan Stone. Oxford University Press, 2023, 432 Seiten, \$45.00.*

Dan Stone, ein Historiker und Direktor des Holocaust Forschungszentrum an einem College der Universität von London, hat sich bereits in älteren, von ihm verfassten Büchern mit den Themen Holocaust, Nazi-Zeit, Konzentrationslagern etc. befasst. Dank eines Stipendiums konnte Stone drei Jahre lang Informationen im Internationalen Zentrum über NS-Opfer im hessischen Kurort Bad Arolsen zusammentragen. Als Nothilfe- und Wiederaufbau-Verwaltung der Vereinten Nationen (UNRRA) 1943 gegründet, wurde 4 Jahre später daraus eine Internationale Flüchtlingsorganisation (IRO) und schließlich, als Teil davon, 1948, der Internationale Suchdienst. Bis 2012 stand diesem Suchdienst, nachfolgend ITS für "International Tracing Service" genannt, das Internationale Komitee des Roten Kreuzes beratend zur Seite. Seit 2019 ist das ITS als das weltweit größte Archiv über die Opfer und Überlebenden des Nationalsozialismus bekannt. Mehr als 30 Millionen Dokumente befinden sich auf Regalen von insgesamt 26 km Länge. Gleich nach Kriegsende versuchten zahlreiche Überlebende von Konzentrationslagern, Zwangsarbeiter und Millionen Flüchtlinge Aufschluss bzw. Gewissheit über das Schicksal ihrer Angehörigen zu erlangen. Gingen Anfang der fünfziger Jahre noch monatlich ca. 4000 Gesuche zwecks Nachforschungen ein, so waren es siebzig Jahre später noch immer 1000 Anfragen pro Monat.

Zweigstellen des Instituts im Ausland sahen sogar einen Anstieg in Ländern wie zum Beispiel Polen, in denen nach dem Fall des Kommunismus nun auch Nachforschungen möglich sind, die es vorher nicht waren. Im Laufe der Jahre wuchs die Sammlung der Namenskarten auf mehr als 50 Millionen an und enthält Informationen über ca. 17.5 Millionen Individuen. Diente das Archiv zunächst nur dem Aufspüren von Individuen, so stellte sich als Begleiteffekt auch die unglaubliche Wichtig- und Ergiebigkeit für die Holocaustforschung heraus - von Aspekten über Zwangsarbeit, Details über Konzentrationslager und Außenlager, Todesmärsche, Exhumierung von Leichen zwecks Identitätsbestimmung, das große Leid von unbegleiteten Kindern und vertriebenen Menschen nach Kriegsende, um nur einige Aspekte zu nennen. Viele Informationen über vermisste Personen sind auch in digitaler Form zugänglich. Photographien, Mappen, Friedhofspläne, Statistiken, Zeichnungen und andere Dokumente sind ebenfalls archiviert. Die Arolsen Archive haben Unterlagen der NS-Bürokratie aus Ghettos, KZs und Gefängnissen zusammengetragen, außerdem Behörden- und Firmendokumente bezüglich Zwangsarbeit und schließlich Alliierten-Akten über den Umgang mit Vertriebenen, den sog. Displaced Persons nach Kriegsende. Bezüglich der Vertriebenen gab es jüdische und nicht jüdische. Die westlichen Alliierten sahen sich gezwungen zu akzeptieren, dass viele dieser Menschen kein Interesse daran hatten, in ihre alte Heimat zurück überstellt zu werden. Landesgrenzen hatten sich kriegsbedingt verschoben, die betroffenen Menschen mögen sich vielleicht nach ihrer alten Heimat gesehnt haben, nicht aber nach einem neuen kommunistischen Regime. Sie befürchteten politische oder gar rassistische Verfolgung. Trotzdem wurden bei Kriegsende zunächst viele in ihre alte Heimat zurückgebracht. Im Laufe der Jahre gelang es einer großen Zahl der Unwilligen, für sich eine neue Heimat in einem aufnahmewilligen Drittland zu finden. Für die jüdischen Überlebenden war die Situation schwieriger. Viele jüdische Gemeinden in Ostgebieten waren ausgelöscht und jüdische Überlebende hatten nicht nur ihr vertrautes Lebensumfeld verloren. Zahlreiche Häuser wurden nun bewohnt von Menschen, die nach Kriegsende ihrerseits gezwungen worden waren, ihre Heimat zu verlassen (z.B. Menschen aus dem bisherigen Osten Polens, der nun an die Ukraine fiel) und nun unter Leugnung jedes vorherigen Eigentumsverhältnisses in den Haushalten lebten, die vor dem Krieg von anderen Menschen bewohnt worden waren, Juden und Nichtjuden. Vereinzelte jüdische Überlebende kehrten zurück, meist, um nach potentiell überlebt habenden Familienangehörigen zu suchen. Besonders für jüdische Überlebende war es schwierig, Aufnahmeländer zu finden, und so übersiedelte die Mehrzahl im Laufe der nächsten Jahre in das Gebiet des heutigen Israel.



In einem Neben-Archiv befinden sich Korrespondenz-Akten, die den Schriftverkehr zwischen dem Suchdienst, NS-Opfern, Familienangehörigen und Behörden dokumentieren.

Dan Stone führt bewegende Beispiele dafür auf, wie bis in die heutige Zeit hinein noch immer Zusammenführungen von Verwandten gelingen.

2013 erklärte die UNESCO die Arolsen Archive zum Welt-Dokumentenerbe. Seine Wichtigkeit, auch Jahrzehnte nach Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges, kann nicht nachdrücklich genug betont werden. Unter diesem Aspekt ist es erstaunlich, dass bis kurz nach der Jahrtausendwende das ITS weder auf dem Radar von Holocaustforschern, noch allgemein bekannt war. Nur durch Druck auf das Rote Kreuz, Details über das ITS und dessen Arbeit preiszugeben, geriet es in einen größeren Blickpunkt. Während des Kalten Krieges ermöglichte das ITS der deutschen Regierung Zugang zu Dokumenten, die dazu beitrugen, dass Kriegsverbrecher besser geschützt werden konnten. Dan Stone spekuliert, dass dies dem Hauptquartier des Roten Kreuzes möglicherweise peinlich war, vielleicht auch, weil es gegen dessen Neutralitätsanspruch verstieß.

Der Fokus dieses Buches liegt auf Individuen, seien es Täter oder Opfer. Das Umschlagfoto zeigt das verträumte, leicht melancholische Gesicht eines der Opfer, einer jungen hübschen Frau, deren Portrait dem Leser später im Buch nicht mehr wiederbegegnet. Es wurde zur Verfügung gestellt von der Wiener Holocaust Bibliothek in London und steht stellvertretend für all die vielen, die entweder im Holocaust ermordet oder jedenfalls nach Kriegsende nicht mehr auffindbar waren. Eine gute Erinnerung daran, dass man zwar vieles in Nummern fassen kann, aber dahinter Leben, Schicksale, Gesichter stehen von Menschen mit Hoffnungen und Träumen.

*West Bloomfield, Michigan*

*Susanna Piontek*

**A Tale of Two Fronts: A German Soldier's Journey through World War I.**

By Hans Schiller. Edited by Frederic Krome and Gregory Loving. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2024. 224 pp. \$ 34.99.

*A Tale of Two Fronts* is the captivating memoir of Hans Schiller, a German soldier who fought during World War I. Karin Wagner, his granddaughter, discovered and translated the handwritten version that Schiller penned in 1928. The memoir encompasses both the Eastern, or often overlooked, Front between 1915 and 1917, and the Western Front during most of 1918, as well as his service in the *Freikorps* during 1919 into 1920. Through Schiller's

eyes and thoughts, the reader learns about the vastness of the Eastern Front, spanning modern-day Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia. Personal experiences reveal the carnage of battle, the lack of supplies, the constant presence of disease and vermin, and the psychological trauma of feeling like the walking dead. Yet, Schiller also reveals the human spirit, including his resolve to not shoot the wounded enemy just because he could, and his willingness to interact with the opponent during the Easter truce in Kurland in spring of 1915.

The memoir confirms several perceptions about German soldiers during the First World War. For example, Schiller wanted to enlist and participate in an important historical event, thus confirming the widespread feelings of patriotism among German university students. The narrative about the Western Front quickly pulls the reader into the excitement of events during May and early June 1918. Schiller had experienced success on the Eastern Front and now sensed the euphoria of rapid advancement and pushing the French beyond the Aisne River. Yet, just as swiftly as events changed, he also began to realize that the Germans had no new reserves to hold and reinforce the advance. Schiller recognized the numerical advantages of the allied opponents and accepted the fact that the war was lost. However, he also insisted that the German soldiers and their military leaders were not to blame. He, instead, insisted that slackers, soldiers in the rear who never experienced combat, socialists, and communists contributed to the country's defeat. Thus, the reader will see Schiller as one of the many soldiers who believed in the stab-in-the-back legend and, like Schiller, joined one of several German para-military groups, collectively known as the *Freikorps*.

The chapter about Schiller's service in the Iron Division makes the most significant contribution to the historiography of World War I. While he was not politically aligned with the *Freikorps*, he joined the division as a mercenary fighter to protect Germany's eastern border, land gained during the war. He participated in a major German-Latvian push against Bolsheviks during spring 1919 and witnessed the unfortunate death of Latvian war hero, Colonel Oskars Kalpaks. He left the Iron Division and Latvia before the *Freikorps* and pro-German Latvians overthrew the Latvian government in May 1919 to serve on the German Polish Armistice border until the implementation of the Treaty of Versailles required the evacuation of German soldiers to a new border. Schiller left military service at the end of May 1920 blaming the treaty for ending his successful career as a soldier.

*A Tale of Two Fronts* will be a fascinating read for academics and general readers alike. Remembrances outline in detail the events during battle, including the soldier's instinct to load, fire, reload, and fire again without thinking while also intuitively understanding that both sides furiously used

the tools of modern warfare to annihilate the opponent regardless of casualties inflicted on either side. The memoir reveals the human side as well. As an artillery man, Schiller was torn between pride of having destroyed an enemy village and the realization of human beings suffering during and after the destruction. Schiller also explained that the way he dealt with the trauma of warfare was his conviction that his life was planned. If the plan was for him to die, he would do so at some point. If the plan were for him to survive, it would be so. He was sure that he had no control in the matter and this belief gave him a level of contentment, allowed him to survive mentally as well as physically and be proud of his military service. The editors supplemented the manuscript with explanations of places, dates, and events, as well as scholarly references. Several photographs of Schiller in military uniform, with other soldiers, with family, and in police uniform from his post-war career allow the reader to see the whole person and envision his experiences. Thus, *A Tale of Two Fronts* delivers an excellent personal account of the events during World War I and post-war Germany.

Missouri University of Science and Technology

Petra DeWitt

**A Nation Fermented: Beer, Bavaria, and the Making of Modern Germany.**

By Robert Shea Terrell. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2024. 240 pp. \$45.

Robert Shea Terrell's book offers an unconventional lens through which to view German history, centering on the role of beer and Bavarian symbols in shaping both national identity and global perceptions of Germany. Challenging the traditional idea of a unified German nation, Terrell explores Germany as a provincial nation, with Bavaria as a distinct cultural and political center that has profoundly influenced Germany's decentralized politics, industries, and cultural evolution.

Terrell examines how Bavarian beer culture and iconography have contributed to global conceptions of the German nation. He situates beer not just as a commodity, but as a powerful cultural and political force, shaped by local traditions and intertwined with the region's economic interests. Through the lens of provincialism, Terrell analyzes how the Bavarian politics, its economic structure, and its traditions of brewing have shaped the German nation from within (such as brewing standards) and from the outside (like stereotypes).

The book traces the complex historical relationship between beer and German identity, beginning with a detailed map of the territorial shifts in southern Germany throughout the 20th century, and a timeline that starts

with the 1516 Beer Purity Law imposed by the Wittelsbach dynasty.

Chapter one explores the rise of lager beer as a dominant style from the turn of the 20th century through the 1930s, highlighting its appeal due to its long shelf life, transportability, and lighter taste. This time period was characterized by significant developments in production standards, taxation, and social reform within the brewing industry. According to Terrell, a pivotal moment came with the 1906 regulations, which shaped the German brewing landscape and set the stage for numerous conflicts over beer throughout the century. While southern brewers remained committed to traditional methods, adhering to the four-ingredient list (water, hops, malted barley, and yeast), northern brewers continued to rally against national regulations. The northern states celebrated when the 1906 ingredient restrictions were relaxed (until the 1920s), allowing the inclusion of additional sugar and malt sources, a necessary adjustment due to the shortages caused by World War I.

In chapter two, Terrell examines how beer became a central battleground for the Nazi regime and brewers, particularly in southern Germany (such as the rejection of the sugar proposal in 1938). The chapter illustrates how the Nazi ideal of the “healthy, strapping, and abstinent German” was often at odds with the pervasive culture of drunken violence that was integral to Nazi expansionism and the race wars. Terrell explores the Third Reich’s evolving attitude toward commodities like beer and tobacco—once a focus of public health concern—that ultimately became crucial to sustaining the war effort.

Chapter three, “Liquid Bread,” illustrates the evolving political landscape of Bavaria from the postwar Occupation period to the establishment of the Federal Republic. Terrell argues that the ongoing food scarcity and escalating East-West tensions led to greater agricultural dependence on Bavaria, positioning the region as a pivotal force in shaping both Allied and Western German policy. One of the most significant outcomes of this period was Bavaria’s success in convincing the government to retain the beer tax as the sole consumption-based tax to remain under the control of the German states—a policy that persists to this day.

In chapter four, Terrell examines how beer was promoted not only as a popular beverage but as a defining characteristic of the (West) German nation. He argues that the West German state encouraged beer consumption as part of a cultural nationalist agenda, reviving Weimar-era plans for *Gemeinschaftswerbung*. As a result, the stereotype of the beer-drinking German emerged as a product of postwar economic and political conditions. Beer served to refresh laborers and to facilitate both private and public sociability, while simultaneously reinforcing social hierarchies—such as the male producer-citizen and female consumer-citizen roles—and helping to silence the Nazi past. Initially, Bavaria participated in both regional and national adver-

tising campaigns, but by the early 1960s, there was a concerted effort across the country to downplay regional differences and present a unified image of beer and German identity.

Terrell's fifth chapter focuses on the *Reinheitsgebot*, both a cultural symbol and a key regulator of the beer market. Terrell identifies two major conflicts between the 1950s and 1970s that led to West Germany's renewed commitment to beer purity. The first, the *Süßbierstreit*, highlighted disagreements over brewing standards, with stricter regulations in Bavaria. The second, the *Europäische Bierkrieg*, prompted West German politicians to recognize the *Reinheitsgebot* as a distinctly German, rather than merely Bavarian, tradition.

Drawing on the American anthropologist Arjun Appadurai's political economy of taste theory, Terrell argues in chapter six that the exclusivity of claims to Bavarian quality and authenticity is rooted in the legal frameworks of capitalism, including patents, naming rights, and proprietary claims. Terrell uses Munich-based Löwenbräu brewery as a case study for how beer from Bavaria, and especially Löwenbräu, played a significant role in shaping international perceptions of West Germany and in obscuring the Nazi past. Terrell claims that, unlike the versatility of "Pilsner beer," the authenticity of Bavarian beer was intrinsically tied to its place of origin, which in turn was bound up with myths and stereotypes about Bavaria itself.

The final chapter focuses on the transformations from the recession to the Wende (1970-1990s). Terrell argues that as Löwenbräu struggled, the notion of beer authenticity became increasingly exclusive to Munich and Bavaria, despite the region scaling back its efforts to promote cultural approximation after the 1970s. While West Germans maintained their cultural emphasis on the importance of the *Reinheitsgebot* (which was later embraced by East German brewers), the European Court of Justice (ECJ) undermined it as a market barrier during the 1980s. In 1995, "German Beer" (which has adhered to the national version of the *Reinheitsgebot* for bottom-fermented lager) became one of nine products officially recognized by the EU Commission.

Terrell offers a fresh perspective on German commodity history by focusing on Bavaria and its international popularity. *A Nation Fermented* is a valuable contribution to the study of modern German history. While Terrell effectively engages readers with a narrative of Germany's modern history through beer, he occasionally oversimplifies and overstates the influence of beer and Bavaria, as seen in his discussion of the beer tax as a factor contributing to the Weimar Republic's collapse. Though Bavaria, as Terrell notes, is often compared to Texas in terms of its size, language, independent spirit, and rural traditions, it is also important to recognize Bavaria's strategic position under American occupation. This status significantly boosted Bavaria's popularity and helped position the region as a leader in export industries like

automobiles, electronics, chemicals, beer, and machinery. Terrell's analysis of Bavarian beer as a tool for rebranding (West) Germany abroad touches only the surface of this complex phenomenon.

Despite focusing on Löwenbräu as a strong case study for how Bavarian beer shaped global perceptions of Germany, *A Nation Fermented* overlooks the role of 19th-century German American immigrants in developing these perceptions, particularly those from states like Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. Additionally, while Löwenbräu's global market share has waned, Hofbräu has emerged as a dominant brand with six Hofbräuhaus beer halls across the US. Nevertheless, *A Nation Fermented* offers important historical insights into Germany's cultural and economic relationship with beer, shedding new light on Bavaria's role in shaping both domestic and international perceptions of the nation.

*University of Texas at Austin*

*Sabine Waas*

**The Journals of the Moravian Mission to Georgia, 1734-1737:  
From Herrnhut to Savannah.**

*By Achim Kopp and John Thomas Scott, eds. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press & Roman & Littlefield, 2023. vii + 284 pp. \$120.00.*

For the first time in almost 300 years readers now have access to English translations of the German diaries or journals of the Moravian missionaries who settled in the Georgia Colony around Savannah in 1735. Because they are preserved in the Unity Archives of the Moravian Church in Herrnhut, a small village in Saxony, Germany, and written in often miniscule handwriting in difficult-to-decipher eighteenth-century German *Kurrentschrift*, it is understandable that these documents were rarely used by scholars and have remained relatively unknown until now.

In 1734 nine Moravian men left Herrnhut for London, England, to meet up with their leader August Gottlieb Spangenberg, who had made arrangements with the Georgia Trustees for the group, known as the "first party," to sail to Savannah, Georgia, to become part of the Georgia Colony. The group boarded the ship *Two Brothers* on February 3, 1735, and disembarked in Savannah on April 8. The following year the "second party" of twenty-five more Moravians, including women and children, led by David Nitschmann, the first Moravian bishop of the renewed Moravian Church, set sail on the *Symmonds* on October 31, 1735, from Gravesend, England, and arrived in Savannah, Georgia, on February 23, 1736. On board were also John and

Charles Wesley, founders of the Methodist Church, and Benjamin Ingham, who established the Moravian Church in England.

Favorably impressed by the sober and industrious Moravians, the Georgia Trustees in January 1735 had granted the Moravians 500 acres in the Georgia Colony in Zinzendorf's name and promised to lend them the money to pay for their passage. The Moravians viewed the land in Georgia as a possible refuge should they ever be expelled from Saxony, Germany, as well as an opportunity to begin missionary work among the Creek and Cherokee Indians in Georgia, although at the time the Trustees had not given the Moravians permission to evangelize the Native Americans living there. Five years after their arrival the Moravians abandoned Georgia mainly because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to take up arms to defend Savannah from the Spanish in Florida.

It was the custom of Moravian missionaries and pastors to keep detailed diaries or journals on their mission expeditions or assignments, not as personal accounts, but as reports which they sent back to Herrnhut to inform church leaders about both spiritual and everyday problems encountered during their mission work, as well as any progress they had made. These reports were read and often annotated by Zinzendorf and other church leaders and then shared with the community at large.

From among a number of journals written by Moravian settlers of the Georgia colony, Achim Kopp and John Thomas Scott selected the diaries of August Gottlieb Spangenberg, David Nitschmann, Johann Töltchig, and Johann Andreas Dober, which constitute the four chapters of this volume. These journals, ranging from 29 to 55 pages in length, were chosen for their interesting content, the relative importance of the four leaders in the Moravian Church, and the fact that all four journals deal primarily with the period from 1735 to 1737, when the colonizing activity of the Moravians in the Georgia was at its height. The Spangenberg journals make up the first chapter and consist of two chronological segments, which are the longest in the volume. Part one begins with the first party's arrival in London on December 27, 1734, and ends when they reach Savannah, while the second part, written in early 1736, looks back to important events in Savannah in the summer of 1735 and up to Governor Oglethorpe's arrival with the second party in Georgia. Chapter Two, the Nitschmann diaries, covers the second party's journey from Herrnhut to England, the voyage across the Atlantic, and their arrival in Georgia in February 1736. Chapter Three, the Töltchig journals, begins shortly after Spangenberg and Nitschmann leave Georgia in spring 1736 and ends abruptly in fall of 1737, even though Töltchig remained in the Georgia until spring of 1738. Not only do the dairies of Töltchig tell us a lot about life in the Georgia Colony and the difficulties the settlers encountered, but



they also cover the Moravians' interactions with John and Charles Wesley and Benjamin Ingham, the founding of the mission school for the Yamacraw tribe on the island Irene north of Savannah, the Moravians' dispute with the authorities because of their refusal to take up arms to defend the colony, and the start of the dissolution of the Moravian mission in Georgia.

The journal selections are exceptionally well documented with endnotes that identify people and places, explain unusual terms and phrases, provide complete references to all Scripture verses and hymn stanzas mentioned, indicate when a word in the manuscript has been added, crossed out, or is illegible, or when there is a break in the manuscript, and clarify whether dates are in the Julian (Old Style) or Gregorian (New Style) calendar. In addition to these copious endnotes, the editors provide the reader with useful explanatory annotations that help to place these journals in their historical context, including a thorough introduction at the beginning of the volume, a Georgia Moravian timeline, a list of settlers, profiles of the Moravian journal authors, biographical sketches of the Moravian settlers, four pages of maps, two appendices, a comprehensive bibliography, and a complete index. Appendix A is comprised of a reprint of the article "We Have Come to Georgia with Pure Intentions" by George Fenwick Jones and Paul Martin Peucher [sic], originally published in 1998. This article contains the authors' translation of three letters by August Gottlieb Spangenberg from Savannah in 1735, which are held in the Unity Archives in Herrnhut. These three letters, accompanied by six images and a brief account of the Moravians' eventual departure from Georgia in 1740, chronicle the experiences of the first party on their journey to Georgia and complement the Spangenberg journals in Chapter One. Appendix B consists of a list of alternate spellings of names and terms found in the Moravian journals.

These firsthand accounts are a rich source of cultural and historical information, from what life was like on the long voyage across the Atlantic to the everyday problems of survival on the frontier. We learn, for example, how the settlers treated illnesses and dealt with death, how they got along with the civil authorities in Savannah, how they handled internal disputes and conflicts, and how they worked with the Native Americans and tried to learn their language. A theme that runs throughout the journals is the importance that the Moravians attached to their religious beliefs and practices. Some of these distinctive Moravian customs and rituals, for example, were the discussion of and recording of the Daily Text (*Lesung*) for each day, the practice instituted by Zinzendorf in 1728 of providing a Bible verse each morning that would become the watchword to live by for that day; the frequent holding of hymn services (*Singstunden*), a worship service consisting of various hymn

stanzas that formed the message, another custom initiated by Zinzendorf; the celebration of religious holidays or special events with a love feast (*Liebesmahl*) or agape meal, a simple meal that originated with early Christians to demonstrate unity and equality; the use of the lot to seek divine guidance when confronting a difficult decision, a practice that goes back to Old Testament times; the creation of “classes” or small groups (*Banden*) of like-minded members, who would meet informally for prayer and to support each other spiritually; and the conducting of monthly meetings (*Bettag* or *Gemeintag*) devoted to prayer, the discussion of important matters to the congregation, and to the reading of letters or reports from missionaries. Since large parts of the journals deal with the voyage across the Atlantic, readers are also introduced to geography, nautical terms, and how captains of sailing ships dealt with the vagaries of wind and weather.

The journals also cover the interactions between the Moravians and fellow traveler, John Wesley, who often worshiped with them and found their song services (*Singstunden*) especially appealing. He followed their missionary work with the local Indians with great interest and carried on extensive theological discussions with Spangenberg, Nitschmann, and Töltchig. In fact, Wesley began to study German not only so he could converse with the Moravians in their language instead of university Latin, but to translate into English their hymns and chorals. At one point during his sojourn in Georgia, Wesley even considered joining the Moravian Church, but Church elders suggested that he might not be quite ready yet.

The editors are to be commended for overcoming considerable geographical, archival, and linguistic challenges in producing in print for the first time a highly readable English translation of the journals of the Moravian missionaries to Georgia and thereby filling a gap in the otherwise well-documented history of the British Georgia Colony. Not only is this volume exceptionally well edited, but the editors also provide a significant amount of additional information to help readers understand these journals and place them in their historical context. General readers as well as scholars, especially of American Colonial history and religious studies, will find these translations of the first-hand accounts of the Moravian missionaries to Georgia to be a fascinating and important source of cultural and historical information.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

**Moravian Soundscapes: A Sonic History of the Moravian Missions in Early Pennsylvania.**

*By Sarah Justina Eyerly. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2020. 269 pp. \$80.00.*

*Moravian Soundscapes* is both a personal memoir and a comprehensive history of the Moravian mission effort with Native Americans, primarily the Delaware and Mohicans, in Pennsylvania between 1740 and 1794. It opens with a useful “Note on Naming, Terminology, and Archival Sources” (xv-xvi) and a six-page Prologue, in which the author explains how twenty years ago she learned of a translation of the journal of her ancestor, Johann Jacob Eyerly, Jr., a Moravian missionary from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in which he describes what he observed as he walked across much of Pennsylvania to survey the 5000 acres between Bethlehem and Presque Isle on Lake Erie that the Pennsylvania Legislature had granted the Moravian Church in 1791. Reading Eyerly’s description of the fertile soil and the dense forests with its diversity of sounds in what was known as the Erie Triangle in Pennsylvania became the inspiration for the author’s research that culminated in this book.

Following the Prologue is an extensive Introduction (7-48) that begins with a recounting of the savage massacre by a militia from Washington County, Pennsylvania, of ninety-six peaceful and defenseless Mohican and Delaware Moravian men, women, and children at the Moravian mission in Gnadenhütten, Ohio, in March of 1782 in retaliation for attacks on Scots-Irish settlers by other Delaware and Wyandot Indians on the Pennsylvania-Ohio border. Two young boys survived this horrific event and reported that the Native Moravians went to their death while singing the hymns and Psalms they had learned from their missionary leaders.

The Moravian ritual of hymn singing was not confined to church services alone, but was part of everyday life. Even the seriously ill and those facing death were sung to, which the Moravians referred to as *Einsingen* (singing at death). For the author the study of sound is essential for an understanding of the interaction between Moravian missionaries and the Native Americans in Pennsylvania during the eighteenth century. Eyerly views Moravian hymnody as a cultural mediator between the Moravian missionaries, for whom the singing of hymns was part of their identity and a fundamental aspect of their daily Christian life, and their Native Christian converts, who appropriated Christian theology and Moravian rituals from the hymns and music and who then adapted their own music and instruments in response.

Much of the Introduction is devoted to a history of Moravian missions to the Native Americans, starting with Christian Heinrich Rauch, the first

Moravian missionary to immigrate to Pennsylvania from the Moravian community of Marienborn, Germany, to work with the Indians. Inspired by the story of Conrad Weiser, a German from the Palatinate, and his encounters with Native peoples, Rauch sailed to New York in 1740 and sought permission to live among the Mohicans in the village Shekomeko, which became the first Moravian mission in New England.

The missions in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut were not the first Moravian missions in the New World. The first Moravian missionaries had arrived on the island of St. Thomas in the West Indies in 1732 to minister to Black enslaved peoples working on the sugar and tobacco plantations. The following year three Moravian missionaries were sent to Greenland to support the mission work there, and in 1735 missionaries travelled to Surinam on the coast of South America to look into establishing a mission there. That same year two groups of Moravian missionaries and their families from Herrnhut, Germany, arrived in Savannah, Georgia, as part of the Georgia Colony headed by Governor Oglethorpe to begin mission work with the Creek and Cherokee Indians. The Moravians, however, abandoned the mission after five years because of the unhealthy climate and their unwillingness to defend the colony from the Spanish.

*Moravian Soundscapes* consists of four chapters, each of which is preceded by a short prologue of two to five pages in which the author uses her own personal experiences to introduce and help the reader understand the topic of each chapter. Chapter One, "In Penn's Woods," imagines the soundscapes of the dense forests of Pennsylvania that Moravian missionaries encountered while at the same time describing the hunting practices of the Native Americans with whom the missionaries interacted. While the author bases much of this chapter on George Loskiel's history of Moravian missionary work of 1789, she also draws on the accounts of many other Moravian travelogues, diaries, and hymns. Moravian hymnody was often multilingual; with missionaries singing them in German and the Indigenous converts in their own languages during their daily life, travels, and worship.

Chapter Two, titled "Friends and Strangers," concentrates on the organization of the community or *Gemeine* of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, with its communal economy or *Oeconomie*, based on the common ownership of property and shared division of labor, and its distinct social order with members of the community divided into choirs according to age, gender, and marital status, that determined how people lived, worked, and worshiped. Especially interesting is the role that music and singing of hymns played in their daily life, often in the form of simultaneous polyglot singing of hymns or the improvisation of hymn singing, a practice first started by Zinzendorf in Germany. The Economy of Bethlehem supported not only the home

community (*Hausgemeine*) and its workers with various trades, but was the main support of the pilgrims' community (*Pilgergemeine*), who carried out the mission effort in Pennsylvania, New York, and Connecticut. The second half of the chapter examines the interaction between Moravians and non-Moravians who visited Bethlehem as well as the relationship between the German missionaries and the Indigenous peoples.

Chapter Three, "Sound and Spirit," focuses on Johann Christoph Pylaeus, a Moravian convert, who was chosen by lot to become a missionary to North America and who arrived in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in fall of 1741. There he met Joshua Sr., a native Mohican converted by Rauch, who had travelled to Bethlehem with Zinzendorf, where he was baptized and where he and Pylaeus were members of the same choir. The two traveled together and ministered to such missions as Gnadenhütten. They improvised hymns together in hymn services (*Singstunden*) in the Moravian style that used some twenty basic choral melodies.

Chapter Four, titled "1782," looks at the Moravian missions and communities in Pennsylvania after the Seven Years War, the dissolution of the economy in Bethlehem after the death of Zinzendorf in 1760, and how the Moravians were affected by the Revolutionary War. When the Moravians changed their communal economy to a cash-based one, individuals could now lease a parcel for their own home. With the end of communal life and the change to single family homes came also the end of daily group worship services and a decline in singing hymns by memory and improvising new ones. This period also witnessed an unfortunate increase in violence between settlers and Native Moravians, who were being moved westward. The chapter ends with a graphic recounting of the massacre in 1782 of the peaceful Moravian Indians at Gnadenhütten, who went to their death singing the Christian hymns they had learned from the missionaries, but that went unrecognized by their executioners.

The volume concludes with a short Epilogue and a glossary of Moravian terms. The Epilogue quotes from a letter that several Moravian brethren wrote to George Washington, the newly installed president of the United State, asking for his protection of the Moravian mission to the Indians in Petquoting on the Huron River. In spite of investigations called for by Washington and Congress, no one was ever held accountable for the worst massacre of the Revolutionary War. However, in 1792 Congress granted the Moravians 2,000 acres, which Johann Jacob Eyerley, Jr., surveyed for the church.

A unique and useful feature of *Moravian Soundscapes* is the companion website ([https://doi.org/10.33009/moraviansoundscapes\\_music\\_fsu](https://doi.org/10.33009/moraviansoundscapes_music_fsu)). The website follows the book chronologically from 1740 to 1782 and provides

a wealth of interactive maps, timelines, visuals, and sound recordings of Moravian hymns sung in Mohican and Delaware languages that help readers to interact with the sounds and images presented in the book.

*Moravian Soundscapes* is well written and well documented and concludes with an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources and an index. A few editorial mistakes, such as incorrect syllabifications in German, not listing Kenneth G. Hamilton as translator (along with Lothar Madeheim for volume II) of the Bethlehem Diaries, Vols. I-II (1971-2001), not always providing places of publication in book references, and not listing in alphabetical order items in the bibliography under the letter “s,” will hopefully be corrected in a second printing. By framing her study of the first Moravian missions in Pennsylvania within her own life story, Sarah J. Eyerly has created a fascinating study that connects the present with the past, but that both the general reader interested in Moravian history and the specialist in early American history, religious studies, or sacred music will find informative and engaging.

Stanford University

William E. Petig

**The German Texas Frontier in 1853. Ferdinand Lindheimer’s Newspaper Accounts of the Environment, Gold, and Indians.**

By Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham. College Station, TX: Texas A & M Press, 2024. 256 pp. \$34.95.

As Carl Wittke succinctly summarizes, the German-language press in the U.S. played an important role in orienting migrants to their new society while simultaneously serving as a vital link to their cultural roots, offering familiarity and a sense of connection to their heritage (1957, p. 8). Despite numerous studies that have examined the peculiarities and influence of the German-language press in the U.S., the archives of German American newspapers are largely unknown, with persistent research gaps and a vast amount of unexplored content. Daniel J. Gelo and Christopher J. Wickham’s book seeks to address this gap by examining a two-year period of the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* (NBZ), one of the earliest German-language newspapers in Texas. The book offers a glimpse into the experiences and observations of its editor, Ferdinand Lindheimer—a naturalist and journalist—during the mid-nineteenth century. Through a collection of translated newspaper articles, it presents a vivid portrait of Texas from Lindheimer’s perspective, exploring themes such as environmental conditions, the lure of gold, and encounters with Indigenous peoples.

Lindheimer, regarded as the “father of Texas botany” (1), was also a keen observer of the social and political transformations unfolding in Texas. As editor of the NBZ, which he began overseeing in 1852, he documented not only the region’s landscape and ecological characteristics but also the ambitions and anxieties of German migrants navigating an unfamiliar and often challenging frontier. The book is structured into nine chapters and, in addition to translations of selected newspaper reports, includes illustrations such as maps, portraits, and paintings. Gelo and Wickham provide background on Lindheimer’s life and career, as well as the historical circumstances that shaped German migration to Texas. They also engage with questions of translation, discussing the challenges of rendering Lindheimer’s nineteenth-century German prose into accessible English while maintaining the original nuances of his expression.

Gelo and Wickham’s translation and contextualization of these articles offer valuable insights into Lindheimer’s perspective, illustrating how German settlers interpreted and adapted to their new environment. For instance, in his reports on the speculation about mineral wealth and economic prospects in Texas (chapter 3). Lindheimer connects the management of natural resources with prevailing mentalities. He highlights “the clear differences between the Germans and the Anglo-American character” (47), contrasting the American “drive for speculation and risk” (p. 48) with “the German work ethic,” which, he argues, helped “keep any impulses for a Texas gold rush to a minimum” (p. 53). Lindheimer’s newspaper recurrently explores environmental factors and their effects on both settler and Indigenous populations, offering social, political, and economic insights into frontier life. Among the topics that Gelo and Wickham highlight, Indigenous cultures and relations stand out as particularly significant, encompassing encounters, the role of forts in frontier security (chapter 4), and the nature of peace treaties (chapter 5). Lindheimer’s writings reflect a more nuanced understanding of Indigenous needs for trade and the consequences of white encroachment on their lands. Beyond documenting contemporary Texan news, the editor’s reports reflect on historical events including (questionable) settlement patterns, providing a broader temporal perspective. However, like the authors, I find it striking that Lindheimer—who demonstrates an affinity for the meticulous classification of plants—exhibits so little curiosity about the tribal affiliations of Native American groups and their interrelations. As Gelo and Wickham note, this raises the question of whether he was able to “distinguish different ethnic communities accurately” (9).

The final parts of the work shift focus to the newspaper’s belletristic content, offering readers a glimpse into both the romanticized and derogatory portrayals of Native Americans in poetry and prose. Through a close read-



ing of “The Squatter’s Wife” and its intertextual connections, for instance, chapter 7 compellingly illustrates how German and Anglo-American settler myths were embedded in fictional narratives that circulated not only within the United States but also across the Atlantic. In doing so, Gelo and Wickham provide insight into the diversity of newspaper pages, which transgress genre boundaries by blending news reporting, literary storytelling, and cultural commentary.

Despite these strengths, the book has some shortcomings. While the book focuses on newspaper articles and Lindheimer’s editorial perspective, it misses a broader discussion of the German American press, particularly in the context of Texas. Additionally, some of the authors’ claims about Lindheimer rely more on speculation than textual evidence, making them less convincingly substantiated. A deeper engagement with theoretical frameworks such as frontier theory, migration studies, or environmental history might have further enriched the volume. Additionally, though the editors acknowledge the racial and colonial dynamics present in Lindheimer’s writing, a more sustained critical analysis of these aspects could have strengthened the book’s engagement with contemporary historiographical debates.

*The German Texas Frontier in 1853* is a valuable contribution to the study of German American history and the Texas frontier. By making Lindheimer’s writings available to a wider audience, Gelo and Wickham’s book deepens our understanding of the cultural and environmental history of the period and highlights the evolving relationship between German settlers, Indigenous peoples, and the frontier landscape. Moreover, it invites further exploration of the German American press as a vital medium for shaping immigrant identity and community cohesion.

*German Historical Institute*

*Jana Keck*

**Professing Classics: Between Germanosphere and Anglosphere (mid-19th-21st C.).**

*Edited by Ward Briggs and Danuta Shanzer, with the collaboration of Sonja Schreiner. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. vi, 334. \$109.99.*

The Germanophone countries and the Anglophone countries have long been sites of reciprocal scholarly exchanges. This fascinating and readable volume takes up one particularly field, namely Classics, focusing on Classicists who moved between the Germanophone (especially Germany and Austria) world and the Anglophone world (in both directions), starting in the mid-

19th century. Some of these scholars were forced to do so by factors beyond their control (e.g., anti-Semitism under the Third Reich), while others did so for personal or professional reasons. The book contains 13 thematic chapters, as well as an introduction and a conclusion, and grew out of a conference held in 2014 in Vienna. In what follows, I comment briefly on some of the chapters I found the most stimulating, focusing on the chapters involving North America. (Three of the chapters are on scholars who moved to the United Kingdom or Ireland and, while interesting, are left aside here.)

Ward Briggs offers a paper called “Teutonomania: Gildersleeve, Goethe, and the Southern Experience in Germany” (33-52), which focuses on Basil Gildersleeve, the well-known American classicist, who was trained in Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen after completing his undergraduate studies at Princeton. (Several other scholars from the American South are treated in less detail.) Gildersleeve began to read extensively in German literature at Princeton, and his deep love for this literature, especially for Goethe’s work, led him to study in Germany. This in turn set him on a career path, as he changed his main field of interest from German literature to Classics; Gildersleeve eventually became Professor of Classics at Johns Hopkins University and founded the *American Journal of Philology*, which remains one of the journals of record in Classics today. It is clear that his time in Germany affected Gildersleeve profoundly, and that Classics in the USA would be radically different, had Gildersleeve never gone to Europe.

Christian Flow discusses an example of international scholarly exchange going from the USA to Europe in “Eduard Wölfflin and his *amerikanische Schule*” (53-85; italics in original). Wölfflin was a professor in Munich, as well as one of, if not the, most important figure in the founding and early years of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (TLL; for details, see <https://thesaurus.badw.de/en/project.html>), and the founder of the journal *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*. He also had at least fifteen American students during his time in Munich, some of whom eventually became prominent Classicists (e.g., Edith Hamilton, who was the headmistress at the Bryn Mawr School in Baltimore and published widely on classical topics, including a very popular book on mythology); this group was collectively referred to as Wölfflin’s *amerikanische Schule*. Despite various challenges (e.g., lack of funding, struggles with the German language), these Americans contributed considerably to the TLL and the *Archiv*, and then were able to utilize their German training to contribute to the field in North America.

My favorite paper in the volume, “Jochem Schindler: Wien – Harvard – Wien” (249-60), by Franz Römer, actually does not fit the volume’s theme (as Römer notes at the beginning of the paper), as Schindler was an Indo-Europeanist, not a Classicist. Schindler (1944-94) was a spectacularly talented

scholar, who went from graduate student in Würzburg to full professor at Harvard in a span of six years, a record that will most likely never be matched, and eventually returned to his native Vienna as a full professor and later dean. Although Schindler published relatively little, what he did publish was brilliant and important. A full study of Schindler's place in the history of linguistics remains a desideratum, but Römer's personal and engaging study is a very nice first step towards that goal.

My list of criticisms is quite short. First, some quotes are given only in translation, while others are given only in the original, and more consistency in this area would have been good. Second, at times a heavier editorial hand would seem to have been called for, as some of the contributions occasionally still read like conference papers, and a few of them should have probably been condensed a bit. But in general the volume offers valuable studies of a number of interesting topics, and the editors and contributors are to be applauded for their efforts. It will be of interest to all those interested in Classics, and to many readers beyond that narrow audience as well.

University of Texas at Austin

Marc Pierce

**Transatlantische Rivalitäten: Deutsche und amerikanische Einstellungen zu Technik, Kultur und Moderne.**

*By Frank Trommler. Köln: Böhlau, 2024. 216 pp. \$33.*

“Militarism and science! [*sic*] these are the keynotes of the German scheme. The one insults our ideals, and the other challenges our inefficiency. ... can we ever hope to get the German scientific efficiency of civilization welded into our own philandering, individualistic democracy?” In 1915, the left-wing intellectual Randolph S. Bourne asked how German culture had led to such warlike autocracy. Bourne had visited Germany shortly before the outbreak of World War I, and subsequently developed a strong aversion to German militarism. The war truly showed the abysses of German efficiency and objectivity.

Professor emeritus of German at the University of Pennsylvania, Frank Trommler, traces the development of German “Sachlichkeit”, the organizing of modern society and its influences and perceptions on both sides of the Atlantic. *Transatlantische Rivalitäten. Deutsche und amerikanische Einstellungen zu Technik, Kultur und Moderne* is a cultural history of the transatlantic entanglements in the field of technology. In fourteen chapters (each 10 to 22 pages long), Trommler showcases transatlantic similarities and differences in

dealing with and perceiving of technology and culture, leading to rapprochements and distances. As the United States and the German Empire emerged as industrial leaders towards the close of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, both countries gradually began to compete. As Trommler persuasively demonstrates, this competition was not merely driven by economic factors, but rather by ideological dominance, thus shaping the very concept of modernity.

The author begins his book with the wake-up call of German mechanical engineer and Berlin professor Franz Reuleaux, who had visited the *Centennial International Exhibition of 1876* in Philadelphia. Reuleaux conceded that the quality of goods manufactured in Germany was significantly lower than those of other countries (“billig und schlecht”). Over the next decades, the U.S. continued to display their (new) self-confidence at international exhibitions while German commentators sometimes alarmingly, yet often also rather arrogantly reaffirmed Germany’s strong international reputation as a leading technological powerhouse.

Trommler provides the needed nuance in deciphering the multi-layered discourse by offering one of the first extensive studies that exclusively deals with the transatlantic debates on technology and culture. From the founding of the German Empire to the Weimar Republic, U.S.-German rivalries led to creativity and produced images of both, desires and enemies. In comparison to the narrower, yet more optimistic understanding of technology in the United States, Europe developed a broader, culturally inclusive, albeit more skeptical technology discourse (41, 203). After 1900, a distinctively German approach to technology emerged, marked by the idealized and pragmatic elevation of objectivity that characterized the aesthetic mobilizations of the period (89-90). Each chapter highlights specific developments and how contemporaries made sense of these, from the impressive displays at World’s Fairs to artistic training in European metropolises, from technological euphoria to anxiety, torn between technological functionalism and artistic beauty.

The register of persons at the end of the book testifies to the vibrant (albeit predominantly white male) discourse. Up until chapter 14, female voices are mostly missing and while this does not surprise given the masculine sphere of technology, a reflection on gender and race in technological discourse would have provided important contextualization at the height of German colonialism.

Moreover, a subject index might have enhanced the book’s accessibility. For example, the *Deutscher Werkbund* (German Association of Craftsmen), is discussed in several chapters (87-89, 91-102, 107, 122, 156). Established in 1907 with the objective of improving the competitiveness of German enterprises, particularly with England and the United States, the *Werkbund* emerged as a pivotal catalyst in the development of a new national culture.

This was achieved through the integration of traditional crafts and industrial mass production techniques, ultimately contributing to the emergence of the Bauhaus school of design.

These issues aside, *Transatlantische Rivalitäten* underlines the need to look more closely at the transcultural dialogues at the heart of debates on progress and modernity. The book should be particularly welcomed by historians of intellectual, technology, and immigration history

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Jana Weiß

## Linguistics

### **Deutsche und weitere germanische Sprachminderheiten in Lateinamerika: Grundlagen, Methoden, Fallstudien.**

*Edited by Patrick Wolf-Farré, Lucas Löff Machado, Angélica Prediger, and Sebastian Kürschner. MINGLA – Minderheiten Germanischer Sprachen in Lateinamerika / Minorías de lenguas Germánicas en Latinoamérica 1. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2023. 396 pp. \$90.95.*

This volume is the first in a series devoted to minority languages with Germanic origins in Latin America. This series was conceived at a conference held at the Universität Eichstätt-Ingolstadt in 2019, and contributions to this volume are largely based on work presented at that conference. A stated goal of the series is to further international and interdisciplinary exchange in the study of all Germanic minority languages spoken in Latin America. While the majority of contributions (ten of thirteen) to this first volume are written in German and present research on varieties of German (twelve of thirteen), the series plans to publish research articles written in German, Spanish, Portuguese, or English addressing any Germanic minority language in Latin America.

The volume begins with an introduction by the editors which discusses the state of research on Germanic minority languages in Latin America, describes the range of work presented at the 2019 conference, and introduces the individual contributions contained in the volume. The articles are grouped into three sections: *Grundlagen* (foundations), *Methoden* (methods), and *Fallstudien* (case studies).

The section devoted to foundations contains two contributions. Peter Rosenberg's chapter "Deutsch in Lateinamerika: Sprachinseln, Archipele, Atolle" is an excellent introduction to the topic of German in Latin America

and is noteworthy as the contribution with the broadest appeal to readers with a general interest in German dialectology and sociolinguistics. It provides an overview of areas where German is spoken as a minority language in Latin America accompanied by maps and relevant statistics, the status of German as a foreign language in the region, and a discussion of relevant sociolinguistic issues including language contact and change in the context of language shift. Danish as a minority language in Argentina is the subject of the other chapter in the first section. This chapter by Karoline Kühn and Jan Heegård Petersen focuses on issues of language contact and the relative stability of Argentine Danish as a minority language.

The section of the volume devoted to methods contains four contributions, beginning with a chapter introducing the MEND corpus (Mennonite Low German in North and South America) by Göz Kaufmann, Jan Gorisch, and Thomas Schmidt. This chapter provides a detailed discussion of techniques used to elicit data from speakers in Mennonite communities in multiple countries and the complexities and decision making involved in compiling those data into a searchable corpus. A second contribution in corpus linguistics by Neubiana Silva Veloso Beilke describes the development of a corpus of Pomeranian Low German in Brazil. Toponyms incorporating “Eck(e)” among the German speaking minority in Southern Brazil is the subject of a chapter by Lucas Löff Machado, Angélica Prediger, Fernando Hélio Tavares de Barros, and Jéferson Schaeffer. The final contribution to this section by Katharina Löschner considers the historical development of the German speaking press in Uruguay and the linguistic characteristics of German language print media over time.

The final section devoted to case studies includes six contributions. Alicia Cipria’s chapter presents research on language maintenance and shift in the Volga German community in Valle María, Argentina. Claudia Maria Riehl’s chapter considers similar issues in German communities in the Brazilian state of Santa Catarina. Karen Pupp Spinassé examines pedagogical issues in the teaching of standard German in communities in which the Hunsrückisch dialect is spoken in Brazil, advocating for strategies that use knowledge of the minority language variety as a bridge to standard German. The history of minority language policies in Brazil with particular emphasis on policies in German speaking communities is the topic of a chapter by Mônica Save-dra and Leticia Mazzelli. Luana Cyntia dos Santos Souza compares language maintenance, language shift, and language revitalization efforts in two Brazilian communities in which Pomeranian Low German is spoken. The final contribution in the case studies section by Willian Radünz takes an ethnographic approach to the use of German as a marker of authenticity and local identity in the context of a local festival in southern Brazil.

This is a high-quality volume with many excellent contributions. Despite the goal of the series to consider the full range of Germanic minority languages throughout Latin America, this initial volume focuses heavily on German varieties, and minority language communities in Brazil appear to be somewhat overrepresented. Nevertheless, it is an excellent start to a new series, and readers interested in German speaking minorities in Latin America will obviously find it of great interest. Many of the articles will also be of interest to scholars of German minority communities in the US and Canada as there are many parallels regarding issues of language shift, language maintenance, and contact induced language change.

University of Iowa

Bruce H. Nottingham-Spencer

**Die Rolle sprachlicher Normen für Deutschsprachige in Brasilien - Untersuchungen bei Nachfahren von Eingewanderten in Rio Grande do Sul.**  
By Lucas Löff Machado. Berlin: Peter Lang, 2024. 384pp. \$90.95.

This book is the second volume in the newly founded series on German-speaking minorities in Latin America (*Minderheiten Germanischer Sprachen in Lateinamerika: MINGLA*) and is based on Löff Machado's dissertation. It is organized into nine chapters and offers a detailed account of the history and current status of German-speaking communities in Brazil as well as community members' attitudes towards language norms.

The introduction, preceding Chapter 1, presents the research questions, defines key terminology, and outlines the book's structure. Chapter 1 provides a concise historical overview of German settlements in Brazil, organized chronologically into the early 19th century, the late 19th century to WWII, the language restrictions during WWII, and the post-war years to the present, demonstrating an impressive synthesis of previous studies and historical information. Chapter 2 introduces the linguistic characteristics of German varieties spoken in Brazil - such as *Hunsrückisch*, *Pommerisch*, or *Plattdeutsch* - and contextualizes them within the seven cities included in the study: Alto Feliz, Arroio do Padre, Colônia Nova, Nova Petrópolis, Imigrante, Sinimbu, and Santa Rosa. The chapter stands out for its clarity of linguistic description and meticulous attention to detail, providing readers with a nuanced understanding of the linguistic diversity in each of these communities.

Chapter 3 introduces a detailed description of the historical development of language norms and standardization for both German and Brazilian Portuguese before discussing their relevance for the German-speaking communi-



ties and potential variation expected in domains such as school, church, print media, and by different types of people (e.g., preachers, teachers, women). The exploration of attitudes and beliefs which may impact language practices in German-speaking communities is exceptionally thorough. In addition to the information that is specific to German in Brazil, the critical discussion of standardization processes and effects of language norms on heritage speakers can easily be transferred to other immigrant communities. Chapter 4 presents a critical introduction to the linguistic jargon and discourse analytic concepts used to interpret participants' responses in the following chapters. In fact, the elaborate discussion of key terms makes this section a valuable resource for researchers considering a discourse analytic methodology in their research.

Chapter 5 outlines the methodology and participants' demographics. The study involved 57 participants (split by age and education level) across 41 interviews (140-41) in seven cities. Participants completed five tasks, including a language background questionnaire, two translation and a reading task as well as an interview part on attitudes towards language norms (see table 5, 144-45, and Appendix 2). A total of 48 hours of interviews were recorded, 40 of which were transcribed by the interviewer, which is particularly notable given the discourse linguistic detail provided in the transcripts. The number of participants and their wide geographical dispersion is remarkable and makes this corpus an invaluable resource in preserving German-speaking communities in Brazil. It would be commendable if the corpus were made openly accessible in the future.

Chapter 6 introduces the participants and their language background and analyzes their phonological realizations of selected lexical items in the local and standard-like variety as elicited in the translation tasks. The combination of quantitative analyses of "distance between local and standard-like pronunciations" (e.g., Table 20, 182) and individualized speaker comments (e.g., Table 24, 195) makes this chapter engaging both from a phonological and sociolinguistic standpoint. Chapter 7 provides a detailed exploration of the terminology used to describe standard-like and dialectal varieties of German, incorporating participants' evaluative attitudes associated with these terms. The chapter compellingly presents participants' notions and beliefs of standardized forms such as *Hochdeutsch*, *Hofdeutsch*, and *Deutsch*, showcasing a wide array of opinions. In some cases, the presentation of data would benefit from greater quantification (e.g. Table 36), as specifying the number or percentage of interviewees who used a particular term would enhance the clarity and interpretability of the findings.

Chapter 8 examines attitudes of study participants toward the use of German across different domains. It stands out for its qualitative analysis, featuring transcript excerpts that illustrate how individuals negotiate their linguistic

knowledge and identity in interaction. Besides the detailed interpretation and discussion of participant's diverse beliefs and attitudes, this chapter is an excellent example of how to apply discourse analytic methodology. Chapter summarizes the main findings of the previous chapters and highlights the results obtained in Chapters 7 and 8.

Overall, this is an engaging and compelling book, including thorough discussions of terminological and methodological background, an impressive amount of data, and rich findings. One point of criticism would be the fragmented structure of some chapters, where very short sections (e.g., *schwierig/difícil*, on 266; *popular* on 286) focus on isolated responses, detracting from broader thematic insights. Similarly, overarching trends such as whether attitudes are consistent within cities or how regional and social factors contribute to variation could be articulated more clearly. Nonetheless, this book is an invaluable resource for researchers interested in German-speaking communities in Brazil, particularly regarding language norms and attitudes. In addition, the thorough introduction to discourse linguistic analysis (Ch. 5) and its application in Chapter 8 are highly useful for scholars interested in employing this approach. Finally, the extensive transcriptions and meticulous analysis make this book a significant contribution to the study of German-speaking contact groups both in Latin America and beyond.

Texas Tech University

Maike Rocker

### **Handbuch Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache.**

*Edited by Michael Szurawitzki und Patrick Wolf-Farré. Berlin/Boston: de Gruyter, 2024. 1015pp. \$270.*

Dieses umfangreiche Nachschlagewerk behandelt theoretische Grundlagen, aktuelle Forschung und didaktische Ansätze für Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache, mit besonderem Fokus auf die Verwendung der Sprache in der beruflichen Kommunikation. Das Buch ist unterteilt in sieben Schwerpunkte: Theoretische Aspekte (5 Kapitel), Historische Dimensionen (4 Kapitel), Allgemeine sprachliche Charakteristika (8 Kapitel), Didaktische Perspektiven (9 Kapitel), Fachsprachliche Textsorten und Kommunikationsformen auf Deutsch (14 Kapitel), Disziplinen (3 Kapitel) und Internationale Perspektiven (16 Kapitel). Die Kapitel sind typischerweise zwischen 15-25 Seiten lang und geben somit eine Fülle an Informationen in relativ kurzer Zeit. Jedes einzelne Kapitel beginnt mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung, Schlagwörtern und einem Inhaltsverzeichnis, das die Gliederung des Textes

zeigt. Dieser Aufbau macht es einfach, innerhalb weniger Sekunden zu erkennen, was der Fokus und die zu erwartenden Unterkapitel des Textes sind. Am Ende jedes Kapitels folgt ein Quellenverzeichnis der im Text verwendeten Literatur, sodass eine Vertiefung anhand dieser Quellen vereinfacht wird. Am Ende des Handbuches gibt es ein Sachregister, das Fachbegriffe und ihre Nennung aufführt (1003-1015). Obwohl jedes einzelne Kapitel lesenswert ist, kann diese Rezension leider nicht jedes der 59 Kapitel (plus Einleitung) zusammenfassen, weshalb hier nur eine Auswahl der für die LeserInnen des Jahrbuchs relevanten Kapitel vorgenommen werden soll.

Die naheliegendste Wahl ist das Kapitel von Per Urlaub, John Benjamin und Alexander Lorenz, welches den aktuellen Stand von Deutsch als Fach- und Fremdsprache in den USA (949-964) behandelt. Die Autoren beschreiben, dass Deutsch in den USA historisch durch Einwanderer als Herkunfts- und Fachsprache etabliert war, diese Rolle jedoch im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts infolge von Assimilation, gesellschaftlicher Marginalisierung und fehlender Förderung zunehmend an Bedeutung verloren hat (p. 950). Auch deshalb hat die amerikanische Germanistik an vielen Universitäten in den letzten Jahrzehnten sowohl an Studierenden als auch an Relevanz verloren. Es wird kritisiert, dass der Deutschunterricht an US-Universitäten häufig noch immer einer literarischen und philosophischen Tradition folgt und wenig berufspraktisch ausgerichtet ist (951). In diesem Zusammenhang werden zwei erfolgreiche Programme vorgestellt, die Deutsch als Fachsprache gezielt in berufsspezifische Kontexte integrieren. Die University of South Carolina Upstate legt dabei den Schwerpunkt auf industrielle Kooperationen und bietet Studierenden die Möglichkeit, Praktika bei deutschen Unternehmen zu absolvieren (956-57). An der United States Military Academy wiederum dient das Deutschstudium der Förderung interkultureller Kompetenz bei Kadetten (958-61). Die Autoren argumentieren überzeugend für eine stärkere Integration von Deutsch als Fachsprache um das Fach insgesamt zu revitalisieren und nennen etwa die IT-Branche, das Gesundheitssystem oder das Finanzwesen als mögliche Anknüpfungspunkte. Solche Verbindungen könnten dazu beitragen, die Germanistik in den USA attraktiver und zukunftsfähiger zu gestalten. Obwohl am Ende des Kapitels mögliche Hürden reflektiert werden (etwa der Mehraufwand für das Lehrpersonal), betonen die Autoren, dass diese Reformen nicht als Minderung, sondern vielmehr als Bereicherung der Qualität der Germanistik zu verstehen seien.

Die Kapitel von Karen Pupp Spinassé (965-72) und Patrick Wolf-Farré (973-86) beschreiben ähnliche Trends für Brasilien und Lateinamerika. Besonders interessant ist hierbei die Tabelle im Anhang von Wolf-Farrés Kapitel (pp. 985-86), welche die Zahlen von Deutschlernenden, Deutschlehrenden

und Schulen mit DaF für 21 lateinamerikanische Länder im Jahr 2020 sowie die Entwicklung von 2015 zu 2020 detailliert aufführt. Sowohl Pupp Spinassé als auch Wolf-Farré betonen das Interesse der Lernenden an Deutsch, da die Sprache als vorteilhaft auf dem Arbeitsmarkt und als Möglichkeit des sozialen Aufstiegs angesehen wird. Folglich plädieren beide für eine stärkere Integration von Deutsch als Fachsprache sowie eine engere Verknüpfung von Sprachlehre und praktischen Anteilen bei deutschen Organisationen.

Da alle drei der bisher beschriebenen Kapitel ähnliche Entwicklungen und Lösungsvorschläge formulieren (nämlich eine stärkere Konzentration auf Deutsch als Fachsprache) sollen im Folgenden das Kapitel von Nikolas Koch und Claudia Maria Riehl zu aktuellen Tendenzen (127-47) und das Kapitel von Paweł Szerszeń, Przemysław Wolski und Christian Efinger zur Integration digitaler Technologien (627-43) vorgestellt werden. Koch und Riehl diskutieren zunächst detailliert die Herausforderungen an DaFF im Kontext von Globalisierung, Diversität, Migration und Digitalisierung und verweisen insbesondere auf die Auswirkungen von Entwicklungen bei der Künstlichen Intelligenz (KI) auf den Sprachunterricht. Hierbei wird etwa der Einsatz von KI-gestützter Lernsoftware wie Chatbots und Schreibassistenten als zentraler Trend hervorgehoben (p. 129). Szerszeń, Wolski und Efinger vertiefen dieses Thema in ihrem Kapitel und kritisieren, dass Unternehmen digitale Technologien umfassend nutzen, während die Sprachvermittlung im Bereich E-Learning noch Nachholbedarf habe (p. 628). Die Autoren beschreiben das Potenzial von Lernplattformen, Korpuslinguistik, Augmented Reality, Virtual Reality und KI-basierten Tools für den DaFF-Bereich und werben für eine stärkere Integration von digitalen Technologien in den Sprachunterricht als Antwort auf die Anforderungen der globalisierten Welt.

Die hier beschriebenen Kapitel bilden nur einen kleinen Teil des Handbuches, das eine umfangreiche Sammlung von informativen und aufschlussreichen Beiträgen bildet. Es richtet sich demnach nicht nur an Wissenschaftler, die im Bereich DaFF forschen, sondern kann als Inspiration und Ressource für die Modernisierung von Sprachprogrammen verstanden werden. Als Open Access Publikation sollte das Handbuch ein vielgenutztes Referenzwerk für jede Lehrkraft im Bereich DaFF werden. Es bildet somit einen wertvollen Beitrag für die Germanistik weit über die Grenzen von DaFF hinaus.

*Texas Tech University*

*Maike Rocker*

## **Art, Art History, and Music**

### **Josef Albers: Late Modernism and Pedagogic Form.**

*By Jeffrey Saletnik. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022. 218 pp. \$40.00.*

Jeffrey Saletnik is a professor of Art History and the Director of Graduate Studies at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. He has written four books on Modernism and the Bauhaus during its fourteen-year history's continued impact practiced by its teachers and students in the diaspora.

This book provides an Introduction and an Epilogue along with six chapters analyzing Josef Albers's work entitled *Linear Constructions*, *From Object to Process*, *Progressive Education*, *Photography*, *Fold/Manifold*, and *Color Aid*. Seletnik's interest in Albers's work is in demonstrating how his philosophy and technique resulted not from the Bauhaus but from his training to be a primary school teacher in Wilhelmine, Germany. Studying the thought of Ivan Illich and Paulo Freire, Saletnik believes, Albers tried not to impose his ideas on students, but to encourage discovery and innovative solutions to problems. This approach informed his teaching and his practice in which the interrelationships between educational philosophy and artistic practice were paramount.

Albers grew up with a pedagogy that used a prescribed curriculum that sought specified outcomes or products, rather than the future-oriented creative process that Albers developed to help the student discover a personalized result. While some may have seen John Dewey's "learning by doing" in Albers' method, he had not read Dewey but was influenced by Pestalozzi and Froebel who emphasized curiosity as the primary goal of learning.

After immigrating to the U.S. in 1933, at Black Rock College and later at Yale, Albers developed a curriculum with three parts: design, drawing, and color. Ultimately, he believed that a curriculum fostering imagination and promoting discipline could result in "sheer magic" (48). Instruction was meant to develop a student's visual consciousness that would inform the appearance of their work regardless of the media employed. The student, Saletnik assesses, was not to make art. Rather objects were meant to be evidence of a student's creative behavior. Albers created circumstances in which students developed mental flexibility and productive intention.

Albers worked with photography, paper, metal, cardboard, painting, and colors. The material was not the important thing, but a catalyst to help creativity produce solutions. The experimentation at Black Rock and Yale was intended as a "catalyst for creativity". A creative consciousness was to experiment with material mutability. For the observer to see the product that stu-

dents developed is to see only a still image. To imagine the learning process, however, one must consider how the material is folded, manipulated, juxtaposed, photographed, painted, and used productively or creatively.

Saletnik also analyzes the work of two of Albers' students, Erin Hesse and Richard Serra. Both followed the 1958 dictum of Albers that a young artist should "keep off the bandwagon" (91). The goal, Saletnik observes, is not to be fashionably successful but to be an inventive performer of a new seeing. A visionary keeps independent of fashionable trends, not to be different, but to remain based on a lifetime of self-criticism (91). To ape the work of another, Albers believed, is an easy approach to art making, but to develop one's own creative vision is an arduous and lengthy process (92).

Alber's interest in achieving newly experienced visual effects, Saletnik believes, led to the development of his famous nested squares. Restricting himself to a fixed design, he discovered a way to allow the effects of color interaction to achieve aesthetic ends (126). The colored squares no longer appear as distinct elements isolated from one another, but as a mass that moves in an act of visual agreement.

This study is both a profound analysis of modernism as well as a unique analysis of how one influential artist prepared to create something unique to his domain. The vocabulary in the text may be slow reading for a person who lacks the art historian's terminology. However, a disciplined focus on Saletnik's analysis can have significant implications not only for artists, but also for anyone willing to appreciate the advantages that innovation has over imitation.

*Concordia University Texas*

*David J. Zersen*

**German Expressionism. Paintings at the Saint Louis Art Museum.**

*By Melissa Venator with contributions by Simon Kelly, Courtney Books, Molly Moog, and Lacy Murphy. Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 304 pp. 199 color plates. \$65.00.*

This publication overviews the enduring significance of the Saint Louis Art Museum's (SLAM) internationally renowned collection of more than 700 expressionist artworks. In doing so, it provides a scholarly examination of one of North America's most extensive collections of Modern German paintings. The author, Melissa Venator, is the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Assistant Curator of Modern Art and joined the Missouri Museum in 2019. The volume both captures the essence of the Expressionist movement and its key

contributors (*Die Brücke*, in Dresden in 1905, and *Der Blaue Reiter*, in Munich in 1911), as well as the history and legacy of the Expressionist collection housed in Saint Louis.

In the introduction, the author traces the Saint Louis collection's origins to the influx of modern German art that poured into the United States during the Second World War. Based on new archival findings, she dives into the unique history of the Saint Louis Expressionist collection. In particular, she analyses the acquisition and investment strategies of the Museum's single largest donor: Morton D. May (1914–83). May, a philanthropist, art collector, and businessman, acquired a vast collection of Expressionist artworks between 1950 and 1971, which he bequeathed to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1983. The collector gifted all but ten paintings presented in this volume.

May had grand ambitions for his collection. As Venator points out, as early as 1958, May aspired to endow the Saint Louis Museum with a complete showing of exceptional German Expressionist paintings. He proclaimed himself to be on a “one-man crusade to see that German expressionism was given its rightful position in modern art”. His aspiration was to familiarize the American public with a key movement in Modern Art that he felt had not garnered sufficient recognition.

Following the introduction, the subsequent 240 pages are dedicated to the catalogue entries highlighting the span of pictorial techniques and subjects of German Expressionists. Richly illustrated with 199 color plates, the catalogue closely examines a diverse body of 48 works that were made from 1905 to 1939 by 25 of the movement's leading figures (Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Franz Marc, or Oskar Kokoschka). It also covers overlooked artists (Karl Hofer, Walter Gramatté, or Albert Bloch) who enjoyed considerable reputations in the early decades of the 20th century and, as the author argues, deserve greater recognition in today's literature.

Each painting is accompanied by a scholarly entry that calls attention to the unique stories behind each artwork. Along with an analysis of iconographic and socio-historical factors, the catalogue offers a meticulous formal analysis of the individual works and an assessment of the diverse influences of Expressionism (Vincent Van Gogh, Paul Gauguin, Henri Matisse and others).

Overall, the documentation is very rigorous and comprehensive. The catalogue entries are organized alphabetically by artist name and followed by a complete documentation including materials and techniques, list of alternative titles in all languages, inscriptions and marks, provenance lists, related works, catalogues raisonnés, literature, and past exhibitions. This is completed by a selected biography serving as reference for the expansive and growing literature on Expressionism and an index.



The strength of this publication lies in its broad and inclusive definition of Expressionism, as reflected in its careful selection of paintings. Venator's catalogue of works offers a representative overview of this eclectic movement and its many expressions and derivations across time and space. It strings together works from adjacent artists that paved the way for German Modernism like Paula Modersohn-Becker, to expressionist artists at the movement's height on the eve of the First World War, such as Erich Heckel.

Finally, it includes artists like Paul Klee or Lovis Corinth who challenge the movement's formulas.

Morton D. May's ambition was to assemble a representative selection of Expressionist paintings in the United States. This publication, in uniting these works in one volume and offering new and compelling viewpoints and research, follows in his footsteps. It admirably preserves and extends the collector's legacy, as well as his aspiration to do justice to an eclectic artistic movement he held in great affection.

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*Jelena Fally*

**Otto Piene: Paths to Paradise.**

*Edited by Museum Tinguely. With contributions by Lauren Hanson, Mary Hale, Barbara Könches, Sandra Beate Reimann, Tina Rivers Ryan and Otto Piene. Germany, Munich: distributed by Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 320 pp. 338 color plates. \$57.00.*

This monographic exhibition catalog offers a fascinating dive into the creative world of Otto Piene (1928–2014), the German artist and founder of the Zero Group (1958). Piene is known for his intermedial works and innovative synergies of art, technology, and nature. Edited by the Museum Tinguely in Basel, Switzerland, it serves as a comprehensive companion to a major retrospective of Piene's work that has been shown at the museum from February to May 2024. With this retrospective exhibition and its associated publication, the Swiss Museum continues exploring innovative contemporaries of the museum's artist Jean Tinguely (1925–91) who was also associated with the Zero Group and shares Piene's passion about kinetic art and optical perception.

Through six insightful essays, richly illustrated by 338 color plates, the reader is offered a thematic and vibrant visual journey through Piene's most significant works. In a "transmedial" curatorial approach, the authors analyze the artist's body of work across media genres to explore the artist's unique

artistic vision and emphasize recurrent themes and motifs. Through this approach the reader discovers the potential of Piene's public, social, and environmental art from a present-day perspective. The essays are followed by a detailed catalog of Piene's most important works, his biography, and the list of the exhibited works at the Museum Tinguely.

Six notable German-speaking and Anglophone art historians and curators analyse Piene and his works. This is in line with Piene's own biography since his work was nurtured not only in Europe but also in the United States and specifically at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Center for Advanced Visual Studies (CAVS). The transnational character of this collaboration is also visible in the layout of this bilingual German-English edition. The publication was conceived in close exchange with the Busch-Reisinger Museum, one of Harvard's Art Museums, which, in 2019, was gifted more than seventy Piene sketchbooks dating from 1935 to 2014. These joint efforts have clearly benefitted this publication which examines these unpublished sketchbooks for the first time.

The title, "Otto Piene: Paths to Paradise" is explained and examined in the foreword by the Direktor of the Museum Tinguely, Roland Wetzels, as well as in the introductory essay by the curators Sandra Beate Reimann and Lauren Elizabeth Hanson. The title refers to Piene's text "Wege zum Paradies" published in the magazine ZERO 3 in 1961. This manifesto-like declaration reflects Piene's belief in the beneficial potential of artistic expression. He had a vision for a better, peaceful, and sustainable world embodied by new forms of experimental art liberated from the constraints of artistic convention. His ambition was to shape and design a utopian future through the use of innovative media in his art. This manifesto is printed at the beginning of the volume, following the foreword. The title, "Paths to Paradise" is an allusion to this manifesto and serves as the common thread uniting these essays examining his life and work.

In a novel approach, the essays convincingly combine two periods in Piene's artistic career that have, up until now, not been analyzed in concert. It brings together works from the Zero years in Europe in the 1950s and the technology-based ecological and political Sky Art made in the 1960s after Piene's relocation to the United States. This fresh perspective reveals how the artist's work evolved from a desire for radical abstraction into works that combine art and technology across a wider variety of media. However, the essays also insist on what remains the constant in Piene's work: an uncompromising hopeful outlook for humanity despite the ravages of war, industrialization, and mass consumption.

One of the strengths of this publication and curatorial approach is that it underscores the uninterrupted pertinence of Piene's pioneering approach

of combining art and technology as a result of his utopian ambitions. The authors insist that Piene's work continues to fascinate and to speak to the uncertainties and challenges of the modern world. His art seeks to provoke his viewers into self-examination and to illuminate, dazzle, and fascinate rather than insisting on the negative and obscure aspects of human existence.

This book can be viewed as an inquiry into what today's societies can learn from Piene's artistic and societal vision, while also contextualizing it, providing a broader understanding of related artistic movements and the collaborations of a generation of artists.

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*Jelena Fally*

**Max Beckmann.**

*By Christiane Zeiller. With an essay by Bernhard Maaz. Translation by David Sánchez Cano. Munich: Hirmer Publishers, 2024. 80 pp. 61 color plates. \$15.00.*

The work of Max Beckmann (1884-1950) occupies an exceptional place in twentieth-century art. In a context largely dominated by the development of abstraction, his relationship with the European pictorial tradition, and with the avant-gardes of his time, is complex. A privileged witness to an era that saw the disaster of two world wars, he remains an isolated figure in the history of modern art. However, his unique observations of a world in upheaval and of the existential struggles inherent to human existence, remain of unequalled intensity.

This compact publication, part of the *Great Masters in Art Series*, is composed by a first and more substantial essay, followed by a second shorter contribution written by two renown Beckmann scholars. The book is lavishly illustrated by 61 color plates of Beckmann's works, which are peppered throughout. Following these two essays, the volume provides a biography and archive section containing unpublished findings, letters, documents, and photographs as a point of reference.

The first essay, titled "Art is Bloody Difficult": Beckmann's struggle for a Contemporary Art," is by the renown Beckmann specialist Christiane Zeiller. The art historian has notably edited the complete catalogue of Beckmann's sketchbooks in 2010 and participated in recent Beckmann exhibitions organised by the Pinakothek der Moderne in Munich (2023) and the Neue Galerie in New York (2024). In her essay, Zeiller offers a holistic examination of the unique and unclassifiable character of Beckmann's pictorial style. This

characteristic has affected both his own artistic journey and struggles to create and define himself in relation to the dominant art movements of his time.

Zeiller's essay provides a chronological account of Beckmann's departures and new beginnings, from his early years in Berlin and Frankfurt to his ostracism by the National Socialists and subsequent exile in Amsterdam and America. Narrating Beckmann's biographical challenges, Zeiller discusses the artist's pictorial style, its progressions and transformations over the course of his career. This results in a nuanced analysis of the artist's eclectic style and symbol-laden works.

Zeiller frequently references contemporaneous sources, convincingly underscoring her central argument about the isolated position of Beckmann's style in the art of the 20th century. For instance, she highlights the famous dispute between Beckmann and the *Blaue Reiter* (Blue Rider group) painter Franz Marc. Marc's artistic vision prioritizes the inner world of the artist and rejects representation of the external world. This view starkly contrasts with Beckmann's conception that art should be objective and embracing of the real world. Zeiller clearly defines Beckmann as a solitary figure in modern art and in relation to the self-proclaimed German avant-garde.

Zeiller also calls our attention to the man behind the artist. She offers the reader insight into the existential interrogations and persistent search for truth that permeate Beckmann's oeuvre. Beckmann is depicted as a paradoxical figure, torn between self-confidence bordering on presumption and tremendous ambition on the one hand, and incessant struggles and self-questioning on the other. His large number of self-portraits, like the 1927 "Self-Portrait in Tuxedo" which figures on the cover of the publication, attest to the artist's constant introspection.

Zeiller's analysis is complemented by a brief contribution by Bernhard Maaz, the General Director of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich which house the renown Max Beckmann Archive. Maaz's essay is entitled "Locks Away Vitality". It argues that underneath the artistic density and apparent heterogeneity of Beckmann's work, lays a redundant self-containment that suggest both vitalism and melancholy. In other words, for Maaz, what characterizes Beckmann's oeuvre and life experiences is an unsettling dialogue between vitality and coldness.

With a body of over 800 paintings, it is evident that this compact publication cannot do justice to the magnitude of Beckmann's whole oeuvre. The publication, however, offers in just a few pages, and precisely 140 years after the artist's birth, a refreshing overview of his unclassifiable, intense and eclectic pictorial style. It captures the essence of Beckmann's artistic vision for an art corresponding to his time. Zeiller's and Maaz's expertise and meticulous analysis, paired with the selected source material, make this volume a concise

introduction to a notoriously complex artistic figure, who remains elusive to this day.

*University of Texas at Austin*

*Jelena Fally*

**Music of Exile: The Untold Story of the Composers Who Fled Hitler.**

*By Michael Haas: New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023. 400 pp. \$18.35.*

Benjamin Michael Haas was born in 1954 in Charlotte, North Carolina to creative parents, the father, an author of over 100 novels, and the mother, a noted theater costume designer. Using his middle name to distinguish himself from his father, Michael Haas became a recording producer, a historian, an academic, and an exhibition curator. He was a recording artist for many years who produced significant series with artists who won many awards for the productions, one being “Entartete Musik,” the first retrospective of major works lost during the Nazi years. In 2016, together with Gerold Gruber, he founded in Vienna the Exilarte Center with an exhibition entitled “When I Compose, I’m Back in Vienna” featuring compositions by Austrians who were once Nazi victims. This background led to the publication of two books, “Forbidden Music” in 2013 and “Music of Exile” in 2023. Amid these writing years, he also completed a PhD at London’s Middlesex University. In his dissertation, Haas explores the necessity of restoring to audiences and composers cultural goods that have been stolen. Haas is today a citizen of both Vienna and Great Britain and maintains an office at the Exilarte Center in Vienna. His research there continues to be on composers whose works were either forgotten or willfully suppressed.

The first of the two books by Haas focuses on the composers and the works that were forbidden as well as the deaths suffered by the composers themselves. The second work has a psychological dimension in that it asks about the meaning of composing in exile and what resulted from it. Some composers never wrote again. One, Robert Fuerstenthal, later a microbiologist at Harvard, began to compose at the insistence of his girlfriend, and explained, “When I compose, I am back in Vienna”. Another, Walter Bricht, continued to compose in Austria until it was discovered (to Bricht’s surprise) that he had three grandparents who were Jewish. He immigrated to the U.S. and taught at numerous colleges and universities. Still another, Julius Buegger, composed a cello concerto dedicated to his mother “who was murdered on this day, shot in transit to Auschwitz where five brothers were murdered in

the concentration camp.” Other examples of ignored music, lost or composed by those whose exile left them without audiences, contribute to a modern listener’s understanding of the musical and historical context of the era.

Few historical analyses have provided a comparison with the sense of loss and perspective given to a culture when human elements are removed from it as in the experience of the holocaust. The gift of this volume is its insight into the losses that books on warfare cannot begin to describe. Students of culture in general, as well as in music, historians and lovers of art, will anguish over the forgotten losses that belong to tragic moments in history. One can only imagine how much beauty, insight, and majesty was never produced because the composer was not there. Readers will want to thank Michael Hass for his gift to our sensibility and wonder.

*Concordia University Texas*

*David Zersen*

## **Cultural Studies**

### **Staging Blackness: Representations of Race in German-Speaking Drama and Theater.**

*Edited by Priscilla Dionne Layne and Lily Tonger-Erk. Ann Arbor (MI): University of Michigan Press, 2024. 342 pp. Hardback \$ 80.00; Paperback \$ 34.95; Open Access 9780472903566.*

*Staging Blackness: Representations of Race in German-Speaking Drama and Theater*, the proceedings of a 2018 conference held in Tübingen, is a timely contribution to the discourse on the ethics of performance and the theatrical representation of race in German-speaking contexts. Organized into three parts, the volume employs postcolonial, Black feminist, and critical race methodologies to examine the portrayal, interpretation, and contestation of Blackness in German-speaking theater from the 18th century to the present.

The first section, “Black Figures: Race-ing the Canon”, comprises six chapters that scrutinize both canonical and non-canonical texts for their engagement with Black characters and themes. Wendy Sutherland’s opening chapter about Karl Gotthelf Lessing’s little-known play *Die Mätresse* (1780) contributes to the ongoing historical reevaluation of German-speaking territories’ complicity in the triangular trade. Drawing on her monograph *Staging Blackness and Performing Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century German Drama* (Routledge, 2016), Sutherland examines how slavery and white privilege are inscribed in the figure of Otto’s deceased Black wife and materialized through

stage props like tobacco, chocolate, and coffee. Equally insightful is Sigrid G. Köhler's analysis of radical discourses on human rights, freedom, revolution, equality, and Black resistance in once-popular abolitionist dramas from the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which anticipate themes that later emerge in more widely recognized canonical texts. Irmtraud Hnilica's recontextualization of Monostatos in Mozart's *Zauberflöte* (1791) presents a compelling case for reassessing Schikaneder's libretto in the light of racial discourses of the late 18th century, which are intricately linked with humanist and abolitionist debates. Franziska Bergmann's exploration of compassion and skin color in Schiller's *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genoa* (1783) offers a nuanced re-evaluation of the tragedy's racialized subtexts, while Lily Tonger-Erk analysis of *Die Räuber* (1781) reveals Schiller's construction of a multi-layered black-white dichotomy that contemporary directors, such as Antú Romero Nunes in his 2012 production at the Maxim-Gorki-Theater Berlin, seek to expose and subvert. Norbert Otto Eke concludes this section with an analysis of Heiner Müller's reinterpretations of historical representations of Blackness in *Der Auftrag. Erinnerung an eine Revolution* (1979) and *Anatomie Titus Fall of Rome. Ein Shakespearekommentar* (1983-1984). Eke argues that Müller disrupts the concept of European modernity, rooted in Enlightenment universalism and rationality, by imbuing his racialized protagonists, Sasportas and Aaron, with revolutionary potential. This disruption prompts the reader-spectator to rethink not only the relationship between body and mind but also the broader narrative of Western historiography.

The second part, "Black Performance and Practices of Blackfacing", consists of four chapters that shift the focus to the embodiment of Blackness, particularly through the controversial practice of blackface minstrelsy, which, contrary to common assumptions, was not merely an imported US-American practice. Jeff Bowersox's richly illustrated chapter about blackface on German and Austrian stages between 1847 and 1914 lays the groundwork for a transnational history of the practice in Central Europe, as he demonstrates how blackface served both as a popular form of entertainment and as a potent tool for reinforcing racial hierarchies. Evelyn Annuß further contextualizes blackface practices within the cultural dynamics of the 1920s and 1930s, inviting readers to consider that, when subverted for critical reflection and reinterpretation, "minstrel masks" or blackface in theater, while rooted in racist practices, could also serve as a productive means of engaging with questions of race, identity, and authenticity. Jonathan Wipplinger's chapter on the Biguine, a short-lived yet influential entertainment venue for Black performers, particularly Black women artists, that opened in Berlin-Schöneberg in February 1932, positions this unique bar as an important site of Black agency within Weimar culture, contributing to the transnational reimagin-



ing of cultural dynamics during the interwar period. Andrea Geier's critical examination of blackface in contemporary German media, which includes a discussion of Günther Wallraff's highly controversial use of blackface in his film *Schwarz auf Weiß* (2009) under the guise of artistic freedom, confronts the ethical challenges inherent in the practice, even when explicitly framed as anti-racist.

The final part, "Black Artists: Race, Theater, Institutions", stands out as particularly inspiring as it transitions from the familiar format of scholarly analysis to the lived experiences of contemporary Black German theater practitioners. Azadeh Sharifi challenges the assumption that the leftist tradition of German theater, embodied by figures such as Bertolt Brecht and Heiner Müller, exempts it from antiracist scrutiny. Sharifi argues that this widely held belief perpetuates the practice of Othering under the guise of critical reflection. Olivia Landry's essay on *Black Bismarck* (2013), produced by the artist collective andcompany&Co., interprets the performance as a "circum-Mediterranean" movement, urging audiences to reconsider history through a subaltern, decolonial lens. Hanna Voss's empirical study documents the systemic underrepresentation of actors of color in state-funded theaters, emphasizing the enduring influence of race, gender, and age in casting decisions. However, recent developments, such as the strong backlash against blackface led by the Bündnis Bühnenwatch in 2011 and the establishment of a "post-migrant theater" at the Ballhaus Naunynstrasse Theater in Berlin-Kreuzberg since 2008 by and for people with a migration background, are beginning to transform exclusionary practices within the institution. This transformation is further explored in a roundtable discussion featuring prominent Black German figures in the contemporary German theater scene – Simone Dede Ayivi, Rahel Jankowski, Michael Klammer, Philipp Khabo Köpsell, and Olivia Wenzel – who offer thought-provoking insights into the complexities of navigating race, identity, and artistic expression within a predominantly white theatrical landscape. The volume concludes with a powerful essay by Black German director Anta Helena Recke's on cultural appropriation, legitimacy, and accountability. Recke reflects on the unexpected success of her "Black copy" ("Schwarzkopie") of Anna Sophie Mahler's 2015 production of Josef Bierichler's novel *Mittelreich* (2011), which premiered in 2017 at Munich Kammerspiele. By casting only Black actors in this Bavarian family drama, she confronts audiences with the presumed universality of whiteness, exposing its deeply embedded yet often invisible influence on cultural narratives.

*Staging Blackness* offers a rigorous critique of the Eurocentric and "color-blind" repertoires, ensemble policies, and audience dynamics that persist in German state-funded theaters. By combining historical analysis, sociological insight, performance studies, and literary scholarship, this volume makes a

significant contribution to a recent shift in German-speaking theater criticism and history, emphasizing the urgency to address colonialism and its legacies within the broader political and societal project of a more inclusive culture of remembrance (“Erinnerungskultur”).

The editorial decision to rethink the traditional scholarly format by providing a platform for Black German theater artists, playwrights, and directors clearly reflects these ongoing processes. This approach positions *Staging Blackness* as an essential read, encouraging theater scholars, practitioners, and cultural institutions to critically re-examine existing hierarchies and actively dismantle discriminatory practices in casting decisions, programming, and production. By advocating for a more inclusive approach to theater, *Staging Blackness* aims to support societal transformation through contemporary stage performances that increasingly align with global movements for racial justice, refugee and migrant rights, and resistance to populism.

University of Picardie Jules Verne

Christine Roger

### **Don't Need No Thought Control: Western Culture in East Germany and the Fall of the Berlin Wall.**

By Gerd Horten. New York: Berghahn Books, 2024. 256 pp. \$34.95.

Originally published in 2020, Gerd Horten's cultural history of the influence of Western consumer culture in late GDR socialism is now also available in paperback. The Emeritus Professor of History and Global Studies at Concordia University argues that the growing westernization of East German consumer culture coupled with the intensifying economic crisis played a decisive role in the collapse of the GDR regime. Driven by public approval and economic profit rather than ideological vision, GDR leadership ultimately disempowered themselves.

Framed by an introduction and an epilogue, Horten's well researched study is divided into five parts, which focus on major mass cultural arenas such as Hollywood movies, home television, rock music, and youth radio. Each chapter follows a similar trajectory of delusional, contradictory, and eventually failing SED policies amidst a deteriorating public mood and a vicious cycle of indebtedness, economic crisis, and lacking technological infrastructure.

Each chapter can be read on its own and provides both the larger context of the power of Western culture in communist countries, in general, and background on Erich Honecker's evolving policies, from the “golden years”

of the GDR with a more tolerant and pragmatic approach in the early 1970s to the increasingly inefficient economy and growing popular opposition, especially among youth in the late 1970s and 1980s. In a compelling narrative Horten follows GDR leadership who reluctantly and desperately accommodated public demand for Western cultural products.

Some of the chapters build on previously published articles, which may explain why Chapter 1 on the GDR's anti-Vietnam War campaigns and athletic successes in the 1972 Olympics seems incongruous to the others chapters, as past reviews have already pointed out. Arguably, likewise, Chapter 5 on Intershops also does not quite fit to the previous analysis of movies, television series, and popular music. In these Western currency stores, GDR citizens of certain means and visitors could buy Western products, essentially creating a three-class shopping culture and thus, an ever more frustrated public. While Horten pervasively highlights what Jonathan Zatin has called the "fetishization of West German money" as yet another example of how SED officials abandoned their socialist vision, the reader is left wondering how this is linked to consuming, for example, U.S. Western movies or British punk. The author shows how the SED was forced to "appease through consumption" (163) but without differentiating the various forms of Western consumer culture.

The epilogue looks beyond 1989 and offers an interesting comparison between consumer Westernization in the GDR and "Ostalgie," a nostalgic yearning for an idealized past after the fall of the Wall. Both emerged as cultural expressions of resistance against dominant systems though the latter imagined an (albeit selective) return to an actual former home rather than a mere Western fantasy.

Overall, Horten's study fits into the historiography of the past two decades, engaging with a consumerist-cultural perspective to explain the eventual demise of the GDR. The book is particularly useful for teaching (under) graduate courses on the "consumerist turn" in Eastern European countries during the Cold War as well as the local and transatlantic implications of the GDR struggle to meet rising consumer expectations.

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*Jana Weiß*