YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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to

Dr. Erich H. Markel

Max Kade Foundation

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FROM THE EDITORS

This volume initiates a new era in the presentation of ongoing research in German-American studies in this country. As the successor to the *Journal of German-American Studies* the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* will not only continue the *Journal's* numerical sequence with volume 16, but will also subscribe to the goals to which it was dedicated. Under its far-sighted and determined editor, Robert E. Ward, the *Journal* attempted to heighten the awareness of America's German heritage and the role of German-speaking immigrants in shaping this nation. It provided a nation-wide forum for scholars and lay historians giving new impetus to studies on numerous aspects of German-American culture. In continuing this tradition the *Yearbook* will publish significant scholarly work in German-Americana solidifying the position of German-American studies as an academic discipline.

We hope that the *Yearbook* will intensify the much-needed preservation of the German-American heritage. It is not intended to duplicate the work of our state historical societies and of genealogists, but rather to support and complement their work.

We trust that the *Yearbook* will make important contributions to German-American research especially in the Midwest and other areas of the country where for various reasons such studies have not received the necessary support by institutions and societies, and where the danger of losing the sources of German-Americana is imminent.

We shall continue to publish the *Bibliography of German-Americana* begun thirty years ago by Henry Pochmann and Arthur Schultz, and now compiled annually by Steven M. Benjamin and the Bibliographic Committee of the Society for German-American Studies.

The editorial board has decided that the *Yearbook* should restrict its pages to studies on German-American subjects for the time being, and not include the works of German-American writers and poets. We hope to include selections by German-American authors in the future.

The international character of German-American studies is evidenced in the *Yearbook* by contributions from Canada and Germany. We believe that the *Yearbook* can be a bridge to colleagues everywhere who are interested in historical, cultural, literary, and linguistic research in German-Americana.

We wish to express our sincere gratitude to Dr. Erich H. Markel, President of the Max Kade Foundation, New York, without whose generous assistance this new venture would have been impossible.

We trust that the *1981 SGAS Yearbook* will find the acceptance of our friends in the German-American field, and we look forward to an expanded edition for 1982.

Lawrence, Kansas
December, 1981

GENERAL INFORMATION

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the Germans in the Americas. Members include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *YEARBOOK* is published annually. The editors welcome contributions in English or German in all areas of German-Americana. Articles must conform to the *MLA Handbook for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* with the following exception: The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously, with the author's name appearing only on a separate sheet. For submission, three copies of the manuscript are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to:

Professor J. Anthony Burzle
The University of Kansas
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2088 Wescoe Hall
Lawrence, Kansas 66045

The *NEWSLETTER* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to:

Professor LaVern J. Rippley
Saint Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota 55057

The *SGAS* annual membership dues, which include subscription to the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*, are $15.00 for regular members, $7.50 for students and emeriti members.

Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Treasurer of the Society,

Professor C. Richard Beam
Millersville State College
Millersville, Pennsylvania 17551

The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, and organizations.

Karl J. R. Arndt

Schliemann's Excavation of Troy and American Politics, or Why the Smithsonian Institution Lost Schliemann's Great Troy Collection to Berlin

Both the *Dictionary of American Biography* and the biographical dictionary *Notable American Women 1607–1950* speak highly of Kate Field (1838–1896) as a successful journalist who for three decades was a personality in the public eye. Her enduring friendship with such distinguished people as the Brownings, the Trollopes, and George Eliot are cited but neither here nor in *Heinrich Schliemann: Briefwechsel* (Berlin 1958) do we find evidence of this notable American woman's friendship with her internationally respected countryman, the German-American Henry Schliemann, the Excavator of Troy. By courtesy of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library and with the assistance of the National Archives and Records Service this article intends to document the Field-Schliemann friendship. I discovered the documentary evidence of this friendship a decade ago while working on Sealsfield's American political interests but have refrained from preparing this material for publication until now.

I select as opening letter to document this friendship the one by Schliemann to Miss Field (in the Boston Public Library), written in Paris on March 28, 1878. The friendship had begun earlier, but this letter was occasioned by two causes which Miss Field was promoting at the time: her *History of Bell's Telephone* and a memorial theatre at Stratford-on-Avon. For her favorable notice as publicist to the telephone she received valuable stock and Schliemann's commendation in the following letter, and for her Shakespeare Memorial a donation. Since she, at this time, was also lending her talents to the promotion of the Paris Exposition of 1878, Schliemann in the true spirit of the German proverb "Eine Hand wäscht die andere" saw in Kate Field the logical person to help him realize his ambition to be nominated an American delegate to the Paris Exhibition and beyond that to become the U.S. Consul at Athens. His letter now speaks for itself.

Paris, 28th of March 1878
53 Boulevart Haussmann

My dear Miss Field,

I had the great pleasure to receive your charming letter of yesterday and heartily thank you for having remembered me.

The Telephone, edited by you, is a masterpiece. You are a power, you are an element, whatever you take into your mighty hands will succeed brilliantly, and I warmly congratulate the Telephone Company on the lucky idea to make you a partner in their grand enterprize. When I was in London in November and December I heard that telephones were sold for 50 pounds; but I have no doubt that your company can afford to give them at a moderate rate, in which case they might also go in Greece, but I must tell you that people are there just now in very reduced circumstances on account of the disastrous state of the politics, in fact so much so that I am able to build my palazzo there at less than one half of what it would have cost a year ago. My brother in law Mr. Kastromenos, who is a merchant in Athens, would I think be able to serve your company as agent, but I have really no idea whether there is such a thing as a patent law in Greece. I thought I had told you that Mrs. Schliemann being in a family way, I had been obliged to leave her in Paris. She having telegraphed to me some weeks since to come. I started at once, and now have the great pleasure to announce to you the birth of a son, to whom we gave the name Agamemnon, sincerely wishing that we may live to see him continue our explorations in the realm of his glorious namesake. My presence in Athens is very necessary, but still I am forced to remain here probably until the 15th May, because I have retained for the 15th April a permanent apartment in my house 5 Boulevard St. Michel and shall have to repair and furnish it before I leave.

I can of course not refuse you anything, and hasten to send you enclosed 20 pounds as my subscription to the Shakespeare Memorial, which you have taken under your generous protection; I wished I could subscribe a hundred times more but I trust that in the magnanimity which characterized you you will accept even this small amount from your admirer and friend. I intend going ere long for two days to London and hope there to have the pleasure to shake hands with you.

I am very ambitious to be nominated by the American government as delegate at the Ethnographic section in the Universal Exhibition in Paris. Of course without any remuneration, quite the other way, I might myself contribute something or other to make the American part more conspicuous. I merely want the nomination as delegate, that is all. As I have always done honor to my name as U.S. citizen, and as every one in America knows me, I venture to hope that it might not be difficult to you to get me a mere proforma to nomination. Or could you perhaps manage to get me nominated U.S. consul for Athens or the Piraeus? I mean of course as *unpaid* consul. I merely aspire to the dignity of an employ by the U.S. government, and would of course amply reward the Smithsonian Hall in Washington by gifts of antiquities for the honor the govt. might bestow upon me by their nomination. You might perhaps explain to them that they would hardly ever find a man better *enabled* to represent our great country with dignity than your humble servant. I need not say that the nomination as U.S. consul at Athens could of course not impede me in the continuation of my explorations at Troy and Mycenae. I would have in Athens a most trustworthy consular agent, and all my discoveries would with double and treble force redound to the glory of the U.S.

In expectation of your kind answer, I remain My dear Miss Field your warm admirer

Hy Schliemann

The paper cut you send is not right it is not only my house but also the neighboring house, purchased by me, which I have pulled down to get a palazzo with a large garden; the site being close to the Royal palace, in the very finest part of the town, the flag with the stars and stripes would have a wonderful effect on the house. I may add that the consulship at Athens and the Piraeus has been abolished 2 or 3 years ago, and that the chargé d' affaires, General John Meredith Reed, attends to the consular duties which he gets done by his clerk.

Schliemann was a man of ambition and purpose, and he was convinced of the exceptional gifts that he could put at the disposal of the United States as its Consul in Athens, so he also informed himself about the American situation in Greece directly in the United States and consequently wrote Kate Field this follow-up letter from Paris.

Paris 26th June 1878
5 Boulevart St. Michel

My dear Miss Field,

I beg leave to call your kind attention to a telegram from N.Y. reporting that the Chargé d' Affaires, General Read [sic], has been recalled, as our government does not want to have any longer a representative at Athens. But you recalled that the Consularship had previously (three years ago) been abolished and that the consular duties had been conferred on the Chargé d' Affaires. Consequently government now most positively wants a Consul general there, in which capacity I offer my humble services. In case I have to write to anybody in the U.S. on the subject please give me all the details of what I have to write and to whom. I have taken my holidays at Boulogne s/m, a charming place for splendid riding horses, beautiful sea baths and that wonderful Napolean garden, which appears to me the most lovely spot for studying in the world.

Your admirer
Schliemann

The original of the above Schliemann letter is in the Boston Public Library, but the original of the following letter by Kate Field which was a direct result of Schliemann's letter is in the National Archives in Washington. It was written from London and sent to the American Legation in Paris, which on December 26, 1878, forwarded it to Washington for the favorable consideration of the President and the State Department. On January 13, 1879, the Private Secretary Rogers in the Executive Mansion at Washington was "directed by the President to refer to the Department of State the accompanying letters commending the application in behalf of Dr. Schliemann to your special Consideration."

London, December 20, 1878

American Exchange

Dear Gen. Noyes:

As there seems to be a good chance for the establishing of a Consulate at Athens, Greece, let me interest you in Dr. Henry Schliemann the great ar-

cheologist who has already dug up Troy and Mycenae and will only lay down the shovel and pick-axe with his life. In 1849 Dr. Schliemann became an American citizen and is so proud of the fact that it is printed in the title-page of his books. Before turning excavator, he made a large fortune in business, retiring on $500,000.00 which amounts were doubled by shrewd investments. Dr. Schliemann speaks English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Modern and ancient Greek. He resides in Athens where he is building a magnificent palace in which to entertain the traveling world. His wife is an interesting Greek lady and the King of Greece holds both in esteem.

As Schliemann has asked me to help him in this matter of the Consulate, *for which he would work gratuitously*, and as I think him fit for the place, I venture to ask your intervention, I having no relation with anyone at Washington, though I've served my country faithfully from childhood. Do what you can for Schliemann if you think best, remembering that he can be of great assistance to American art museums now in process of formation. Gov. McCormick thinks favorably of this appointment. I have no axe to grind.

Yours very truly
Kate Field

In spite of the extraordinary qualifications of the candidate and the recommendations of Kate Field and the Paris Legation, action in Washington was cool and slow, but Schliemann meanwhile was back at work excavating Troy and on June 19, 1879, from his palace in Athens wrote this enthusiastic report to his friend Kate Field. The original of this letter is in Boston Public Library.

Athens 19th June 1879

My dear Miss Field

Hoping that these lines may find you in excellent health, I beg leave to inform you that I have just returned from Troy, where my work is now terminated forever, for not only have I excavated the ancient Ilion in its entire extent and brought to light its circuit walls, but I have also removed at least fourty thousand cubic meters of *debris* from its suburb. I have this time had two excellent friends—the celebrated professor Rudolph Virchow from Berlin and Emile Burnouf from Paris—as collaborators and thus great problems are now solved, which I could never have hoped to solve if I had remained alone. So e.g. we have now ascertained that the plain of Troy has not—as it had heretofore been thought—been produced by the alluvia of its rivers, but by the deposits of a sweetwater lake, which appears to have existed there before the Hellespont or the Icamander and Simois existed. Thus the old theory that there was at the time of the Trojan war a deep gulf in the plain of Troy and consequently not room enough for the great deeds of the Iliad, this theory which was energetically defended by Hestiaea of Alexandria Troas [a scholarly woman who wrote about whether the Trojan War was a fact or fable], by Demetrius of Scepsis and Strabo, as well as in modern times by all those who identify the heights of Benarbaski with the site of Troy divine [sic]—this theory is now blown up and can never be revived again. Ilium is now exhausted; I found this time only two treasures of gold ornaments and much less too of pottery than formerly. I have also explored this time six of the Trojan tumuli called heroic tombs; and among them the two largest called Udjek-Tepe and Besica-Tepe, in both of which I struck the virgin soil at a depth of about 43⅓ feet. Besides the shafts I dug

into Udjek-Tepe (which has 433 feet in diameter) a tunnel to join the shaft, I found there a large square tower built on the top of a walled circle of polygons. I dug galleries into the tower and the circle but all I found there were fragments of iron implements and pottery the latest of which is of the Roman time, and I therefore conclude that this is the tumulus which (in year 215 A.D.) the emperor Caracalla erected in honor of his intimate friend Fistus, whom—as Herodianus relates—he poisoned to get his Patroclus in order to be able to imitate the funeral, which Achilles made to his friend and which Homer so beautifully described in the 23rd Iliad. In the tumulus of Besica-Tepe I dug from the bottom of the shaft four long galleries, but all I found there were very ancient potsherds identic with those of the upper strata of the first Trojan city and probably of the very same age; probably about 1500 B.C.

My palazzo is now nearly ready and it awaits the great honor of your visit; all the floors are of mosaic, the terrace is crowned with 24 statues. The glorious banner with the stars and stripes would make a wonderful appearance between the statues of Jove and Apollo. But how does the matter stand? Is there any chance that the U.S. government may nominate me? They probably do not see how advantageous that would be to the U.S. museums. Besides I would engage a most able chancellor whose business is calculated to propitiate the U.S. trade. But above all they ought to understand that I possess the richest and most wonderful collection in the world, which is *not* for sale and which I do not think to take with me into the grave. This collection is of so much more value as it has been dug out from divine Troy, from the city of immortal glory.

We leave today for Paris where I shall be happy to hear from you.
With kindest regards My dear Miss Field

Yours very truly
Hy Schliemann

If you think it well that I should apply to the minister at Washington then, pray, send me the form of the letter. Please address me 5 Boulevart Saint Michel Paris.

In Europe and America Kate Field meanwhile continued her activity in behalf of Schliemann's appointment. On July 30, 1879, Judge John K. Porter of New York City warmly recommended Schliemann as a man eminently fitted for the office in Athens. He then stated that his recent explorations

> . . . have reflected credit on our country to a much greater extent, and in a much better direction than the successes of American athletes and riflemen. You have doubtless seen the introduction to his work in Gladstone; and I should much like to see an equally marked recognition by the American Government, of the estimation by which he is held by Scholars and Men of Science at home and abroad.

This letter also speaks of his marble palace at Athens as the temporary house of "all our countrymen who visit Greece. The king, who is often his household guest, treats his friends from the United States with special consideration; and Americans have, through him, advantages there which are not open to the people of other countries." This letter of recommendation is then endorsed by another eminent judge, James C. Smith.

Another letter in the National Archives by the former U.S. Minister to Greece, John M. Francis, on August 1, 1879, addressed to the Secretary of

State William Evarts, states that the writer has received a letter from Schliemann dated at Athens June 19th, "wherein he states that, as an American citizen he would feel himself highly complimented by such appointment and would endeavour if thus honored to discharge the duties pertaining to the office faithfully and to the satisfaction of his Government." Accordingly he made application for the appointment in behalf of Dr. Schliemann, believing him to be eminently fit and that the appointment would honor our country in the impressions it would create abroad. In conclusion Francis said:

> Knowing Dr. Schliemann very well—he was a near neighbor of ours during the period of our residence at Athens—I can testify to his worthiness and integrity as a man and an American citizen. And socially he is cordial, magnetic, and exceedingly hospitable. As the office will involve little or no expense to the Government, I trust it may be conferred upon him.

On the same date as this letter he sent a note marked "Personal" to the Secretary of State saying that he would "cheerfully" sign any bond for Schliemann's appointment that might be required and at the same time communicated another recommendation for the appointment of Henry Schliemann by Hilton Scribner. In his glowing support of Schliemann's appointment he referred to the fact that Schliemann had come to us with the State of California: ". . . coming to us with our golden State of the West he has reaped for us all more than a golden harvest in the East."

The reply of the Secretary of State to the communicatons of the former U.S. Minister to Greece has not been found, but its contents is indicated in John M. Francis' letter in the National Archives dated August 21, 1879, in which he acknowledges the Secretary's letter of August 15th saying:

> I thank you for the attention you have given to the matter of application in behalf of Dr. Henry Schliemann for the Athens consulate. You say "I see no reason why Dr. Schliemann might not be appointed to the consulate were there any such place." But as I understand it the place may be created by the President if the act involves no expenditure for salary. The latter Dr. Schliemann does not want; the office may be a fee office. At the present time a young Greek holds the office of consular agent at Athens. You have only to make this a full consulate the same as was done with the consular agency at Patras, Greece, in 1873, and then Dr. Schliemann could be appointed to the position.
>
> I feel that we ought to have at least a full consular representative at Athens, and this may be attained I think most satisfactorily in the way I have pointed out.
>
> I have known Dr. Schliemann and his family for many years, and I can conceive only of jealousy or some other improper motive instigating remonstrance to his appointment to a position wherein he would honor his adopted country.
>
> I shall feel myself under renewed personal obligation if you will at your convenience look further to this matter, and if deemed suitable make the appointment recommended.

The reply of the Secretary to this letter could not be found, but his reaction is reported in Schliemann's letter of July 25, 1880, to Kate Field as found in the Boston Public Library saying:

Leipzig 25 July 1880
in Germany

My dear Miss Field,

Pray, let me know where you will be in the beginning of November, for I wish to send you a copy of my new great work *Ilios*, which is to appear on 10 November by Harper in N.Y., J. Murray London, and Brockhaus in Leipzig. I have been working on it very hard for more than two years and venture to hope that the book will meet your gracious approval.

I do not know indeed how to express to you my gratitude for having again as Mr. Francis tells me, tried to get for me the U.S. Consulate. But 6 months ago Mr. Francis sent me the answer he had received from Evarts, the Secretary of State, to his applicaton on my behalf, and as that dignitary spoke therein of me in a rude way with the utmost indifference. I think it, as a gentleman, below my honour to accept it if it were now offered to me. But nevertheless I am immensely obliged to you.

I have overworked myself, but I hope to get some rest in the excavation of Orchomenos in Boeotia, in Greece, for which I got the permission and which I hope to commence on 1 November. With my kindest regards I remain my dear Miss Field,

yours very truly,
Schliemann

As far as Schliemann was concerned this seems to have ended his interest in an appointment as American Consul at Athens, at least during the Evarts tenure of the office of Secretary of State. On March 10, 1881, John M. Francis, signing himself as "late U.S. Minister to Greece"in a letter to the new Secretary of State James G. Blaine renewed his recommendation of Schliemann made in July or August, 1879, and on April 4, 1881, in a five page letter Francis again calls attention to the strong previous recommendations for the appointment of Dr. Schliemann as American Consul at Athens. The following quotation from this letter explains why Schliemann was not appointed American Consul under Secretary Evarts:

> At the present time the United States has only a consular agent at Athens, a Greek citizen who was appointed on the nomination of our Consul at Patras, the latter being an English subject. This consular agent who speaks the English language indifferently was originally appointed, not with the view of being in any sense an American representative, but at the suggestion of our United States Minister at the time who desired his services as a Private Secretary.

In spite of his failure to obtain the appointment desired with the help of Kate Field, Schliemann's friendship for her continued. They met again in Paris during the summer of 1880, and in a letter of August 2, 1880, written to her from Constantinople, he foresees the possibility of having to break off his planned further excavations because of political unrest and a return to Paris. "I shall be very much flattered if you will put up at my lodgings, but I must beg you to allow me to occupy part of it; you shall have the best sleeping room, the saloon and the dining room, but I must have my bureau room and one sleeping room."

Schliemann's ambition to be appointed the United States Consul at Athens was thwarted by the personal interests of a former U.S. Minister to

Greece who used the Athens location to take care of a Greek citizen whom he desired as a private secretary, but the United States paid very dearly for this mistake because it meant that Schliemann's unique Troy collection was not given to the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, as Schliemann had planned, but to the museum in Berlin, Germany. This loss to the United States is documented in Schliemann's letter of January 15, 1881, to Kate Field, the original of which is preserved in the Boston Public Library, reading as follows:

Athens, 15 January 1881

My dear Miss Field:

Mr. Harper will have sent you, in my name, a copy of my *Ilios;* nothing could be more gratifying to my ambition than to hear that you find it satisfactory.

Pray, do not think ill of me that I donated my Trojan collection to the German nation; I could not do otherwise since the U.S. government refused to appoint me as their consul; had they done so the collection would have long ago been in the Smithsonian. Troy being entirely excavated that collection is *unique* and of immeasurable value. It has been received in Germany with immense enthusiasm, and for all ages to come it will attract to Berlin thousands of people from all parts of the world. Now of course I would *not* accept the consulate if it were offered.

If you come to Athens you will find a very warm reception at my house. Mrs. Schliemann joins me in kindest regards and hereby wishes for a happy new year. I remain,

My dear Miss Field yours very truly
Hy. Schliemann

Clark University
Worcester, Massachusetts

Richard C. Spuler

Mediating German Culture: American Germanistik at the Turn of the Century

A history of *Germanistik*—or German Studies—in America remains to be written.[1] That this history has never been properly chronicled is not surprising; the two World Wars tend to inhibit our view of an often traumatic past. However, colleagues in Germany have insisted since the 1960s that *Germanistik* needs to come to terms with its past if it is to adapt to a changing world. The history of German literary criticism and pedagogy has therefore received widespread attention there, while no such systematic studies have been undertaken here. Of course the record of the growth of German Studies in America is important, but more important still is determining how German scholars and pedagogues functioned—or believed they functioned—as mediators of German culture in America, both inside and outside the academic sphere. A full appreciation of the discipline would have to account for its situation within an expansive socio-historical context; it would need to consider, for example, its position within the American academic system, the relationship between American and German methods and schools of thought. Further, it would need to examine the pro- and anti-German sentiment in America, the social and political issues which engaged Germanists here, the links between the Germanist as academician and the nonacademic German immigrant culture. These are surely complex relationships and invite, as one observer has noted, the cooperation of cultural and political historians alike.[2]

This article, then, is only a prolegomenon; it intends to examine one feature of German Studies in America at a given point in history. Victor Lange helped describe this feature recently when he wrote that "In its broadest sense *Germanistik* has, in America, meant the transmission and presentation of German cultural attitudes and institutions, both social and literary, to a fairly disparate and heterogeneous, chiefly academic audience."[3] The mediation of German culture inheres in the practical day-to-day existence of German Studies here. We shall look now at its function around the turn of the century.

On November 10, 1903, the anniversary of the births of both Martin Luther and Friedrich Schiller, a significant event took place within the field of German Studies, one of particular importance for our understanding of the profession's perception of its role as an arbiter of German culture in America: the founding of the Germanic Museum at Harvard University.

A prime initiator of the movement for a Germanic Museum at the institution where he taught was Kuno Francke.[4] Already in March, 1897, Francke and his colleagues at Harvard had sent out a general appeal for such a foundation.[5] Its plea was based on the premise that there existed at that time "an ever-increasing disposition on the part of Americans to approach the study of German as a study leading to an insight into a great national civilization."[6] The growth of the German department at Harvard since the 1870s was cited to support their argument. Members of the profession then believed that the modern languages, especially German, were rivaling the status of Greek and Latin within the traditional curriculum. But whereas the student of antiquity had access to documents and monuments from Greek and Roman culture, nowhere, so it was argued, did such an opportunity exist for the student of German civilization. A museum, then, was considered a desideratum for the furthering of German Studies in America. Initial overtures, however, met with only limited success. Although its authors had estimated in 1897 the minimum sum of $10,000 for the project even to get off the ground, not more than $4,000 were raised over the next four years, despite the personal support and urging of the German ambassador, Dr. von Holleben, in March of 1899. He spoke to a gathering at Harvard (by invitation of the noted sociologist, Hugo Münsterberg) and, after having acknowledged the attention given the study of German in America, pressed on: "Yea! resting upon the public spirit and on the prosperity of the American people, German ideals are well harbored. But, gentlemen, is it for us to fold our hands in idleness? Is not standing still equivalent to sliding backwards?"[7] The presiding dignitaries, Münsterberg, Francke, and Hugo Schilling, also of the German department at Harvard, responded in like fashion. Francke, for instance, rejoined: "We Germans in the North must look upon ourselves as champions of German stamp in America; we must consider it our foremost duty to open the eyes of our American fellow-citizens to all that German thought has aspired to and produced in the course of centuries in industry, art, philosophy, literature, and music, and what has led to the commanding position which the German Empire, thanks be to God, occupies at the present day. The very isolation of our position simply makes an undertaking like the museum in question a patriotic duty."[8]

Even granting a portion of Francke's patriotic verve to the presence of the German ambassador, one is struck by the intensity ("thanks be to God") of his approbation of the Wilhelminian Empire. This adulation of the body politic extended to the body academic as well—Harvard occupied, as Francke stressed, a similarly "commanding position" in the field of German Studies as did the German Empire in world politics. He continued:

> We know that if not the attention of the world, at least the eyes of one thousand and one American colleges and universities are bent upon us. All that

> is done in Harvard is echoed and imitated by all the institutions in the country. This may be said of all other branches as of the study of the German language and literature; nowhere else is the history of literature, of art, and of thought studied as extensively and scientifically. . . . If we succeed in forming an institution that will bear the proper relation to teachers, there is no doubt but that in a few years Harvard will be the chief seat and central point of Germanic studies in America. That is what we have in mind.[9]

Francke, to be sure, was sincerely concerned for the well-being and prosperity of his and his colleagues' and university's reputation, interests, and affairs. But his rhetoric is conspicuous because of its base-metaphor, which remains throughout that of the German Empire. His panegyric, advocating the attainment of a "commanding position," contains muted allusions to a feature which later texts we shall examine display in much bolder relief: the notion of political aggrandizement, a core concept of doctrinal imperialism. What takes place in Francke's discourse is an *Umfunktionierung* or ideological manipulation of the German context to fit the American one. It is clear in this instance that, as another speaker on the rostrum proudly proclaimed, "Germany is our first home, England the second, and America the third."[10]

Despite efforts dating back to the mid-1890s, the formal opening of the Germanic Museum did not take place until 1903. In attendance were Hans Carl Günther von Jagemann and Francke of the German department, President Eliot of Harvard University, Carl Schurz, Hugo Münsterberg, and a handful of other political and scholarly dignitaries. In his introductory address, von Jagemann voiced his motives, and those of his colleagues, which first set them to contemplating the possibility of such a museum. His remarks describe *in nuce* the self-perceived role of the German culture mediators:

> The project of a German Museum had its inception in the growing conviction on the part of the instructors in the Department of German, that their function was not merely to teach the German language, or even German literature, however important these might be, but to give our students a true conception of what Germany stands for in modern civilization, what her ideals have been, what she has contributed to the world's best intellectual possessions.[11]

It is telling that von Jagemann speaks of Germany's cultural contributions as "intellectual possessions," a phrase which is particularly appropriate in light of the advent of the museum as a storehouse for these "objects," and which also suggests the "Bildung und Besitz" attitude at that time toward the assimilation of cultural tradition.[12]

What enabled the museum to open was the "imperial gift" of Emperor Wilhelm II. He sent a collection of reproductions of German sculptural monuments, "hoping," in the words of his ambassador, Baron von dem Bussche-Haddenhausen, "that they will kindle the interest and encourage in the United States the study of the sculpture of our ancestors, who, to a great extent, are your ancestors as well."[13] While the new curators were not in a position to be selective about the materials displayed, it is important to note which monuments they considered representative or, perhaps more accurately stated, how the founders of the museum made a virtue of necessity

and acknowledged the works which they received as being significant. Holdings consisted almost exclusively of sculptural artifacts of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Karl Detlev Jessen, of Bryn Mawr, found in these works symbolic import: "Vor allem die deutsche Kunst des Mittelalters und der Renaissance mit ihren intimen Beziehungen zum Geistes- und Seelenleben der Nation, spiegelt die Religion und Weltanschauung in unverkennbarer Weise und giebt einen Schlüssel zum wahren Wesen des Deutschtums, zum Verständnisse deutscher Art und deutschen Wesens, wie kein zweites Gebiet deutscher Tätigkeit."[14] Other monuments included a model of a Germanic boat found in the Nydam moor; two warrior figures, one of a Frankish soldier from around 600 B.C., and one Swiss *Landsknecht;* also a photographic history of German architecture.[15] From the eleventh century were the bronze doors of the Cathedral at Hildesheim, from the thirteenth an array of sculptures from the Naumburg Cathedral. Placed at the entrance to the museum was a facsimile of the Golden Gate of the Cathedral of Freiburg. These, wrote Francke, "cannot help being a revelation to American students."[16] A committee formed in Berlin, including, among others, Virchow, Mommsen, Harnack, Paulsen, Schöne, Lessing, and Wildenbruch, donated fifty-five reproductions of works of German gold-smiths and silver-smiths from the fifteenth through the eighteenth century. A gift of 10,000 books on the history of Germany and German civilization was made by Professor Archibald C. Coolidge as a memorial to the visit of Prince Henry of Prussia to Harvard in 1902. The contributions of Adolphus Busch of St. Louis and Hugo Reisinger of New York provided funds for a building. (The museum is in fact known today not as the Germanic but as the Busch-Reisinger Museum.)

Both President Eliot and Edward Robinson, the director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, greeted the museum as a deterrent to the material degeneration of the times, as a bastion of "spiritual progress."[17] Kuno Francke saw one of its functions as counteracting the narrow specialization of modern scholarship, and hoped that it might ultimately embody the spirit of St. Martin, Luther, and "Schiller, the prophet of the society of the future."[18]

Among the festivities in celebration of the museum's dedication were musical and theatrical interludes under the direction of Heinrich Conried, the well-known director of the German theater in New York. Selections by Mozart, Gluck, Schubert, and Brahms were performed, as well as Hans Sachs' *Der fahrende Schüler aus dem Paradies,* and a comedy by Ludwig Fulda, *Unter vier Augen.* "Die Zeit der klassischen Vollendung," as the account of the evening in the *German American Annals* reads, was represented by Goethe's *Geschwister.* Also among the entertainment was Hedwig von Ostermann's reading of a poem composed by Kuno Francke for the occasion, "Die Deutsche Muse." (The Muse, "eine Jungfrau in mittelalterlicher Tracht, an die Elisabeth des 'Tannhäuser' erinnernd, sitzt träumend da. Sie erwacht, steht auf, sieht staunend um sich, und spricht, den Blick seherhaft in die Ferne gerichtet"):

> Wo bin ich? Wie! Aus Deutschlands Wäldern
> Bin übers Weltmeer ich entrückt?

Statt Rebenhügeln, Roggenfeldern,
Seh' ich die Flur mit Mais geschmückt?
Und welche Laute mich umgeben!
Wie fremd, verwirrend, fieberhaft!
Ich fühle schaudernd mich erbeben!
Mir schwindet Sicherheit und Kraft! —
Und doch! seh' ich nicht heimische Zeichen?
Seh' ich nicht in die Wolken reichen
Den Turm von Strassburgs Münsterbau?
Seh' ich nicht Nürnbergs Dächermassen,
Sankt Lorenz' mächtigen Doppelkulm?
Und schimmert nicht durch enge Gassen
Die Wunderpracht des Doms von Ulm?
Und blicken nicht von ernsten Wänden,
In Ritterrüstung, steinern schwer,
Das deutsche Schwert in starken Händen,
Mir Naumburgs Heldenbilder her?
Und dort, der Mann im Panzerkoller,
Auf stolzem Klepper, siegsbewusst,
Ist's nicht der grosse Hohenzoller,
Die Zukunft Deutschlands in der Brust?
Ist's möglich? Hier, an fremder Welle,
Erblüht aufs neu der Väter Ruhm?
Hier steigt empor mit Geisterschnelle
Ein allgermanisches Heiligtum?
Heil dir, o Heil, du fremde Erde,
Du neue Welt, Heil dir und Macht!
Dein Genius ruft dir zu: "Es werde"
Und sieh: es wird! es ist vollbracht!
Du stürmst dahin mit Riesenschritten,
Es weht ums Haupt dir Sternenglanz,
Um Freiheit hast du je gestritten,
Stolz flattert dir der Siegeskranz!
O lass mich schweben dir zu Seite!
Ich bringe dir des Herzens Glück!
Aus Sturm und Drang, aus Thatenweite,
Ruf' zu dir selbst ich dich zurück!
Ich bringe, was im Stillen blühet,
Den keuschen Sinn, der Treue Hort;
Ich pflege, was zum Mann erziehet,
Des Wahrheitsforschers furchtlos Wort.
O Neue Welt, Urvätersegen,
Sei deines Volkes köstlich Teil!
Dann spriesst empor auf deinen Wegen
Das schönste Reis: der Menschheit Heil![19]

Francke's poem provides a unique opportunity to consider the sentiments and motivations behind the celebration of the museum.[20] It is exceptional in two ways: first, it comes from the hand of a preeminent Germanist of the time, a significant representative of the profession; second, the circumstances of this poem suggest a serious and deliberate authorial intent. The potential for spontaneous interjections, as in commemorative addresses of the sort delivered at the opening of the museum, remains relatively lim-

ited. We can consider it the well-meaning product of earnest reflection, and thus an accurate statement of its subject matter. This is not to say, however, that an element of spontaneity is altogether missing from the poem. On the contrary, we are made to feel its presence first through its invocation of classical Goethean and Schillerian tone, and second through its repeated exclamations, a stylistic feature rivaled only by the frequency of questions. Francke applies these devices—arousing initial uncertainty and anxiety on the one hand (toward the end of the poem receding altogether) and, on the other, fear and desperation, culminating in patriotic euphoria—to incite a sense of emotionalism. This demeanor, while fixed ultimately on the object of its adulation, namely *Deutschland,* allows for a curious metaphorical progression within the poem, ranging from the mundane-pedestrian ("Statt Rebenhügeln, Roggenfeldern, / Seh' ich die Flur mit Mais geschmückt?"), to the potpourri of architecture, heroic weaponry, and political ancestry (a reference no doubt to the acquisitions of the museum), including a communal resurrection ("Hier steigt empor mit Geisterschnelle / Ein allgermanisches Heiligtum?") and Faustian allusions ("es ist vollbracht!"), coming to rest then finally amidst symptoms of Faustian exhilaration, recalling his pronouncement: "Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen!" Francke's German Muse is also reminiscent of Iphigenie (initially in a foreign country)—the hortative conclusion to the poem recalls the trials, tribulations, and assuagement of Goethe's dramatic figure, and above all her ultimatum: "Rettet mich und rettet euer Bild in meiner Seele!" The poem wants to be at once eschatological in fervor and apocalyptic in vision: "O Neue Welt, Urvätersegen / Sei deines Volkes köstlich Teil! / Dann spriesst empor auf deinen Wegen / Das schönste Reis: der Menschheit Heil!" The incongruence of its internal parts is held together only by the line of irrepressible passion which runs throughout and which is orchestrated in the end into a fanfare of missionary zeal. The message which Francke celebrates is unequivocal: Germany serves as the source of America's inspiration, as its mentor, even as its "salvation."

The contact between the Germanist and the German-speaking public provides an additional point for investigation, for here the ideological subtexts are even more obvious than in the material already examined. Two texts will be cited in this instance. The first, by Karl Detlev Jessen, was addressed to the German-speaking populace in America and printed in the *Neu Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *Mississippi Blätter;* the second, by Kuno Francke, was published in the *Deutsche Rundschau.*[21]

For Jessen, the museum embodies German culture. More than that, he would have it function as a hallowed object and a somewhat intimidating admonition: "Uns Deutschen legt die Existenz dieses Museums erneut die Verpflichtungen auf, uns selber getreu zu bleiben, unserer Sprache und den heiligen Überlieferungen unseres Volkes, uns und unseren Nachkommen."[22] Jessen's justifications for the museum frequently turn chauvinistic: "dass es [i.e., the German *Volk*] nicht ohne Rest sang- und klanglos in den Brei eines englischredenden Allangelsachsentums untertauchen darf" (p. 47). Jessen's aggressive rhetoric suggests an adversary. Elsewhere his remarks clearly define his position in terms of social and ideological conflict, and thus the position of his antagonist. Speaking of Schiller, he maintained: "Ein jeg-

licher Versuch, des naturwissenschaftlichen wie des historischen Materialismus, seitens jener philosophischen Barbiergesellen vom Schlage [Ludwig] Büchners oder der Marxisten (Schopenhauer ist für diese Bezeichnung verantwortlich), Schiller als den ihrigen zu reklamieren, prallt an den nackten Tatsachen ab."[23] Factual references, however, were infrequent in Jessen's discourse; instead it appealed to emotionalism and patriotism. In sum, Jessen's dialogue abounded in appellations to "die deutsche Seele" and "das deutsche Wesen," and his posture was one of ardent genuflection before the altar of German *Geist*.

The notion of *Lebensraum* dominates Francke's report: "Der deutsche Kaiser wird also, das ist nicht zu viel gesagt, der eigentliche Begründer eines amerikanischen Universitätinstitutes werden, welches in hervorragender Weise dazu angethan ist, deutsche und amerikanische Cultur zu verschmelzen, und so zu der Verwirklichung des grossen pan-germanischen Bündnisses beizutragen, auf dem die Gewähr dauernder Leistungsfähigkeit der teutonischen Rasse in dem Kampf um die Weltherrschaft beruht."[24] As with Jessen, the dialogue is expressly chauvinistic and racial and, although in less excited prose, Francke likewise enshrines the German past and the sense of tradition in pseudo-religiosity: "Ich sprach nun vorher davon, dass es zu wüschen sei, dass die Deutsch-Amerikaner auch noch bessere *Deutsche* würden. Wie ist dies zu verstehen? In welcher Beziehung ist das Deutschtum in den Deutsch-Amerikanern der Steigerung bedürftig? Um es mit einem Worte auszudrücken: in der Pietät für die deutsche Vergangenheit" (p. 138). The touted "germanische Grösse" is at once spiritualized—an act that allows its arbiter to distort the unique historicity of every literary, cultural, and artistic document—and given symbolic form in the monuments and artifacts gathered within the halls of the Germanic Museum. The transformation, as Francke underscores more than once, is nothing less than the fulfillment of a spiritual calling. He speaks of "die gemeinsamen Aufgaben des Culturlebens . . ., die aber doch besonders der germanischen Rasse durch ihre ganze Vergangenheit als heiligster Beruf vorgezeichnet sind: die Arbeit für echte Humanität, Geistesfreiheit, sociale Gerechtigkeit und friedlichen Fortschritt" (p. 145).

In his concluding paragraph, Francke admitted: "Ich gebe mich nun nicht der kindlichen Illusion hin, als ob ein solches Museum etwa dazu dienen könnte, die Gemüther zu versöhnen, wenn (was ja glücklicher Weise kaum zu befürchten ist) es zu wirthschaftlichen oder politischen Conflicten zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und Europa kommen sollte" (p. 145). Obviously, it would be foolish to harp on Francke's blindness toward the course of history. I see it instead as a metaphor—in the texts surrounding the institution of the Germanic Museum we have witnessed a blindness resulting in a specific, historically determined rhetorical ambience, what we can call the events' ideological subtexts. These essays exhibited missionary zeal and nationalistic spirit. But the celebration was somewhat atypical: the ties to Germany, in particular to the Kaiser, were unusually strong, and one must continue to ask if this attitude was indeed the overriding one and what, if any, were its variants. I wish to pursue this issue now in a different medium, by looking at a lecture delivered at a professional meeting in 1900.

Marion Dexter Learned delivered the presidential address, "Volkserzie-

hung und Weltpolitik," at the 30th congress of the *Nationaler Deutschamerikanischer Lehrerbund.*[25] Learned opened his speech by broaching the topic of world literature and national enmity. He referred to Goethe's remarks made to Eckermann about his indifference toward the German uprising against the French, 1812-1815 (Goethe justified his stance by noting his inability to hate the nation which had contributed so much to his education), and further by acknowledging his sense of cosmopolitanism. Goethe's correspondence with Thomas Carlyle in 1827, Learned pointed out, described *Weltliteratur* as the best means for eliminating national antipathy. Learned found in Goethe's disposition "die Lösung des grossen Weltproblems, des Weltfriedens und des Fortschritts, und es ist die Aufgabe der Volkserziehung, zur Lösung dieser Aufgabe beizutragen" (p. 2). He saw pedagogues entrusted with a tremendous responsibility: to educate their students toward achieving the salvation of world peace. As Learned phrased it: "Mit einem Worte, der Schulmeister—sei er Volksschullehrer oder Universitätsprofessor—ist dazu berufen, die Jugend nicht nur für das Alltagsleben des Bürgers, sondern auch für die richtige Auffassung seiner Pflicht als Weltbürger heranzubilden" (p. 2). In the cosmopolitan spirit espoused by Goethe, Learned advanced what he saw as a fundamental pedagogical maxim. (A larger context for Learned's—typical—position is given by national educators of the time. In the 1890s, the N.E.A.'s Committee of Ten recommended a rigorous academic program for schools aimed at solid intellectual training, with considerable attention awarded to the study of history. In 1911, the N.E.A.'s Committee of Nine on the Articulation of High School and College urged instead the fostering of good citizenship and vocational training, while the subject of history received short shrift.[26] Learned's address, in 1900, anticipated the later position.)

Learned took the notion of *Weltbürgertum* as his premise and then proceeded to contradict it repeatedly. His introduction and the remainder of the speech are so unequivocally at odds that the whole must attest to a good, if unfortunately perverted, faith, and the antinomy suggests a subtext which reconciles, in Learned's mind and in that of his contemporaries, the ambivalence apparent to today's reader. We can summarize the essential ar guments of Learned's speech. He maintains that in the course of history peoples sustain themselves "durch Kämpfe und Verträge." Some conflicts of interest, however, can only be solved by war (such as between France and Prussia in 1870). The causes of war are cultural differences and economic interests. Every nation strives to maintain and expand its national character as well as its trade and industry in foreign countries. Change (implied is a shift of power) is equated with progress: individuals may not stand still but must be strong or succumb to the maelstrom of history. America's position among the world powers at the end of the nineteenth century exemplifies its successful participation in world-historical progress: "So waren wir ein grosses Volk, eine grosse Nation geworden, ohne dessen völlig bewusst zu sein."[27] The Spanish-American War and the Manila conflict gave America an unexpected role in world politics. Accusations of imperialism and militarism could be heard (Learned hears them as the voices of conservatives, not liberals), but calls this a misunderstanding and in fact approves of this description of America's growth. *Volkserziehung* and German-Americans

in general must perceive their task in this historic role in world culture. In the future, all nations must work toward the common goal of civilization.

When discussing Francke's poem about the German Muse, I wrote of his appropriation of rhetoric from the political sphere. Here the well-spring is military strategy. Learned begins his address with an appeal to a Goethean cosmopolitanism, but the discussion soon turns to the nature and substance of war, and Learned shows himself ultimately in favor of this "inevitable" phenomenon. His assessment that the United States "suddenly met with war" against Spain disguises rather than clarifies the causes of war. Similarly, he credits "fate" with the responsibility for leading America into world politics: "Das Schicksal hatte uns ganz unerwartet in die Weltpolitik eingeführt, und wir standen plötzlich ein Elementarvolk, eine Riesenmacht vor den staunenden Grossmächten der Welt da. . . . Das Schicksal (sage man vielleicht besser unsere Kulturbestrebungen) hat uns geleitet, wir müssen gehorsam folgen" (pp. 4, 5). Here Learned's address sounds like an anticipation of the notorious German General Friedrich von Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War* (1912), where he wrote for example that "War is a biological necessity of the first importance, a regulative element in the life of mankind which cannot be dispensed with, since without it an unhealthy development will follow, which excludes every advancement of the race, and therefore all real civilization."[28] Linguistically, it is telling that Learned uses America not as the subject of the sentence, but frequently as the object ("Das Schicksal hatte uns . . .," "Der Maischuss vor Manila gab uns die Philippinen in die Hand," p. 4). This usage typifies a mentality which refuses to admit of personal responsibility. Transgressions are authorless, and war is seen more as the agency of the *Weltgeist* than of real social and economic interests.

Learned could justify the policy of cultural expansionism because, within his purview, conflicts were seen as inevitable; more than that, they presented an opportunity to prove one's mettle. To call the "change of fortunes" in war by the neutral term *Wechsel* displaces the agency of such maneuvers. Battle becomes a brand of cultural Darwinism, a survival of the fittest, with its equation of rationalization being the adage "might makes right." It was, Learned maintained, a question of yielding to the *Weltgeist.* This legitimized the hunger for conquest. At this point, Learned's prosody grows apocalyptic: "Schon dieser Tage gewährt uns das Schicksal einen Blick in die dunkle Zukunft, für die es uns vorbereitet. Die altmongolische Halbkultur muss erobert werden und vor dem heranschwellenden Strom der höheren Zivilisation weichen" (p. 5). Bernhardi echoed: "Without war, inferior or decaying races would easily choke the growth of healthy budding elements, and a universal decadence would follow."[29]

In this distorted and hyperbolic scheme of world relations, the educator takes on messianic dimensions. Learned's argumentation makes the German teacher the proprietor of a monumental *Weltrolle:* "Als Volkserzieher und besonders als Deutschamerikaner und deutschamerikanische Lehrer erblicken wir in dieser neuen Rolle in der Weltkultur eine neue, höhere Aufgabe. Der Schulmeister darf sich nicht länger begnügen damit, im alten Wirkungskreis sein tägliches Brot zu verdienen und seine Schüler lehren, das Gleiche zu thun" (p. 5). We see, then, how the function—more appropri-

ately, the "duty"—of the mediators of German culture in America was viewed as seminal, as uncompromisingly urgent. And I find it telling that, as if in response to Learned's hyperbole, the next issue of *Monatshefte* (1900) follows this presidential address with a clarification of "Die nationale Aufgabe des Deutschamerikanischen Lehrerbundes." It is clearly intended to pique moribund educators out of lethargy:

> Warum spielt unser Bund eine so klägliche Rolle im Vergleich zu dem, was er leisten sollte und könnte? Weil wir unsere Aufgabe nie zu Ende gedacht, und weil es uns an überlegenen Führern gebricht, denen die Erreichung unserer Ziele mehr als Nebensache wäre. Was entbehren wir am meisten? Das philosophische Bewusstsein und den Willen zur That. . . . Was jetzt im Volke nur ein Scheinleben führt, wird erst dann in Fleisch und Blut übergehen, wenn man allerorten den Anfang des deutschen Unterrichts ins zarteste Kindesalter verlegt. Wer dieses leugnet, gehört nicht zu uns, mag er immerhin der gefeiertste Professor der deutschen Sprache sein. . . . Zur Beherrschung des amerikanischen Schulwesens ist jedoch die Sicherstellung des Seminars nur der erste Schritt. . . . Nicht im Gründen neuer Schulen besteht unsere fernere Aufgabe, sondern im Erobern der schon vorhandenen.[30]

In two instances thus far we have witnessed Germanists' self-perception in terms of cultural missionary work. The Germanic Museum belonged really more to the realm of diplomacy than to the realm of pedagogy. Learned's address, "Volkserziehung und Weltpolitik," combined aspects of both external political concern and internal, or pedagogical, concern. We shall focus now more distinctly on this latter point.

In the first issue of *Die Pädagogischen Monatshefte* in 1899, the publication outlined its intent:

> Alles, was dem deutschamerikanischen Lehrer als solchem am Herzen liegen muss, soll in diesem Blatte Berücksichtigung finden. An der ebenso grossen als schönen Aufgabe, die deutsche Sprache und Litteratur und mit diesen den deutschen Geist nicht nur denen zu erhalten, die sie von ihren Eltern ererbt haben, sondern ihnen ein immer grösseres Gebiet zu erobern, wollen wir unentwegt festhalten, in der Ueberzeugung, dass sie fruchtbringend auf die Entwicklung unserer grossen Nation und auf die Bildung ihres Volkscharakters wirken müssen (p. 2).

Importance is given to the development of a fit and cultivated citizenry. In 1899, M. D. Learned wrote of pedagogues as ambassadors: "It is, after all, the teachers of America who are the medium of cultural intercourse and friendly feeling between Germany and America."[31] Learned's formulation is relatively tepid. Less timorous was Carl Beck, who maintained that ". . . die junge Studentenschaft ist auch in Amerika für das Ideale viel empfänglicher als man im alten Vaterlande glauben will. Es hängt alles nur von denen ab, welche das hohe Evangelium predigen."[32] This phraseology points to a common attitude, which Julius Goebel extended to its logical conclusion: "Ich habe schon vorher bemerkt, dass sich die Erhaltung der Sprache und der idealen Güter unseres Volkstums[33] nicht spielend erreichen lässt in fremder Umgebung, sie bedeutet Arbeit, Hingebung, Opfer.[34] Und diese ihrem Volkstum zu leisten, fällt den berufenen—es gibt auch unberu-

fene—Vertretern der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an unsern amerikanischen Universitäten, fällt den gebildeten Lehrern des Deutschen in den niederen Schulen, fällt den deutschen Predigern aller Konfessionen, ja allen gebildeten Deutschen zu."[35] That Goebel's description should begin with an elitist conception of the professor or instructor of German and end with the image of the minister is, given our previous experience, not surprising. The presentation approaches the pitch of the Germanic Museum celebration. But its implications affect more directly the teacher of the German language and literature. As Goebel later stated:

> . . . den unbestechlichen Wahrheitssinn des deutschen Geistes, seine sittlichen Kräfte und seine Liebe zum Schönen der werdenden Nation einzupflanzen, ist unser höchster deutscher Beruf in Amerika. Ihm aber bleiben wir am treusten, wenn wir die heilige Quelle hüten, aus der uns diese Güter zugeflossen sind, die Mutterprache:
>
> Pflegt die deutsche Sprache,
> Hegt das deutsche Wort,
> Denn die Gunst der Väter,
> Lebt darinnen fort.[36]

Goebel's attitude is indicative of the stance toward cultural tradition: it was, as we have seen elsewhere, uniformly deified, and it reflected a "Bildung und Besitz" mentality. The pedagogical consequence of this view is a rigorously authoritarian role for the teacher of German. Adolf Spaeth wrote in 1900:

> Wodurch hat Deutschland in diesem Jahrhundert seine Weltstellung wieder gewonnen? Vor allem durch Einordnung aller individuellen Kräfte in das allgemeine Beste durch die stramme Disziplin, die den Einzelnen Gehorsam lehrt, nicht bloss als ein hartes unausweichliches Muss, sondern auf Grund seiner eigenen innersten Überzeugung: Das Wohl des Vaterlandes, und wenn es das Opfer fordert von jedem Einzelnen, ich bin willens und bereit es zu bringen. . . . Wenn wir Männer haben wollen, die das Leiten verstehen, müssen wir eine Jugend haben, die sich leiten lässt, die in den Jahren ihrer Unmündigkeit einer liebevollen verständigen Autorität eine vertrauensvolle Pietät entgegenbringt.[37]

But was there indeed another justification for "the study of the traditions of this sturdy race," other than "the presence in our population of 19,000,000 Americans in whose veins German blood flows?"[38] The rise of America's world-historical star, as Learned outlined it, worked as a feeder for the German ideology: the success of America's future would seem to depend on its assimilation of the German *Geist*. Goebel knew that behind his office "steht die Ahnung oder die bewusste Erkenntnis, dass nur der deutsche Geist dem zum Höchsten aufstrebenden amerikanischen Volke Befreiung bringen und den rechten Weg zur Weiterentwicklung zeigen kann."[39]

An important question remains: Can one discern, behind the rhetorical veneer, what interests American *Germanistik* sought to serve? Was it perhaps as simple as Calvin Thomas expressed it: "And is it not rather a comforting thought that in simply living the larger social life, in recognizing its obligations and responding loyally and cheerfully to their call, we are

working steadily in our own interest?"[40] I do not think so. An answer, I believe, can be found in M. D. Learned's "Germanistik und schöne Litteratur in Amerika" of 1901.[41] Learned was interested, like many of his colleagues, in cultivating a knowledge of the relationship of German and English-speaking literatures.[42] He sought to establish a connection between German influence in the field of scholarship and American *belles lettres*. Despite the vast and influential German element in the United States, Learned was constrained to state that there existed "eine erstaunlich weite Kluft zwischen den Philologen und den zeitgenössischen Schriftstellern, ich will nicht sagen Dichtern, in Amerika."[43] He complained of "verderbliche Tendenzen" in American literature, blaming rapid industrial development, neglect of the liberal arts, the sensationalism and provincial perspective of the newspaper business, an insatiable hunger for the short story, and the lack of high ideals and critical perception such that "die litterarische Kritik der Gegenwart bei uns hinter der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts zurücksteht" (p. 105). History teaches, according to Learned, that the most fruitful epochs of literary activity have their origin in foreign literature, for the contact with the life and culture of a foreign people stimulates literary production by widening perspective and providing native poets with new themes and forms. At this juncture Learned specifies how *Germanistik* is to serve as a model for American literature, chiefly since America had not had a classical period.

Learned stresses five points: 1) that classical *exempla* like Goethe and Schiller combined the best of antiquity and the modern spirit; 2) that *Germanistik* has "eine wissenschaftliche Methode und litterarhistorische Kritik, was bekanntlich den Engländern wie den Amerikanern in den letzten Jahrzehnten beinahe gänzlich gefehlt"; 3) "die Germanistik führt zu einer kulturgeschichtlichen Auffassung des einheitlichen Stoffes, der litterarischen Momente der Nationalgeschichte und des Volkslebens"; 4) *Germanistik*, German literature in particular, leads to an understanding and appreciation of classical forms; 5) *Germanistik* lays the groundwork for an "ästhetische Volkserziehung" reminiscent of Schiller's work on the aesthetic education of mankind. In sum, Germanists in America were not only to motivate students to pursue research within *Germanistik*, but to impart to them, and through them to the American people, a deeper knowledge of German literature and the relations of German and American culture, "und so mit zu arbeiten an der Entwicklung einer wahrhaft nationalen Litteratur in Amerika."[44]

Learned's comments are of interest not so much because he interprets *Germanistik* as a kind of cure-all for the malaise of American literature as he saw it, but because of its claim to scientific and methodological soundness, because of its concern for the national element of both literatures, because of the pedagogical implications of *Germanistik* as a format for "ästhetische Volkserziehung," and finally because of his repeated emphasis on the central role of German Classicism within *Germanistik*.[45] In yet another sense, then, we find *Germanistik* in America of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries impelled by an intrepid sense of mission, be it in the mediation of German culture or in the rehabilitation of one aspect of American culture.

At the outset of this article I mentioned several aspects for which a full appreciation of the discipline, viewed within an expansive socio-historical context, would need to account. To urge speculative responses to these many questions here would not prove satisfactory. However, I would conjecture about some additional concerns which my investigation suggests more immediately. When reading the names of such "stellar" Germanists at the turn of the century as Francke, Goebel, Learned and others, all more or less singing the praise of *deutsches Volkstum* in a manner abundantly clear and disturbingly suggestive, one may wonder indeed: What kind of influence did these leading scholars really have on the remaining hundreds of German teachers of the time? Were they all equally supportive of the opinions held by the outstanding scholars in their field? While I do not command over sufficient pertinent sociological data to make conclusive remarks in this regard (it is questionable whether such evidence even exists), I would surmise that a significant uniformity obtained within the profession at large. To substantiate this claim, I would point to the celebration of the centenary of Schiller's death in 1905. Ceremonies were held throughout the nation then, and many prominent Germanists (among them Francke, Goebel, and Learned) figured among the key speakers. Several of the addresses are reprinted in the *German American Annals* of 1905,[46] and they reveal a collective conformity with regard to the kind of proselytizing already observed. I would maintain that the absence of dissimilar receptions of Schiller in 1905 suggests a homogeneous constitution within the ranks of the academic institution (and perhaps beyond).[47] In addition, when simply reading the volumes of *Monatshefte* prior to the First World War,

> . . . we shall be struck by the curious mixture in almost every issue, of labored pedantry and the unquestioned assumption that the teaching of German should be motivated by a passionate and unswerving attachment to the values—political, philosophical and literary—that were then held in Germany: pride in the German imperial power, reverence for the idealism which German artists and thinkers appeared to defend against all corrosion of public and private life by the alien forces of materialism and, most emphatically, the example which this sum of superior aspiration offered for the missionary work of American teachers of German.[48]

With the onset of World War I, German Studies in America suffered, I would further argue, precisely because of its widespread allegiance to this kind of propagation of German ideals. The anti-German reaction incited by the war brought about a significant caesura in the long tradition of German-American cultural relations. Jeffrey Sammons suggests that this discontinuity (it is of course repeated in World War II) profoundly affected the state of *Germanistik* in America. For one, it meant the loss of more than one generation of *American* Germanists, positions later filled largely by emigrants from the 1930s. For another, the repeated discontinuities forced upon the profession by external events have had the cumulative effect of subverting our sense of the (actual) long-standing cultural interchange, even and especially as it took place within German Studies in America, with the result —as I noted at the beginning of this essay—that a history of *Germanistik* in America still remains to be written.[49]

Finally, one other compelling association needs to be addressed, namely: Did the tenor of scholarly work within American *Germanistik* parallel its German model-counterpart in the latter's incorporation of Nazi ideology, as it clearly did the ideology of Wilhelminian Germany? To the reader of the 1980s, the obviously racist and chauvinistic attitudes displayed so blatantly by our professional forerunners (as examined here around the turn of the century) make easy the perhaps hasty inference of proto-fascism. After all, cultural and political ideologies were common in the late nineteenth century. To pursue this particular ideological genealogy is speculative and—worse yet—perhaps even aberrant. The connection, however, does certainly warrant investigating. In this regard, one might consider the words of Ernst Bloch, who suggested that "Werke des Überbaus"—and here one can include ideologies as well—"auch nach Wegfall ihrer gesellschaftlichen Grundlagen im Kulturbewusstsein sich fortschreitend reproduzieren."[50] Perhaps future studies will document the viability of Bloch's proposition for other chapters in the history of *Germanistik* in America.

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Notes

1. I am aware of a few isolated studies in progress, but on the whole a professional self-assessment tracing the development of *Germanistik* in America from its origins to its present state is sorely lacking. See R. Spuler, "A Study of 'Germanistik' in America: The Reception of German Classicism, 1870-1905," Diss. The Ohio State University 1980.

2. See Victor Lange, "Thoughts in Season," *German Studies in the United States: Assessment and Outlook*, eds. Walter F. W. Lohnes and Valters Nollendorfs (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1976), pp. 5-16, especially pp. 12-13.

3. Lange, pp. 7-8.

4. Francke wrote on the reception of German culture in the New England area:

> Ich selber fühlte es als eine Notwendigkeit, wenn das von mir vertretene Fach sich gegenüber dem alles überwiegenden englischen und französischen Einfluss dauernd behaupten sollte. In den dreizehn Jahren meines Harvarder Aufenthaltes hatte ich trotz alles persönlichen Wohlwollens doch immer aufs neue und immer deutlicher empfunden, wie fremd meine Umgebung im Grunde allem gegenüberstand, was mich im Innersten bewegte. Die deutsche Literatur selbst in ihren grössten Vertretern blieb dem durchschnittlichen Neuengländer schliesslich doch etwas innerlich Fernes; von deutscher Kunst wusste er überhaupt nichts; und deutsche Politik erschien ihm mehr oder weniger verdächtig. Aber selbst so hochstehende und weitsehende Vertreter feinster Kultur, wie der geistvolle Ruskin-Bewunderer Charles Eliot Norton oder der scharfsinnige Hegelianer Josiah Royce, verhielten sich deutschen literarischen und künstlerischen Leistungen gegenüber im wesentlichen ablehnend. Die einzigartige Grösse der deutschen Musik wurde anerkannt, aber im übrigen wurde das Formlose, Sprunghafte, Übertriebene, Sentimentale des deutschen Charakters hervorgehoben und gegenüber der massvollen Feinheit des Franzosen und der weltmännschen Kraft des Engländers als etwas Minderwertiges empfunden. Dieser Voreingenommenheit gegen deutsches Wesen hoffte ich nun durch die Errichtung einer Art von Heiligtum des deutschen Geistes, in dem das Beste deutscher Kunst, wenn auch nur in Nachbildungen, vereinigt werden sollte, entgegenzuwirken. (Kuno Francke, *Deutsche Arbeit in Amerika. Erinnerungen von Kuno Francke* [Leipzig: Meiner, 1930], p. 41.)

One can understand why Francke spoke of his work as a cultural mediator as "Pionierarbeit für deutsche Geisteskultur," p. 19.

5. "The Need of a Germanic Museum," *The Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, 5 (1896/97), 356-60; also reprinted in Louis Viereck, "German Instruction in American Schools," *U.S. Bu-*

reau of Education. Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1900-01 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1902), pp. 679-81.

6. "The Need of a Germanic Museum," p. 357.
7. See Viereck, p. 680.
8. Ibid., p. 682.
9. Ibid., pp. 682-83.
10. Ibid., p. 684.
11. See *German American Annals*, NS 2 (1904), 4.
12. See Herbert Marcuse's "Affirmative Character of Culture" on this topic:

> For the common man it [art] has been confined to museums for at least a century. The museum was the most suitable place for reproducing in the individual withdrawal from facticity and the consolation of being elevated to a more dignified world—an experience limited by temporal restriction to special ceremonies. This museum-like quality was also present in the ceremonious treatment of the classics, where dignity alone was enough to still all explosive elements. What a classic writer or thinker did or said did not have to be taken too seriously, for it belonged to another world and could not come into conflict with this one. *(Negations: Essays in Critical Theory*, trans. Jeremy Shapiro [Boston: Beacon, 1968], p. 131.)

13. See *German American Annals*, NS 2 (1904), 9.
14. Ibid., p. 48.
15. About which Jessen boasted: "wie vielseitig und reich an Ausdrucksformen ist sie [i.e., German *Baukunst*], verglichen etwa mit der englischen Architektur," ibid., p. 52.
16. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
17. Our contemporary perception of statements like these has changed since Marcuse's exposé of such "spiritualization." He wrote *(Negations*, p. 95):

> By affirmative culture is meant that culture of the bourgeois epoch which led in the course of its own development to the segregation from civilization of the mental and spiritual world as an independent realm of value that is also considered superior to civilization. Its decisive characteristic is the assertion of a universally obligatory, eternally better and more valuable world that must be conditionally affirmed: a world essentially different from the factual world of the daily struggle for existence, yet realizable by every individual for himself 'from within,' without any transformation of the state of fact. It is only in this culture that cultural activities and objects gain that value which elevates them above the every day sphere. Their reception becomes an act of celebration and exaltation.

18. *German American Annals*, NS 2 (1904), 20.
19. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
20. John Walz, *Books Abroad*, 5 (1931), 5, speaks of Francke, "the poet":

> Francke was a German poet of no mean power. His poems, all lyrical, show beauty of diction, rhythm, nobility of thought and warmth of feeling. Poetic inspiration seems to have come to him only in moments of great joy or deep sorrow. Some of his finest poems were inspired by the suffering of the German people during and after the war. He had the artistic temperament which shrinks from conflict and yields to the feeling of the moment, with all the childlikeness and lovableness of the true artist.

21. Jessen's article is reprinted in the *German American Annals*, NS 2 (1904), 44-58; Francke, "Deutsche Cultur in den Vereinigten Staaten und das Germanische Museum der Harvard Universität," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 111 (1902), 127-45.
22. *German American Annals*, NS 2 (1904), 58.
23. Jessen, "Schillerrede," *German American Annals*, NS 3 (1905), 185.
24. *Deutsche Rundschau*, 111 (1902), 127.
25. See *Monatshefte*, 1, No. 9 (1900), 2-6.
26. See Francis FitzGerald, *America Revised* (Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown, 1979), pp. 168-70.
27. *Monatshefte*, 1, No. 9 (1900), 4.
28. Quoted in *The Traditions of the Western World*, eds. J. H. Hexter et al. (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1967), p. 776.
29. *The Traditions of the Western World*, p. 776.
30. H. M. Ferren, *Monatshefte*, 2, No. 1 (1900/01), 7-10.
31. Quoted in Handschin, "The Teaching of Modern Languages in the United States," *U.S. Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 3* (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1913), p. 46.

32. Beck, "Schiller und die alten deutschen Studenten," *German American Annals*, NS 3 (1905), 290-91.

33. The tautology in Goebel's argumentation becomes evident when he states a few pages later: "Wir haben ein Recht auf die Bewahrung unseres Volkstums nur auf Grund seiner idealen Güter." See J. Goebel, *Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Munich: Lehmann, 1904), p. 84. Significantly, the volume is edited and published by the *Alldeutscher Verband*, and is dedicated to the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt.

34. See Gunter Reiss, *Materialien zur Ideologiegeschichte der deutschen Literaturwissenschaft. Von Wilhelm Scherer bis 1945* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1973), I, xxxv: "Hermeneutische 'Kunst' und wissenschaftliches Verhalten erscheinen als ideologisches Instrumentarium: die 'hingebende Liebe zur Arbeit,' die 'pflichtgemässe Zucht, die uns zum Dienst für das Ganze erzog und damit zu Herren unser selbst machte' [Gustav Roethe], sind nicht nur literaturwissenschaftliche Tugenden."

35. Goebel, *Das Deutschtum*, p. 79.

36. Ibid., p. 84. The verse stems from F. C. Castelhun, of whom Goebel said "unter den lebenden deutsch-amerikanischen Dichtern . . . fraglos der bedeutendste," p. 72. One wonders if the inevitable conclusion of Goebel's view is the later (1914) diatribe of Houston Stewart Chamberlain: "Was wir deutsch nennen, ist das Geheimnis, wodurch es den Menschen Licht wird, und das Organ dieses Lichtwerdens ist die Sprache. Durch nichts lasse ich mich irremachen; dieser Sprache ist gewiss der Sieg bestimmt! . . . Deswegen muss der Deutsche—und mit ihm das Deutsche—siegen; und hat er gesiegt—heut oder in hundert Jahren, das Muss bleibt das gleiche—, so gibt es keine einzige Aufgabe, die so wichtig wäre wie diese, die deutsche Sprache der Welt aufzuzwingen." Quoted in Werner Ross, "Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt," *Nationalismus in Germanistik und Dichtung: Dokumente des Germanistentages in München vom 17.-22. Oktober 1966*, eds. Benno von Wiese and Rudolf Henss (Berlin: Schmidt, 1967), p. 22.

37. Spaeth, "Der deutsche Pädagog in Amerika," *Monatshefte*, 1, No. 8 (1900), 17.

38. M. D. Learned, quoted in Viereck, p. 612.

39. *Das Deutschtum*, p. 78.

40. Thomas, *Culture and Service. An Address Delivered at the Sixtieth Annual Commencement of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1904), p. 13.

41. See *Monatshefte*, 2, No. 3 (1900/01), 97-101.

42. Others included A. R. Hohlfeld and Camillo von Klenze. See for example Hohlfeld's "Der Literaturbetrieb in der Schule," *Monatshefte*, 3, No. 2 (1901/02), 46-53; No. 3 (1901/02), 73-85.

43. *Monatshefte*, 2, No. 3 (1900/01), 104.

44. Learned makes these points on pp. 106-07.

45. For the larger aspects of this final point, see the reference in note 1.

46. See *German American Annals*, NS 3 (1905), 177-90; 191-201; 207-17; 218-33; also *German American Annals*, NS 4 (1906), 180-92.

47. Moreover, Schiller's reception is paradigmatic of the assimilation of German Classicism by American *Germanistik* at the turn of the century. See R. Spuler, "American *Germanistik* and German Classicism: A Nineteenth Century Exchange," *Germans in America: Aspects of German-American Relations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. E. Allen McCormick (forthcoming).

48. Lange, "Thoughts in Season," p. 11.

49. That the immediate effect of World War I on *Germanistik* in America was both swift and drastic can be seen in the retrospective account by a Germanist himself, Edwin Zeydel, in 1928:

> Einem Überblick über die Ergebnisse der letzten neun Jahre amerikanischer Forschung auf dem Gebiete der neueren deutschen Literaturgeschichte müssen einige erklärende Bemerkungen zur Orientierung derer, die mit den amerikanischen Verhältnissen nicht vertraut sind, vorausgeschickt werden. Als Amerika auf Seiten der alliierten Mächte in den Weltkrieg eintrat, verkündete es durch seinen Präsidenten die hohen Ideale, die es angeblich vertrat, leitete aber gleichzeitig einen Propagandafeldzug ein, nicht nur gegen den deutschen Militarismus und das deutsche Kaisertum, ja selbst gegen die deutsche Literatur und Sprache. Dieser Feldzug, der unter dem Deckmantel der *public information* vor sich ging, wurde äusserst geschickt geführt. Insgeheim unterstützten die Behörden und Regierungsvertreter alle unfreundlichen Massnahmen aufs nachhaltigste, amtlich allerdings

> überliessen sie sie der Tagespresse und den vielen Patriotenverbänden. . . . Der Feldzug gegen den Deutschen hatte schliesslich das Ergebnis, dass die deutsche Sprache nicht nur als Lehrfach in den öffentlichen Schulen, sondern auch als Umgangssprache verboten wurde. Diese engherzigen, gehässigen Verfügungen seitens gereifter, verantwortungsvoller Menschen werden leider stets ein Schandfleck auf Amerikas Ehre, ein beredtes Zeugnis für das geistige Niveau der Vereinigten Staaten am Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts bleiben. (Zeydel, "Die germanistische Tätigkeit in Amerika 1918-1926," *Euphorion*, 20 [1928], 239-40.)

For comparison, see also Zeydel, "The Teaching of German in the United States from Colonial Times to the Present," *Reports of Surveys and Studies in the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages* (New York: MLA, 1961), pp. 285-308; especially pp. 298-99.

50. Ernst Bloch, *Das Prinzip Hoffnung* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1959), p. 176. See also Wolfgang Emmerich, *Germanistische Volkstumsideologie. Genese und Kritik der Volksforschung im Dritten Reich* (Tübingen: Tübinger Verein für Volkskunde, 1968), passim.

Werner Hoffmeister

Critical Realism in Germany and America: Fontane and Howells

"The Germans have as distinctly excelled in the modern novella as they have fallen short in the novel. Or, if I may not quite say this, I will make bold to say that I can think of many German novelle [sic] that I should like to read again, but scarcely one German novel."[1] Despite the somewhat personal wording, this opinion is quite typical of the general lack of attention paid to the late nineteenth-century German novel by American writers and critics of that time. The statement was made by William Dean Howells who for decades was considered the "dean" of American literature and who was, more than any of his literary contemporaries in America, an influential authority on German literature. As a young man, Howells had learned German in his native Ohio in order to be able to read Heinrich Heine, his first great literary love, in the original language; he then translated Heine's poetry and imitated his style in his own poems. In his essay on Heine, he says the German poet had effected in him a decisive liberation from worn-out literary conventions:

> My literary liberation began with almost the earliest word from him; for if he had chained me to himself, he freed me from all other bondage. I had been at infinite pains to literarify myself . . . I had supposed that the expression of literature must be different from the expression of life; that it must be an attitude, a pose, with something of state or at least of formality in it. But Heine at once showed me that this ideal of literature was false; that the life of literature was from the springs of the best common speech, and that the nearer it could be made to conform, in voice, look, and gait, to graceful, easy, picturesque and humorous or impassioned talk, the better it was.[2]

After his love affair with Heine, Howells read extensively in the German classics and romantics (especially Goethe and Schiller, but also Herder, Jean Paul, the Schlegel brothers, Lenau, and others), and throughout his long life he closely followed literary and cultural events in Germany.[3] On about ten different trips to Europe, he travelled in Wilhelminian Germany, as a high-brow tourist, as it were, and in his old age he wrote an autobiographically

inspired travelogue, *Hither and Thither in Germany*, a delightful account of Wilhelminian manners and mores, with a Heinean touch of irony and satire.

Despite the fact that Howells was extraordinarily well-read in German literature and open toward all things German, he did not devote any of his innumerable critical essays to any contemporary German writer. The founder of the realistic social novel in America developed his concept of the novel and shaped his aesthetic expectations through reading the great prose writers of England, France, and Russia, especially Jane Austen, G. Eliot, Zola, Turgenev, and Tolstoy. Whatever was exciting, stimulating and new to Howells, for literary and general cultural reasons, came from Europe's metropoles, not from Braunschweig, Linz, Zürich or even Berlin.

In Berlin, however, there was a German writer who could have aroused Howells' interest had he known him. It was Theodor Fontane who in the late seventies started publishing a series of penetrating social novels which were just as much a novelty in Germany as Howells' critical portrayal of Boston and New York society was for the American literary scene. Despite the fact that both authors' ideas about a new kind of social novel with a contemporary, basically urban subject matter and their way of writing were in profound agreement, Howells evidently did not take notice of his German contemporary. This seems surprising in view of the fact that Howells held a prominent position as a mediator in American literary life, from the seventies through the nineties, first as assistant editor, then as editor of Boston's *Atlantic Monthly*, and finally as a renowned contributor to the New York based *Harper's Magazine*.

Interestingly enough, however, Fontane, who was an anglophile all his life and exceptionally well-read in English and American literature, did take cognizance of Howells. We learned this a few years ago when his notes on American literature became known after having gone unnoticed for seventy years. Among these notes is a short essay, probably intended as a review, on Howells' early novel, *A Foregone Conclusion* (1875), which appeared in German translation in 1876 in Berlin.[4] Fontane's essay on this novel is noteworthy for two reasons: for his choice of this particular novel by a then obscure American writer, and for the criteria he uses in evaluating it.

The novel deals on the surface, like the so-called international novels of Howells' friend Henry James, with the cultural and social contrast between Americans and Europeans: the collision between that proverbial nineteenth-century American innocence and integrity with European ambivalence and enigma. The former is embodied in Florida, a seventeen-year old girl of the New England commercial upper class, the latter is represented by an Italian priest, Don Ippolito. He falls in love with her, and a chain of misunderstandings, miscalculations and human blunders—all related to the different cultural backgrounds of the two—lead to tragic consequences for the European protagonist. What must have attracted Fontane in this novel is a theme which forms a pattern in his own novels: the wilful rejection of convention by someone who has been deeply grounded in a well-defined social milieu. Like many of Fontane's protagonists, Don Ippolito longs for a human happiness outside and beyond his station preordained by his family and makes himself an outsider of his caste. As in Fontane's social novels, it is a "fore-

gone conclusion" that such an attempt at leaving convention behind is futile. But while Fontane usually grants his lovers from different social spheres a temporary, tentative, and precarious idyl of happiness *(Irrungen Wirrungen, Stine),* Howells makes no attempt at bringing the two worlds together. Fundamentally, his novel is about the grand illusion of a radical break with convention, about the solipsistic notion in Don Ippolito's mind to escape with a very different person to an altogether different world. Like several of Fontane's characters, especially young members of the aristocracy, who want to run away from family pressures, economic emergencies, and an outmoded code of manners and morals, Don Ippolito wants to go to America to start a new life as an engineer in a progressive, technologically advanced country. He is very skilled in inventing and building all sorts of little machines and apparatuses, and he hopes for lucrative patents in the New World. In Fontane's novels we encounter the flight-to-America motif, e.g., in Leo von Poggenpuhl, a charming, happy-go-lucky lieutenant in the Prussian army who hails from an impoverished family of generals but who is constantly broke and thus looks for a way out of his dilemma: The alternatives are either marrying a rich merchant's daughter or going to the New World. We encounter the motif also in another young aristocrat-officer, von Rybinski, who has quit the army to become an actor; his problem is his liaison (or as his family looks upon it, mésalliance) with a girl who does not belong to his own class; he hopes that in America nobody will bother about class differences.

Don Ippolito's emotional and intellectual disposition makes him a modern man, but background and tradition have imposed the role of priest on him and turned his life into a lie. The faithless priest with his erotic and intellectual hunger for life represents the extreme case of a split existence: Inherited norms and codes are existentially no longer credible and acceptable. But escape and total metamorphosis, Howells seems to tell us, are not possible. The authorial judgment implied in the plot structure as well as the title of the novel, *A Foregone Conclusion,* express a realist's view of life: that, given a certain set of cultural and social determinants, the course of human events is predictable. This element of culturally and socially determined predictability, as part of the novelistic deep structure, is the most significant characteristic that the works of Howells and Fontane have in common. Such authorial judgment is of course ambiguous; it does not necessarily imply an affirmation of existing social conventions and barriers.

In his review of Howells' novel, Fontane (in spite of some minor objections) calls it "a masterpiece, perfectly constructed, with characters distinctly and consistently developed, with first-rate depiction of locale and atmosphere, and with brilliant observations and commentaries. A triumph of truth and integrity."[5] To my knowledge, this appraisal represents the very beginning of the reception of American realism in Germany. In historical retrospective, it is a curious event: A German author who up to this point had not yet published a single novel but would, within the next decade, turn into a major novelist, discovers, all on his own and simply by virtue of his wide reading interests, an American author who was just then in the beginning stages of his career as a novelist and would later become the "dean of American letters," the founding father of realism. No literary school or pub-

licity helped bring about this recognition; it is explainable only in terms of affinity.

Fontane's appraisal of Howells' novel contains some basic aesthetic criteria which are quite often implied also in his other reviews of contemporary (esp. English, French, and German) novels of the seventies and eighties. They are criteria which can also be found in Howells' critical essays and reviews, at times in surprisingly similar wording.

Fontane calls the novel a "triumph of truth." The concept of "truth," "Wahrheit der Darstellung" or, as Howells sometimes puts it, "the faithful portrayal of life," is central to both authors' notion of what a novel should be. Both Howells and Fontane use it repeatedly and emphatically in their critical essays, and it usually and principally implies two criteria: first, plausibility and credibility of motivation and action on the part of the characters, and secondly, the adequate specification of social and cultural actualities, i.e., the expectation that a novel's action be sufficiently grounded in a specific socio-historical context. These are two qualities which today, of course, would not be particularly noteworthy, but in nineteenth-century Germany and America, they were new expectations indeed. Neither the American tradition of the "romance" (right up to Hawthorne and Melville) nor the overwhelmingly dominant novel genre in nineteenth-century Germany, that of the *Bildungsroman* or *Entwicklungsroman*, had exhibited these two qualities.

In Fontane's critical writings, the idea of truth stands in opposition to any kind of romantic stylization and idealization. It opposes any excess of sentiment, emotion, and dramatic manipulation; at the same time, however, it is also opposed to the extreme position of naturalism which would indulge in the detailed depiction of human misery. In 1853 already, Fontane says: "Realism is the reflection *[Widerspiegelung]* of all real life, it aims at truth. It precludes anything that is false, forced, nebulous, and worn-out—four characteristics with which we believe to have described an entire literary era." His criticism is directed against the German classic-romantic spirit, not so much against the legitimate literary products of that period, but against the romantic affectations of epigones who in the second half of the century were still trying to "preserve," as it were, the classical and romantic heritage.[6]

In 1875 (coincidentally the year in which *A Foregone Conclusion* was published), Fontane wrote a review of a German historical novel (Gustav Freytag's *Die Ahnen)* in which he states his expectations of a new contemporary novel. He rejects three kinds of traditional novels, the "dramatic," the "romantic," and the "historical" type. He now associates the concept of aesthetic truth, previously a somewhat global term, with a specific type of novel, the *Zeitroman*.[7] The point that Fontane makes is that the *Zeitroman*, reflecting contemporary life and society, is *the* primary, legitimate form of the novel in the late nineteenth century, and he predicts that the "modern novel" will essentially meet the criteria of the *Zeitroman*. This constitutes Fontane's basic decision or indeed rebellion against the German tradition of the novel; it is a break with idealism and historicism, but above all, it is a break with the tradition of the *Bildungsroman, Entwicklungsroman,* and *Künstlerroman* and their dominant themes of individual self-perfection, the

high-strung search for identity of self. As Thomas Mann pointedly says in his essay on Fontane (1910), it was "a renouncement of dreamy musicality, of ardent metaphysical yearnings, and of vague profundities."[8] Viewed from a broad historical perspective, Fontane thus becomes the antipode not only of Goethe and his *Wilhelm Meister* but also of late-comers such as Hermann Hesse with all their searching Demians and Steppenwolves.

Just as Fontane's novels of contemporary society represent a delayed manifestation of European prose realism in Germany,[9] so do Howells' works of the 1880s and 1890s establish a late American connection with the realistic prose literature of England, France, and Russia.[10] Fontane sets his *Zeitroman* against the historicizing and romanticizing novels of Gustav Freytag, Felix Dahn and Victor Scheffel on the one hand, and against the narrative introversion of the *Bildungsroman* and *Entwicklungsroman* on the other. In a similar way, Howells' works are written out of opposition to the various forms of the prose romance, patterned after Scott,[11] Cooper, or Hawthorne,[12] and moreover they are written against the popular historical novels of the time such as Lew Wallace's *Ben Hur* and Edward Bulwer's *The Last Days of Pompeii.*

As with Fontane, Howells' view of a new, realistic American novel is centered on the notions of the truthful and the credible. In his great polemic and programmatic essay *Criticism and Fiction* (1891) the words "truth," "truthfulness," "verity," "fidelity," and "probability" are the most frequently and emphatically used terms to define his idea of realism. He says: "It remained for realism to assert fidelity to experience and probability of motive," and: "Realism is nothing more and nothing less than the truthful treatment of material."[13] Howells shares with Fontane the antipathy against grand emotions, dramatic and suspenseful plots, implausible heroism, excessive passions and a high-strung, metaphorical literary language. It sounds like an echo of Fontane's demand that fiction should be an "undistorted reflection" of contemporary life (1886),[14] when Howells admonishes his American fellow writers and critics: "Let fiction cease to lie about life; let it portray men and women as they are, actuated by the motives and the passions in the measure we all know; let it leave off painting dolls and working them by springs and wires."[15]

It is significant that both Howells and Fontane, before embarking on novel writing, published a number of travelogues. Fontane wrote his multivolume work *Wanderungen durch die Mark Brandenburg* (1862 ff.) as well as semi-autobiographical travel accounts on England and Scotland; Howells wrote his books *Venetian Life* (1866) and *Italian Journeys* (1867) before he wrote his first novel. In writing these travelogues, both writers developed their narrative and descriptive skills, practiced their powers of observation with regard to people, customs, and social conditions, sharpened their sense of history, and developed an urbane, detached, analytical and at the same time humorous narrative style and attitude. In retrospect, Howells says about his literary career: "I was a traveler long before I was a noveler, and I had mounted somewhat timidly to the threshold of fiction from the high-roads and by-roads where I had studied manners and men."[16] Fontane's literary career could well be characterized in the same way.

In the study of "manners and men" both Howells and Fontane are vitally

indebted to the tradition of the novel of manners as it had evolved especially in England, from Jane Austen to Thackeray and George Eliot.

What are manners in a literary context? Lionel Trilling has given a succinct and useful definition:

> What I understand by manners . . . is a culture's hum and buzz of implication. I mean the whole evanescent context in which its explicit statements are made. It is that part of a culture which is made up of half-uttered or unutterable expressions of value. . . . They make the part of a culture which is not art, or religion, or morals, or politics, and yet it relates to all these highly formulated departments of culture. It is modified by them; it modifies them; it is generated by them; it generates them. In this part of culture assumption rules, which is often so much stronger than reason.[17]

Howells' as well as Fontane's novels are set in societies with distinct class structures and with relatively homogeneous upper classes. Human relations and the social life of these upper classes are regulated by certain sets of manners, by conventions, rituals, traditions, customs, prejudices, in short: assumptions. The external events in these novels tend to revolve around social gatherings, tea parties, dinners, festivities, picnics.[18] The infraction of good manners, tact, and good taste are often considered equal to violations of the moral code since "manners" and "morals" are almost inseparable qualities for so-called "good society." The economic and social status is rather precisely reflected in the street address. In Fontane's Berlin novels it is significant social information to read that someone lives on Großgörschenstraße, with a window looking out on a cemetery and a candy factory; or on Keithstraße, near Kurfürstendamm, in the center of things; or in a villa on Köpenickerstraße, with an estate right on the Spree River. Likewise, it makes some difference whether in Howells' Boston you have a "little house on Clover Street," live at "old-fashioned Bellingham Place," or have a substantial house built on Beacon Street, "on the water side." In his essay, *Criticism and Fiction*, Howells suggests that the modern novel should strive "to verify the externals of life, to portray faithfully the outside of men and things."[19] The externals, which are carefully registered in Fontane's and Howells' novels, include the way people dress, the furniture they have in their parlors and dining rooms, the type of carriage they use to go to social events. In these novels, the characters are first of all social and sociable beings; property, appearance, and social graces define them as members of a social class before the reader becomes familiar with them as individuals with specific problems and conflicts.[20]

In both authors, one of the most revealing indicators for a character's position in the social structure is his manner of speech in dialogue. On the one hand, a figure's direct speech always helps to individualize him, on the other hand it is always bound up with and indicative of social milieu. Through the manner of speech, the reader receives more or less subtle signals about a character's background, education, profession, and economic status. The moderate use of colloquialisms, dialect, and professional jargon further adds to grounding a character in a specific social context. Today, of course, we take it for granted that a character's speech defines him socially, but historically this was a very new concern for Howells and Fontane, and

one finds it repeatedly expressed in their essays. Needless to say, the conscious effort to use speech, in the sense of "parole," as a signifier for social content, has had far-reaching consequences right up to Kurt Vonnegut and Günter Grass.

The social groups that Fontane prefers to present critically in his novels are the old landed gentry of the Brandenburg province which is rapidly losing its economic and political power due to the industrial revolution; further, the military and civil service aristocracy, and the economically well-endowed bourgeoisie (endowed either with old or new money). The petty bourgeoisie is an important element in some novels where the theme of mésalliance is dominant. Here and there, we encounter an artist, an engineer or a professor—usually outsiders to the established groups. The Wilhelminian society that Fontane exhibits is static, conservative, class-structured, with hardly a progressive or liberating force visible. And it is precisely the static nature of this society that Fontane subjects to scrutiny and from which he develops his themes dealing with the human consequences of petrified conventions, social prejudice, male double-standard, and a worn-out honor code.

Howells, in his Boston and New York novels, especially *A Modern Instance* (1882), *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), and *A Hazard of New Fortunes* (1890), portrays an American class society which has evolved on account of the industrial revolution and which has consolidated itself after the Civil War. Coming to Boston from the egalitarian Midwest, Howells discovers after the Civil War the social tensions between the old Boston patrician families, the nouveau riche bourgeoisie, and an economically insecure but educated group of journalists, artists, and writers. In his Boston novels, the interplay and conflicts of these social groups are rendered primarily with the literary strategies of the novel of manners. In *A Hazard of New Fortunes,* the spectrum of social forces is considerably expanded, into a kind of panoramic novel (Fontane would have used the term *Vielheitsroman* 'novel of multiplicity'); here the problems of the working class, the slums and labor conflicts are integrated into the total picture of the big city. The established powers are opposed by a counterforce, embodied in Berthold Lindau, a German socialist and participant in the 1848 Revolution. In a similar fashion, Fontane, in his novel *Der Stechlin,* makes a Protestant minister the mouthpiece of a socialist vision of the future.

In spite of all the historically and politically conditioned differences between the social structures of America and those of the Wilhelminian Empire during the last three decades of the nineteenth century, the literary images of these structures as evoked by Howells and Fontane are surprisingly similar. In Howells' presentation of America's "Gilded Age" as well as in Fontane's analysis of the newly founded *Reich* there is a pervasive conflict between an old and a new social order, between a dying aristocratic or, in Howells' case, patrician upper class on the one hand, and the new forces of the bourgeoisie which are in tune with industrialization, commercialization, and urbanization on the other hand. The social matrix from which both authors draw their fictional personnel presents a similar parallel. What the aristocrats, the Stechlins, Poggenpuhls, Rienäckers, and Halderns represent in Fontane, is represented in Howells by the old Bostonians, the Coreys,

Athertons, Bellinghams, and Hallecks. The well-to-do and aggressive German merchants, the Treibels, Gundermanns, and Van der Straatens are of the same cut as their American counterparts, especially the king of paints, Silas Lapham, the self-made man with the unshakable faith in the perfect industrial product and the dream of total market control, and the German-American speculator Dryfoos who has acquired his dubious business practices by imitating those of Standard Oil Company.

The economic changes in post-Civil War America and in the newly founded German nation made the aristocratic or patrician leisure class a doomed social group. "We are no longer in charge," the old General von Poggenpuhl says with clairvoyance and resignation.[21] Similarly, old Bromfield Corey, who comes from a family in which "Middlesexes have married Essexes and produced Suffolks for two hundred and fifty years," tells his son: "We represent a faded tradition," for "money is the romance, the poetry of our age." Bromfield Corey's rather ineffective life is summed up by the narrator in these words: "Corey had kept saying charming things, and he had not done much else." And, since Corey had once dabbled in painting portraits: "It was absurd to paint portraits for pay, and ridiculous to paint them for nothing, so he did not paint them at all."[22] One cannot help feeling that both General Poggenpuhl and Bromfield Corey, with or without moist spots in their respiratory systems, would have been splendid company for some of the inhabitants of Sanatorium Berghof in Thomas Mann's *Magic Mountain*.

By and large, both Fontane and Howells show the representatives of the old social caste in an ambiguous light. They leave no doubt that this caste has finished playing its historical role. Yet both authors are also aesthetically attracted by the qualities of character and intellect that distinguish these people. These qualities make them literarily extremely productive and interesting. The aesthetic fascination with a decaying social class was soon to take hold of that German author who was most strongly influenced by Theodor Fontane: Thomas Mann. The "clash between people in trade and the descendants of people in trade,"[23] as an American critic put it, was going to be continued in Mann's early works—the clash between the Buddenbrooks and the Hagenströms, between the Eckhofs and the Klöterjahns.

"The novel of manners," James Tuttleton, an expert on this genre, says, "is primarily concerned with social conventions as they impinge upon character."[24] The basic intent of both Howells and Fontane is to show how people become captives of milieu, class, and convention. The conflict between an individual's right to personal fulfilment and happiness on the one hand, and the opposing social norms and mechanisms of adjustment on the other, is most intensely demonstrated in their novels of marriage and divorce, *Effi Briest* (1895) and *A Modern Instance* (1882). Howells' novel is a characteristically American contribution to the theme of the marriage crisis that becomes virulent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Here the crisis does not become manifest in adultery, as it does in Fontane's *Effi Briest*, and also in Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* and Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, but Howells unfolds a very gradual process of disruption and alienation, a process of growing incompatibility, distrust, and resentment between husband and wife, Bartley and Marcia Hubbard. It is impressive how Howells works

out his story of the destruction of their marriage without having to resort to episodes of erotic intrigue and adventure, as in the case of Flaubert and Fontane, and without introducing passion and romance as in Tolstoy. The crisis grows out of the characters and the way social forces impinge on their relationship. As in Fontane's, Flaubert's, and Tolstoy's novels, the husband is the less sympathetically conceived character, but he is not a member of an established class of professionals or civil servants; rather, Howells chose to make him an upstart, a social climber who is intent on making a career as a journalist without regard to moral principles. Yet Bartley is not really a villain, but rather "the modern substitute for a villain" (as Delmar Cooke put it),[25] a man of only mediocre moral qualities, an opportunist whose main asset is his "smartness," as Howells emphasizes, a smartness that he uses to attain social, professional, economic success. While Fontane's *Effi Briest* is set in a social class that is devoted to upholding the *status quo* with which Effi finally gets bored and disgusted, *A Modern Instance* is set in a specifically American milieu in which the combination of smartness, ambition, and a completed college education promises and usually brings about success. Unlike Fontane's story, Howells' story is truly a "modern instance" because here the marriage is directly affected by a social climate, the mentality of competition and success in a socially dynamic, urban industrial society.

In spite of these differences with regard to social milieu and characters, there is a significant common element: In either case the marriage breaks up because the male partner submits himself uncritically to the demands of his career, accepts the pseudo-values of male preoccupations too easily, and in the process loses his wife's love. Instetten gives in to the dictates of a rigid code of honor: He kills his wife's lover in a duel and rejects his wife, *although* he would rather not do either. Bartley obeys the unwritten laws of unscrupulous journalism eager for success. In both novels the wives are imaginative, passionate women whose activities are restricted to domestic and social functions. Both live desolate lives, Marcia Hubbard in her "little house on Clover Street," Effi Briest in a spooky civil servant's residence in the Pommeranian provinces.

The *Zeitroman*, the novel of contemporary society that Fontane and Howells produced in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, was a late offspring of European realism. What had been established in France and England much earlier in the century, could evidently not develop in the United States until after the Civil War, and in Germany not until after the national unification and the attainment of economic power. It may be that Georg Lukács is right when he says about Fontane's critical social analyses that they were written as a response to the provocations and contradictions of an oppressive capitalist society in Prussian style.[26]

Neither Fontane's nor Howells' analyses of contemporary urban society contain any outright attack on the system; there is relatively little hard-core satire in them, and they do not expound political or economic programs. While these should not necessarily be considered deficiencies, some of us may find the well-tempered realism of these novels a bit tame, a bit too Victorian and entertaining. However, we should not forget that this controlled critical realism was only a beginning, in Germany as well as in the United

States. It laid the foundation for coming events. Not only Thomas Mann, but also his less conservative brother Heinrich profited from Fontane's work. In America, Howells' realism lived on more radically and aggressively in the works of Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, John Dos Passos and Theodore Dreiser.

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Notes

1. William Dean Howells, *Literature and Life* (New York and London, 1902), pp. 114-15.

2. Howells, "Heine," *My Literary Passions: Criticism and Fiction* (New York and London, 1895), pp. 128-29.

3. See William W. Betts, Jr., "The Relations of William Dean Howells to German Life and Letters," *Anglo-German and American-German Crosscurrents*, ed. Philip A. Shelley (Chapel Hill, 1957), I, 189-239.

4. Theodor Fontane, *Aufzeichnungen zur Literatur. Ungedrucktes und Unbekanntes*, ed. Hans-Heinrich Reuter (Berlin and Weimar, 1969), 152-54.

5. Ibid., p. 154. Throughout this article, translations of quotations from Fontane's works are my own.

6. "Unsere lyrische und epische Poesie seit 1848," *Sämtliche Werke. Aufsätze, Kritiken, Erinnerungen*, ed. Walter Keitel and Jürgen Kolbe (Munich, 1969), I, 242. Fontane uses here the word *Widerspiegelung* 'reflection,' the same word that, almost a century later, thanks to Georg Lukács, was to become the most loaded and most controversial term in sociological, and especially Marxist, literary theory. But it is a long way from Fontane's measured and moderate social realism to twentieth century socialist realism.

7. Ibid., p. 319. Despite its apparent simplicity the word *Zeitroman* is hard to translate. The all-too-obvious word "period novel" does not suffice, and I cannot help but suggest the somewhat lengthy term "novel of contemporary society."

8. Thomas Mann, "Der alte Fontane," *Adel des Geistes* (Stockholm, 1959), p. 488. My translation.

9. See Hans-Heinrich Reuter, "Die Geschichte einer Verspätung," *Fontane* (Munich, 1968), I, 27-49; Peter Demetz, *Formen des Realismus: Theodor Fontane* (Munich, 1964), pp. 115-53; Walter Müller-Seidel, *Theodor Fontane: Soziale Romankunst in Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1975), pp. 19-24.

10. In a retrospective account of his literary life Howells says: "We studied from the French masters, the continental masters, to imitate nature, and gave American fiction the bent which it still keeps wherever it is vital" (*Criticism and Fiction and Other Essays*, ed. Clara M. Kirk and Rudolf Kirk [New York, 1959], p. 370).

11. Howells objected to the melodramatic and historicizing elements in Walter Scott's fiction and felt that he had "built pasteboard castles" (*Criticism and Fiction*, p. 90). Interestingly, Fontane's original admiration for Scott changed to a critical assessment when he himself began writing novels. In his unpublished diaries (Fontane-Archiv, Potsdam) he speaks of Scott's "superficialities" and "sloppiness" (1877).

12. To be sure, Howells admired Hawthorne and felt he was a legitimate and significant representative of the romance, but he deplored a certain lack of social and historical context: Hawthorne's romances "were so far from time and place" (*My Literary Passions*, p. 139).

13. *Criticism and Fiction*, pp. 15 and 38.

14. *Sämtliche Werke. Aufsätze, Kritiken, Erinnerungen*, I, 568.

15. *Criticism and Fiction*, p. 51.

16. Ibid., p. 384.

17. Lionel Trilling, "Manners, Morals, and the Novel," *The Liberal Imagination* (Garden City, N.Y., 1954), p. 201.

18. See Peter Demetz' superb analysis of the ingredients that go into "the novel of good society" (*Formen des Realismus: Theodor Fontane*, pp. 115-53).

19. *Criticism and Fiction*, p. 19.

20. For a discussion of the dialectics of individualization and typification in Fontane's fic-

tional characters, see Dietrich Sommer, "Probleme der Typisierung im Spätwerk Theodor Fontanes," *Fontanes Realismus*, ed. Hans-Erich Teitge and Joachim Schobeß (Berlin, 1972), pp. 105-19; also, Walter Müller-Seidel, *Theodor Fontane: Soziale Romankunst in Deutschland*, pp. 15-17.

21. Fontane, *Sämtliche Werke. Romane, Erzählungen, Gedichte*, ed. Walter Keitel (Munich, 1963), IV, 514.

22. Howells, *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (Bloomington and London, 1971), pp. 173, 102, 64.

23. Arthur Hobson Quinn, *American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey* (New York and London, 1936), p. 274.

24. James W. Tuttleton, *The Novel of Manners in America* (New York, 1972), p. 12.

25. Delmar Cooke, *William Dean Howells: A Critical Study* (New York, 1922), p. 242.

26. George Lukács, "Der alte Fontane," *Deutsche Literatur in zwei Jahrhunderten* (Neuwied and Berlin, 1964), pp. 452-67.

Karl W. Doerry

Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May

In 1827, Goethe wrote an essay, "Stoff und Gehalt, zur Bearbeitung vorgeschlagen," in which he issued a challenge to his fellow authors to compete with James Fenimore Cooper (*"mit Cooper zu wetteifern"*) and he himself had plans for a novel with an American setting. Goethe never wrote that novel and the New World remained a minor though not infrequent motif in serious German literature. In popular German literature, the *Trivialliteratur*, however, the experience of America soon provided one of the favorite subject matters throughout the nineteenth century. Authors like August Stubberg (under the pen name Armand), Otto Ruppius, Balduin Möllhausen, Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Karl May produced an amazing number of tales of adventure about life on the American frontier as well as nonfiction treatments. These appeared as books and also formed a mainstay of the most popular periodicals of nineteenth-century Germany. *Die Gartenlaube*, *Das Sonntagsblatt*, *Die Vossische Zeitung* and *Der Hausfreund* regularly carried stories and nonfiction about America, including works by the authors mentioned above.

This demand for readings about America is not surprising when one remembers that by the middle of the nineteenth century one out of ten persons was emigrating, so that there was scarcely a family without a relative or at least a neighbor across the Atlantic. On the other hand, it seems plausible that the enormous popularity of fiction about America in turn helped to swell the number of Germans seeking their fortune across the sea. One cannot help wondering what expectations these popular fictions, often disguised as nonfiction, implanted in the German mind and, considering the enduring popularity of several of these writers, may continue to do so.

Needless to say, these expectations were only accidentally related to the reality of America. They are much more indebted to the traditions of Rousseau, Chateaubriand, the romance, and, above all, to Cooper. But what is interesting are not the obvious borrowings from these models, but the way these models are adapted to accommodate the particular fantasies of the German public at different periods of history.

These fantasies tend to have two major components: Like most literary

dreams they fulfill wishes and exorcise fears. They show that what is painfully lacking in Germany is available in the New World, but they also show that the more frightening aspects of modern life occur at a safe distance across the Atlantic. America thus can be the focus of the highest expectations (and therefore potentially the deepest disappointments) as well as the focus of deep fears, and sometimes of both.

This ambivalence is well exemplified by three of the most popular writers in nineteenth-century Germany: Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, and Karl May. Sealsfield, the oldest of the three, was born as Karl Postl in 1793. Brought up strictly and trained as a priest, he fled his post as secretary in a monastery, the *Kreuzherrenstift* in Prague, in 1823 and lived in America for eight years. Under various pseudonyms he returned to newspaper and writing jobs in different European countries and eventually settled permanently in Switzerland in 1837. When his collected works appeared in 1842 they comprised eighteen volumes of both fiction and nonfiction, all dealing with life in North and Central America. For the last twenty years of his life—he died in 1864—Sealsfield wrote nothing new. The fact that a new edition of his collected works appeared in 1972 testifies to the continuing appeal of his work.

In some ways Sealsfield may be said to have taken up Goethe's challenge to compete with Cooper: His novels are set on the frontier, the characters often are Indians, various types of frontiersmen, and officers. But these are superficial similarities because Sealsfield sees America above all as a contrast, a possible alternative to Europe, a preview of the inevitable development toward democracy in Europe's future. His first publication, written in the U.S., is a travelogue: *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihren politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen betrachtet* (1827). It contains a good deal of factual description but its full significance can be seen only in contrast to its companion volume, *Austria as It Is*, published a year later in 1828. The two books contrast the stagnation and repression of the Metternich regime in Habsburg Austria with the energy, self-confidence, and self-determination he found in the New World. The contrast was not lost on the authorities, for both books were soon banned in both Austria and Germany.

Thus Sealsfield used the New World from the very beginning of his career as a locale where he saw, or wanted to see, a realization of the hopes that he and his fellow liberals had for a united and democratic nation in central Europe. When his six-volume *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären* appeared in an American translation in New York in 1844, he added this dedication:

> To the German Nation
> Roused to the consciousness of its power and dignity
> These pictures of the
> Domestic and Public Life of
> Free Citizens of a Free State
> Destined to Historical Greatness
> are respectfully
> dedicated as a Mirror for Self-Examination
>
> by the Author[1]

The major story of these volumes relates the adventures of a group of French aristocrats who have fled the Revolution and Napoleon to start a new life in Louisiana. There they meet with Nathan, a squatter and "Regulator," a kind of unofficial sheriff and judge, who has established his homestead in the Louisiana wilderness but without bothering about a legal title to his land. Thus he is eventually driven west, not unlike Natty Bumpo, by the rules of civilization, and founds, as told in a later book by Sealsfield, a new settlement some 100 miles west of San Antonio.

This squatter, unrefined but shrewd, tutors the aristocratic narrator and his party in the ways of the frontier. Although he often shocks their sense of monarchic-aristocratic values, they find—to their unending surprise—that they are attracted to this typical product of the New World. When Nathan proposes to defy the authority of the Spanish crown by holding on to his land without benefit of title, the narrator is forced to exclaim:

> . . . there were, however, moments when the attack upon the sovereign right of a monarchy related by blood to our own appeared to us, Frenchmen of old nobility, so natural that it made us forget our typically French sensitivity.
>
> But this interest that we have for the condition of the Americans is in turn a consequence of the natural circumstance of their newness, freshness, their original way of thinking, of working, of being. As long as this natural freshness radiates from their features and masks the cruder features of selfishness, all noble minds will feel sympathies for them.[2]

Those cruder features of selfishness are there for Sealsfield, and one of his novels, *Morton und die grosse Tour* (1828) warns of the potential evil of Anglo-American capitalism. But this capitalism is essentially confined to the cities, and Sealsfield sees America as definitely a place where, unlike Europe, the corrupting power of cities is not about to take over. On the contrary, providence is working inexorably toward the establishment of a democracy (p. 307), a democracy that is not, however, a reflection of an anarchy or a natural harmony suggested by the wilderness. Sealsfield is fascinated by America much more as an alternative well-organized society rather than as wilderness, and he makes it clear that the freedom evolving on the frontier has nothing to do with the unrestrained *liberté* of the French Revolution. "You are Frenchmen," Nathan says

> . . . and you take us for republicans like those you have in your country. They, instead of governing themselves, let the first best street despot lead them by the nose—hotheads who throw the torch into their neighbors' house at the first word from that *sans culotte*, then laugh at the mischief, rob and plunder . . . I tell you it's insanity . . . to try to . . . change a people of slaves and slavemasters, all sunk into sloth and inactivity, overnight into citizens who can govern themselves. (p. 301)

The alternatives for Europe thus are slavery or anarchy, while the New World is protected from revolutionary chaos by self-imposed restraints enforced by public opinion. When unfounded rumors make the community in *Nathan* ostracize the narrator, his American guide defends that practice as necessary:

> You must remember that we have no strong hand to govern us, no priests, no police, no army, no military or civilian bureaucrats, no king, who could bury the scandal in a Bastille. We are . . . governed by principles and we must punish high treason against these as severely as you punish high treason against your so-called untouchable rulers. Woe to us if these last and only barriers should be torn down here; we would fall into an anarchy greater than that of the *sans culottes* and more incurable. (pp. 337-38)

Sealfield's narrator is not totally convinced of the blessings of such conformity, particularly since the principles invoked as protection against anarchy include things like prohibiting dancing, as a group of French Canadians are excluded from trading and other benefits of community life until they give up dancing and conform to the work ethic. But the conformity remains voluntary and therefore bearable, because those who do not like the community standards can always move on, as Nathan himself does eventually.

Sealsfield thus manages to calm the fears of his audience by suggesting that the two dangers of revolutionary anarchy and social pressures toward conformity hold each other in check mutually. He sees unrestrained individualism controlled by social pressures and the pressures toward conformity checked by the ever present possibility of escape into the open spaces. The result is a society where the hope for individual freedom has been fulfilled without the danger of revolutionary chaos.

With similar mechanisms Sealsfield manages to defuse other potential objections to the New World. He vacillates on the question of slavery, which he opposes in principle but finds not nearly as bad as portrayed by abolitionists, and he justifies the incipient imperialism of the new nation as the inexorable progress of civilization. For Sealsfield the conquest of Texas is perhaps illegal but nevertheless as necessary for the advance of democracy as the Norman conquest of England. In the same way Sealsfield acknowledges the lawlessness of the frontier but justifies it as beneficial, for in the conquest of Texas one desperado is worth ten Easterners with moral scruples. "In the prairie," a Texas judge in one of his novels points out, "you start to see clearly; you see how the Great Statesman up there works; he uses for his most beautiful, magnificent works the most desperate elements, yes, veritable devils who behave as if they had just climbed up out of hell."[3]

As the image of God as the Great Statesman shows, Sealsfield thinks of the New World primarily as a new political world. As a committed German liberal with great hopes for a democracy in Germany, writing for a like-minded audience, Sealsfield projects onto America the image of a state where all the problems of an emerging unified democracy have already been solved or are in the process of being solved. When the political hopes of the German liberals evaporated with the failure of the democratic movements around 1848, Sealsfield's vision collapsed too, and he published nothing more during the last twenty years of his life.

Friedrich Gerstäcker, barely a generation younger than Sealsfield, returned to Germany from a six-year stay in the U.S. in 1844 and published his first book in the same year, the year of Sealsfield's last publication. When Gerstäcker died, thirty-two years and several trips to the New World later, he had published some 150 volumes of both fiction and nonfiction.

The dividing line between the two is not always clear, but both project the same image of America as a radical and individually heroic alternative to a mediocre existence in his homeland, but not through material gain. Indeed Gerstäcker's writings are full of explicit warnings and dire examples discouraging all seekers after easy riches. Even those who do find them usually pay for their fortunes with a corresponding loss of their humanity and come to resemble the negative, city-dwelling Yankee character discussed below. No, the New World is attractive to Gerstäcker's readers as a place where the existence of a friendly wilderness and the absence of civilization afford men—and women—the opportunity to reveal their innate individual humanity, their dignity and individual independence, if they can manage to rid themselves of the remnants of Old World civilization.

The frontier thus becomes a giant testing ground that separates the worthless from the worthwhile individuals. This is in fundamental opposition to Sealsfield's vision. Whereas Sealsfield sees America as the proving ground for the political system of the future, Gerstäcker is no longer interested in political systems. His characters prove themselves apart from political and social structures, and the purest examples of human perfection are found at the greatest distance from civilization: in the frontiersman. It is easy to recognize in him a familiar figure from the mythology of the American West, but Gerstäcker adds a few distinctly Germanic qualities. Jack Owen in *Nach Amerika!*

> . . . was a powerful, manly figure. His hair was curly, his eyes blue and the expression of his face was decidedly honest and straightforward . . . in a word, a superb prototype of that mighty steel-hardened race of individuals who traverse the western primeval forest of the Union, first as hunters, and then, with their daring settle it with their "improvements" . . . and . . . armed solely with rifle and ax, create a home for themselves in the shadow of the dense wilderness.[4]

Not only does this frontiersman look a good deal more Teutonic than his predecessor Natty Bumpo, he also is characterized as much by his ax as his rifle. While he will fight Indians if necessary, Gerstäcker's frontiersman really gains his dignity and worth, his heroism, by laboring with and in the unspoiled land. Gerstäcker's novels are full of ecstatic descriptions of a wilderness that is lush, idyllic and beautiful and sustains the frontiersman both physically and spiritually:

> What a wonderful interplay of color there is in the foliage . . . with that mighty, dark tree as a focal point, from which beams actually shoot out like rays in every direction!—And those iridescent festoons which are twined around that oak with gold and purple leaves . . . and the masses of dark blue grapes suspended from them—oh how beautiful, how wonderfully lovely is this land. (VI, 83)

This is obviously a frontier that is quite different from the aridly hostile environment of the classical Western or the dark and dangerous forests of Cooper. This is a hospitable paradise that only asks not to be corrupted. And chopping down that stately tree is for Gerstäcker not a corruption of the wilderness. For this wilderness asks to be cultivated. The grapes are

growing there already, offering themselves, and the farmer only refines an already existing Garden of Eden.

But as with most paradises the material fertility of this garden is important primarily as a symbol for its spiritual fertility. For the primeval forest affords a regeneration of one's humanity through the enobling and liberating effect of a natural kind of labor. Farmers on the American frontier, therefore, seem to Gerstäcker radically different from their German counterparts:

> In vain will the immigrant seek in the American farmer for a trace of that coarse, clumsy behavior which distinguishes our farm people . . . The American farmer recognizes no superior group and the feeling of independence which is his gives him that unconstrained—I should like to call it genteel—bearing which in our circles reveals the man of the world. (VI, 167)

By working in the paradisical forest men thus become natural aristocrats, rather than democrats, as Sealsfield suggested.

So impressed is Gerstäcker by the values embodied by these backwoodsmen that he is willing to overlook the negative aspects of America as atypical aberrations. His fiction as well as his nonfiction are full of confidence men and wily land agents out to defraud the greenhorn immigrant. But these negative characters are relegated entirely to the city, which for Gerstäcker is not the "real" America. "The East was of no interest to him," he writes of one of his characters, ". . . He would only become acquainted with the less civilized parts; he sought that America which he had pictured to himself and which he could not find in Cincinnati or any other city where culture had progressed." (VIII, 190) In another place Gerstäcker declares: "Life itself in the cities consists of nothing but business transactions," (VI, 238) business transactions that are mainly conducted by the "Yankee," a character as thoroughly negative as the backwoodsman is positive:

> The Yankee is generally a lanky, carefully dressed and clean-shaven figure, with slicked-down hair, gray vivid eyes, somewhat protruding cheekbones, and somewhat distorted features, which, however, in most cases are caused by a piece of chewing tobacco resting peacefully against the left cheek. (VI, 259)

Tobacco chewing strikes Gerstäcker as a despicable habit, but it does humanize an otherwise satanic figure, who, snakelike, can paralyze even the backwoodsman in his paradise: "The backwoodsmen are otherwise so subtle and agile, in business as well as in every other way of life. In the hands of the Yankee, however, it is as if their innate energy and intellectual powers are lost." (VI, 281) Thus the threat to the values embodied by the backwoodsman is the city where "culture"—the Old World baggage—"has progressed."

Gerstäcker, then, creates an image of America as a battleground between the natural honesty and freedom fostered in the backwoods farmer by his close contact with the land and the deceptive, unnatural city-bred Yankee and his European models. This is a conflict seen in terms of individual morality, not in terms of a conflict between progressive and reactionary historical forces as for Sealsfield, for whom the struggle between the

Spanish-French faction and the United States for control of Louisiana or the fight with Mexico over Texas was an amoral political contest with villains and heroes on both sides. Gerstäcker is only peripherally interested in America as a political arena.

This is reflected in his relative neglect of two of the most acute political problems of nineteenth-century America: slavery and the role of Indians. Neither Negroes nor Indians are essential to Gerstäcker's definition of America. While he is, in principle, opposed to slavery, as he is to lynching and other kinds of uncouth behavior, Gerstäcker considers it in practice a minor issue:

> The slaves who possess a kind master are the happiest, most contented people that exist on earth, and although I have no intention of defending the hideousness of slavery, it must be said that it is not a disturbing element or a disgusting sight here. Many Germans own slaves and these always fare better than the farm servants in Germany.(VI, 273)

This cavalier attitude toward slavery—together with the dig at social conditions in Germany—might be considered normal in a liberal nineteenth-century German writer. But Gerstäcker's neglect of the Indian is highly unusual for a writer with an audience steeped in Cooper, Chateaubriand and the noble savage tradition. The Indian, as seen by Gerstäcker, has adopted all the bad ways of the white man and has become irrelevant to the drama of the New World:

> We have all raved about Fenimore Cooper's Uncas and Chinchagook. If we found an opportunity, however, to observe in what manner the Chinchagook and the young noble chief Uncas prepared their meals, how seldom they thought it necessary to wash their faces and hands, much of their charm would have left us cold. (VI, 276)

The unfairness of this remark seems to reflect the disappointment of a man whose romantic expectations were disappointed when he traveled to America and met real Indians. His compatriot Karl May, younger by a generation and even more successful as a writer than Gerstäcker, avoided such disappointment by never visiting the American West which he would describe so eloquently and with so many authentic details in his books.

By 1978 May's works had sold seventy million copies, in virtually all languages except English.[5] Readers as different as Albert Einstein, Albert Schweitzer, and Hermann Hesse have praised Karl May as one of their favorite writers and in 1962 *Der Spiegel* called May's influence "greater than that of any other German author between Goethe and Thomas Mann."[6]

The view of America that German readers may get from the works of Karl May is profoundly different from Gerstäcker's or Sealsfield's vision. Even though all three writers find the essence of America in the untamed frontier, May's frontier has none of the lushness and fertility of Gerstäcker's forested West. May's characters travel a country of open deserts and prairies occasionally interrupted by patches of vegetation or mountains and valleys, all of which can be counted upon to hide some danger.

Sealsfield's and Gerstäcker's America lacks this sense of paranoia. Their heroes also have to prove themselves in many dangerous encounters, but their ultimate purpose is to form a community or to liberate, by honest

labor, their individual dignity in a naturally friendly environment. In contrast, May's alter-ego Old Shatterhand never feels tempted to do any real work or to make a permanent place for himself. Indeed, he reminds the reader regularly that he is not a permanent resident of the West, but only a German who finds the call of the prairie irresistible every time he is back in Germany. These returns to Germany, however, are important, for they identify Old Shatterhand as a cultural—and often also religious—missionary, who performs his heroic deeds in the name of the values of the German middle-class. While Sealsfield idealized the natural community builder and Gerstäcker saw his ideal in the "strong and primitive race" of backwoodsmen because they had rejected European *Bildung* (often called *Verbildung* by Gerstäcker), May sees his ideal in a physically strong and spiritually civilized *Westmann* who upholds bourgeois values like honesty, intelligence, patriotism and piety, or in the few Indians who adopt these values. For in spite of May's obvious sympathy and fascination with the Indians' struggle for cultural and physical survival, his faith in the superiority of the values of Christian middle-class culture remains unquestioned. The criticism of the white man's conduct only confirms this faith: The deeds that are condemned are deeds that violate the rules of civilized white behavior. May's characters thus fall into three easily distinguishable groups: evil Americans, misguided or uncultured Indians, and good Germans with a few Indian converts.

May's villains are almost invariably Americans, stereotyped as "skinny, tall and thin-necked . . . with . . . genuine crafty Yankee features."[7] In addition they may be half-breeds, hypocritical Mormons or Mexicans, and always they are distinguished by drunkenness and greed. The absence of psychological motivation only emphasizes the representative function of May's white villains. They are propelled toward their evil deeds not by need or other personal circumstances but by the promise of capitalism, i.e., the availability of riches to those determined to get them—here in the form of gold mines, hidden treasures, money transports, or the chance to corner the oil market, as in an episode in *Winnetou II*. Only May's white Americans are subject to this compulsion to pursue money. They thus embody those disturbing capitalist aspects of western culture that negate the humanitarian values also professed by western middle-class culture.

Projecting this greed on American capitalists—and explicitly excluding German farmers and settlers from this censure—safely removes this threat from the world of May's readers, a reassurance which is then reinforced by the inevitable defeat of the villains. For while Gerstäcker's frontiersmen were quite vulnerable to Yankee plots and confidence games, May invites his readers into a world where the profit motive is an aberration, not only unnecessary for the survival of the fittest but even inimical to it. In the West of Karl May fitness is measured by different standards and those relying on money will quickly be weeded out. Old Shatterhand explains that

> . . . the prairie has a sharply developed sense of value. Its measure is not a man's purse, but a man's ability. Give that pistol which you handle so well to one of your pretentious oil barons and send him out West. He will perish in spite of his millions. Ask, on the other hand, one of our famous frontiersmen, who rule the plains like sovereign princes, how much money he

possesses. He will laugh in your face. In a place where each man is worth exactly as much as his ability to survive the dangers of the wilderness, riches lose all importance.[8]

This reassuring world, where greed is not rewarded, leaves room, however, for the threat of the demonic and irrational, as manifested in phenomena like drunkenness and the savagery of Indian torture rituals or Indian warfare:

> . . . It was an exciting view for the three onlookers, Indians against Indians in a life and death struggle. Here two of them fought with horrible howls, there others slaughtered each other in diabolical silence. Whenever one warrior fell, the victor was immediately upon him to take his scalp and possibly lose his own in the next instant.[9]

This savagery, like the white man's greed, has no basis in the Indians' individual psychology, but is, again, representative of the culture. It is, indeed, the main reason why the superiority of white culture is never seriously in doubt for May. While the white man's greed is an, albeit very common, aberration from his essentially humane culture, the red man's savagery is a natural part of his culture that he must eventually overcome if he is to survive, even though May grants his Indians a grudging admiration for the courage they display in their savagery.[10]

What makes this savagery threatening, however, is its affinity to the white villains' equally demonic and irrational drunkenness and gratuitous cruelty. Because of this affinity the Yankee villains often manage to recruit the Indians and exploit them for their purpose. But since the Indians are not innately evil, Old Shatterhand often finds it possible to overcome their culture's inclination to savagery. By his daring but restrained, civilized and humanitarian conduct he wins the respect of at least the less hardened hostiles and proves that neither greed nor savagery are necessary for survival. For if all attempts at persuasion and education fail, providence will take over, destroy the villain in a fortuitous accident of his own making, and save Old Shatterhand from the necessity of an uncivilized act of killing.

The most notable of Old Shatterhand's conquests is, of course, Winnetou, the young Apache chief, who almost becomes Old Shatterhand's equal. This is possible because Winnetou is already an educated young man, educated, naturally, by a German. This formerly dangerous, but now bitterly repentant German revolutionary has fled Germany to expiate the sins of his revolutionary past by teaching the Apaches Christianity and liberal arts. He has tried to make the Apaches abandon their savage customs because he sees in them the same dangers as in the sins of his revolutionary youth. This fact suggests that May again projects, as he did with the fear of capitalist cupidity, his audience's fear of a domestic threat safely across the Atlantic. Not only can his readers view the threat of savage energy unleashed from a safe distance, they can also perceive it as tamed by the gentle Christian virtues of the reformed revolutionary, with his chief disciple Winnetou as the convincing example:

> Whoever looked upon him saw immediately that this was an important man. The cut of his earnest, manly, beautiful face, the cheekbones of which

> barely stood out, was almost Roman, and the color of his skin was a dull light brown with a breath of bronze floating over it.[11]

It is easy to recognize the noble savage here, but Winnetou is all the nobler for not being a savage anymore, for having embraced all the best cultural and moral values of Europe while rejecting barbarous Indian customs like scalping. Indeed, what impresses Old Shatterhand most is Winnetou's civilized education:

> He was dressed in a light linen robe, wore no weapons, and held a book in his hand. On the cover of the book, in large golden letters, the word Hiawatha was legible. This Indian, the son of a people that many count among the "savages" could apparently not only read but possessed the mind and taste for culture.[12]

It is this taste for culture that makes Winnetou the fitting companion for Old Shatterhand, and he reaches his apotheosis on his deathbed, when he confesses that he has finally become a Christian like Old Shatterhand. But until that moment the two bloodbrothers roam the West for fourteen years, always defending decent if sometimes obtuse settlers and merchants, usually Germans, against the plots of Yankee villains and their misled Indian allies.

Sealsfield portrayed an America where history demonstrated the viability of the hopes of the Young Germans for a unified democratic nation, a demonstration that succeeded for Sealsfield because both the aristocratic and the anarchic insistence on complete self-realization was replaced by the New World's commitment to a democratic society. Gerstäcker replaces this commitment to America as, above all, a society with a vision of America as an agrarian alternative where a natural aristocracy of workers of the soil is made possible by a rejection of "un-natural" German *Bildung*. May reverses these terms. His West is a battleground between uncivilized, uneducated savagery and greed and the German upholders of morality and culture. The attraction that the West has for May and his readers lies in the fact that this is the last place where, for the time being at least, civilized behavior and values still prove superior. For needless to say Old Shatterhand always prevails, either by his superior physical capabilities, the result not of innate ability but of training, or by his superior brain, again the result of study and training. He has acquired mastery in swimming, boxing, riding, shooting, and wrestling. He speaks some forty languages fluently and foils one plot because his command of Chinese lets him overhear two coolies plotting a robbery. His training in physics lets him produce rain in the desert, and as a surveyor he puts the railroad engineer to shame with his superior command of mathematics. In every case Old Shatterhand prevails because his *Bildung* makes him superior.

In the same way Old Shatterhand's Christian training pays off, not only in the conversion of Winnetou, but more practically when he charitably spares the son of his archenemy, the Kiowa chief. Later the gratitude of the son helps Old Shatterhand escape from yet another seemingly hopeless situation. The Apaches, on the other hand, decline after Winnetou's death because they lack a chief whose commitment to Christian and civilized

values would protect them against the greed and drunkenness of the Yankees and a reversal to their savage ways.

May thus creates a New World where the Old World's fears and the latent threats to its values are contained and defused and where those values which the Old World still professes but rarely rewards can still prove themselves superior. May, the son of a poor weaver, struggled to become a teacher. But in spite of his sacrifices—and those of his family—society rejected him, imprisoned him for a series of petty thefts and impersonations of government officials, which in retrospect seem clearly pathological. By sending his alter ego to an American West where intelligent, courageous and genteel Germans prevail, as they cannot at home, May apparently created a fantasy which German audiences continue to find enormously attractive. It is a fundamentally conservative, even reactionary fantasy, a fantasy no more accurate or false than those of Sealsfield or Gerstäcker. But the fact that May's popularity today far surpasses that of Sealsfield and Gerstäcker, is an important indication of the sense of reality from which German audiences continue to seek escape.

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Notes

1. Seatsfield [sic], *Life in the New World; or, Sketches of American Society* (New York, 1844).
2. Charles Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator: oder, Der erste Amerikaner in Texas* (Stuttgart, 1837), p. 104. (All translations from the German are my own.) Subsequent references to this edition in text.
3. Charles Sealsfield, *Das Cajütenbuch: oder, Nationale Charakteristiken* (Zürich, 1841), p. 187.
4. Friedrich Gerstäcker, *Gesammelte Schriften* (Leipzig, 1872-80), IV, 186. Subsequent references to this edition in text.
5. Translations of *Winnetou, Durch die Wüste,* and *Von Dschinnistan nach Ardistan* were published in 1978 by The Seabury Press in New York.
6. "Karl der Deutsche," *Der Spiegel,* 26 Mar. 1962, p. 176.
7. Karl May, *Der Schatz Im Silbersee* (Frankfurt, 1970), p. 37.
8. Karl May, *Winnetou II* (Wien and Heidelberg, n.d.), p. 197.
9. *Der Schatz Im Silbersee,* p. 437.
10. In the course of May's work the emphasis shifts from admiration for the Indians' courageous but doomed fight for survival in the earlier works to hope and advice for the Indians' survival through adopting the best civilized Western values in the later works like *Winnetous Erben.*
11. Karl May, *Winnetou I* (Frankfurt, 1969), 128.
12. Ibid.

Peter Liddell

Germans on Canada's Pacific Slopes: A Brief Survey of German Discovery, Settlement and Culture in British Columbia, 1778 to the Present

Germans were among the first Europeans to land in British Columbia. Since then, as members of British naval expeditions, clerks or officials in the Hudson's Bay Company, adventurers, settlers, boodlers, boosters, investors, and entrepreneurs, they have been second only to the Anglo-Saxons in numbers and second to none in the variety and scope of their contribution to the modern development of the Province.

The first recorded German to visit British Columbia landed on Sunday, March 29, 1778, with Captain Cook. He was Heinrich Zimmermann of Wiesloch in the Palatinate, a coxswain on the *Discovery*, the escort vessel to Cook's *Resolution*. We know of him because at the end of the voyage he ignored the orders of the British Admiralty that all records, logs and notes of the voyage be surrendered, pending publicaton of an official record. He smuggled his notes, kept in a private German short-hand, back to Germany, where they were published in 1781 and eagerly devoured by an avid public there and soon afterwards in translation in France, Russia and elsewhere.[1]

In his report Zimmermann has little to record of the landing at St. George's, or Nootka, Sound, on Vancouver Island:

> Wir liefen den andern Tag ohngefehr
> in dem Grad 48 nördlicher Breite in
> einem schönen und bequemen Hafen,
> den Herr Cook St. George-Sund nannte, ein . . .[2]

I mention this brief but historic moment here only because Zimmermann is, in many ways, typical of the kind of Germans who were to come to Canada's West Coast in the next two hundred years. Most adapted quickly to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon tone of the area; often they were very pragmatic people, with an adventurous spirit, who did not attempt to create a German presence in the province, such as they did in other parts of Can-

ada and North America.[3] And they have left exceedingly little record of their presence, either historical or literary—at least in comparison to their numerical importance.[4]

The modern history of British Columbia as a province begins with the gold rush of 1858. Prior to that, the territory west of the Canadian Rockies was governed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Other than their agents and their dependents there was virtually no white settlement, although there were Germans who worked or visited in the territory. The Hudson's Bay Company doctor for instance, Dr. J. S. Helmcken, arrived in 1850 and stayed on after 1858 to become a member of the first provincial legislature. He was leader of the delegation which negotiated union with Canada in 1870 and is an exception among German immigrants to the province in that he entered provincial politics. Although he was born of German parents in London, England, attended a German school there for a time and did write some private papers in German, his principal schooling and medical training was in English, which no doubt stood him in good stead in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon setting of the Hudson's Bay Company and Fort Victoria.[5]

Scientists, naturalists and travellers from German-speaking countries have always been drawn to the province—even before it was incorporated as such in 1858. One of the first, who no doubt had considerable influence on the German image of the Northwest Coast, was Berthold Seemann, the German naturalist aboard H.M.S. *Herald* when she made her official survey of the North Pacific in 1846-1851. Seemann's two-volume report appeared in German very soon after its English original, and it must be assumed that Seemann himself wrote it, as he is known to have done translation from German into English.[6]

Even before Seemann, a report of a journey to the Northwest Coast had appeared in German, in Münster in 1828. In this popular account, Ignatz Hülswitt told of being captured by Indians at the very spot where Cook had landed, Nootka Sound, and having to witness the murder of his fellow crewmen and then serve the Indians for two years until his release. Unfortunately, the graphic details were all plagiarized from an authentic episode involving John Jewitt, an American blacksmith, some years earlier.[7]

Although Hülswitt may never have been in British Columbia, many more authentic travel and scientific reports were to follow, from the first, published in Graz, in 1875,[8] to the more recent novels and documentary accounts of A. E. Johann (Alfred Wollschläger).[9] There have been Swiss and German alpinists' reports in the 1910s and of course the pioneering studies by Franz Boas and his forerunner, Aurel Krause, on the Indians of the Northwest Coast. From the Canadian side, there were "booster" pamphlets put out by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Dominion government, praising British Columbia as "das Californien Canadas," with "ungeheuren Gold- und Kohlenadern," and fisheries which were "wohl die reichsten auf der Welt."[10] Even the German mayor of Vancouver, David Oppenheimer, got into the act with two guides for "Capitalists and Intending Settlers."[11]

The early image of British Columbia as a province was characterized by gold and business opportunities. In those two areas the Germans were prominent. Although accurate settlement and immigration statistics are not

available before 1881, it is possible to draw certain reasonably sure conclusions about assimilation and acculturation patterns at this time.[12]

Until the transcontinental railway reached Vancouver in May 1887, the vast majority of newcomers entered via the port of Victoria, on Vancouver Island, and were then ferried over to the mainland and the Fraser River. 23,000 men passed through Victoria in the first summer of 1858. The ethnic make-up of the first boatload, which arrived from California in late April 1858, is taken to be fairly typical. Of the 450 passengers, 60 were British, 60 American, 35 black refugees from increasing repression in California, and the 300 others were chiefly "Germans, Frenchmen and Italians," according to the official report of the Governor to the British Foreign Office.[13] A report in February 1859 on the prospectors who wintered over on the Fraser records mainly English and Americans, with "very numerous" Frenchmen and Germans "in abundance."[14] An Austrian scientist put the Germans in second place, after the Americans; and a visiting English noblewoman reported hearing "French, German and Spanish, to say nothing of unmitigated Yankee," on her crossing to the Fraser.[15]

The first wave of gold-seekers died down after two summers, as the Fraser River bars were panned out. A second wave was set off in 1861 when three Germans, led by "Dutch" Bill Dietz, made the first finds in the rich interior gold fields of the Cariboo District. However, Dietz and most of those who followed either did not, or could not go deep enough and made relatively little money. The age of the hardy individual was soon past and the large semi-mechanized, capital-intensive operators moved in. Many of the miners moved on or took up other means of living after 1863.

Some of the most colorful aspects of those heady days were inspired by Germans. To list just a few: there was Capt. Billy Moore, a Hanoverian, who engaged in price-wars and breakneck races to ferry the miners to the Fraser mouth; Frank Laumeister imported camels from California in an ill-fated effort to increase his profits on the pack-route to the Cariboo; dancing girls were imported from Berlin via San Francisco to act as "hurdy-gurdies" or bar hostesses in the rough taverns of the Cariboo; and one hardy German family, the Schuberts, broke the all-male rule of the Overlanders to reach British Columbia from Canada by the overland route in 1862.

By and large, the successful immigrants of the first thirty years were those who left the lure of the gold to become suppliers, ranchers and businessmen. Victoria became the supply center and hence the first stable white community in the province. Many of the leaders in the community, brewers, bakers, furniture manufacturers, iron founders, wholesale suppliers, cigar makers, etc. were German, and several of those were Jews. The Jews established the first non-Indian burial ground and the first permanent place of worship in the province and were renowned for their philanthropy towards the transient gold-seekers. When their new synagogue opened in 1863, it was celebrated by the Germania Sing-Verein, the first cultural group to form in the province. Another sign of the German presence in the city was the fact that both the boys and the girls collegiate schools taught German (as well as Latin, Greek, French and Spanish).[16]

By 1881, when census figures first took note of ethnic background in British Columbia, a pattern of immigration had begun to emerge quite

clearly. In Victoria, for example, still the major settlement in the province, there were over 5,000 of British origin, almost 700 Chinese and 250 local Indians. Of the remaining 1,050, more than one third (334) were German—far more than any other ethnic group. In the last census, in 1971, the Germans emerged as by far the largest ethnic group in British Columbia after the Anglo-Saxons, with 198,300, out of a total population of just over two million.

The largest percentage expansion of the population of British Columbia took place at the end of the last century and in the years before the First World War. In that period, the exploitation of the provincial resources began in earnest. Large amounts of capital and expertise began to flow into the economy from abroad, and Vancouver now outstripped Victoria as the commercial and financial capital. Germans played a prominent role in this development.[17]

The best known of the German investors of this era, Alvo von Alvensleben, illustrates both the entrepreneurial verve of the Germans and their acceptance among the predominantly Anglo-Saxon populace.[18] Alvensleben had arrived in 1904 virtually penniless and worked in a variety of jobs—fishing, lumber, real estate and farming—before finding his métier as an investment broker in 1906. It has been estimated that he was responsible for attracting between five and seven million dollars in German investments into lumber, mining, fishing, and property before the boom began to slow down in 1912-13. Some of the most prominent families—including, it is said, the Kaiser's family—invested through Alvensleben. Socially too, he and his fellow Europeans introduced a greater degree of sophistication to local life, with receptions, hunting and fishing trips and outings to a fashionable resort villa owned by Alvensleben. This was also the era when gentlemen's business clubs were founded, and it is quite clear that here too, the Germans were accepted.

But as the euphoria waned in the years before 1914, many of the dealers left, either for Germany or the United States. Alvensleben himself stayed until the declaration of war made it impossible for him to continue profitably. He moved to Seattle, was eventually interned and, by the time he was released, had been bilked of most of his assets. Although he tried to set up in business as before, the times had altered and he never again equalled the heyday of 1906-1913.

The First World War produced one particular incident which has marred the otherwise mostly unprejudiced history of the Germans in British Columbia. It took place in May 1915 in Victoria, following the sinking of the *Lusitania* in the Atlantic.[19] A riot, fanned by sailors and troops, broke out at a hotel which had once been owned by a German, the "Kaiserhof." Stores were smashed and looted, threats were made to march on the Governor-General's house, because his wife was "German" (though born in British Columbia) and considerable feeling was aroused against the local Germans—many of whom had been resident for decades. Oddly though, the synagogue, which was only seventy-five yards away from the "Kaiserhof," was untouched, and the mob moved off, after smashing the German businesses, to do the same to Chinatown. In other words, the riot appears

to have been an outlet for a general xenophobia as much as it was an expression of anti-German feeling.

Research to date has not uncovered any signs of overt suspicion of the Germans in British Columbia,[20] except for the "*Lusitania*-incident." German newspapers, such as the *Vancouver German Press*, German clubs and churches, as well as German immigration were banned by federal, not local, statute, of course. And no doubt there was a sense of vulnerability, if not fear, among the German population during the two wars. One symptom is the sudden drop between 1911 and 1921 in the number of those who acknowledge German origins (from 11,880 to 7,273). And in the Second World War, a group of German miners and workers was moved out of the area of Trail, presumably because of the strategic importance of the huge smelter there. Otherwise, the German population of British Columbia appears to have achieved model acceptance in all regions of the province.

German settlement patterns in British Columbia have been dominated by historical factors and government policy. In the early, founding years Germans settled mainly in the cities but also founded some of the earliest cattle ranches and orchards in the interior of the province. With the arrival of the railway in 1887 and increasing encouragement from the various bodies charged with immigrant affairs, urban centers tended to grow rapidly. There are no signs, however, of ethnic ghettoes developing, except for Chinatowns in the major centers and one fishing village populated by Japanese. Unlike the prairie settlers, the Germans who settled in British Columbia did not found cohesive communities for the most part.

There have been four exceptions—settlements where there has been a predominantly German community. The first, established in 1910-11, was the town of Edelweiss. This was created by the Canadian Pacific Railway on the western slopes of the Rockies to house the Swiss mountaineers and guides whom it had been hiring for a decade to attract tourists and potential settlers to the British Columbian Rockies.[21] The settlement outlived its usefulness quite soon, however, and the mountaineers moved off.

A more traditional settlement pattern in the Canadian West has been the religious community of the Hutterites, Mennonites, Russian-German Catholics and others. In 1925 groups of Prairie Mennonites moved into two areas of British Columbia, one around Chilliwack in the rich valley of the Fraser River and the other around Vanderhoof in the north of the province. This latter community has since dissolved, but another has grown up, also on rich farmland, near Courtenay on Vancouver Island. In these two remaining communities German is still used—especially in the larger, Fraser Valley settlement, where there are very well-attended German community schools and cultural activities.[22]

The fourth identifiable community which still exists is in Northern British Columbia at Pouce Coupe. Here, in 1939 and 1940 the Canadian government settled 518 Social Democratic refugees from the Sudetenland. With almost total disregard for their urban origins, their skills, education and political opposition to Nazism, the Canadian authorities chose to send them to an inhospitable corner of British Columbia, where farming was little more than a marginal possibility. However, within three years 107 lots had been cleared and in five years the project showed signs of being self-

sustaining. Some fifty of the original settlers, or their offspring, still live there by choice.[23]

While immigrants were able to enter Canada from Germany after 1925 and until 1931, they were obliged to commit themselves to agricultural or rural work. In British Columbia, many of the immigrants entered the lumber industry or farming, and eventually some became independent businessmen or farmers and orchardists. After World War II, immigration policy changed in favor of skilled and semi-skilled workers or professionals, with the result that many of the new immigrants went to Vancouver and Victoria. Approximately half (49.9%, or 99,000) of all Germans in the province live in these two centers.

With the conspicuous exception of the bureaucracy and the provincial level of politics, the Germans have been, and still are, well represented among the ranks of major institutions—especially in lumber and real estate. They have an average to slightly high rate among ethnic groups of language retention (14% of all ethnic Germans in the province spoke German for preference in the home in 1971). Culturally, the Germans enjoy ten to fifteen hours/week of German language programs on radio and television in Vancouver. There are two weekly German language newspapers, the national *Kanada-Kurier*, which contains four or five pages of local news, and the *Pazifische Rundschau*, which has evolved from an advertising flyer with editorials into a full-fledged newspaper. Several churches in Vancouver, Victoria and the Mennonite communities conduct German-language services and there are active social and cultural clubs in most urban centers, ranging from the Alpen Club in Vancouver, with three thousand members, to the more modest circles of the nonsectarian groups in rural districts. German is taught as part of the British Columbia school curriculum in most urban areas and there are strong community German schools in the major population centers. Six of the ten community colleges offer German and the three universities each have a full undergraduate German program and the largest, the University of British Columbia, has an active graduate program to the Ph.D. level.

As the second largest ethnic group in British Columbia (8-9% of total population), the Germans have played an active but low-profile role in the evolution of the province. Typically, they have been staunch individualists rather than groups or communities. They did not normally come to British Columbia because of oppression or deprivation elsewhere and so made little attempt to resist the normal processes of acculturation or assimilation. They have tended to immigrate in search of improved economic conditions. As the population ages (almost two-thirds of those who are presently resident in British Columbia arrived in the 1950s), it is possible that interest in the language may wane and the process of assimilation will accelerate. But at this juncture, the German "profile" in British Columbia remains as it has always been—prominent but not dominant, active, productive and ubiquitous.

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Notes

1. H. Zimmermann, *Reise um die Welt mit Capitain Cook* (Mannheim, 1781; rpt. Bibliotheca Australiana No. 73, Amsterdam: N. Israel; New York: Da Capo Press, 1973). Zimmermann was to have an important and courageous role in the events preceding Cook's murder on the Sandwich Islands later in the voyage. He and his crewmate, Barthold Lohmann, may also have been the "Germans" who later prevented a serious outbreak of scurvy, by introducing sauerkraut to the daily diet.

2. Zimmermann, p. 59.

3. The lack of a strong German desire to preserve their native culture in British Columbia was much regretted by Heinz Lehmann, who wrote the only German language survey of the Germans in the province to date—a six-page sketch in his book *Das Deutschtum in Westkanada* (Berlin, 1939).

4. The only other author to have attempted an assessment of the German presence in British Columbia, apart from Lehmann (above), is Bruce Ramsey, in his book *A History of the Germans in British Columbia* (Winnipeg, 1958) and in his chapters on the Germans, Austrians and Swiss in: *Strangers Entertained*, ed. John Norris (Vancouver, 1971), pp. 98-110.

5. Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., *The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken*, Introd. by W. Kaye Lamb (Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia Press, 1975).

6. B. Seemann, *Reise um die Welt und drei Fahrten der königlichen Britischen Fregatte* Herald *nach dem nördlichen Polarmeer zur Aufsuchung Sir John Franklin's [sic] in den Jahren 1845-51*, 2 Bde. (Hannover: Carl Rümpler, 1853). Seemann also introduced, annotated and translated into English: F. H. von Kittlitz, *Twenty-Four views of the vegetation of the Coasts and Islands of the Pacific with explanatory descriptions taken during the exploring voyage of the Russian Corvette Senjawin under the command of Capt. Lütke in the years 1827, 1828, 1829* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1861). This book contains two sketches of Sitka, none of the Canadian west coast, but Seemann makes reference to the flora there in his introduction (vi).

7. I. Hülswitt, *Tagebuch einer Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten und der Nordwestküste von Amerika* (Münster: Verlag der Coppenrathschen Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1828).

8. Dr. Carl Friesach, "Ein Ausflug nach Britisch-Columbien im Jahre 1858," orig. in *Mitteilungen der Philosophischen Gesellschaft*, Gratz [sic], 1875, transl. in R. L. Reid, "Two narratives of the Fraser River Gold Rush," *B.C. Historical Quarterly*, 5 (1941), 221-228.

9. A. E. Johann [i.e. Alfred Wollschläger], *Ein Traumland-British Columbia: Reisen im kanadischen Westen* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1971). Johann has written many other semi-documentary and travelogue books on the Canadian West, including British Columbia.

10. Ministerium für Landwirtschaft der canadischen Regierung, *Auskunft über den Staat Canada für deutsche Ansiedler* (Ottawa, 1882).

11. David Oppenheimer, *The mineral resources of British Columbia. Practical hints for capitalists and intending settlers, with appendix containing the mineral laws of the Province and the Dominion of Canada* (Vancouver, 1889).

12. Presumably there was not enough time to organize a detailed census of British Columbia after her recent entry into union with Canada, although "ethnic background" questions were asked in other provinces in 1871. Other sources of information are gazetteers, voters' lists and vital statistics (after 1871 only).

13. Sir James Douglas, quoted in: Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: A History* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1964), p. 130.

14. Col. Moody to A. Blackwood, Feb. 1, 1859, in: W. E. Ireland, "First Impressions," *B.C. Historical Quarterly*, 15 (1951), 97.

15. Friesach, p. 227. See note 8 above. Dorothy Blakey Smith, ed., *Lady Franklin visits the Pacific Northwest*, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Memoir No. 11 (Victoria, British Columbia, 1976), p. 38.

16. *Lady Franklin*, p. 16.

17. A measure of Vancouver's rapidly increasing importance is its population increase in the decade 1901-1911, as compared to Victoria,

	1901	1911
Vancouver	29,000	124,000
Victoria	21,000	31,600

18. Ingrid Laue, "Alvo von Alvensleben (1879-1965)," *Deutsch-Kanadisches Jahrbuch*, 5 (1979), 154-173.

19. "War and Patriotism: The *Lusitania* Riot," *B.C. Historical News*, 5, No. 1 (1971), 15-23.

20. See for example, James R. Friderer, "Discrimination in Western Canada," *Race*, London, No. 2 (1973), 213-222.

21. C. Lintern Sibley, "Making the Rockies Residential," *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Art and Literature*, 37 (1911), 467-472.

22. John Jacob Krahn, "A History of the Mennonites in British Columbia," MA Thesis University of British Columbia, Vancouver 1955.

23. A. Amstatter, *Tomslake, History of the Sudeten Germans in Canada* (Saanichton, British Columbia: Hancock House Publishers, 1978). F. Wieden, *The Sudeten Canadians* (Toronto: Sudeten Club, 1979).

Reinhart Kondert

Germans in Louisiana: The Colonial Experience, 1720-1803

It is an interesting but little known fact that among colonial Louisiana's earliest and most successful pioneers were settlers of German stock. Although constituting only a small fraction of the colony's total population, the few hundred Germans who established themselves along the banks of the Lower Mississippi River in 1722 came to be regarded as Louisiana's most industrious element. Throughout the colonial period, the settlers of the *Côte des Allemands* served as the breadbasket of the colony, supplying from an early date the food requirements of New Orleans. As late as 1803, Napoleon's prefect in Louisiana, Pierre Clement Laussat, proposed that between 1,000 and 1,200 German families be transported to Louisiana yearly since the settlers of "that nationality . . . are the only ones who have always been successful in this country."[1]

Despite the recognized significance of the German element among Louisiana's colonial officials, historians of Louisiana have displayed an amazing ignorance of that fact. Only recently have scholars come to admit that the Germans played a crucial role in the development of early Louisiana, with one even proclaiming that "the Germans probably saved the Louisiana colony."[2] The man responsible for bringing about this more positive reassessment of the German role in colonial times was J. Hanno Deiler. A professor of foreign languages at Tulane University at the turn of the twentieth century, Deiler for the first time brought to light the salient facts of the German involvement in colonial Louisiana. Most importantly, through the use of his brilliant linguistic abilities, Deiler was able to trace over seventy "French" names back to their German origins. It is quite possible that the extensive "Gallicization" of German surnames hid from view the scope of the German presence and prevented scholars from assessing the full extent of the German role in Louisiana's colonial past.

Unfortunately, in his haste to elaborate on Louisiana's German past, Deiler exaggerated. Being an ardent German nationalist, he came to believe that many thousands of his countrymen settled on Louisiana soil, when only hundreds did, and that they came in waves spanning the years 1718-1721, when all in fact arrived in 1721.[3] Since many of Deiler's misconcep-

tions still prevail, even among historians, it would seem appropriate to take a renewed look at this important aspect of Louisiana history.

Sending German colonists to Louisiana was a proposal which originated with John Law, the finance minister of France in the early regency of the Duke of Orleans. Law broke with the tradition of excluding foreigners from France's overseas possessions after the failure of the earlier immigration efforts had become apparent. In 1717, despite repeated attempts to colonize Louisiana with French immigrants, the Louisiana colony still had fewer than 400 whites. A concentrated effort to secure for Louisiana new settlers was begun in 1719 when Law granted to the Company of the Indies a twenty-five year lease of Louisiana. In return, the Company was to ship 6,000 whites and 3,000 blacks to the colony. A majority of the whites were expected to be German farmers. It was hoped that their well-known industriousness would transform Louisiana's marshes and prairies into flourishing agricultural communities. A large number of the Germans also were to be settled on Law's huge Arkansas concession which the Company of the Indies had "granted" him.[4]

The recruitment of German farmers began early in 1720. Agents of the Company of the Indies spread through the German states bordering France disseminating propaganda pamphlets advertising the virtues of life in far-off Louisiana. In this literature, Louisiana was glowingly described as a "land filled with gold, silver, copper, and lead mines." Furthermore, the colony was said to abound with game of all kinds and to possess an "extremely pleasant soil."[5] Many farmers were misled by these spurious claims. In all, roughly 4,000 German peasants, most of them from the Rhineland region, signed up with the Company of the Indies for immigration abroad. They were to enlist as agricultural workers *(engagés)*, who might, in time, possess their own farms.[6]

Only a handful of the 4,000 German farmers recruited by the Indies Company ever made it to Louisiana. The entire immigration process, from the time that the prospective colonists left Germany to the time that they arrived at their ultimate Louisiana destination, was nothing but a series of disasters. Roughly half of the emigrants succumbed to the contagious diseases which raged at the port of Lorient while waiting to be shipped overseas. Another 700 returned to Germany, appalled by the conditions which the Company's lack of planning had created. Thirteen hundred Germans eventually boarded the seven vessels which departed from Lorient between November, 1720, and July, 1721. However, of these 1,300 who departed, about 500 were to die during the crossing, and that many again expired on the shores of the Mexican Gulf in the several months after landing.[7] The inadequate food, shelter, and sanitation which the settlers faced at every step of the way had devastating results.

The entire project of settling Germans on Louisiana soil was only barely saved from total collapse by Governor Jean Baptiste le Moyne de Bienville. The status and destinations of the German colonists landing in the New World was thrown into confusion when it was learned that John Law had gone bankrupt and had fled Paris that previous December (1720). The directors of the Company of the Indies seemed not to know what to do with the German immigrants since many were to have become *engagés* on Law's Ar-

kansas estate. In the midst of this uncertainty, as many of the Germans were dying on the beaches near Biloxi, Bienville stepped in to take command. He ordered the colonists transferred to an area about thirty miles north of New Orleans. This location had previously been cleared by the Oachas Indians and was considered one of the most valuable pieces of real estate owned by the Company of the Indies.[8]

The establishment of the German families along the Mississippi's west bank occurred in January and February, 1722. With the aid of a number of slaves and workers loaned to them by the Company, three small villages named Marienthal, Augsburg, and Hoffen were constructed. Probably the Company's employees remained long enough to aid the settlers in that spring's planting. Placed in charge of the fledgling settlement was Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, a Swedish military officer, who had served in the army of Charles XII. For almost fifty years, this Swedish gentleman presided over the German community as its commander and judge.[9]

The relocation of the Germans to their new homesite brought them a new status. They were now recognized not as *engagés*, but as concessionaires. As concessionaires they came into possession of their properties; but, they agreed, for the time being, to sell the surpluses of their farms to the Company of the Indies at predetermined prices. Governor Bienville hoped that the German farmers would eventually become the agricultural purveyors of the capital city. Indeed, that was exactly the role assumed by the Germans after 1731 when the Company of the Indies lost its lease on Louisiana. As the colony's only small independent landholding class located only a few miles north of New Orleans astride the Mississippi, the German element became not only the breadbasket of the capital but also one of the most prosperous groups in the colony.[10]

Nevertheless, despite the promise of a successful future, progress in the early years of the settlement was slow and painful. In November, 1722, in the month of the community's first grain harvest, a disastrous hurricane devastated the German area. One observer described the storm as "lasting in all its fury" for fourteen hours and being "felt as far as Natchez in one direction and Biloxi in the other."[11] Two of the three villages were almost totally destroyed by the heavy rains and by the high water blown in from the nearby Lac des Oachas (later known as the Lac des Allemands). As many as one-third of the 152 inhabitants of these two villages—Marienthal and Augsburg—may have perished. Most of the survivors resettled among their compatriots in Hoffen, which escaped damage because of its higher location on the natural levee next to the river. A few of the German families temporarily became laborers on Bienville's lands before their eventual return to the German coast.[12]

Almost as tragic as the loss of life and the dislocation from home was the destruction wrought on agriculture. There was every indication that the Germans were hoping for a rich harvest before the storm took its awesome toll. According to Deiler, the entire rice crop, with an expected yield of two thousand barrels and virtually ready for harvest, was destroyed by this hurricane. To the Germans, this disaster also represented another year of unwanted dependence on the supplies of the Company of the Indies.[13]

Hurricanes were not the only hardships the German colonists were

forced to endure in their new homeland. An attack by the Natchez Indians occurred in 1729; flooding was again a problem in 1724, 1734, 1737, and 1739, for example; and, to these hardships can be added such additional difficulties as the almost unbearable subtropical heat, the constant threat posed to crops by weeds, birds, and vermin, and the normal rigors of farm life made worse by the perpetual labor required on dams and levees.[14] One colonist complained to French officials that it was "impossible to subsist on this land" because of the constant threat to crops from "high water and birds."[15] Another pleaded with the Company to supply him with additional rice seed since he and his family had eaten the entire crop which had amounted to only seven barrels.[16]

Yet, despite the numerous setbacks, progress was made. A review of the French period shows that the condition of the Germans gradually improved. In 1722, at the time of the settlement's founding, the number of inhabitants stood at 247. Two years later, reflecting the losses caused by the great hurricane of 1722, the population of the German community had fallen to 169. In 1731, 267 people lived in the German coast. Few changes in population were recorded in the 1730s and 1740s; but dramatic increases in the number of people came in the 1750s with the arrival of several boatloads of Alsatian Germans, and in the 1760s when hundreds of French Acadians from Nova Scotia settled among the Germans. By 1766 there were 1,268 white inhabitants residing in the *Côte des Allemands*.[17]

Equally instructive are the figures recording the number of animals and slaves owned by the Germans. In 1722, there were no cattle, horses, or slaves in the German community. In 1724, there were six cattle but still no horses or slaves. In 1726, four Negro slaves were purchased by two members of the community; and, within five years, the number of slaves rose to 120, and they were being employed on forty-three separate farms. By 1731, there were also 159 cattle and several hundred hogs in German barnyards, though still no horses. Finally, jumping to 1766, a year rich in data, we find that the German settlement now possessed almost 3,000 cattle, 350 horses, 540 hogs, and benefited from the labor of 535 slaves.[18]

French officials were aware of the prosperity of the Germans, and they often paid tribute to them. Edmé Gatien Salmon, Louisiana's Commissioner General of the Marine and a member of the governing Superior Council, reported in 1732 that "the Germans are very industrious and by themselves furnish the market of New Orleans with vegetables, herbs, butter, eggs, poultry, and other goods."[19] A memorandum addressed to the Minister of Colonies in 1764 stated that "the German quarter is one of the most important [areas of the colony], and progress here has been the most rapid."[20] These statements, to which could be added many others, suggest that the Germans were a major economic force and that the survival of New Orleans, above all, depended on the productivity of the German element to the north.

By 1763, when the Treaty of Paris awarded Louisiana to Spain, the Germans had attained a relatively secure position for themselves. They seemed happy with French rule and appeared to adapt themselves well to the predominant French culture. A brief view at the acculturation process seems to be in order here, before going on with a discussion of the Spanish period.

To begin with, it must be stated that it is difficult to determine to what extent the Germans were assimilated by the French people and their culture. Indeed, contradictory evidence suggests that they were either quickly and easily absorbed into the French mainstream, or that they "retained their taciturn character, their language and their manners" until the end of the Spanish regime, as one source indicated.[21] Probably it was through the arrival of additional Germans in the 1750s and 1770s that certain sections of the German Coast were able to retain some of their German characteristics. At the very least, we know that some German was spoken throughout the colonial era by at least a few of the German Coast's inhabitants. But, since we also know that less than a third of the German settlement's citizens in 1769 were Germans or of German descent and that this proportion grew progressively smaller, it is doubtful that the *Côte des Allemands*, as a whole, was still basically a German community at the end of the colonial period.[22]

Deiler, who carefully studied the acculturation of the Germans, concluded that assimilation occurred quickly. This was true especially with the original German immigrants. Since virtually all were illiterate, they could not preserve even their German names, let alone other aspects of their German culture. Among the numerous German surnames transformed into French equivalents, the following are some typical examples: Huber was changed to Oubre, Zehringer became Zeringue, Scheckschneider was transformed into Sixtailleur and into twenty-six other variations, Zweig was translated into Labranche, and one colonist who originated from Baden became known as Badeau in Louisiana. Assimilation also came through intermarriages between Germans and French. German mates were popular because they were known to work hard. German girls additionally had the reputation for being fertile. The frequency of intermarriages is attested to through a study of the Heidels. This family, according to Deiler, married into seventy-four different French families in its first five generations in Louisiana.[23] All in all, it must be concluded that the French were very successful in "Gallicizing" their subjects. If the Germans were indeed able to preserve their "character, language, and manners," this preservation of their ethnic identity must have taken place in those sections of the German Coast populated by those Germans who arrived in the early Spanish period.

Spain was far less a cultural force in colonial Louisiana than was France. The Spanish influences were felt mostly in politics and economics. Under Spanish governors, Louisiana was ruled in a more enlightened and purposeful way. More thought was given to the issuing and carrying out of orders, and more effort was expended in the implementing of economic policies. For Louisiana's inhabitants, Spanish rule brought comparatively greater economic benefits, particularly after 1782 when free trade policies were allowed to operate in the colony. However, the Iberian masters also demanded more obedience, and this led to an early clash between rulers and subjects.[24]

The Revolution of 1768 is an interesting episode in Louisiana's history, and it is especially pertinent because of the leading role played by the Germans. The causes of this uprising are tied to the restrictive trade regulations that were issued by Louisiana's first Spanish governor, Antonio de Ulloa. These laws attempted to confine Louisiana's commerce to Spanish ships and

to certain specified Spanish ports. For the Germans, an additional reason for joining the revolt was the highhanded way in which Ulloa had "confiscated" 1,500 pesos worth of grain to aid a contingent of recently arrived Acadians from Canada. Within two years of his debut in the colony, Ulloa became intolerable to Louisiana's inhabitants. On October 28, 1768, several local militias led by the 400 members of the German unit captured New Orleans. The Superior Council, the following day, ordered Ulloa to leave. The governor, having only ninety troops at his disposal, sailed on a French vessel for Havana three days later.[25]

The success of the revolution was temporary. By the time that the governor, Alejandro O'Reilly, arrived in August, 1769, to reassert Spanish control, the revolutionary fervor had already spent itself. With the aid of two thousand heavily armed Spanish troops, O'Reilly marched into the capital and arrested the rebellion's six ringleaders. In the proceedings that followed, it was discovered that there was a heavy German involvement in the uprising. Three of the principal agitators who were apprehended and executed were married to granddaughters of Karl Friedrich D'Arensbourg, the seventy-six-year old commander of the German Coast. The German patriarch was personally implicated in the revolt by allowing the German militia, under his grandson-in-law Joseph Villeré, to march on New Orleans. D'Arensbourg and two of his sons were arrested and forced into exile. The father was allowed to settle in New Orleans, but the two sons were banished to remote Opelousas. Official records report that the German leader was spared only because of his advanced age.[26]

For many years the Revolution of 1768 evoked bitter memories among the residents of the German quarter. Nevertheless, despite the negative feelings engendered by the early years of Spanish rule, the Germans prospered greatly under their Iberian masters. Among the many important statistics which point to the economic growth of the German settlement, the most revealing are those that deal with the growth of slavery. Between 1766 and 1795, the number of slaves on German farms rose from 535 to 2,797. The average number of slaves per farm increased from a ratio of two to one in the French period to twelve to one in the Spanish era. Some farms now became small plantations that could grow cash crops such as indigo, cotton, or sugarcane. Despite the appearance of plantation life in the German Coast, the principal purpose of most of the farms in the German quarter was still to provide for the needs of New Orleans. Only after the American takeover did the symbiotic relationship between New Orleans and the German community change. It was then that the trend toward large slave plantations became completely dominant on the German Coast.[27]

The history of the German involvement in Louisiana's colonial past ended in 1803 with the Louisiana Purchase. The German role, it will be recalled, began in the early 1720s with the establishment of several dozen German families along the shores of the Lower Mississippi. Their settlement, referred to by the French as the *Côte des Allemands*, soon became one of the most fertile areas of the colony. For many decades the Germans served as the breadbasket of the capital city. Culturally and politically, the Germans were of less significance. They were apparently easily assimilated by the French, and, from a political standpoint, were briefly important only in

1768. In the final analysis, it is hoped that this essay will have drawn a balance between those historians, like Deiler, who greatly exaggerated the German influence in Louisiana's colonial past, and others of the nineteenth century who ignored the German role altogether.

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Notes

1. Pierre Clement Laussat to Minister of Interior, New Orleans, 6 Messidor, An XI (June 25, 1803), Laussat Papers, The Historic New Orleans Collection (New Orleans).

2. Edwin Adams Davis, *Louisiana, a Narrative History* (Baton Rouge: Claitor's Bookstore, 1965), p. 58.

3. J. Hanno Deiler, *Die ersten Deutschen am unteren Mississippi und die Creolen deutscher Abstammung* (New Orleans: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1904). See also the English version, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1970). Deiler was misled on his arrival statistics by following too closely the account of André Penicaut, a carpenter stationed in Louisiana between 1699 and 1721. Penicaut suggests in his history that as many as 12,000 Germans landed in the colony in those years. See his *Annals of Louisiana*, in Benjamin Franklin French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida* (New York: Sabin and Sons, 1869), p. 151.

4. Pierre Heinrich, *La Louisiane sous la Compagnie des Indes, 1717-1731* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970), pp. 1-52; Helmut Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft des Mississippideltas in kolonialer Zeit: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Deutschen Siedlung* (Kiel: Selbstverlag des Geographischen Instituts der Universität Kiel, 1956), pp. 6-8; and Alexander Franz, *Die Kolonisation des Mississippitales bis zum Ausgang der französischen Herrschaft* (Leipzig: G. Weigand Verlag, 1906).

5. *Ausführliche historische und geographische Beschreibung des an dem grossen Flusse Mississippi in Nord-America gelegenen herrlichen Landes Louisiana; in welches die neu-aufgerichtete französische grosse Indianische Compagnie Colonien zu schicken angefangen . . .* (Leipzig: J. Friedrich Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1720).

6. Les Commissaires du Conseil à Bienville, May 2, 1721, Archives des Colonies, Series C2, Vol. 15, folio 117.

7. Marcel Giraud, *La Louisiane Après le Système de Law (1721-1723)*, Vol. IV of *Histoire de la Louisiane Française*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1974), pp. 154-167; *L'Epoque de John Law (1717-1720)*, Vol. III of *Histoire de la Louisiane Française*, (Paris: Universitaires de France, 1966), pp. 277-283; and Alexander Franz, "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital, eine kritische Würdigung," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 12 (1912), 190-282.

8. Franz, "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital," pp. 193-267; and Jean-Baptiste Benard de la Harpe, *The Historical Journal of the Establishment of the French in Louisiana*, ed. Glenn R. Conrad (Lafayette: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1971), p. 170; Giraud, *La Louisiane Après le Système de Law*, p. 249; J.K. Ditchy, "Early Census Tables of Louisiana," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 13 (January-October, 1930), 224; and Pierre F. X. Charlevoix, *Charlevoix's Louisiana: Selections from the History and the Journal*, ed. Charles E. O'Neill (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977), p. 168. Charlevoix described the area settled by the Germans as having "one of the most beautiful situations as well as one of the best soils" of all Louisiana.

9. Bienville to the Navy Council, Fort Louis, Biloxi, December 15, 1721, in Dunbar Rowland and Albert G. Sanders, eds., *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, 3 vols. (Jackson, Miss.: Mississippi Department of Archives and History, 1927-1932), III, 314; Franz, "Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in das Mississippital," pp. 267-276; and Elizabeth Becker Gianelloni, *Calender of Louisiana Colonial Documents: The D'Arensbourg Records, 1734-1769, St. Charles Parish* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Archives and Records Commission, 1965), pp. 1-36.

10. Ordinance of the Superior Council Concerning Commodities Transported to Town [New Orleans] for Sale by the Germans to the North, November 20, 1724, Archives des Colo-

nies, Series A, Vol. 23, folio 49. See also Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 8-15.

11. Pierre F. X. Charlevoix, *History and General Description of New France*, trans. John Gilmary Shea (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), VI, 69-70.

12. See the Census Reports of November 24, 1721, May 13, 1722, and November 12, 1724, in Archives des Colonies, Series G 1, Vol. 464; and Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana*, pp. 66-98.

13. Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana*, p. 51.

14. Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 38-60; Perier to Maurepas, New Orleans, March 18, 1730, in Rowland and Sanders, *Mississippi Provincial Archives*, I, 70 and 75; and Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, ed. Joseph Tregle, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975), pp. 183-197.

15. Quoted in Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, p. 24.

16. Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast in Louisiana*, pp. 57-58.

17. Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 11-37, and 61; Census Reports of May 13, 1722, November 12, 1724, and 1731 in *Archives des Colonies*, Series G 1, Vol. 464; and Glenn Conrad, *The First Families of Louisiana*, Baton Rouge: Claitor's Publishing Division, 1970), II, 1-64. For information on the Alsatian Germans, see Glenn Conrad, "Alsatian Immigration to Louisiana, 1753-1759," *New Orleans Genesis*, 14, No. 55 (June 1975), 221-226.

18. Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 11-37, and 61-64.

19. Salmon Memorandum, July 12, 1732, Archives des Colonies, Series C 13 a, Vol. 14, folio 138.

20. Memoire sur la Situation de la Louisiane depuis le Traité de Paris, February 10, 1764, Archives des Colonies, Series 13 A, Vol. 44, folio 148.

21. That comment was made by C.C. Robin, a Frenchman who visited the German Coast at the end of the colonial period. His observations, translated into English, are found in James Alexander Robertson, ed., *Louisiana under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807* (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1910-1911), I, 224. Although French officials repeatedly referred to the productivity of the German element, they, nevertheless, rarely provided factual information on the precise nature of that productivity. Evidence for the German economic role in the French period is scanty.

22. Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 61-62.

23. Deiler, *The Settlement of the German Coast in Louisiana*, pp. 119-128.

24. The best account of the early years of Spanish rule is John Preston Moore's *Revolt in Louisiana: The Spanish Occupation 1766-1770* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976).

25. Ibid., pp. 103-155; James E. Winston, "The Cause and the Results of the Revolution of 1768 in Louisiana," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, 15, No. 2 (April, 1932), 181-213; Ulloa to Grimaldi, New Orleans, October 26, 1768, in Lawrence Kinnaird, ed., *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, Vol. II of *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1945*, pp. 77-81; and Jack D.L. Holmes, "Some Economic Problems of Spanish Governors of Louisiana," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 42 (1962), 521-524.

26. The German connection in the Revolution of 1768 is developed by Vincente Rodriguez Casado, *Primeros Años De Dominacion Española En La Luisiana* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cietifica, 1941), pp. 140-141. Casado maintains that Nicolas Chauvin Lafrenière, the revolution's mastermind, and Joseph Villeré were married to granddaughters of D'Arensbourg, and Deiler informs us that Francois Chauvin de Léry, the commander of the Chapitoulas militia, was also married to a granddaughter of the German patriarch. See his *The Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana*, p. 43. Furthermore, we know that Jean Baptiste Noyan, the leader of the Acadian militia, was married to a daughter of Lafrenière. See Ulloa to Grimaldi, New Orleans, October 26, 1768, in Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, pp. 79-80. On D'Arensbourg's involvement, and that of his sons, see O'Reilly to Arriaga, New Orleans, December 10, 1769, ibid., p. 128.

27. These figures on the development of slavery in the Spanish period and after the American takeover are in Blume, *Die Entwicklung der Kulturlandschaft*, pp. 61-66 and 111.

Christoph E. Schweitzer

The Significance of a Newly Discovered Volume of Verse by Matthâeus Gottfried Hehl

The Moravian Archives at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, possess a volume of verse by the Moravian Bishop Matthâeus Gottfried Hehl (1705-87) that has remained unknown until now.[1] The volume is handwritten for the most part, but bound together with two pamphlets that contain two poetic translations also by Hehl. The contents make Hehl—with Francis Daniel Pastorius and Conrad Beissel—one of the most prolific early German-American authors of verse. After a sketch of Hehl's life I shall describe the volume and then point to the general significance of the find.

Matthâeus (Matthew) Gottfried Hehl was born in Ebersbach an der Fils in Württemberg in 1705, trained to be a Lutheran minister at Tübingen, and then was attracted to the Moravian Church through accounts of one of their members. Hehl spent some time at Herrnhut, the center of the Moravian Church in what is now the German Democratic Republic, and was consecrated Bishop at London in 1751, just before sailing to America. Here he was at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, until 1756 when he moved to neighboring Lititz where he was Superintendent of the country churches in Pennsylvania and Maryland and where he played a leading role in the supervision of educational activities. He died in Lititz in 1787, at age 82.[2]

We do not know how the manuscript got to the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem. The paper measures 11.5 x 18 cm. The manuscript has contemporary binding and gilded edges. The title page, all in red ink, with special ornamental lettering in antiqua and enclosed in a beautiful decorative border consisting of flowers in various colors, reads as follows:

> Carminum | & | Poematum | Matthâei, | è pluribus | selectorum | Fasciculus | secundus

The first "fascicle" was not found. The verso of the title page is empty, then follow pages 1 through 336. The manuscript must be considered fragmentary since the poem on page 336 is obviously incomplete. Pages 313 through 320 and pages 321 through 328 are made up of two printed pamphlets to

which I shall refer below. The remainder is in Hehl's hand, mostly in black ink; headings and words that he wanted to stand out are in red ink. He usually wrote German words in script, Latin words and their derivatives in antiqua, as was customary at the time. The handwriting is clear, even pretty for the title page and the headings. Preceding the Latin title page, on the first ten pages (also numbered) we find three poems: a fragmentary one to his mother, dated April 30, 1739, and thus the earliest one in the volume, and two to his wife Anna Maria (1746 and 1750). On the next six unnumbered pages follows a poem on the occasion of his son Matthæus Leonhard's "23.ten Geburts=tage" to whom Hehl dedicates "diesen Zweyten Band meiner Poësien als ein Fest-Geschenke . . . Lititz d[en] 28.ten Nov.br 1771." One of the three leaves is slightly shorter than the rest and is pasted in; it contains verses to be inserted between stanzas three and four of the poem. Its verso is empty. The date of the dedication, November 28, 1771, is the latest date found in the volume.[3]

After the title page we find translations into German of two Latin poems that, according to Hehl, were in the first volume of verse. The translations are dated December, 1770, and January, 1771. The rest of the verses in the manuscript follow in the main a chronological order, beginning with September 7, 1754, and ending with June 21, 1768. All but two poems are by Hehl: There is one by his wife Anna Maria and one by August Gottlieb Spangenberg on the occasion of her forty-third birthday on November 17, 1758. The total number of poems is 185; except for three in Latin they are in German; most of them are addressed to a person or persons and are *Gelegenheitsgedichte*, i.e., occasional poems. Among the occasions that prompt Hehl to pen a poem we find: the birth of a child, a birthday (by far the most frequent reason), baptism, a wedding, death, a love feast, other events of the Church, the laying of a cornerstone and its anniversary, and the arrival or departure of fellow Moravians. Considering that Lititz and Bethlehem had a total population of 891, the more than 130 different people mentioned by Hehl make up a good proportion. Most of the addressees are fellow Moravians at Lititz, Bethlehem, and neighboring communities. Some of them are simple folk, "Arbeiter," that is, fellow workers in the vineyard of the Church; others are identified as leaders or members of various groups, such as the choirs into which the Moravian community was organized. Then there are also well-known personalities like Peter Boehler, John Ettwein, John Heckewelder, David Nitschmann, Sr., Nathaniel Seidel, and August Gottlieb Spangenberg.

In contrast to such variety the contents of the poems are remarkably uniform. We hear again and again of the good news, the fact that Christ's—the Lamb's—blood has given us eternal life and that we should rejoice in that assurance. An example of a few stanzas will best show the type of verse found in the volume (pp. 332 f.):

> Auf der led.[igen] Schw.[ester] Margar.[ete] Christlerin, Malattin, im Chorhaus in Litiz, Geburtstag d[en] 12.t May. 1768.
>
> 1.) Du aus 2 Nationen herstam̃ende Person!
> wo Brüder drunter wohnen, und wo der Schmerzenslohn
> dem Lam̃, das für uns starb,

und uns mit Blut erwarb,
aus Seelen wird gesam̃elt von Chams u. Japhets Farb.

Moravians were and are active missionaries, including among blacks and Indians (in the manuscript are references to the Indian mission at Nain). In the above stanza Hehl follows the Bible where the various races are traced back to the sons of Noah.

2.) Du bist uns ein Exempel von beyderley Geschlecht
in unserm Schwestern-Tempel: Sie haben gleiches Recht
am Lam̃ u. der Gemein:
Und weiß- und Schwarze seyn
durchs Blut des Lam̃s erkauffet zu Eurem Erbverein.

From the remainder of the poem—it has seven stanzas—we learn that Margarete Christler had turned twenty-five and that her birthday coincided with the dedication day of the church in Lititz.

We would very much have liked to know more about Margarete Christler, about her background and about her life in Lititz. But such information is of little importance to the Bishop in this case as in the rest of the volume. He reduces such information to a minimum and stresses instead the message of salvation (the *Heilsbotschaft*). Such uniformity of contents clearly reveals Hehl's outlook: In comparison to the Christian message, to Christ's sacrifice and our salvation, worldly concerns pale and are deemed unworthy of being recorded in a poem. That does not mean that the manuscript does not yield important data on various Moravians of the period, on Church activities, and on the Church year. The many names, dates, and locations alone make the volume a rich source for the genealogist and the Church historian. One could also investigate Hehl's language. As the verses quoted above show, he uses standard German with a vocabulary and imagery reminiscent of Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf, the benefactor and spiritual leader of the Moravians at the time. Hehl is not an innovator nor a person of great poetic talent. His language shows awareness of dialect variations; very few English words are used. I found "Trouble" (p. 122) and "Awe" (p. 193).

As was mentioned above, two printed pamphlets were bound into the manuscript. Both have handwritten page numbers that continue the numbering of the manuscript. The first pamphlet has the (added) page numbers 313 through 320 and this title (in black and in German script):

ETWAS | aus der | Schatzlade des Alterthums. | Das ist: | Ein Christlicher Gesang | von dem | Leben und Regierung | Unsers | Hochverdienten HERRN | JESU Christi, | Seith dessen Erscheinung im Fleisch bis auf | unsere Zeiten. | [Ornament] | Philadelphia, | Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, in der Zweyten=Strasse. | 1765.[4]

Johann Heinrich Müller (the spelling varies, 1702-82) is the well-known Moravian printer in Philadelphia whose *Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote* was the first newspaper to announce on July 5, 1776, the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The hymn starts on page 314 and consists of twenty-one stanzas followed by three additional ones that give Hehl's reason for translating the work. We learn that "Gylonius, ein alter Kirch-Poete, / Hat mir

den Text zu diesem Lied gemacht: / Weil ich so was kaum aufzubringen hätte, / Hab ich sein Griechisch nur ins Deutsch gebracht" (p. 319). In spite of extensive searching I have not been able to ascertain the identity of Gylonius. In a letter dated March 29, 1761, to Reverend Jacob Rogers in Philadelphia Hehl refers to a translation from the Greek and mentions a couple of changes he made.[5] These changes make it clear that he is referring to the hymn of the pamphlet. Hehl also indicates in the letter that he found the original in "Bibl. Patr. Tom. VIII." A pre-1762 publication with that title and consisting of at least eight volumes could not be verified. The eighth volume of the *Bibliotheca patrvm*, edited by François Combefis (Paris, 1762), does not contain any reference to a Gylonius. An almost identical handwritten version of the hymn is found on pages 144 through 153 of the manuscript.

The second pamphlet, hitherto unrecorded, has the following title (on added page number 321, all in black and in German script):

> Ein | Marterwoch=Geschenkgen, | für die | Kenner und Bekenner | des | jetzt zwar unsichtbaren doch liebenswürdigsten | Weiß und Rothen Freundes; | (1 Pet. 1:8. Hohel. Sal. 5:10.) | zur Erinnerung seiner Schönheit. | [Ornament] | Philadelphia, Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, | in der Zweyten=strasse. 1766.

Page 322 is empty, page 323 contains the remark that the verses that follow are "Eine Übersetzung des Englischen Gesangs: Lo! Man rebells, and for one Taste doth chuse, etc. welcher dem Sir MATTHEW HALE, weyland Baronet in England zugeschrieben wird." The hymn has fifteen stanzas on pages 323 to 327, page 328 is empty. The original is found in the Moravian hymnal entitled *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God* (London, 1754) on pages 233 f. and is signed M. H. Since, according to the preface, Matthew Hale, the well-known English jurist (1609-76) is one of the authors of the hymnal, Hehl's attribution is justified. Obviously, our Matthæus (Matthew) Hehl was delighted to have found a kindred soul in his English namesake; as Hehl says, "Mein Namens=Vetter redt aus meinem Herzen" (p. 143). An almost identical version of the hymn is found in handwriting on pages 140 through 143.

It is interesting to observe that both Hehl and, before him, Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was also the product of excellent German university training, were intimately connected with teaching in their communities. One must be impressed by the fact that the early German-American settlers did not let the learning they brought with them go to waste in the new world. Considering the pioneer life in Lititz, even in Bethlehem, it is most remarkable that Hehl would find the time to write a number of Latin poems and to translate an English and a Greek one and have his translations printed in Philadelphia. I know that there is more such unexplored material in libraries and, especially, in the archives of religious groups. It deserves our attention.

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Notes

1. I want to express my gratitude to Miss Mary Creech, the Archivist at Winston-Salem, for her kind assistance.

2. There is a sketch of Hehl's life by Edmund de Schweinitz in *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 2 (1886), 264-269. The best account of Hehl's contributions to Moravian hymnals is found in Joseph T. Müller, *Hymnologisches Handbuch zum Gesangbuch der Brüdergemeine* (Herrnhut, 1916). These contributions predate Hehl's coming to America.

3. Matthäeus Leonhard had stayed behind in Germany for nineteen years. The only reference to his life in America I found in Mabel Haller, "Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania," *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, 15 (1953), 1-409, where we read that he was a single brother in Lititz and that he served there as an instructor until May, 1771 (p. 98).

4. The pamphlet is listed as being at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903 ff.), IV, No. 9967 and, with the remark that "the unique copy is mislaid," in Clifford K. Shipton, James E. Mooney, *National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans* (American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1969), I, 254. A letter from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to the author dated June 28, 1979, states that the copy was still mislaid.

5. The letter is in the Manuscript Collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Gerhard Friesen

Moritz von Fürstenwärther and America

Es ist mir Bedürfniß und ich sehne mich darnach unwiderstehlich den Bücherstaub abzuschütteln, hinaus in die freye Welt und Natur. . . . Enfin, ich liebe frey zu athmen, und freyer um mich zu schauen; und wenn die Freyheit auch nicht für alle Zeiten und für alle Zustände ohne Mischung paßt, so liegt doch gewiß, so wahr das Sonnenlicht leuchtet, in ihr das Wesen, die Bestimmung und das Heil der Menschheit.—Moritz von Fürstenwärther in his letter to Hans von Gagern, February 22, 1824.

Moritz von Fürstenwärther's 1817 mission to the United States has been the subject of only one scholarly investigation.[1] Since this was, however, based on insufficient research and prejudiced by the political climate of World War I, this article will present a factually more accurate although brief account of Fürstenwärther's American experiences in conjunction with previously unknown biographical data.[2]

Moritz Friedrich von Fürstenwärther was born on January 25, 1781, in the county of Limburg as a fourth-generation descendant of the morganatic marriage between Duke Friedrich von Zweibrücken and a commoner's daughter from Meisenheim.[3] Two of Moritz's numerous cousins were Hans von Gagern (who became the guardian of the early orphaned Moritz) and Ludwig von Closen, who (like several other Fürstenwärthers) served as an officer with the Deux-Ponts regiment under the French crown. Closen and at least one other relative took part in the American campaign of this regiment (composed of Germans from Zweibrücken) which played a distinctive role at Yorktown. As aide-de-camp to General Rochambeau, Closen acted as liaison officer between the French commander and George Washington, and was awarded membership in the Society of the Cincinnati.[4] What subjects Moritz studied while attending the University of Jena is unclear; his eventual knowledge of foreign languages included Latin, French, English,

Italian, and Spanish. Retrospectively Gagern characterized his youthful cousin as an impetuous enthusiast without a sense of single-minded purpose. During the Napoleonic wars in Spain, Moritz attained the rank of captain of the grenadiers.[5] After unexpectedly resigning his commission, Moritz served as secretary to his guardian, who headed the Dutch legation at the Congress of Vienna. In order to prevent the unruly youth, who seems to have become somewhat of a financial and social burden, from joining the insurgents in South America—a venture that would have compromised Gagern's sensitive diplomatic position—Gagern sent his cousin on a fact-finding mission to America. Gagern took this initiative after the failure of his own recent efforts to have the German governments alleviate the plight of the ever increasing numbers of emigrants en route to North America.

According to Gagern's detailed instructions,[6] Fürstenwärther was to examine the conditions encountered by the German and Swiss emigrants on a typical route from the Rhine via a Dutch port of embarkation to the United States, where he would investigate their reception, social integration, and reputation. Fürstenwärther responded with a series of letters and reports, which Gagern (without seeking Fürstenwärther's permission)[7] combined into the book, *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika*, published under his own name by Cotta in 1818.[8] Although Gagern now was no longer the Dutch envoy, he had the work brought to the attention of the Frankfurt Diet (July 15, 1819), where it elicited a few words of formal recognition but no concerted action.[9] Apart from offering statistical information, advice, and specific warnings for future emigrants, Fürstenwärther documented the deplorable treatment and exploitation of German transients and emphatically denounced the prevailing trade in redemptioners that had led to labelling them "white slaves." (In a later letter, Fürstenwärther revised his condemnation of this practice and accepted indenture as a necessary evil.)[10] To reduce the victimization of prospective German emigrants, *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika* endorsed Gagern's previous proposals to establish associations for the relief of emigrants, modelled on the German Society of Philadelphia, and to organize colonization societies for large-scale settlements abroad. Coming at a time when, as Gagern stated, the fate of Germans in North America was shrouded by obscurity,[11] Fürstenwärther's mission (which Gagern financed at his own considerable expense) was a novel and meritorious enterprise. The publication in 1818 of its findings may be considered the beginning of a new type of literature long before comparable books became numerous and fashionable in the 1830s and 1840s. According to Edward Everett, the German-educated Harvard professor who subjected *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika* to an angry and error-riddled review,[12] this book was soon serving "as a model for a new class of writers, on America."[13] Ironically, however, Fürstenwärther's report was construed by some, particularly Germans of education and means, to encourage rather than to deter from emigration to the United States, even though Fürstenwärther had anticipated the very opposite reaction.[14]

The timeliness of Gagern and Fürstenwärther's appeal to establish societies for organized emigration and settlement in North America is evident from the fact that at the end of 1818 the founding of such a corporation named *Gagernsche Gesellschaft* was announced.[15] Although its formal exis-

tence was short-lived, it led to two separate expeditions intended to make the necessary arrangements for organized settlements of German and Swiss emigrants abroad. An account of Ludwig Gall's overwhelmingly disappointing experiences in the eastern United States (where he arrived against Fürstenwärther's advice) is found in his book, *Meine Auswanderung nach den Vereinigten Staaten in Nord-Amerika, im Frühjahr 1819 und meine Rückkehr nach der Heimath im Winter 1820* (Trier, 1822), which includes extensive references to Gagern and Fürstenwärther.[16] Gall's friend Ferdinand Ernst, who went west and eventually founded the town of Vandalia in Illinois, published his far more positive observations in *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise durch das Innere der vereinigten* [sic] *Staaten von Nord-Amerika im Jahre 1819* (Hildesheim, 1820), which likewise show his indebtedness to Fürstenwärther.[17] Although he lent his support and advice to Gall, Fürstenwärther was from the very outset skeptical of Gall's qualifications and schemes. Furthermore, Fürstenwärther was evidently disappointed that he had not been given this assignment, and in a separate venture without Gagern's authorization, he tried unsuccessfully to arrange for organized German colonies on tracts of land owned by George Parish in New York state.[18]

In a letter from Philadelphia dated September 12, 1821 (on the eve of his return to Europe), Fürstenwärther asked Friedrich Rapp, somewhat naively, to let him know the "secret" of the Harmony Society's spectacular success, a knowledge which Fürstenwärther considered crucial in order to promote the welfare of future German emigrants.[19] Although Fürstenwärther never visited the Society, the information he transmitted to Gagern must have helped to contribute to the latter's lack of prejudice towards the Rappists' controversial American enterprise.[20]

Because of diminishing financial support by his cousin and the political upheavals in Central and South America, Fürstenwärther found himself unable to include these regions in his mission as had originally been planned.[21] During his prolonged first stay in the United States, Fürstenwärther met at least twice with the then Secretary of State John Quincy Adams in late 1817 and presented to him a copy of Gagern's 1817 printed brochure on German emigration.[22] From Philadelphia, Fürstenwärther conveyed to Adams on April 22, 1819, a letter by Gagern as well as a copy of *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika.* In his lengthy reply of June 14, Adams outlined with characteristic stylistic elegance the official American policy on emigration from Germany. (As far as I have been able to ascertain, the original version of this important historical document has never been completely and accurately published.) "The Government of the United States," Adams emphasized, "has never adopted any measure to *encourage* or *invite* emigrants from any part of Europe."[23] Although the government was continuing to admit them for the obvious benefit of the country, it would have to treat them like its own citizens, according to the constitutional principle of equality; emigrants arriving from Germany could not, therefore, expect to be granted special favors and privileges. This principle, Adams stated, applied also to Fürstenwärther's own recent request for a position in the American civil service. Fürstenwärther deemed the Adams letter so important that he forwarded the original and a copy to Gagern by two separate ships. "Sie

werden es selbst für ein halbofficielles Document ansehen. In diesem Lichte betrachtet man leider auch mich selbst," he added regretfully.[24]

Another important personal and diplomatic contact at this time arose from Fürstenwärther's friendship with the Portuguese ambassador to the United States, Correa de Serra, who through Fürstenwärther learned of Gagern's optimistic plans for organized German emigration to Brazil and expressed a keen interest in them.[25] This paved the way for further semi-official negotiations by Gagern to facilitate the German exodus to Latin America, which were undoubtedly reinforced by the coolness of Adams' response. Fürstenwärther was also instrumental in Gagern's attempt to interest the Spanish government in a large-scale German and Swiss colonization in the province of Texas as early as 1819.[26]

Upon his return to Germany in May of 1820, the impecunious Fürstenwärther sought a financial arrangement from the king of Bavaria, whose family had assumed some legal obligations stemming from the morganatic Fürstenwärther branch of the house of Zweibrücken. Fürstenwärther rejected a government office offered to him at Gagern's request and asked for a cash settlement instead; eventually he was granted a modest annuity. While the Bavarian bureaucracy was slowly processing his request, Fürstenwärther was impatiently intent on returning to the United States as soon as possible. Knowing this, Mayor Johann Smidt of Bremen suggested that the Hanseatic cities appoint Fürstenwärther their first permanent diplomatic representative in Washington. In his well-intentioned but futile recommendation of October 4, 1820, Smidt wrote:

> Was über seine Sendung . . . im Druck erschienen ist, hat in Deutschland Sensation erregt, und ist mit Beyfall aufgenommen. Fürstenwärther selbst hat dadurch einen großen Namen bekommen, den er durch seine persönlichen Eigenschaften bey näherer Bekanntschaft vollkommen rechtfertigt. Er ist ein Mann von vieler Bildung, stattlichem Äußern und sehr solidem Character, er hat studirt und ist der englischen und anderer Sprachen mächtig, dabey einfach in Sitten, mäßig, arbeitsam, ernst, und ohne Ansprüche. Kurz er stellt sich ganz so dar, wie man sich einen soliden Amerikaner zu denken pflegt . . . [Herr von Fürstenwärther] versicherte mich wiederholt, daß er das mäßigste Auskommen in Amerika, einer glänzenden Anstellung in Deutschland vorziehen würde, indem ihm die dortigen politischen Ansichten und die ganze Lebensweise so sehr zugesagt, daß es ihm schwer werde, sich in die Europäischen Formen und Verhältnisse wieder behaglich zu finden.[27]

Smidt also introduced Fürstenwärther to the wealthy Stuttgart publisher Johann Friedrich Cotta,[28] who was anxious to receive Fürstenwärther's future reports from America for his journals (by virtue of which, according to Moritz Mohl, Cotta rather than the Federal Diet represented Germany).[29] Fürstenwärther thought Philadelphia most suitable for his proposed task of surveying "Politik, Statistik, Handel, Gewerbe, Technik, Erfindungen, Natur und Kunst, Literatur, den gesellschaftlichen und moralischen Zustand," in the entire western hemisphere. "Mein Hauptzweck," Fürstenwärther professed to Cotta, "ist [,] jenen Welttheil dem unsrigen näher zu bringen und fester an ihn zu knüpfen, und [auf] alles aufmerksam zu seyn, was wie alle Beziehungen insbesondere Deutschland Vortheil und Gewinn

bringen kann."[30] In addition, Fürstenwärther hoped to improve the poor image of Germany and Germans abroad, particularly by acquainting Americans with the best of German literature.

While Fürstenwärther's affairs in Munich were still undecided, monies advanced by Cotta enabled him to sail for Philadelphia in early 1821. This voyage and Fürstenwärther's second stay in the United States proved a total disaster. Fürstenwärther's secretive and markedly paranoid disposition suddenly deteriorated into a temporary persecution complex that forced him to spend most of his time in the Philadelphia insane asylum. Two members of the Harmony Society, who were evidently conveying a letter from their patriarch Georg Rapp to Fürstenwärther, wrote on September 12, 1821, to Friedrich Rapp: "Mr. Von Fürstenwärther we met in the hospital as a man who has almost been robbed of his reason. No one claims to know why. Father's letter was given to him, but he said nothing about it, as he is not even capable of grasping its contents."[31] Fürstenwärther's months of mental instability were accompanied by uncontrolled spending of monies obtained from drafts on Cotta, while none of the promised reports were forthcoming. When Fürstenwärther in late 1821 arrived in Hamburg, his paranoia had subsided, but he was hopelessly in debt to Cotta. In his letters to Gagern, Fürstenwärther subsequently revealed his hitherto futile love for an unnamed American girl in Philadelphia, which may well have been among the roots of his temporary insanity.

While trying to eke out a living as an author-compiler and language teacher in the Bonn area (where, ironically, the authorities falsely suspected him of recruiting emigrants for America), Fürstenwärther unsuccessfully renewed his petition to obtain a lump sum settlement from the Bavarian government, so that he might repay Cotta, marry the girl, and move to the Mississippi, "wo man mit wenigem Gelde . . . reich ist."[32] Without any financial support from Gagern or Cotta, Fürstenwärther's final effort to return to Philadelphia (1823 or 1824) foundered in Amsterdam for lack of funds. After refusing an offer by Froriep in Weimar to work for the latter's publishing house,[33] Fürstenwärther eventually became a tutor for the sons of the Prince of Bentheim in the provincially backward Westphalian town of Rheda (near Fürstenwärther's place of birth). Persistent financial difficulties, dissatisfaction with his social status and lack of a professional career, the hopelessness of his American affair, despondency over the political despotism prevailing in the German lands, and Cotta's deliberate failure to respond to Fürstenwärther's frantic letters and manuscript submissions—all these combined to intensify his self-pitying depressions and make him hint repeatedly, in letters to Gagern, at a desperate final measure. He died by suicide; on May 1, 1826, Baron vom Stein notified his friend Gagern: "Fürstenwärther hat sich ersäuft in einem Anfall von Schwermut."[34]

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Notes

1. Max J. Kohler, "An Important European Mission to Investigate American Immigration Conditions and John Quincy Adams' Relations Thereto (1817-1818)," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*, 17 (1917), 393-415.

2. I am grateful to Baron von Gagern of Neuenbürg (West Germany) for granting me unlimited access to the pertinent documents of the Nachlaß von Gagern (hereafter referred to as NVG) in the Bundesarchiv, Außenstelle Frankfurt/M.

3. Joh. Keiper, "Die Freiherren von Fürstenwärther," *Mitteilungen des Historischen Vereins der Pfalz*, 36 (1916), 55. A brief biographical sketch of Moritz von Fürstenwärther is found in Hans von Gagern's *Mein Antheil an der Politik* (Stuttgart, 1823-33), III, 151-153. I have supplemented this with information from unpublished Fürstenwärther letters in NVG, Deutsches Literaturarchiv in Marbach, and the Staatsarchiv Bremen.

4. For Closen's biography, see *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783*, tr. and ed. Evelyn M. Acomb (Chapel Hill, 1958).

5. Presumably on the British side, since he later named the publisher Julius Campe in Hamburg as a reference, according to Johann Smidt's letter of October 4 to the Senate of Bremen (hereafter JS). Original in the Staatsarchiv Bremen. I am indebted to Archivdirektor Müller for making this document available to me.

Campe had likewise served in the campaigns against Napoleon. See Edda Ziegler, *Julius Campe. Der Verleger Heinrich Heines* (Hamburg, 1976), p. 62.

6. [Moritz von Fürstenwärther], *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1818), pp. 3-10.

7. Fürstenwärther, "Anticritik. An den Herausgeber," *Amerikanische Ansichten von dem Gottesdienst und andern Eigenheiten der Deutschen*, No. 2 (Philadelphia, Feb. 1820), p. 15.

8. Although the title page bears no author's name, the introduction is signed by Gagern, to whom Cotta's advertisements ascribed the book.

9. *Protokolle der deutschen Bundes-Versammlung*, §148.

10. Letter to Gagern from Philadelphia, August 29, 1819 (hereafter GP). Original in Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.

11. *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika*, p. 3.

12. *North American Review*, No. 28 = NS No. 3 (1820), 1-19.

13. "Schmidt and Gall on America," *North American Review*, 17 = NS 8 (1823), 91.

14. GP.

15. *Priveligirte Liste der Börsenhalle*, No. 2058 (Hamburg, Feb. 10, 1819). Also *Neue Speyerer Zeitung*, No. 17 (Feb. 9, 1819).

16. Pp. 13-14, 23-24, et passim.

17. Pp. v-vi, 11, 111. Cf. also Gall, pp. 25, 27, 32.

18. GP.

19. *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society 1814-1824*, comp. and ed. Karl J. R. Arndt, II (Indianapolis, 1978), 55-56.

20. Documented in NVG.

21. *Der Deutsche in Nord-Amerika*, p. 10.

22. Ibid., pp. 28-29.

23. Quotation from the original in NVG. I am currently preparing the publication of its text and context.

24. GP.

25. GP.

26. Gagern's letter to Luis de *Onís*, August 1, 1819 (NVG).

27. JS.

28. Fürstenwärther's letter to Cotta, Oct. 5, 1820. Original in Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.

29. *Briefe an Cotta. Vom Vormärz bis Bismarck. 1833-1863*, ed. Herbert Schiller (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1934), p. 106.

30. Letter to Cotta, Oct. 15, 1820. Original in Deutsches Literaturarchiv, Marbach.

31. Ed. Arndt, II, 282.

32. Letter to Gagern, March 1, 1823 (NVG).

33. For pragmatic reasons, I have here and elsewhere consciously omitted any discussion of the important connections between Fürstenwärther, Gagern, and Goethe.

34. Freiherr vom Stein, *Briefe und amtliche Schriften*, ed. Erich Botzenhart and Walther Hubatsch (Stuttgart, n.d.), VI, 980.

Theodore Gish

Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, First Commissioner-General of the Adelsverein in Texas: Myth, History and Fiction

The immigration of many thousands of Germans to Texas during the 1840s under the direction of the *Mainzer Adelsverein* is a culturally unique and highly dramatic chapter of German-American and Texas history. In the existing scholarly accounts, however, the sociological impact of this immigration, in particular upon regional ethnic literature and local folklore, has been largely overlooked.[1] The dramatic nature of such an historical moment (among other factors, the interplay of aristocrats, immigrants and Anglos during the period of the annexation of the Republic of Texas by the United States) may, of course, appeal inherently more to the literary scholar or the folklorist than to the historian. But the *Adelsverein* immigration is also a German-American "event" of major historical proportions as well, since it epitomizes culturally so much of what was taking place between Germany and America, at the midpoint of the nineteenth century.

Central to the *Adelsverein's* immigration and reflecting it in so many ways is the personality and the office of Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, the first commissioner-general of the *Adelsverein* in Texas. During his stay in Texas (July 1844 to May 1845) Solms did what he could to prepare for the arrival of the first immigrants of the program. With them, on tracts of land purchased by the prince for the Society, he founded the port of Indianola (which he called Carlshafen) and the city of New Braunfels. Less than two months after witnessing the beginnings of New Braunfels (and laying no more than the cornerstone of the Society's headquarters, his often mentioned Sophienburg), Solms returned to the relative obscurity of a minor military career in Germany, where he died in 1876.[2]

Because of his aristocratic bearing and the nature of his management of the complex colonial affairs of the *Adelsverein*, the prince was regarded as a controversial figure virtually from the beginning of his stay in Texas. In the nearly century and a half since Solms left his mark on the development of Texas, three distinct although also interrelated ways of looking at him have

emerged. The mythical view of the "European aristocrat" commenced with Solms's arrival in Texas and this view is still being nurtured today. The historical view of Solms, arrived at primarily in the scholarship done during the first half of the twentieth century, is largely critical of Solms's administrative and political skills. It is also possible, finally, to view Solms as a literary "figure," not only because of his writings but because he himself appears as a fictional character in Texas-German literature. An examination of these three perceptions of Prince Solms and their interrelationship reveals a much fuller evaluation of Solms's role in Texas than any of the individual views.

Solms's aristocracy is an understandable factor in virtually all discussions of the prince. His class is also reflected, in various ways, in his correspondence and his *Verein* reports from Texas as well as the travel book on Texas which Solms wrote when he returned to Germany.[3] Furthermore, Solms's lodging requirements in Texas, his use of a personal retinue, his desire for an elegantly uniformed militia, even Solms's choice of settlement sites may easily be interpreted as stereotypically "aristocratic" behavior. Such demeanor was out of place in a relatively uncivilized Texas, all the more so since Texas was also a recently created republic to which many liberal Germans were politically attracted. Unlike his successor, Baron Ottfried Hans von Meusebach (or as he called himself when he arrived in Texas, "John Meusebach"), Solms was unwilling to accommodate himself in any way to the egalitarian Anglo society of Texas. These circumstances, consequently, provided the catalyst (and the factual basis) for the myth-building in connection with Solms's aristocratic bearing.

The two components of the myth are the "positive" or "negative" interpretation which the individual purveyor of the myth gives to the behavior. The following eyewitness account of Caroline Ernst von Roeder von Hinueber, who was twenty-four when Solms was in Texas and who recounted her experiences nearly half a century later, is typical of the many negative stories told about Solms. In her reminiscence, Caroline reported:

> I remember very well the coming of the German colonists who founded New Braunfels and Fredericksburg. My brother Fritz accompanied Prince Solms in the capacity of interpreter and guide. The prince had a considerable retinue of horsemen, dressed mostly like himself, after the fashion of German officers . . . . Whenever they came to a good piece of road, the prince would say, "Now, let us gallop," and then the whole party would charge down the prairie. The hunter was told to kill a deer but did not succeed, and my brother rode out and killed one, causing much pleasure to the prince.
>
> While on the same journey, the party stopped at a farmer's who brought out watermelons and told them to help themselves. My brother cut a watermelon in two, took a piece, and went into the yard to eat, whereupon one of the officers rebuked him severely, asking him how he could dare to eat when his Highness had not yet tasted.
>
> When the prince was endeavoring to establish Carlshafen and he and his party were making soundings, the boat grounded. The prince was in great distress and insisted that the only thing to do was to wait for the tide. My brother took off his clothes, got out, and pushed the boat off the bank.[4]

Even if the information in this account were "factual," simply in the act of

retelling by Caroline (and by others) it gains the dimension of a myth by becoming anecdotal. As an anecdote, it suggests that this event is "typical" of the prince's behavior.[5] Aside from describing Solms's stereotypical aristocratic behavior, this particular account also contains the characteristics of a venerable folktale theme, namely the confrontation of the passive and timorous nobleman by the active and resolute commoner.

Other contemporary accounts of Solms's behavior are just as stereotypically positive. While in Texas, Solms once visited Industry, the first German settlement in Texas, founded by Friedrich Ernst, Caroline's father. During the visit, Ernst (who had once been the ducal gardener in Oldenburg and, in any event, was of the older generation) toasted the prince with these characteristic words: "Auf das Wohl der edlen und grossmütigen deutschen Fürsten, welche auch jenseits des Oceans das Wohl ihrer Unterthanen bedenken."[6] The frequent retelling of this toasting incident contributes to the folktale process in the same way as in the case of Caroline's reminiscence.[7]

At the level of current local anecdote there are similar stereotypical descriptions of Solms's aristocratic behavior. Occasionally, these accounts represent the fanciful linking of several events from Solms's life. Older Texas-Germans from New Braunfels, for example, relate the story of how Solms built the Sophienburg as an inducement for his fiancée to join him in Texas, and how he returned to Germany, only when she refused to join him. Solms, of course, never intended to stay in Texas, nor did he ever plan for Sophie, Princess of Salm-Salm to join him there, although he did marry her after he returned to Germany. The "Sophienburg" itself never existed as anything other than a crude headquarters cabin for the *Verein*. By the time Solms left Texas, there was only a rough cornerstone and a furrow indicating the eventual dimensions of the structure.[8] What may have prompted this particular mythic account is the fact that Solms did dedicate the future structure lavishly to Princess Sophie in a letter intended for the cornerstone, and this dedication has often been reprinted.[9]

The second view of Solms is that presented in writings of an historical nature. The myth of the "European aristocrat" often persists where Solms is evaluated by popular historians. In 1967, for example, R. Henderson Shuffler (a journalist by trade and at the time of writing the Director of the Texana Program at the University of Texas) wrote about the lavish parties that the prince had at Nassau Farm, a plantation owned in Texas by the *Adelsverein*.[10] While the author could even quote a dollar figure for one of these purported parties ($15,000), there is no evidence at all that Solms engaged in any party-giving of this magnitude in Texas. When Solms arrived in the Republic, moreover, Nassau Farm was far from being what Shuffler called "the finest house in Texas."[11] The main building was in a considerable state of disrepair, and it even lacked a working fireplace. In his correspondence, Solms often complained about the state of the plantation and stayed there as briefly as possible.[12]

Accounts of stereotypically negative aristocratic behavior often appear in the popular histories dealing with Solms. Since these accounts rely on contemporary anecdotal material, like Caroline's reminiscence, they too tend to support the climate of myth. Irene Marschall King's generally well-

researched book on her grandfather, John Meusebach, provides a good example of this kind of treatment when she speaks of Solms:

> Reports of Prince Solms came from many sources. A. H. Sörgel in his book *Latest News of Texas* related that the Prince once refused to partake of a meal set for three guests at an inn: he chose to dine in state, alone. As a mark of honor the wife of the innkeeper arranged the table a second time, including a place for herself. The Prince declined that arrangement also. The innkeeper, instead of throwing the Prince out the door, added to his bill. This the Prince interpreted as American inhospitality.
>
> Prince Solms had spent a night at the residence of Sam Maverick in Decrow's Point. Maverick reported that laughter could be heard roundabout when a valet was seen helping the Prince draw on his tight-fitting breeches. The Prince's band of musicians played for the Mavericks. One of the instruments was a guitar which the Prince was taking to his lady Sophia. The old codger who sold the guitar raised the price considerably but excused himself with the remark, "You won't mind paying a little extra if it's going to a princess."[13]

This mythical view of Solms recedes understandably where the *Adelsverein* and Solms's record are examined by trained historians, such as those of the stature of Rudolph Biesele, whose research has provided the fullest and most objective account of the entire German settlement of Texas.[14] In describing Solms's managerial errors, specifically his lack of fiscal responsibility, Biesele does not draw any conclusions about the nature of German aristocracy. Yet even trained scholars are not always immune from myth-making. The eminent nineteenth-century German historian Treitschke, for example, perhaps because of his physical distance to the events and his own political orientation could write the following about Solms in his *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century:*

> Prince Charles of Solms Braunfels, a fanciful, good humored and boastful youth paid a visit to Texas, where he founded the town of New Braunfels and organized the district of Sophienburg [sic], and named it after a German princess whom he delighted to honor. But he soon tired of the affair.[15]

Of course, even Biesele's own research orientation which is typical of the regional social histories of the 1930s is somewhat out-of-date and the entire history of the *Adelsverein* immigration and the figure of Solms in particular need an historical reevaluation.

The final view of Solms is that of a literary "figure," both as a writer and as a fictional character in several Texas-German literary works. When Solms returned to Germany, he gave speeches before university audiences, urging immigration to Texas. Apparently he spoke with considerable rhetorical flair. According to one listener who was moved to go to Texas, Solms "caused a sensation among the students of Giessen and Heidelberg" when he "described Texas as a land of milk and honey, of perennial flowers, of crystal streams rich and fruitful beyond measure, where roamed myriads of deer and buffalo, while the primeval forests abounded in wild fowl of every kind."[16] His guidebook to Texas, both informative and literate, is a much more objective account. Along with many other travel guides to Texas, it, no doubt, influenced (together with his speeches) the continued

immigration to Texas under the auspices of the *Adelsverein*. While Solms's *Texas* is mentioned briefly in historical accounts, its value as a sociological document and as a further vehicle for assessing Solms's personality has been largely overlooked.[17]

During the trip to Texas itself, Solms wrote fourteen letters to Count Castell, his friend and the Society's business manager and sent eleven reports to the Society's directors in Mainz. Historians have made ample use of these documents, but only as an index for the evaluation of Solms's managerial and political skills. The mitigating portrait of the prince, as a person, which also emerges from these letters and reports has been almost totally ignored. While these documents clearly reveal the prince's aristocratic ways and his political and managerial naiveté, they also show the prince to be idealistic, erudite, possessed of a sense of humor and highly literate. These aspects of his personality are rarely assessed (or even revealed) in the historical record.

Descriptions exist of Solms's activity as a creative writer in Texas, but these accounts may also be part of the mythical view of the prince. The *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* (7 January 1876) cited in an article about the prince an undated account from the German-language *Texas Post* which stated that in dictating his reports to Germany, Solms "zugleich in Zwischenpausen seinen Secretären ein satyrisches Lustspiel dictiert hatte." Since no further details are given in this account, and no further evidence exists of such a play, it may be that the dictation of the reports has been elevated in the myth-process to an act of artistic creation. The Texas-German writer Hermann Seele offers a second and more elaborate instance of this possible activity. Seele concludes one of his historical sketches with a humorous account of the events which took place when a wine cask accidentally broke while some of the settlers were ferrying it along with other goods across the river to New Braunfels. The settlers began to drink the wine, and as soon as they became slightly intoxicated they began to sing the following song with the text, as Seele says, by Prince Solms:

Durch des Weltmeers Wogen,
Getrennt vom Vaterland,
Sind wir hergezogen,
Von manchem Liebesband.
Auf muthigen Rossen durchzieh'n
Wir Texas' heisse Prairien,
Und kürzen den Weg mit Gesang,
Der schallet in diesem Klang:
Hoch Deutschland, Deutschland hoch!

Lagern wir im Kreise
Ums helle Feuer hier,
Gedenken in der Ferne
Der trauten Lieben wir,
Und spiegelt den seltnen Wein
Des Feuers Wiederschein;
Wir würzen den Trunk mit Gesang,
Der schallet in diesem Klang:
Hoch Deutschland, Deutschland hoch!

Geht es nun zum Kampfe,
Mit Indianern wild und graus,
Zum blutigen Schlachtentanze
Dann Du deutsches Schwert heraus!
Und wer den Tod hier fand
Starb auch fürs Vaterland.
Er kämpfte und starb mit Gesang,
Der schallet in diesem Klang:
Hoch Deutschland, Deutschland hoch!
Hoch Deutschland, Deutschland hoch![18]

Although this sketch was published (possibly for the first time) in the *Kalender der Neu Braunfelser Zeitung für 1914*, it was written many years earlier.[19] The poem, with slight variations, also appears in a brief report in the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* (13 May 1870) which states that Solms wrote the song for the militia which he had formed in Texas.[20] This latter version is also reproduced in an article ("Deutsche Schriften in Texas," 1929) by Selma Metzenhin Raunick as "das erste deutsch-texanische Gedicht" with Solms named as the author.[21] Finally, *The San Antonio Express* (4 October 1903) states that "one of the first songs sung by the New Braunfels singing society (Germania) was composed by Prince Braunfels [sic]."

It is very probable that these subsequent references to the poem were all based on Seele's original authorship statement. Seele's historical sketches themselves, moreover, tend to be "literary" in composition and style. This is particularly true of the episode where the poem under discussion is utilized. There is also no further evidence of any other poetry written by Solms (nor is there mention of any literary activity in any of his correspondence). Consequently, the assignment of the authorship of this poem to Solms by Seele (and by the other commentators) may be another instance of the evolution of the myth of the prince to its literary level. As in the case of the report of his writing of a satirical comedy, in this conjectured development of the myth, Solms, the "man of culture," could become Solms, the "man of letters."

Seele wrote one completely fictional piece, *Die Cypresse*, which is an adventure story of a young naturalist captured by Indians, set in the time of the *Adelsverein* immigration to Texas. In this story and in the poetry of the Texas-German writer, Fritz Goldbeck, the figure of the prince appears as a truly fictional character.[22] In *Die Cypresse*, like kings and leaders in medieval romances, Solms is only a very marginal authority figure. His historical presence is referred to on a few occasions and he makes a brief appearance at the end of the tale when the young naturalist, freed from the Indians, returns to Europe with Solms.[23] Goldbeck, who came to New Braunfels as a young boy with the *Adelsverein* immigration, wrote numerous poems describing the immigration and the pioneer life among the early Texas-Germans.[24] The figure of Prince Solms appears in three of them. In each instance, Goldbeck views Solms within the tradition of the myth, stereotypically as the good and wise aristocratic leader. In the poem, "Die Landreise nach der neuen Colonie (später Neu Braunfels) 1845," for example, Goldbeck describes the dramatic arrival of the prince on the scene ("Am Tag darauf, noch früh es war,/Kam Prinz von Solms mit einer Schar"[25]) to

take personal charge of moving wagons across the flooded Guadalupe River. In "Das Lager auf der Zinkenburg, wo jetzt die katholische Kirche steht. 1845," Goldbeck describes at length the prince's militia and (apocryphally) how he cleverly entertained the local Indian chiefs and smoked the peace pipe with them.[26] "Die Sophienburg," artistically the most sophisticated of the three poems, deals exclusively with Solms and the symbol of his presence in New Braunfels. The entire poem, moreover, is a poetic phantasy, written in the tradition of German romantic poetry. In it, the poet looks at the present ruin of the Sophienburg and recalls the time when it was truly a princely edifice, a "Blockhaus-Schloss" inhabited by the prince and his retinue. As Goldbeck says:

> Marställe waren da erbaut
> Voll Rosse, die man gerne schaut,
> Hoflager wurde dann gehalten
> Beamte sorgten für's Verwalten.
> . . . . . .
> Ein reges Leben war am Ort,
> Ein bunt Gewimmel fort und fort,
> Beständig rasselten da Wagen,
> Es war ein immerwährend Jagen.

A hint of the financial problems that beset the historical prince does penetrate, to be sure, this poetic phantasy near the end of the poem when Goldbeck admits, "Der Prinz war ja kein Handelsmann," but he adds as a compensatory statement in the same stanza, "Er meinte gut es mit den Leuten." On this note, Goldbeck concludes the poem by saying that people will not forget the prince or the Sophienburg, "Sein Denkmal, hier im Prärieland."[27]

This poetic vision of Prince Solms and his fabled Sophienburg in Texas and the stories still told about them in New Braunfels, both seem to issue from the same creative wellspring.[28] And yet at the same time, each one of these views of Solms is an individual transformation—one in the realm of folklore and the other in the poetic act—of the historical event itself. With this particular triangulation at least, we have also come full circle in the examination of Prince Solms from the mythical, the historical and the fictional point of view. These three views do not always converge as in the present instance; yet each does seem to shed new light on the other in this attempt at coming to terms with the figure of Prince Solms. Myth, history and fiction, furthermore, are inherently related in so many ethnic views of culture. Perhaps then this approach may also serve as a valid model for other Texas-German studies which, at times at least, seem limited by a solitary point of view.

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Notes

1. The most complete historical examination of the German immigration under the auspices of the *Adelsverein* is presented in Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930). There are also accounts of this immigration in Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigra-*

tion (1909; rpt. Austin: Jenkins, 1974) and in Moritz Tiling, *History of the German Element in Texas from 1820-1850, and Historical Sketches of the German Singers' League and the Houston Turnverein from 1853-1913* (Houston: privately printed, 1913).

2. For specific details, see Rudolph L. Biesele, "Prince Solms's Trip to Texas, 1844-1845," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 40 (1936), 1-25.

3. See *Solms-Braunfels Archiv* (German transcripts of photostats in the Library of Congress, housed in the Barker Texas History Center at the University of Texas at Austin, 70 vols.) and Carl, Prinz zu Solms-Braunfels, *Texas, Ein Handbuch für Auswanderer nach Texas* (Frankfurt a. M.: Sauerländer, 1846).

4. Crystal Sasse Ragsdale, *The Golden Free Land. The Reminiscences and Letters of Women on an American Frontier* (Austin: Landmark, 1976), pp. 15-16.

5. On the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone in New Braunfels for the Sophienburg, the Society's headquarters, there was a flag-raising scene which Biesele in *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* describes as follows:

> For the cornerstone laying the Prince gave the officials and employees a holiday. In the absence of a German flag the black and yellow flag of Austria was raised on the site of the fort and salvos of cannon were fired to add to the effect. At the same time the settlers assembled on the market place, raised the flag of the Republic of Texas on an improvised flagstaff, elected Lt. Oscar von Claren commandant, and organized a company for the protection of the settlement against the Indians. (pp. 121-122)

In the subsequent oral and published retelling of this flag-raising, the incident has likewise become part of the myth-building process as another example of characteristic "nobleman" and "commoner" behavior.

6. *Solms-Braunfels Archiv*, XL, 6.

7. Friedrich von Wrede, in Texas since 1836, was a traveling companion and aide of Solms for a time during the latter's stay in Texas. The following description of Solms from von Wrede's correspondence with the directors of the Society, although less frequently retold than Ernst's toast, has also contributed to a stereotypically positive view of Solms's behavior:

> . . . es möchte schwer sein, einen anderen Mann zu finden, der das leisten könnte, was Sr. Durchlaucht hier für die gute Sache geleistet haben, das ganze Benehmen des Prinzen gewinnt ihm die Liebe der Menschen (Kolonisten) sie gehorchen ihm gerne denn ihr Gehorsam ist auf Liebe und Achtung gegründet, ich glaube, es ist keiner unter uns Deutschen, der es nicht für ihn, mit dem Teufel selbst aufnähme. (*Solms-Braunfels Archiv*, LX, 35)

8. Irene Marschall King, *John O. Meusebach, German Colonizer in Texas* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1967), p. 66.

9. Thus I have fulfilled my order, but not without having undergone manifold privations, hardships and dangers; for traveling in the heat of summer, sometimes twenty miles without water, and in the western part of the country roved over by Indians, as well as by sea voyages in small, miserable and badly conducted vessels, is naturally accompanied thereby. But I bore them as becomes a German and a man, and I do attribute it, next to the protection of the Most High, chiefly to the memory of that Lady to whom I devoted my heart and by the thought of whom nothing appeared to be insurmountable. As a tribute of gratitude due to her, and in order also to establish a lasting memory of her name on this side of the ocean, I name the fortification erected for the protection of New Braunfels and which shall enclose the government buildings, "The Sophienburg." (Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, *Texas 1844-1845*, trans. anon. [Houston: Anson Jones, 1936], pp. 3-4)

10. R. Henderson Shuffler, "Germans Who Went West," *American-German Review*, 33, 6 (August/September 1967), 10-14.

11. Shuffler, p. 12.

12. E.g., *Solms-Braufels Archiv*, XL, 44.

13. King, p. 62.

14. See note 1.

15. Heinrich Gotthard von Treitschke, *History of Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1919), VII, 277.

16. Louis Reinhardt, "The Communistic Colony of Bettina," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 3 (1899-1900), p. 34.

17. A likely example of myth-building with respect to Solms's travel guide appears in Win-

fried Lehmann's article, "Lone Star German," *Rice University Studies*, 63 (1977), 73-81, where Lehmann states that "intellectual interests were also maintained by those (immigrants) who took the advice of Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels that they include among their baggage an eight-volume set of Shakespeare's plays." (p. 75) The reference to Shakespeare is not in Solms's guidebook itself but in an "Anhang belehrender u. gemeinnütziger Schriften für Auswanderer" (Solms, pp. 127-131). This "Anhang" (not appearing in Solms's index) is a subscription list of nearly fifty titles, varying greatly in subject matter and usefulness. It also recommends, for example, works by Washington Irving and a Professor H. Pierre, dramatist of the "new British Theatre" (p. 128). For these reasons, it seems likely that the publisher, and not Solms, recommended Shakespeare.

18. Hermann Seele, *The Cypress and Other Writings of a German Pioneer in Texas (Die Cypresse und Gesammelte Schriften)*, ed. and trans. Edward C. Breitenkamp (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 74-75.

19. There are no available dates for most of Seele's historical sketches. Many were published initially in the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* (over which Seele himself had editorial control for a number of years) and in the newspaper's *Kalender*. Several of the sketches were published, along with the short story, "Die Cypresse," as *Die Cypresse und Gesammelte Schriften* (New Braunfels, Texas: *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*, 1936).

20. The variations are "Von der Heimat fortgezogen" (line 3), "Und von manchem Liebesband" (line 4), "Der schallet mit lautem Klang" (line 8), "Liegen nachts" (line 10), "Unsrer teuren Lieben wir" (line 13), "So trinken wir ihn mit Gesang" (line 16), "Der schallet mit frohem Klang" (line 17), "Geht es dann zum Kampfe" (line 19), "In dichtem Pulverdampfe dann" (line 21), "Du deutsches Schwert heraus!" (line 22), "Starb doch fürs Vaterland" (line 24).

21. Except in line 22, Raunick's version has "Dann deutsches Lied heraus!" (Selma Metzenhin Raunick, *Deutsche Schriften in Texas* [Austin: privately printed, 1929], p. 6.)

22. Solms does not appear as a fictional character but he is discussed briefly and positively at the beginning of the novel *Friedrichsburg, die Colonie des deutschen Fürsten-Vereins in Texas* (Leipzig: Fleischer, 1867) by Armand (pseud. of Friedrich Strubberg). Strubberg is a controversial figure in the *Adelsverein* immigration story. As "Dr. Schubert," Strubberg was named physician for the Society in Texas and was later appointed Director of the Fredericksburg colony by Meusebach. When Strubberg returned to Germany, he became the popular author of numerous "exotic" novels, several of which have a setting in Texas.

23. Seele has also fictionalized Solms's departure. In reality, Solms left Texas without a traveling companion and was permitted to do so only after Meusebach had paid his creditors in Galveston. (See Biesele, *History*, p. 124.)

24. Fritz Goldbeck, *Seit fünfzig Jahren. Prosa in Versen*, 2 vols. (San Antonio: privately printed, 1895).

25. Goldbeck, I, 8.

26. Goldbeck, I, 8-10. Although Solms discussed the Indians on several occasions in his reports to the *Verein* and formed an Indian "policy" both with these comments and with his subsequent actions, he never encountered the Indians in any formalized fashion. For further details, see Rudolph L. Biesele, "The German Settlers and the Indians in Texas, 1844-1860," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 31 (1927-1928), 116-120.

27. Goldbeck, I, 14-15.

28. In the most recent examination of the myth of Prince Solms in the *Neu-Braunfelser Jahrbuch, 1981* (New Braunfels, Texas: Folkways, 1981), Curt E. Schmidt, the compiler of the *Jahrbuch*, states the following in a biographical sketch of Solms:

> So maybe the Prince dreamed impossible dreams, maybe he had more candor than wisdom, more courage than common sense, and perhaps he was a little pompous as Grossopa described him, but he was *our* Prinz, and the Castle Braunfels is our castle, and after 135 years, to hell with it, let's get off the Prince's back—especially those whose Omas and Opas didn't come to Texas with the Prinz. (p. 29)

Christa Carvajal and
Annelise M. Duncan

The German-English School in San Antonio: Transplanting German Humanistic Education to the Texas Frontier

After its short-lived experience as a republic, from 1836 to 1845, Texas was ready to assimilate the ever growing belief in popular education which had begun to characterize American culture. Until the 1850s, the peculiar political and geographical realities of Texan history had contributed most effectively to the making of an inhospitable environment for the establishment of educational institutions. Within less than fifty years, however, through a rapid succession of social and political happenings that included the assimilation of a new major ethnic group—the Germans—the fore-and-aftermath of the Civil War, and the industrial-economic changes brought about by the railroads, Texans managed to adopt American democratic thought and practices through an educational system that compared favorably with those in most other states by the turn of the century.

The German-English School in San Antonio, established in 1858 and merged with the public school system around 1897, represents an important facet of the process through which Texas became an integral part of the Union, joining in the national goals and cultural direction of the American experience. The history of the German-English School reflects the particular problems of this change and acculturation process, not only of a specific ethnic group, but of a larger conglomerate of Texans whose existence was for some time influenced by the proximity of the state to Mexico and the Spanish-Mexican culture.

To the German immigrants who came to Texas in the 1850s, San Antonio—then the largest city in the state—presented itself as an exotic and bewildering place. The city housed a colorful multi-ethnic population mix, whose very diversity puzzled not only the European newcomers but many travelers from the northern United States as well. One of them wrote after a visit in 1858: "Walking about the city and its environs, you may well fancy yourself in some strange land . . . [and that the city] . . . bespeaks a condition widely different from what you are accustomed to behold in any American town."[1]

Frederick Law Olmsted, also a visitor from the north, described San Antonio at about the same time, observing:

> We have no city, except, perhaps, New Orleans, that can vie, in point of the picturesque interest that attaches to odd and antiquated foreignness, with San Antonio. Its jumble of races, costumes, languages and buildings; its religious ruins, holding to an antiquity, for us, indistinct enough to breed an unaccustomed solemnity; its remote, isolated, outposted situation, and the vague conviction that it is the first of a new class of conquered cities into whose decaying streets our rattling life is to be infused, combine with the heroic touches in its history to enliven and satisfy your traveler's curiosity.[2]

In the eyes of a twelve-year old German boy, arriving in San Antonio in June of 1857 with his family, "the foreignness" of the city made a rather frightening impression: While moving their belongings from the hotel to their first rented apartment, the family was advised to take "Houston street, since Main street was still littered with bodies from the previous morning's shoot out."[3] The same boy, Ludolph F. Lafrentz, who later became contributing editor of two German publications, the *Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* and the *Deutschtexanische Monatshefte*, investigated with a boy's curiosity the causes of the violent disturbance that had made Houston street impassable. He wrote:

> Among the desperados who had established an uneasy rule in San Antonio and its environs, a certain Bill Hart played a key role. This very man seemingly ran a little grocery store on South Alamo street, which in reality was only a cover for a gambling joint attracting mostly young people who preferred to make a living with gambling and robbery since they were too lazy to work . . . many of those eighteen and nineteen year old lads had already committed several murders. Among them was, at that time, also the notorious Bob Augustin. . . . Finally, the citizenry's patience ran out. The straw that broke the camel's back was the robbing and slaying of a Mexican family who lived near the first Mission. A vigilante committee was organized and decided, without delaying action by investigating the guilt in this particular case, to summarily take care of the entire band of desperados. All national groups living in San Antonio were represented on the committee: Germans, Americans, French, and Mexicans, the best and most reputable citizens in town.[4]

The Germans coming to Texas and San Antonio in the 1850s were no strangers to adverse circumstances. Their homeland was plagued by dismal economic conditions and a far-reaching political disunity, the very reasons for their emigration. By comparison, the Texas frontier seemed to promise a future when the homeland had ceased to provide even a glimmer of hope.

Intrigued with the exuberance of frontier life and the New World promise of melting diverse cultures into one nation under God, a promise of which they had heard and read a great deal, many German Texans were determined to ignore the hardships of living in Texas and to do their best to contribute to the solutions of problems concerning a scarcely civilized state. As Lafrentz explained, having looked out over the picturesque San Antonio landscape from the balcony of the Plaza House:

> Though the first impression of the Texas Coast had been a disappointment

> to me, this view surprised me favorably. Everything had an exotic appearance, but it was [at the same time] of strange beauty, and I loved everything beautiful. Thus my first view of San Antonio had an element of real satisfaction.[5]

One aspect of life in Texas, however, was difficult indeed to view with good will and optimism: the virtual absence of schools at the time of the first great wave of German immigration after 1848. In San Antonio, the first free school had been opened in 1828, but closed again seven years later. Its principal teacher, Jose Antonio Gama y Fonseca, had taught there in Spanish.[6] At about the same time, records certified

> to the existence of the 'McClure School' which was believed to have been opened in 1828 [also] and which probably was a small institution started by a school teacher for the benefit of the growing Anglo-Saxon colony in San Antonio.[7]

The Texas Constitution of 1845 declared that "a general diffusion of knowledge is essential to the preservation of the rights and the liberties of the people," but the realization of such lofty goals did not begin to affect San Antonio until a decade later, when, on February 22, 1855, the Board of Education for the Regulation of the People's Schools of the City of San Antonio was formed, which began to actively promote the formation of a free system for the city and its immediate environs.[8] Two years earlier, in 1853, under the management of various county and city authorities, two public schools for boys and two for girls had been "constructed," but records differ on whether or not they were in operation for consistent periods.[9]

At the time of the founding of the German-English School in 1858, there were in San Antonio three private schools in addition to the public schools mentioned above: one school in "the Old Presbyterian Church building" for children of Protestant families; a second, the Ursuline Academy, founded in 1851; and a school for boys established by the Sons of Mary which later became St. Mary's University. Of the three, the Ursuline Academy was the most successful one. The Ursuline Sisters had come to San Antonio from New Orleans and Galveston. They took in all girls of school age, but had, at least in the beginning, a large Spanish speaking student population.[10]

In 1854, a school law passed by the Texas Legislature entitled all schools giving gratuitous tuition to a share in the public school fund. The schools, in turn, had to agree to inspections by state officials and had to conduct public examinations.[11] The first distribution of public school funds during the school year of 1854-1855 amounted to sixty-two cents per capita.[12] The same school law also determined that state funds would go to teachers' salaries, and that any deficit would have to be assessed equitably among all paying patrons of private schools.[13]

Such were the educational opportunities when the first generation of Texas-Germans arrived. Earlier Texans, especially Anglo-Americans who had taken part in the New World experience for more than one generation, looked upon education as not necessarily related to their survival in a frontier environment. Their priorities were practical ones, connected to the establishment of prosperity and fortune, and they had moved into Texas gradually, making their adjustment to an advancing frontier.

The German immigrants of the mid-nineteenth century came to their new home without this gradual transition. Having left a country with a stratified society, rigid institutions and many strictures, they could in virtually no respect have found a more striking contrast than the situation existing in South Central Texas. Arriving as a group and settling as neighbors guaranteed for some time to come the survival of German customs, German language and German education. When the German immigrants realized that no general educational system existed in San Antonio, the creation of a school became an urgent priority. For such an institution the Germans used the educational principles of their own background, convinced of their benefit and confident that they could be transplanted. Only the complete single-mindedness of purpose that launched this undertaking overcame the many problems of the first years that often threatened the very existence of the German-English School. Begun with limited funds and sustained later with difficulty through times of war and economic hardship, the school not only survived but soon ranked among the best in San Antonio and in Texas.

To create this institution, a school association—*der Schul-Verein*—was formed and assumed the task of outlining the short as well as the long range plan for the German-English School of San Antonio. Reporting on April 28, 1858, the executive committee of the *Verein*, as prescribed by its statutes, presented to the general assembly for approval a statement of purpose and the proposed structure for the school. In the beginning stages, the school was to function as an elementary school adapted to local conditions. Yet even the curriculum on this level was shaped by the ultimate aim of developing an institution of higher learning, a *Realschule*, as it existed in Germany, affording its students a humanistic education, not training them for any particular trade or profession but equipping them with a broad education as preparation for life: *Non scholae sed vitae discimus!*

The statutes of the *Verein* explicitly stated the guiding principles of the school:

> 1. An association under the name *Schul-Verein zu San Antonio* was formed for the purpose of founding a school in the city to provide elementary education at first, but gradually to expand into a system corresponding to the German *Realschule*.
>
> 2. Religious instruction would be excluded from the curriculum.
>
> 3. The German and the English language would have equal status, and instruction in all other subjects would be distributed as evenly between them as was practicable.
>
> 4. The founders of the association pledge their support on the condition that the guidelines as stated in 1, 2, 3 would be upheld and that they would withdraw such support and demand a refund, should these principles be violated.
>
> 5. With the exception of the English instructor, teachers educated in Germany who also had some teaching experience should be chosen, if possible.
>
> 6. A member of the association was anyone who contributed to it no less than $30 annually, $10 to be paid initially, the remainder in equal quarterly installments.
>
> 7. Membership privileges began upon payment of the aforementioned $10 and ceased if a member was more than two months in arrears. The rights and privileges of membership were personal and not transferable.

8. The general assembly was formed by all members in good standing and would convene every four months during the vacation after each trimester. The executive committee might ask for additional meetings in writing.

9. The general assembly would discuss and decide upon all association business by a simple majority and would effect amendments to the statutes by a two-thirds majority vote.

10. The general assembly would elect an executive committee by secret ballot with a simple majority.

11. All items for the agenda must be submitted the previous day, petitions for amendments to the statutes had to be in the hands of the chairman two weeks, in those of the members one week prior to the meeting.

12. The executive committee was to be elected for one year and would consist of a president, a vice president, a treasurer, two school committee and two building committee members.

13. The executive committee would represent the association and would administer all its affairs according to the statutes and the decision of the general assembly.

14. The school and the building committee were to be subcommittees of the executive committee which would prepare and, after approval by the whole committee, carry out the tasks in their specific areas.

15. The executive committee would submit a written report at every regular session of the general assembly concerning the situation of the school association in general and its financial condition in particular. The transitory regulation was:

16. Following the definitive decisions concerning the statutes, the general assembly would proceed to elect an executive committee which would be given four weeks to complete all preliminary arrangements for the opening of a school, would report back, and initiate the choice of teachers, and submit all contracts and other orders of business to the assembly for approval.[14]

Thus the work of the school was begun according to clearly defined administrative guidelines. The statutes showed not only the idealism of the founders but their sound realism as well. The elementary school was to be the necessary prerequisite of the *Realschule*.

When the school opened with two grades on May 17, 1858, eighty children were enrolled, seventy of whom were of German, three of French, and seven of American parentage. To become eligible for state compensation for indigent students, the first trimester had to run the full three months despite the August heat. The differences in background, age, previous schooling—if any—and nationalities presented the teachers with an unusual challenge. Instructional emphasis was on teaching the children to think for themselves, to lead them to an understanding of the materials presented instead of mechanical memorization. The results of the labors of teachers and students were displayed in a first public examination to which parents and friends of the school were invited. Conducted on August 17, 1858, it showed the following program:

8 o'clock		Singing	Mr. Schuetze
8:30- 9:00	I Class	English, Reading, Grammar	Mr. Doyle
9:00- 9:30	II Class	German Reading	Mr. Moeller
9:30-10:00	I Class	Arithmetic, German	Mr. Moeller
10:00-10:30	II Class	Arithmetic, English	Mr. Doyle

10:30-11:15	I Class	Geography, Natural Science, History, Physics	Mr. Moeller
11:15-12:00	II Class	Geography, Natural Science, Physics	Mr. Doyle

Recitation by one German, one American, and one girl
Singing
Distribution of report cards[15]

The first trimester inspired great optimism for the future of the school and the ultimate attainment of its goals. Teachers were eager and cooperative and the financial situation was still uncomplicated: Tuition plus the expected state support for indigents took care of the monthly obligations of about $200, $50 for building rent, and $50 salary for each of the three teachers. A benefit performance by the German theater association of the *Casino-Verein* provided additional funds.

Despite such a promising beginning, careful scrutiny by the executive committee recognized and analyzed problems early and proposed remedies. The first trimester showed that the school would have to accommodate its students initially, until they could function within a bilingual framework. Meanwhile, as much as possible had to be offered by the school to arouse interest among the public and to increase enrollment and revenue. The executive committee submitted three proposals to this end, suggesting the institution of a higher grade, the division of the present lowest grade, arrangements for instruction in needlework for girls, and a separation of boys and girls in the higher grades. By creating a higher grade beyond the elementary level, assurance would be given that a *Realschule* was indeed in the making at a time when neither San Antonio nor any other city in Texas had a high school of any kind.

The thirty-six hours of weekly instruction for the upper grade were planned as follows:

Subject (I Class)	*Hours*
German Grammar, Translation, Reading, Declaiming	7
English Reading, Declaiming, Grammar, Composition	5
Geometry, Algebra, Bookkeeping, Land Surveying	6
Natural History, Natural Science	4
Geography, History	4
Drawing, Writing, Singing, Physical Education	8
Spanish	2
Total number of hours per week	36

The lesson plan for the same trimester for the elementary grades showed the following distribution:

Subject (II Class)	*Hours*
German Reading	6
English Reading	6
Geography	2
History	2
Arithmetic	4
Natural History	2
Natural Philosophy	2
Writing (English)	2

Writing (German)	2
Drawing	2
Total number of hours per week	30

Subject (III Class)	Hours
German Reading	8
English Reading	8
Arithmetic	4
Writing (English)	2
Writing (German)	2
Geography	2
German Reading: extra class for American children	3
Total number of hours per week	29 (or 26)[16]

An insight into the philosophy of the German-English School is provided by the rules of behavior for its students, with the emphasis on mutual consideration and on maintaining an environment conducive to learning.

In the light of the proverbial "Prussian" discipline ruling German schools during the middle decades of the nineteenth century on the continent—referred to with awe by visiting American educators reporting on German educational practices—the rules of the German-English School seemed to express a pragmatic rather than a rigid approach to school life:

A It is incumbent on the pupils:

1. To clean their feet on the scraper when they enter the school.
2. To put down their hats, caps, coats, etc., in the designated place.
3. Upon entering and leaving the classroom to greet the teacher courteously if he is present.
4. To take their seats when the bell is rung. To avoid all unnecessary noise in the building at all times.
5. To keep themselves, their clothes and their shoes clean. To take their books, etc., home with them at night and to bring them back to school in the morning; and to go home immediately after dismissal quietly and orderly.
6. To hand over pens, knives or books in such a way that the recipient has it properly before him right away and is able to use it.
7. To bow when handing over or receiving an object and to rise when speaking with the teacher.
8. To keep their books, etc., neat and their desks orderly.
9. To give everything they find in the classroom such as slates, pens, etc., to the teacher.
10. Everyone is responsible for order and neatness around his seat.
11. Everyone must be especially quiet whenever the teacher is called out of the room and should do his best to contribute to the well-being and progress of the class.

B The pupils are forbidden:

1. To throw pens, paper, or anything else on the floor or through the window and to spit on the floor.
2. To write on any part of the school house, tables or benches with slate pencil or chalk, to cut into them or to damage them in any way.

3. To touch someone else's property in the desk or to make noise with their own things.
4. To use their knives without permission and to absent themselves from the classroom without leave.[17]

The teachers had to keep attendance records required by the state, list all punishments administered to students, collect tuition payments as far as possible, take turns supervising pupils in the school yard, and enforce all rules and regulations of discipline with friendliness and kindness as well as strictness and consistency. Repeated tardiness, unruliness in class, inattentiveness, neglect of assigned homework, disobedience, noise, and rowdiness in the school yard were to be punished by having to stand in the corner, having no recess, or having to stay after school. In a meeting at the end of each trimester, all teachers evaluated together the behavior, diligence, and progress of each student. Seating order and promotions for the next trimester were also decided at this time. The school committee was instructed to hold a conference with the teachers at the beginning of each month to discuss matters of discipline, teaching methods and suggestions deemed useful and necessary to the school.

The school association report of April 20, 1859, was printed in the *Staatszeitung*, the German language newspaper. The institution had successfully completed its first year. It was an occasion for looking back, for recounting the difficulties but also for reaffirming and restating the founding principles of the school. Detractors and doubters had criticized the new institution on some or all of four counts: the equality of the two languages, the exclusion of religious instruction, the fixed curriculum, and the teaching methods. More convinced than ever of the benefits of the system, the committee in its report elaborated on each of the points stating that the purpose of drawing closer together the two most numerous nationalities would be best served by total equality and mutual respect. Learning both languages, the pupils would not be divided by arguments over nationality. That the system was indeed practicable was shown by the fact that most of the non-German children were reading, translating, and pronouncing German passably well after a short time. The exclusion of religious instruction was suspicious only to the so-called pious, the narrow-minded and the unthinking, the founders felt. In an institution that proposed to be a *Menschenschule*, not a *Sektenschule*, children of all denominations should play and learn together free of religious strife. The founder stated that the principle of teaching all subjects in the curriculum to all students apparently found its opponents particularly among parents who regarded a humanistic education as a waste of time and who thought that to be a merchant one only needed arithmetic and that for a lawyer or physician Latin and Greek were considered essential while geography, history, and natural science were deemed purposeless and no sooner taught than forgotten. Had not the older states of the Union recognized the error of such reasoning long ago, and was it not obvious that this school was carrying its conviction of the benefit of such an education into the "farthest south"? The teachers of the school also addressed themselves to the child's capacity for comprehension, not to his ability to memorize. Children could not learn to think, as the founders' re-

port emphatically stated, nor to comprehend, nor to express themselves if all the answers were printed in a textbook.[18]

Thus the report commended and encouraged the work of the school. Despite the city's growing number of either partly or completely tuition-free institutions, the attendance of the German-English School was satisfactory. The report praised the teachers for their dedication and effectiveness but also mentioned that several new teachers were sought because of resignations. A girls' class was discontinued because of insufficient numbers, and the committee urged parents to send their daughters to school. An evening school for young people who worked during the day showed disappointing results with an average attendance of twelve students, most of whom could not be persuaded to further their progress through homework. The second public examination held in the Casino ballroom on April 15, 1859, had shown, however, that day students were pleasantly advanced. It was noted with regret that few parents and friends of the school attended when such a show of interest surely would have encouraged the children in the pursuit of their studies!

A report of the executive committee on August 8, 1859, showed an average attendance of one hundred students, with many absences caused by the heat. Singing was taught with good results, and physical education was started despite a lack of equipment. On August 26, Julius Berends, principal founder of the school and president of the executive committee, presented that body with a resolution of the *Casino-Verein* to establish a *Schiller-Stiftung*, on the occasion of the great poet's hundredth birthday, for the promotion and support of the school. The *Casino-Verein* donated $250 and asked for pledges for the purchase of a lot and the construction of a school building. The *Casino-Verein* would transfer the property to the *Schul-Verein* provided the school continued to follow its established principles, and that a bust of Friedrich von Schiller and a plaque were kept in a suitable place as a permanent tribute. The *Casino-Verein* scheduled the centennial celebration for November 10, 1859. It became the highlight of the trimester.

Construction of the school began, and the Texas legislature was petitioned for a letter of tax remission and for a grant of additional land. Despite a decline in enrollment to a total of ninety students, the small I Class was maintained while the evening school with only three students was closed down. In order to continue the school with three grades, not only I Class tuition but standards as well had to be lowered, thus closing the considerable gap between the I and II Class, and effecting an almost even distribution of students among the grades. The new three-room schoolhouse was now fully occupied. When one of the regular teachers left in the spring of 1861, no replacement was hired to continue teaching mathematics, history and Spanish, and the school was reduced to two elementary grades.

While the reports never mentioned the Civil War, they often referred to "hard times" and the attending financial problems. Out of 102 students in January, thirty-three were indigent. The teachers accepted a reduction in pay from $70 to $50 per month. The president of the executive committee, Julius Berends, taught drawing without pay, and the physical education teacher was another volunteer. A lady to teach the girls needlework part-time completed the staff. Meanwhile trees had been planted in the school

yard, which now had a fence, referred to as *die Fenz*. An expansion of the school was now in order according to the long-range plan, but the accounting for the first three years showed an annual deficit of $770.50. Survival was therefore the immediate concern.

During the summer of 1861, the school lost its dedicated English teacher who had been urged by the administration to leave town because of repeated political agitation against him. Mr. Berends, with the help of the only remaining regular teacher, took over the vacancy without pay. The August 1861 report mentioned greater public acceptance of the school but no increase in enrollment. The city's *Turnverein* disbanded, and the school inherited the much needed sports equipment—even a swing for the girls. The December 1861 report showed an average of eighty-three students, an increase of ten over the previous trimester which justified an additional class and the hiring of a new English teacher. Mr. Berends was willing to continue since his bookstore business was slow, due to the bad times, and did not require much attention. He did so without pay.

During 1862, enrollment gradually increased to 140 students, presumably as a result of greater public acceptance and the closing of several local schools. The classrooms were filled to overflowing, but while tuition income paid for increased teachers' salaries, it did not suffice to reduce the debt of the school. Expansion of the physical plant and of the academic program had to be postponed indefinitely. The school continued to teach children to the ages of twelve and thirteen, when it should have educated them until age fifteen or sixteen. There was still no high school in San Antonio.

Yet, in reviewing the first five years of the German-English School, the committee felt that the guiding principles had stood the test of time. Instruction in both languages was deemed a complete success: The children were neither unduly taxed by it nor confused but gained with ease the lifetime advantage of mastering two living languages.

Because of rising prices and the devaluation of paper money, tuition and salaries continued to increase. The August 1865 report showed an average enrollment of 154, and for forty applications there were only eight available places. Tuition not only met all current expenses but began to pay off some of the debts.

Mr. Berends, who planned to leave the state temporarily, wrote a memorandum concerning expansion of the school and submitted it to the general assembly. He expressed his concern over the school situation in San Antonio, a city "doubtlessly large enough not to supply just one but several larger schools with children and rich enough to support them." Meanwhile, it was once again up to the *Schul-Verein* and to the German population of San Antonio to assume the burden and to fulfill the school's original purpose. Since the school was probably one of the best in the state, it could not be satisfied with its present situation. Despite total lack of state support since secession, financial conditions were sound. This had been achieved by saving one teacher's salary for years and by accepting excessive enrollment. However, the large number of students put a heavier burden on the teachers and slowed progress. The three existing grades were equivalent to an elementary school since the average student spent two years in each grade and

finished at age twelve. A bright student could accomplish the same in less time, and repetition dulled his interest. About ten boys and six to eight girls were now ready for a higher level and had no other school in which to continue their education. If the *Verein* believed in the present need and worked for the opening in 1866 of an expanded school, Mr. Berends suggested that the three new rooms would be used as follows: one for an upper grade for girls, another for an upper grade for boys, and the third as a teachers' room, a library, and a place for teaching apparatus. At least five regular teachers were needed to divide the subjects, including Spanish and perhaps French, among themselves. A library was necessary for teachers and students.

Mr. Berends encouraged frequent visitations of the school. Men of education, he urged, should spend several hours a month getting well acquainted with the school, the teachers, the curriculum, and the students in order to establish a link between the institution and the public.

By January 1866, the first room of the new building was ready for use, and a fourth regular teacher had been hired. In July, Mr. Berends returned from New York with books and supplies he had purchased for the school.

The July 1866 report mentioned that only twenty new students had been accepted out of sixty applicants. The decision to expand the school to five classes by creating a new grade between the present III Class and II Class made room for approximately fifty new children. By August, a new elementary teacher had been hired. In October, a cholera outbreak disrupted school as many families left town or kept their children at home.

The year 1867 began with all six classes filled, and during the summer, 276 children attended, the highest enrollment recorded for the school. A woman was selected to teach English, the first time a woman had been employed to teach classes other than sewing. Parents of new students were asked for a $100 donation. The enrollment ranged between 259 and 269 in 1869, and in November, the school committee agreed to the establishment of a new foundation, the *Humboldtstiftung*, to raise funds for further expansion of the school, and the construction of three new rooms began in 1870.

Several personnel problems developed after Mr. Berends relinquished his unpaid directorship of the school to devote more time to his business. In 1868, two teachers became co-principals, and the report of August 1869 described poor communication and interaction among the teachers, terming the situation a "pedagogical anarchy," caused in part by too many students and too few teachers. The report of August 1870 showed a principal from Detroit hired at $100 a month, three teachers at $85 each, one at $65, and three women teachers at $60 each. The next year two teachers were refused raises and resigned. The August 1870 report contained first mention of a deficit ($112.40), "despite an average enrollment of 256."[19] There was, at last, a I Class for boys and another for girls, and approximately one fourth of the student body was of non-German origin.

The additional building had barely been completed when the new state school law went into effect on September 1, 1871, and the January 1872 report reflected the first impact of the free public school system. The enrollment declined from 267 students in 1870 to 233 in 1871, to 167 in 1872, and to 143 in 1873, with most of the attrition in the lowest grade as non-German

students opted for the public schools. After "graduating" the I Class of only ten students, the institution once again taught only on the elementary level, in three completely filled classes. In July 1873 the resignation of the principal is reported, and Mr. Berends once again took over, with the help of the school committee. During the next two years enrollment increased again, and the 1875 school year showed 201 children in six classes, including a I Class. Mr. Berends, before leaving San Antonio for Germany permanently, turned the school over to a joint principalship of all teachers, with a president elected for a half-year term. The August 1875 report emphasized that the three-day public examination had impressed the public with the progress and the "moral attitude" of the school. Confidence in the school and its teachers appeared to be growing. The president of the *Verein* expressed his conviction that the goal of becoming a first-rate educational institution was close at hand.[20]

Records concerning administrative activities of the *Schul-Verein* end in 1881, although a collection of monthly lesson plans from September 1881 to May 1885 indicates that changes were made to adjust to new needs and altered circumstances.[21] The years 1881 to 1885 show an enrollment between 184 and 233 students, six classes and a staff of six teachers, two of whom had been with the school in the seventies. Judging from the lesson plans, the I Class may be considered as having been on *Realschule* level with a curriculum of German, English, Algebra, Geometry, Physics, Geography, History and Spanish, the latter whenever a teacher was available. Although there is no mention of financial matters, it may be conjectured that they were stable since four of the six teachers—three men and one woman—were still there at the end of the recorded period.

Enrollment increased slowly from 205 in September of 1881 to its peak in April of 1883 and reached its lowest level between December 1884 and May 1885. It seems possible that the decline which eventually brought about the closing of the German-English School began at this time, although Adolf Paul Weber in his book, *Deutsche Pioniere*, claims that the institution was still thriving in 1894.[22] The school plant was sold for debt in 1897 and, in 1903, bought by the San Antonio school district and named the George W. Brackenridge Grammar School. By this time, San Antonio was a remarkably different city from the one encountered by the first German immigrants of the forties and fifties. The city was now connected to a country-wide railroad system. It had an opera house and many theaters in which American touring companies staged elaborate theatrical productions. Most importantly, San Antonio had a public school system and several colleges which rapidly established an educational environment comparable to that of other states.

In its forty-five years of existence, beginning in a frontier setting, the German-English School proved to be a factor of importance in the life and growth of San Antonio. Established and led by German immigrants of outstanding education, the school filled a need for many settlers. With the exception of a few sectarian schools, all previous attempts to bring even minimal education to the city had been sporadic and short-lived. That the ambitious plan to transplant German humanistic education to Texas was realized and sustained a half century speaks well of the founders' dedication

and determination. Several crises documented in the school papers seemed almost impossible to weather at the time. Although periods of increased enrollment were met with new investments and plant expansions, nearly catastrophic setbacks seemed to follow immediately: war, inflation, Reconstruction, and free public education. Finally developing to a comprehensive system strong enough to supply the educational needs of a rapidly growing population, including the already assimilated second generation of Texas Germans in San Antonio, it was this last confrontation, public education, that retired the German-English School from its mission of bringing humanistic learning to an educational wasteland.

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Notes

1. San Antonio-Bexar County Education Files. Photostat copy of an article published in *Leslie's Weekly* for January 15, 1859, DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.
2. Frederick Law Olmsted, *A Journey Through Texas* (New York: Dix, Edwards and Co., 1857), pp. 150-151.
3. Ludolph F. Lafrentz, "Erinnerungen über San Antonio im Jahre 1857," *Jahrbuch der Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung fuer 1944* (New Braunfels, 27 April 1944), p. 43.
4. Ibid., p. 44.
5. Ibid., p. 42.
6. San Antonio-Bexar County Education Files. Photostat copy of an unidentified article "School Systems Here Begun Before 1789 by Francisco de la Mata," DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.
7. San Antonio-Bexar County Education Files. DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.
8. C. E. Evans, *The Story of Texas Schools* (Austin, Texas: Steck Co., 1955), p. 60.
9. San Antonio-Bexar County Education Files. Photostat copy of an unidentified article "How San Antonio Schools Have Grown," DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas.
10. Ibid.
11. Mary Clarence Friesenhahn, "Catholic Secondary Education in the Province of San Antonio," Diss. Catholic University, Washington, D.C. 1930, p. 30.
12. C. E. Evans, *The Story of Texas Schools*, p. 61.
13. Ibid., p. 101.
14. "Statuten," in *German-English School Papers, 1858-1865,* DRT Library at the Alamo, San Antonio, Texas. This and all following quotations from this collection were transcribed and translated by Annelise M. Duncan.
15. "Öffentliche Prüfungen," in *German-English School Papers, 1858-1865.*
16. "Stundenpläne," in *German-English School Papers, 1858-1865.* The grade designated I Class is the most advanced.
17. "Schulregeln," in *German-English School Papers, 1858-1865.*
18. *German-English School Papers, 1858-1865.* Photostat copy of a published report in the *Staatszeitung.*
19. German-English School Papers, 1865-1877. Subsequent years recorded even higher deficits, and the last available figure on the school's total indebtedness was $4,100, as reported in August 1874.
20. Ibid.
21. "Stundenpläne," in *German-English School Papers, 1881-1885.*
22. Adolf Paul Weber, *Deutsche Pioniere* (1894), p. 22, as cited in the *San Antonio Express,*

March 4, 1928, and March 29, 1929, as cited in Walter Prescott Webb, editor-in-chief, *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1952), I, 684.

Joseph Wilson

The Earliest Anglicisms in Texas German

Many people are unaware of the previous great strength of the German language in Texas. Countless thousands of Texans lived their lives until quite recently almost completely in German. There were scores of German settlements in which German was not only the home language but also to a great extent the official language of everything from baptismal certificates to grave-inscriptions. Only in the last decades, after surviving for over a hundred years, has the German language in Texas begun to decline, but the decline has been rapid, and with the current older generation, Texas German as a living language will die.

Not only did German survive in Texas for an amazing length of time, it remained astonishingly good German. This should be stressed, because when we concentrate on Anglicisms, it is only too easy to fall into the belief that Texas German is a comical hodge-podge of English and German—but such is not the case. Even the last speakers of German today, whose families have lived here for over a hundred years now, have a large German vocabulary. I think of this every time I visit a German church service, open the hymnbook and reflect upon the fact that the people present know every word of this book—much of it by heart—and the German Bible and Luther's Small Catechism. Against this background of pure High German known and used, the number of English words, while amounting to several hundred, is relatively small.

Thus forewarned, however, let us consider a random sample of the most common Anglicisms in present-day Texas German: *die Fenz, der Creek, der River, die Car, der Airplane, das Rope, der Belt, der Bucket, das Smokehaus, die Mosquito, der Store, fixen, mufen, gleichen* 'to like,' *sure, plenty.*[1]

The starting point for the present investigation was the question as to why certain English words are used and others are not. It is evident that the basic rule is "new words for new things," but the processes involved reveal themselves to be much more complicated and interesting. Even the category of "new things" breaks down right away into two major sub-categories, exemplified by *Mosquito* vs. *Car*—that is, on the one hand, things encountered in Texas which had not been known in Germany, and on the other,

new things which were not in existence a hundred years ago and which thus became known to the Texas Germans through the medium of English. But what about the other words, which at least at first glance do not seem to be new things: why do we hear *die Hosen* but *der Belt*, why *die Vorsteher* but *die Trustees*, *die Schule* but *der Store*, *das Feld* but *der Paster* 'pasture,' *die Giesskanne* but *der Bucket*? And in regard to the "new things" in Texas: Were there no German terms capable of describing them? To attempt to find answers to some of these questions, I have been searching early Texas German writings, looking for English words, Anglicized usage of German words, and Standard German usage where one might expect to find Anglicisms (an example of the latter would be *Eimer* for 'bucket'). The sources used have been early letters and travel reports (such as Ferdinand Römer's famous description of Texas)[2] and the early church records of the Wendish Germans at Serbin.[3]

In such word studies, each individual word has its own peculiar history, and tracing the usage of a single word can become a major undertaking. Within the limited scope of this article, we can only try to get some overview of the types of words first adopted from English and the processes at work. We are concerned with the interactions of English and German in Texas from the 1840s through the 1860s, but the developments outside this frame of reference cannot be ignored. Long before the German immigration into Texas, words like *Farm*, *Farmer*, and *Mister* had been taken into German to describe British or American things. Various "chronological strata" can be distinguished among them: a "Pre-American" (or "British") group (e.g., *Mister*, *Gentleman*, *Lady*, *Whisky*), and a "Pre-Texan" (or "Early-American") group (like *Farm*, *Farmer*, *Yankee*). A distinction must also be made between European German and American German: thus *Lady* is understood in Standard German, but *Fenz* only in American German. As the word *Fenz* also illustrates, many Anglicisms of Texas German are shared with so many other regions that we should call them American German. In some cases, English words that had been taken into Pennsylvania German or Missouri German, for example, may have found their way to Texas by way of individual German-Americans who came to Texas from those states or by way of correspondence. However, it is apparent from the early Texas writings that the great majority of Anglicisms of Texas German were adopted independently, although often with results spontaneously similar to those in other regions. Therefore let us return our attention to the early competition between English and German words in Texas.

The obvious first question in each case of adoption of an English word is whether the American item seemed so different from its German counterpart that the German word was not felt to be appropriate. For example, in regard to the appropriateness of certain German words, I used to think it was natural to use the English word *creek* in German rather than *Bach* (which I had learned as 'brook'), because "a creek is not a *Bach*." But did the old settlers have the same feeling? Furthermore, did people perhaps say *Bach* and *Zaun* for a while—maybe for the first generation—and then gradually replace them with *Creek* and *Fenz*? Was a *store* in Texas so different from a German store that it could not be called a *Kaufladen*? Were American *buckets* and *fences* so radically different? And how different can a *rope*

be? Surely such differences at times played a role, but any such judgment would obviously require thorough individual study. It has, for instance, been stated that *fence* (which was quickly Germanized to *(die) Fenz*, plural *Fenzen*) was used in German instead of the German *Zaun* because the reference was to barbwire fences, which were unknown in Germany. This, however, turns out to be false, since barbwire fences were similarly unknown in Texas at the time. A fence was normally a rail fence *(Riegelfenz)* or sometimes a stone fence (*Steinfenz*), both of which were known in Germany and could readily be called *Zaun* in German.[4] We do find *Zaun* in the earliest Texas-German writings, but usually accompanied (and then replaced) by *Fence/Fenz*. The most primitive kind of fence was, however, quite different: the *brush fence*, made of piled-up branches and logs. I have found only two German references to this type of fence. In the one (Römer, *Kalender*, 1918, p. 25) it is not called a *Zaun* but a *Verhau* 'barricade,' and it evidently did seem very strange to the German. In the other (*Jahrbuch*, 1941, p. 27), the writer uses the "hybrid compound" *Reiserfenz*. Such a drastically different kind of "fence" (which English speakers today would hardly call by that term) may have caused the German translations to seem inappropriate. This situation may have helped the word *Fenz* to enter into German at first, but the fact remains that the word *Zaun* was applied to the common fences, i.e., it was not that German had no appropriate word.

In the case of *die Fenz*, however, as in many of the other words, we can see a major force working in favor of the adoption of English words. The early writings testify as to how the Germans, new to the frontier, had to learn many new skills of survival from the "Americans":[5] how to build your cabin, how to camp out before it is built,[6] what structures you have to build for your animals and how to build them, etc. We can picture the "American" trying to make himself understood to the German, pointing to objects and saying, "You need a *fence* like this, and a *pen* like this," emphasizing the key words, which then naturally tended to be picked up and passed on in German. These "key words in instructions" form one of a number of subcategories of what might be called "contact words": words which were crucial to the contact situations in which the German home world met the English outer world. In many such contact words, there is also an undeniable "handiness" or brevity of the English, which contributed to their adoption in German.

In searching the old records for Anglicisms versus correct German words, two surprising facts soon assert themselves. First, the earliest writers had an amazing ability at finding German words for almost everything. They did indeed call a creek a *Bach*, a fence a *Zaun*, and a bucket an *Eimer*. They said *Strang* or *Strick* for 'rope,' *Blockhaus* for 'log cabin,' *Kaufladen* for 'store,' etc. They knew that cotton was *Baumwolle*, that corn was *Mais*, and that a jury was a *Geschworenengericht*. They knew that a cottonwood tree was a kind of *Pappel*, they rather frequently used the world *Lebenseiche* for 'live oak.'[7] Thus, in the vast majority of cases, it is not true that a German word was not available or that the German word seemed inappropriate because of the differentness of the American item. Only in a relatively few "untranslatable" plant and animal names (e.g., *mosquito, water moccasin*) did the ability to use German words break down; but even here,

we find *Wasser-Moccasin, Klapperschlange* 'rattlesnake,' and even (but not frequently) *Baumwollenbaum* 'cottonwood tree.' This ability to find German terms for almost everything, which seems so striking at first, is, upon reflection, only natural and necessary when we remember that they often were writing to be understood by Germans who spoke no English—they *had* to find German expressions. Of course, since they were experiencing these things in English, they would frequently also include the English word, e.g., "ein texanischer Kaufladen (store) sollte eigentlich alles . . . enthalten" (Bracht, *Jahrbuch*, 1932, p. 21).[8]

The second striking fact from the old records is that, while German expressions for almost everything were available, certain English words do begin to be used almost immediately (at first alongside the German equivalent) and these oldest Anglicisms are precisely some of the most prominent among the current Anglicisms: such friends as *Fenz, Creek,* and *Store.*[9] This co-existence of the German and the English words has continued to the present day; the common usage of the English word usually does not mean that the German word is unknown. Most people know words such as *Bach, Zaun,* or *Kaufladen,* but they seem "bookish" to them.

But if the German words were known and used by the early settlers, why did the English words come in at all? The main answer is that the words taken from English were the various types of "contact words." They were the words that had to be used in dealing with the Americans. There was thus a necessity to use the English forms in some situations, but there was no such necessity to use German translations when talking German, since the Germans understood these essential English words. The simplest thing to do was to use the English forms of such words in both languages. It should be remembered that the ordinary German speakers had no vital interest in the frequently heard appeals for maintaining the linguistic purity of German. Their languages were purely practical means of communication; if *Creek* was understood in German (and Wendish), so much the better.

There was still another major category of contact words—and a much less obvious one—involved in the adoption of a surprisingly large group of English words (at least twenty), which contains words as different from one another as *Store, Creek,* and *Settlement,* and helps explain why these words were borrowed. It was not, as we have seen, because German terms were unknown or too different in connotation, but simply because these English words were used in place names. And just as place names like *Houston* and *Galveston* were retained in German, so too were *Rabb's-Creek, Comal-River,* and *Catspring Settlement.* While even these usages were sometimes translated into German, yielding *Rabb's-Bach* or *Comal-Fluss,* this was clearly impractical in the case of such proper names.[10] These English place names, which existed before the German immigration, had to be used by the new arrivals from the very outset, so that *Rabb's-Creek,* for instance, immediately became a standard vocabulary item for the people who moved into the area near that creek. And the frequent use of *Rabb's-Creek* or *Pinoak-Creek* brought the word *Creek* into such common usage that it displaced *Bach* even when used alone, meaning 'creek' in general. The development from *Comal-River* and *Buffalo-Bayou* to *der River* and *der Bayou,* as general terms, was naturally similar. There is another factor involved in

these cases, also: geographical terms—descriptions of the new country—naturally tended to be taken over from the new language, and here again these would be key words in the first contacts with the Americans (asking directions, etc.). Since there were no bridges, places like *Crump's Ferry* and *Catfish Crossing* were important geographical features, and frequent references to them brought in these English words. *Das Settlement* came in because of the common usage at the time of such place names as *Catspring Settlement* and *Lewis Settlement. Das County* was adopted for similar reasons, and also because it was a rather different political unit (nevertheless, it is surprising to see how often the German words *Grafschaft,* and even *Kanton* and *Kreis,* were used for 'county').[11] A side-arm of a creek is called a *branch,* so place names like *Wolfs-Branch,* which were very common as designations of geographical location at the time, introduced *die Branch* into German (but only in this special sense; for 'branch of a tree,' the German word *Ast* was retained). *Die Branch* was, from the earliest usage on, feminine, but the reason for this gender is not readily apparent. In most cases, the gender is due to the German equivalent or to the ending of the English word, thus *der Creek* because of *der Bach,* and *das Settlement* because German words ending in *-ment* are neuter.[12] Speakers of German, of course, are unaware of these mental processes, which usually guide them intuitively to the attachment of the "correct" gender ("correct" in that they consistently use the same gender for the word, and in that the gender agrees with that assigned the word by other German speakers).

We might not realize, at first, that such less "geographical" words as *der Store* and *die Mill/Mühle* (i.e., 'sawmill') and *die Gin* (or, more Germanized, *Ginne*) 'cottongin,' belong in this same "place-name" category, but such terms as *Krueger's Store, Roeder's Mill,* and *Schmidt's Gin* were also key geographical place names. Names like *Hortontown* brought in *Town* in the specialized sense of 'business center of the settlement,' so that we may read "sie wohnt in Serbin-Town," but this usage was rare, and *Town* did not displace *Stadt* as the common word.[13] Even these place names were naturally at first often not understood by the German speaker, so that we find (in the Serbin records) such renderings as *Rauen Top* (for 'Round Top') and *Possum Ben* (for 'Possum Bend'), while *Branch* is spelled *Bränsch,* then *Bränsh* and *Bransh* before reaching the correct spelling after eight years. Such place names were obviously being reported orally to the pastor (John Kilian), who did his best to reproduce the strange new words in writing.[14]

Another such adoption of Anglicized usage via place names produced the usage of *Platz* in the sense of 'farm,' from names like *Fordtran's Place,* which was translated to *Fordtrans Platz.* This illustrates another general principle: if there was a German word available which was similar in sound and meaning to the English contact word, the German word was usually expanded ("loan-shifted") into the new meaning, rather than borrowing the English word (other examples are *Meile, Fuss, Acker*).

The two most unusual geographical features of the Texas landscape were the vast, tree-less *prairies* and the contrasting, heavily forested *bottoms* (river bottom lands), which dominated the countryside and the lives of the inhabitants. In these the geographical uniqueness and awesomeness, combined with their frequent use as place names (e.g., *Houston Prairie* or

Brazos Bottom), caused the adoption of the English words. The Germans had already had a Germanized form of *prairie (Prärie,* accented on the second syllable) in their "Pre-Texan" Anglicisms, but *bottom* caused a good deal of groping at first, in the search for a German term: *Thalsohle* (with the *h* of the nineteenth-century spelling), *Ufergrund, Flussgebiet, Flussniederung.* However, these German equivalents, though often used, were, from the outset, almost always accompanied by the English term, and very quickly practicality dictated the use of the English word alone: *der Bottom,* which later became *der Botten.*[15]

In the realm of weather, the Texas *norther,* which without warning sent the temperatures from the 80s to below freezing, impressed itself on the German mind and vocabulary more than anything else (in contrast, the oppressive heat is rarely mentioned). While we frequently find the term translated as *Nordsturm* and *Nordwind,* the English word—as we would expect—was soon adopted: *der Norther (Norder).*[16]

In regard to the assimilation of English words into German the old German handwriting usually gives us crucial information because it often used a different style of writing for foreign words than for German ones.[17] Traditionally, German was written in the elegant old *deutsche Schrift* (which has now been given up in Germany), but "Latin" handwriting (such as we use for English and as is now generally used in Germany) was also used for special effect, such as the setting-off of proper names and foreign words (similar to our "italics" in printing). The English words adopted into German tended, of course, to become more and more Germanized in the course of time, taking on German pronunciation and inflection (e.g., *die Gin* becoming *die Ginne,* with Germanized plural *Ginnen*), and the final stage of assimilation was reached when the word was written in German handwriting, showing clearly that the word was no longer felt to be English. This differentiation in handwriting consequently gives us a remarkable insight into the linguistic feeling of the writer and the history of the individual word. Thus, in relatively recent letters (from the 1960s), one reads *Stor* 'store,' with Germanized pronunication (i.e., with initial *sht*-sound) and spelling, but still in English writing, showing it still to be perceived as English, despite a century of everyday usage. Contrariwise, *mufen* 'to move' has received the final blessing of being written in German handwriting, clearly indicating that it is felt to be a German word. The distinction in handwriting was made even in the parts of a "hybrid compound" word, like *Storehalter* or *Schwein(e)pen;* the German part is in German letters and the English part in Latin letters. The same distinctions could also be made in printed works, using *Fraktur* (or "Gothic") vs. Latin type; however, the Texas-German newspapers unfortunately generally used *Fraktur* for everything.[18]

English and German words often are very similar in sound and meaning, for example, *Meile/mile, Interesse/interest, Korn/corn.* Very frequently, the borrowing of an English word or the Anglicized use of a German word involves a "merger" of two such forms. Since the spelling of an English word may be Germanized (often unwittingly), as in the example *Stor,* it is often only the Latin or German handwriting which informs us of the perception of the words as English or German. Thus, if we found *Korn* written in

Latin letters, we would know the writer meant the English word *corn*, and had simply misspelled it.

The just-mentioned *mufen* 'to move one's dwelling' is one of the best-known modern Anglicisms, and yet one of the most puzzling. It hardly ever occurs in the early writings, so it evidently belongs to a later stratum. However, a good deal of light is shed on the matter by one of the early writers: "Von dem Amerikaner heisst es, er *moved* ['moves'], d.h. er zieht weiter in die Einsamkeit, sobald er den Rauch aus seines Nachbars Schornstein aufsteigen sehen kann" (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 29). That is to say, "movin' on" was an American frontier custom.

The Germans naturally had to deal in *dollars* and *cents* and *acres* and *feet*, etc. when they came to America. Such units of measurement and currency account for many of the oldest loanwords. But here, too, each word has its own development. *Dollar* was readily identified with the German *Thaler* (again, with the *h* of the nineteenth-century spelling); the two words sound very much alike, and even their monetary value was roughly the same. The similarity of *dollar* and *Thaler* is an example of the "merger" situation mentioned above; at first *Thaler* was used in the sense of 'dollar,'[19] but soon the English word won out. However, the unchanged German plural form (as in *500 Dollar*, which is the modern Standard German usage) competed with the English *s*-plural for many years and finally replaced it. The logical German mind did not take to the rather absurd symbol *$*, commonly using rather *Doll.* or *D.* (e.g., Luhn, *Jahrbuch*, 1925, pp. 36 f.). *Cent* had no ready German equivalent or translation; we might expect to find *Pfennig* 'penny,' but do not. The English word was borrowed, given German pronunciation (i.e., initial *ts*-sound) and gender (*der Cent*). As in the case of *Dollar*, for a long time the English *s*-plural competed with the Germanized unchanged plural, until the latter won out (e.g., *25 Cent*). Reckoning in *bits—two-bits* '25 cents,' *four-bits* '50 cents,' etc., has always struck a nostalgic chord within me, and *zwei-Bit, vier-Bit* were always among my favorite Texas Germanisms. Not surprisingly, these terms were used very much in early Texas, and we find a few such Germanized usages in the early writings, e.g., "alles kostet zwei Bit(s)," (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 20), usually with an explanation that a bit is the eighth part of a dollar.

As with *dollar*, the English word *mile* had a German equivalent, *Meile*, which, however, was equivalent in length to four or five English miles (varying from one German state to another), so that there was a bit of a problem with the meaning. Contrary to the *dollar/Thaler* merger, which produced a Germanized *Dollar*, in this case the German word, *Meile*, almost immediately carried the day. The oldest writers did have to say *englische Meilen* because of the great difference in distance, but soon this distinction was no longer necessry, a *Meile* being taken to mean the English distance. In all these cases it is striking to note that the language usage settled on almost immediately by the earliest immigrants has been maintained with few changes to the present.

The German terms *der Fuss* and *der Zoll* were commonly used units of measurement and thus served as ready translations for *foot* and *inch*, and in these cases (as with *Meile*) the English words were not taken into German. The situation was similar for *das Pfund* and *die Unze*, which served for

pound and *ounce*, but the German *Elle* was only rarely used for *yard;* instead, from the very beginning, *die Yard* was used. *Die Gallone* was used in German to translate the English *gallon*, possibly pre-dating the Texas era. However, *pint* and *quart* were new and were immediately adopted (as feminines, like *die Gallone*).

A unit of measurement that was very important in early Texas was the *league* of land (4400 acres, originally from the Spanish); here the German usage vacillated between the straight use of the English word and the "loan-shift" of the German word *Liga*, which meant 'league' in the sense of 'society' or 'union.' Similarly important was the *grant*, which was sometimes translated as *Landschenkung* or *Landbewilligung (Jahrbuch*, 1927, p. 32), but, not surprisingly, usually simply adopted as *der Grant*. The adoption of these words, again, was aided by their use in place names (e.g., *Horton League* or *Fisher-Miller Grant*).

The most common term of land area was, of course, the *acre*, which had a German cognate in *der Acker*. The latter had as its normal primary meaning 'tilled field' (plural *Äcker)*, but it was also an old, fluctuating unit of area (plural *Acker*, as in *50 Acker)* quite similar to *acre*, and could be specified as *englische Acker*. In American German, however, *Acker* became so widely used as the term of measurement ('acre'), that it was no longer used for 'tilled field' (for which, then, *Feld* was employed).

While most of the early immigrants were rural people and thoroughly acquainted with German farm nomenclature, a few farm words were immediately adopted from English, for reasons already noted. While sometimes the items were new or different, it was mainly because the words were "key words" learned from the Americans, sometimes aided by the fact that some of them were shorter ("handier") than the German equivalents. The American farm had to have a fenced-off area around the house because the cattle were allowed to roam free, giving rise to *die Yard* and *die Yardfenz*. But the newcomers were instructed that if they kept the calves in a *pen*, the cows would not stray too far; thus, we find *die Pen* (later Germanized to *Penne*), *Kälberpen*, and also *Schweinpen*.[20] Also new was *das Smokehaus;* some early reports used *Räucherraum*, but only rarely. *Corncrib* became *die Kornkrippe*, or just *Krippe*, which for many people then became the common word for 'barn.'

The fact that the lumber for building had to be cut at *die Mill (Mühle)*, which was run by Americans, resulted in another contact situation, which helps account for the early use of *Logs*, *Boards*, and *Frame* (as in *Framehaus*). The "instructions" factor must have also been at work here, because the Germans had to learn how to build their cabins from the Americans.[21] The peculiarities of the cabin would also account for the adoption of such terms as *die Halle* 'hall(way),' originally a kind of 'breezeway,' and *die Gallerie*[22] 'porch, gallery' (the latter being the more common Texas-English word at the time). These last two words are again "loan-shifts" of old German words to slightly altered meanings. Although *Logs*, *Boards*, and *Frame* were used almost immediately, in these cases the German words (*Baumstämme* or *Bäume*, *Bretter*, *Holz-* or *hölzern*) always continued to compete (as opposed to the "Creek/Fenz" category), and many other English building terms were never used (e.g., we do not find *shingles* or *beams*, only

Schindeln and *Balken*). I certainly would have expected to find such a technical term as *penny* in *10-penny-nails* borrowed, but for years only the German *10-Spänner-Nägel* was used. (I only found the term in the Serbin records.)

In the same way that English must often have been necessary in dealings at the sawmill, it must have frequently been so with other commercial transactions. "Store-bought items" could be considered another sub-category of contact words, accounting (at least in part) for words like *Bucket, Belt,* and *Rope.*

Another very different category, which shall only be briefly mentioned here, consists of what might be called "Cowboy and Indian" terms. Most of these (including *der Cowboy* and *der Indianer,* themselves) pre-date the immigration to Texas: e.g., *die Rifle, der Mokassin, der Skalp, die Squaw, der Halfbreed.* A few are apparently more specifically Texan: *das Bowie-Knife (Bowie-Messer), der Lasso, der Mustang, das/der Palaver.* Most of these words, however, soon passed out of the Texas-German vocabulary again, as the Indian era passed.[23]

Political subdivisions and public offices form a large category of words which we would only expect to be borrowed into German, and which shall not be dealt with here, except to note (as we have seen in the case of *county*) that German words were used in a surprising number of instances: *Mayor* alternated with *Bürgermeister, Stadträthe* with *Councilmen, Friedensrichter* with *Justice of the Peace.*[24] There are many other interesting members of this category, but let me mention only the Texas Rangers, which led to *der Ranger* (sometimes with German plural without *-s*), but for which Römer found (*Kalender,* 1912, p. 17) an excellent German translation: *Grenzjäger* (which in both older and modern German has connotations approximating those of the U.S. Marine Corps!).

I have long been acquainted with *die Trustees* as church officials, but I would have assumed it to be one of the later borrowings from English. It was surprising, however, to find *die Trustees* in the oldest Serbin records—and only this word in English, all the other offices and church terms in German. But the pre-Texas Serbin records have no similar office, only the *Vorsteher* 'elders.' Then it became apparent that when (in Texas) the church purchased land, borrowed money, or otherwise entered into legal transactions, it was the trustees who signed for the church. That is to say, Texas law required the institution of trustees, and with the office came the word. The general category represented here is that which we might call "legal technicalities," implying more than just a new legal term, but rather also the underlying necessary legal action. Another important member of this group is *der Deed.*

There is much more that could be said about the usage of every word that has been discussed here, and there are many words which have not even been mentioned. However, most of the major categories of the earliest Anglicisms have at least been touched on, as well as the principal factors tending to encourage the use of Anglicisms by the old settlers. The primacy of the category of "contact words" and its sub-category "place names" has been demonstrated. It should also be noted that the earliest Anglicisms are almost without exception nouns—as contact words and "new things" would

naturally be. In contrast, the now common verbs, adverbs, and adjectives (e.g., *gleichen, plenty, sure, pink*) are completely lacking; they represent a later group, whose incorporation is yet to be explored.

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Notes

1. The articles are usually appended to the Anglicized nouns because they illustrate the gender. There have been many treatises dealing with Anglicisms in various forms of American German, but—although there is a great deal of common ground—only a few based on Texas German, e.g., Glenn Gilbert, "English Loanwords in the German of Fredericksburg, Texas," *American Speech* 40 (1965), 102-112; Gilbert Jordan, "The Texas German of the Western Hill Country," *Rice University Studies*, 63, No. 3 (1977), 59-71. The processes involved, and even to a surprising extent the very words themselves (e.g., *fence*), apply also to the other immigrant languages in America; see, for example, Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing," *Language* 26 (1950), 210-231; also the literature cited throughout Gilbert's article.

2. As reprinted (in excerpts, in the case of longer works) in various issues of the *Kalender* (later *Jahrbuch) der Neu-Braunfelser Zeitung* (hereafter referred to as *Kalender* or *Jahrbuch*), which has been a most valuable resource for this study. Besides excerpts from Ferdinand Römer's *Texas* (Bonn: Marcus, 1849), those I will cite are mostly from Viktor Bracht's *Texas in Jahre 1848* (Elberfeld: Bädeker, 1849), and F. W. Luhn's *Bericht über seine Erfahrungen in Texas* (Itzehoe: Schönfeldt, 1849). Although Römer's book is also available to me in the original, Bracht and Luhn are not; for the sake of uniformity, I will cite all three (and a number of others) as reprinted in the *Kalender/Jahrbuch*. I have also made extensive corroborative comparisons in the original printings of several other early sources (e.g., Solms-Braunfels, Ehrenberg, Scherpf), which I hope to use at a later time.

3. Serbin Records, Archives of the Texas District Office of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, Austin, Texas. The Texas Wends, who immigrated in 1854, were a bilingual group; their home language was at first mainly Wendish (Slavic), but soon became mostly German; however, German always predominated as their written language, and the Serbin records are nearly all in quite good German. See George R. Nielsen, *In Search of a Home: the Wends (Sorbs) on the Australian and Texas Frontier*, Birmingham [England] Slavonic Monographs, No. 1 (1977).

4. See the older editions of the encyclopedia *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, (e.g., 6. Aufl., 1908 ff.), under *Zaun*.

5. From the earliest times (e.g., Römer, *Jahrbuch*, 1926, p. 59), down to the recent past, the Texas Germans have regularly referred to "Anglos" as *Amerikaner*. The more exact term *Anglo-Amerikaner* is confined to a few literary instances.

6. Note *das Camp, campieren, campen, kämpen*, all common in the early writings.

7. Most of these words can be commonly found in the early writings; see, for example, *Kalender*, 1915, pp. 24 ff. (Römer), and *Jahrbuch*, 1934, pp. 19 ff. (Bracht).

8. Actually, we should distinguish two basic types of readers for whom the early writings were meant: the Germans in Germany, to whom such words as *Store* and *Fenz/Fence* were unknown and had to be translated or explained, and those in Texas (or America, generally), to whom the words were very quickly familiar. In the latter case, adding the English contact word was often a necessity: if a person was writing his relatives, for instance, and telling them how to get to a certain place, they had to be told how to ask about a certain creek, how to interpret the word "Store" on a sign, etc.

9. But not, however, *gleichen, fixen, sure*, and *plenty*, which do not appear at all in the early writings. These represent a completely different category: a later stratum, which will not be treated in this article.

10. At times even the attributive part of the name was translated; *Bären-Creek* 'Bear Creek,' *Viermeilen-Creek* 'Four Mile Creek,' and *Zauberberg/Zauberfelsen* 'Enchanted Rock' were fairly common, and Römer (*Texas*, p. 7) even has such as *Dreieinigkeits-Fluss* 'Trinity River.' The general importance of place names in the propagation of English words is vividly demonstrated in Karl Solms-Braunfels' *Texas* (Frankfurt am Main: Sauerländer, 1846), where,

after a first explanation that *Creek* means 'Bach,' etc., the regular usage is *Creek* in place names but *Bach* as common noun.

11. *Kanton* is common in Bracht, (*Jahrbuch*, 1932, pp. 16 ff.); Römer (*Jahrbuch*, 1926, pp. 58 ff.) uses mostly *Kreis*, but also *Kanton*.

12. The reasons for the German gender have been much discussed in the linguistic literature; see, for example, Michael Clyne, *Perspectives on Language Contact* (Melbourne: Hawthorn, 1972), p. 15, and the references given there.

13. However, the English idioms *in town* and *to town* later gave rise to the common Anglicized phrases *in Stadt* and *nach Stadt*, and the generalized English use of *town* to mean also 'village' must have been decisive in the similar usage of *Stadt* in Texas German, leading to the loss of the word *Dorf*.

14. See *Jahrbuch*, 1943, pp. 72 ff. ("Das Konto-Buch eines Pionier-Geschäftsmannes"), for many similar instances of grappling with English words: *"weid Vine," "drayd Appels,"* etc., and names like *"Haneri Galhuhn"* ('Henry Calhoun').

15. The majesty of the prairies and the bottoms finds frequent expression in the early sources. Regarding the bottoms, see Römer, (*Jahrbuch*, 1929, pp. 53 ff.), where we also see the characteristic rapid shift from German descriptive renderings like *Thalsohle* to simply *der Bottom*. As to the prairies, see Römer (*Kalender*, 1915, p. 28) and Charles Sealsfield's famous tribute to the endless, awesome beauty of the Texas prairie in *Die Prärie am Jacinto* (a part of *Das Cajütenbuch* [Zürich: Schulthess, 1841]). The prairies and bottoms were often impassable in wet weather and the cause of great vexation; also, the common prairie fires were a constant threat, but they offered a grandiose spectacle, especially at night, when they lit the heavens (*Jahrbuch*, 1941, p. 31).

16. For examples of the words used and for descriptions of the terror of the norther, see Römer, (*Kalender*, 1914, p. 61), and Kapp (*Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 23); in the latter, we even learn: "beim Norther missräth alles Brod in ganz Texas" ('when a norther comes, all the bread in all Texas is ruined [fails to rise]').

17. My experience is based mainly on the writing practice of Pastor Kilian (in the Serbin records) and that of my mother-in-law, Emma Zoch Herbrich (a century later). I have also compared the Library of Congress manuscript of Gustav Dresel's *Tagebuch*, where the same distinctions are made, but not so rigorously (an English word used repeatedly may, in later instances, be written in German script). Dresel's first mention of *Alligator*, for instance, is in Latin script, showing that he considered the word to be English (it is now common in Standard German).

18. Römer's *Texas*, for instance, makes the distinction, putting English words in Latin letters, but generally only on first occurrence. In the *Kalender/Jahrbuch* reprints, however, everything has been put into *Fraktur*.

19. Cf. *Jahrbuch*, 1936, p. 17: "Ich will jetzt statt Dollar Thaler schreiben, hier versteht man unter Thaler immer Dollar" ('I will now write Thaler instead of Dollar, here everybody takes Thaler to mean Dollar').

20. For an excellent general description of the frontier Texas farm, using most of these words, see *Jahrbuch*, 1925, pp. 38 ff. (Luhn).

21. Luhn (see note 20) also gives a good description of how to build a log cabin, where most of the following building terms can be found. Solms-Braunfels, *Texas*, pp. 91 ff., has a similar description, but uses no English words.

22. Early nineteenth-century spelling; later *Galerie*.

23. Most of these can be found in *Jahrbuch*, 1933, pp. 59 ff. (Römer). They are also common in such "literary" Texas German as Sealsfield's *Cajütenbuch* (see note 15).

24. Luhn (*Jahrbuch*, 1925, p. 31) gives a typical mixture; Römer (*Kalender*, 1914, p. 19), discussing an election of county officials, uses German words for all the offices, appending (at first mention) the English terms in parentheses. The terms were, of course, basically English, the offices being required by Texas law.

Werner Enninger and
Joachim Raith

Linguistic Modalities of Liturgical Registers: The Case of the Old Order Amish (O.O.A.) Church Service[1]

0. Introduction

Despite the wide interest of ethnographers in religious ceremonies and rituals, only few detailed linguistic analyses of verbal behavior in ceremonial and ritual events or methodological inquiries into the linguistic parameters of such genres have been undertaken.[2] With regard to the O.O.A., linguistic studies (in the stricter sense) focusing on ceremonial events are nonexistent. Yet, extant sociological and anthropological literature provides valuable clues to verbal behavior in the speech events of the speech situation *church service*, without, however, giving detailed linguistic analyses. Hostetler's notation of the O.O.A. preaching style, presented in analogy to musical notation, is a valuable data base, which is, however, not fully exploited in the ensuing analysis: "Delivery of the sermon falls into a stylized pattern. Somewhat like a chant, the preacher's voice rises to a rather high pitch; then, at the end of each phrase, it suddenly drops."[3] Huntington's analysis is even briefer: "The minister usually preaches in a rather unnatural voice, that has some of the intonations of a chant and carries well . . . Apparently, this stylized form of oratory is preferred to preaching in an ordinary speaking voice."[4] The paucity of facts in such statements, and the sketchy analyses are no doubt due to an overriding sociological and/or anthropological research interest of such publications. At the same time, however, the universal scarcity of linguistic analyses in the field of ritual and ceremonial speech appears to be due to the absence of a set of analytical concepts and notational devices that might permit the categorization and representation of "all levels and means of message production. This includes what might be called metarhythmic and metatonal (hence, musical) structures that serve to reinforce structures developed in other ways."[5]

1. Goal

This paper seeks first to contribute to the question of what exactly constitutes the linguistic distinctiveness[6] of the speech events *sermon* and

prayer of the speech situation *O.O.A. church service.* This paper seeks second to devise a notation which permits to relate the raw data of sermon and prayer a) to other speech events of the speech situation *church service,* and b) to profane everyday speech events of the O.O.A. culture and across its boundaries. This paper seeks third to interpret the descriptive results with regard to their societal functions.

2. Structural analysis

2.0. Definitions

In accordance with Turner[7] a distinction is made between a ritual event and a ceremonial event. The socially approved activities of a ritual event are associated with social transition from one status to another (*rites de passage:* birth, baptism, marriage, death, graduation, promotion, *vous-tu passage),* while those of a ceremonial event are associated with the confirmation of a societal status quo (devotion, prayer, church service). The purpose of ritual is transformative, the purpose of ceremony is confirmatory. The church service is thus defined as a ceremonial event.

For the purposes of this study the ceremonial event *church service* as defined by anthropology is conceived of as a speech situation in terms of the ethnography of communication. The speech situation *church service* is defined as an institutionalized, stable, culture-specific (emic) face-to-face interaction pattern of interrelated verbal and non-verbal components, (a) which is rule-governed as to spatio-temporal settings, participants' roles, channels, codes, message forms and topics, (b) which derives its structural stability from a tradition considered as sacred, and (c) whose performance within the acceptable allo-range constitutes the act of confirmation of the socioreligious status quo.

The verbal components of this speech situation ((1) hymn-singing, (1.1) council meeting, embedded in (1) as to time, (2) introductory sermon, (3) prayer, (4) Scripture reading, (5) main sermon, (6) Scripture reading with comments, (7) testimonies, (8) closing remarks, (9) prayer, (10) benediction, (11) announcements, (12) hymn singing)[8] are defined as speech events. Each of these speech events in turn consists of one or more speech acts in Hymes' (not Austin's) sense.

This study focuses on the linguistic modalities of the speech events *sermon* and *prayer.* The set of distinctive linguistic features of a speech event will be called the modality of the speech event. Following Crystal,[9] it is assumed that the distinctive modality of a spoken variety of language lies mainly in its characteristic use of prosodic (and paralinguistic) features. Therefore, we shall analyze our samples on the basis of the more specific assumption that they are "organized into prosodic systems of pitch-direction, pitch-range, loudness, tempo, rhythmicality, and pause,"[10] of which the first three appear to be the most relevant features in the case under investigation. In the case of multilingual speech communities, the distribution of the varieties of the verbal repertoire over the speech events is assumed to contribute to the distinctive features of the respective modalities. In the case of ceremonial speech situations and speech events, the linguistic distinctiveness is further enhanced by the incidence of then-coded texts which tend to reoccur in the periodical repetitions of the speech situations.

2.1. Prosodic analysis

It should be remembered that prosodic variables are typically continuous rather than discrete, not falling into clearly distinct and internally homogeneous classes. Therefore, the identification of the "high:mid:low" variants of the variable pitch-level, for example, is highly subjective. The following statements should, therefore, be taken to refer to focal points of perception of variations in a continuum, rather than to discrete classes free from overlap.

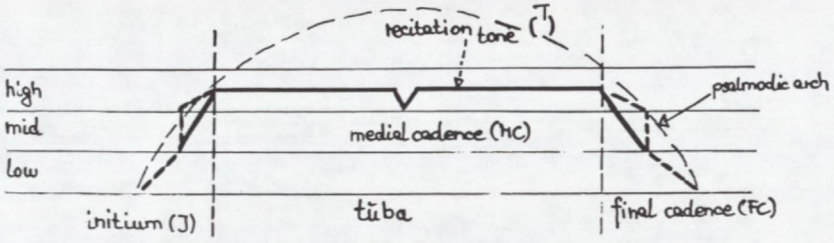
2.1.1. Prosodic modality of the speech event *sermon*

On the basis of prosodic characteristics, the O.O.A. sermon can be analyzed into (at least) two contrasting segment types: *psalmody* and *declamatory speech* (cf. transcriptions I-III).

2.1.1.1. Psalmody

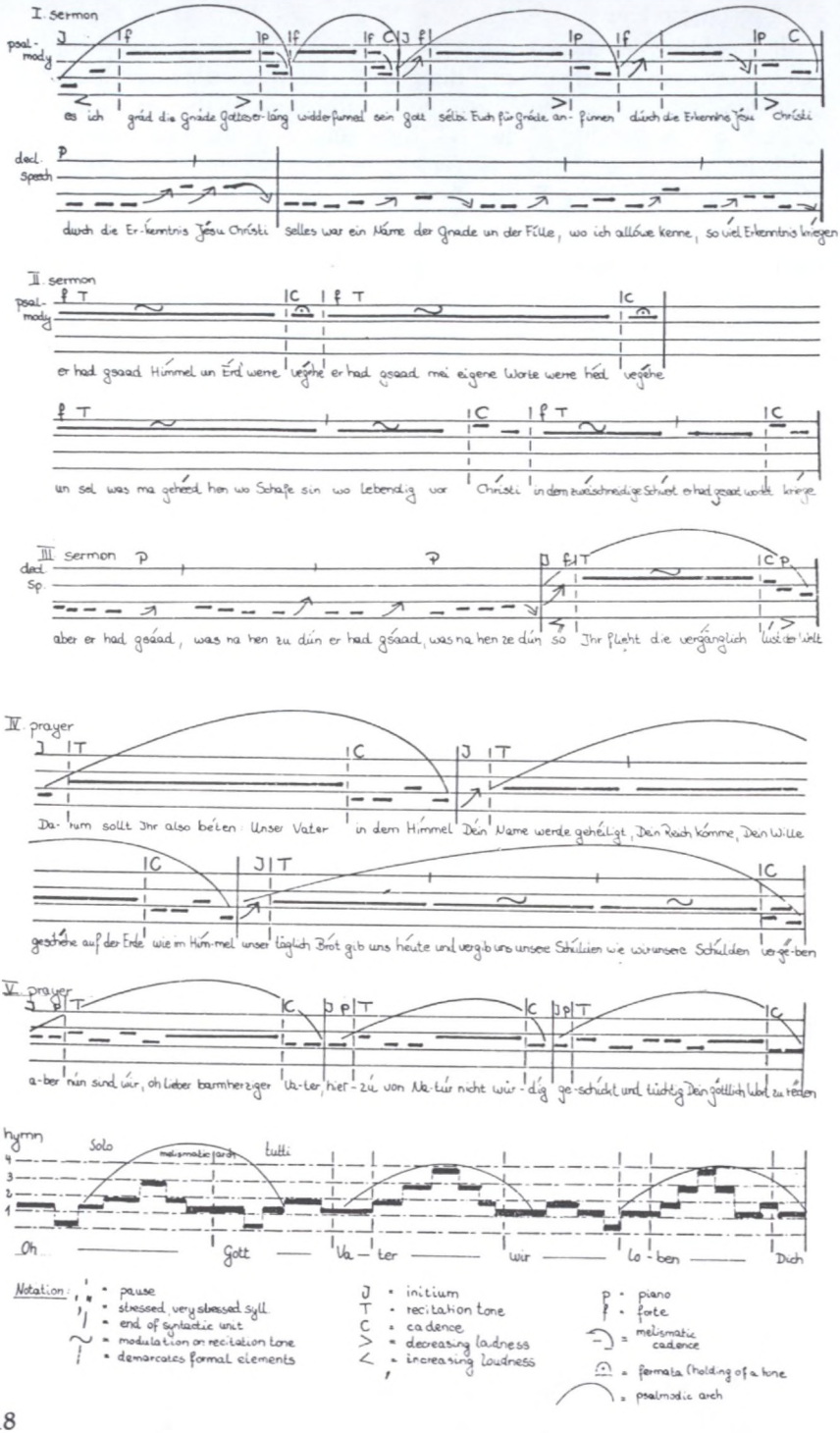
The term *psalmody* is preferred to the (intuitive) label *chant*, because it is a) better defined and b) admits of relating our findings to historical models, which also underlie Burkhart's[11] analysis of the hymn singing event of the O.O.A. church service.

The psalmody segments are assumed to be replicas of the (medieval) psalmody model: "Anfangs- und Schlußformel und dazwischen einen durchgehaltenen Rezitationston."[12]



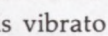
The psalmodic arch spans the components of the psalmody model. Initium, medial cadence and final cadence vary with the rhythmic structure of their verbal fillers. Thus, one can find one-step to three-step initia and cadences (cf. transcription III). The preacher aims at a specific recitation pitch level—in our cases the high pitch level. Once this recitation tone (T) has been reached, there are predominantly level tones; in other words, the pitch range in the tuba is restricted. Pitch movement occurs only in the initium (I) and the cadences (C).

In the first line of example I, there is an upward pitch movement in the second and third initium. The cadences here contain melismatic tones, i.e., more than one tone per syllable: [⁀]. The degree of loudness varies from a rapid crescendo to forte in the initium [<], a forte sustained through the recitation tone [f], and a decrescendo to piano in the cadences, notated [>].

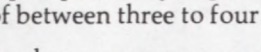

I. sermon
psal-mody
es ich grád die Gnáde Gottesvor-láng widderfurmet sein Gott séllst Euch für Gnáde an- finnen dúrch die Erkennins Jésu Christi
decl. Speech
durch die Er-kenntnis Jésu Christi selles war ein Náme der Gnade un der Fülle, wo ich allóue kenne, so viel Erkenntnis liegen
II. sermon
psal-mody
er had gsaad Himmel un Érd were vegéhe er had gsaad mei eigene Worte were blébt vegéhe
un sel was ma geheed hen wo Schafe sin wo Lebendig vor Christi in dem zweschneidige Schwert er had gsaat wordt kriege
III. sermon
decl. Sp.
aber er had gsáad, was na hen zu dún er had gsáad, was na hen ze dún so Ihr flieht die vergánglich Lust der Welt
IV. prayer
Da-rum sollt Ihr also béten Unser Vater in dem Himmel Dein Name werde geheiligt, Dein Reich komme, Dein Wille
geschéhe auf der Erde wie im Him-mel unser täglich Brot gib uns héute und vergib uns unsere Schúlden wie wir unsere Schúldnern vergé-ben
V. prayer
a-ber nún sind wir, oh Lieber barmherzger Va-ter, hier-zú von Na-túr nicht wür-dig ge-schickt und tüchtig Dein göttlich Lobe zu trésten
VI. hymn
Solo
melismatic/ornate
tutti
Oh Gott Va-ter wir lo-ben Dich
Notation:
' = pause
, = stressed, very stressed syll.
/ = end of syntactic unit
~ = modulation on recitation tone
! = demarcates formal elements
J = initium
T = recitation tone
C = cadence
> = decreasing loudness
< = increasing loudness
p = piano
f = forte
melismatic cadence
= formata (holding of a tone)
= psalmodic arch

The second example of a psalmody segment of the sermon (transcription II) represents a variant insofar as the recitation tone is immediately reached so that there is no initium; junctures have three prosodic exponents: a) short pauses notated as ['], b) a fermata, i.e., the holding of a tone notated as [], and c) modulation of the recitation tone notated as [] (cf. line 2, "Christi"). The modulation of the recitation tone (notated as []) produces the voice quality called vibrato. From an intra-group perspective this vibrato is sometimes taken as an indicator of *eifrig* 'heated' preaching.

The tempo of delivery is increased. Kendon[13] found a speech rate of 2.03 syllables per half second for the English dialogues he analyzed. On the basis of the few taped psalmody segments made available to us we estimate a speech rate of between three to four syllables per half second.

Hesitation phenomena are very rare. The few hesitations observed in the psalmody segments were typically not "unfilled," or filled with hesitation noises such as "er, mm," but hesitations filled with repeated phrases, so as to keep up the psalmody tuba and final cadence: "Wann mir die Worte nit fehle taete [– – – – – – – – – –], wann mir die Worte nit fehle taete []." The scarcity of hesitation phenomena is plausible in the light of findings by Goldman-Eisler[14]: Periods of fluent speech correspond to the repetition of then-coded texts (Biblical quotations) and formulaic expressions conventionalized for the delivery of sermons (cf. 2.3).

2.1.1.2. Declamatory speech

Declamatory speech is characterized first by lower pitch levels, i.e., low to mid pitch, as a rule, second by the fact that the preacher does not aim at a specific, constant recitation tone, and third by the incidence of pitch movement on stressed syllables []. Syntactic units are marked by stress and pauses (cf. transcription I, line 2; transcription III). In comparison with the psalmody segments, the tempo of delivery and loudness are reduced to "normal." Hesitation phenomena are rare and take similar fillers as the psalmody segments.

Transcription III provides an opportunity for summarizing the above statements concerning the prosodic modality of the speech event *sermon.* Declamatory speech is performed on the low to mid pitch level; pitch movement takes place on stressed syllables; prosodic patterns coincide with syntactic patterns; there are neither melismatic tones, nor vibrato modulations; loudness and tempo of delivery are also "normal." By contrast, the second section of transcription III can be taken as a replica of the psalmody model: an initium with a one-step pitch movement to the high level, and with a rapid crescendo to forte loudness; a tuba with a forte recitation tone on the high-pitch level, accompanied by vibrato modulations; a cadence with a three-step pitch movement to mid-pitch level and with a descrescendo.

2.1.2. Prosodic modality of the speech event *prayer*

Examples IV and V are transcriptions of prayer. Both can be taken as replicas of the psalmody model; in both cases, however, the overall pitch level is lower than in the psalmody segments of the sermon, insofar as mid pitch predominates. Example V represents an interesting variant insofar as two alternating level tones are used in the tuba, namely the recitation tone and a tone one third lower. The wave-like alternating application of the two tones produces the impression of regularity of form. The speaker also contracts syllables so as to adjust the words to the prosodic pattern, which again contributes to the impression of regularity. When comparing the sermon and prayer modalities as to loudness and tempo, both parameters are clearly reduced to "lower" and "slower" in the prayer modality. They rank between the "normal" degree of declamatory speech on the one hand, and the "increased" degree of the psalmody segments of the sermon on the other. "Slightly increased" or "normal plus" appear to be the appropriate intuitive labels.

2.1.3. Prosodic modality of the speech event *hymn singing*

The inclusion of hymn singing in a study that focuses on the modalities of speech events is defended on the basis of the assumption that all of the musical and some of the verbal events of the O.O.A. church service share the psalmodic arch. The initium, the tuba, and the final cadence of the psalmody sections of the sermon and of the prayer can be conceived as melodic arches. The presence of such melodic arches in the hymn singing can be thrown into sharper profile when the musical notation[15] is replaced by a compromise notation integrating pitch levels of spoken language into the basic format of musical notation of language that is sung (cf. transcription VI). This reflects the impression of coherence among these otherwise distinct modalities, and in turn contributes to the acoustic impression of an overall harmony of the total ceremonial event. Beyond this shared basic pattern, the hymn singing shows a bundle of prosodic features that distinguishes it from other psalmodic events of the church service. First of all, the psalmodic arch itself appears in the variant of a melismatic arch, which is developed by the recurrent pitch movement on one syllable,[16] as for example by the six movements on the second syllable of *Va*ter. Second, a much wider range of pitch is exploited, sometimes by extreme pitch movements on a single syllable. Third, the tempo of delivery is extremely slow. Taking Hostetler's observation,[17] namely that the singing of the 162 syllables of the *Loblied/Lobgesang (Ausbund:* p. 770) takes between eleven and twenty minutes, we get a mean of between 0.12 and 0.07 syllables per half second. Our data show a similar trend: The singing of the transcribed first line of the *Loblied* (transcription VI) takes about 25 seconds, whereas a comparable text segment of the sermon performed in the psalmody modality takes about three to four seconds. Taking these figures only as estimates, it is safe to say that the tempo of delivery of the hymns deviates far enough from "normal" so as to be perceived as emically distinct. Comparing the psalmody sections of the sermon and the hymn singing with regard to tempo of delivery, both clearly deviate from "normal," yet in opposite directions.

With regard to the variable loudness the hymn singing is hard to com-

pare with the other speech events of the church service, because it is the only event delivered in tutti fashion.

In summing up the analysis it is suggested that the prosodic modalities of the speech events of the O.O.A. church service can be distinguished with the help of the parameters 1. pitch range, 2. pitch change, 3. tempo, and 4. loudness.

prosodic modalities of events / prosodic parameters	sermon		prayer	hymn
	psalmody	decl. speech		
pitch range	high (to mid)	low (to mid)	mid	unrestricted
pitch change	level tones prevail	pitch movement on accented syllables	level tones prevail	extreme pitch movement on one syllable
tempo	increased	normal	slightly increased	extremely slow
loudness	increased	normal	normal (to slightly increased)	(not comparable)

Each of the speech events analyzed can be assigned a unique bundle of prosodic features, i.e., a distinctive prosodic modality. Furthermore, three events, namely the sermon psalmody, the prayer and the hymn have prosodic modalities which set them clearly apart from normal everyday speech. With reference to the theory of markedness[18] one might say that these speech events are marked as non-everyday events by their prosodic modalities. Further analysis will have to show whether or not declamatory speech shares its prosodic "unmarkedness" with other speech events of the church service, such as the turn-taking negotiation in the council meeting *(Abrath)*, the testimonies *(Zeugnis)*, the announcements, and the (optional) congregation meeting of the full members. However, even if some of these should be unmarked prosodically, they may all the same be marked as ceremonial speech events by other than prosodic modalities, as for example by the choice of a specific variety of the verbal repertoire (or its complement, i.e., the suppression of one variety), and/or the use of then-coded formulaic expressions.

2.2. Distribution of verbal varieties American English (A.E.), Pennsylvania German (P.G.), and Amish High German (A.H.G.) over speech events

Beside the prosodic modality, a speech event has also what might be

called a varietal modality that contributes to its distinctive overall message form. The speech events of religious life are no exception to this.

> The kind of language a speech community uses for the expression of its religious beliefs on public occasions is usually one of the most distinctive varieties it possesses. Very often, it is so removed from the language of everyday conversation as to be almost unintelligible, save to an initiated minority; and occasionally one finds a completely foreign tongue being used as the official liturgical language of a community, one well-known instance being the use of Latin by the Roman Catholic Church.[19]

The pattern found among the O.O.A. is, thus, no exception to the general pattern of liturgical varieties, although the specific varieties used as the liturgical register are distinctive. Our data can neither be accommodated in the domain concept of macro-sociolinguistics,[20] nor do they fully confirm earlier culture-specific statements concerning either the general distribution of varieties over "occasions,"[21] or their specific use in the speech situation *church service*.

2.2.1. Varietal modality of the speech event *sermon*

As our data are inconclusive with regard to the distribution of varieties over the sermon psalmody and (sermon) declamatory speech, their separate discussion is not feasible at this point. Instead the sermon will be treated here as uniform with regard to language choice. This is the approach taken in extant literature: "This [the opening sermon; W. Enninger and J. Raith] like the rest of the service is delivered in High German with a strong admixture of 'Pennsylvania Dutch.' The Biblical quotations are from the Luther translation."[22] While Huntington does not mention English at all, Hostetler includes it in his statement: "With hands folded beneath his full-grown white beard, a preacher typically begins to mumble in a low voice, gradually building up to an audible and rhythmic flow of words in mixed Pennsylvania German, German, and English."[23] What appears to be a contradiction between Huntington ("no English") and Hostetler ("English, too") can be taken to reflect two perceptions of identical data, filtered through divergent verbal competences and linguistic approaches. Let us take Hostetler's data to illustrate this assumption:

> English words and idioms are also used with a German prefix, as in *Er hat unser sins aus [ge] blot* 'He has blotted out our sins,' *Noah hat Gott nicht [aus] figur [a] kenna aber war gehorsam* 'Noah could not figure out God but was obedient,' or *Viel Leit heiligs [heitigs?*; W. Enninger and J. Raith*] daags hen religion awwer ken salvation* 'Many people today have religion but no salvation.'[24]

Although Hostetler clearly sees the synchronic-structural process of morphological integration of items from one variety (A.E.) into utterances produced according to the grammatical rules of another, his knowledge of the three varieties as separate languages with distinct histories seems to make him emphasize the historical dimension. He emphasizes the etymological origin of individual items and can thus discover "foreign" elements borrowed from English. Huntington, on the other hand, does not appear to recognize the items with English etymologies (which can be assumed to have

been in her corpus) as items from her first language (A.E.). This leads to our assumption (supported by our data) that the borrowed items are largely integrated into P.G. both morphologically and phonologically so that she perceives them as non-English items.

For the purposes of this study the following rule-of-thumb statements may suffice to outline our assumptions:

1. What is borrowed into P.G. speech are items, rather than rules.[25]
2. The borrowed items are lexemes, not phonemes (with the possible exception of retroflex *r*).
3. The borrowed lexical items are subjected to P.G. rules on the level of morphology *(to figure out: ausfigura, to blot out: ausblotta, blotted out: ausgeblot)*, phonemics *(to complain: [kɔm'pleːnə], salvation: [sɛl'veːʃɔn])*, and phonotactics *(stamps: [ʃtemps])*.
4. The syntax, grammatical morphemes, phonemes and phonotactics are P.G. The lexemes borrowed from English are stripped of their English realization rules and are realized according to P.G. rules. Rules of syntagmatic co-occurrence override "vertical realization rules."[26]

From the angle of these overriding co-occurrence rules we would suggest to treat the items of English origin as integral items of P.G. speech. On the basis of this approach we would defend the items *co-occurrence, suggest, treat, items, origin, integral* of the preceding sentence as English items, and not as foreign elements. From this angle our data can be accommodated in the following diagram. For the sake of brevity we include all speech events under analysis and the now-coding vs. then-coded dichotomy (cf. 2.3.).

varieties available as oral coding instruments / prosodically distinct speech-events	A.E.		P.G.		A.H.G.	
	now coding	then coded	now coding	then coded	Ø	then coded
sermon:psalmody	–	–	+	+	–	+
sermon:decl. speech	–	–	+	+	–	+
prayer reading	–	–	–	–	–	+
hymn singing	–	–	–	–	–	+

All speech events of the church service share the absence of the variety A.E., i.e., they are performed in P.G. and/or A.H.G. When used in non-religious domains, P.G. shows a high rate of words of English origin with the percentage varying with domain and topic. By contrast, when used in the speech event *sermon* the rate of words with English etymologies is greatly reduced, because the referential range of liturgical speech can largely be covered by P.G. and A.H.G. terms which conceptualize the crucial reli-

gious values. This domain-specific variant of P.G. is the ad-hoc coding instrument of both sermon psalmody and sermon declamatory speech, both texts of which are, however, interspersed with then-coded formulae in A.H.G. and P.G.

There is concern about P.G. and/or A.E. supplanting A.H.G. in the sermon: "The inability to use either Standard German or English in its entirety introduces linguistic stress and ambiguity. When the language of the world is used to express sacred concepts, separation [from the world; W. Enninger and J. Raith] is rendered ambiguous."[27] We would suggest that it is highly unlikely that any shift in the repertoire would ever produce a sermon variety totally identifiable with the varieties of everyday events. The distinctive purposes of the liturgical variety would be rendered futile if all features of the modality—including prosodic variables—were indistinguishable from non-liturgical modalities. The prosodic modalities, it is suggested, would be able to carry the additional functional load, should the verbal repertoire be reduced to (the varieties of) just one language. The many monolingual speech communities show that distinct registers are developed for socio-culturally distinct purposes. Archaisms on the levels of lexicon and syntax, then-coded sacred texts, as well as prosodic modalities can be used to keep the liturgical modalities distinct from all others.[28] From a functional angle, what is important is not structural purity, but structural distinctiveness. Structural purity is the justified concern of the folklorist, yet his research orientation should not be allowed to determine the approach of the sociolinguist.

2.2.2. Varietal modality of the speech event *prayer*

As is well-known, A.H.G. is the only variety used in the prayer. The use of this variety—which is not available as an ad-hoc coding instrument—is made possible by the speaking rule that prayers should be verbatim quotations rather than spontaneous formulations. The rationale behind this speaking rule that might appear irrational at first sight will become clear in 2.3.

The prayer book used in the church service is invariably *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht*,[29] which is reprinted on demand. Those prayers which are used most frequently have been included in service manuals, such as for example in *Von dem Christlichen Glauben und dem Leiden Jesu Christi*.[30] The texts are written in an older version of High German. Their oral reproduction during the service is, however, subject to articulatory transfer from P.G. and to spelling pronunciation: unstressed [e,e:,i:] instead of [ə], final *r* instead of [ə, ɐ].[31] The term A.H.G. is to indicate these traits, which distinguish this variety from the High German as spoken in Europe today. When A.H.G. is used as a now-coding instrument outside the church service, the resultant text reflects all signs of a language in its destandardization phase, although such spontaneous use is restricted to a few linguistically gifted persons.

2.2.3. Varietal modality of the speech event *hymn singing*

With hymns, which are meant to be sung communally in a preconceived

fashion, the now-coding vs. then-coded dichotomy is negligible. Little is to be added to the well-known fact that most of the O.O.A. communities use the High German *Ausbund (das dicke Buechli* 'the thick booklet' 1/1564) as their church service hymnal. Among the few exceptions are the O.O.A. settlements in Somerset County (Pennsylvania), Kalona (Iowa), and Arthur (Illinois), where *Eine Unpartheiische Liedersammlung (das duenne Buechli* 'the thin booklet' 1/1860) is in use. The Davis County (Indiana) community and its daughter settlements use the *Unpartheiische Liedersammlung* (1/1892).[32] What may appear as three completely different hymnals providing three disjunct filler sets for the hymn singing events shows, however, considerable overlap with regard to the songs contained in each. *Eine Unpartheiische Liedersammlung* (1/1860) is a condensation of *Ein Unpartheiisches Gesangbuch* (1/1804), which in turn borrowed sixty-four songs from the *Ausbund* (1/1564), i.e., forty-five percent of the *Ausbund* total of songs. *Unpartheiische Liedersammlung* (1/1892) contains even more songs from the *Ausbund* than any other hymnal. Thus, we have a common stock of potential fillers for the hymn singing event across the whole O.O.A. culture, providing a potential for cross-community identification with the overall culture. This common stock derives from the *Ausbund*, certainly the Christian hymnal in use today with the longest tradition. The adherence to this hymnal and the regular use today of its songs can be taken as an indicator of the oft-quoted tradition-direction of the culture.

In our context it is worthy of note that despite the many modifications the High German texts have undergone in the course of the last 410 years, not one of the changes has affected the use of High German or the use of *Fraktur*. This graphetic feature appears to be so essential to the distinctive message form of these and all other devotional texts, that a change to Latin letters—which might reduce the decoding problems of the younger generation—has not been considered seriously. The bilingual Bibles—with the High German text in *Fraktur* and the English text in Latin letters—are the exceptions to this rule. The inclusion of English aims at facilitating the understanding of the "real" H.G. text.

What may appear as an effective language maintenance effort (of A.H.G.) is, in fact, rather a maintenance of sacred and devotional texts. A sentence generating mechanism needed for the production of spoken or written texts is practically absent. The skills maintained are written and oral identification and comprehension of known texts, as well as reading out aloud and recitation from memory. These fact may make A.H.G. uninteresting to the grammarian; on the other hand the enactment of such skills appears to be essential for the social construction of ceremonial events.

2.3. The formulaic modality of speech events of the church service

By focusing on the generation of novel sentences in a social vacuum the majority of linguists has not only disregarded "repeated speech" (*wiederholte Rede;* cf. Coseriu) but at the same time neglected the construction of ceremony and ritual through routinized speech. When the routine aspects of speech in ceremony and ritual have been treated it was done above all by anthropologists and sociologists. The verbal routines of the O.O.A. church

service are no exception to this. Most treatments are, however, limited to descriptive statements of the high rate of repeated speech in the speech events of the church service, and to evaluative comments to the point that this is "only" repeated speech. By contrast, we will take the incidence of repeated speech for granted and focus on the functionality of formulaic speech by relating the formulaic quality of sermon, prayer and hymn singing a) to other components of the speech situation, and b) to ecclesiological and theological aspects of Anabaptism.

The sermon psalmody event is most revealing from this angle. As should be expected from the high tempo of delivery and the low incidence of hesitation phenomena, the percentage of then-coded formulaic expressions—in our case Scriptural quotations and standard admonitions—is high. This descriptive fact is functional from a variety of perspectives. In a culture that a) does not put a high value on verbal excellence *per se*, b) subscribes to the principle of lay preachers, c) does not provide any formal training for its preachers, and d) does not allot any time for the *tractatio (inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria)* between the *Abrath*—in which the teaching duty is allocated—and the performance *(elocutio)*, the sermon cannot be expected to be an elaborate and novel oration. Second, the rudimentary theology would not easily lend itself to a systematic explication in a chain of inductive, deductive and confutatory ratiocinations. Third, such abstractive and interpretative thought would conflict with the role of the preacher in Anabaptist theology: He is not the *ex officio* interpreter of God's Word to the laity, but the reciter of the Scripture and the admonisher to abide by it. Ever since Grebel (ca. 1498-1526) the principle of *sola scriptura*[33] has been of supreme importance to the Swiss Brethren and their descendants. Given the supreme importance of this principle, what Crystal says of the English services applies to the O.O.A. service to an even higher degree:

> . . . there are the linguistic originals. In the case of the Bible, and with many of the common prayers, the requirement of conformity to the sacral character, as well as the sense, of the text in the original language is a restriction on one's choice of English which does not normally apply to other varieties. Similarly, there are traditional formulations of belief of doctrinal significance, which are difficult to alter without an accusation of inconsistency or heresy being levelled.[34]

After all, the sermon must pass the test of two to three witnesses in the *Zeugnis* event. Consequently, what is in the center must be verbatim quotations of memorized Scriptural passages, and not the preacher's interpretative thought requiring the ad-hoc generation of novel sentences which is naturally accompanied by hesitation phenomena. The formal features of the sermon psalmody, such as the high tempo of delivery, the extreme reduction of hesitation phenomena, the high rate of verbatim quotations from the High German Bible, and the formulaic quality of the hortatory speech acts are all functional requirements of a) the factor constellation of the speech situation and b) basic principles of Anabaptist theology. Furthermore, the O.O.A. sermon is only an extreme case of the epideitic genre of the rhetorical canon typical of recurrent and stable situations, in which epideitic speech is the appropriate instrument of the confirmatory purpose

of the ceremonial event. Whether or not linguists consider the analysis of routinized speech as below their dignity, the linguistic structure of the sermon is the appropriate enactment of a particular belief-system and the appropriate instrument for the production of commitment to it. This applies equally to prayer and hymn singing.

3. Functional interpretation[35]

The significatory and communicative behavior in ceremonial events has often been characterized as irrational. What Firth and Goody say of ritual applies to ceremony by implication. Firth conceives of such events as "formal procedures of a communicative but arbitrary kind,"[36] and Goody contours them as "a category of standardized behavior (custom) in which the relationship between the means and end is not intrinsic."[37] This lack of rationality claimed for the form of ceremonial acts (our substitution for "ritual acts"; W. Enninger and J. Raith) is, of course, due to their often petrified nature: the motivation for their original creation is no longer transparent to their performers which may lead to such acts being negatively evaluated as empty conventions and meaningless formalities. By contrast, sociolinguists assume that speech in whatever form it may appear is always adapted to culturally relevant functions. The validity of this assumption was shown above in the discussion of the meaningfulness of reciting pre-coded sacred texts. The recitation of sacred texts in their petrified form is not a meaningless formality, but a meaningful essential of Anabaptist theology. We assume that all the structural features of the speech events of the ceremonial event *church service* can ultimately be shown to be the formal exponents of societal functions.

The absence of A.E. from the above (and all other) speech events of the speech situation *church service* is functional in a culture that subscribes to the principles of no proselytizing, endogamy, and functions as a boundary demarcation instrument of the religious brotherhood and its sociological equivalent, i.e., the community, since it limits meaningful participation to persons socialized in the traditional O.O.A. way. The choice of "our old" P.G. and A.H.G. and the exclusion of the "new outside-world" A.E. alone can be considered as a formal exponent of the distinction "we-them." While the absence of A.E. demarcates the "we-them" boundary, the specifically "pure" variant of P.G. typical of the speech situation *church service*, the use of A.H.G. typically reserved for devotional texts, and the incidence of non-everyday prosodic modalities can be interpreted as a set of structural markers which distinguish the sacred ceremonial event from profane everyday domains. The material elaboration of the linguistic means, as well as their regularity of form constitute a metacommunicative feature marking out the societal significance of the ceremonial event.

From an overall point-of-view, the collective linguistic performance can be taken as the symbolic construction of the ceremonial event church service (*Gemeinde* in A.H.G.) which serves the confirmation of the values of the religious brotherhood *(Gemeinde)* and of the structure of its sociological counterpart, i.e., the community *(Gemeinde)*. The folk taxonomy reflects the fact that the linguistic enactment of the church service is only a metaphor of the socio-religious core values of the culture. It attests to the general

validity of the assumption that ceremonies constitute collective metacommunicative events of societal-constructing significance.

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Notes

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29. *Die ernsthafte Christenpflicht* (Lancaster County: Verlag von den Amischen Gemeinden in Lancaster County, 1972).

30. E. D. Miller and B. J. Raeber, eds., *Von dem Christlichen Glauben und Leiden Jesu Christi* (Baltic, O.: Raber's Book Store, 1976).

31. J. Raith, "Sprachvariation, soziale Bedeutung und Sprachökologie," in M. Martig, ed., *Angewandte Soziolinguistik* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1981), pp. 133-143.

32. D. Luthy, "A History of the *Loblied*," *Family Life*, Feb. 1978, pp. 16-19.

33. H. J. Goertz, *Die Täufer: Geschichte und Deutung* (München: C.H. Beck, 1980), p. 55.

34. D. Crystal and D. Davy, *Investigating English Style*, p. 149 (cf. note 2).

35. L. Loveday, "Making An Occasion: The Linguistic Components of Ritual" (in press for *Anthropological Linguistics*). The following argumentation largely parallels his argumentation for rituals.

36. R. Firth, "Verbal and Bodily Rituals of Greeting and Parting," in La Fontaine, ed., *The Interpretation of Ritual* (London: Tavistock, 1972).

37. J. Goody, "Religion and Ritual: The Definitional Problem," *British Journal of Sociology*, 12 (1964), 154.

Carol Poore

An Alternative Tradition: The Nineteenth-Century German-American Socialists

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw an unprecedented immigration of peoples from all corners of Europe to the United States. From the so-called "old" immigration of the British, Irish and Germans to the "new" immigration of the South Europeans, Slavs and East European Jews around the turn of the century, wave after wave of new arrivals faced the problems of integrating themselves into a new society and of reshaping it to suit their own needs and ideals. Of these groups, the largest non-English-speaking was made up of Germans, whose immigration reached peaks of close to one million in the decade after the 1848 revolution and almost one and one-half million in the decade 1880-1890, being given impetus by a complex of political, economic and religious reasons.

As varied as the forces behind this immigration were the forms that German responses to life in the United States took. Indeed, the history of the German-American ethnic group, like that of all immigrant groups, is a history rich in conflict, dissent, and opposing opinions and actions, both within the ethnic group itself and with respect to the larger society around it. Perhaps the prevailing image of nineteenth-century German immigrants is that they "assimilated" more or less without serious friction into American political and social life, affiliating themselves in the main with the Republican Party, serving their communities in various business, cultural, and religious capacities, or as skilled, settled tradesmen, and providing a certain joviality to a society still more than tinged with Puritanism. However, when we ask what parts of the German-American heritage have been neglected for the sake of emphasizing its more easily "assimilable" features, we find that there is indeed another rich tradition of German-American history embodied by socialist immigrants whose political, economic and cultural goals found strong resonance among German immigrant workers.[1] From forty-eighters like Friedrich Sorge, Joseph Weydemeyer, and Adolf Douai, to political emigrés fleeing the repression of Bismarck's *Sozialistengesetze*, to immigrants radicalized by their disillusionment with America, German socialists constituted by far the most significant group of

ethnic radicals in the nineteenth-century United States. Labor historians have recognized the crucial political role German immigrants played in introducing the theory of scientific socialism to the United States and helping to organize the American labor movement after the Civil War.[2]

These radicals directed their primary allegiance to workers as a class, embracing all ethnic groups, rather than to their German-language ethnic group as a whole. For this reason, they could not simply appropriate for their own use pre-existing ethnic institutions and customs, such as political affiliations, commercial organizations, the German-American press, or cultural activities. Rather, they had to create their own institutions on all these levels. This necessarily led them into conflict with other sectors of their ethnic group, but it also helped them establish contact and common goals with members of other ethnic groups sharing similar interests. The following remarks will briefly trace the German-American socialists' sometimes problematic efforts at self-definition and self-determination within their ethnic group, on the levels of political participation, trade unions, and culture.

Of all the areas in which the socialists attempted to create alternative choices for German immigrant workers, they were least successful in their political efforts in the narrow sense, that is, in running their own candidates for political office. Although they criticized the established parties and the figures in the German-American community who supported them for having the interests of capital rather than labor at heart and ran their own candidates on platforms advocating the nationalization of important industries, the establishment of cooperatives, they were never able to mount a serious electoral challenge. Strongly influenced by Ferdinand Lassalle's views on the crucial importance of electoral participation, these socialists put an enormous amount of time and effort into running local, state, and national tickets, but only achieved minimal success on the local level.[3]

It was in these attempts to participate in elections that the foreign-language composition of the socialist movement had its most deleterious effect. Plagued with the problem of effectively reaching English-speaking voters and other language groups, the success of German socialists at the ballot box was prevented by this exclusivity and the consequent difficulty of entering into public debate and by the widespread opinion that a vote for a tiny third party was a wasted vote. Even among German-speaking workers in the large industrial cities, an examination of the German-American socialist press clearly shows that far fewer workers actually voted for the socialists than supported them in other areas of their endeavors.

In spite of the insuperable difficulties encountered in running their own candidates, however, the socialists generally did not pursue the alternative of entering into coalitions with other progressive third parties which were attracting more English-speaking workers.[4] That is, these socialists usually did not attempt to adapt theories and strategies developed in Europe to the different American conditions—in particular, to the political alliances between agrarian radicals and labor which were of special importance in the United States of the nineteenth century. It was only after the turn of the century and the formation of the broader-based Socialist Party that socialists began to have any appreciable success in elections. Therefore, measured ac-

cording to the standard of electoral gains, the political achievements of the nineteenth-century German socialists were minimal, indeed.

In 1881 the National Executive Committee of the *Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei* (SAP, founded in 1877) proudly reported that "in almost all the industrial towns of the nation" trade unions were headed by socialists.[5] Leaving some room for exaggeration, German-American socialists could rightly take credit for more successes in union organizing than in the area of electoral politics. Although many socialists questioned the limited goals of trade unionism, most recognized by the 1880s that important economic gains could be won through unionization. Accordingly, they joined and founded unions of skilled workers which concentrated on wages, working conditions, and a shortened working day, and also attempted to carry out education toward more long-range political perspectives. As Hartmut Keil has shown in a carefully researched paper, in New York City, the city with the largest number of organized German workers, "every German union and almost every other union with a predominantly German membership or a strong minority of Germans was founded by socialists who also held key positions in those unions. Examples are the furniture workers, the German-American Typographical Union, the Bakers, Brewers, and Cigarmakers."[6] These German unions formed a central trade council, the *Vereinigte deutsche Gewerkschaften*, which was represented in the Central Labor Union of New York City—in 1886 the largest central labor federation in the country with 207 unions and 150,000 members representing many different language groups.[7] This pattern of organization was typical of other industrial cities as well—most notably Chicago, but also Milwaukee, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Newark. Often, these central labor unions dominated by Germans were able to exert a significant political influence. Their concerted actions, including strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations, and their support of political candidates sympathetic to labor frequently divided the German-American community, arraying union backers against those who supported business interests.

What circumstances made it possible for German workers to be so well-organized into unions at this time? Taking New York City as an example, the answer must be sought in the character of the German working class population and seen in the context of steadily increasing immigration from Germany which reached its peak in 1882. As Hartmut Keil has outlined, there were three characteristics of German immigrant workers which fundamentally influenced the course of development of the union and socialist organizations. First, the majority were skilled workers and artisans, from the industrial centers of Germany, and therefore—in the American context of a division of labor along ethnic lines—they predominated in occupations such as bakers, brewers, butchers, furniture workers, piano makers and cigar makers. The factor of a common language furthered organization in trades such as these, although obviously it was a hindrance in other ways. Second, many had experience in the workers' movement in Germany and continued unabatedly to carry on their organizing activities in the United States. Finally, their familiarity with the tradition of German Social Democracy led them to question the limited goals of American unionism and sometimes even to found alternative unions within certain trades. This

socialist orientation was intensified after 1878 with the arrival of Social Democrats who had been exiled under the Anti-Socialist Laws and who concentrated in the New York area. Consequently, it can be maintained that the high level of trade union organization among German workers in New York resulted from the nature of their work in the skilled trades and from their socialist perspectives and experience. If we study the involvement of German-American socialists with unionism, it becomes clear that this was one area of activity in which they effectively concentrated their efforts on bettering conditions encountered by immigrant workers, creating cross-ethnic ties based on shared interests, and thus were able to break through the boundaries of their own language group.

The areas of political participation and unionization have generally been the focal points for historians who have assessed the influence of the German-American socialists. However, for these early socialists, their movement was more than the election of candidates and the achievement of economic gains. It also included a more far-reaching vision of social cooperation, as is evident from the thriving socialist press and the vital socialist subculture which flourished in the German communities of industrialized cities.

Particularly in the late 1870s and 1880s, but in many instances continuing even up until the Second World War, the German-American socialist press thrived, and the editors of these papers were among the most articulate and influential of German-American socialists. Of these papers, the most important, in terms of circulation, editors, and content, were the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (1878-1932, with Sunday and weekly editions and a circulation of 8,000 in 1878, 19,000 in 1890, and 23,000 in 1932), and the *Chicagoer Arbeiter-Zeitung* (1876-1919?, with Sunday and weekly editions, and a circulation of 3,000 in 1880 and 15,000 in 1895).[8] In the larger cities, it is probably accurate to say that the socialist newspapers were the institutions which did most to hold the German working-class community together, furnishing information, supporting strikes and boycotts, encouraging contributions from workers, intellectuals, and all members of the community, and sponsoring benefits, festivals and demonstrations. For example, in 1894 the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* reported that it was the official organ of more than 300 trade unions, sections of the *Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei, Turner* societies, workers' singing societies, amateur theaters, socialist schools and labor lyceums, *Freidenker* societies, women's organizations, clubs, mutual benefit and insurance societies, and lodges.[9] This meant that all these groups published official notices and announcements of their meetings in this paper, implying that it would reach their members and that they supported the existence of this socialist paper. Thus, these papers provided an essential avenue for socialists to reach beyond the narrow circle of party affiliation into the community at large.

While the creation of an independent socialist press was certainly of inestimable value to the labor movement, it should also be seen in the context of providing alternative forums and means of communication within the German ethnic group. No more bitter enemies were to be found than the socialist press and well-established German "bourgeois" papers such as the New York *Staatszeitung* (with a circulation of 50,000 in 1880) and the Illi-

nois *Staatszeitung* (with a circulation of 8400 in 1880). On the level of content, the socialist papers provided information on local, national, and international events of interest to labor, as well as scientific, historical and literary columns reflecting a perspective not to be found elsewhere. On the level of editorial policy, of course, the socialist and non-socialist press often took diametrically opposed stands on issues facing the German-American community, for example, on strikes, endorsements for political candidates, or social welfare measures. The division of the ethnic community into classes is nowhere more clearly reflected than in the wide range of standpoints voiced through its press.

Along with their press, in many other areas of life outside the workplace these socialists created organizations designed as alternatives to others within the ethnic group and the society at large, in order to further enlightenment and cooperative social relationships. Associated with the socialist movement from its earliest days were workers' gymnastic societies *(Turner),* producers' and consumers' cooperatives, workers' sick and death benefit societies, special groups for women, and various attempts at creating educational opportunities compatible with socialist principles, including *Arbeiterbildungsvereine,* socialist schools for children and adults, and large labor lyceums. Furthermore, found in many cities around the country were socialist workers' theaters, and workers' singing societies *(Arbeitergesangvereine)* which attracted thousands to their concerts held around the country. Finally, socialist festivals, benefits, and commemorations frequently provided the occasion for manifestations of solidarity and opportunities for common leisure.

If we examine the goals of these organizations, it becomes clear that their participants conceived of them as providing alternatives to similar activities carried out by non-socialists. For example, as can be seen from the repertoire of the workers' theaters and the occasions upon which they performed, they aimed at serving both entertaining and didactic functions. With respect to providing entertainment, the majority of plays in their repertoire were the same third-rate farces and comedies that could be seen any evening in other community clubrooms (Benedix, Körner, etc.). However, this compensatory entertainment was not the main impetus behind the establishment of socialist workers' theaters. Rather, through the performance of political plays at public meetings and festivals, these groups hoped to spread fundamental ideas of socialism in an entertaining way and to offer models for action and images of a better future. They hoped to reach an audience which would be less receptive to political lectures, which perhaps did not read the socialist press, and which would be difficult to reach in other ways. This intent sets these groups apart from other *Laientheater* of the time, as well as from professional German-American theater troupes.[10]

Similarly, the workers' singing societies were formed as alternatives to the popular non-socialist groups. Although these societies were associated with the socialist movement from its beginnings, it was in 1892 that the *Arbeiter-Sängerbund der Nordöstlichen Staaten* was formed as a central organization of these societies, and it was followed in 1897 by the *Arbeiter-Sängerbund des Nordwestens,* centered in Chicago. Approximately every three years, until the Second World War, each region held a singers' festival

which could attract 3-4,000 participants and a much larger audience. During this time, these singing societies were the main channel through which socialist poetry reached its intended working class audience (aside from the socialist press), and those involved in the societies viewed both their repertoire and their close connections to the socialist political movement as necessary alternatives to what they saw as bourgeois or petty bourgeois culture and literature.[11] Fundamentally, as these socialists explained, they had two complementary purposes in view, the first being political influence and the second what might be called "die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in der Arbeiterbewegung."[12] That is, the goals of these workers' singing societies focused on exposing social contradictions, creating feelings of solidarity, and strengthening belief in the eventual victory of socialism, on the one hand, and, on the other, towards creating esthetic sensibility in their participants through the experience of performing choral works.

One final example of these alternative opportunities for cultural expression is the mass meetings through which German-American socialists reached their greatest degree of public visibility. Frequently, there were demonstrations in support of particular demands, especially the eight-hour day. Festivals were held to commemorate important events in the international working-class movement, such as the Paris Commune, Lassalle's birth and death (around which a real cult was created), the death of Karl Marx in 1883,[13] and the execution of the Haymarket martyrs. There were also "anti-festivals" to counteract and provide alternatives to religious and patriotic holidays such as Christmas, Thanksgiving and the Fourth of July. Finally, local sections of socialist organizations, together with unions, often sponsored smaller events such as benefits or fall and spring festivals and fairs. The functions of these festivals were similar to those of the workers' theaters and singing societies. In the first place, they were a source of enjoyment, escape from the rigors of the working day, a place for a renewal of strength and courage in the company of friends, family and comrades. Also, through speeches and varied programs, these festivals were intended to endow the participants with a certain oppositional sense of history, and to create feelings of solidarity among themselves and with workers of other ethnic groups. What all of these activities had in common, therefore, was that they aimed at providing alternative opportunities for education and enlightenment, mutual help and support, and communal leisure to men, women, and children within the German-American working class community.

One more aspect of German-American socialist culture remains to be touched upon: the literature produced in connection with this political movement. It is generally unrecognized that socialist immigrant writers produced a large body of poetry, plays, and prose which they published mainly in the socialist press and which also reached the intended working class audience through the channels mentioned above of workers' theaters, workers' singing societies, and festival recitations and performances. It is only possible here to give a brief sketch of the main features of this socialist literature, but it should also be seen in the context of offering an alternative to other dominant trends in German-American literature which have tended to reflect nostalgia, a lack of concern for pressing social issues, and nation-

alistic sentiments. This early socialist literature can be characterized as "operative." In contrast to the concept of literature as a realm of esthetic expression with no extra-literary purpose, it was written with the intent of carrying out proletarian organization and enlightenment, and of creating cultural identity in its audience.[14] The problematic nature of these operative goals can be more precisely determined by making the methodological distinction between form, content, and functional context.[15] On the level of form, there is little innovation, but rather there is generally an arbitrary reutilization of traditional techniques. In particular, the use of allegory sustains the image of the process of socialism as a natural development in which the role of the human subject is of unclear significance. (Examples are the portrayals of social conflict as allegorical struggles between winter and spring, darkness and light). Also, the use of rhetorical forms of appeal, exhortation and command *(Wollt Ihr nicht frei sein? Sei ein Mann! Einigt Euch!)* presupposes a model in which it is the task of the writer to instruct the recipient and create positive models for him to identify with and follow, rather than encouraging him to interpret both the literary work and his own experience. On the level of content, while there are some works (especially reportage sketches) which deal with concrete aspects of the immigrant worker's experience in America, there is a general tendency towards abstraction. Particularly in the poetry, the genre best represented, there is a preoccupation with invoking stages in the development of socialism, from the misery of the present and the contrast between rich and poor, to calls to organize and unite, to assurance of the inevitable utopian socialist future. The repetition of that progression makes such literature seem like part of a ritual expression removed from reality. However, it was in the context of socialist gatherings and group activity that this literature was able at least in part to fulfill the functions of organization and to create cultural identity. Here, participants could sense that they possessed their own writers, their own literature, and their own performing groups, and that they were able to sustain all of these independently.

The communal visions of the nineteenth-century socialists and their political and cultural forms of organization cannot serve us as direct models for social change today, in an age of mass media and communications. At one time, however, up until the Second World War in both Germany and the United States, the labor movement also encompassed a cultural movement, with a broader scope to its efforts which extended into many spheres of life. In the United States, with the growth of the "pure and simple" unionism of the American Federation of Labor, the organized workers' movement became less and less concerned with cooperative cultural ventures, and similarly, trade unions in the Federal Republic of Germany have hardly been concerned with developing spheres of activity outside economic issues. The earlier workers' movement developed alternative means of communication and opportunities for group interaction. It will remain to be seen how present-day movements for social change will integrate these political, economic and cultural aspects of societal transformation into their efforts.

In such a brief overview, it has been impossible to do more than touch upon some of the most significant activities of the German-American socialists. It is important to note that the diversity which we encounter in

the German-American community also held true for other ethnic groups, and that common interests and ideals often served to unite immigrants across barriers of language and ethnicity. Accordingly, the study of one ethnic group always leads beyond the boundaries of one language and one discipline. Certainly, the field of German-American studies can have much to contribute to our knowledge and reception of these dynamic historical processes.

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Notes

1. For a detailed study of the German-American socialist tradition, see my dissertation on "German-American Socialist Literature in the Late Nineteenth Century," University of Wisconsin-Madison 1979 (to appear under the title *German-American Socialist Literature, 1865-1900* [Bern: Lang, 1982]). The second volume of this dissertation is an anthology of German-American socialist literature.

2. A few of the most thorough treatments by labor historians of German immigrant socialists which place them in the context of the labor movement as a whole are: Robert Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1959); Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1936); Philip Foner, *The Great Labor Uprising of 1877* (New York: Monad, 1977); David Herreshoff, *The Origins of American Marxism* (New York: Monad, 1973); Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); John Laslett, *Labor and the Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer* (New York: International, 1947); Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart: Dietz, 1907); Hermann Schlüter, *Die Internationale in Amerika* (Chicago: Deutsche Sprachgruppe der Sozialistischen Partei, 1918). For an extensive bibliography, see my dissertation.

3. German-American socialists scored their first surprising electoral successes after the general strikes of 1877, in which they came to public attention. These local successes in towns such as Louisville were short-lived, however.

4. One election in which the German-American socialists did enter into a coalition was the Henry George campaign for mayor of New York City in 1886. Running a strong second, his ideas of land reform received wide publicity. However, this strong local coalition soon disintegrated, and he was never able to attain office.

5. Hartmut Keil, "The New Unions: German and American Workers in New York City, 1870-1885," unpublished manuscript. The following discussion of German-American unionism is based primarily on this paper by Keil. Cf. also John Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, on the influence of socialists within unions (New York: Basic Books, 1970).

6. Keil, "The New Unions."

7. See Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York: International, 1947), II, 33.

8. Karl J. R. Arndt and May Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1965), 2nd ed. For a bibliography of German-American socialist newspapers, see the appendix to my dissertation.

9. *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, 2 June 1894, p. 1.

10. For documentation and analyses of socialist workers' theaters in Germany in the nineteenth century see: Friedrich Knilli and Ursula Münchow, *Frühes sozialistisches Arbeitertheater, 1847-1918* (Munich: Hanser, 1970); Peter von Rüden, *Sozialdemokratisches Arbeitertheater, 1848-1914* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1973); and the relevant volumes in: Zentralinstitut für Literaturgeschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR (Ursula Münchow, ed.), *Textausgaben zur frühen sozialistischen Literatur in Deutschland* (Berlin: Akademie, 1964 ff.).

11. For example, writing in a *Festzeitung* for a singers' festival, Eduard Deuß explained the difference between the workers' groups and other groups in the following manner:

> Letztere verherrlichen in ihren Gesängen alles das, was wir als vernunftwidrig, nebensächlich und kriecherisch ansehen. Sie singen darin einer vernunftwidrigen Gottheit ihr Hosiannah; sie beweihräuchern darin ein königliches Gottesgnadenthum und ergeben sich in Bücklingen und Rückgratkrümmungen vor Dingen und

> Menschen, denen wir unsere Reverenz versagen müssen, während sie das Arbeiterlied in Acht und Bann thun. Dieses geschieht, wie die Anhänger dieser Gesangvereine behaupten, im Interesse der Kunst des Gesanges; der Realismus im Gesang wird verpönt, weil die Kunst darüber erhaben sein soll. (*Festzeitung des Arbeiter-Sängerbundes des Nordwestens*, Davenport, Iowa, No. 1, June 1906, p. 9.)

12. Cf. Peter Brückner and Gabriele Ricke, "Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in der Arbeiterbewegung," in: Brückner et al., eds., *Das Unvermögen der Realität* (Berlin: Wagenbach, 1974), pp. 37-68.

13. See the reports in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* before and after March 20, 1883.

14. For a discussion of this concept which is useful, though somewhat undifferentiated, see Gerald Stieg and Bernd Witte, *Abriß einer Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterliteratur* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1973).

15. The distinction between form, content, and context is developed most convincingly by Jürgen Kocka in his article "Arbeiterkultur als Forschungsthema," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 5, No. 1 (1979), 5-12.

Leo Schelbert

On Interpreting Immigrant Letters: The Case of Johann Caspar and Wilhelmina Honegger-Hanhart

At a time when social history seems nearly equated with quantification of demographic data, it may appear out of date to deal with personal documents such as letters and private reports. Yet Charles Tilly, a noted practitioner of the art, acknowledges readily: "To distinguish . . . among local, circular, chain, and career migration . . . one needs life histories, detailed accounts of intentions and social relations at the time of moves."[1] Although letters of immigrants grant only sporadic insight into "life histories," they do provide valuable glimpses into motivations and personal circumstances, not only at the time of moves, but also years after; they highlight migration as experience.

But are such personal documents of use in reconstructing the past? The question is not out of place. In 1850, for instance, an anonymous immigrant wrote from Folk, Missouri, to his "dear pastor and friend": "You too may have read the letters that we have written to our mother; you may have found them fairly contradictory; I believe, however, that I could write differently and yet always the truth. It is not easy to write from America."[2] Reverend Johann Ludwig Spyri, a careful student of mid-nineteenth-century Swiss emigration, cautioned similarly about using letters and reports of emigrants. He had examined several hundred of them, but found them wanting. Some were outright forgeries, he thought, written or insinuated by profit-hungry and unscrupulous agents. But even those accounts that were "genuine and truthful from the heart" were not to be taken at face value; too many emigrants, the pastor maintained, "lacked the means to assess the land and its people and even their individual situation. It may appear strange, and yet it is true: Not everybody knows how he is situated . . . We are justified, therefore, to insist that emigrant letters must be used with great caution."[3]

Reverend Spyri's comments are well taken. Letters of immigrants may not be taken literally, and interpreting them is as demanding as assessing

dispatches of diplomats. Both must be understood in the unique context in which they were written, before proper conclusions may be drawn.[4] Some letters of an immigrant couple who arrived in New York City in 1849 may illlustrate this contention.[5]

I

On May 22, 1849, a magnificient spring day, Johann Caspar and his wife, Wilhelmina Honegger-Hanhart, took leave of their relatives in the small village of Felben, situated some thirteen miles southwest of Constance, and embarked on their journey to America. In five long letters they sketched their experiences on the trip and during the first two years in New York City. Their reports, however, differ like day and night.

Despite some difficulties at the French border,[6] Johann Caspar enjoyed the ride from Mülhausen to Paris by coach and from there to Le Havre by train. "The postal carriages are comfortable," he explained, "just like the coaches of Turn [sic] and Taxis[7] with eighteen seats. In the compartment one travels quite well. The wheels are set very low and make getting in and out easy. They load the top unbelievably so that the fully loaded vehicle looks like a baggage wagon." The six heavy horses ran at a very fast pace and offered a majestic view.

The Alsatian grain fields were "the largest and most beautiful" he had ever seen. At Belfort, where the coach stopped for a quarter hour, Johann Caspar admired the fortress and "the beautiful inviting little town with its straight and broad streets and attractive houses."[8] He also saw a detachment of hussars passing by, for him a magnificent spectacle. After Belfort they traveled through poorer country, but towns like Troyes[9] were impressive and some regions they traversed seemed very fertile.

"But the metropolis Paris. Yes, Paris deserves this name, a description is impossible, one has to see for oneself, but one must be careful not to get lost in this veritable labyrinth." On Sunday afternoon Johann Caspar went sightseeing. He admired the large, beautiful stores and the Tuileries with their "vast, magnificent gardens and numerous tree-lined boulevards. The royal palace [is] of ineffable splendor." The following day he visited the zoo. A mighty ostrich and the wild animals devouring their midday meal impressed him greatly. "May heaven spare me," the emigrant commented, "never to end up in such company in America. My pistol would then be of no help despite its eight barrels." After climbing the zoo's main vantage point, he marveled: "What a surprise, Paris stretched out all around me with its towers and statues. The Pantheon stands out most impressively. The column in the suburb St. Antoine whose angel at the top is just now in full sunlight, glitters in full splendor."[10]

Johann Caspar admired most, however, the church St. Madeleine, "a work of monumental magnificence, a testimonial to art and wealth, built only of marble, from the outside steps all the way to the roof." Over forty columns framed the building in majestic beauty. But the inside:

> What magnificence, what a splendid temple, what wealth, what beauty . . . golden candelabras, artistic paintings; no emaciated crippled saints; all in beautiful harmony; no hell with devils; a heaven. The Mother of God with the Savior on her arms stands near the entry, carved from dazzling white

marble. A chain which she holds in her hand is a true work of art. The links are as small as in a larger watch chain, but so sharply and beautifully worked in marble that it calls forth true amazement.[11]

Wilhelmina gives a very different view of the journey. "Often we crossed such desolate, infertile regions that I was reminded of America," she wrote, "and we saw such miserable strawthatched huts and groups of irksome beggars." She was amazed at the greedy French hosts who had demanded one full franc for two bowls of watery soup! During the night she could hardly sleep and the next day she felt even more miserable. "I had a bad night," she lamented, "back- and side pains, thus I could hardly sit anymore, [had] head- and bellyaches; that was a long night . . . It went this way for three days and two nights, on and on until Paris."

On arrival at their lodgings Wilhelmina went straight to bed. "I was seized by terrible homesickness," she reported to her sister's family, "wept bitterly; the maid brought me some soup, she said that I should not cry, it was not good . . . The beds were not clean, all untensils dirty, unbelievably bad water. In the morning I took another clyster, that helped. I had no desire to admire the city, but longed so much for fresh air." She was then shown to a large park where she stayed a full hour. "That refreshed me more than all the glories of Paris," she commented. "I could hardly tolerate the foul air anymore . . . What a life in Paris! I would not want to be dead here!"[12]

The train ride to Le Havre also turned out to be most unpleasant. "Our car was overfilled, the seats not cushioned, it shook very much, I disliked it; the French were boisterously loud, they got so excited until some started to vomit, and that precisely besides us in the car." The accommodations in Le Havre were modest, but at least clean, and the emigrants could take some pleasant walks through town. Johann Caspar admired the straight and wide streets and the forest-like view of the harbor with its numerous steamboats and three-masters. "A strange view," he wrote, "such a loaded sailing vessel with two- to three-hundred people of all types, tongues, and manners!"

After careful inquiry the Honeggers took passage "on the boat *Niobé*, Captain Thomas, in the *Ruffel* or so-called second cabin, two places for 250 French francs . . . The cabin had only four single beds. I feel happy to have gotten [two of] them; in the steerage where four and two sleep densely packed in one bed, it is horrible."[13]

On June 7, 1848, the *Niobé* was ready to sail for New York. Wilhelmina experienced the crossing as pure misery. First she had to wait far into the night in heavy rain and sharp wind until the cabin was ready. The day had been quite warm and she had found no opportunity to change into warmer clothes. In addition, her period set in. She lamented:

> Once more all misery had to start at once . . . Violent vomiting and retching and cramps tormented me. I fell ill and remained ill the whole time. I did not have a single happy hour; the horrible noise and the bustle of the passengers and the roaring chant of the sailors distressed me so thoroughly that I often did not know how to put my head down.

Wilhelmina became feverish, suffered from terrible thirst and hunger because she felt unable "to devour bacon and hard zwieback like the

others." To make her misery complete, one of two bottles of raspberry juice she had taken along had cracked and its contents were lost.

> The other one I took into my bed so that I could get something to drink by myself; and lo and behold, even the one thing that refreshed me, perished; the cork blew out, and the mattress absorbed the wonderful juice; I lay in a beautiful state, one could neither wash nor dry, because my cook was too complacent . . . In spirit I was always with you, my beloved, longing for my dear homeland . . . When finally the cry "land" was heard, one thought heaven had been reached.[14]

"It is everywhere bad if one is unable to accept circumstances and if those circumstances refuse to accommodate one's own ideas," Johann Caspar dryly commented on his wife's report. He thought that they had experienced a "very good sea voyage." The only bad thing had been the outbreak of the cholera that "snatched away six strong ruffians; and three small children died." As for himself, "he now had to laugh quite often at the thought what fear the idea of an ocean crossing had caused" him. "One may meet up with disaster on firm land just as at sea," he explained. "For my part, I would not mind at all to go to sea today or tomorrow." He had otherwise nothing to report and viewed the journey from Felben to New York a mere trifle. They had been at sea for only thirty-two days and had encountered stormy weather but once. What really counted were the glories of America.[15]

II

Johann Caspar waited a full eight months to write his first letter home. "The reason was the worry about the immediate future," he explained, "and the firm will to write you the truth and nothing but the truth, and for that some months of experience had been necessary." He had read all too many negative letters from America "that had clearly borne the imprint of prejudice." In contrast he now had only good things to report:

> My beloved! I now have been in the desired land of freedom for eight months, a freedom that in one aspect is miles apart from Swiss freedom, where not a more or less fat purse makes the same creature human, but when the purse has become accidentally empty, be it by one's own fault or without it, one is deemed worth less than some domestic animal which is being fed for pleasure or out of compassion, out of silly, apish humanity, because one is now also an animal, unable to buy anything. No, in this country one deals with humans in a human way.
>
> Poverty is not shameful in America, and purses are not worshipped in political life. Civic virtue is not bought with money and is not lost with the loss of property. Crimes are severely punished, but not being able to pay does not lead to the criminal in prison.

After castigating the Swiss custom of handing over the poor for work to the lowest bidder, Johann Caspar described the American system of welfare in these glowing, if spurious, terms:

> If a father has been blessed by too many children, the state will, if so requested, take over their care and education. Daughters remain [in the care of the state] until their eighteenth year and the boys until their twenty-first

and are taught a trade or agriculture and receive at the end a saddled horse and one hundred dollars in their pockets. The daughters, too, receive a dowry.

This is a different maxim about the rude Americans, is it not, than the one usually proffered by educated Europeans.[16]

In some tortured prose that seems to conceal some uneasiness about his own future which after two and a half years had turned out to remain precarious, Johann Caspar then summed up his view about the promise of America:

I believe anyway that I may state that, whoever comes here with the firm resolve to accept work whatever it may be, whoever has sufficient courage to keep cool even if he sees many things done differently from what his Euro-

pean imagination has led him to assume, whoever forgoes every privilege as to his person and gladly forgets his aristocratic pride and respects himself in others, that whoever arrives here with such resignation, will feel happy and be soon at home. For my part I can say honestly and truthfully that I have not felt any desire to be back home, not even for an hour.[17]

Johann Caspar kept busy trying to build up a liqueur and brandy business. He made various kinds in his cellar, then drove with his horse and wagon through town to sell it to various taverns and inns. In two years he just about broke even and lamented the absence of a trustworthy collaborator and of sufficient investment funds. In a letter dated February 4, 1851, he urgently appealed to the family of his brother-in-law to join him and Wilhelmina in New York, apparently to no avail. He even included an interesting list of goods he hoped his relatives would take along for his brandy-making business. "I sell here very much bitter liqueur," he explained, "and make good profit. I tell people that it was made of Swiss herbs."[18]

In sum, Johann Caspar was sure that anyone worth his salt could find the good life in America. "America is May, Europe November," he had firmly concluded.[19]

Wilhelmina offered her sister's family a very different view of life in New York. First they had been struck by the cholera, then by dysentery, she reported. Then they had rented a small apartment opposite the cellar Johann Caspar was using for brandy-making. She describes her experience in these words:

Alas, the first night we were terribly bitten by miserably small animals; they drove us back and forth in our bed for a full hour. Finally we could not take it any longer; we had thought that they were the mosquitoes everybody had complained about and had bitten our hands, arms, and faces. But behold this American spectacle, we made light, and the devil take it, millions of bedbugs, small and large, like sand at the beach! *That was a night,* the more we killed, the more we saw; thus it went for three full nights, whether we put the bed on the floor or on boxes did not matter. You will understand that I cried bitterly . . .

We told acquaintances of our misery, but were expected to be consoled by the answer that most houses had bedbugs, but that perhaps we had also hit upon one of the worst nests.

Because there was no improvement, the Honeggers decided to move to the cellar where Johann Caspar made his brandy:

There we found only black bugs and many rats which ate away at my light dress, only a small nuisance compared to the cursed bedbugs although I stared at the tall rats with astonished eyes. When I was so alone, and that was most of the time, sitting in the half-dark cellar hole, the bed on the floor, no table, no chair—, in brief, my beloved, if you had seen me sitting there, so sad and so miserable, you would have at last cried out: "Oh God! Are you in a prison, sister? We are coming to set you free."[20]

So far as health was concerned—always a matter of importance to Wilhelmina—everything had gone well after their bout with cholera until January 1850 when both were bedridden for weeks. Otherwise she assisted

her husband in brandy-making and then looked after the small tavern he had rented. City life did not appeal to her. "What do I care for balls, concerts, plays, etc.," she exclaimed.

> Nature! Nature, you are my only delight! If I must miss that, I truly miss *everything*. Only then, when you, my beloved [sister], will be with us, will America become home for me, but now my mind dwells daily in your midst and my longing remains unfulfilled.[21]

The same journey, the same lodgings, the same daily world and yet the reports differ radically. One spouse praised what he experienced in near superlatives, the other loathed the journey and wished ardently to return to the world she had left. For the one all unpleasant things seemed to be mere trifles not worth mentioning and the new experiences fulfillment of long-held dreams; for the other, moments of joy had become all too rare and the journey to as well as the life in the New World had turned out to be nearly a nightmare.

To misinterpret either set of reports is all too easy and no mean temptation. Historians who are certain that the host nation is a superior world will find Johann Caspar's letters welcome proof. Those interested in revealing the miseries of the emigrant journey or of immigrant life will discover ample material in Wilhelmina's epistles. But both will be led astray if they fail to answer questions such as these: Why are the views of the spouses so different? Why does the one suppress or bagatellize whatever seemed unpleasant and extol the new surroundings far above those left behind? Why does the other dwell on all that is negative and view the former world of home with such insatiable longing? Exploring the past of these immigrants will set their nearly contradictory reports in proper perspective and allow at least partial answers to those questions.

III

In studying letters of immigrants one must remember that they do not describe what was, but what was experienced. A log cabin far away from any well established settlement, the absence of a school, church, and townhall, a barely cleared piece of land full of tree trunks amidst seemingly endless forests: Some celebrated these conditions as freedom, as opportunity to create, a world close to paradise; others loathed them as abject poverty, as relapse into barbarism, as a world of unmitigated misery.[22] Or the ocean crossing: It was probably neither the trifling affair as Johann Caspar viewed it, nor the total misery as portrayed by Wilhelmina. Yet both accounts seem to reflect a genuine, if contradictory experience whose source must be sought elsewhere.

One may interject that all human records suffer from this relativity of perception. Yet it seems that migration as a change of habitat sharpens this general feature of human reporting. The process of migration includes swift change, not only in the experience of landscapes and climates, but also of human environments as shaped by language, life style, institutions, and values. Reports of immigrants reflect, therefore, different perceptions of changing, either fascinating or repulsive worlds; the often contradictory no-

tions derive mainly from a person's taste, adaptive propensity, and evaluative orientation.

But the circumstances that led people to emigrate shape, perhaps, immigrant reports most decisively. Wilhelmina's letters, for instance, intimate that she never wanted to leave her home village, Felben, for the hustle and bustle of New York City. She valued the rhythm of the seasons; the quiet, orderly village life; the cleanliness of homes and streets; the intimate bonds that tied her to her sister and her family. The more different the world she was moving to became from what she had known and loved, the keener grew her pain. The bad things she encountered moved, therefore, to the center of her experience and dominated her letters. She had just turned forty when she followed her husband to America; thus her age further diminished her perhaps never pronounced ability to adapt.[23]

Johann Caspar, in contrast, was only aged thirty-four when he left Switzerland.[24] Although nothing in his letters hints at his earlier career, separate records show that he had been a teacher in rural villages of the Canton of Zürich. He had changed postitions frequently. In 1838 he had taught in Uerikon, from fall 1839 to 1841 in Hinteregg, then in Glattfelden; on October 2, 1842, he had been chosen by a narrow majority to teach in the secondary school at Bülach where he stayed until 1847. But he seemed very unhappy in his profession. Especially after 1841 he was repeatedly denounced by irate parents, the school board, and pastors of the surrounding villages.[25] A memorandum of March 28, 1843, for instance, signed by nine parents, accused him of having severely mistreated some children; he had failed, furthermore, to teach his pupils the New Testament; in two years they had read in it only three times and only one brief chapter. Johann Caspar had supposedly remarked: "Children, I prefer that you read in your school text or history book instead of the New Testament." "What may, what can we think of, and expect from, such a teacher," the angry parents wrote, "does he not show himself openly as scorning, one might even say, openly suppressing spiritual teaching and religion?"[26] Members of the school board of Bülach further observed that he was often up to half an hour late for school, had closed it for days without cause, and was found sleeping at his desk or writing letters; that he barely explained difficult problems in mathematics and punished those who made mistakes with unreasonable severity.[27]

It is not easy to assess the validity of these accusations. Was Johann Caspar Honegger a scoundrel, unfit to teach, and generally a quarrelsome and unpleasant man?[28] Had he embraced a liberal, secularist outlook that triumphed in those years, but remained anathema to the pious farm folk of the hinterland? Was he the victim of "intellectually limited parents or heads of households who are in no way capable of understanding academic disciplines or methods of teaching or of judging them correctly and with competence, yet claim to be able to do so,"[29] as his few defenders maintained? It seems clear from the available circumstantial evidence that Johann Caspar had found little enjoyment in his teaching. In his letter of March 17, 1850, the only reference to his past reads: "I think with pain of the time which I have wasted in Europe."[30] Accusations against him had clearly surfaced again and again until he finally quit his post on February 8, 1847.[31] Two

years later he was on his way to New York, perhaps also led to this step by the failure of the 1848 revolutions. Wilhelmina apparently shared none of her husband's religious or political views and went to America merely out of marital fidelity. She therefore missed precisely those things in life she had valued most, whereas her husband treasured the anonymity of life in the big city and the sorely needed elbow room it provided.[32]

In sum, the case of the Honegger-Hanharts reveals that immigrant letters may not be taken at face value, but must be understood within the personal history of immigrants. Only then may historians use them for exploring the bewilderingly complex experience of people on the move.

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Notes

1. Charles Tilly, "Migration in Modern European History," in *Human Migration. Patterns and Policies* , ed. William H. McNeill and Ruth Adams (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 56.

2. Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier. Auswandererschicksale aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten, Switzerland: Walter Verlag, 1977), p.20.

3. Johann Ludwig Spyri, *Gutachten über die schweizerische Auswanderung an die schweizerische gemeinnützige Gesellschaft* (Zürich: Schabelitz'sche Buchhandlung, 1865), pp. 12-13.

4. The following are book-length collections of immigrant reports: Theodore C. Blegen, ed., *Land of Their Choice. The Immigrants Write Home* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955) for Norwegians; Alan Conway, *The Welsh in America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961); Charlotte Erickson, ed., *Invisible Immigrants. The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in 19th Century America* (Leicester University Press, 1972); H. Arnold Barton, *Letters from the Promised Land. Swedes in America, 1840-1914* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press for the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1975); Everett Emerson, *Letters from New England. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638* (Amherst, Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976); Schelbert and Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier* (1977), a collection of 86 letters and reports of Swiss immigrants of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.—Joan Morrison and Charlotte Fox Zabusky, *American Mosaic. the Immigrant Experience in the Words of Those Who Lived It* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1980) present 136 interviews. Of these works, only Erickson, Emerson, and Schelbert and Rappolt offer extensive commentaries and give the documents in full.

5. The originals of these letters are in the possession of Mrs. Marinette Egli-Tuchschmid, Zürich, and were lent for transcription and editing by the good services of Professor Max Silberschmidt of the University of Zürich. Copies are available in the Staatsarchiv Zürich. The letters have been published with commentary by Leo Schelbert, "Vom Zürcher Schulmeisteramt Zum New Yorker Liqueurgeschäft," in *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1978* (Zürich: Staatsarchiv, 1977), pp. 143-192. The first letters by Wilhelmina, dated Havre, May 29, 1848, and Johann Caspar, dated June 1 and 6, 1849, were especially difficult to decipher because the emigrants first wrote horizontally, then vertically across the pages; the paper had yellowed and had been folded into a very small size.—In the following the letters are referred to as published in the *Taschenbuch;* the translations try to keep close to the originals and to convey some of their flavor.

6. The authorities at Mülhausen insisted that as a condition for passage Johann Caspar book for the ship right then and there. He resisted, but bought instead tickets for the journey to Le Havre which was finally accepted as sufficient proof of intent; see Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," p. 146.—For Johann Caspar's letter see ibid., pp. 149-153.

7. In 1615 the noble family of Bergamo had received the hereditary imperial postmaster-office general; in the nineteenth century the family gradually lost its privileges.

8. Belfort was strategically located where the roads from Montbéliard, Lyon, Paris and Basel intersected. The fortress was built in 1686 by Vauban and later expanded; for a description see *Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris [1888]), V, 1187-1189.

9. Troyes had in 1880 some 50,000 inhabitants; it was the seat of a bishop and also a commercial center in a long alluvial plain where the Seine divides into various branches; see ibid. (n.d.), XXXI, 432-434.

10. Through a so-called labyrinth, visitors could climb a hill that provided an impressive view of the city; see F.-M. Marchant, *Le Nouveau Conducteur de l'Etranger à Paris* (Paris, 1842), p. 262.—The church St. Geneviève was declared the place where notables were to be buried; ibid., pp. 129-134; the "colonne de Juillet" adorns the Place de la Bastille and was erected between 1831 and 1840 to commemorate the victims of the July Revolution of 1830; it is topped by a gilded bronze statue of the "Genius of Liberty"; ibid., pp. 184-185.

11. The church forms a rectangle of 100 meters in length and 42 meters in width and is framed by 52 tall Corinthian columns; see ibid., pp. 97-100.

12. See Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," pp. 147-149.

13. Ibid., p. 155.

14. Ibid., pp. 156-158.

15. Ibid., p. 158.

16. The broader context is described by Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 58-75. Documentary evidence for the rather grim situation of the poor and especially their children see Robert H. Bremner et al., eds., *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, 1:1600-1865* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 640-647. The auctioning of paupers to the lowest bidder was a widespread form of solving the problem of poverty. A useful survey on the forms of social welfare presents the *Encyclopedia of Social Work*, Seventeenth Issue (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1977), II, 1497-1529, with valuable bibliography; for German-speaking immigrants see Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981), pp. 98-101; 185-87; 198-99.

17. Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," pp. 172-184.

18. Ibid., pp. 185-190.

19. Ibid., p. 178.

20. Ibid., pp. 164-165.

21. Ibid., p. 170.

22. Schelbert and Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier*, pp. 65-84, offer an example relating to Purrysburg, South Carolina.

23. Wilhelmina was baptized May 17, 1809, and married Johann Caspar on February 19, 1838, who was then teacher at Uerikon (Dürnten Bürgeretat 1840, Staatsarchiv Zürich, E III 30.14, p. 169, No. 455).

24. Johann Caspar was the son of Hans Caspar Honegger (1774-1826), a farmer in Schlieren, commune of Dürnten; his mother was Regula, born Hess (1780-1829) of Wald; he was born in 1815 and had thirteen brothers and sisters (ibid., p. 40, No. 130; see also Dürnten Pfarrbuch 1803-1867, Staatsarchiv Zürich, E III 30.3, p. 40 and p. 635, No. 2).

25. See Heinrich Müller, *Egg bei Zürich* (Egg, 1975), p. 176; documentary evidence in Mappe Bülach 1811-1875, Staatsarchiv Zürich, U 33 a 1, especially for the following dates: 1842, October 2; 1843, March 20, 28, 31, May 1, July 4 and 20, October 6, November 7; 1845, June 10, August 30, December 5; 1846, February 25; 1847, January 11, February 8.

26. Mappe Bülach, ibid., March 28, 1843; Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," pp. 160-161 gives the full text as transcribed from the manuscript.

27. Mappe Bülach, July 4, 1843; also Müller, *Egg*, p. 176.

28. On May 22, 1849, Johann Caspar wrote to his brother- and sister-in-law:

> Let us forget all, if unimportant quarrels, and if you, dear brother-in-law, still have that letter which I have written under those unpleasant conditions and in the pressure of those circumstances, give it over to the flames. All shall be burnt that could remind us of those unfortunate hours. Do it in my name! (Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," pp. 143-144.)

29. Müller, *Egg*, pp. 178-179, facsimile of document.

30. "Mit Schmerzen denke ich an die unnütz in Europa verlorene Zeit" (Schelbert, "Schulmeisteramt," p. 182).

31. In January Johann Caspar asked for a replacement due to illness and resigned February 8; Mappe Bülach, ibid., January 11 and February 8, 1847.

32. In New York Johann Caspar joined the newly founded "Helvetia Lodge" which attracted mainly Swiss from the working class; the more well-to-do joined the Swiss Benevolent Society, founded in 1832; see Adelrich Steinach, *Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien*

in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika (New York, 1889), pp. 25-26; also Robert H. Billigmeier, "A Swiss Patrician in New York City's Elite: Henri Casimir de Rham, 1785-1873," *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter*, 11 (October 1975), 7-17.

Kathleen Neils Conzen

The Paradox of German-American Assimilation[1]

The experience of German immigrants in America has been a paradoxical one. Despite contemporary census reports and public opinion surveys which record the survival of some distinctive ethnic traits among persons of German ancestry, despite scattered rural areas and urban pockets where traces of German roots remain evident, most Americans would agree with Andrew Greeley that "if ever an American ethnic group vanished, it is the Germans."[2] Yet German-Americans once possessed one of the most visible, complex, and vital of American ethnic cultures, and nourished a strong ethos of separatism. How did so highly structured and sophisticated an ethnic culture disappear so completely? This article will briefly consider the historiography of this issue and its implications for current conceptual models of immigrant assimilation.

Early scholars did not perceive this paradox. For Faust, Fairchild, Wittke, assimilation was the normal fate of any immigrant group, Germans included. Though Faust noted that Germans were "tenacious of their social customs and principles of living," he also observed that their assimilation was "rapid almost to a fault."[3] But if Germans were assimilating so rapidly, why did they provoke the fierce anti-Germanism of the World War I period? John Hawgood attempted to confront this problem by arguing that the theoretically normal course of German assimilation had been "somewhat abruptly checked" in the 1850s by American nativism which "at a crucial period in their [the Germans'] development as an immigrant people, lessened their will to cooperate in American life, and tended to produce what became known as the hyphenated or German-American." Only the trauma of the First World War, Hawgood argued, shook loose the hyphen and brought about the delayed "completion of the Americanization of the German stock."[4] This interpretation still finds wide currency,[5] despite Hawgood's failure to take into account widespread evidence for German assimilation even in the pre-World War I period and despite subsequent scholarship that has made it clear that ethnic cultural defense of the type found among the Germans has been by no means abnormal among American ethnic groups.

By contrast, Heinz Kloss, writing at the same time as Hawgood in the 1930s, perceived that assimilation was proceeding apace even in the late nineteenth-century heyday of organized *Deutschtum*. He argued that such ethnic loss was an inevitable consequence of the size and heterogeneity of German settlements. These attributes nourished first generation communal strength but equally insured long-term Americanization by fostering factionalism, multiplying contacts with the native-born, weakening unified leadership, and provoking nativist attack.[6] The crisis which this created within German-American communities by the end of the century has been documented more recently by such scholars as Frederick Luebke, Guido Dobbert, and Philip Gleason.[7] Their work suggests that as halting immigration, suburbanization, and second-generation assimilation weakened the bonds of German community, the more recent lower-middle-class immigrants who dominated German organizational life embarked upon an almost pathological search for an issue to rally numbers behind some institutional focus, which they found first in opposition to prohibition, then in wartime pro-Germanism. When this somewhat artificial German cultural revival collided with renewed American cultural aggressiveness, the outcome only hastened and completed a community disintegration that was already well underway.

What makes this process of cultural disintegration paradoxical—assuming that this interpretation of the German-American experience is correct—is the current state of theory interpreting the immigrant experience in America. The so-called "ghetto model" of the emergence of ethnic culture, worked out by progressive-era social scientists and poetically recast for historians by Oscar Handlin, describes a process whereby impoverished peasants, upon exclusion from American society, formed their own communities to serve as psychological buttresses against the disorder and anomie of slum life and as economic and political bases for movement up and out of the ghetto and into the American mainstream.[8] But how then to explain the emergence of ethnic culture among a group like the Germans bound together neither by common peasant origins nor common poverty? The ghetto model postulates an almost inevitable assimilation; but efforts to replace or supplement it with one better able to account for the only too evident survival of ethnic distinctiveness in contemporary American society tend to leave the Germans in an equally paradoxical position. Milton Gordon, in his widely cited explanation for the durability of ethnicity, maintains that ethnicity has survived despite acculturation (or behavioral adaptation) because structural assimilation (or integration into the primary networks of nonethnic society) has not occurred for many members of many groups.[9] This implies that ethnicity could be expected to survive as long as there are communal settlements and institutions which bind group members to one another. Adopting this reasoning, Andrew Greeley has argued that only a catastrophe the size of World War I could destroy so deeply institutionalized an ethnic culture as that which the German-Americans had created.[10] Yet the German evidence suggests that this assumed link between community strength and resistance to assimilation was by no means so straightforward as such theory implies. A brief enumeration of some distinctive characteristics of German-American communities—

particularly urban ones—as they emerge from recent historical research, underlines this paradox which the German experience appears to pose.[11]

Preeminent among these German community characteristics is the familiar immigrant organizational life, which in the German case included from the outset cultural, social, and political associations, as well as the mutual benefit and religious organizations more common to the early stages of immigrant settlement in America. This can probably be better understood as a direct transfer of the *Vereinswesen* developing at the time in the homeland than as an innovative adaptation to the breakdown of the primary community in America, the more usual interpretation.

This *Vereinswesen* rested upon a second typical attribute, an unusually diverse occupational structure. Particularly in the large midwestern cities where Germans were found in numbers on all but the highest rungs of the economic ladder, they represented a microcosm of an urban society and not just a segment of it—a microcosm sufficiently varied to support an elaborate set of organizations and for a time to retain even the most urbanized and successful within the bonds of the ethnic culture.

Thirdly, not only class but also dialect and religion differentiated German community members from one another, although such internal differences have been more frequently deduced from their political and institutional consequences than directly documented. Little is yet known about the selective attraction of different communities in America for persons from different areas of Germany or about variations in the regional and religious composition of the various German-American urban communities.

Fourthly, Germans by the middle of the nineteenth century exhibited some of the strongest patterns of residential clustering recorded for any American ethnic group, despite a wide spectrum of occupations and rent-paying abilities that theoretically should have encouraged residential scatter in the era before mass transit. Such residential propinquity permitted ready access to community institutions, maximal use of German, and an easy, natural sense of community. But it is also clear that these residential clusters were dispersing rapidly by 1910 if not earlier.

A fifth characteristic was the factionalism that diversity entailed, factionalism which at least had the advantage of focusing interest on common personalities and issues and thereby creating a sense of participation in a vital and complete community. But without institutionalized ways of channeling factionalism into community decision-making (i.e., without political autonomy), such a community remained amorphous, its interests difficult to define to outsiders, its members difficult to mobilize as a voting bloc.

A final common feature was a commitment to certain cultural interests centering around aspects of community life shared by all factions and alien to Yankee culture—a relaxed and enjoyable Sunday, a glass of beer, the sanctity of the traditional home, pride in things German. The best indication of the strength of these interests in defining the limits of the consensual community can be found in German voting patterns, with their lack of unanimity except when such interests were attacked; these same records also provide some of the strongest evidence for community division when subgroup rather than ethnic cultural interests were more salient.

While the scattered studies from which I have derived these characteris-

tics are insufficient to firmly document an urban German community type distinct from that of any other group, they do seem to delineate an immigrant community quite different from the stereotypical immigrant ghetto, with a degree of diversity and institutional completeness sufficiently high to secure for newcomers a social environment similar in many ways to that which they might have encountered in a contemporary city in the fatherland. Members shared enough to give the community a single external identity based more on culture than on class or primary association. Primary loyalties within the community could be given to family, church, and other sub-groups without precluding recognition of membership in a broader German community which appears to have existed very early. Presumably such a heterogeneous and neighborhood-based cultural community eased initial accommodation to American life by providing needed services within an insulated environment, simplifying individual choices and cushioning contact with the outside world in ways not possible in the community postulated by the ghetto model.

In Gordon's terms, this would seem to imply retarded acculturation and, by extension, retarded assimilation, yet this is evidently not what occurred. Although much of the rapid Americanization noted by contemporaries undoubtedly went no further than loss of language and other forms of acculturation, declining membership in ethnic associations must have been mirrored by the kind of increasing interaction with old stock Americans that meant an important step toward assimilation. Germans also seem to have felt that acculturation, particularly language loss, left them peculiarly vulnerable to full community dissolution, since culture rather than common interest was their only bond. Yet not even the most tightly structured community could eliminate the contact that brought cultural change—in schools, on the job, in politics, through the spread of mass popular culture. As members gradually acquired American values and behavior, German organizations themselves subtly changed and became first German-American, then fully American. A ghetto demands movement beyond its bounds, institutional as well as physical, to confirm assimilation; but in the large German settlements, the community itself could assimilate with its members. During the transitional period, the relatively high status of German culture may have permitted a kind of bi-culturalism, as essentially assimilated persons moved back and forth between German and non-ethnic cultures, adopting at will the behavior of either—or even assimilation with only partial acculturation—possibilities not considered by most theory. This ended when war and prohibition raised the stakes of biculturalism too high, and in any case American culture subsequently co-opted stances that had previously served to define the boundaries of much of German culture. As the external signs of a clearly defining culture disappeared, so too did an ethnicity whose only base was culture. Had it been linked more strongly to a single class or a common predicament, it might have survived longer.[12]

I am thus suggesting that ethnicity defined by common culture rather than common interest may explain how community strength could lead to deethnicization rather than to the ethnic maintenance postulated by assimilation theory. There is increasing realization among scholars that acculturation proceeds differentially in different areas of behavior and belief,

that American society itself has not upheld a single standard of behavior for acculturation, and that considerable residues of ethnic culture remain among socially assimilated individuals. David Schneider has postulated a process of change in the very basis of ethnic identity itself, a "desocialization" of ethnic groups as they lose structural significance and become transmuted into "primarily cultural-symbolic groups."[13] Ethnicity so defined in cultural terms—presumably the product of parallel but independent transmission within families without the imposition of the disappearing structured ethnic community—at some further point may or may not recrystallize into the more formal solidarity of an interest group vis-à-vis other elements of society. Such a recrystallization, however, has thus far not occurred in the German case and shows little sign of doing so.

Much of the argument which I have tried to briefly sketch will remain hypothetical without further research. Let me conclude by suggesting several problem areas which I regard as most critical. Central is the necessity of comparing German settlements in a variety of cities over longer time periods to avoid the problem of generalizing from single case studies of Milwaukee, Cincinnati, or any other community. If data were collected systematically for a variety of communities on such measures as residential segregation, occupational structure, types and membership in ethnic organizations, ethnic newspaper circulation, political voting and office-holding, intermarriage, etc., and related to variables descriptive of the broader urban setting, a typology could be constructed that would help determine the relative roles of size, priority of settlement, economic heterogeneity, the development of a high as well as a folk ethnic culture and so on in the emergence and survival of German ethnic communities. It would also encourage systematic comparison with the experience of other ethnic groups.

Of course, large numbers of Germans made their adaptation to America in settlements where they were a small minority, and others chose to "pass" as individuals rather than to move with the group. Thus estimates are also needed of the numbers and characteristics of those who did and did not identify with the ethnic community over time, a research strategy that could also provide a test of the thesis of second-generation disaffiliation. The relationship between the institutional and the residential communities in the city—between those who belonged to German organizations and those who resided in German neighborhoods—also needs probing. There have been few attempts even to estimate proportions of the German urban population resident in ethnically concentrated, mixed, or dispersed settings at single points in time, let alone estimations of changes over time. Migration choices—from Germany to America, from one community in America to another, even from one part of a city to another—have also received little attention, yet played an obvious role in community formation and survival or dissolution.

So far I have not referred to rural settlements. This omission reflects the minimal concern for rural history among historians in general and of the German immigration particularly.[14] Yet if a real German culture has survived anywhere, it is in the densely German rural areas of the midwest and

plains states. There is evidence that not only the religious base of many of these settlements but also a relatively successful adaptation of German customs of family farm operation and inter-generational land transfer played a large role in maintaining such communities, an issue that deserves more research. Among the many other unanswered questions concerning the rural adaptation process is the rate and direction of the out-migration necessitated by unusually high birth rates and structural changes in American agriculture, and its resulting role in forming urban German cultures.

Part of the distinctiveness of German-American history lies in the strength of its high culture. Nevertheless, it is regrettable that so much more attention has been given to the *Vereinsdeutschen* than to the more numerous *Kirchendeutschen* or to what one might call the *Kneipen-deutschen*. Only recently, under the influence of newer conceptions of church history, has there been much attempt to approach religion, for example, from a social history viewpoint as an adaptive agent. German utilization of labor organizations, political machinery, schools, etc. could be approached within a similar conceptual framework. The patterns of leadership recruitment and changing German perceptions of the function of ethnicity itself likewise require careful documentation.

My final point concerns the measurement of assimilation itself. It would seem obvious to consider not only the distance travelled toward the host society but distance travelled from the culture of the homeland. Historians are increasingly distancing themselves from Handlin's conception of an unvarying peasant culture with uniform consequences for American adjustment,[15] but few treatments of Germans pay much attention to the cultural milieu which produced them. Too often the easy compatibility of German and American values is assumed,[16] despite evidence to suggest, for example, rather different family values, and despite the frequent German-Yankee conflict over cultural rather than structural or power-related issues.

Finally, concern for German cultural backgrounds should require greater sensitivity to regional and class differences in nineteenth-century Germany, and more systematic attention to the German backgrounds of immigrants in any given American setting, which, I realize, involves difficult problems of data linkage. But it also offers the challenge of comparing the fates of immigrants not just against native contemporaries as is the present practice, but also against their own individual points of departure and against the fate they might have expected had they either remained in their home area or migrated elsewhere in Germany. Such a matched comparison should permit a measure of migration effectiveness on the individual level as well as a conceptually more satisfying index of the cultural change which constitutes Americanization.

Such research strategies should illuminate not only the process of German assimilation but our understanding of the immigration experience more generally. For if the paradox I have posed is real, then its resolution will come not through the rewriting of German-American history, but by adjusting our conceptual models of assimilation and acculturation so that

they can more satisfactorily interpret the case of this largest of immigrant groups than is presently the case.

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Notes

1. This article was originally presented as a paper at the Third Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota, April 28, 1979. For a more extended and fully documented version of these comments, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Die Assimilierung der Deutschen in Amerika: zum Stand der Forschung in den Vereinigten Staaten," in Willi Paul Adams, ed., *Die Deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten: Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 33-64.

2. Andrew M. Greeley, *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), p. 117.

3. Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1909); Faust, "German Americans," in Francis J. Brown & Joseph Slabey Roucek, eds., *One America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), p. 102; see also Henry Pratt Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Sginificance* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1918), esp. pp. 72, 84, 94; Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), esp. p. 259.

4. John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1940), esp. pp. 52, 251, xiv, 279, 296, 300. Note, though, that Hawgood did acknowledge that although Bismarck-era immigration hardened German culture in America "to an ironlike firmness in its mould," "cracks in the once solid structure" began to appear by the end of the century as newer immigrants encountered lessened nativism and older ones began to move physically out of German areas (p. 291).

5. E.g., Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), pp. 58-59, 181; Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, *International Migrations* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1955), pp. 463-69; Noel Iverson, *Germania, U.S.A.: Social Change in New Ulm, Minnesota* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1966), pp. 35-47; Leonard Dinnerstein and David M. Reimers, *Ethnic America: A History of Immigration and Assimilation* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1975), pp. 33, 48-55.

6. Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937); Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts, " in Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Language Loyalty in the United States* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1966), esp. pp. 211, 226-27.

7. Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974); Luebke, "The Germans," in John Higham, ed., *Ethnic Leadership in America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 64-90; Guido A. Dobbert, "German-Americans between New and Old Fatherland," *American Quarterly*, 19 (1967), 663-80; Dobbert, "The Disintegration of an Immigrant Community: The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920," Diss. University of Chicago 1965; Philip Gleason, *The Conservative Reformers: German-American Catholics and the Social Order* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1968). For a recent summary treatment, see La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1976).

8. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1951); "Immigration in American Life: A Reappraisal," in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Immigration and American History: Essays in Honor of Theodore C. Blegen* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961), pp. 8-24; see also his *Boston's Immigrants* (New York: Atheneum, 1968). For the sociological roots of the model, see, for example, Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, *Old World Traits Transplanted* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1920); William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1958; reprint); see also Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Ethnicity: A Neglected Dimension of

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9. Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

10. Greeley, *Ethnicity*, pp. 297-302.

11. Studies of German ethnic communities include: Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948); Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville, The University Press of Virgina, 1969); Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1949); Frederick Doyle Kershner, Jr., "A Social and Cultural History of Indianapolis, 1860-1914," Diss. University of Wisconsin-Madison 1950; Audrey Louise Olson, C.S.J., "St. Louis Germans, 1850-1920: The Nature of an Immigrant Community and Its Relation to the Assimilation Process," Diss. University of Kansas 1970; Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-60: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); George Hellmuth Kellner, "The German Element on the Urban Frontier: St. Louis, 1830-1860," Diss. University of Missouri 1973; Frederick Anthony Hodes, "The Urbanization of St. Louis: A Study in Urban Residential Patterns in the Nineteenth Century," Diss. St. Louis University 1973; Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975); JoEllen McNergney Vinyard, "The Irish on the Urban Frontier: Detroit, 1850-1880," Diss. University of Michigan 1972; Dean Robert Esslinger, "The Urbanization of South Bend's Immigrants, 1850-1880," Diss. University of Notre Dame 1972; Alan N. Burstein, "Residential Distribution and Mobility of Irish and German Immigrants in Philadelphia, 1850-1880," Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1975; James M. Bergquist, "The Political Attitudes of the German Immigrant in Illinois, 1848-1860," Diss. Northwestern University 1966; Laurence A. Glasco, "Ethnicity and Social Structure: Irish, Germans and Native-Born of Buffalo, N.Y., 1850-1860," Diss. State University of New York at Buffalo 1973; Theodore Hershberg et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter*, 7 (1974), 174-216; Douglas V. Shaw, "The Making of an Immigrant City: Ethnic and Cultural Conflict in Jersey City, New Jersey, 1850-1860," Diss. University of Rochester 1972. For an interpretation of the literature on German urban settlements, see James M. Bergquist, "German Communities in American Cities: An Interpretation of the Nineteenth-Century Experience," German-American Symposium, St. Joseph's College, Philadelphia, December 7, 1975.

12. Cf. Colin Greer, "Remembering Class: An Interpretation," in Greer, ed., *Divided Society: The Ethnic Experience in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1974), pp. 3-35.

13. Cited in Talcott Parsons, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change of Ethnicity," in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, eds., *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 66. See also R. D. Alba, "Social Assimilation among American Catholic National-Origin Groups," *American Sociological Review*, 41 (1976), 103-46; Charles Price, "The Study of Assimilation," in *Migration*, J. A. Jackson, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 185-236; Greeley, *Ethnicity*; Daniel Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change," in Glazer and Moynihan, *Ethnicity*, esp. p. 169.

14. For exceptions, see Arthur B. Cozzens, "Conservation in German Settlements of the Missouri Ozarks," *Geographical Review*, 33 (1943), 286-98; Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966); Russel B. Gerlach, *Immigrants in the Ozarks* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1976); Shafer, "Yankee and Teuton," *The Winnebago-Horicon Basin: A Type Study in Western History* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1937); Frederick C. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969); Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Farm and Family: A German Settlement on the Minnesota Frontier," American Historical Association annual meeting, Washington, D.C., December, 1976.

15. Rudolph J. Vecoli, "*Contadini* in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *Journal of American History*, 51 (1964), 404-17; Josef J. Barton, *Peasants and Strangers: Italians, Rumanians, and Slovaks in an American City, 1890-1950* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975).

16. See, for example, two studies of Germans in colonial Pennsylvania: James T. Lemon, *The Best Poor Man's Country* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972); Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community, and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976).

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The restriction of this report to titles published in the years 1979 and 1980 is a transitional procedure. All entries for 1981 will be included in the

1982 Yearbook. The *1983 Yearbook* will contain the 1982 Bibliography and supplements for 1971-1981.

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