YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 17

1982

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 17

1982

Published at the University of Kansas by

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

with the support of the
Max Kade German-American Document & Research Center
at the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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 from members of the Society 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, Department of Germanic Languages & Literatures, 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, libraries, and organizations.

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Officers 1982-83

President
Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati

First Vice President
Helmut J. Schmeller, Fort Hays State University

Second Vice President
Peter C. Merrill, Florida Atlantic University

Treasurer
C. Richard Beam, Millersville State College

Secretary
Diane White, University of North Carolina-Asheville

Newsletter Editor
LaVern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College

Yearbook Editor
J. Anthony Burzle, The University of Kansas

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Editor
J. Anthony Burzle

Associate Editors
Helmut E. Huelsbergen
William D. Keel

Editorial Board
Kathleen Neils Conzen, University of Chicago
Jürgen Eichhoff, University of Wisconsin-Madison
Glen E. Lich, Schreiner College
Frederick C. Luebke, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
LaVern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College
Leo Schelbert, University of Illinois-Chicago Circle
Albert R. Schmitt, Brown University
Adolf E. Schroeder, University of Missouri-Columbia
Christoph E. Schweitzer, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Don Heinrich Tolzmann, University of Cincinnati
Robert E. Ward, Baldwin-Wallace College

Ad hoc Editors

Keith O. Anderson, Saint Olaf College
J. Bunker Clark, The University of Kansas
Leonard Dinnerstein, The University of Arizona
John Garland, The University of Kansas
Michael Hall, Smith College
Terry G. Jordan, University of Texas at Austin
Elizabeth Kuznesof, The University of Kansas
Paul Prusha, Marquette University
Paul Schach, University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Carl N. Shull, Elizabethtown College
Charles Stansifer, The University of Kansas
Milton Steinhardt, The University of Kansas

Copyright 1982, The University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas 66045

TABLE OF CONTENTS

From the Editors vii

ARTICLES

Walter Grünzweig 1
Charles Sealsfield and Timothy Flint

Ida H. Washington 21
America in the Poetic Development of Detlev von Liliencron

Helmut E. Huelsbergen 29
Ansichten über Amerika: Leitmotive in deutschen Reiseberichten aus den zwanziger Jahren

Geoffrey S. Cahn 47
The American Reception of Weimar Culture 1918-1933

Calvin N. Jones 63
Views of America and Views of Germany in German POW Newspapers of World War II

Theodore Gish 71
Ferdinand J. Lindheimer's Neu Braunfelser Zeitung: *Portrait of a German-Texan Weekly 1852-1872*

Peter C. Merrill 79
Ernst Anton Zündt and the German-American Theater

Richard C. Spuler 89
Wilhelm Tell as American Myth

William D. Keel 99
On the "Heimatbestimmung" of the Ellis County (Kansas) Volga-German Dialects

Robert H. Buchheit 111
Language Maintenance and Shift among Mennonites in South-Central Kansas

Werner Enninger and Karl-Heinz Wandt **123**
Pennsylvania German in the Context of an Old Order Amish Settlement
The Structural Instability of a Functionally Stable Variety

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Steven M. Benjamin and Renate L. Benjamin **145**
Bibliography of German-Americana Published in 1981
Articles, Books, and Dissertations

Bibliography 146

Topical Index 167

FROM THE EDITORS

The first volume of the *Yearbook of the Society for German-American Studies* has found the approval of our colleagues and friends in the field of German-Americana. The present volume continues the policy of a balance of general cultural, historical, literary, and linguistic articles.

We are happy to expand the international character of the *Yearbook* with articles by colleagues in Austria and Germany. One feature which also found approval is the inclusion of the *Bibliography*, building on the recent publications of Professor Arthur Schultz. We realize that the *Bibliography* for a specific year can never be entirely complete as such an undertaking presents great difficulties in compiling entries in such a short period, especially from foreign countries. We will, therefore, publish any entries missed for preceding years as supplements to the annual *Bibliography*.

Once again we are indebted to the generous assistance of the Max Kade Foundation, New York, and its President, Dr. Erich H. Markel. Without his help this volume could not have appeared. We sincerely hope that his interest in German-Americana will find emulation and support from other friends of our work. Such support is already evident in a financial contribution from the Universität Essen, West Germany.

This year the Editors are also indebted to colleagues from various academic fields who assisted in evaluating papers in areas outside the competency of the members of our regular Editorial Board. Special recognition should be given to the members of the Editorial Board, as well as to the members of the Bibliographic Committee under its chairman Professor Steven Benjamin.

The year 1983, the Tercentenary of the arrival of the first German settlers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, promises to be an exciting one for special projects in our field. We plan to publish a special edition of the *Yearbook* to coincide with the festivities in Philadelphia in October 1983.

We wish to thank our readers for their generous acceptance of Volume 16 of the *Yearbook* and hope that volume 17 will be a worthy successor.

Lawrence, Kansas
December, 1982

Walter Grünzweig

The Italian Sky in the Republic of Letters: Charles Sealsfield and Timothy Flint as Early Writers of the American West

I

Sealsfield-scholarship on both sides of the Atlantic has always been dominated by *Germanistik.* The fact that this Austro-American author wrote predominantly (though not always) in German, made his works almost naturally part of the spectrum of Austrian and German literature of the *Vormärz/Biedermeier* period. The political attitudes emerging from the works seemed more or less in line with the mainstream progressive liberalism of a number of authors belonging to the group known as *Junges Deutschland* and thus reinforced this classification.[1] As a consequence, Sealsfield was uncritically placed in the tradition of German *Nationalliteratur* without consideration for his American roots. This is even true for an article as recent as Doerry's "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May" (1981). While Doerry is quite willing to investigate Sealsfield's version of America, he does not consider Sealsfield as an American author.[2]

Sealsfield's actual connection with the United States, as a great number of studies seem to imply, is mostly of interest to the biographer, and only peripherally to the literary historian or critic. Even an American student of Sealsfield's work such as Dallmann, who set out to locate the "Spirit of America" in Sealsfield's fiction, uses surprisingly few American sources in order to verify the authenticity of this American "spirit." Where he does turn to an American source his method is questionable, since he compares "ideas" derived from Sealsfield's fictional works with nonfictional American sources, without regard for specific narrative situations involved. Dallmann's study, along with a number of similar works, reduces Sealsfield's fiction to the role of a (naturally poor) textbook on American sociology.[3]

The more appropriate method of interpreting Sealsfield's works in light of the American literature of the period has rarely been employed. If so, it confined itself mostly to Sealsfield's links with James Fenimore

Cooper, probably because this early American author is well-known to every historian of German literature, due to his widespread reception and popularity in the German-speaking countries. Even in this case, however, actual comparative studies between Cooper and Sealsfield were rarely carried out and the findings of Cooper research neglected.[4] This led to a cliché in Sealsfield criticism, which is reiterated time and again in almost every study: According to this point of view, Cooper is a "romantic," "sentimental" author, particularly in his characterization of the Indian, while Sealsfield is inclined towards a "realistic" treatment of his material. Krumpelmann, when comparing Sealsfield's *Tokeah; or, the White Rose* (German: *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*) to *Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales,* maintains: "But Tokeah is not an Uncas, such as Cooper created, a 'noble savage,' but an Indian, *as in nature,* honest, but basically distrustful of the white conquerors, who have come across the sea"[5] (Italics mine, W.G.). The argument against Krumpelmann is that the old, miserable Tokeah should not be compared with the young and valiant Uncas, but with one of the many old and miserable as well as "distrustful" Indian chiefs in Cooper's novels. The "noble savage" in *Tokeah,* as a contemporary review in a Philadelphia newspaper correctly states, is El Sol, "an Indian of the Uncas cast, . . . a noble fellow, with all the thewes and sinews of a Hercules . . . ."[6] To liken Tokeah to the Indians "in nature" means to deny the obvious fictionality of Sealsfield's works. Again Krumpelmann: "Our author [Sealsfield] was strongly convinced that Cooper never really knew the real savage Indian who dwelt deep in the backwoods."[7] Krumpelmann's argument makes use of the same narrow conception of realism which Arndt had criticized in Willey's contributions forty years earlier and which, in the end, should have clarified the question.[8] The point is to accept Sealsfield's novels as fiction, as the literary expression of a particular American ideology. Sealsfield's Indians are in no way more "real" than Cooper's, but they come out of a somewhat different literary and intellectual tradition; this tradition tends to favor civilization over the Indian (savage) way of life.

It will be the task of future Sealsfield-scholarship to interpret his works in both a European and an American context. While a number of American sources for Sealsfield's novels have already been uncovered and a number of other relationships still remain unclear, the point is now to reinterpret Sealsfield's works in this literary context. While there will have to be a basic revision of the present picture of the Sealsfield-Cooper relationship, other American authors will also have to be considered in order to identify the "American" meaning of Sealsfield's works.

One might argue that, since the intended reading audience of Sealsfield's works was German or European, this "American" meaning of the text could not have been part of Sealsfield's authorial intention. However, Sealsfield always maintained that his historical fiction was a "Bildungs- und Aufklärungsmittel" and presupposed active interest on the part of the reader.[9] Sealsfield intended to convey the full meaning of his novels to a sophisticated reading audience that was acquainted with

the United States of America of its day. His works, however, were a popular success due to their American setting. In the course of this transatlantic reception, part of the intended meaning of Sealsfield's novels was obscured. Nevertheless, this does not mean that it was never there in the first place.

One way to review the meaning of Sealsfield's works would be to consider them in the original context of their conception, i.e., Sealsfield's life in America. This is, of course, impossible and would also allow biography an undue place in the interpretation of literary works. The comparison with similar American texts of the period, or even with proven sources, would bring us closer to this original context without sacrificing its literary quality. All too often, nonfictional American materials have been crudely used as correlatives of literary texts in Sealsfield-scholarship. In the past, Sealsfield's role as American citizen, American traveler, and even American slaveholder have been under examination. It is high time to consider him as American author as well. This requires an investigation of Sealsfield's place in American literary history, his use of American literary conventions and, generally, his use of American sources and their interpretation.

Students of American literature, especially those working in the extended field of American studies, have long since recognized Sealsfield's significance for American literary history. However, this recognition is limited to a few studies and encyclopedias and is at best incidental. While scholars like Henry Nash Smith assigned Sealsfield a place in a specific area of American literature, most Americanists hardly know his name.[10] The main reason for this deficiency, of course, is the poor and highly inaccessible translation of his works,[11] but the failure to consider Sealsfield as a part of an American tradition is also responsible. At a time when a large number of the Wright-titles of American fiction of the 1820s and 1830s are available in reprint editions, Sealsfield's works are scarce and much looked-for items in the Western Americana sections of antiquarian booksellers in the United States.[12]

By showing Sealsfield's affinity to the American literature of his time, German-American studies (along with American studies in German-speaking countries) will create an interest in Sealsfield which should ultimately lead to his reacceptance into American literary history. There must be a place in every American literary history for the most important of German-American authors.

II

The present study sets out to explore Sealsfield's relationship to one of the most important American writers of the pre-romantic period, Timothy Flint (1780-1840). No one with literary interests living in the United States of the second half of the 1820s as well as the 1830s could ignore the immensely popular Timothy Flint. Like Sealsfield, Flint was trained for the ministry but he soon left his native Massachusetts and moved to the western territories. After 1826, he devoted the major part

of his life to literary activities as novelist, editor of the short-lived *Western Monthly Review* and author of travelogues and scientific tracts.

Although there is so far no mention of it in either author's biography, it is quite possible that Sealsfield and Flint knew each other personally.[13] Flint spent a number of years with his uncle, a publisher and bookseller, in Cincinnati. During that time, he edited and practically wrote in its entirety the *Western Monthly Review*. However, he spent a large part of his time in the Old West and Southwest in Alexandria, Louisiana. This small town on the Red River is, by strange coincidence, the area in which Sealsfield-scholars place Sealsfield's plantation.[14] The town appears a number of times in Sealsfield's works. In his travelogue, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (1827), Sealsfield predicts Alexandria's future significance: ''Seine Lage am Redriver wird den Ort in kurzer Zeit zum bedeutendsten des westlichen Theils [von Louisiana] erheben.''[15] Sealsfield also makes use of Alexandria at the conclusion of a probably fictitious letter to an hitherto unidentified ''A. J. Smith Esq. Dauphin Cy. Pa.'' prefaced to *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833): ''Alexandria, La., den 30. September 1831.''[16] Since, according to Castle, Sealsfield was in Europe at that time, both time and place must be considered fictitious.[17] Nevertheless, these references to Alexandria make probable Sealsfield's connection with this town and with Flint.

The preface to Sealsfield's ''Christophorus Bärenhäuter,'' published by Orell und Füßli in Zürich in 1834, contains Sealsfield's highly positive opinion of Flint and reveals his intimate knowledge of Flint's works and affairs. He first regrets that the *Western Monthly Review* (discontinued in 1832) is ''nun bedauerlichermaßen verblichen'' and then continues:

> Wir sagen bedauerlichermaßen, weil der besagte achtbare Prediger in diesem seinen verblichenen Magazin und anderen Schriften, unter denen wir nur die westliche Geographie nennen, ein Licht über die Entstehung und den Fortgang der Niederlassungen jenseits der Alleghanygebirge verbreitet hat, das mehr Belehrung über diese interessanten Staaten gewährt und gründlichere Forschungen enthält, als die fünfhundert Reisebeschreibungen sämmtlicher Europäer zusammengenommen, die unserm Lande und dessen Bewohnern die Ehre erwiesen, dieselben zu schildern, nicht wie sie sind, sondern wie sie beide gerne haben möchten, um ihren respectiven Allerhöchsten Patronen und deren loyalen Unterthanen weniger Herzklopfen zu verursachen.[18]

Sealsfield's political (anti-European) as well as regional (pro-western) bias becomes obvious from this passage. The rhetoric of realism (''wie sie sind'') cannot veil the propagandistic effort conveyed through these lines. Sealsfield shared this western, democratic bias with Flint probably more than with any other author. In what seems to be a professional paradox, both authors turn against the sophisticated ''literary'' atmosphere of the East coast which they considered to be unduly influenced by Europe.[19] They attempt a new, western literature, based on western subject matter.

Flint's first novel, *Francis Berrian, or The Mexican Patriot* (1826), made this political and regional bias quite obvious. Like Flint, Berrian is a New Englander, who moves west in quest of adventure. Soon, however, his adventurous spirit is sobered by a severe illness, contracted in the valley of the Red River with its "dark and mephitic waters,"[20] foreshadowing the experiences of some of Sealsfield's Louisiana settlers. Berrian survives and his outlook broadens. The view of the American flag on the border with Mexico triggers his patriotic feelings:

> We joined to admire the genius of a country yet so young, and which has thus early learned to stretch her maternal arms to these remote deserts, in token of the efficient protection of the frontier people from the terrors of the ruthless savages.[21]

The feelings of the proud American combine with the disdain for the savages. While no direct traces can be shown, Flint's subsequent presentation of the Comanches and their village almost certainly influenced Sealsfield's depiction of the Comanches in *Tokeah; or, the White Rose* (1829). While Flint seems to admire Indian life for its peace and tranquility, he definitely presents the aboriginal society as inferior to civilization. Neither Flint nor Sealsfield could avoid western thinking, which demanded that the Indian way of life give way to white civilization.[22]

Francis Berrian, however, is known less for its depiction of the Indians than for its presentation of the Southwest, in particular Texas. The novel is generally credited as being the first "Texan novel" in American literary history.[23] Sealsfield's *Tokeah,* following somewhat in the footsteps of *Francis Berrian* is the second novel taking place largely on Texas soil.[24] The major part of Flint's novel is taken up by the presentation of the anticolonialist struggle of Mexicans against Spain. Flint's anti-Catholicism or, to be more specific, his anticlerical position, was to be taken up in three of Sealsfield's novels. *Der Virey und die Aristokraten, oder Mexiko im Jahr 1812* (1834) echoes the anti-Spanish and the anti-Catholic theme; *Das Cajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken* (1841) and *Süden und Norden* (1842/43) stress mainly the anti-Catholic bias. The theme of the vicious Catholic clergyman attempting to subvert male Protestant American morality with the aid of Mexican Catholic womanhood seems to have come directly from Flint.

While the charge that *Francis Berrian* is "a novel which is on the whole poorly constructed"[25] may be correct, one should not overlook the formal affinities between Sealsfield's and Flint's Mexican novels. Sealsfield's *Virey* and *Süden und Norden,* too, were often charged with being chaotic in form. However, closer investigation proves a narrative strategy designed to present a fictional Mexico which shows

> . . . nur Spuren gewaltsamer Revolutionen und schnell aufeinander folgender Katastrophen, häufig nicht mehr als einen Steinwurf von einander entfernt, bei jedem Schritte Spuren der gewaltsamsten Umwälzungen, der unnatürlichsten Kämpfe.[26]

Thus what appears to be a formal deficiency can also be interpreted as narrative strategy. To American eyes, Mexico was a country charac-

terized by political chaos and social instability, and could not be presented in traditional narrative forms. The presentation of an American democracy superior to Mexican revolutionary efforts lays the groundwork for Sealsfield's later treatment of the Mexican theme.

With *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman; or 'Don't Give Up the Ship'* (1829), Flint shifts the focus of his writing to the western frontier. In the preface, he defends the setting and characters of his novel and, at the same time, attacks the conventional romances of his time:

> The reader will see, if he knows the country, where it is laid, as I do, that it is true to nature. He will comprehend my motive for not being more explicit on many points; and he will not turn away with indifference from the short and simple annals of the poor, for he will remember, that nine in ten of our brethren of the human race are of that class. . . . It has been for ages the wicked, and unfeeling, and stupid habit of writers, in selecting their scenery and their examples, to act as if they supposed that the rich, the titled, and the distinguished, who dwell in mansions and fare sumptuously every day, were the only persons, who could display noble thinking and acting . . . . Who, in reading about these favorites of fortune, remembers that they constitute but one in ten thousand of the species.[27]

And: "There is as much strength and force and truth of affection in cottages as in palaces."[28] This passage deserved to be quoted at length because it comes very close to Sealsfield's well-known conception of the *höherer Volksroman,* which demands fictional characters representative of the majority of the population.[29] Both Flint and Sealsfield attempt to rid themselves of the genteel couple inherited from Cooper and other romanciers. Unfortunately, Flint's theoretical statement is more noteworthy than the subsequent novel, which suffers from Flint's frequent and intensive moralizing. George Mason is less a young backwoodsman than a Christian knight in the service of his mother and sister, defending them against the improprieties of Creole planters.

Flint's portrayal of a backwoodsman is more successful in his *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone* (1833) which Sealsfield had in mind when creating his "squatter-regulator" Nathan Strong. Flint's characterization of Boone makes the "Patriarch of Kentucky" a curious apostle of progress, who depends on the wilderness for his mode of life. His character is divided between his bias towards civilization and his actual life style, which approaches that of the Indians. In a visionary moment, Boone

> . . . had caught some glimmerings of the future, and saw with the prophetic eye of a patriot, that this great valley must soon become the abode of millions of freemen; and his heart swelled with joy, and warmed with a transport which was natural to a mind so unsophisticated and disinterested as his.[30]

On the other hand Boone likes to commune with primeval nature, to live the solitary life in the woods. In this he resembles Cooper's Natty Bumppo:

> He loved to wander alone, with his unerring rifle on his shoulder, through the labyrinths of the tangled forests, and to rouse the wild

> beast from his secret lair. There was to him a charm in these primeval solitudes which suited his peculiar temperament, and he frequently absented himself on these lonely expeditions for days together.[31]

Nathan Strong in Sealsfield's *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator, oder der erste Amerikaner in Texas* (1837) is caught in the same contradiction between his existence as a civilized citizen and his life in the wilderness. There are times when Nathan's fate seems so intimately interwoven with nature and the wilderness that the reader cannot imagine him in a social context. On the other hand, he is always a representative of his country and civilization. If Boone is called the "Patriarch of Kentucky," Nathan, coming from Kentucky and moving into Louisiana, deserves to be termed the "Patriarch of Louisiana." Like Boone, Nathan devoted the major part of his life to fighting the enemies of the United States. While Boone was continually engaged in fighting the Indians, Nathan had to take on the French and Spanish colonial troops. Like Boone, Nathan can be termed the "first actual settler and cultivator of the soil" of his territory;[32] the phrase implies both his status as a pioneer and as a farmer.

The similarities between Daniel Boone and Nathan Strong and between the two novels as a whole are obvious. In each case, the family of these "founding fathers" plays a conspicuous role. In the *Memoir,* Boone loses his brother in the fight against the Indians; in *Nathan,* the brother of Nathan's wife, Asa, dies in the fight against the Spanish. Both works paint an impressive picture of the frontier woman who holds her own in the fierce battles. As a result of these struggles, both authors imply, Kentucky and Louisiana became American. The term "dark and bloody ground" used for Kentucky[33] is the correlative of Sealsfield's much more impressive symbol of the "blutiges Blockhaus" in *Nathan*: Both novels sugest that human lives, sacrificed in the conquest of this part of America, entitle the family of the dead to ownership of these lands—the more so, since an opportunity is thereby created for other Americans to move to these new areas and prosper.

However, both Boone and Nathan learn that their titles to the land are insecure in the face of civilization. The narrator of the *Memoir* observes:

> A set of speculators and interlopers, who, following in the train of civilization and wealth, came to enrich themselves by monopolizing the rich lands which had thus been won for them, and by the aid of legal advisers following all the nice requisitions of the law, pounced, among others, upon the lands of our old pioneer.[34]

In *Nathan,* it is "das Gesetz und der Sheriff," "die Gesetzmänner,"[35] who deprive Nathan of the possession of his land. Whereas the European colonial powers could not push Nathan out of Louisiana, his own country, the United States, forces him to move "ein Haus weiter."[36] In the end, both Boone and Nathan, recognizing the fundamental difference between natural law and the laws of civilization, move west, "wo kein Sheriff, kein Gesetz ihn ein Haus weiter weisen kann."[37] Boone emigrates to Missouri, Nathan to Texas, to become "der

erste Amerikaner in Texas." Both are forced once again to assume their original roles as pioneers, for which they seem destined by history.[38]

Flint's *Memoir* suffers from rather stereotyped narration and generally refrains from individualization. In this respect, Sealsfield's novel is superior: The introduction of the French-American narrator, Count Vignerolles, makes for a much better and livelier story and Sealsfield's book altogether more readable for the modern reader than Flint's. At the same time, Sealsfield's work is doubtless indebted to Flint's version of Boone's life and to the American Boone tradition as a whole. Nathan's character, oscillating as it does between society and nature, is closer to Boone than to Leatherstocking. He is a more complex character than Leatherstocking and less repetitive and sentimental than Cooper's "philosopher of the wilderness."[39] He is the democrat of the wilderness and thus an apostle of civilization.

III

The foregoing section attempted a general comparison between important works by Sealsfield and Flint. While no direct influence such as word-by-word borrowings can be proven in the case of those works, the comparison shows that Sealsfield and Flint were interested in the same subjects and themes—Mexico and the American Southwest, anti-Catholicism (nativism) and the American western frontier. Both writers reacted against the prevalent genteel setting and genteel characters in American literature of the period, which they felt to be an inadequate fictional presentation of American life.

In the following section, two specific texts which Sealsfield borrowed from Flint will be examined. This will permit a reinterpretation of these passages by comparing the different use of the same material. It should be noted here that the discovery of these sources dates back to the beginning of this century.[40] However, no student of Sealsfield's fiction has ever made use of these findings for textual interpretation.

The first of these texts, "Der Kindsräuber," appears in Sealsfield's *George Howard's Esq.* Brautfahrt, chapter three. The tale is rendered by the first person narrator George Howard. Howard maintains that the event occurred "zu Ende des Jahres 1825."[41] As evidence, the editor [?] mentions in a footnote that all newspapers of the State of Mississippi reported extensively on this case and that the name of the child's father was retained in the narrative (K, 139).

However, the tale is almost certainly based on a contribution to the May 1827 issue of the *Western Magazine and Review* (later *Western Monthly Review*).[42] This journal was edited and written by Flint in Cincinnati. Flint's sketch is entitled "The Stolen Child" and is a mixture of journalism and short prose. Flint maintains that the kidnapping occurred "during the past winter" (*WMR*, 20), i.e., in the course of the winter 1826/27, and not, as Sealsfield states, the winter before. Sealsfield's statement, that he wrote the story himself inspired by newspaper reports, is therefore probably false. The suspicion arises that Sealsfield employed Flint's rendition of the event in the *Western Magazine and*

Review as his source; this supposition is confirmed by Sealsfield's use of similar or even identical words, a similar structure and a number of conspicuous details. Of course it is theoretically possible that both Flint and Sealsfield used a third text, as yet unknown to us, as their source. However, John A. Hamilton, who first discussed Flint's novel, *The Lost Child* (see below), as well as a modern student of Flint's fiction, James Folsom, both believe the sketch in the *Western Magazine and Review* to be an original contribution.[43]

The question of whether or not such borrowings would constitute plagiarism was widely discussed among scholars dealing with Sealsfield's works.[44] However, it is relatively irrelevant, when one considers the general practice of generous borrowing prevalent among fiction writers of the period. Subject matter, plot, and theme all were scarce commodities in the American literary world of that period and hardly the exclusive property of an individual author.[45] What is much more important is the way this fictional material is treated in a new context or as a new text.

Obviously, both authors well understood the literary potential of the kidnapping. Already in 1830, four years prior to Sealsfield's *George Howard's Esq.* Brautfahrt, Flint wrote an extended version of his contribution to the *Western Magazine,* also titled *The Lost Child.*[46] This work, of which only four copies are known to exist today, has the character of a novella—if one may use a German generic term for an American work of prose fiction. Its 121 pages make it too long for the type of short story known in American literature since Washington Irving. On the other hand, Folsom correctly disqualifies it as a novel and stresses its edifying religious character.[47]

The generic term novella is appropriate in that two plot lines, the destiny of the kidnapped boy and his kidnappers on one hand and the desperate search of the parents on the other lead to a *Wendepunkt* characteristic of the novella form. This *Wendepunkt,* the *unerhörte Begebenheit,* consists in the discovery of the kidnapper and the latter's refusal to reveal any information concerning the whereabouts of the child in spite of torture, a prison term, and threatened death.

In comparison with the sketch in the *Western Magazine,* the plot of Flint's novella is presented in greater detail, which permits the author to enlarge somewhat on the psychology of his characters. Instead of one, there are now two kidnappers, one of whom, Thomas Tuttell, who had already appeared in the earlier version, is described as "spoiled by indulgence, and the want of proper correction and restraint" (L, 100) in his childhood. He started his career as a criminal as a youth in his native Ireland and is depicted as more ruthless than his fellow kidnapper. The latter pities the child and protects him against Tuttell. The book-length version of the story also gives more room to the feelings of the parents, who are a highly religious couple and therefore, in spite of the odds, do not give up hope. One has to agree with Folsom that the central meaning of the story is religious, even though its western setting furnishes an additional meaning which will be discussed below.[48] Flint repeatedly states that the parents idolized their son, who seems to be

livelier and more intelligent than other children. In the religious context, this idolization must be judged negatively: " . . . the father . . . acknowledged in the taking away of his favourite child, the hand of God, depriving him of his idol, which had arisen between him and his Creator" (L, 29).

The initial inner strength of the child must also be interpreted in a religious sense: "They [the kidnappers] cannot take away my Heavenly Father" (L, 55), he keeps reassuring himself and the "young readers" (L, 3), whose trust in God Flint attempts to strengthen with his book. One observes, however, that Henry (in Sealsfield's story: Douglas) loses his sense of religious security following many months of absence from home and a number of traumatic experiences. Flint does not completely compromise the artistic merit of his story for reasons of religious didacticism.

In Sealsfield's "Der Kindsräuber," the religious implications of the story do not surface. Rather, Sealsfield makes use of Flint's story as a western tale. The introduction to chapter three provides the first clue for the interpreter. Here, the narrator George Howard, normally less philosophically inclined, ponders the locale of his tale:

> Ja, es ist ein erhabener, ein beinahe furchtbarer Anblick, diese endlosen Urwälder, Tausende und abermals Tausende von Meilen in ihr nächtliches Dunkel hüllend. Wie mancher Klagelaut mag in ihnen ungehört verschollen, wie manche Gräuelthat, vor deren bloßen Namen das stärkste Männerherz erzittern würde, von den hehren Wipfeln und ihren düstern Schatten bedeckt seyn! Scheint es doch, als ob hier die ungeheure Natur auch ungeheure Verbrechen erzeugen müßte! (K, 98 f.)

While one can imagine a whole range of adjectives to describe "Urwald," "erhaben" and "hehr" would not normally be amongst them. These refer less to the forest itself than to events occurring therein. Flint, too, introduces his tale with remarks on the "dangers of entering unknown forests, the savages, wild beasts and musquitoes" (L, 7), describing the wild, untamed nature of the western part of the United States. Such remarks on the stories' settings, which abound in both Flint's and Sealsfield's texts, point to the problem each western writer of the pre-romantic period had to face: How could a sparsely populated country which stood only at the beginning of civilization afford tragedy? How could the West bring forth literature?

In the preface to the initial issue of his new journal whose first contribution is "The Lost Child," Flint states programmatically:

> The republic of letters ought to have no bounds but the range of intellect. . . . We shall strenuously maintain the opinion, that, circumstances being the same, a man can write as well now, as he could have written in the times of Homer, or Milton; that for the development of mind, it is not necessary to court 'the nine' in Jerusalem, or Samaria, or Paris, or London, or Edinburgh, or Boston; and that wherever a vigorous intellect opens itself to the inspirations of nature, be it on the

> Ohio, the Mississippi, the Red River, or even *near the borders of the Arkansas,* it will operate the same results, as it would in Boston. (*WMR,* 18)

These lines, apologetic and aggressive at the same time, attempt to justify western American literature. Flint demands independence from literary centers both in the Old and the New World. This same preface also transfers Thomas Jefferson's popular agrarian argument,[49] which western ideologists liked to employ in a variety of contexts to hold their own against the East, to the production of literature:

> Now we are of the number, who are so simple, as to believe, that admist the freshness of our *unspoiled nature,* beneath the shade of huge sycamores of the Miami, or cooling the forehead in the breeze of the beautiful Ohio, and under the canopy of our Italian sky, other circumstances being equal, a man might write as well as in the *dark dens of a city.* (*WMR,* 10; italics mine.)

Flint's pointed argument implies that the western authors, who are closer to nature, are actually in a much better position to produce excellent literature than the East coast "bluestockings." While the popular authors of the day, such as Catherine Sedgwick and Lydia Child, were writing in a defined social context, the West did not have such a literary society. Therefore, the task of the western author changes radically from the depiction of society to the depiction of nature: "Our literary creed is included in one word, 'simplicity.' Our school is the contemplation, and the study of nature" (*WMR,* 18). Nature, of course, here means western nature and the natural environment of the western people. In this context, *The Stolen Child* and "Der Kindsräuber" gain a new level of meaning. The interpretation of the tale requires consideration of its natural setting and its close connection with the virgin territory in the West in general. The argument is one of literary emancipation and democracy: Western backwoodsmen, too, may suffer; the western wilderness, too, affords tragedy and merits literary efforts. Flint's version ends with the boy's return to his family, suggesting the greater significance of the religious dimension of his story. Sealsfield's version, on the other hand, ends in tragedy, thus reinforcing this argument. The story serves to justify the western setting of literature in general. This is also made explicit by the narrator: "Ja, die Wirklichkeit [des Westens] ist oft grausamer, als die glühendste Dichtung—schauderhafter, als die schreckenvollste Phantasie—sie malen kann" (K, 99). Thus Howard (Sealsfield) qualifies his material for literary presentation. This interpretation of the tale as specifically western in outlook brings it in line with the whole cycle, *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre.*

The narrative context of the story links the western natural setting to western society. The travelers of a Mississippi steamship are engaged in conversation, when the casual mood suddenly changes into oppressive silence upon passing the small village of Hopefield:

> Das Oertchen bietet wenig Interessantes dar, aber doch hafteten die Blicke unserer sämmtlichen Reisegesellschaft mit einer sichtbar

> peinlichen Beklemmung an den Blockhütten und den weiter zurück emporstarrenden ungeheuren Cottonbäumen. (K, 100)

The sudden recollection of the kidnapping is interesting since the whole traveling party, consisting partly of very rich and distinguished planters, identifies with the fateful destiny of this family of the backwoods. The kidnapping seems to be general knowledge. Howard, who was told about the event in some detail by the mother of the kidnapped boy, Mistress Clarke (Flint: Clark), is asked to inform the steamship passengers.

Howard relates that approximately three years ago, ''im Anfange Decembers im Jahre 1825 [. . . er] gleichfalls den Mississippi in der *Feliciana* [a steamship] hinabging'' (K, 100). One of the wheels of the ship struck against a sawyer and forced the ship to stop in Hopefield. The decision to go hunting leads to the encounter between the passengers and the backwoods couple. The Clarkes seem in a highly agitated mood:

> Das Weib stand ohne ein Wort zu sprechen; der Mann ebenfalls. Beide hatten etwas so abschreckend Störrisches, so etwas ungewöhnlich Verstocktes, als mir noch nie bei den Hinterwäldlern vorgekommen. (K, 115)

After some time, the steamship passengers, again mostly distinguished planters, can persuade the Clarkes to relate their misfortunes. Everybody is moved by Mrs. Clarke's rendition of the kidnapping and the mental anguish displayed by the couple.

Sealsfield created a double narrative frame around the actual story by introducing two audiences representative of southwestern society, and two narrators (Howard and Mrs. Clarke). This suggests that the author wanted to stress the communal feeling, the solidarity of the planter society with the backwoodsman, a theme which pervades much of Sealsfield's fiction. Considered as narrative strategy, this rendition of the story in front of two distinguished audiences enhances the significance of the tale.

Into the tale itself, Sealsfield introduced a number of conspicuous passages which suggest his concern with the character of the backwoodsman. The reader cannot fail to notice the extreme reaction of the father after he learns of the ''Gräuelthat'':

> ''Nein!'' schrie er mit einem herzzerreißenden Stöhnen, ''wäre mein Kind mir vom Fieber zerrissen, hätte ihn ein Bär oder ein Panther zerrissen: es würde mich schmerzen, bitter schmerzen; es war mein letztes Kind. Aber, barmherziger Gott, *gestohlen*! Mein Sohn, mein armes Kind *gestohlen*!'' Der Mann schrie laut, sprang auf, rannte in der Stube herum mit gerungenen Händen und wie ein Kind weinend. Selbst das Weib war nicht so schrecklich vom Schmerze ergriffen. (K, 126, italics mine.)

This emotional outburst, we might note, takes place at a time at which the father must still have hope to recover his child. Nevertheless, the death of his son due to natural causes (illness, wild animals) would have

been less painful to him than this theft! Furthermore, Clarke's uncontrolled behavior is not at all characteristic of the noble and upright posture of Sealsfield's backwoodsmen in general. Finally, it seems strange that nobody in the audience criticizes this behavior. Normally, Sealsfield's Americans are quick to censure unmanly emotions.

The statement that Mrs. Clarke was less strongly affected by this tragic event than her husband clarifies the situation somewhat. Obviously, the kidnapping affects the backwoodsman not so much as a matter of "the heart," but has a broader meaning. This assumption is reinforced by Howard, who comments on the case in a characteristic manner: "Es war ein allerdings für Frauen wichtiger Fall; aber auch jedem andern mußte die gräßliche *Sicherheits- und Eigenthumsverletzung* von unendlicher Wichtigkeit seyn" (K, 129; italics mine). While women look at this case from the parents' emotional point of view, the men must consider its political implications. The term "Sicherheits- und Eigenthumsverletzung" is a key to the understanding of the story. As Sealsfield proposes time and again in his fiction, inviolability of personal property and the freedom of the individual are the two most important achievements of the postfeudal society, especially in America. Kidnapping is a violation of both. The sanctity of these basic rights must be especially important to a backwoodsman such as Clarke, who lives on his small clearings in the middle of a virgin forest. He is dependent on his offspring for reproduction and maintenance of his property—without his son, the forest will reclaim his life's work.

For any man living in democratic America, the text implies, the act of kidnapping must be of truly "unendlicher Wichtigkeit." The abduction of genteel Inez in Cooper's *Prairie,* for example, merely stressed the emotional feelings of father and husband; in "Der Kindsräuber," it becomes a political act.

This is also the basic difference between Flint's and Sealsfield's interpretation of the tale. The former emphasizes the religious meaning of the story, the latter its sociopolitical implications. Sealsfield's Clarke reacts less like a father and more like a proprietor of his son. While both authors present a western tale, Sealsfield connects the western theme with the notions of personal freedom, private property, and equality. The double narrative frame emphasizes this still further: The kidnapping of backwoodsman Clarke's son concerns the whole western society, since it infringes upon basic rights of the individual for which this society stands.

Sealsfield's "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" was published by Orell und Füßli in 1834 in a volume entitled *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter.* As an isolated work of prose fiction, which is not part of a larger cycle of works, it was not included in the author's *Gesammelte Werke.* In the preface, Sealsfield refers with droll humor to the "Archiv von Toffelsville" which would authenticate his tale. In the end, however, Sealsfield does hint, somewhat timidly, at his true source:

> Die Quellen unserer Geschichte sind daher über jeden Verdacht erhoben, und ihre Authenticität wird noch mehr durch den Umstand erhöht, da ein Extrakt von dem mehrerwähnten Archive seinen Weg, durch welche Mittel, ist uns unbekannt, in das Magazin eines westlichen Predigers, nun bedauerlichermaßen verblichen, gefunden hat. (C, 77 f.)

Without doubt, Sealsfield is referring to "Jemima O'Keefy," a tale published in the November 1827 issue of the *Western Monthly Review.* In rapid succession, Flint's tale presents the wooing and wedding of the titular heroine with the young Dutchman Jacob Barndollar, Jemima's abduction by the Indians, her five-year imprisonment in a Shawnee village, her escape and return to civilization and, finally, the disappointment at finding her husband remarried. The generic designation, "a sentimental tale," clarifies the meaning of the story as soon as one understands its parodistic character, which makes it the exact opposite of sentimental fiction.

Jemima is a young American woman of Irish descent who, unlike heroines in sentimental literature, is very strong-willed and attempts to dominate her environment:

> From her childhood, she had a certain good natured pertness of defiance, united with a perseverance and inflexibility of purpose, which, in one way or another, with father and mother, with brothers and sisters at home, or at school, enabled her to carry her purpose, and to become the mistress of all, whom she chose to command. (*WMR*, 384)

To her parents, she appears as "Grecian commander" (384), to her husband as absolutist empress of the conjugal "empire." Jacob Barndollar, who is described as a good-natured German, soon suffers total loss of his personal autonomy. To make matters worse, he becomes the laughing-stock of the village because Jemima forces him to give her his favorite stallion, the symbol of his manly pride, while he is left with a "little Irish heifer," far too small for his long legs (*WMR*, 387).

At this point Jemima's insolent behavior is about to come to an end. In what seems to be a punishment for her hubris, she is abducted by the Indians. However, it appears that "her vixen spirit soon acquired the same ascendency among the savages, that it had in her native village" (*WMR*, 388). When upon her successful escape she finds her husband remarried, she returns to the Indians, marries a savage and continues her reign.

Folsom calls "Jemima O'Keefy" a "burlesque of the sentimental story . . . based on the notion of the invincibility of a woman of evil temper. For Jemima is a shrew, who succeeds not only in taming Jacob but in subduing the savages."[50] In Flint's version, Jemima is indeed the central character of the plot and the only complex character who appears to be somewhat psychologically motivated. The reader will not doubt the earnestness of the narrator's remark that, in spite of her successful mastery of the Indian tribe, "her heart was at home" (*WMR*, 388). Before she turns her back on her village and returns to the Shawnees, she looks back at her family and sobs:

> . . . but she wept, and felt abundantly more, than any heroine of the whole of them. There slept her home in the orchard. There were her children and her affections, her cows and cheeses. There was her small empire, with but one subject, whom she had in fact loved as heartily, as she had ruled sternly. (*WMR*, 390)

While Flint's tale thus focuses on the woman, the central character in Sealsfield's story is Christophorus Bärenhäuter (Flint's Jacob Barndollar). Apart from the changed title, the story's new focus also becomes apparent from its generic class. "Christophorus Bärenhäuter" is a prose version of the mock-heroic, in which Toffel (Christophorus) plays the role of a tragicomic hero.

Toffel, whose name speaks for itself, is, like Jacob Barndollar, a Pennsylvania German. The difference between the two Dutchmen is that, unlike Jacob, Toffel is a vicious Sealsfieldian national caricature. The introductory pages of the story set the prevailing anti-German mood by referring to the supposed inferiority of German-America compared to America proper:

> Trotz des verstockten Widerstandes dieser starrköpfigen Deutschmänner einer-, und des schnellen Fortschreitens ihrer anglo- und hiberno-amerikanischen Mitbürger andererseits, leben doch die verschiedenen Parteien [in Toffelsville] in vollkommenem Einverständnisse . . . . (C, 83)

While Flint describes Jacob as a good-natured farmer, using Pennsylvania as a convenient local-color setting, Sealsfield describes Toffel in such negative terms as "ziemlich grobschlächtiger Geselle" (C, 91) and "ungeschickt" (C, 93). He calls him a "dickköpfiger Deutscher" (C, 94) whose English is highly deficient. In general, the impression the reader gets of Toffel is one of sluggishness and dullness.

Various details of Flint's story are changed by Sealsfield to fit its changed direction. In the course of the cornhusking frolic, Jemmy and Toffel come to sit side by side. Since both husk a red ear at the same time, they are entitled to kiss each other, according to an old custom. In Flint's version, the narrator sympathizes fully with Barndollar's reluctance to kiss the Irish "vixen":

> This would have been a delightful acquisition to many of the young sparks present. But, however inviting might be her lily face and hook nose, most of them would as soon have meditated advancing their faces upon the back of a porcupine.—Jacob, too, partook of the common dread of the vixen, who charged him to keep his distance. (*WMR*, 385)

Only the German's "pride and manhood of the 'best man' in the village" help him to overcome his scruples (and her resistance) and to obey the old custom (*WMR*, 385). In Sealsfield's story, the situation is quite the opposite: Jemmy is not a vixen but a dear good-natured girl, while the German is too slow even to notice his amorous opportunity. Clearly, the satire here is directed against Toffel, rather than Jemima.

After her return from the Indians, Flint's Jacob invites Jemima to return to her former home, adding that he would divorce his second

wife. Sealsfield's Toffel, on the other hand, is unable to make such clear-cut decisions. He suggests that they should go "zum Squire . . . , und was der und der Herr Pfarrer Ledermaul sagen, das wollen wir thun . . . . Laß uns hören, was das Gesetz Gottes und des Menschen sagt" (C, 152). Sealsfield's narrator comments in the form of a generalization:

> Auch darin bewies sich Toffel als ein ehrlicher, guter Deutscher, der nie selbst dachte und handelte, sondern diese Mühe der göttlichen und menschlichen Obrigkeit, wie er meinte, auf die Schultern zu laden für's Beste erachtete. (C, 152)

Proud Jemmy refuses Toffel's halfhearted suggestion. She has decided to go on living with the Indians and commands him to go back to his second wife. The narrator remarks acidly: "Einem kräftig ausgesprochenen Befehle kann ein deutsches Blut nie widerstehen, und so kehrte denn Toffel um, und ging zu seinem Weibe" (C, 154). The narrator's comments make it quite clear that Jemima's return to the Indians is a loss for Toffel whose second wife, the "guthmüthige . . . , phlegmatische . . . Dora," makes him grow still more sluggish. He needed Jemima because ". . . er war nun einmal ein Deutscher, die bekanntnermaßen nie glücklicher sind, als wenn sie wie die Schafe geschoren und wie die Hunde getreten werden" (C, 151). Thus, without significant alteration of the plot, Sealsfield changes the meaning of Flint's story into its opposite. While Flint's tale is based on the well-known and rather conventional theme of the shrewish woman, Sealsfield's account interprets this weakness of Jemima as a positive value, useful to combat German sluggishness. A story criticizing human weakness in general turns into a vehicle of Sealsfieldian ideology.

Sealsfield's critical view of German-Americans is well-known and documented in a number of novels, most notably in the introductory chapters of *Morton oder die große Tour* (1834). There, Sealsfield presents two types of Germans: the enlightened Oberst Isling, veteran of the revolutionary war, who is an ideologist of Americanism, and the immigrant pauper, un-American, undemocratic and servile. In criticizing Toffel, Sealsfield criticizes this second group of un-American Germans, who still subscribe to what he regards as the German *Duckmäusertum.*

The change in meaning from Flint to Sealsfield is further documented by Sealsfield's detailed presentation of Jemima's life with the Indians. She civilizes the Indian tribe,

> sandte ihre Kinder in die Schule der Missionaire [sic] an den Maumeefällen, wo sie zu Christen und Bürgern gebildet wurden, und sie lebt nun, das sichtbar verehrte und werkthätige Oberhaupt ihrer rothen Mitbürger und Mitbürgerinnen. (C, 165)

Without irony, Sealsfield turns a comical character from Flint's burlesque into an agent of Americanization and civilization: If she cannot benefit the Germans, at least she helps the Indians.

IV

The foregoing comparison of two texts by Sealsfield with their American counterparts shows the diverse uses Sealsfield made of his

sources. In the case of "Der Kindsräuber," Sealsfield expands a sketch by Flint. As the first contribution to the *Western Magazine and Review,* the sketch served to demonstrate that there is a place for the West in American literature. Sealsfield preserves its character as a western tale but goes beyond Flint by incorporating a sociopolitical level of meaning into the story. As always in Sealsfield's fiction, the character of the backwoodsman is of central significance, emphasizing the rights of the individual to personal freedom and private property.

In the case of "Christophorus Bärenhäuter," Sealsfield changed Flint's tale in a characteristic fashion. While Flint was interested in the shrew as a central character and, to a certain degree, wanted to parodize sentimenal fiction by making a shrewish woman a sentimental heroine, Sealsfield focused on the sluggish German and thereby transformed the sentimental tale into an ethnic satire with political overtones.

Sealsfield's borrowings from Flint prove his proximity to this early American writer. While there is a significant difference in style between the two writers, caused by the fact that Sealsfield chose not to imitate Flint's ministerial rhetoric, he did fully endorse the use of the western theme and local color in Flint's literary production.

Flint was thus both source and inspiration for Charles Sealsfield. As shown in the second section of this essay, a number of important novels by Sealsfield carry Flint's imprint. In addition, one must acknowledge the influence of Flint's nonfictional works on Sealsfield's writing. Sealsfield himself makes mention of the *Condensed Geography and History of the Western States, or the Mississippi Valley* (Cincinnati, 1828). This book, as well as the *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826), a more personal account, are important, in that they provide their readers with a sense of the future significance of the Mississippi region. These works furnished Sealsfield a sense of optimism about the American West and its inhabitants, echoed by such western characters as Squire Copeland in *Der Legitime* and Nathan Strong.

> The backwoodsman of the west as I have seen him [says Flint in the *Recollections*], is generally an amiable and virtuous man. His general motive for coming here is to be a freeholder, to have plenty of rich land and to be able to settle his children about him. It is a most virtuous man.[51]

This new, positive treatment of the western man who, in Flint's view, had been spurned so far by East-coast writers, is characteristic of both authors' fiction. The understanding of the fictional use of the backwoodsman and his meaning in such works as *Memoir of Daniel Boone* are essential for the understanding of works like *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator* or texts such as "Der Kindsräuber." If this context is disregarded, Nathan and Clark are merely lonely settlers in the wilderness of the American forest—and nothing more.

Value judgments are always difficult, particularly in the history of early American literature, where so much of fiction was "in the

making" and in a sense experimental. Possibly they are unnecessary. Both writers are little known today, both deserve more attention by students of American literature. Because of its strong didactic, religious flavor, much of Flint's fiction seems awkward to the modern reader; one still senses the guilt the New Englander must have felt when writing his first novel. Sealsfield feels more self-confident as a writer of fiction. Maybe his prose is therefore more accessible to the modern reader. In that sense, one might prefer Sealsfield over Flint. In a thematic tradition of American literature, Sealsfield might be placed between pioneering Timothy Flint on one hand and William Gilmore Simms and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who were both influenced by Sealsfield, on the other. But there are many other early American authors whose relationship with Sealsfield will have to be investigated before one can draw adequate conclusions about Sealsfield's place in American literature. In doing so, it will be important to show not only that relationships exist, but also how they express themselves in fiction. The efforts of the literary historian will have to coincide with the work of the interpreter. This essay, which seeks to show how Flint's works influenced Sealsfield, can only be a small beginning.

Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz
Graz, Austria

Notes

[1] The standard work on this period in German literature, Friedrich Sengle's *Biedermeierzeit,* 3 vols. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971-1980), includes Sealsfield but does not consider the American literary context.

[2] See Karl W. Doerry, "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May," *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* 16 (1981), 39-49.

[3] William Paul Dallmann, *The Spirit of America as Interpreted in the Works of Charles Sealsfield,* Diss. St. Louis 1935 (St. Louis, 1935).

[4] Alfons Kozeluh, "Charles Sealsfield und James Fenimore Cooper," Diss. Wien 1949, is merely a paraphrase of individual works and in no way a comparative study of two writers.

[5] John Krumpelmann, Preface, *The Indian Chief or, Tokeah and the White Rose* by Charles Sealsfield, Vol. IV of *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. Karl J. R. Arndt (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1972), pp. xiv f. Subsequent references will be to this edition.

[6] Anon., "*Tokeah—or the White Rose* ," *Philadelphia Saturday Evening Post,* 14 Feb. 1829, p. 3. I am indebted to Mr. Nolan E. Smith of New Haven, CT, for the discovery of this review.

[7] Krumpelmann, p. xvii.

[8] In the course of this *Realismusstreit,* Willey accused Sealsfield of an untrue presentation of the Southwest and Mexico in his novels. Arndt defended Sealsfield by demonstrating the narrowness of Willey's *Realismusbegriff.* See among others Norman L. Willey, "Charles Sealsfield as a Realist," *Monatshefte,* 34 (1942), 295-306 and Karl J. R. Arndt, "Sealsfield's Claim to Realism," *Monatshefte,* 35 (1943), 271-85.

[9] Sealsfield, *Sämtliche Werke,* VI, Pt. 1, 7.

[10] Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 82 f.

[11] For the main part Winchester's translations, published in New York City in 1844.

[12] Lyle H. Wright, *American Fiction. 1774-1850: A Contribution Toward a Bibliography,* 2nd ed. (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1969).

[13] See John Erwin Kirkpatrick, *Timothy Flint: Pioneer, Missionary, Author, Editor* (Cleveland: Clark, 1911) and Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)* (Wien, München: Manutius, 1952).

[14] See Castle, pp. 265 f.

[15] C. Sidons [i.e., Charles Sealsfield], *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika nach ihrem politischen, religioesen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet, Sämtliche Werke,* I, Pt. 2, 235.

[16] Sealsfield, *Der Legitime,* p. 8.

[17] See Castle, pp. 295 f.

[18] [Charles Sealsfield], *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter. Vom Verfasser des Legitimen und der Republikaner* Zürich: Orell und Füßli, 1834), p. 78. This volume is not yet part of the *Sämtliche Werke.* Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "C" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

[19] See Timothy Flint's "Editor's Address," *Western Magazine and Review,* May 1827. Reprinted in and quoted from the edition published by E. H. Flint in 1828 in Cincinnati. Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letters "*WMR*" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number. "The Lost Child" takes in pp. 20-23; "Jemima O'Keefy—A Sentimental Tale" pp. 384-93. For Sealsfield's view of American drawing-room literature, see chapter one of *George Howard's Esq.* Brautfahrt (*Sämtliche Werke,* XI), among others.

[20] Timothy Flint, *Francis Berrian, or The Mexican Patriot* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), Part 1, p. 23.

[21] Flint, *Francis Berrian,* Part 1, p. 32.

[22] Krumpelmann suggests that Sealsfield "has drawn abundant inspiration" from *Francis Berrian* when writing *Tokeah* (p. xii).

[23] Thomas W. Streeter, *Bibliography of Texas. 1795-1845. Part III. United States and European Imprints Relating to Texas* (Cambridge, 1960), pp. xiv f.

[24] Streeter, pp. xiv f.

[25] Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York et al.: American Book Co., 1948), p. 215.

[26] Sealsfield, *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahr 1812,* in *Sämtliche Werke,* VIII, Pt. 1, 13.

[27] Timothy Flint, *George Mason, the Young Backwoodsman; or 'Don't Give Up the Ship'* (Boston: Hilliard et al., 1829), p. 4.

[28] Flint, *George Mason,* p. 5.

[29] Charles Sealsfield, "Letter to Brockhaus," 21 June 1854, from Saratoga, New York, in *Der große Unbekannte. Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl). Briefe und Aktenstücke,* ed. Eduard Castle (Wien: Werner, 1955), p. 291.

[30] Timothy Flint, *Biographical Memoir of Daniel Boone,* ed. James K. Folsom (New Haven, 1967), p. 171.

[31] Flint, *Boone,* p. 172.

[32] Flint, *Boone,* p. 74.

[33] Flint, *Boone,* p. 128.

[34] Flint, *Boone,* p. 174.

[35] See Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator,* in *Sämtliche Werke,* XV, 397.

[36] Sealsfield, *Nathan,* p. 397.

[37] Sealsfield, *Nathan,* p. 399.

[38] Boone is said to be "strangely endowed with that peculiar character which fitted them [pioneers and first settlers] for time, place, and achievements." (Flint, *Boone,* p. 130.)

[39] James Fenimore Cooper, *The Prairie* (New York, London: Putnam, n.d.), p. v.

[40] Otto Heller, "Some Sources of Sealsfield," *Modern Language Notes,* 7 (1909/10), 588 ff.

[41] Sealsfield, *George Howard's Esq.* Brautfahrt, in *Sämtliche Werke,* XI, 139. Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "K" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

[42] See note 19.

[43] See John A. Hamilton, "Timothy Flint's 'Lost Novel,'" *American Literature,* 22 (1950), 54-56, and James K. Folsom, *Timothy Flint* (New York: Twayne, 1965), p. 133.

[44] See K. J. R. Arndt, "Einleitung," *to George Howard's Esq.* Brautfahrt, in *Sämtliche Werke,* XI, v f. Also John T. Krumpelmann, "Sealsfield and Sources," *Monatshefte,* 43 (1951), 324.

[45] In view of Sealsfield's repeated "borrowings" from other authors, it is interesting to note that he himself described the copyright as "heilige Eigenthumsrechte." ("Vorwort zur gesammelten Ausgabe der Werke des 'Legitimen und der Republikaner' &c.," *Sämtliche Werke,* I, v.)

[46] Timothy Flint, *The Lost Child* (Boston: Carter et al., 1830). Future references will be to this text and will be indicated parenthetically after each quotation. The letter "L" will serve to identify this text, followed by the page number.

[47] Folsom, *Flint,* p. 133.

[48] Folsom, *Flint,* pp. 135 f.

[49] The preference of life in the country over urban life was one of the most popular and widely known aspects of "Jeffersonianism."

[50] Folsom, *Flint,* p. 71.

[51] Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston, 1826), p. 176.

Ida H. Washington

America in the Poetic Development of Detlev von Liliencron

In Detlev von Liliencron (1844-1909) we have the unusual situation of a German poet with American ancestors. His maternal grandfather, General von Harten, was a close friend of General Washington, and his mother was born in Philadelphia. Liliencron himself spent the centennial year 1876 in America, traveling widely and acquiring a firsthand acquaintance with American culture.

To conclude from this evidence, however, that Liliencron was an admirer of America would be a serious error. Even Lenau's disillusioned reaction to the New World and his comment that the American national beverage cider rhymed with the German word *leider* seem mild beside Liliencron's bitter criticisms. Shortly after returning to Germany, Liliencron wrote to Ernst von Seckendorff that he had found New York "ein Gräuel; es ist das Leben da so schnurstracks gegen alle meine Gewohnheiten, Empfindungen, Lebensbetrachtungen, daß mir jetzt mein dortiger Aufenthalt wie eine Hölle vorkommt."[1] Even American freedom had no appeal for the young Prussian nobleman, and he satirized it in the following terms:

> Wer auch nur wenige Wochen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika gewesen ist, wird ein Gefühl der bedingungslosen Freiheit mit in sein Vaterland zurücknehmen und bis an seinen Tod daran zurückdenken.
>
> Frei! Mach und tue, was du willst. Das heißt: stiehlst du einen Regenschirm, so wird dir unfehlbar eine Zuchthausstrafe von fünf Jahren zum mindesten zuerkannt. Stiehlst du eine Million: man vergöttert dich und setzt dir ein Denkmal.
>
> Frei! Ich will ein Beispiel nehmen: Auf einer Fahrt mit der Eisenbahn gefällt es dir, um dein Ziel, das zwischen zwei Haltepunkten liegt, schneller zu erreichen, mit einem Sprunge den in voller Fahrt befindlichen Zug zu verlassen. Gut. Es hindert dich kein Mensch. Es ist deine Sache. Du springst und brichst vielleicht den Arm, ein Bein, den Hals—deine Sache . . .
>
> Frei![2]

The responsibility for Liliencron's negative American experience lies partly in his reasons for going to the New World. Liliencron left his homeland, not in search of freedom and adventure, but to escape from heavy debts and an unhappy love affair. He hoped first for a military career in South America, but lacked the money necessary for uniforms and equipment. In North America he traveled as far west as Texas, but was nowhere able to find a firm footing in the American society. A harrowing period in New York wrote the conclusion to his American experience, a time in which real hunger forced him to work as a pianist in a cheap restaurant in the Bowery.

An almost complete silence lies over the period from September 1875 to February 1877, when Liliencron was absent from Germany. He claimed that he had been to Africa and America,[3] but if he wrote letters from those places, they have evidently not been preserved.

Because of this lack of direct evidence of Liliencron's American experience, the indirect evidence presented by his two American plays is of special biographical significance. Liliencron wrote only seven dramatic works, all between the years 1881 and 1887, and the two American plays fall in the middle of this period. *Arbeit adelt* is a short, two-act piece, which probably contains a mixture of what actually happened to Liliencron in America and what he wished might have happened.

The setting is the home of a wealthy German immigrant on Fifth Avenue in New York. Under the American name "Mr. Smith," this German-American has made his fortune in America and is known for his generosity to new arrivals. The hero is a Prussian count who has left military service and come to America, where he is known only as "John," to escape his creditors. John is clearly hungry, but so proud that only the sight of Smith's beautiful daughter Maria induces him to take the menial position of *Reitknecht*. He suggests that the position would be more acceptable if he were called "Bereiter," but Smith asserts that "Arbeit schändet nicht, Arbeit adelt,"[4] and insists that John can have the job only as *Reitknecht*. John performs his duties faithfully and wins the favor of his employer so well that Smith writes secretly to the emperor, asking that John be reinstated as an officer and offering to pay all his debts. John and Maria fall in love, and the play ends as all prepare to celebrate their wedding and then to sail to Germany, where John will resume his military commission as Baron Hans Gyldendralle and Maria will live happily as baroness.

The play was published and has been performed a few times, but never with particular success. Though its dramatic worth is slight, *Arbeit adelt* shows the wishful thinking that characterized Liliencron not only in America, but long after his return, where he kept hoping in vain for some magical release from the burden of his debts.

Pokohontas, a dramatization of the familiar story of the Indian princess and the British officer John Smith, is a longer, more complex play, but gives less indication of the author's own life in America. The piece was never accepted for stage presentation and was published for the first time in Liliencron's collected works in 1904. The constantly

shifting dramatic focus of this play weakens its impact. The tragic story of the love of the Indian princess for the white officer, which ends with her death just as the final curtain falls, is interrupted by a tale of almost totally unrelated political intrigue. Two themes thus compete for the limelight, and neither is effectively developed.

If the importance of Liliencron's stay in America were to rest solely on these dramatic products of his American experience, it would be worth little mention. The real meaning of America is, however, a much deeper one, for the sojourn there stands just before Lilencron's emergence as a poet. The man who went to America was a popular extrovert, Friedrich von Liliencron, known to his friends as Fritz. On his return he assumed a new name, Detlev, and turned to writing poetry. In order to understand this change, it is useful to consider the sequence of events leading up to his departure.

In 1875 Friedrich von Liliencron was thirty-one years old, a dedicated Prussian officer who had been wounded in battle and decorated for bravery. His greatest pleasure was in the social affairs connected with military life, where his fine manners and musical talents combined with free-handed generosity to win for him the favor of beautiful women as well as that of his fellow officers. He constantly lived beyond his means so that the pressure from his creditors became increasingly oppressive. After a number of passing flirtations, he had in 1871 become seriously attached to a young woman of noble birth but no fortune. Helene von Bodenhausen was seventeen when they met, and she returned his affection wholeheartedly. Preparations were being made to announce their engagement, when Helene's father learned of Liliencron's financial situation and refused his permission for their marriage. Reununciation was a difficult ordeal for the young couple, but finally Liliencron tore himself away and returned to military service. He was first sent with Prussian forces to Poland, but was in Spandau when news reached him that Helene was engaged to another man. Plunging into new excesses to forget his anguish, he increased his debts to the point where it became necessary to resign from the military service, and even to flee the country to avoid his creditors.

Before leaving Germany, Liliencron was a man of action. He had written a little imitative verse as a student, but nothing that he regarded as poetry. On his return, shortly before his thirty-third birthday, an age when lyric gifts often give way to prose, Liliencron's poetic muse awoke and he began to write verses which gradually won him a recognized place among the lyric poets of Germany.

Two events made Liliencron's emigration a complete break with the past. In 1872, shortly after his final renunciation of Helene, Liliencron's mother died. He had never been close to his father, a minor government official, but his mother, of half southern blood and artistic temperament, had always been sympathetic to her generous and impractical son.[5] Her death and the loss of Helene created an emotional vacuum in young Liliencron before he sailed for America in 1875.

This vacuum found, however, nothing in the New World to fill it. There was only an empty longing for past scenes, for disappointed

hopes, for beloved persons, all now irretrievably lost. In his fantasies Liliencron revisited scenes and persons of his old home, dwelling on them in imagination. Helene's face accompanied him everywhere; as he told her later, "Wo immer ich gewesen, seit unserem letzten Lebewohl in Köthen hat Ihr Bild mir vor der Seele gestanden."[6] In a poem he recalled how, even in the midst of America's competitive race for wealth, he was refreshed by the appearance to his inner eye of a walk in the evening woods with Helene:

> Da plötzlich
> In all dem Schreien, Stoßen, Fluchen, Treiben,
> Zog klar vorüber mir ein liebes Bild:
> Ganz wie versteckt in Feld und Wald und Heide,
> Fern von den Dörfern und den großen Straßen,
> Liegt unser Haus vereinsamt und verloren,
> In eines alten Gartens stiller Welt.
> Die Sonne schien auf kiesbedeckte Wege,
> Und in den Bäumen war ein Maienleben.
> Du gingst zur Seite mir, und Hand in Hand,
> So standen endlich wir am lichten Rande
> Der kleinen Holzung . . .[7]

Liliencron was away from Germany for sixteen months, a period of bitter disillusionment and homesickness. "Es war alles schwarz und wüst um mich," he wrote later, "Leer und öde, ohne Ziel, ohne Freude."[8] He returned to Germany, but his first impression was that the old world, too, had vanished. A letter to Seckendorff describes these feelings: "So bin ich denn wieder hier. Nur ein großes Grab ist mir mein ganzes bisheriges Leben. Alle meine zahlreichen Bekannten, alle jene Lieben, die ich seit 61 in Deutschland kennen lernte—sind für mich nicht mehr."[9]

It is much more difficult to assess the impact of the American experience on Liliencron's poetic awakening than it is to discover the immediate poetic inspiration for his first poems. The published correspondence gives a touching picture of the ecstasy of the returned wanderer when a formal letter of inquiry brought the welcome reply that Helene would receive her old lover again. Her engagement to his rival had been broken, and her father who had opposed her marriage to Liliencron was dead. Liliencron tells her how his fingers trembled as he opened her letter and how its happy contents drove him out into the spring world:

> Dann rannte ich drei Stunden wie ein Verrückter in den Straßen. Es war alles in Sonnenlicht getaucht. Vor den Fenstern standen Frühlingsblumen. Die Sperlinge schwatzten, die Lerchen jubelten, die alten Krähen stolperten noch einmal so vergnügt durch die Luft. Die Menschen lachten. Ich kaufte bei einem Gärtner eine Levkoie, Deine Lieblingsblume. Jetzt steht sie vor mir; und süße Erinnerungen ruft sie in mir wach.[10]

In unpacking old military pictures, Liliencron found further poetic inspiration. To Helene he wrote:

> Ich kann Dir nicht beschreiben, was ich gestern und heute gelitten habe beim Auspacken und Aufhängen meiner Bilder. Ich habe über hundert Soldaten- (Gruppen-) Photographien. Meist bin ich selbst auf allen. Die übrigen sind mir von meinen Kameraden, Unteroffizieren, Spielleuten oder Gemeinen zum Andenken geschenkt. Ich glaube, ich hatte stets große Liebe bei meinen Untergebenen. Auf die Rückseite eines Bildes schrieb ich heute; es kam mir plötzlich in den Sinn:
>
> Durch die Heide, durch den Wald
> Sind wir lustig fortgezogen—
> Doch die Hörner sind verklungen,
> Und die Lieder sind verhallt.[11]

Another picture, this time a humorous photo of a military group, called forth another poem which he included in the same letter to Helene.[12] These two poems from April 1877 were considered by Liliencron his first genuine poetry. Only eight days after the letter which contained them, he wrote to Seckendorff that he was on the way to becoming a writer, and he asked his friend for "strengste Kritik."[13]

The importance of the American experience which preceded Liliencron's sudden emergence as a poet can be inferred only from indirect evidence. There are plants which cannot bear fruit unless they are first subjected to a period of freezing weather, and Liliencron's genius was perhaps of this type. It is clear that the poet himself saw the journey to America as a departure from life, a kind of death, for it took him far away from the only real world he knew. His description of America as a "Hölle" carries with it the further implication that his return was a resurrection into a new existence. Symbolic of the new beginning is the new name "Detlev" to replace the old "Friedrich."

Friedrich was a name immortalized in Prussian military history by "Friedrich der Große" of the preceding century. The source of the name Detlev is obscure, but may include an echo of the family name of the poetess Sophie Dethlef (1809-1864), whose poems in *Plattdeutsch* precede those of the better known Klaus Groth.

It should also be noted that Liliencron's visit to America was a return to the home of his ancestors, another symbolic indicator of a process preceding birth. He had seen his mother's homeland through the rosy haze of her childhood reminiscences, but what he found there were only further blows to his fortunes and hopes. When he returned to his homeland like the prodigal son and abased himself before friend and sweetheart, he found a paradise of love and acceptance which made him burst forth in grateful song.

An early poem, included among the letters to Helene, describes the poet's feelings as he departs from his homeland, and again as he returns. Entitled "Abschied und Rückkehr," it begins:

> Vorbei—vorbei—die Möwe nur
> Gibt mir ein trauriges Geleite,
> Begleitet meine feuchte Spur—
> Und trostlos irrt mein Blick ins Weite.

The second part of the poem contains many suggestions of an entrance into Paradise, where the wanderer returns to a land of perpetual spring, among whose blessings are significantly those of music and speech:

> Aurikel blüht, die Schwalbe zieht,
> Und auf den Dächern schwatzen Stare;
> Der Orgeldreher dreht sein Lied,
> Ein Frühlingswind wirrt mir die Haare.
>
> Die Mädchen lachen Arm in Arm,
> Soldaten stehen vor der Wache;
> Und aus der Schule bricht ein Schwarm,
> Sie lärmen lustig m e i n e Sprache.[14]

Many authors have developed a promising talent into a real poetic gift under the effects of a major loss, the death or estrangement of a beloved person, or exile from the familiar homeland. Longing for these lost treasures has been able to stir the depths of a potentially poetic nature to lyric expression. For Liliencron, however, while a period of total renunciation and the destruction of his fondest hopes preceded his awakening as a poet, it was not loss but rediscovery that woke his muse.

The journey to America thus played an essential, but most unusual role in Liliencron's poetic development. Traditionally America has been the *Schlaraffenland* of German poets, a dream world of marvelous opportunities. For Liliencron, in contrast, the American dream became a nightmare, from which he awoke to be a leading lyric voice in his German homeland.

Southeastern Massachusetts University
North Dartmouth, Massachusetts

Notes

[1] Letter, 19 April 1877, *Detlev von Liliencron, Ausgewählte Briefe,* ed. Richard Dehmel (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1910), I, 69.

[2] Detlev von Liliencron, *Gesammelte Werke* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1912), VIII, 73-74. Ernst L. Loewenberg, "Liliencron und Amerika," *Monatshefte,* 37 (1945), 428-36, concludes his essay with the quotation of the initial part of this passage, introduced by the statement: "Liliencron kämpfte Zeit seines Lebens für Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit des Menschen. Einen Zug dieser Freiheit hatte er in Amerika gefühlt" (p. 436). This very positive statement seems to me to contrast sharply with the clear intention of the context to satirize and condemn the kind of freedom the poet found in America.

[3] Letter to Helene von Bodenhausen, 24 February 1877, *Unbegreiflich Herz, Detlev von Liliencrons Liebesbriefe an Helene von Bodenhausen,* ed. Heinrich Spiero (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1925), p. 150.

[4] Detlev Freiherr von Liliencron, *Arbeit adelt, Genrebild in zwei Akten* (Leipzig: W. Friedrich, 1887), p. 13.

[5] Heinrich Spiero, *Detlev von Liliencron, Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin und Leipzig: Schuster & Loeffler, 1913), pp. 25-26.

[6] Letter, 24 February 1877, *Unbegreiflich Herz,* p. 150.

[7] Spiero, *Detlev von Liliencron,* p. 89.

[8] Letter to Helene von Bodenhausen, 28 February 1887, *Unbegreiflich Herz,* pp. 151-53.

[9] Letter, 19 April 1877, *Ausgewählte Briefe,* I, 69. The date "61" is the year of Liliencron's entry into Prussian military service.

[10] Letter, 28 February 1877, *Unbegreiflich Herz,* p. 151.

[11] Letter, 11 April 1877, *Unbegreiflich Herz,* p. 154.

[12] This poem is available in two versions. In the earliest epistolary copy it consists of two verses, of four and five lines, and begins: "Wir zogen durch Schnee und Eis, durch Sonne und Regen." Later it appeared as a single verse of six lines, beginning, "Zuweilen ist es mir, als wenn ich höre:/ Die Trommeln wirbeln und den Schrei der Hörner." Cf. *Unbegreiflich Herz,* p. 156.

[13] Letter, 19 April 1877, *Ausgewählte Briefe,* 70.

[14] *Unbegreiflich Herz,* pp. 190-91.

Helmut E. Huelsbergen

Ansichten über Amerika: Leitmotive in deutschen Reiseberichten aus den zwanziger Jahren

Im Deutschland der zwanziger Jahre war "Amerika" ein aktuelles und ein bewegendes Thema. Nicht nur in Modeerscheinungen der Populärkultur wie Bubikopf, Charleston und Jazz, sondern auch in Wirtschaft, Technik, Politik, Zeitungswesen und Theater manifestierten sich amerikanische Vorbilder und Denkweisen. Die "Amerikanisierung" deutschen Lebens, seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg erst recht offenkundig und oft zitiert,[1] begann in der Weimarer Republik. Der Dollar, bereits in den Jahren der Inflation ein begehrtes Zahlungsmittel und Spekulationsobjekt, war für viele zum Symbol eines mächtigen und zukunftweisenden Landes geworden. Ein breiter Fächer der deutschen Bevölkerung, vom nationalen über das liberale Bürgertum bis zur organisierten Arbeiterschaft, war von Amerika als einem Land der Prosperität angezogen und sah in ihm einen Künder des Fortschritts. Über die Verbesserung im rein wirtschaftlichen Bereich hinaus erhoffte man sich von einer engen Anlehnung an amerikanische Vorbilder ein Heilmittel "gegen die politische Zerrissenheit, die geistigen und weltanschaulichen Konflikte" der jungen Republik.[2]

Nach dem Ende der Inflation, mit der Stabilisierung der Währung Ende 1923, konnte das deutsche Interesse an Amerika konkretere Formen annehmen: Der Wunsch vieler, das Wunderland mit eigenen Augen sehen zu können und auf Reisen unmittelbar zu erleben, war nun leichter zu erfüllen. Eine gewaltige Reisewelle setzte ein, und mancher Reiselustige teilte seine Eindrücke in Buchform mit. Der Theaterkritiker Alfred Kerr berichtete in Reisebriefen von einer längeren Reise in die Vereinigten Staaten 1923 und veröffentlichte die Briefe unter dem Titel *Yankeeland*. Kerrs Preislied auf Amerika,[3] 1928 schon in der achten Auflage erschienen und ein Impetus hauptsächlich für die Gebildeten, ist nicht typisch für die Amerikabücher jener Zeit, weder in seiner literarisch-dichterischen Form noch in dem uneingeschränkten Lob, das es Amerika zollt.

Die Amerikareisenden kamen aus allen Schichten und aus den verschiedensten Berufen. Earl R. Beck nennt vor allem Professoren und Lehrer höherer Schulen als Verfasser solcher Reisebücher; die zweitstärkste Gruppe waren Journalisten und freie Schriftsteller und die dritte Politiker, Kunstexperten, Geistliche, Gewerkschaftsführer und Geschäftsleute.[4] Über die Fülle an Amerikabüchern geben für die zwanziger Jahre zwei Bibliographien Auskunft.[5] Die Reisebücher dieser Zeit bilden in ihrer Gesamtheit einen wesentlichen Teil der Basis, auf der und von der aus sich die erste tiefgreifende geistige Auseinandersetzung mit den modernen Vereinigten Staaten vollzog.[6]

Das Interesse der Forschung an Dokumenten, wie sie Reiseberichte und Briefe als Quellenmaterial für Sozialgeschichte darstellen, hat in ethnischen Studien, namentlich im amerikanischen Raum, in den letzten Jahren spürbar zugenommen. In ihrem Aussagewert können solche persönlichen Berichte nur bedingt als objektive Dokumente gelten. So hat Leo Schelbert zur Vorsicht bei der Auswertung von Auswandererbriefen aufgefordert.[7] Reiseberichte sind wie Briefe stets aus dem Blickwinkel *einer* Person abgefaßt, und dieser Blickwinkel könnte von besonderen Motiven—Wünschen und Vorurteilen—bestimmt worden sein. Bei der Erschließung der Reiseliteratur geht es mir nicht darum, die Motive der einzelnen Autoren und die Umstände, die den Motiven zugrundeliegen, zu ermitteln. Vielmehr soll hier in den persönlichen Äußerungen über Amerika insgesamt und über Amerika als das Land der Deutschamerikaner nach Gemeinsamkeiten in den Beobachtungen, in den Eindrücken und in den Urteilen gesucht werden. Dieses Gemeinsame durchzieht die Reiseliteratur wie eine "Reihe von Leitmotiven", "die bestimmte Grundhaltungen" der Reisenden erkennen lassen (Peter Boerner).[8] Daß man dabei auch mit Klischeevorstellungen zu tun hat und sie nicht ausschließen darf, liegt in der Sache selbst begründet; Klischees sind notwendigerweise ein Bestandteil vom Bild eines anderen Landes.[9] Die eingefügten Zitate sollen nicht allein der Dokumentation dienen, sondern sie haben zusätzlich die Aufgabe, das die Leitmotive tragende Idiom zu vermitteln und außerdem die Unmittelbarkeit der Eindrücke weiterzugeben.[10]

Die Ansichten der Autoren, die hier untersucht werden, sind typisch für die Reisebücher der zwanziger Jahre und repräsentativ für deren Verfasser. Als Quellen dienen primär die Amerikabücher von Arthur Feiler (*Amerika—Europa: Erfahrung einer Reise*, Frankfurt: Societäts-Druckerei, 1926), Marie Jacobi (*Im Dollarland: Reisen und Erlebnisse einer deutschen Schulmeisterin*, Bremen: Lloyd-Buchhandlung Hieke & Rocholl, 1928), Rudolf Hensel (*Die neue Welt: Ein Amerikabuch*, Hellerau: Jakob Hegner, 1929), Donatus Pfannmüller (*So sah ich Amerika: Eine Reise von Fulda nach Chicago*, Essen: Fredebeul & Koenen [1931]) und Paul Rohrbach (*Amerika und wir: Reisebetrachtungen*, Berlin: Buchenau & Reichert, 1926). Ihre Berichte stützen sich auf längere Reisen, von drei Monaten bis zu mehr als einem Jahr, die sie zwischen 1922 und 1929 unternahmen.[11] Diese Autoren beabsichtigen keine poetische Darstellung der Verhältnisse, ebensowenig wollen sie eine ideengeschichtliche oder politische Interpretation und auch kein wissenschaftlich adäquates

Bild von Amerika entwerfen. Lediglich Feiler versucht, neben den persönlichen Eindrücken eine Übersicht über die amerikanische Wirtschaft zu bieten.[12] Hensel, Jacobi und Pfannmüller lassen sich von der Neuen Welt überraschen; Feiler und Rohrbach zeigen etwas mehr kritischen Abstand; alle wollen ihre Eindrücke aus dem Alltagsleben darstellen und kommentieren. Dabei halten sie sich an ihre Tagebuchaufzeichnungen und wollen "aufrichtig ihre Meinung sagen" (Ro, 190). Feiler hebt hervor, daß er die Erfahrungen seiner Reise nicht nur auf das Selbstgesehene stütze, sondern "immer wieder nachgeprüft" habe "an den Urteilen von Bürgern Amerikas" (Fei, 12). "Es ist fast lauter Kleinkram des Lebens", schreibt Pfannmüller, "aber ich meine, dieser Kleinkram ist zuweilen interessant. Der Leser kann sich dann viel leichter ein Bild von jenem Lande machen" (Pf, 7). Besuche und längere Aufenthalte bei Deutschamerikanern boten sich oft von selber an. Hensel, Jacobi und Pfannmüller haben bei Deutschamerikanern gewohnt; Feiler und Rohrbach berichten über Gespräche mit Deutschamerikanern, und sie alle wissen etwas über das Leben der Deutschen in der Neuen Welt mitzuteilen.

Ehe die Neuankömmlinge mit Menschen der Neuen Welt zusammentreffen und der Umgang mit ihnen ein Urteil über sie erlaubt, beeindruckt sie bei der Einfahrt in den Hafen von New York, dem üblichen Ankunftsplatz für Reisende aus Deutschland in jener Zeit, etwas Einmaliges: die imposante und symbolhafte Freiheitsstatue und das alles überwältigende Bild von Manhattan. Skepsis und Bitterkeit, wie sie ein Reisebericht von 1910 beim Anblick der *Statue of Liberty* ausdrückt,[13] finden wir im Hauptstrom der Amerikaliteratur in den zwanziger Jahren nicht. Erst am Ende des Jahrzehnts, in den Jahren 1929 und 1930, begegnen wir auch intendiert desillusionierenden Beschreibungen.[14]

Wie Weltwunder der Moderne werden die Wolkenkratzer Manhattans massiv sichtbar: "eine von Zyklopen aufgetürmte Burg" (Fei, 41). Viele Metaphern ähnlicher Art sollen das Atemberaubende dieses Anblicks den Daheimgebliebenen vermitteln. Mag auch das Stilempfinden des deutschen Besuchers beim Betrachten einzelner Gebäude durch das Dekorative, "das angeklebte gotische Rankenwerk" (Fei, 41), verletzt werden, so gilt insgesamt, daß diese Hochhäuser nicht nur als eine technische und architektonische Meisterleistung angesehen werden, sondern daß sie "im weitesten und höchsten Sinne schön" sind (He, 35). Als ästhetisch störend und häßlich wird wegen des Nebeneinanders der unterschiedlichsten Gebäude und Stile oft das äußere Straßenbild in großen und kleinen Städten bezeichnet.

> Wie es zu beiden Seiten der Verkehrswege aussieht, das nimmt man hier nicht so genau. Schöne und häßliche Häuser wechseln bunt durcheinander ab; jeder scheint bauen zu dürfen, wie es ihm gerade paßt. (Pf, 85)
>
> . . . Der deutsche Städtebauer würde viel an diesem Stadtbild auszusetzen haben; es gilt nur der Maßstab der Nützlichkeit, der Rentabilität und nicht der Schönheit. (Pf, 97)

Daß daneben auch "schon straßenweise Bauten von einer neuen großen Form, gigantisch in den Maßen, aber doch proportioniert", entstehen, wird von manchem Besucher erkannt (Fei, 43). Zu den vielbewunderten Gebäuden gehören außer den Wolkenkratzern die neuen Großbahnhöfe: Grand Central Station und Pennsylvania Station in New York, Union Station in Chicago und in St. Louis. "Die neue Kunst des Profanbaus für Hochhäuser, Bankpaläste, Bahnhöfe, Getreideelevatoren . . . ist eine große, wirklich kulturelle Leistung Amerikas. Sie wird sicherlich weiterwirken auch nach Europa" (Fei, 43). Die neuen Bauwerke sind mehr als eine Dokumentation amerikanischer Schöpferkraft:

> Was aus diesen Bauten spricht, ist der amerikanische Geist, das Titanenhafte, der Tatendrang eines jungen bis zum Bersten mit Energien geladenen Volkes, sie sind der adäquate Ausdruck des amerikanischen Wesens. . . . (He, 36)

Uneingeschränkt bewundert werden stets die technisch-zivilisatorischen Errungenschaften, die das Alltagsleben erleichtern, alles Praktische: Fahrgeldautomaten und Einheitstarife, Drehkreuze an Eingängen zur U-Bahn, Trinkwasserbrunnen mit Papierbechern, Transportbänder in Restaurants u.ä. "Hier ist man nicht so umständlich wie drüben im Land" (Pf, 83). Von allen werden die hygienischen Einrichtungen gepriesen und als musterhaft hingestellt. Die gesamte Reisetechnik—die Besucher reisten mit der Eisenbahn durchs Land—wird als "musterhaft durchgebildet" und besonders die Gepäckbeförderung mit der Eisenbahn als "vorbildlich" empfohlen (Ro, 155; Ja, 145). Alle diese Dinge bilden zusammen mit anderen die Grundlage dafür, dem amerikanischen Wesen Erfindergabe und Hang zur Rationalisierung der Arbeitsprozesse zuzuschreiben und die Amerikaner als praktisch-nüchterne Tatmenschen zu charakterisieren, für die Zweckmäßigkeit ein dominierendes Prinzip ist.

Die Eisenbahn in Amerika wird von vielen Beobachtern als "der vollkommenste Ausdruck des amerikanischen Wesens" angesehen, "großzügig, praktisch, titanenhaft, etwas ganz Großes. Die Massenhaftigkeit und die Riesendimensionen, die überall in Amerika Gesetz sind, gelten auch für die amerikanischen Bahnen" (He, 63). Neben der Erfahrung der Weite des Landes und neben der Entdeckung von Reisekomfort war es vor allem das Einklassensystem, das jeden beeindruckte. "Es gibt nur *eine* Wagenklasse, das ist sehr angenehm" (Ja, 64), ". . . eine einzige Klasse für reich und arm. Und diese ist so bequem wie daheim die erste Klasse, vielleicht sogar noch schöner" (Pf, 169). Lediglich Rohrbach wendet ein, daß das Einklassensystem nur theoretisch bestehe, indem er auf die Existenz der Pullman-Züge hinweist "für diejenigen, die schnell und bequem reisen und dafür mehr bezahlen wollen" (Ro, 154). Aber für die meisten Beobachter sind die amerikanischen Eisenbahnen ein Symbol für die neue, die amerikanische Gesellschaft. "Es gibt keine 'Klassen' in Amerika und darum

auch nicht das, was wir Klassenhaß nennen'' (Pf, 170; s. auch He, 65). Hier klingt bereits das Thema der Gleichheit des Ansehens in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft an, das jeden Besucher tief berührt und zum Kommentieren veranlaßt. Nach ihrer Meinung zeigt sich an diesem Phänomen symptomatisch die Wirklichkeit der gelebten Demokratie.

Genauso einmütig bewerten die Autoren das Automobil als einen entscheidenden und positiven Kulturfaktor im Amerika der zwanziger Jahre (s. Rohrbach, Hensel und Feiler). Am Beispiel der Farmer im mittleren Westen wird gezeigt, wie das Auto auf den Lebensstil gewirkt, wie radikal es ihn verändert hat. Aus dem einsamen und eintönigen Farmerdasein ist nun ein flottes und rühriges Leben geworden, in dem Fahrten in die Stadt, Teilnahme an Versammlungen, tägliche Zeitungslieferung, Interesse an Mode und häufiger Meinungsaustausch mit Nachbarn zur Selbstverständlichkeit werden. ''Soviel ist richtig, daß nirgends durch den Massengebrauch von billigen Automobilen das Leben einer ganzen Klasse so stark verändert worden ist, wie beim amerikanischen Farmer'' (Ro, 176). Feiler führt diesen Gedanken noch weiter aus und nennt die Bedeutung des Autos in seiner weiten und selbstverständlichen Verwendung in den zwanziger Jahren eine Befreiung und eine Steigerung des Lebens aller Amerikaner:

> Wichtiger noch als solche Einzelfälle der Verwendung ist doch die allgemeine Bereicherung des Lebensgefühls der Menschen. Nicht gebunden zu sein an den Raum, der hier so weit und einsam ist . . . , immer überall hinzukönnen, immer herauszukönnen und immer bereit zu sein, selbsttätig, ohne die Eisenbahn . . . —das ist eine große Entfesselung. (Fei, 87)

Nehmen wir die technische und die praktische Leistung und seine soziologische Bedeutung zusammen, so muß das Auto als eines der drei großen Symbole der amerikanischen Gesellschaft und ihrer Prosperität angesehen werden.[15]

In engem Zusammenhang mit der starken Motorisierung des Landes wird oft eine Eigenschaft zitiert, die dem fremden Beobachter leicht auffällt: die Mobilität der Menschen. ''Das ganze Leben in Amerika ist durch das Auto sozusagen transportabel geworden und die ohnehin geringe Seßhaftigkeit des Amerikaners vollends aufgehoben'' (Ro, 180). Allerdings hat man die äußere Mobilität auch schon vor der Einführung des Automobils, ja von der Pionierzeit an als Charakteristikum des Amerikaners angesehen. Kein Zustand ist ihm ''unnatürlicher, als der des längeren Verharrens an irgendeinem Ort. Er redet zwar von seinem 'home', aber er ist von Natur ein Nomade, und er ist es weniger aus Zwang als aus Bedürfnis'' (Ro, 150 f.). Rohrbach, der den Drang nach Bewegung und Veränderung im Raum mit innerer Unrast erklärt, ''um der inneren Einförmigkeit seines Daseins'' entfliehen zu können, und selbst die amerikanische Vorliebe für den Schaukelstuhl so erklärt—

"wegen des unstillbaren Bedürfnisses nach Bewegung, selbst im Sitzen" (Ro, 151)—faßt den Begriff primär äußerlich: "'Beweglichkeit' ist in Amerika viel mehr im technischen als im geistigen Sinne zu verstehen" (Ro, 158). Die Mehrzahl der Betrachter sieht es jedoch anders: In der Rastlosigkeit manifestiert sich ein ungebändigter Tätigkeitsdrang; rastlose Tätigkeit "ist höchstes Lebensgesetz" (Fei, 308). Das mag zum Teil negativ gedeutet werden—"auch viele geistig tätige Menschen, Geistliche sogar, kennen kaum Pausen der Sammlung" (Fei, 308)—aber gleichermaßen bekundet es die Fähigkeit, sich neuen Gegebenheiten und veränderten Bedingungen anpassen zu können. Die zahlreichen und selbstverständlich vollzogenen Berufswechsel beweisen, daß die Mobilität nicht bloß technisch ist, sondern daß ihr eine geistige Flexibilität entspricht.

Ein anderes Phänomen, das deutsche Amerikareisende übereinstimmend erwähnen, ist das Streben nach einem eigenen Haus. "Ein Eigenheim im Grünen, in Licht und Sonne, bei uns nur wenigen Bevorzugten vergönnt, bildet in Amerika die Regel. Es ist das Ziel und die Sehnsucht aller" (He, 54). Der Traum vom eigenen Heim ist hier für viele Wirklichkeit geworden. Denken die Beobachter dagegen ans Wohnen in Deutschland, erinnern sie sich an die "Mietskasernen" dort, wodurch nur noch stärker unterstrichen wird, wie weit es die amerikanische Gesellschaft hier gebracht hat. Die anderen haben es impliziert, Feiler drückt es am deutlichsten aus, wenn er das Streben nach dem Eigenheim als ein weiteres großes Symbol amerikanischer Prosperität und Gesellschaft hinstellt (Fei, 51).

Man darf das Streben nach dem eigenen Heim in Amerika nicht mit Seßhaftigkeit oder Wurzelhaftigkeit gleichsetzen. Denn nicht schweren Herzens und rückwärtsblickend wie in Europa, sondern leicht und vorwärtsblickend gibt man in Amerika sein Haus auf, um irgendwo ein anderes zu kaufen. Vor dem Umzug werden gewöhnlich Möbel und Hausrat verkauft; nur weniges wird mitgenommen. Hierin zeigt sich ein völlig anderes Verhältnis zum materiellen Besitz, wie es viele Besucher registriert haben. "Die sentimentale Liebe zu den Dingen des Haushaltes, wie wir sie pflegen, ist drüben unbekannt" (Ja, 63). Das distanziert-nüchterne Verhältnis beschränkt sich nicht auf Dinge des Hausrats, unter Farmern bezieht es Land, Haus und Hof ebenso mit ein; von einer verpflichtenden Bindung an Grund und Boden ist nicht die Rede. "Diese Holzhäuser sind nicht die traditionserfüllten, erinnerungsreichen Wohnstätten aufeinanderfolgender Geschlechter" (Fei, 50).

Die deutschen Besucher nehmen alle staunend davon Kenntnis, wie großzügig das amerikanische Bildungswesen auf allen Ebenen materiell unterstützt wird und wie "Bildung und Wissen . . . für jeden da sind, der den Drang dazu verspürt" (He, 91). Der freie Zugang zur Bildung für alle ist das "dritte große Symbol" für die Prosperität der amerikanischen Gesellschaft (Fei, 106).

> Der Zugang zur Bildung ist nicht durch Vorrechte und Schranken des Besitzes gehemmt, er ist frei für jeden, der sich ihn erkämpfen will. Denn für das ganze Volk führt der Weg dahin in einer einheitlichen, breiten, nach oben sich allmählich verengenden Straße, auf der neben den Möglichkeiten des Lernens auch die materiellen Mittel dafür zu finden sind. (Fei, 93)

Wiederum aus dem Vergleich des Beobachteten mit der Situation und der Tradition im Deutschland der zwanziger Jahre resultiert das schwärmerische Urteil:

> Eine amerikanische Universität—ich habe eine ganze Reihe gesehen—das ist nicht ein einzelnes Gebäude irgendwo in einer Straße, das ist eine ganze Stadt. Da ist ein ungeheures Gelände, der ''Campus'', mit Parkanlagen, Wiesen und Rasenplätzen, und mitten darin die vielen zu einer amerikanischen Universität gehörenden Gebäude. Spielplätze und Stadion dürfen natürlich nicht fehlen. (He, 154)

Auch Rohrbach hält die rein äußeren Bedingungen an amerikanischen Universitäten für großzügig, und er gesteht den Dozenten Freude an ihrer Arbeit und einen Schuß Idealismus zu, aber er tritt dem amerikanischen Bildungssystem mit einer negativ-kritischen Haltung gegenüber. Punkte, die er zur Kritik herausgreift, sind folgende: Die Lehrfreiheit sei nicht auf allen Gebieten garantiert, zum Beispiel nicht in Nationalökonomie und in Geschichte. Professoren hätten keine feste Anstellung mit Pensionsberechtigung. Macht und Einfluß des ''Board of Trustees'' seien unbillig—er läßt sich in seiner Kritik von Upton Sinclairs *The Goose-Step* (1923) leiten. Das öffentliche Ansehen des Lehrers—''ob er gewöhnlicher Schulmeister oder Universitätsprofessor ist''—sei nicht hoch, weil er ''mit wenig Geld zufrieden ist'' (Ro, 134-36). Was die akademische Einschätzung der Studenten angeht, so glaubt er unter der Studentenschaft in Deutschland ''mehr wissenschaftlichen Ernst'' finden zu können als in Amerika (Ro, 142). Die übrigen Autoren teilen Rohrbachs Meinung nur bedingt. Ein Brennpunkt der Kritik ist für alle die mangelnde Vorrangstellung der reinen Forschung innerhalb der akademischen Disziplinen. Als Erklärung wird geltend gemacht:

> Es liegt auf der Hand, daß dieses junge Volk zunächst *die* Wissenschaften ausbildet, die ihm helfen, die Reichtümer des eigenen Landes nutzbar zu machen, also Geologie für den Bergbau und die Ölgewinnung, Chemie für viele Industrien usw. Daher findet man ausgezeichnete Spezialisten auf diesen Gebieten. Aber die Wissenschaft um ihrer selbst willen zu treiben, dazu hat man drüben einstweilen noch keine Zeit. (Ja, 45 f.)

Die Besucher erkennen ein bestimmendes Element, das durch das ganze Bildungssystem geht: die Erziehung zur praktischen Lebensbewältigung. Der starke Wert, der in Elementar- und Sekundarschulen auf Staatsbürgerkunde gelegt wird, ist ein Symptom für diese praktische Orientierung in der Schulausbildung (Ja, 100).

Eine Beobachtung gesellschaftsphilosophischer Art, die von einigen Besuchern gemacht wird und die keinen unwesentlichen Beitrag zum

Bild von Amerika als einem jungen, sich entwickelnden Land leistet, ist besonders wichtig: Die Colleges sind zukünftige Zentren geistiger Unabhängigkeit. In einer Gesellschaft, deren Welt von europäischen Beobachtern im allgemeinen als problemlos, leer und konformistisch charakterisiert worden ist (u.a. auch von Feiler, S. 284, 304, 308 et passim), beginnt sich eine geistige Unruhe zu regen. Bei manchen College-Studenten ist ein "Drang nach Vertiefung" lebendiggeworden. Sie zeigen ein Gefühl für die "trotz aller Prosperität ungelösten Probleme" und das Bewußtsein "ihrer eigenen, sittlichen Verantwortung gegenüber diesen Problemen. Die soziale Frage, die Rassenfrage, der Pazifismus werden ihnen so zu unmittelbar drängenden Postulaten des eigenen Lebens. . . . So wächst hier ein Element zukunftsvoller geistiger Unruhe" (Fei, 322 f.; vgl. auch He, 89 f.). Die auf dem Wege zu geistiger Selbständigkeit erreichte Stufe drückt sich in den ersten Ansätzen im Protest der Intellektuellen gegen die herrschende Konvention aus (Fei, 323).

Auf ihren Reisen treffen die Autoren in den Sommermonaten in Hotels und Camps, an Ferienorten und in Nationalparks "Studenten als Kellner, Kofferträger und Chauffeure, und Studentinnen als Stubenmädchen und Servierfräulein" (He, 93). Ferienarbeit junger Leute aus allen Bevölkerungsschichten ist den Besuchern nur ein Beispiel für das in Amerika geltende Arbeitsethos: "Alle Arbeit, die bezahlt wird, ist ehrenwert" (Pf, 171). Die Überzeugung, daß jede Arbeit Achtung verdient, ist eines der wichtigen Elemente, die in den Vereinigten Staaten die Realisierung einer nicht klassenbewußten Gesellschaft gefördert haben, und es ist ein tragendes Leitmotiv im Bild von Amerika.

> Dies alles wäre nicht möglich, wenn das Wort "Arbeit schändet nicht", das bei uns einen stark ironischen Beigeschmack hat, in Amerika nicht seine volle ehrliche Bedeutung hätte. Da ist etwas im amerikanischen Menschen, das man schlechthin bewundern und lieben muß. . . . In Amerika gilt nur der Mensch und die ehrliche Arbeit: da sind Begriffe wie Hoch und Niedrig, Vorgesetzte und Untergebene, Herren und Diener nicht feindliche Gegensätze, sondern da stehen sich im persönlichen Verkehr überall freie Menschen als Gleiche gegenüber. (He, 94)

Der Eindruck, daß Amerikaner als Freie und Gleiche miteinander leben, ist bei den Besuchern stark und nachhaltig. Auch die Beweglichkeit im Berufsleben kann in diesem Licht, der Auffassung vom gleichen Wert der Arbeit, gesehen werden. Die dieser Beweglichkeit zugrundeliegende Haltung verurteilt alle Standesschranken zur Bedeutungslosigkeit und stärkt die Gleichheit des Ansehens. "Denn der Bankier von der Wallstreet, die Verkäuferin vom Warenhaus Gimbel, der Fensterputzer eines Wolkenkratzers schätzen ihre und des Nebenmenschen Arbeit gleich hoch ein" (Pf, 171).

Diese Anschauung liefert auch die Basis für die Auffassung von Arbeit als "Job" in Amerika im Gegensatz zu "Beruf" in Deutschland

(Pf, 236). ''Die Arbeit ist für [alle] das Mittel, ihr Leben zu erhalten und zu gestalten'' (Pf, 171). Die erstrebte Selbstbestimmung des Individuums spiegelt sich in der Arbeitsmoral wider: ''Der Tüchtige kann sich emporarbeiten, der Faule kommt nicht voran'' (Pf, 171). Die meisten Berichte äußern sich positiv zum amerikanischen Arbeitsethos und halten es im ganzen für ein lobenswertes und nachahmenswertes Modell, das auch in Deutschland heilsame Folgen für die Gesellschaft haben könnte (Pf; Ja; Fei; He). Sie befürworten also den ''Amerikanismus'', d.h. die Übernahme amerikanischer Lebensformen.

Eine weitere Meinung, die die Autoren in den verschiedensten Zusammenhängen ausdrücken, hat hauptsächlich erklärende Funktion. Es ist die These von Amerika als einem Kolonialland. Diese These scheint—ähnlich wie die Turner-These, wonach das *frontier*-Erlebnis die Entwicklung Amerikas, das Wesen seiner Menschen und seiner Demokratie in fundamentaler Weise geprägt hat—einen geeigneten Hauptnenner anzubieten, auf den sich eine ganze Reihe von Phänomenen des amerikanischen Lebens bringen läßt. Die Gegebenheiten und Erfordernisse bei der Erschließung des Kontinents und die Bedingungen des Lebens an der *frontier* verlangten nach sittenbildenden Mächten für die neu entstehende und sich ausbreitende Gesellschaft. Von Moritz J. Bonn übernimmt Feiler die Formulierung von der ''Zähmung des Grenzers'', die ''im Kern die erste Aufgabe der sozialen Mächte Amerikas war und ist'' (Fei, 294). Neben der Kirche stellt vor allem die Konvention eine solche sittenbildende Macht dar (Fei, 295).

> Je jünger, je weltentlegener, je kleiner die Siedlung war, desto stärker ist in ihnen diese Macht der Konvention, gleich als ob man Auflösung und Zersetzung fürchtete, wenn man sich ihr nicht unterwürfe. (Fei, 295)

Feiler weist auf den engen Zusammenhang hin zwischen Konvention und Uniformität der Gesellschaft, einem weiteren Charakteristikum, das von vielen Besuchern Amerikas empfunden wird:

> Die Uniformierung des Lebens, vom Haus und der Kleidung bis zum Essen und dem täglichen Ablauf des Daseins, hat nicht nur ihre wirtschaftlichen Gründe, sie wird getragen auch durch diese Unterwerfung unter die Konvention. Aber mit dem inneren Leben steht es nicht anders. Die Konvention regelt das geschäftliche Verhalten des Bürgers ebenso wie sein Verhalten in der Familie. Sie setzt dem guten Bürger seine Pflichten. Sie formt sein Denken und sein Streben. Die öffentliche Meinung aber überwacht ihn mit einer immer tätigen, alles zur öffentlichen Angelegenheit machenden Aufmerksamkeit. . . . Die Konvention bindet alles. Und wer sie verletzt, . . . der hört auf, *respectable* zu sein. (Fei, 295)

Hier wird im Grunde eine ''Kollektivkultur'' umschrieben, wie sie zum Beispiel Fritz Giese in seiner Gegenüberstellung von amerikanischem und europäischem Rhythmus und Lebensgefühl als Basis für das Leben in den Vereinigten Staaten annimmt.[16]

Die Bereiche, in denen die These vom Kolonialland zur Erklärung am häufigsten bemüht wird, sind das Verhältnis der beiden Geschlechter zueinander und die Stellung der Frau in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft. "Die Frau wird mit Hochachtung und Rücksicht umgeben, der Mann arbeitet für sie." Diese Aussage kennzeichnet das typische Verhältnis von Mann und Frau in einem Kolonialland (Ja, 168; s. auch He, 87). Allen Besuchern fällt auf, daß die Frau in Amerika im gesellschaftlichen Umgang und in der Öffentlichkeit mit besonderer Höflichkeit bedacht wird. Als Ausnahme dazu wird allerdings registriert, daß Männer in der U-Bahn und in anderen öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln nicht aufstehen, um einer Frau einen Sitzplatz anzubieten (He, 87). Trotzdem sind sich alle Besucher über die Frauenverehrung in Amerika einig. "Alles in allem hat es die Frau drüben besser als in *the Old Country*" (Ja, 169). Einige behaupten, daß auf das Wort der amerikanischen Frau in manchen Lebensbereichen mehr gehört werde als auf das der Männer, zum Beispiel in juristischen Angelegenheiten bei Ehe- und Scheidungssachen, und ebenso, daß die Bildung der öffentlichen Meinung stärker dem Einfluß der Frauen unterworfen sei als dem der Männer und daß die amerikanische Frau nicht nur die volle Gleichberechtigung erreicht habe, sondern tatsächlich noch mehr (Ro, 147; Fei, 297). Giese, der die Kolonialthese auf die Kurzform bringt: Amerika—"das Land des Ellbogenkampfes. Das Land, in dem männliche Brachialität den Urgrund für alles Kommende legte", drückt diese Meinung so aus: "Aus dem Staate mit Männerrecht wurde ein Frauenstaat."[17]

Ab und zu wird in den Berichten die Auffassung vertreten, daß in der amerikanischen Gesellschaft Frauen eher nach höherer Bildung streben als Männer und daß in der Regel die Frau dem Mann, der nur als Ernährer ("Dollarmacher") der Familie fungiert, an Bildung und Wissen überlegen ist. So kommt er geistig in starke Abhängigkeit zur Frau.[18] Aus der deutschen Perspektive hat mancher Betrachter die Vorstellung von der "Vermännlichung der Frau" in Amerika: "Das Verhältnis von Mann und Weib ist vielfach geradezu auf den Kopf gestellt. Der Mann der Frau gegenüber zurückhaltend, und das Weib herausfordernd" (He, 86 f.). Die Rolle und Aufgabe des Mannes, dem Broterwerb für die Familie nachzugehen, bringt ihn in einen Konflikt zwischen Liebesdienst und Geschäftsinteresse.

> Der Mann in Amerika hat die Pflicht, seine Frau auf Händen zu tragen, und oft genug tut er es auch in buchstäblichem, anbetendem Sinn. Nur beschränkt sich diese Pflicht auf die Zeit, wo er frei von Geschäften ist, und das Ideal, so intensiv wie möglich dem geschäftlichen Erfolge nachzujagen, kämpft im Leben des Amerikaners mit dem andern des Kultus der Frau. (Ro, 148)

Die Mehrzahl unserer Autoren beschreibt den Erscheinungstyp der amerikanischen Frau oder kommentiert den amerikanischen Schönheitsbegriff; einer findet einen Widerspruch zwischen der Frauenverehrung einerseits und dem Schönheitskonzept andererseits. "Man weiß, wie der Amerikaner die Frau verehrt ('wenigstens in Gegenwart

Dritter', sagen Skeptiker)—aber zugleich setzt er sie unbewußt herab durch seinen im Durchschnitt oberflächlichen, sinnlichen Schönheitsbegriff'' (Ro, 146). Als Beweise für die ''innerliche Herabsetzung'' der Frau führt er zum Beispiel die amerikanische Vorliebe für Schminke beim weiblichen Geschlecht an, die den Menschen entwürdige (Ro, 146 f.).

Die eben zitierten Kommentare, die im Amerikabild der Deutschen der zwanziger Jahre einen festen Platz haben,[19] lassen erkennen, daß der fremde Beobachter durch seine Bemerkungen ebensoviel über die Anschauungen seiner Landsleute und über die Werteskala seines Herkunftslandes aussagt wie über die des besuchten Landes.

Weiter wird die These vom Kolonialland dort angewandt, wo die Amerikabesucher in vielen Fällen auf das Phänomen der Verschwendung von materiellen Gütern stoßen.

> Es ist die typische Erscheinung aller Kolonialwirtschaft: die Naturgüter sind im Überfluß vorhanden, aber knapp ist die Zahl der Menschen, um sie fruchtbar zu machen. Das Material ist billig, aber umso teurer die Arbeitskraft, die ihm zugesetzt wird. Immer wieder begegnet man deshalb einer Vergeudung von Material, die dem Europäer unfaßlich ist, dem Deutschen vor allem. (Fei, 23)

In den großen Städten, wo ausgediente Autos am Stadtrand stehengelassen und ausgelesene Zeitungen auf die Straße geworfen werden, in Restaurants, wo von den weggeworfenen Speiseresten Menschen leben könnten, in den Haushalten, wo Kleidung und Wäsche nicht geflickt, sondern kurzerhand ersetzt werden—überall herrscht Verschwendung. Marie Jacobi kündigt eine Stelle als Hausmädchen und Kinderfräulein, weil sie in diesem Haushalt Haferbrei fortschütten soll und sie die Vergeudung der Nahrungsmittel nicht mitansehen kann (Ja, 50). Verschwendung im großen Maß gibt es in an sich sehr rationalisierten Arbeitsprozessen, zum Beispiel in den Schlachthäusern (He, 224). Am auffälligsten ist sie in den zwanziger Jahren in der Forstwirtschaft, wo ausgebeutete Wälder von unkontrolliertem Raubbau Zeugnis ablegen. In den Staaten des Nordwestens haben die großen Holzgesellschaften die besten Bäume fällen lassen, ohne für die Aufforstung zu sorgen; Brände haben dort gewütet, aber der Wald blieb sich selbst überlassen. Den Besuchern bietet sich dort ein aufwühlendes und trauriges Bild:

> Das sieht aus, als hätten hier Riesen gehaust und alles kurz und klein geschlagen; eine Waldverwüstung, die jeder Beschreibung spottet. . . . Wie drohende Arme recken die toten Bäume ihre gebleichten Äste zum Himmel. Von rationeller Waldwirtschaft nirgends eine Spur. (He, 170 f.)

Mit besonderem Interesse wenden sich die deutschen Reisenden dem Schicksal ihrer ehemaligen Landsleute zu; umgekehrt suchen Deutschamerikaner gern Kontakt mit Besuchern, die unmittelbar aus der alten Heimat kommen. Die Reiseberichte erwähnen deutsche Fami-

lien, Klöster und Siedlungen in den Staaten New York, Pennsylvania, Texas und in Städten wie Cincinnati, Chicago, Seattle und Lincoln, Nebraska. Mit Vorliebe werden Telefonbücher nach Namen durchforscht, die im deutschen Original oder in einer abgewandelten, amerikanisierten Form erhalten sind (He, 177; Ro, 186). Im Gesamteindruck fallen bei Deutschamerikanern Schönheitssinn und Ordnungsliebe auf; sie werden bezeugt durch häufige Feststellungen, daß ihre Veranden und Häuser mit Blumen geschmückt sind und daß sie in ihren Gärten außer Gemüse auch Blumen ziehen (Pf, 232).[20] Über seine Fahrt durch Texas findet sich in Hensels Tagebuch die Eintragung: ''Viele deutsche Siedlungen, mit der bekannten deutschen Ordnung und Sauberkeit: vor den Häusern, wie bei uns, Gärtchen mit Blumen'' (He, 128).

In den Berichten treten vor allem drei Themenkreise hervor: Meinungen der Deutschamerikaner über Deutschland, die Bedeutung des ersten Weltkriegs für das Deutschamerikanertum und Beobachtungen über die Sprache der Deutschamerikaner. In Gesprächen mit eingewanderten Deutschen bleibt eine Frage nie aus: ob sie wieder nach Deutschland zurückkehren möchten. Fast alle verneinen die Frage. Wenn sie Deutschland besuchen, ergeht es ihnen wie allen Amerikanern. Ihnen erscheint das Land wie ein einziger Garten, in dem jedes Fleckchen gehegt und gepflegt wird. Doch gleichzeitig werden sie sich der ungeheuren Dimensionen ihres eigenen Landes bewußt, und dieses Bewußtsein offenbart ihnen die Weite ihres Lebens in der Neuen Welt (Fei, 52). Die ausgewanderten Deutschen können ''die ganze Luft'' in Deutschland nicht mehr vertragen (He, 18). Die Enge der ehemaligen Heimat empfinden sie am stärksten in den traditionsgebundenen Institutionen und vor allem im deutschen Klassenbewußtsein. Dies ist der tiefste Grund, warum den Ausgewanderten das Leben in Deutschland fremd geworden ist. ''Jeder alte Deutschamerikaner schimpft bei jeder passenden Gelegenheit gewaltig auf den deutschen 'Kastengeist', auf die Titelwirtschaft, auf die 'heilige Ehrfurcht' vor einer Beamtenuniform . . .'' (Pf, 173).

> Das ist es; wer sich erst einmal an die ''amerikanische Luft'' gewöhnt hat, kann es in der europäischen Enge und zwischen den ''vielen Kleinen, die sich alle so wichtig nehmen'', . . . nicht mehr aushalten. Und das ist das Wunderbare: Jedem, der sich längere Zeit drüben aufgehalten hat, in diesem Lande der ungeheuern Weite, unter diesen Menschen, die alle nur auf den einen Ton ''Amerika'' gestimmt sind, . . . in diesem Lande der Freiheit, . . . : dem wird Amerika zum Maßstab. (He, 18)

Noch im Jahre 1927 wird die Bedeutung des ersten Weltkriegs für die Situation des Deutschtums in den Vereinigten Staaten zwischen Besuchern und Deutschamerikanern diskutiert. Im persönlichen Bereich war das, was die Deutschstämmigen am tiefsten berührt hatte, der Zwiespalt in der eigenen Familie, wenn die bereits in Amerika geborenen und erwachsenen Söhne und Töchter Partei nahmen für ihr Land gegen das ihrer Väter. Doch aufs Ganze gesehen hat der Krieg die Stärkung eines amerikanischen Einigkeitsgefühls bewirkt, hat er ''gerade das 'amerikanische' Bewußtsein sehr stark herausgearbeitet

und den Verschmelzungsprozeß eher gefördert'' (He, 77, 82). Die Meinung der Deutschamerikaner aller Generationen läßt sich so zusammenfassen:

> Wir sind deutscher Abstammung. Aber wir sind Amerikaner. Die meisten von uns sind hier geboren. Und auch die anderen haben ihr ganzes Leben diesem Lande gewidmet. Wir lieben dieses Land, das unsere Heimat ist, unser Staat: wir können uns kein Leben in einem anderen Lande als Amerika vorstellen. Wir sind Bürger dieses Landes und wollen es sein. (Fei, 256)

Mit Stolz sprechen sie von ihrem Adoptivland, ''sehen oft auf alles Nichtamerikanische mit Überlegenheit herunter; nicht immer aus Hochmut, sondern in der ehrlichen Überzeugung, daß Amerika fortgeschrittener, mächtiger, besser und reicher ist als alle anderen Länder'' (He, 77). Die einigende Wirkung umschloß auch die beiden Gruppen, die vor dem ersten Weltkrieg als zwei Richtungen im Deutschamerikanertum erkennbar waren: die Deutschstämmigen der in der zweiten und der dritten Generation in Amerika Geborenen, die sich zwar ihrer deutschen Herkunft bewußt, aber doch völlig eingegliedert waren in die amerikanische Gesellschaft, und die anderen, die sogenannten Vereinsdeutschen, die ihre deutsche Abstammung und Art nach außen betonten und die sich deswegen in engen deutschen Zirkeln abgesondert hatten. Keine deutschamerikanische Gruppe konnte sich, namentlich als Folge der Kriegszeit, der vereinheitlichenden Macht der amerikanischen Sprache entziehen. Sie wird zum wichtigsten Werkzeug im Homogenisierungsprozeß (Fei, 237, 253-55).

Die Bedeutung des Englischen für das Fortkommen der Einwanderer im neuen Land wird von den Besuchern klar erkannt. Marie Jacobi, selber auf Stellensuche, läßt daran keinen Zweifel: ''Wer drüben sein Brot verdienen will, muß, muß, *muß* englisch sprechen. Sonst wird er schlecht bezahlt, mag er noch soviel verstehen und seinen Mitbewerbern an Wissen überlegen sein'' (Ja, 34). Die Notwendigkeit, auf die englische Sprache umzusatteln, hat oft den Grad der Beherrschung der deutschen Sprache beeinträchtigt. Die Qualität in Redefluß, Wortwahl, Idiomatik und Grammatik ließ nach. ''Fast ausnahmslos sprechen sie [Deutschamerikaner in einfacher Lebensstellung] das schauderhafte Deutsch, das dabei herauskommt, wenn man beide Sprachen nur spricht, aber wenig liest und kaum schreibt'' (Ja, 83). Selbst Sprache und Stil der Zeitungen in deutscher Sprache werden schlecht beurteilt; die *New Yorker Staatszeitung* und der *Herold* (1927) lesen sich ''wie schlecht übersetztes Englisch'' (He, 74). Am schärfsten kritisieren die Besucher die Varianten einer deutsch-englischen Mischsprache, in der sie eine Entwürdigung der Sprache sehen. Zu diesem Thema, der Unart des ''Mixens'', zitiert Rohrbach ein Verschen, das er in Cincinnati von einem prominenten Deutschamerikaner, Judge Lueders, 1924 gehört hatte:

> Sprich deutsch, weil du ein Deutscher bist!
> Sprich englisch, wenn es nötig ist!
> Doch deutsch und englisch zusammengebraut,
> Das ist wie Icecreame [sic] und Sauerkraut! (Ro, 172)

Neben den Deutschamerikanern lernen die Reisenden natürlich auch andere ethnische Gruppen kennen, und in ihrem Bild von der amerikanischen Gesellschaft machen sie sich rasch die Schmelztiegelthese zu eigen. "Jeder Amerikaner, der seine Familie hier auf hundert Jahre zurückverfolgen kann, ist das Produkt von drei, vier verschiedenen europäischen Nationen" (Fei, 233). In diesem Eingliederungsprozeß werden die Menschen zu Vertretern des demokratischen Systems. Sie kennen und achten die Werte, auf die sich Staat und Verfassung gründen. Da sie Gemeingut des ganzen Volkes sind, stehen diese Werte außerhalb jeder Frage und jeden Zweifels.

> Nicht nur die Republik, auch die Demokratie . . . ist in der Geschichte wie im Glauben des Volkes tief verwurzelt, sie gehören einfach zur Lebensluft Amerikas: es ist schlechthin ausgeschlossen, daß eine Person, eine Gruppe, eine Partei sie offen antastete. Diese Demokratie ist auch nicht bloß Fiktion. So groß beispielsweise die Machtbefugnisse des Präsidenten sind: eine Politik gegen den Willen des Volkes kann er so wenig wie der Kongreß oder sonst jemand treiben; wer eine politische Maßnahme durchführen will, muß dafür die Zustimmung der Volksmeinung besitzen oder sie gewinnen. (Fei, 272)

Die Besucher in den zwanziger Jahren können—nicht ohne Neid und mit ehrlicher Bewunderung—feststellen, daß die amerikanischen Menschen sich das bewahrt haben, "was hier das Wichtigste ist—politische Gläubigkeit" (Fei, 286). Mit dem Glauben an Demokratie verbinden sie Glauben an politische Freiheit und an politische Ideale überhaupt (Fei, 287).

Liegt in der politischen Gläubigkeit ein Fundament des amerikanischen Lebensgefühls, so kommt noch ein zweites hinzu: "Amerikanisch ist vor allen Dingen unermeßliches Kraftgefühl, das hier schon die einzelne Persönlichkeit beherrscht, noch mehr aber das Volksempfinden im ganzen" (Ro, 191). Die Mischung der völkischen Elemente sowie die Gegebenheiten und Bedingungen des Landes, seine Weite und sein Reichtum, unterbauen das Lebensgefühl, zu dem für den einzelnen "Sicherheit und Mut", "Heiterkeit und Würde" gehören (Fei, 304). Der charakteristische Optimismus der Amerikaner und ihr ausgeprägtes Selbstvertrauen resultieren aus diesem Lebensgefühl. Daß von solchen Voraussetzungen jeder einzelne tangiert wird, daß in einem reziproken Vorgang das allgemeine Lebensgefühl das Selbstvertrauen des einzelnen stärkt und daß dieses wiederum das Lebensgefühl der Nation insgesamt fördert, ist evident.

Der entscheidende Punkt für die Teilnahme an diesem Prozeß und für die Eingliederung in die amerikanische Gesellschaft—darin stimmen die Berichterstatter überein—ist die Frage der Anpassung, genauer die Umformung der Persönlichkeit, die der Einwanderer im neuen Land und in seiner Gesellschaft erfährt und zu der er bereit sein muß. Donatus Pfannmüller nennt mehrere Beispiele aus dem Kreise ausgewanderter Mönche und Klosterbrüder, die in Amerika einen Wandel in ihrer Persönlichkeit erfahren haben.[21] Das Resultat einer solchen Umformung sind gesteigertes Selbstbewußtsein, eine Beweglichkeit des Geistes, Agilität und Improvisationskunst.

So beschreiben die Reiseberichte geradezu einen neuen Menschentypus, der sich in Amerika herausgebildet hat, nicht allein im Erscheinungstyp, sondern stärker noch in seinem Charakter: im Handeln aktiv und unkompliziert, an die Dinge herangehend; im Wesen selbstbewußt, frei und offen, tolerant, großzügig, demokratisch.[22] Daß er frei ist ''von der Beschäftigung mit Lebensproblemen und grüblerischer Gedankenarbeit'' (Ro, 157), kommt diesem Tatmenschen sehr entgegen. Im Urteil der deutschen Beobachter ist demnach die wichtigste Eigenschaft, die ein Einwanderer haben muß und die über Erfolg oder Mißerfolg seiner Eingliederung in die amerikanische Gesellschaft entscheidet, eine gewisse Beweglichkeit des Geistes, die Bereitschaft und die Fähigkeit, sich anzupassen, nicht nur an die äußeren Gegebenheiten, sondern vor allem an die Vorurteilslosigkeit gegenüber dem Mitmenschen und an die Gleichschätzung jeder Arbeit. Gegenseitige Anerkennung, Bürgersinn, ''Respekt gegenüber dem allgemeinen Wohl'' (Pf, 176) und ein gewisses fröhliches Selbstbewußtsein machen das aus, was sie als das demokratische Leben des Amerikaners ansehen.

Feiler konstatiert eine ''Haltung menschlicher Demokratie, die vielleicht noch wichtiger ist als die Demokratie der Verfasung''.

> Diese Haltung duldet menschlich kein Kriechen und kein Treten. Sie verlangt und gewährt im Menschlichen Gleichheit. Und der ganze Ton des Lebens wird dadurch bestimmt. Man achtet einander: . . . und das erzeugt als beherrschenden Grundton des ganzen Lebens eine Höflichkeit, eine gegenseitige Einfügung und Rücksichtnahme, eine fröhliche Liebenswürdigkeit, die einem in hundert kleinen Einzelzügen immer wieder fühlbar wird. (Fei, 304 f.)

Ohne Zweifel war die Erfahrung der gelebten Demokratie, der demokratische Lebensstil der Bürger, für die Amerikareisenden in den zwanziger Jahren das zentrale Erlebnis. ''Dieser großartige Demokratismus'', schreibt Marie Jacobi, ''ist eins von den Dingen, die mir drüben am besten gefallen haben, und aus tiefster Seele wünschte ich, daß wir Deutschen uns ein Beispiel daran nehmen könnten. Ach, uns hindert die lange und alte Tradition . . .'' (Ja, 42). Der demokratische Sinn, verkörpert im Individuum wie in der Gesamtheit des Volkes, ist das Element, das den amerikanischen Menschen anders sein läßt und ihn unterscheidet von Deutschen und anderen Europäern.

So zeichnen die dominierenden Leitmotive in der Reiseliteratur der zwanziger Jahre ein positives und freundliches Bild von Amerika.[23] Die Skepsis gegenüber Amerika als Vorbild wurde erst gegen Ende des Jahrzehnts stärker, seit und wegen der Weltwirtschaftskrise 1929. Extrem findet die negativ-kritische Haltung ihren Ausdruck bei Egon Erwin Kisch, der das Bild von Amerika als dem Land, das von vielen als Paradies auf Erden geschildert wird, als Illusion entlarven und zerschlagen möchte.[24] Im Querschnitt der zwanziger Jahre jedoch spricht die Reiseliteratur von Qualitäten, die als vorbildlich und

erstrebenswert dargestellt werden: Erfindergeist in der Technik, das Ethos der Gesellschaft und die Tugenden des typischen, des integrierten Amerikaners. Mag der Tenor nicht so emphatisch sein wie in Arthur Holitschers Reiseerlebnissen von 1912, die Amerika als "das Schicksal und die Erfüllung des Menschengeschlechts" hinstellen,[25] so haben die Autoren aber alle die umwandelnde Kraft Amerikas an sich selber gespürt, und sie haben gewußt, daß diese Kraft auf die Ziele und das Streben der Menschen in der Alten Welt nicht ohne Wirkung bleiben könnte. Für die, denen das Zauberwort "Amerika" durch eine Reise zur Realität geworden ist, gilt der Satz, den Donatus Pfannmüller mit der Weisheit des Klosterbruders formuliert hat: "Wenn ich zwei Herzen hätte, ließe ich sicher eines dort zurück" (Pf, 325).

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

Anmerkungen

[1] Zum Thema "Amerikanisierung" und zur Problematik von Phänomen und Begriff s. Arnold Bergstraesser, "Zum Problem der sogenannten Amerikanisierung Deutschlands," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 8 (1963), 13-23; Peter Berg, *Deutschland und Amerika 1918-1929: Über das deutsche Amerikabild der zwanziger Jahre*, Historische Studien, 385 (Lübeck und Hamburg: Matthiesen, 1963), S. 132-53; Earl R. Beck, *Germany Rediscovers America* (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1968), S. 230-54. Zu speziellen Bereichen der "Amerikanisierung" s. Rudolf Haas, "Amerikanische Einflüsse auf das deutsche Bildungsleben nach 1945," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 8 (1963), 24-33 und Broder Carstensen, "Amerikanische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Sprache," ib., S. 34-55.

[2] Berg, S. 132, 134. Berg untersucht das deutsche Amerikabild hauptsächlich im Hinblick auf Politik und Wirtschaft.

[3] *Yankeeland: Eine Reise* (Berlin: Mosse, 1925). Über Kerrs Amerikabegeisterung s. Ian C. Loram, "Alfred Kerr's America," *German Quarterly*, 38 (1965), 164-71; Nachdr. in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: Neuere Forschungen zur Amerikarezeption der deutschen Literatur*, hrsg. von Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim und New York: Georg Olms, 1977), S. 468-75. Loram gibt für diese Amerikareise das Frühjahr 1924 an; dagegen nennt Helga Bemmann 1923 als Reisejahr. Alfred Kerr, *Sätze meines Lebens: Über Reisen, Kunst und Politik*, hrsg. von Helga Bemmann (Berlin: Buchverlag Der Morgen, 1980), S. 634.

[4] *Germany Rediscovers America*, S. 19.

[5] Fritz Eberhardt, *Amerika-Literatur; Die wichtigsten seit 1900 in deutscher Sprache erschienenen Werke über Amerika* (Leipzig: Koehler & Volckmar, 1926), S. 212-22. Richard Mönnig, *Neue deutsche Amerikabücher 1925-1932* (Berlin, 1932).

[6] Vgl. auch Berg: "Sie [die Amerikaliteratur] bezeichnet . . . den eigentlichen Beginn der echten deutschen Auseinandersetzung mit Amerika, nachdem die vielversprechenden Ansätze der Zeit vor dem Weltkrieg durch diesen erstickt worden waren. Diese . . . Reisen brachen endgültig die Schranken, die bis dahin zwischen beiden Ländern noch bestanden hatten" (S. 98).

[7] "On Interpreting Immigrant Letters: The Case of Johann Caspar and Wilhelmina Honegger-Hanhart," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 16 (1981), 141-51.

[8] "Das Bild vom anderen Land als Gegenstand literarischer Forschung," *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter*, Heft 56 (1975), S. 313-21; Nachdr. in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild*, S. 28-36. (Zitat S. 30.) Boerner diskutiert Notwendigkeit und Validität von Untersuchungen, die Bilder anderer Länder zum Gegenstand haben, und legitimiert solche Studien: ". . . möchte ich die Meinung vertreten, daß die Bilder anderer Länder nicht nur textexegetische Bedeutung haben, sondern verdienen, um ihrer selbst willen behandelt zu werden" (S. 30). Vgl. auch Hans Galinsky, "Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: Ein kritischer Bericht zu Geschichte, Stand und Aufgaben der Forschung," in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild*, S. 4-27.

[9] Boerner betont, daß es unbillig sei, "eine definitive Trennungslinie zwischen den Bildern anderer länder einerseits und Stereotypen, Klischees und Vorurteilen andererseits ziehen zu wollen, insbesondere da die letzteren oft Teil der ersteren oder zumindest an ihrer Gestaltung beteiligt sind" (S. 32 f.).

[10] Die Angaben "hier" und "drüben" werden von den Autoren nicht einheitlich gebraucht. Sie beziehen sich einmal auf Amerika und Deutschland, ein anderes Mal auf Deutschland und Amerika.

[11] Arthur Feiler war Publizist und hatte besonderes Interesse an Wirtschafts- und Sozialfragen und Handelspolitik; er war Wirtschaftsredakteur der *Frankfurter Zeitung* (Amerikaaufenthalt: April-Juni 1925); Rudolf Hensel war Versicherungsfachmann der Allianz in Berlin (Amerikaaufenthalt: Sommer 1927); Marie Jacobi war Studienrätin (Fach: Geographie) in Bremen (Amerikaaufenthalt: 1926/27, während dieser Jahre arbeitete sie in mehreren Häusern als Hausgehilfin und Kinderfräulein); Donatus Pfannmüller war Franziskanermönch vom Frauenberg bei Fulda (Amerikaaufenthalt: Herbst 1929); Paul Rohrbach war Herausgeber der Halbmonatszeitschrift *Der deutsche Gedanke. Zeitschrift für auswärtige Politik und Auslands-Deutschtum* (Amerikaaufenthalte: 1922, 1923 und 1924; die letzten beiden Reisen machte er im Dienst der deutschen Kinderspeisung und der Studentenhilfe).

Becks Auskunft, wonach Marie Jacobi erst 1906 geboren ist (Beck, S. 315), widerspricht ihrer eigenen Angabe, daß sie schon zehn Jahre im Lehramt war, ehe sie ihren Amerikaurlaub im Jahr 1926 beantragte (Jacobi, S. 9). Ebenso muß Becks Mitteilung berichtigt werden, daß Marie Jacobi nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg Mitglied des Bundestags war (Beck, S. 315). Hier dürfte eine Verwechslung vorliegen mit Maria Jacobi, MdB, aus Marl (Geburtsjahrgang 1906).

Als Siglen für die Autorennamen werden gebraucht: Fei = Feiler; He = Hensel; Ja = Jacobi; Pf = Pfannmüller; Ro = Rohrbach.

[12] "Amerikanische Wirtschaftsformen," Teil II, S. 115-229.

[13] Max Werner, *Amerikafieber: Licht- und Schattenbilder aus dem Lande der Wolkenkratzer* (Leipzig: Verlag für Literatur, Kunst und Musik, 1910), S. 147:

> Heute erschien sie mir wie eine drohende Furie, die in der hocherhobenen Rechten eine Geißel hält.
>
> . . . du solltest nicht *Liberty* heißen, man sollte dich Fortuna nennen, denn trügerisch wie diese Göttin bist auch du. Statt der Freiheitsfackel sollte man dir ein Füllhorn geben, dann würde die Welt nicht getäuscht und der Ankommende wüßte gleich, was ihn erwartet.

[14] *Egon Erwin Kisch beehrt sich darzubieten: Paradies Amerika* (Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1929) und Ernst Toller, *Quer durch: Reisebilder und Reden* (Berlin: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1930).

[15] Feiler kennzeichnet drei Phänomene des amerikanischen Lebens als Symbole der Prosperität: das Eigenheim, das Auto und den freien Zugang zur Bildung (S. 50, 75, 93).

[16] *Girlkultur* (München: Delphin, 1925), S. 79 ff.

[17] Ibid., S. 105.

[18] Vgl. Giese, S. 108.

[19] Vgl. die Angaben bei Beck, S. 137-44.

[20] Über diese Eigenschaften in der Zeit vor dem ersten Weltkrieg s. Werner, S. 44, 89, 92.

[21] "Aus dem stillen, bescheidenen Schreinerbruder Cajetan ist ein Architekt geworden . . . , eine ungeheuere Arbeitslast ruht auf seinen Schultern" (Pf, 109). Oder Bruder Benti, der als Achtzehnjähriger in Fulda nur "Taubeneinfalt und ein gutes Mundwerk" besaß; jetzt, nach vielen Jahren in New York, hat er eine für New Yorker Verhältnisse nötige "Schlangenklugheit" erworben (Pf, 79 f.). Father Franz entfaltete in Amerika eine ungeheuere Energie. Er wurde zu einem Initiator neuer Kirchen-und Klöstergründungen, nicht weniger als zweiundzwanzig Kirchen hat er gebaut. Einmal führte er gegen alle kirchliche Tradition eine fünfzehnte Kreuzwegstation ein: "Lasset uns beten für die Barkeeper, die durch ihren Schnaps das Volk verderben!" Sobald sich das herumgesprochen hatte, ging Father Franz von Schankwirt zu Schankwirt und sammelte Geld für seinen neuesten Kirchenbau (Pf, 158 f.).

[22] Vgl. Bergs Charakterisierung des Amerikaners: "Seine hervorstechendsten Charaktereigenschaften sind Energie, Zukunftsmut, Tatkraft und ein unbeschwerter jugendlicher

Aktivismus. . . . Schließlich kennzeichnet den Amerikaner seine Fähigkeit zu nüchternem wirtschaftlichem Kalkül'' (S. 135).

[23] Daneben gibt es noch andere Motive, die aber nicht dominieren, auch wenn sie gewichtige Themen berühren. Dazu gehören zum Beispiel die Stellung der Neger und die Rolle der Religion. Ich möchte auf diese Themen nicht eingehen, weil sie in der untersuchten Reiseliteratur nicht so stark wie die behandelten Leitmotive in Erscheinung treten. Außerdem hat Beck sie schon diskutiert. Er behandelt das Thema Religion in ''Chapter X. God's Own Children'' (*Germany Rediscovers America*, S. 207-29), wo er auch Donatus Pfannmüller zitiert. In den Abschnitten über die Negerfrage (S. 47-49; 76-87) stützt sich Beck u.a. auf Zitate aus den Büchern von Feiler und Hensel. Ihre Berichte sind summarisch und knapp (Fei, 245-50; He, 102-07). Pfannmüller und Jacobi waren nicht in den Südstaaten, wie überhaupt die meisten Amerikareisenden jener Zeit nicht den Süden besuchten, sondern sich auf das Gebiet nördlich der Strecke Denver-St. Louis beschränkten. ''They [die meisten Amerikareisenden] glibly discussed . . . the South—but they didn't see it'' (Beck, S. 20). Rohrbach beschreibt New Orleans, wo er kurz etwas über die versinkende französische Kultur zu sagen hat, nichts jedoch über Schicksal und Zukunft der Neger (Ro, 124-25).

[24] S. Anm. 14.

[25] *Amerika heute und morgen: Reiseerlebnisse* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1912), S. 429: ''Aber wer das Drängen der Neuen Welt in seine eigenen Pulse hinüberschlagen gefühlt hat, der weiß tief innen: Amerika ist das Schicksal und die Erfüllung des Menschengeschlechts.''

Geoffrey S. Cahn

The American Reception of Weimar Culture 1918-1933

So much of the compelling literature, film, music, and art of the Weimar Republic have been absorbed into American culture during the last fifty years that it is curious to realize the chilly reception accorded it during the 1920s and early 1930s. Not all the artistic works exported from Germany to the United States received outright condemnation, for a few were judged meaningful contributions. But during this period of our nation's history, when the arts reflected a new national consciousness and American tastes were largely influenced by our own cultural assertiveness and growth, Weimar culture largely failed to be communicative and was perceived as "ugly" and "decadent."

In a sense Weimar was a kind of rehearsal for what later became the common experience of Europe. Though much of the stridency which characterized Weimar culture stemmed from its experimental features, we must remember that a good deal of it reflected tremendous anxiety and a rising sense of doom.[1] The United States, obviously, had not suffered the same disastrous experiences after World War I, nor would most of her writers and artists engage themselves in similar styles or social criticisms as those of the Weimar Republic.

Where Weimar, during these years, exerted its greatest influence in the United States—in architecture—the reception, understandably, was warmest. Other artistic media, however, were not nearly as accessible, and music, for example, was disliked more intensely by American critics and audiences than any other art form. Thus, the various styles of each of the arts as well as our own level of sophistication affected our reception of Weimar culture as well.

I

No doubt, the stormy reception which greeted much of Weimar culture in the United States was also a result of the transformation of relations between the two nations brought on by the war. Prior to the onset of World War I close cultural ties were maintained. Since the 1680s, the various waves of German emigration to the United States

precipitated close bonds between the two countries. Over the years, as important men, movements, and ideas of modern Germany made their way into America, few failed to have an impact on American cultural development.

Germany's industrialization during the latter part of the nineteenth century fostered new trade relations and the German government was able to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with America until the war clouds gathered. However, the emergence of blood and iron stirred rifts in our cultural relations with Germany. Our previous image of her as the world leader in cultural pursuits—as the land of poets and musicians—was slowly losing its grip, and by the end of the nineteenth century, German intellectual influence had waned and had given way to more vital English and French stimulation.[2]

With America's entrance into World War I, our impressions of Germany changed drastically and all German influence in American life was finally brought to a halt. During 1917-1918 German books were deleted from many libraries and publicly burned or sold as trash, and German language instruction in schools and universities was prohibited in a number of states.[3] German cuisine was eliminated from our finest restaurants and hotels and even the innocuous sauerkraut, as much Scotch-Irish as German, now became known as "liberty cabbage." Indeed, the reaction against all things German among Americans as a whole was more far-reaching than in any other allied country in Europe.[4]

After the war ended, the vast majority of Americans still felt that both the German government and people were guilty of committing the most outrageous crimes, and only after we were made aware of Germany's terrible economic conditions, did we gradually become less severe in our dealings with the war-torn nation.[5] Much like her allies, America's feelings toward the newly formed Weimar Republic were initially divided and our foreign policy with Germany continued to follow a less than uniform pattern. While good business and relief measures initially guided our diplomacy on friendly terms, whenever our interests were threatened by political or social turmoil, new apprehensiveness was quite naturally voiced.[6]

Most of our impressions of Weimar society then reflected great adversity. Indeed, European culture and society as a whole were sneered at by many Americans for its political upheaval, economic chaos, and social breakdown.[7] Sometimes, even the more sympathetic "high-brow" journals expressed reproval for Europe's (and especially Germany's) social malaise.[8] Germany's social unrest was frequently depicted in the most pejorative terms. The *Literary Digest* in 1924, for example, referred to Weimar society as "decadent, . . . bizarre, fantastically emotional, wildly German."[9] True, other accounts were sympathetic to Germany's desperate situation. Writing for the *Living Age* in 1921, H. de Man admitted: "What impressed me in Germany was the universal evidence of great suffering, great weariness, and great despair."[10] However, given the general mood of our nation which generally viewed European culture and society as "decadent" and even

''dangerous'' to the wholesomeness of American civilization, it is not difficult to see why the most negative vision of German society prevailed throughout the 1920s and early 1930s.

As the anti-German hysteria slowly abated by the beginning of the twenties, the boycott on German culture was lifted. But when the newest of the German novels, plays, films, music, and paintings made their way to America, and especially to New York City, the cultural capital of our nation, they understandably attracted only a limited audience. A few artists, intellectuals, and critics responded enthusiastically but most shared the feelings of the more popular audience which was, as expected, either hostile, perplexed, or at best indifferent.

II

Literature, usually the most approachable art form, posed some problems for the American reader. Much German prose of the period remained untranslated until later, and during the twenties, when American editions of some works were first made available to the American public, their content generally proved too complex and ''other-worldly.''[11] However, more German literature was read in the United States than any other foreign prose and German writers were reviewed prominently in the *New York Times.*[12]

The more conventional German war and historical novels especially drew a fair number of American readers. One such work, Erich Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front,* was read by more Americans than any other war book, and it along with Vicki Baum's romantic *Grand Hotel* made the *American Best Seller List* in 1929 and 1931 respectively.[13]

The more stylistically innovative works of Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, and Leonhard Frank were met less enthusiastically though admired by a select few. For example, German expressionist literature often received favorable reviews by its friendliest American critic, Ludwig Lewisohn, who admired its ''supreme intensity'' and ''deep inner necessity.''[14] And some of the avant-garde journals of the day occasionally published the latest from the pen of Alfred Döblin and Rainer Maria Rilke.[15] For the most part, though, American literary tastes were provincial and conventional and out of touch with European experimental writers.

The two giants of twentieth-century German literature, Thomas Mann and Hermann Hesse, were the most representative and best-liked novelists in Germany. In the United States, the reception of Mann's works varied from one part of the decade to the next. During the early 1920s, Mann remained virtually unknown in this country. As late as 1925, only two of his earlier works, *Buddenbrooks* (1901) and *Death in Venice* (1911), had won some praise with American critics.[16] With the publication of *The Magic Mountain* in the United States in 1927, and Mann's award of the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1929, more literary critics in America were persuaded by his international reputation. Of course, *The Magic Mountain* never reached the American educated public as it had its own native audience, but it attracted much attention in

journals of opinion. Both Ludwig Lewisohn and J. W. Krutch writing for the *Nation* hailed the novel as one of the most important of its time, while Robert Lovett of the *New Republic* wrote: ". . . it comes to a full symphonic utterance that is grandiose in its scope, tumultuous and overwhelming in intensity." However, other journals, such as *Dial* and the *Saturday Review of Literature,* gave the novel only tepid reviews, while *Living Age,* in fact, found the work "laborious."[17] For now, Mann's masterpiece, as well as some of his other important novels, failed to engross most American readers and critics. Both his social content and literary style were beyond their grasp.

Perhaps because Hermann Hesse's literary style was far more traditional and romantic, his novels became more accessible in America. In fact, a fair number of his novels were hailed in the popular press. But aside from his romantic narration, setting, and characters, which seemed to hold a certain fascination over American readers, Hesse's *Weltschmerz* remained distant from American intellectual life.[18] Though his two best novels, *Demian* and *Steppenwolf,* received excellent reviews in some of the leading dailies, certain literary journals remained critical. For example, in a review of *Steppenwolf* entitled, "For Madmen Only," the *Literary Digest* commented: "It reflects a certain current in the intellectual life of Germany that is altogether too neurotic."[19] What was said about Hesse's major work reflected to a greater degree America's feelings toward the rest of Weimar culture.

III

The theater of each nation also reflected the temper of its audience and many German plays were far too topical to sustain the attention of many American viewers. However, a number of American playwrights, intellectuals, and critics like Eugene O'Neill, Matthew Josephson, and Ludwig Lewisohn looked upon German theater's technical innovations with greater interest.[20] But the record of actual performances and subsequent reviews of some of the leading German plays performed in New York City reflected mostly a negative impression.

Under the spell of anti-German hysteria the Broadway stage was closed to German drama during the 1918-1919 and 1919-1920 seasons. During the following season, when hostile feelings abated, a few German plays were produced, and expressionist dramas were some of the first Weimar plays to be performed in New York, our theater capital. Across the country, however, few expressionist plays were produced.

> The highly metaphysical aspect of expressionism never found a stage in the United States. The plays seen here were the ones of protest, those of the "shriek." The Germans always admired the intensely personal and the philosophically abstract on their stage, and these phases of expressionism were never too well received outside German speaking areas. Philosophical drama in New York in the 1920s was chiefly the province of the little theaters and of the guild, and it was in these houses that the German dramas were played.[21]

George Kaiser's *From Morn to Midnight* was a qualified artistic and commercial success.[22] It was presented by the Theatre Guild on 14 May 1922 at the Garrick Theater for two special performances and then was extended for eighty performances there and later at the Frazee Theater. However, the particularly German milieu of this work was effectively adapted for British and American audiences—an alteration which unfortunately was not made to most other German dramas.

For example, Ernst Toller's plays were too "excessive" in their revolutionary style and content for American audiences. When *Man and the Masses* was produced by the Theatre Guild on 14 April 1924 at the Garrick Theater, it was proclaimed as too "strident" and "overwrought."[23] Toller's other dramas, *Bloody Laughter* (which premiered in New York on 4 December 1931 at the 49th Street Theater) and *The Machine Wreckers* (which was not performed in New York until 11 April 1937 at the Henry Street Settlement) fared no better since the majority of the audiences was unable to sympathize with the themes of the plays.[24]

Bertolt Brecht's "epic theater" was a dramatic genre that was almost totally ignored in America until after World War II when followers such as Eric Bentley made New York more aware of the dramatist's work. Brecht's modern stagecraft and concept of the *Verfremdungseffekt* along with his radical politics proved too raucous for American presentation during the 1920s and 1930s. When *The Mother*—one of Brecht's few American-produced plays—premiered at the Civic Repertory Theatre, New York, on 19 November 1935, it received more critical condemnation than any other previous German play performed on the American stage during this time. Joseph T. Shipley in his *Guide to Great Plays* called it "an over-strained hyper-emotional kindergarten for Communists." Even the *Daily Worker* panned Brecht's work.[25]

Other forms of theater including German "new realism" also failed in America. Carl Zuckmayer's plays were totally ignored in this country, and actually the dramatization of Vicki Baum's *Grand Hotel* was one of the few "new realism" plays successfully produced in America. It ran for 459 performances at the National Theater, New York, during the 1930-1931 season, and unlike the brutal social realism which typified most German plays of that time, its warmed-over romance and melodrama catered more to American popular tastes across the nation.[26]

IV

Many German films also proved too turgid and ponderous to win much popularity in a nation so caught up in its own Hollywood images, though a number of them were viewed as photographically striking and thematically sophisticated, and their technical advances were hailed by filmmakers and critics alike.

The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, one of the most artistically significant films of the decade, drew much attention from American artists, intellectuals, and critics. Its expressionistic style would later have a tremendous impact on American filmmakers. The New York premiere which took place at the Capital Theater on 3 April 1921 and received more advanced

publicity than most other films shown at the time, firmly established *Caligari*'s world fame.[27] Yet certain critics, such as those writing for the *New York Herald* and the *New York Tribune,* recognized the film more for its "shock" value rather than for its artistic merits. Though some other New York critics emphasized *Caligari*'s technical brilliance, few others entered into any serious discussion about the film's essential themes. In Germany, at the time, the film's major concern—the soul faced with the alternatives of tyranny or chaos—evoked tremendous fascination. But, as one may have expected, for the average American moviegoer *Caligari* was merely "a hair-raising" horror film.[28]

Though F. W. Murnau's *Nosferatu*—another "horror film"—received only mixed reviews at its New York premiere, his *The Last Laugh* proved to be a more popular success enjoyed throughout the nation. Despite the unique absence of captions (except for a few words) which might have befuddled some members of the audience, the film's lighter texture was very well received. More importantly, the film's complete camera mobility, among other innovations, strongly influenced Hollywood's motion picture industry. The Committee of the National Board of Review said of the film:

> Its influence on future picture-making should be as provocative as was that of *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari.* Unlike *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari,* its expressionism is that of the rational world conveyed in terms of everyday objects. It raises no barrier of doubtful meaning.[29]

Fritz Lang's films, on the other hand, were heavily laden with imagery and political allegory and therefore saw only limited success in this country. His *Die Nibelungen* (or *Siegfried* as it was known when it was first released in New York in August 1925) received only tepid reviews both in the press and journals of opinion.[30] Though *Metropolis* was noted for its technical brilliance, it was, according to most American reviewers, overshadowed by the film's "muddled" plot and theme. It could hardly be judged by its narrative, since for most American critics, it was unconvincing, unsuspenseful, and overly theatrical. The *New York Times* said: "It is a technical marvel with feet of clay, a picture as soulless as the manufactured woman of its story."[31] *Dr. Mabuse der Spieler* failed to get much attention at all when it premiered in New York in August 1927. The sequel, *The Last Will of Dr. Mabuse,* which was made in 1932, was not released here until March 1943, when it still received only mixed notices. Not until 13 October 1973, when Lang's full four-hour version of *Doktor Mabuse* was shown at the Eleventh New York Film Festival, were American audiences fully receptive to one of the great film classics.[32]

The arrival of German "talkies" offered a new kind of film to American viewers. During the early 1930s, a host of kitsch films played to the delight of entertainment-hungry audiences, especially in New York where a sizable German-speaking public patronized the small theaters where they were shown. In addition, a few of the more salient sound films of the Weimar Republic won some critical and popular acclaim. *The Blue Angel,* for example, was quite successful in America as

it was throughout Europe. But while German audiences may have been drawn to the film's eroticism and themes of torture and humiliation, the main attraction here were the captivating performances of its stars, Marlene Dietrich and Emil Jannings. The *New Yorker*, among many other magazines and newspapers, found *The Blue Angel* to be the best picture shown at the time. Even the conservative *Commonweal*, which found the sexual details "disagreeable," praised its dramatic and technical aspects.[33]

Fritz Lang's *M*, though it found enthusiastic responses everywhere in Europe, received mixed reviews in the United States. If film critic Richard Watts, Jr., writing for the *New York Herald Tribune*, recognized the film as "one of the authentic masterpieces of the cinema," other noteworthy critics, along with the general audiences, found the plot and theme to be "shocking . . . morbid . . . revolting . . . and irritating."[34] Perhaps it went too far in its incisive dissection of criminal pathology for most American "gangster movie" fans. Most German "art" films (in Germany the cleavage between the "art" and "commercial" film hardly existed) therefore attracted a very limited audience in the United States.

V

No other expression of Weimar culture was subject to as many strictures in this country as was music. Certainly, music, the most abstract art form, would have a very limited audience, but most of the compositions of revolutionary and cerebral composers such as Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, and Anton von Webern were inaccessible to even some of the most esoteric American audiences during the 1920s and early 1930s. Much of the music of Kurt Weill, Paul Hindemith, and Ernst Krenek was also dissonant but it was their works' overt social criticism that most American critics and audiences found foreign and jarring. Of course, our musical tastes, so long wedded to the nineteenth-century repertoire, grew more sophisticated after World War I as our musical life expanded and embraced more conductors, musicians, and composers who articulated the modern age. Indeed, Stravinsky and the modern French school had a much greater influence on our own composers than did Weimar composers and were more frequently performed and appreciated as well.[35]

As with the other art forms, though, the music of the Weimar Republic found a few earnest champions in the United States like conductor Leopold Stokowski, critic Paul Rosenfeld, and composer Adolph Weiss. Indeed, there were even a few unusual instances of success such as when Berg's opera, *Wozzeck*, was splendidly staged in Philadelphia and New York in 1931.[36] For the most part, however, other Weimar works hardly fared as well and, indeed, were considered "ugly," "morbid," and "decadent."

With their renunciation of tonality and establishment of a new musical vocabulary—the twelve-tone row—members of the Second Vienna School (Arnold Schönberg, Alban Berg, and Anton von Webern) presented listeners with sonorities which were repugnant. Already

Schönberg's earlier atonal pieces, the String Quartet No. 2 in F Sharp Minor, op. 10 (1908), *The Book of the Hanging Gardens,* op. 15 (1909), Five Orchestral Pieces, op. 16 (1909), and *Pierrot Lunaire,* op. 21 (1912), had aroused major criticism in the United States when they were first performed during the twenties.[37] Not surprisingly, his later, more strident serial compositions nettled Americans even more. For example, when Schönberg's Variations for Orchestra, op. 31 was premiered by Leopold Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra at the Academy of Music in Philadelphia on 18 October 1929, many outraged members of the audience stormed out of the concert hall during the performance.[38]

Webern's atonality and serialism was even more austere and acrimonious, and very little of his music was even performed here until after World War II when a better critical appraisal coincided with his enormous influence on American composers. Among the few compositions which were played during the twenties, his Five Orchestral Pieces, op. 10, Five Sacred Songs, op. 15, and the Chamber Symphony, op. 21, all were failures.[39]

If Berg's music was somewhat romantic and more approachable, few of his compositions succeeded in America besides *Wozzeck.* His suite to the opera, *Lulu* (the complete work was successfully performed at the Santa Fe Opera in 1979 in its American premiere), with its dense, lugubrious, and feverish score dissuaded even those who had earlier acclaimed *Wozzeck.* And though the colorful Lyric Suite for String Quartet moved a few critics, it hardly silenced Berg's American detractors.[40]

Weill's special brand of musical theater was ill-suited for American performers and audiences during the 1920s and early 1930s. They could not be easily produced for the Broadway stage nor was the cavernous Metropolitan Opera House willing to mount such intimate and highly political works. To be sure, Brecht's hard-boiled and sardonic lyrics were as much a challenge as Weill's pungent scores. Even composer Marc Blitzstein, who during the 1950s was most reponsible for promoting Weill's music in this country, was initially reluctant to embrace the German composer's aesthetics.[41] Of the many stage works, so successfully produced in Germany and other European countries, only one, *The Three Penny Opera,* was performed in the United States by 1933. It was a total failure. After briefly previewing at the Garrick Theater in Philadelphia, it ran for only twelve performances on Broadway at the Empire Theater. This inferior adaptation was poorly translated and vastly overproduced. For almost all attending its performances, *The Three Penny Opera* proved to be a "dreary enigma."[42]

Hindemith's social satires (known as *Zeitopern* in Germany) also had little appeal here. *Neues vom Tage,* which was quite provocative even for German audiences, did not make it to the American stage. When *Hin und Zurück* was performed in Philadelphia on 22 April 1928, a few found it entertaining, but most agreed with the *Nation*'s assessment that it represented "the last phase of decadence."[43] Hindemith's earlier expressionist compositions, written during 1918-1923, were full of grotesque sounds and jerky rhythms and few of these were successfully performed in the United States.[44]

One would have expected the more sober neo-classical compositions of Hindemith to be less provoking—the neo-classical style generally had greater influence and appeal during the twenties than did serialism—but this was not the case. When such pieces as his *Kammermusik* No. 2, op. 36, no. 1 and the *Konzertmusik* for Wind Instruments, op. 41 were first performed here, the reception was stormy.[45] Only when Hindemith wrote in a more diffuse and conservative style during the 1930s did his reception in the United States improve. The overwhelming popularity of his Concert Music for Strings and Brasses, op. 50 and the Symphony *Mathis der Maler* were proof of that.[46]

In many ways the reception of Krenek's music was similar to that of Hindemith. The iconoclastic compositions of the early postwar years rankled most American critics and audiences and Krenek's neo-classical works left mostly negative impressions.[47] Though the American premiere (19 January 1929) of Krenek's most famous opera, *Jonny spielt auf,* amused Metropolitan Opera audiences with its ''comic'' and ''variety'' elements, the composer's satirical commentary on technology and industrial society went over their heads. If a few critics writing for such journals as the *Literary Digest, Review of Reviews,* and *Nation* took the opera more seriously and lauded Krenek's musical and dramatic profundity, most other journalists misunderstood it and found the piece dreary and ugly.[48]

More melodic and lighter were the operettas of Franz Lehár, Oscar Straus, and Imre Kálmán which during the twenties helped make Berlin the entertainment capital of Europe. Prior to the war, Central European operetta also appealed to American audiences and Lehár's *The Merry Widow* and O. Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* became huge hits in the United States. Though these prewar works continued to be successfully revived here, many newer operettas failed. A number of them, like *The Land of Smiles* and *The Circus Princess,* were poorly adapted and were not what most Americans wanted in terms of lighter musical entertainment. Rather, the homegrown more contemporary Broadway shows of Gershwin, Kern, and Porter were clearly preferred and outran all the imported operettas.[49]

VI

German painting would also have little appeal. Most museum goers, art collectors, art critics, and other intellectuals were much more appreciative of impressionistic and post-impressionistic paintings than they were of expressionism or new-realism. During the twenties, French modernism also dictated the styles of many American artists and with few exceptions, German expressionism had little impact on American painting.[50]

There were a few Americans, however, who tried to call attention to the important activities of some Weimar painters. Matthew Josephson, whose enthusiastic visits to Germany, during 1922-1923 and 1927, imparted the most faithful observations of any American intellectual living in Berlin, felt that some German painters were ''engaged in rather

bolder thinking and planning than their contemporaries of the School of Paris."[51] Alfred Frankenstein, the noted art and music critic for major publications in Chicago and San Francisco, was especially taken with the work of Oskar Kokoschka, who for him, was "the most characteristic painter" of the Weimar Republic. According to Frankenstein:

> He opened up my eyes simultaneously to both Weimar music and Weimar visual art . . . . I realized that once there was a similarity in spirit, a similarity in intensity . . . between the style of his painting and the style of Arnold Schönberg.[52]

Prior to the end of the decade, only a few exhibits displayed a sampling of such important artists as Kandinsky, Klee, Feininger, and Grosz. The mood toward these painters at the time was merely polite respect.[53]

With the December 1929 nationwide tour of an exhibition of the Blue Four (Klee, Feininger, Jawlenski, and Kandinsky) which received much critical attention (especially along the Pacific Coast), American critics and art circles began to give Weimar art the notice it deserved. When two exhibits of Weimar paintings were shown in New York during 1930 and 1931, many critics realized our sad neglect of this "rich" and "diversified" art world.[54] Works of Klee, Dix, Kollwitz, Kokoschka, among others, were shown now with greater frequency both at American museums and private galleries, but the two artists who received the most attention were Kandinsky and Grosz.

Kandinsky used a language, much like the composer Arnold Schönberg, which few in this country could decipher. He later, however, had much impact on American abstract painters of the 1930s and after, and some American art critics found his work especially "powerful" and "emotional."[55] The first exhibit solely devoted to the paintings of Kandinsky was held at the Valentine Galleries in New York City during November 1932. Many visitors to the show failed to grasp the significance of Kandinsky's canvases, and there were a number of critics who could not muster any enthusiasm for his work of 1923-1932. Yet the exhibit was quite successful in terms of drawing attention to a Weimar artist who, until then, was mostly ignored in the United States.[56]

George Grosz, largely because his work was so harshly political, also remained *persona non grata* in most American museums and private galleries during the 1920s. His biting social satire on German bourgeois ideals and morals failed to be communicative to American museum goers.[57] Several art critics and intellectuals, however, finally sensed the impact of his work during the troubled years of the Depression. Grosz's watercolors and drawings, shown at the Weyhe Gallery, New York, during January 1931, were called by *New York Times* art critic Edward A. Jewell, "ferocious." F. Turkel-Deri of *Art News* said that Grosz's colors were "handled in such a way as to mitigate brutal truth," and C. J. Bulliet, the famous art critic for the *Chicago Post*, now ranked him with other great artists: Goya, Daumier, and Toulouse-Lautrec.[58] As a teacher and artist living in this country, by 1933 Grosz was hailed by most other critics.

Seen in retrospect, the brilliant architecture of the Weimar Republic had a greater impact internationally than any other art form to emerge from that period. Only here did something like an international style appear, and members of the *Bauhaus,* along with other leading architects like Erich Mendelsohn and Ernst May, made significant contributions to that form.

Because the aesthetics of the *Bauhaus* had much in common with American architecture and design, it also enjoyed a better reception in the United States than did any other Weimar art form. If the cubistic connotations of the *Bauhaus* appealed to many American architects—Frank Lloyd Wright was enthusiastic about his visits to the *Bauhaus*—its wider popularity was based on Americans' marvel for sheer novelty and interest in solving technological problems.[59]

Most contemporary German architecture was discussed favorably in leading American trade journals and intellectual digests, but the greatest amount of praise focused on the *Bauhaus.* High marks were accorded its exhibit at the John Becker Gallery in New York in January-February 1931. Included in the display were photographs, fourteen books published by the *Staatliches Bauhaus,* five folios of lithographs and woodcuts, and watercolors of teachers of the school, Kandinsky, Feininger, and Klee. *Art News* now called the *Bauhaus* "one of the most important original movements in the fine arts during the current century."[60]

During February 1932, the Museum of Modern Art presented the largest and most comprehensive showing in this country of works of the "International School." Among the admired German architects from the *Bauhaus* were its most important members, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe. So harmonious was their work, that even *Time* magazine suggested that their "functionalism" be used to solve our housing problem.[61] In fact, soon we were sitting on tubular chairs and eating with utensils all designed by members of the *Bauhaus*—some of whom had already taken up residency in the United States.

With the political demise of the Weimar Republic in January 1933 and the eventual emigration of many of her intellectuals, writers, musicians, and artists to the United States, Weimar culture was largely transplanted to our shores. Taking note of these important developments, Bruce Bliven wrote in the *New Republic* of 10 November 1937:

> Theirs is a culture as high as can be found anywhere in the world. Already, they have contributed notably to the enhancement of our civilization; but what they have done thus far is certainly unimportant compared with the great promise that stretches forward through the years. I feel that we Americans owe a profound debt of gratitude to Hitler for making possible this enrichment of our collective life.[62]

Indeed, our reception of Weimar culture would dramatically change as well.

We have earlier commented on the enormous influence of the *Bauhaus,* and now as teachers and practicing architects in the United States, Laszlo Mohaly-Nagy, Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and

Marcel Breuer all found greater range for their talents. Other artists also infused the nation with the spirit of Weimar. Our own abstract expressionists were inspired by the styles of Kandinsky and Klee. Though the latter two found refuge in France and Switzerland respectively, their paintings and drawings finally became better known in this country. Feininger emigrated back to his native land in 1937 and afterwards became a familiar figure in American art circles. Many of the important filmmakers of the Republic went to Hollywood, where a number of them including Murnau, Pabst, Lubitsch, and Lang brought new techniques to the silver screen. Also important German stage figures made their presence felt. Max Reinhardt, for example, produced and directed a number of successful plays here. Carl Zuckmayer, one of the chief exponents of *Neue Sachlichkeit,* became an important Hollywood screenwriter during the thirties. And Thomas Mann, an American citizen in 1944, became a celebrated and esteemed literary figure. The list goes on and Weimar refugees also made important contributions to the physical, natural, and social sciences, as well as to education and the humanities.

Most startling perhaps was the tremendous influence Weimar composers had on American music. Arnold Schönberg's dissemination of twelve-tone theory and composition spread far beyond his classes in California and was, according to American serial composer, Milton Babbitt, "nothing short of cataclysmic."[63] No less important was Hindemith's role as teacher at Yale University and the Berkshire Music Center. There his tutelage spawned such rich young talents as Leonard Bernstein and Lukas Foss. American composers Aaron Copeland and William Schuman also were now influenced by Hindemith's music. And though Weill never held a teaching post, few can deny his enormous impact on the American musical stage.

The recent popular appeal of Weimar culture is exemplified by the attraction to Weill's music and Brecht's lyrics. During the 1950s, when Americans found themselves living in a world ever more elusive, *The Three Penny Opera* became a huge hit. Its off-Broadway run (for six and a half years at the Theater de Lys) broke all records for musical shows produced on or off Broadway while its box office revenues topped all previous off-Broadway productions. Misconceived in 1933, this 1954 production was not only more true to the original but its tone and message were now better perceived.[64]

In more recent years appreciation for Weill's music has further flourished as it has in other aspects of Weimar culture. During the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s—a time of great restlessness and protest—some Americans were fascinated by the specter of Weimar. *Siddhartha* and *Steppenwolf* became favorites of the Vietnam generation and the ideology of Lukács, Korsch, and Benjamin galvanized the New Left. Even today, during the last few years of economic uncertainty, we have been experiencing a "vogue" in Weimar culture.[65]

Cultural life in America, then, has become more sophisticated since we first deplored the "decadence" of Weimar. Especially after World War II, when the "culture boom" accelerated our thirst for foreign

culture, tastes have become more catholic. Not only do we talk more knowingly about German film, but the works of Bergman and Fellini are also discussed more intelligently. Thus, many of the barriers which Weimar initially encountered in the United States have fallen. With the heightened receptivity of this extraordinary culture, Weimar has left its mark. Its impact has been enormous and its legacy undoubtedly will continue to enrich our lives for generations to come.

Brooklyn, New York

Notes

[1] Personal interview with Peter Gay, 7 Dec. 1978; Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. xiv.

[2] Melvin Small, "The American Image of Germany, 1906-1914," Diss. Univ. of Michigan 1965, p. 455; Henry Cord Meyer, *Five Images of Germany* (Washington, D.C.: AHA, 1960), p. 4.

[3] Klaus Ferdinand Schoenthal, "American Attitudes Toward Germany, 1918-1932," Diss. Ohio State 1959, pp. 19-21; John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America: The Germans in the United States of America During the Nineteenth Century and After* (New York: Putnam's, 1940), p. 297.

[4] Hawgood, pp. 296-97.

[5] Schoenthal, pp. 46-47; *Nation,* 20 March 1920, pp. 367-68.

[6] See Schoenthal, pp. 83, 101-02, 250, 254-55, 263-64.

[7] Merle Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), p. 670; William E. Leuchtenberg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914-1932* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1958), p. 105.

[8] See Raymond Leslie Buell, rev. of *The German Phoenix,* by Oswald Garrison Villard, *Nation,* 1 Feb. 1933, p. 126; and Heinrich Simon, "German Class Lines Crumble," *Current History,* 27 (1933), 649.

[9] "Young Germany Chasing the Rainbow," *Literary Digest,* 20 March 1924, p. 46.

[10] H. de Man, "New Germany," *Living Age,* 6 Aug. 1921, p. 355. See also Alfred H. Fried, "Intellectual Starvation in Germany and Austria," *Nation,* 20 March 1920, pp. 367-68; and L. Lewisohn, "Silence in Central Europe," *Nation,* 13 May 1925, p. 547.

[11] Oliver M. Sayler, ed., *Revolt in the Arts* (New York: Brentano's, 1930), p. 113; "*Death in Venice,*" *The Independent,* 21 March 1925, p. 331; "Another German Nobel Prize Man," *Literary Digest,* 7 Dec. 1929, p. 21; Hermann Ramras, "Main Currents in American Criticism of Thomas Mann," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin 1949, p. 30.

[12] Bertha Mueller, "American Criticism of Recent German Literature," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin 1936, p. 164. See also Alice Felicitas Carse, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *New York Times*: 1919-1944," Diss. New York Univ. 1973.

[13] Mueller, p. 163; Mark Sullivan, *The Twenties,* Vol. VI of *Our Times: The United States 1900-1925* (New York: Scribner's, 1935), p. 374. Henceforth, all titles of novels, plays, films, and musical compositions are given as they originally appeared in the United States.

[14] Mueller, p. 163; Ludwig Lewisohn, "Progress of Poetry," *Nation,* 13 Apr. 1921, p. 551.

[15] See *Transition* 19-20 (June 1930).

[16] "*Buddenbrooks,*" *Booklist,* 20 (1924), 339; Robert Lovett, "*Buddenbrooks,*" *New Republic,* 9 Apr. 1924, p. 8; "Germany's *Weltschmerz* in Mr. Mann," *New York Times,* 22 Feb. 1925, Sec. 3, p. 9; J. W. Krutch, "Swan Song," *Nation,* 25 March 1925, p. 330.

[17] Ludwig Lewisohn, "Thomas Mann At Fifty," *Nation,* 9 Dec. 1925, pp. 667-68; J. W. Krutch, "*Magic Mountain,*" *Nation,* 8 June 1927, p. 637; Robert Lovett, "The Epic of Decay," *New Republic,* 6 July 1927, p. 181; Osbert Burdett, "*The Magic Mountain,*" *Dial,* June 1927, pp. 511-15; Hugh W. Packett, "Dangerous Height," *Saturday Review of Literature,* 16 July 1927, pp. 972-73; "*The Magic Mountain,*" *Living Age,* 15 Aug. 1927, p. 375.

[18] *"Steppenwolf," Nation,* 25 Dec. 1929, pp. 780-82.

[19] *"Demian," New York Times,* 18 Apr. 1923, Sec. 3, pp. 14, 19; *"Steppenwolf," New York Times,* 25 Sept. 1927, Sec. 3, p. 10; *"Steppenwolf," New York Herald Tribune,* 8 Sept. 1925, Sec. 11, p. 4; Thomas Craven, *"Demian*—German Symbolism," *Dial,* June 1923, pp. 619-20; "For Madmen Only," *Literary Digest,* 8 June 1929, p. 24.

[20] Peter Max Bauland, "German Drama on the American Stage: 1894-1961," Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1964, p. 137; telephone interview with Matthew Josephson, 6 Oct. 1977; "German Theater of Today," *Nation,* 15 May 1920, p. 664.

[21] Bauland, pp. 170-71.

[22] Alison Smith, "The New Play," *New York Globe,* 22 May 1922. (Hereafter, those reviews without page numbers were found in the Clippings File, Theater and Music Divisions, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Library, New York, New York.) *"Morn to Midnight," New York Times,* 27 June 1922, p. 16.

[23] John Corbin, "The Play," *New York Times,* 15 Apr. 1924, p. 25; Percy Hammond, "The Theater," *New York Herald Tribune,* 15 Apr. 1924; Heywood Broun, "The New Play," *New York World,* 15 Apr. 1924; Alexander Woolcott, *"Masse-Mensch* at the Garrick," *New York Sun,* 15 Apr. 1924.

[24] Percy Hammond, *"Bloody Laughter," New York Herald Tribune,* 5 Dec. 1931; Brooks Atkinson, "The Theater," *New York Times,* 5 Dec. 1931, p. 20; "The Play," *New York Times,* 13 Apr. 1937, p. 14.

[25] Brooks Atkinson, "The Play," *New York Times,* 20 Nov. 1935, p. 26; Howard Barnes, "The Theaters," *New York Herald Tribune,* 20 Nov. 1935; as quoted in Bauland, pp. 224-25.

[26] Bauland, pp. 220-24; Percy Hammond, "The Theaters," *New York Herald Tribune,* 14 Nov. 1930; Brooks Atkinson, "The Play," *New York Times,* 14 Nov. 1930, p. 30; Richard Lockridge, *"Grand Hotel," New York Sun,* 14 Nov. 1930; George C. Warren, *"Grand Hotel," San Francisco Chronicle,* 1 March 1932, p. 7.

[27] Roderick Nash, *The Nervous Generation: American Thought 1917-1930* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1970), p. 101; William K. Everson, *American Silent Film* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1978), p. 317; "A Cubistic Shocker," *New York Times,* 20 March 1921, Sec. 6, p. 2.

[28] "*Dr. Caligari* Weird Film Fairly Gives One the Creeps," *New York Herald,* 4 Apr. 1921; Harriette Underhill, *"The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari," New York Tribune,* 4 Apr. 1921; "European Sensation at Capital Theater," *Brooklyn Citizen,* 3 Apr. 1921; "The Screen," *New York Times,* 4 Apr. 1921; "German Film," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 2 Nov. 1928; *"Caligari," Musical America,* 16 Apr. 1921, p. 5.

[29] Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 4 June 1929, p. 29; "An Unusual Horror Film at the Film Guild Cinema," *New York Evening Post,* 4 June 1929; Everson, p. 318; "German Films," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 2 Nov. 1928; Robert Littel, *"Last Laugh," New Republic,* 25 Feb. 1925, pp. 19-20; "A Movie Without Headlines," *Literary Digest,* 28 Feb. 1925, p. 26.

[30] Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 24 Aug. 1925, p. 17; Richard Watts, Jr., "Some Additional Remarks on That New German Photoplay," *New York Herald Tribune,* 1 July 1926; "Wagner, Thirty Miles Away," *Literary Digest,* 26 Sept. 1925, pp. 27-29; J. W. Krutch, *"Siegfried," Nation,* 16 Sept. 1925, p. 311; Stark Young, *"Siegfried," New Republic,* 13 Aug. 1930, pp. 369-70.

[31] *"Metropolis*—A Movie Forecast of the Future," *Scientific American,* Apr. 1927, pp. 244-45; Evelyn Gerstein, *"Metropolis," Nation,* 23 March 1927, pp. 323-24; "The Current Cinema," *New Yorker,* 12 March 1927, pp. 80-81; Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 7 March 1927, p. 16.

[32] Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 9 Aug. 1927, p. 27; Bosley Crowther, "A Request," *New York Times,* 20 March 1943; Joseph Pikodin, "On the Screen," *New York Herald Tribune,* 20 March 1943; flier from Eleventh New York Film Festival, 13 Oct. 1973, Theater Division, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Library.

[33] Walter Laqueur, *Weimar: A Cultural History 1918-1933* (New York: Putnam's, 1974), p. 245; Siegfried Kracauer, *From* Caligari *to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1971), p. 217; *"The Blue Angel," New Yorker,* 27 Dec. 1930; *"The Blue Angel," Time,* 15 Dec. 1930, p. 32; Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 6 Dec. 1930, p. 2; *"The Blue Angel," Commonweal,* 31 Dec. 1930, p. 242.

[34] Richard Watts, Jr., "Sight and Sound," *New York Herald Tribune,* 16 Apr. 1933; Mordaunt Hall, "The Screen," *New York Times,* 3 Apr. 1933, p. 13; *"M," New Yorker,* 8 Apr. 1933; Kracauer, p. 219.

[35] Olin Downes, "The First Excitements of New Music and the Reckoning Ten Days After," *New York Times,* 10 Feb. 1924, Sec. 7, p. 6; Paul Rosenfeld, *Musical Impressions: Selections from Paul Rosenfeld's Criticisms,* ed. Herbert A. Leibowitz (London: Allen and Unwin, 1970), pp. 135, 176; taped reply to author's questionnaire received from Alfred Frankenstein, 2 Nov. 1977; personal interview with Nicolas Slonimsky, 20 May 1978; personal interview with Claire Reiss, 16 Sept. 1977; Barbara Mueser, "The Criticism of New Music in New York: 1919-1929," Diss. The City Univ. of New York 1975, pp. 82, 84-85, 112; John H. Mueller, *The American Symphony Orchestra: A Social History of Musical Taste* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1951), p. 223.

[36] Martin Linton, "Notables Hear Premiere of Opera *Wozzeck,*" *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 20 March 1931, p. 14; "*Wozzeck* in Philadelphia," *Time,* 30 March 1931, p. 17; "Philadelphia Has the American Premiere of *Wozzeck,*" *Musical Courier,* 28 March 1931, pp. 5, 34; Olin Downes, "Berg's *Wozzeck* Has New York Premiere," *New York Times,* 25 Nov. 1931; "*Wozzeck* in New York," *Christian Science Monitor,* 5 Dec. 1931, p. 47; Arthur Mendel, "The Anatomy of Opera," *Nation,* 16 Dec. 1931, p. 678.

[37] "Composers' League Concert," *New York Herald Tribune,* 7 Jan. 1924, p. 8; Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times,* 4 Feb. 1924, p. 23; Paul Rosenfeld, "Lyric Philadelphia Orchestra," *Baltimore Sun,* 8 Dec. 1921; "*Pierrot Lunaire* Puzzles at First American Hearing," *Musical America,* 10 Feb. 1923, p. 6.

[38] Martin Linton, "Stokowski Sets Off a Wet Firecracker," *Philadelphia Inquirer,* 19 Oct. 1929, p. 16; "Modern Music Again Featured by Orchestra," *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin,* 19 Oct. 1929, p. 5.

[39] "Weekend Music," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 22 Nov. 1926; Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times,* 29 Nov. 1926, p. 16; "Musical Events," *New Yorker,* 4 Jan. 1930.

[40] "Berg's *Lulu* Suite from Koussevitzky," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 23 March 1934, Sec. 3, p. 4; W. J. Henderson, "Klemperer Offers Berg Music," *New York Sun,* 29 Nov. 1935; Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times,* 23 Oct. 1931, p. 39; "N.Y. Philharmonic Concert," *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* 27 Oct. 1931, p. 1.

[41] For Blitzstein's early cold assessments of Weill's music, see Lectures (1928 and 1931) in Marc Blitzstein Papers, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

[42] "The Chant of Newgate," *New York Times,* 14 Apr. 1933; John Mason Brown, "*The 3-Penny Opera,*" *New York Evening Post,* 14 Apr. 1933; Percy Hammond, "Yawning Reluctantly at Dull, Though Ribald Classic," *New York Herald Tribune,* 14 Apr. 1933; Gilbert W. Gabriel, "The *Three-Penny Opera,*" *New York American,* 14 April 1933.

[43] "Into Opera Goes a Bath-Tub Aria," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 29 June 1929; "The Tabloid Press in Opera," *Literary Digest,* 20 July 1929, p. 20; Samuel Laciar, "3 Premieres Here for Modern Music," *Philadelphia Public Ledger,* 23 Apr. 1928; Henrietta Straus, "Baden-Baden," *Nation,* 11 Jan. 1928, pp. 50-51.

[44] "Day for Youth, Modernists and Victories," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 1 Oct. 1923; Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times,* 19 Nov. 1924, p. 18; Alfred Frankenstein, "Chicago Premieres," *Modern Music,* 11 (1934), 103-06.

[45] Eugene Stinson, "Hindemith Music Annoys Some Chicagoans," *Musical America,* 13 March 1926, p. 7; "Modernist Band Music," *New York World,* 11 Feb. 1927; "All Sorts," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 6 March 1926, Sec. 2, p. 14.

[46] "Symphony, One Modern, One Russian, Two Classics," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 4 Apr. 1931, p. 14; H. Meyer, "New Hindemith's Work," *Musical America,* 10 May 1931, p. 14; Kenneth Burke, "Hindemith Does His Part," *Nation,* 24 Oct. 1934, p. 488; W. J. Henderson, "Philharmonic Opens Season," *New York Sun,* 5 Oct. 1934.

[47] W. J. Henderson, "Pro-Musica Opens Its Season," *New York Sun,* 15 Nov. 1928, p. 25; Olin Downes, "Music," *New York Times,* 15 Nov. 1928, p. 26; P. Beckert, "Bela Bartok, The Hit of Prague Festival," *Musical Courier,* 11 June 1925, p. 12; Francis D. Perkins, "Mid-European Works Offered," *New York Herald Tribune,* 5 Feb. 1932, p. 9.

[48] Olin Downes, "*Jonny spielt auf,*" *New York Times,* 20 Jan. 1929; "*Jonny spielt auf* Again," *New York Times,* 5 Apr. 1929, p. 28; Herbert Peyser, "Jazz Knocks in Vain At Opera's Door," *Musician,* 34 (1929), 12, 30; "*Jonny Strikes Up the Band,*" *Literary Digest,* 9 Feb. 1929, pp. 20-21; Alfred Frankenstein, "*Jonny spielt auf,*" *Review of Reviews,* March 1929, pp. 138-40; Laurence Adler, "*Jonny spielt auf,*" *Nation,* 27 Feb. 1929, p. 264; W. J. Henderson, "Music and Musicians," *New York Sun,* 26 Jan. 1929; "*Jonny,*" *Time,* 28 Jan. 1929, p. 32.

[49] For numerous reviews and statistics pertaining to performances of *The Merry Widow* and *The Chocolate Soldier,* consult the Clippings File, Theater Division, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts Library. "It Might Have Been Staged More Wisely," *Boston Evening Transcript,* 27 Dec. 1932, p. 11; "German Music in Decay," *Living Age,* Dec. 1930, p. 426; "The Theater," *New Yorker,* 7 May 1927, p. 29. See Cecil Smith, *Musical Comedy in America* (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1950); and Stanley Green, *The World of Musical Comedy* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1974).

[50] Milton W. Brown, *American Painting: From the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 103-04.

[51] Matthew Josephson, *Life Among the Surrealists: A Memoir* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1962), pp. 208-09; personal interview with Matthew Josephson, 6 Dec. 1977.

[52] Frankenstein, taped reply to author.

[53] "Modern German Art," *New York Times,* 7 Oct. 1923, Sec. 9, p. 12; "Art Exhibitions of the Week," *New York Times,* 14 Oct. 1923, Sec. 8, p. 7; L. Lozowich, "Modern Art: Genesis or Exodus," *Nation,* 22 Dec. 1926, p. 672. Born in 1871 in the United States of German immigrant parents, Lyonel Feininger spent a good portion of his life in Germany where he received his training. There he worked extensively, emerging as a member of the Blue Four and then as one of the masters of the *Bauhaus.* For these reasons, among others, he is considered a Weimar artist.

[54] "Germany's Own Estimate of the Blue Four," *Art Digest,* 15 Dec. 1929, p. 10; "Some German Moderns," *New York Times,* 23 Nov. 1920, p. 13; "Modern German Prints," *New York Times,* 11 Jan. 1931, Sec. 8, p. 12.

[55] F. Turkel-Deri, "Exhibition of Oil and Watercolors," *Art News,* 7 March 1931, p. 20; "Kandinsky Painter of the Abstract," *Literary Digest,* 3 Dec. 1932, p. 17; "Wassily Kandinsky," *New York Times,* 1 Apr. 1923, Sec. 7, p. 7.

[56] Edward A. Jewell, "Art in Review," *New York Times,* 10 Nov. 1932, p. 25; Elizabeth Luther Curry, "Kandinsky's Abstract Painting," *New York Times,* 13 Nov. 1932, Sec. 9, p. 11; "Exhibition, Valentine Gallery," *Art Digest,* 1 Dec. 1932, p. 14; "Exhibition, Valentine Gallery," *Art News,* 12 Nov. 1932, p. 5.

[57] Edward A. Jewell, "What About This Fetish of 'Tags'," *New York Times,* 14 Sept. 1930, Sec. 8, p. 10; "Communist Cartoonist," *Living Age,* 16 Aug. 1924, p. 335.

[58] Edward A. Jewell, "George Grosz," *New York Times,* 27 Jan. 1931, p. 20; F. Turkel-Deri, "Berlin Letter," *Art News,* 31 Oct. 1931, p. 22; as cited in "Grosz and Sloan," *Art Digest,* 15 Apr. 1932, pp. 4, 29.

[59] Donald Drew Egbert, "Foreign Influences in American Art," in *Foreign Influences in American Life: Essays and Critical Bibliographies,* ed. David F. Bowers (New York: Peter Smith, 1952), pp. 19-20.

[60] J. H. Schroeder, "Some Aspects of Present-Day German Architecture," *Creative Art,* 5 (1929), 696; R. Gilman, "Modern Architecture in Germany," *Parnassus,* May 1930, p. 11; "Adventures of Pioneering-*Bauhaus,*" *New York Times,* 25 Jan. 1931, Sec. 8, p. 13; "*Bauhaus,*" *Art Digest,* 15 Jan. 1931, p. 27; "*Bauhaus* Exhibit, Becker Gallery," *Art News,* 17 Jan. 1931, p. 12.

[61] "Machines To Live In," *Time,* 22 Feb. 1932, pp. 24-26.

[62] As quoted in Wolf von Eckart and Sander L. Gilman, *Bertolt Brecht's Berlin: A Scrapbook of the Twenties* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), p. xviii.

[63] Personal interview with Milton Babbitt, 4 Oct. 1977. See other personal interviews with John Cage, 23 Sept. 1977; Lou Harrison, 29 Oct. 1977; George Perle, 12 Dec. 1977; and George Rochberg, 23 July 1977.

[64] Stuart W. Little, "*Threepenny Opera* Adieu," *New York Herald Tribune,* 6 Dec. 1961; "Blitzstein's Adaptation of *The Three Penny Opera* Given by the Theater de Lys," *New York Times,* 11 March 1954; William Hawkins, "*Three Penny Opera,*" *New York Sun,* 11 March 1954, p. 23.

[65] For a recent essay on Weill, see Allan Kozinn, "The Kurt Weill Renaissance," *New York Times,* 16 March 1980. On interesting comparisons and contrasts between Weimar and the United States during the sixties, consult Theodore Draper, "The Specter of Weimar"; Geoffrey Barraclough, "The Social Dimensions of Crisis"; and Hans Morgenthau, "Remarks on the Validity of Historical Analysis," *Social Research,* 39 (1972), 322-40, 341-59, 360-64. The very recent fascination in Weimar culture is discussed, for example, in Hilton Kramer, "Revelations of the Weimar Era," *New York Times,* 5 Oct. 1980, Sec. 2, p. 31.

Calvin N. Jones

Views of America and Views of Germany in German POW Newspapers of World War II

After Rommel's defeat in North Africa in 1943 German prisoners of war began to be sent to the United States in ever-increasing numbers, and by January 1945 there were 375,000 German soldiers housed in 130 base camps and 295 branch camps throughout the country.[1] In accordance with the 1929 Geneva Convention regulating treatment of prisoners, the American government provided decent housing and recreational facilities. Cultural offerings included concerts, films, crafts, plays, church services, and in many cases, a camp newspaper. To Alfred Andersch, the life of a POW was such a positive improvement over that of the front-line soldier that he called the camp a "golden cage."[2] Since America's wartime enemy soon became a close ally, it is important to investigate the role of the prisoners' American experience in modifying their opinions about the two countries. The experience was obviously very important in the political and literary development of writers like Andersch and Hans Werner Richter, for it led directly to their influential postwar intellectual journal *Der Ruf* and to Group 47, the writers' circle which grew out of it, but it was probably no less important for thousands of prisoners who were to play less significant roles. Since the Geneva Convention provided that prisoners of war be protected from acts of violence, insults, and curiosity, the general public was kept from associating with them.[3] Prisoners were allowed to subscribe to English and German-language periodicals published in North America, but since many could not read English, and since organized groups in most camps sought to prevent other prisoners from expressing any signs of disloyalty to the home government, it is likely that one of the chief sources of information about the United States and best indicators of prisoner sentiment were the newspapers published in the German language by the prisoners themselves. These camp newspapers were not all of one type, however, and the amount of information and the outlook taken toward the United States and Germany varied; it would therefore be useful to compare the pictures of the two countries conveyed by two quite different newspapers, *Der Zaungast* and *Der Ruf*.

In the summer of 1944 the 6,000 prisoners of Camp Aliceville, Alabama, had the opportunity to purchase a used printing press and were given permission to publish a bi-weekly newspaper: The first issue of *Der Zaungast* appeared on 16 July. This must have been one of the first camp newspapers; by March 1945 there were forty-four such papers, and by the summer of 1945, after Germany had been defeated, the number had risen to 137.[4] Before the war's end the United States made no attempt to indoctrinate German prisoners: To do so would have violated the Geneva Convention and made American prisoners in Germany subject to similar propagandizing. Prisoners had their own organizations and spokesmen; in some camps a Nazi majority even used unauthorized violence to keep dissidents in line. Of those forty-four papers existing before the end of the war, thirty-three were national socialist in tone, seven neutral, one Christian, and only three clearly anti-Nazi.[5] In his survey of German-language periodicals in the United States, Karl J. R. Arndt says that until shortly before the end of the war the politics of the *Zaungast* were Nazi; thereafter it became non-political and "one of the best papers."[6] The paper did not print Nazi slogans or insignia, but the ideological bias sometimes came through in articles on a variety of subjects. It was no doubt typical of many of the POW newspapers published before the war's end. The purpose of *Der Zaungast* is revealed in the first issue: It was to provide the prisoner with a "Brücke zur Heimat . . . sie soll ihm helfen, hier im fremden Lande die Heimat und ihre Lebensauffassung immer aufs neue vor seiner Seele entstehen zu lassen."[7] A second task was to help improve the soldiers' skills so that they could aid in rebuilding Germany after the war's end.

Germany was thus the central concern of the editors, but since any information was valuable and useful, articles about America were also included. In the first issue began a series entitled "Erdkundliches über Nordamerika," which consisted entirely of factual information on the geography and geology of the continent (*Z*, 16 July 1944, pp. 9-10); subsequent issues reported on climate and population (*Z*, 23 July 1944, pp. 23-24; *F*, 11 August 1944, pp. 3-4). In the section on the people of the United States the author departs from his usual listing of data to make what sounds at first like a plea for tolerance. He says that America's great expanses allow various peoples a better chance to develop if they are willing to work; he calls America a *Raumvolk,* in contrast to the European *Zeitvolk,* characterized by old and highly developed monoracial cultures. His use of Nazi vocabulary and his attempt to emphasize the differences between the two countries indicate his belief that what is true of the United States cannot be applied to Germany. Another important informational article, and the only one dealing with politics, was "Präsidentenwahl in den USA," which described the American electoral process and analyzed the populace and the issues. The perceptions are astute, but the author refrains from any opinions about the American form of government (*F*, 15 October 1944, p. 4).

On occasion, opinions were more clearly expressed, as for example in two articles on American film. In one article the author complains about the mediocre selections supplied to the camp and warns that the

films have neither worthwhile content nor moral value. "Wir kennen diese *boys,* die mit langen Haaren herumlaufen, Kaugummi kauend . . . [die] mit Vorliebe die Füsse auf den Tisch flegeln und zu allen möglichen und unmöglichen Gelegenheiten *o.k.* sagen. Es sind nicht unsere Freunde." The author hopes that the American film industry can provide something better, but remains skeptical (*S,* 22 Oct. 1944, p. 2). The same author goes into more detail on a narrower aspect in his *sexualproblematisch-entwicklungsgeschichtliche Betrachtung* of the contemporary American film (*F,* 17 December 1944, pp. 4-6). Here he criticizes the dominance of sex in films through the early thirties, but he also finds fault with the unbelievable, pure woman who had replaced the earlier "bad girl." Another article, though basically factual in content, which seems designed to help the reader interpret American messages filtering into the camp is on American advertising. The author comments on its pervasiveness, analyzes its method, and points out that one can learn much about the people and the economy from carefully observing its use (*F,* 4 February 1945, p. 3). In general, *Der Zaungast* took a rather neutral tone toward the United States, and most criticism consisted of reminding readers that America was different from Germany and warning them not to view it uncritically. Information about America decreased as the war drew to a close; perhaps the founding of *Der Ruf* in March 1945 supplanted the need for this type of article.

In 1944 members of the War Department recognized the importance of having reliable people to work in responsible positions in postwar Germany; they therefore made plans for a special school camp to re-educate a select group of prisoners. In addition, these prisoners were to publish a newspaper called *Der Ruf,* which would have a similar function and which would be distributed in all camps throughout the United States. The editorial staff of *Der Ruf,* whose first issue appeared on 1 March 1945 at Ft. Kearney, R.I., were all antifascists, though they represented a wide range of political views from conservative Catholicism to orthodox Communism. They were given a relatively free hand, but the Americans always had the last word. Readers were supposed to have the impression, however, that the newspaper had been undertaken by Germans on their own initiative; to gain acceptance and to abide by the Geneva Convention the paper refrained from taking strong political stands until after the capitulation on 8 May 1945.[8] Its editors were loyal to their nation, but not to its current government. *Der Ruf* always stressed its Germanness, but it took pains to separate "German" from "Nazi." An insignia on one of the pages portrayed the German eagle, but it stood on a book instead of a swastika. Nonetheless the editors frequently continued to use the style of speaking characteristic of Hitler's *Wehrmacht,* either because it was so ingrained or because they felt it lent credibility to their undertaking: "Wir wollen euch helfen, den oft wiederholten Weisungen des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht nachzukommen, die wir zussammenfassen in der Mahnung: Erhaltet euch frisch, gesund und geistig rege, denn die Heimat braucht euch noch . . . Zeigt, daß ihr alle da seid. Antwortet mit dem kurzen bündigen 'Hier' des Soldaten."[9] As might be expected, the first issue of

Der Ruf encountered a variety of reactions: Some readers welcomed the newspaper, many liberals were disappointed that it failed to take a stronger position, and the ardent Nazis dismissed it as a *Kommunisten- und Judenblatt*. Most prisoners read it, however, without expressing an opinion.[10] In their style of language and in their belief that prisoners needed preparation for the task of rebuilding Germany, the editors of *Der Ruf* resembled those of *Der Zaungast*. A major difference began to emerge in the issues following the defeat, for the editors of *Der Ruf* strongly believed that, in addition to factories and cities, political attitudes needed to be reconstructed. Their main task was to educate the prisoners about the failure of the Weimar Republic, the crimes of the Third Reich, and the political and social rebuilding that lay ahead.[11]

The United States played an important role in this last function by serving as a model of democracy, compromise, and tolerance. This attitude was not merely a result of the paper's founding; most of the staff was democratic and had a generally positive view of the country. Andersch's view of the camp as a golden cage resulted not just from the clean beds and warm showers but from the attitude taken by the teachers at Ft. Kearney: They treated the Germans as equal partners rather than as prisoners, and instruction took the form of give-and-take seminars, rather than indoctrinating lectures.[12] Thus much more factual information was included in *Der Ruf* than in *Der Zaungast;* one entire page in each eight-page issue was devoted to such aspects of the United States as cities, famous Americans from Andrew Jackson to Bing Crosby, politics, and popular culture. But there was much more opinion and commentary as well. An article on the American constitution differed from the *Zaungast's* report on American politics in its inclusion of interpretations and evaluations: ''Das Ergebnis war ein Kompromiß, doch ohne seine Nachteile. Gerade im Geiste der Nachgiebigkeit und des Abwägens lag seine Lebenskraft'' (*R*, 1 June 1945, p. 7). This spirit of compromise and the civil liberties guaranteed in the Bill of Rights were important lessons for a country emerging from totalitarian dictatorship. A review of Richard Wright's novel *Black Boy* acknowledges the racial injustice which exists in America but stresses the freedom of expression which permitted this critical work to attain a spot on the bestseller lists (*R*, 15 July 1945, p. 4). Almost all of the opinions expressed about the United States are positive and are summed up in a special photographic supplement appended to the final number on 1 April 1946. A paragraph entitled ''Abschied von Amerika'' expresses appreciation for the fair treatment given to prisoners and lists the positive experiences gained in the camps, such as becoming acquainted with books banned in Germany, becoming aware of the faults of the Hitler government, and learning the English language. It concludes with idealistic sentiments linking the country where the prisoners had spent so many months with the homeland to which they were returning.[13]

To come to a fuller understanding of the two journals' concept of the relationship between America and Germany, one must also take a look at the pictures of Germany which they provide. Since the chief purpose of *Der Zaungast* was to keep an image of the homeland in the minds of

the prisoners, one of the most frequent types of contributions consisted of essays or poems about various regions of Germany. Most of these gave a romanticized, travelogue-like description of landscapes, but the importance of native soil in Nazi ideology is reflected in occasional sentences within the passages. The relation between place and political duty can be clearly seen in "Erinnerungen an die Heimat," where Wilhelm Muench conjures up images of Frankfurt am Main and its historical past after having seen a performance of *Wallensteins Lager* on the camp stage. He emphasizes the importance of his homeland in the last sentence: "Unsere letzten Gedanken und Worte gelten der Heimat; die Erinnerungen und die Pläne—sie kommen von Deutschland und sind für Deutschland" (*S*, 8 Oct. 1944, pp. 1-2).

Instead of romanticized recollections, a series of essays on historical subjects attempted to educate by interpreting information about Germany's past in a manner consistent with the ideology of the Third Reich. The introductory essay on "Kulturgeschichtliche Betrachtungen" points out that history and *Volk* can only be understood in terms of their relationship to one another: "Nur im Brunnquell der Herkunft kannst du in ihm, kann dein Volk in dir auf Erden beheimatet sein" (*Z*, 16 July 1944, pp. 6-7). The series, which continued in subsequent issues, stressed the Germanic tribes and their legends. Although the *Zaungast* avoided the excesses of Nazi propaganda, as well as any mention of the word National Socialism, the examples clearly indicate an underlying *Blut und Boden* outlook which was taken for granted, especially in the early issues.

A third portrayal of the homeland, which also conforms with the view of the Third Reich, is conveyed by the selection of authors whose works were included in the *Zaungast*. Except for a few writers from previous centuries such as Nietzsche, Eichendorff, and Walther von der Vogelweide, most were immediate contemporaries who had remained in Germany. Though not all were Nazis, and though most of the works were on neutral topics, the authors in question were on the approved list. Hans Carossa and Georg Britting were merely tolerated by the authorities, but Agnes Miegel, Börries von Münchhausen, Will Vesper, and Wilhelm Schäfer had been brought into the *Preußische Dichterakademie* to replace more prominent authors who had gone into exile.

As in its portrayal of America, *Der Ruf* differed significantly from *Der Zaungast* in its portrayal of Germany. Although the sentimental tone of some of the *Heimat*-reminiscences resembled that of similar articles in *Der Zaungast*, the *Blut und Boden* sense of mystical interrelationship between race and soil was lacking. In its place was an emphasis on survival and rebuilding, as might be expected in pieces written shortly before or just after the end of the war.[14] *Der Ruf* also carried informational articles about Germany, but rather than recounting the distant Germanic past, it tried to reveal what had recently been suppressed or misinterpreted. One column, called "Das andere Deutschland," reported examples of resistance to the Hitler regime (cf. *R*, 1 July 1945, p. 5, or *R*, 1 August 1945, p. 5). The title and the articles themselves supported the *Ruf's* position that Germany and Nazism were not

synonymous. *Der Ruf* was also willing to print revelations of the crimes of the Third Reich: On 15 May 1945 it showed a picture of the citizens of Weimar viewing corpses at Buchenwald (p. 3). In addition to providing the most recent information from Germany, it attempted to help avoid a repetition of fascism by carefully tracing its origins and taking a strong position against it.[15] Instead of abiding by the accepted ideological thinking, as did the *Zaungast, Der Ruf* attempted to reeducate by showing the errors of that ideology.

The differences between the two papers are also apparent in the authors selected for the feuilleton section. *Der Ruf* included works by or about contemporary writers such as Hermann Hesse, who had left Germany in the First World War, Ernst Wiechert and Albrecht Haushofer,[16] who had been imprisoned by the Nazis, and Thomas Mann, Franz Werfel, Oskar Maria Graf, Carl Zuckmayer, Bertolt Brecht, and others who had gone into exile after 1933. The works selected or qualities praised generally underscored the editors' intention to open the eyes of their readers: Graf's "Angst" and Brecht's "Mahnwort" from *Furcht und Elend des dritten Reiches* illustrate the effects of the dictatorship in everyday life (*R,* 1 March 1946, p. 6). Excerpts from Thomas Mann's famous speech on "Deutschland und die Deutschen" point out how the best in German culture was turned into evil.[17]

In addition to the differences in the content of the two papers, there was also a major difference in the manner in which information and ideas were presented: In *Der Ruf* controversial matters were discussed from more than one perspective in an attempt to come to a clearer understanding. Sources were always plainly indicated, and the inclusion of contributions by a diverse group of prisoners, Americans, and exiled Germans tended to open rather than close discussion. The last page of each issue, headed "Lagerstimmen," was devoted to letters from prisoners around the country and to excerpts from other POW newspapers. One issue quoted criticisms from Camp Opelika's newspaper, *Querschnitt,* which accused *Der Ruf* of ignoring "the best in Germany's cultural heritage" and "the German soul" and of attempting to disturb the peace of the camps with its political debates. *Der Ruf* responded: "Denn, wo eine echte Freiheit des Geistes herrscht, da ist zugleich die Vernunft zu Hause. . . . Gerade als Soldaten haben wir die Verpflichtung, uns ein klares und nüchternes Bild von der Wirklichkeit zu machen. Nur indem wir die Dinge sehen, wie sie tatsächlich sind, werden wir dereinst bei unserer Rückkehr die besten Helfer der Heimat in ihrer Not sein" (*R,* 15 June 1945, p. 8). Another issue contained an open letter from General von Arnim, the highest ranking German POW, who stated that neither he nor any other captured officer had any knowledge of the concentration camps and that it was wrong to try to assign responsibility for such deeds to the army (*R,* 1 August 1945, p. 1). The editors reply in the same issue that the existence of concentration camps had been known since 1933, and even though the officers may not have had any direct involvement, they were at least guilty of silence and passivity; in addition, the editors accuse von Arnim of continuing to fail to draw any political conclusions from the lessons (*R,* 1 August 1945,

p. 3). Not only the message of the reply, but also the open disagreement with a general was significant.

Ironically, it was the guilt issue that brought the editors of *Der Ruf* into conflict with the American authorities during its last phase. Hans Werner Richter, who was strongly anti-Nazi, continued to make a clear distinction between "Nazi" and "German" and therefore rejected the idea of collective guilt for the whole German people. An article to that effect was censored by the Americans, who also grew less patient with other views that differed from the plans of the U.S. military government in Germany.[18] Richter, for example, supported the combination of democracy with socialism, an undivided Germany, and a completely free press in the zones of occupation.[19] Censorship by the Americans showed that the spirit of freedom which the prisoners were supposed to be acquiring was not always allowed to flourish; matters were somewhat more complex than what was conveyed by the idealistic praise of the United States in the final issue. Conflicts continued even after the prisoners had returned home: Richter, Andersch, and others published a German edition of *Der Ruf* from August 1946 until April 1947, when the Americans censored it, ostensibly on grounds of nihilism. It was after this that Richter started the literary circle that came to be known as Group 47.[20]

In both *Der Zaungast* and *Der Ruf* didactic intentions gave an important role to portrayals of Germany and of America, though differences in the goals of that didacticism caused the resulting pictures to take quite different forms. The young prisoners of Camp Aliceville, attempting to keep alive the image of the homeland that the regime had effectively instilled in them throughout the previous twelve years, did little more than confirm existing views. Although the paper rarely "preaches," a common outlook is assumed; the pictures presented are static and conservative. The editors can thus offer views of America that are, in general, fairly neutral and can avoid blatant propaganda, for they know that certain code words such as *Volk* and *Heimat* will be understood in a certain way and help maintain an outlook acceptable to the home government. Even after a new editor brought a more neutral tone to the paper on 25 February 1945 there was no attempt made to analyze or reeducate. *Der Ruf,* on the other hand, believed that its purpose was "to encourage political discussion in the camps and to put the struggle against Nazism into motion" (*R,* 1 April 1946, p. 8); it therefore tried to expand and alter the view of its readers by means of information, analysis, and diversity of points of view. Its method was thus perhaps more significant than its content in getting its point across. It too used words like *Volk* and *Heimat,* but attempted to encourage its readers to think about them in a new way. In the editors' opinion the paper was supposed to encourage independent thinking and critical spirit, not to serve as a voice of America. Although the political configuration of postwar Europe was predominant in determining West Germany's close relationship to the United States, the treatment received by hundreds of thousands of German prisoners and their acquaintance with the twenty-six issues of *Der Ruf* no doubt aided the process. And even though all

the political ideals desired by Richter and other co-workers of the German *Ruf* failed to come to fruition, it is likely that the journal's existence helped stimulate the development of political thought in postwar Germany.

University of South Alabama
Mobile, Alabama

Notes

[1] Volker Christian Wehdeking, *Der Nullpunkt: Über die Konstituierung der deutschen Nachkriegsliteratur (1945-1948) in den amerikanischen Kriegsgefangenenlagern* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1971), p. 3.

[2] Wehdeking, pp. 3-4.

[3] John Brown Mason, "German Prisoners of War in the United States," *The American Journal of International Law*, 39 (1945), 203.

[4] Jerome Vaillant, *Der Ruf. Unabhängige Blätter der jungen Generation (1945-49)* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1978), p. 4.

[5] Vaillant, p. 4.

[6] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas 1732-1968. History and Bibliography* (Pullach: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973), II, 305. This work evaluates around eighty camp newspapers.

[7] Dr. Pies, "Zum Geleit," in *Der Zaungast*, 16 July 1944, p. 1. Subsequent references to *Der Zaungast*, or to the *Fortbildungsblatt* or *Sprachrohr der Lagerführung* which accompanied it, will be indicated in the text by the initials *Z, F,* or *S*, respectively, together with the date and page number.

[8] Vaillant, pp. 3-7.

[9] *Der Ruf*, 1 March 1945, p. 1. Quoted in Vaillant, p. 19. Subsequent references to *Der Ruf* will be indicated in the text with the initial *R*, the date, and the page number.

[10] Vaillant, pp. 23-24.

[11] Vaillant, pp. 26-29.

[12] See Wehdeking, pp. 20-28.

[13] "Wir nehmen Abschied von dem Kontinent, der als die 'Neue Welt' gilt, und sind bereit, auch in unserer Heimat eine neue Welt zu schaffen, eine Welt des Verständnisses, der Gerechtigkeit und des Friedens" (*R*, 1 April 1946, p. 1).

[14] Examples include *R*, 1 April 1945, p. 2 and *R*, 1 July 1945, p. 4.

[15] Examples include *R*, 1 June 1945, p. 4; *R*, 1 July 1945, p. 3; and *R*, 1 August 1945, p. 3.

[16] Haushofer was executed in Berlin-Moabit on 23 April 1945 (ed.).

[17] The author adds, "Nichts ist so fruchtbar für die Entwicklung der Grundlagen zu freiheitlichem Denken als die Beschäftigung mit Thomas Mann" (*R*, 15 July 1945, p. 2).

[18] Wehdeking, p. 19.

[19] Vaillant, p. 41.

[20] See Richter's account of his association with *Der Ruf* in "Wie entstand und was war die Gruppe 47?" in Hans Werner Richter, *Hans Werner Richter und die Gruppe 47* (Munich: Nymphenburger, 1979), pp. 41-176.

Theodore Gish

Ferdinand J. Lindheimer's *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung:* Portrait of a German-Texan Weekly 1852-1872.[1]

German-language newspapers in America are a richly diverse repository of social history. Yet despite the historical accounts by Wittke and others and the bibliographical work, primarily by Arndt and Olson, this cultural resource has scarcely been investigated in many regional German-American studies.[2] In Texas, in fact, except as a source of information for scattered accounts of primarily the political habits of the German settlers, the German-language newspapers have been largely ignored by scholars and, consequently, as a traditional social institution, unassessed.[3] The earliest paper, the *Galveston Zeitung,* began publication in 1846, but it lasted only a few years, and there are no extant copies.[4] The second-oldest, however, the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* was also the longest-running, being published from 1852-1954. From the middle of the nineteenth until early in the twentieth century, approximately one hundred newspapers—most of them weeklies—came into existence in Texas. Several of them did have a life span from twenty to forty years, while the *Fredericksburger Wochenblatt* lasted for sixty-eight, and the San Antonio *Freie Presse für Texas* eighty years. But the majority of them lasted only a few years.

With respect to the regional and national American political scene, most of these papers were middle-of-the-road. but among the one hundred or so, there were bound to be a few political and journalistic oddities. The editor of the *San Antonio Zeitung,* the Forty-Eighter Dr. Adolph Douai, was so rabidly abolitionist that he translated his German editorials into English, so that the Anglo population, already disturbed by hearsay, could become even more directly enraged by his writings. On a far more pacific note, the *Bettelsack* of Comfort, Texas, a settlement with "Latin" overtones, never even made it into print. Its two editors lived together in a log cabin they forthrightly and perhaps wistfully called the "Korrektionsbude" and simply circulated the *Bettelsack* to the settlers in manuscript form.[5] Finally, the *Deutsche Post* of Houston was edited during 1881-85 by a Charles Medlenka whose Bohemian German

was so unique, that the paper became locally famous merely because of its linguistic character.

''Die gute alte Tante'' as the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* was often called, never missed an issue in its one-hundred-two-year history, although during the Civil War, when normal paper supplies were cut off, the newspaper occasionally appeared on butcher paper, tissue paper or even many-colored wallpaper. Not only the newspaper's longevity, but even more importantly the nature of the community it served and the personality of the newspaper's founding editor, the botanist Ferdinand Jakob Lindheimer, gave the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* a distinctive and commanding cultural role in the pioneer life of German Texas.

New Braunfels was founded in March 1845 by Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels as the *Adelsverein's* first settlement in its colonization efforts in Texas.[6] Somewhat isolated in the Texas Hill Country and yet not too far from San Antonio, New Braunfels was the state's fourth largest city in the 1850s.[7] Meinig, in his *Imperial Texas,* calls the ''German area of the Hill Country . . . a cultural anomaly . . .'' which has ''persisted with little expansion or contraction, a 'cultural island' unusual in size and homogeneity.''[8] For this reason the German-American population of New Braunfels has been relatively resistant to acculturation. During its formative years, New Braunfels fostered a wide variety of German-American cultural institutions such as churches, schools and numerous literary, musical, political and recreational organizations in addition to the newspaper.

Lindheimer was the first editor of the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* and he held this position for twenty years. The details of his life fulfill unusually well the idealized view of the rural nineteenth-century German-American cultural leader. Lindheimer was a middle-class liberal and a humanist-naturalist, raised in the legacy of Goethe, Humboldt and the Romanticists, e.g., Fichte and Heine. In America, Lindheimer was more successful as a frontiersman, however, than as a mediator of this cultural legacy.[9] Born in 1801, Lindheimer grew up in Frankfurt as the son of a prosperous merchant. Goethe was related to the family through his grandmother Textor who was a Lindheimer.[10] Before completing his studies in classical philology and mathematics at Bonn and Jena, Lindheimer became a teacher in Frankfurt at the school of the radical Georg Bunsen. While not personally involved in the Frankfurt riots of 1833, Lindheimer's association with Bunsen and the ensuing rift with his family caused Lindheimer to emigrate to America. After spending some time with Bunsen in Illinois, Lindheimer traveled to Mexico where he worked at a German plantation for over a year and was able to pursue his botanical studies. At the outbreak of the Texas Revolution in 1836, Lindheimer returned to the north and joined a company of Alabama volunteers. Since his company was detained in Galveston by military orders, Lindheimer and his fellow soldiers arrived at the site of the famous battle of San Jacinto, a day after the skirmish itself.[11] After the war, Lindheimer farmed without great success for a time in the area of Houston. He then began to earn his living collecting plant specimens in Texas for his Frankfurt friend, the immigrant botanist Georg En-

gelmann of St. Louis and for the renowned American botanist Asa Gray of Harvard. For several years, Lindheimer must have been an unusual sight in the frontier regions of Texas. The German geologist Ferdinand Roemer, who visited Texas in 1846-47, describes Lindheimer thusly:

> He bought a two-wheeled covered cart and a horse, loaded it with paper necessary to pack his plants, and a supply of the most necessary articles of food, such as flour, coffee and salt. Thereupon, he sallied forth into the wilderness armed with a gun and no other companions but his two hunting dogs. Here he busied himself with gathering and preserving plants. At times he was solely dependent upon the hunt for food, sometimes not seeing a human being for months.[12]

The Comanches, whom he occasionally encountered, understandably considered Lindheimer a medicine man and let him go his way undisturbed. In 1845, Lindheimer assisted Prince Solms in the purchase of the tract of land which became the settlement of New Braunfels. Lindheimer built a cabin on the Comal River and for several years, as the colony developed, he farmed and continued his botanical work. As a result of this latter activity and since approximately twenty species and one genus of Texas flora bear Lindheimer's name in the Latin designation, he is called the "father of Texas botany."[13]

Under Lindheimer's editorship, the format and much of the content of the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* reflected the traditional German-American weekly. An issue consisted of four pages, reduced to two during the Civil War. Except for the Civil War period, the front page always carried a piece of sentimental fiction, usually serialized, frequently together with an item about something of German interest or an account of local or state politics. Pages two and three reported local, state, national and international news, often taken from other, particularly German-American, newspapers, general informational or German-American items and, at times, humorous fillers. Page four was devoted to advertisements, legal notices and the like.[14]

But aside from the newspaper's rather traditional make-up, Lindheimer's personality, education and political leanings, which were augmented by the historical coincidence of his editorship with the formative years of both Texas and New Braunfels, made the paper under his twenty-year leadership also a truly unique cultural document of pioneer German Texas. Lindheimer's classical education and his botanical interests, for example, are readily apparent in his writings. Particularly in the early years, he wrote a number of articles for the paper about both the native flora of Texas and about the sorts of crops which the newly-arrived immigrants could profitably grow in the Hill Country of Texas. These articles are frequently an unusual mixture of scientific erudition, practical advice and philosophical musings. The first two issues of the paper, for example, contain a discussion of the native cypress (12 and 19 November 1852). Lindheimer begins by describing the worldwide propagation of the species in considerable botanical detail. He then offers practical instructions for making shingles from the trees, which was very necessary for the construction of the local log

cabins and a common occupation for the newly-arrived, jobless immigrant. An elegiac reverie concludes this article. Lindheimer refers to the use of the cypress in classical antiquity as a symbol of life and death, and this gives him the opportunity of expressing his own agnostic views on human immortality.

The introduction of his article, ''Einige Gedanken über die Lage des Landbebauens,'' describes the farmer with similarly out-of-place pastoral rhetoric:

> Wenn er in dem schönen Tempel der Natur ihr Wirken belauscht und ihre Tätigkeit beobachtet; wenn er ihre Gemälde zu verstehen vermag im Schatten des Abends und im glühenden Schein der Sonne . . . wenn er ihre Musik zu verstehen gelernt im Säuseln des Windes und im Rauschen des Wasserfalls, im Rollen des Donners und im Geflüster des Bächleins, im Toben des Sturmes und im Flöthen der Vögel . . . . (28 January 1853)

Such bucolic rhetoric, which includes an obligatory quote from Horace, must have certainly bemused the pioneer farmer working the scrabbly soil of Comal County! This idyllic style does eventually cease, as Lindheimer begins to offer his readers a practical account, complete with financial yield-charts, of the comparative advantages of the production of cotton, suger cane, wheat, tea, wine grapes and tobacco.

These echoes of Lindheimer's cultural heritage in the reports on farming in the Texas Hill Country can be understood at both the rhetorical and the psychological level as a demonstration of the immigrant journalist's often unflagging belief in the mission of German ''culture'' in America. Educated to an early nineteenth-century faith in *Bildung* and yet disenfranchised in Germany and not fully, if ever, culturally assimilated into America, such journalists, by way of compensation, envisioned a transplanted German culture in all its manifestations, as an indispensable tool in the development of an American civilization. By advocating so unequivocally a German cultural mission for the fledgling American nation, these journalists often gave vent to their need to comment on political questions. A desire which had been frustrated when they lived in Germany.[15]

In the very first issue of the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* Lindheimer describes the German cultural mission in an introductory editorial as follows: ''Wie einst die in alle Welt zerstreuten Griechen Weisheit und Wissenschaft in alle Welt verbreiteten, . . . so wollen wir in aller Welt verbreiteten Germanen die Herrschaft der Vernunft und der Bruderliebe, den Kosmopolitismus in aller Welt verbreiten'' (12 November 1852). In the next twenty years numerous articles, some written by Lindheimer, some by other local journalists, and some taken from other German-American newspapers proclaim German cultural supremacy again and again. In an article announcing the formation of a political club, the Protestant pastor to the German immigrants, Louis Ervendberg, writes that the Germans should not succumb to a ''starren enggeschlossenen Yankeethum'' but rather they should fulfill, ''durch Wahrung unserer National-Eigenthümlichkeit . . . unsere Aufgabe [die]

Humanisierung dieses Landes'' (12 August 1853). An article on education states baldly that ''der amerikanische Pädagog in Hinsicht der Bildung tief unter dem deutschen Pädagogen [steht] (7 October 1853). Similarly, in a discussion of German singing societies, it is pointed out that the ''humanisierende Wirkung'' of German music can help educate Americans whose ''Volks- und Kirchengesänge meist gefühlswidrige Zeribilder [sind]'' and whose ''*Yankee Doodle*'' was ''ursprünglich nur eine Spottmelodie auf den amerikanischen Geschmack'' (7 October 1853). In one of the several articles about the other mainstay of popular German culture in America, the *Turnverein*, the writer observes that Germans by temperament and practice are healthy, while Anglo-Americans—for all their good qualities—are basically ''sickly'' (9 August 1872). Even during the Civil War when most of the newspaper's attention was focused on the enormity of the issue itself, this topic appears under a patriotic guise. A lengthy account, for example, editorially supporting a German regiment in the Confederate Army maintains that from Hermann to Friedrich the Great Germans have always been superior soldiers (2 May 1862). Repeatedly, as in the article expressly entitled ''Über die Mission der Deutschen in Amerika,'' the German-American press is regarded as the most suitable vehicle for this mission (18 December 1853).

The aesthetic quality of the paper's own cultural offerings, the poetry and prose which Lindheimer published, is scarcely in keeping with this lofty German cultural mission. The ''story,'' appearing in virtually every issue, except during the Civil War, and often serialized over two or more issues, is of the usual obligatory sort for newspapers of this period. There is one *Novelle* by Paul Heyse, a number of ''American'' stories by Gerstäcker, and a few examples of German-Texan literature. Otherwise, however, these works are the sentimental and exotic pulp fare of the day by authors long since forgotten. The paper also occasionally printed poetry. Lindheimer introduced the first issue with a verse dedication which begins:

> Sei uns ein Bote, der mit goldnem Munde
> Des Lebens Alltag seine Öde nimmt,
> Der hundertohrig auf der weiten Runde
> Die Saiten jeder Seelenregung stimmt . . . . (12 November 1852)

Most of the poems are similarly sentimental and mediocre *Goldschnittbüchlein* efforts.

While this literature seems jarringly out of place, considering the supposed cultural mission, there may have been a therapeutic reason for its inclusion. As Wittke states:

> In the first generation at least, the foreign-language press must be regarded as an emotional compensation for what the immigrant left behind him when he undertook the great adventure across the Atlantic, and it is a very satisfying compensation. The press helps cushion the shock of the transition by creating a semblance of the earlier social life

> with which the immigrant was familiar, and it does so in the immigrant's mother tongue. Perhaps this is one reason why the foreign-language press frequently contains so much poetry and sentimental fiction.[16]

With equal probability, the exigencies of bringing out a full edition each week as well as the actual reading tastes of the newspaper's subscribers, took understandable precedence over the theoretically proclaimed cultural mission.

In the twenty years of his editorship, Lindheimer became involved in numerous local, national and German-Texan political issues.[17] In local civic affairs, he was a progressive, championing concerns such as the development of public schools. Being violently anti-clerical, Lindheimer urged the separation of church, especially parochial schools, and state (6 March 1853). While Lindheimer could criticize or support criticism of American culture, on local matters he was an avid and loyal supporter of the Hill Country of Texas. In this regard, one of the most compelling statements Lindheimer made about his adopted homeland occurs in his editorial at the completion of the paper's first year. Speaking of "die schöne Umgegend von Austin, Braunfels und San Antonio," he says:

> . . . das milde Clima, den heiteren Himmel, die klaren Flüsse und Bäche des Westens, die riesigen Cypressen und die schlanken Cedern und die mit Wild und Heerden belebten Prairieen; so bedarf es nur einer Feder, die fähig ist, diese Dinge würdig zu beschreiben, um einen Auswanderungslustigen von den Vorzügen von Texas zu überzeugen und daß er ausrufe, wie einst vor dreihundert Jahren die nach Texas einwandernden Asteken "Techas!" *das Land der Verheißung!*

Lindheimer signed the editorial, patriotically in English, with the battle cry of the Texas War of Independence: "Texas forever!" (9 December 1853).

In state and national politics Lindheimer was a moderate. While he spoke out unobtrusively against slavery in the early issues (e.g., 25 February 1853), as Secession and the Civil War drew near, like many Germans in Texas, he viewed slavery and the growing tensions between the North and the South as American and not German-American problems. Yet he also felt, like many of his fellow immigrants, a sense of loyalty to his adopted state. In 1854, on the occasion of the second *Sängerfest* in San Antonio, local Texas-German political groups, led by the abolitionist editor Douai, formed a radical political body. This group advocated the abolition of slavery. Its activities unleashed a storm of conflict in the German-American press, including the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung,* and the Anglo press in Texas. A number of Anglo newspapers, encouraged by the anti-foreign sentiment of the Know-Nothings, suspected the Germans of sponsoring political anarchy through their singing societies. True to his moderate stance, Lindheimer severely criticized Douai and the political activities in San Antonio.[18]

During the Civil War, Lindheimer continued his politically moderate stance. As a loyal Texan, he felt that he had to support the Confederacy. Many Germans, of course, were pro-Union and on one occasion they

stormed Lindheimer's home, which was also the office of the paper, and threw the hand-press and the type into the Comal River. But his sons retrieved the equipment from the river and Lindheimer published the *Zeitung,* even during that week, without interruption.[19]

These political disagreements, Lindheimer's feuds with the editors of other German-language newspapers in Texas, his disagreements with the paper's stockholders and the personal financial strain of running the paper, all took their inevitable toll. In 1872, seven years before his death, Lindheimer retired, a dispirited man. In his farewell editorial, he complained that his opponents had called him ''Lügenheimer'' and concluded that he was happy that ''ich jetzt nicht mehr als politischer Gladiator . . . meine Haut zu Markte tragen muß, daß ich nicht mehr, wie politische Candidaten nur zeitweilig, sondern, als Redacteur, fortwährend durch das Fegefeuer öffentlicher Verläumdung gejagt werde'' (16 August 1872).

The *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* continued for many more years and through two world wars when the German-Texans were again politically tested. After Lindheimer, six others edited the paper. The last two editors, Georg and Frederick Oheim, father and son, edited it successively for a period of sixty-four years.[20] Only in the last years, when more and more of the paper was published in English, did the *Zeitung* gradually lose its German-American quality. Despite Lindheimer's pessimism upon retirement and aside from his inordinate belief in German culture, the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* began under his leadership to implement the role of an effective small-town German-language newspaper. The breadth and inquisitiveness of Lindheimer's mind and the passion of his heart, often frustrated by circumstances in his new homeland, put a unique, if not always homogeneous, stamp on ''die gute alte Tante.'' In the early days of the *Zeitung* Lindheimer stated the purpose of a democratic newspaper in these words, using an image also particularly appropriate for a botanist: ''Laßt uns nicht müde werden, die geistigen Samenkörner der Wahrheit zu streuen, und wenn auch von 100 Körnern nur eines aufginge, so kann es in seiner dritten Generation schon zu einer Million Samenkörner aufgewachsen sein'' (9 December 1853). In the idealism of his youth in Germany, Lindheimer had wanted to serve truth. This he did as a much older man, finding her an uncompromising, and occasionally elusive, mistress in the Hill Country of Texas.

University of Houston
Houston, Texas

Notes

[1] This article was originally presented as a paper at the Sixth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Fort Hays State University, Hays, Kansas, April 16-17, 1982.

[2] See Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Louisville: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1957); Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and*

Periodicals, 1732-1955 (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1961); under the heading "The German-American Press" in Michael Keresztesi and Gary R. Cocozzoli, *German-American History and Life. A Guide to Information Sources* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1980).

[3] There are sparse accounts in the standard reference works on the Texas-Germans, e.g., Rudolph L. Biesele, *The History of the German Settlements in Texas, 1831-1861* (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones, 1930) and Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration* (1909); rpt. Austin: Jenkins, 1974), The only published account of the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* is the commemorative article by Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, "One Hundred Years *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung,*" *American-German Review,* 19, 6 (August/September 1953), 15-16. (The article by Herbert T. Etzler, "German-American Newspapers in Texas" with special reference to the *Texas Volksblatt,* 1877-1879, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* 57 (1954), 423-31, makes only a brief reference to the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung.*) It may be for this reason that Wittke's very brief information on the Texas newspapers and the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* (p. 101) is not entirely accurate.

[4] This and the following information on Texas newspapers is found in Arndt and Olson, pp. 614-635.

[5] Biesele, p. 176.

[6] The most complete historical examination of the German immigration to Texas under the auspices of the *Adelsverein* is presented in Biesele.

[7] Biesele, p. 135.

[8] D. W. Meinig, *Imperial Texas* (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1969), pp. 102-03.

[9] For an informative account of Lindheimer's life and his activities as a botanist in Texas, see Samuel Wood Geiser, *Naturalists of the Frontier* (Dallas: Southern Methodist Univ. Press, 1948), pp. 132-47. Lindheimer was rather reclusive, particularly in his later years. Neither he nor his family, additionally, left anything in writing of a biographical nature. For this reason, most of the information about Lindheimer's work as an editor must be derived from the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung* itself.

[10] Thomas Mann once made this remark about the Lindheimer lineage in the Goethe family: "I believe that the Lindheimer blood from the vicinity of the old Roman frontier, where Mediterranean and barbarian bloodstreams had mingled from time immemorial, was the best, healthiest, most decisive element in the nature of the great poet . . . ." (Thomas Mann, ed., selected, introd., *The Permanent Goethe* [New York: Dial, 1948], p. xv.)

[11] Local oral tradition occasionally has Lindheimer participate in the battle of San Jacinto itself.

[12] Ferdinand Roemer, *Texas, with Particular Reference to German Immigration and the Physical Appearance of the Country,* tr. Oswald Mueller (San Antonio: Standard Printing Company, 1935), p. 108.

[13] Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: The University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), pp. 50-52.

[14] These advertisements are also a rich source of unassessed cultural information.

[15] Wittke discusses this situation, indirectly, in his chapters on "The Forty-Eighter Renaissance" (pp. 75-102) and "The Radical Press" (pp. 103-26).

[16] Wittke, p. 5.

[17] For an examination of Lindheimer's handling of some of these issues see Biesele, pp. 191-207 and Benjamin, pp. 90-110.

[18] See Biesele, pp. 196-203.

[19] Metzenthin-Raunick, p. 16.

[20] Metzenthin-Raunick, p. 16.

Peter C. Merrill

Ernst Anton Zündt and the German-American Theater

With the exception of a few outstanding figures such as Charles Sealsfield, it must be conceded that the majority of German-American writers of the last century clearly belong within the realm of trivial literature. Many were journalists for whom literature was a sideline, while others were literary amateurs whose writing was never a means of financial support. If one attempts to pursue research on such writers, one is bound to meet with certain difficulties. For one thing, there is the problem of assembling the most rudimentary information, such as a complete and accurate list of an author's works. Then it seems one must justify this type of research against the objections of those who either see no point in studying the works of trivial authors or who feel that the pursuit of basic information about a writer's works is not a matter which should concern serious literary scholarship. By way of stating my own position on these questions, let me first of all say that I believe there are many reasons why we should carry forward research on trivial writers of the last century. I furthermore believe that where basic information on the works of such writers is lacking, the dissemination of such information should be a priority objective. This sort of preparatory research is, in fact, almost a necessary precondition for other types of literary scholarship, such as the detailed analysis of particular literary works or their interpretation within the context of the literary milieu from which they emerged.

Ernst Anton Zündt (1819-1897) provides a case in point. Although a good deal has been published about him, previous research has dealt mainly with the external circumstances of his life and career.[1] Though his works have often been enumerated, there has been little attempt to discuss any of them at length. Thus, there is both a lack of basic information about the works themselves and a clear necessity to carry research a step further by providing some analysis and critical evaluation of these works.

Zündt is known principally as a poet, probably his best-known work being his *Lincoln-Hymne.* He was also, however, a playwright and a

prolific translator of plays. Although many of these plays have been lost, a number of others are available for study.[2]

The present article seeks to focus attention on Zündt's works for the stage and on his relation to the German-American theater. For some reason, discussions of Zündt's plays have never taken proper account of the fact that they were mostly translations or adaptations from works by other authors, though this fact would seem to be of central importance. Certainly, little attention has been given to the comparison of Zündt's translations with the original plays on which they were based. In similar fashion, the whole question of Zündt's relation to the German-American theater of his day has remained largely unexplored. While the present article cannot hope to fill this void, it does attempt to add to our knowledge of Zündt's career as a playwright and as a man of the theater.

Zündt was born near Mindelheim, Bavaria, on 12 January 1819. The titled descendant of an aristocratic family, he received a solid classical education at a *Gymnasium* in Munich and later studied philosophy and law at the University of Munich. During the political unrest of 1848, Zündt took a liberal but not radical position. In 1849 he married Johanna Altmann, to whom several of his earliest poems had been dedicated. Estrangement from his aristocratic relatives appears to have been one of the circumstances which contributed to his decision to emigrate to America with his wife and two sons. After his arrival in the United States, Zündt lived briefly in New York and in Green Bay, Wisconsin, before moving to Milwaukee. He lived in Milwaukee from 1858 to 1864, supporting himself mainly by journalism and by teaching in the public schools. From 1864 to 1868 he lived in St. Louis, where he worked on the staff of the *Westliche Post.* From 1868 to 1876 he lived in Jefferson City, Missouri, where he taught German in the public schools. From 1876 until 1882 he was again in St. Louis, this time supporting himself as an employee of the city. Toward the end of his life, Zündt again turned to journalism and was associated with newspapers in Minneapolis and Milwaukee. He later retired to Jefferson City, where he died on 1 May 1897.

Zündt lived at a time when German-language theatrical performances had already been established on a regular basis in a number of American cities. These performances were of two types. On the one hand, there were the permanent theaters with professional actors. On the other hand, there were a significant number of amateur groups which regularly staged German-language performances.

There were important differences between the professional and non-professional stage. For one thing, the non-professional stage was generally more receptive to works by German-American authors.[3] It is thus not surprising that some of Zündt's plays appear to have been performed by amateur casts. His short dramatic prologue *Columbia am Rhein* was probably performed by members of the *Turnerbund* and his fairy-tale play *Dornröschen* was performed by a cast consisting mainly of

schoolchildren. On the other hand, several of Zündt's plays appear to have been performed by professional casts. These include *Das Eismeer, Im Olymp,* and probably also *Flitterwochen.*

The repertoire of the professional German-language theaters in Zündt's day was very similar to that offered by municipal theaters in Germany during the period. Popular plays by such authors as Nestroy and Birch-Pfeiffer dominated the bill, though there were also fairly frequent performances of more serious works, Schiller's plays being particularly popular. The uncritical middle-class audiences who patronized these performances were for the most part people who, in an age before movies and television, looked to the theater for light entertainment.

The amateur productions, on the other hand, were often patronized by audiences who shared a sense of political or social commitment with the playwrights and performers. These productions were typically staged by groups within some larger organization, such as the *Turnerbund* or the Socialist Party. Performances by amateur groups were often held at the meeting hall of the sponsoring organization, though sometimes a larger hall was hired for the occasion. As examples, one may mention the amateur productions of plays by Wilhelm Otto Soubron and Friedrich Katzer, two German-American playwrights in Milwaukee. Soubron was a Socialist, a member of the *Turnerbund,* and the speaker for a free-thought congregation. His plays, such as *Ein Kommunarde* (1881), were all staged for audiences who presumably shared his political outlook. Katzer, on the other hand, was a Catholic priest with militantly conservative views who later became archbishop of Milwaukee. Katzer's tendentious play, *Der Kampf der Gegenwart,* was performed in 1872 by students of the St. Francis Seminary and was published in Milwaukee the following year.

When Zündt arrived in Milwaukee in 1858 the city already had a well-established professional stage, the *Stadttheater.* This theater, which was operated by Heinrich Kurz, was originally located in Market Hall, not far from the present Pabst Theater. It was later moved to a new location in the Birchard Block in September 1863, a year before Zündt left Milwaukee. During this period, German theatrical performances were also sometimes held at Albany Hall and at the Academy of Music. Following the Civil War there were several German-American playwrights in Milwaukee, including Mathilde Franziska Anneke, Emil Knotser, and Julius Gugler.

While in Milwaukee, Zündt served for one season as stage manager of the *Stadttheater.*[4] During this period he also collaborated with Willibald Winckler in the publication of the *Milwaukee Theater-Kalender* (1864), a short-lived annual containing contributions by several writers, including the editors. This work is a valuable source of information on the German stage in Milwaukee during this period. Winckler, whose amazing career includes periods of residence in Egypt and Mexico, was the author of several plays, at least one of which *Maximilian I. letzte Tage* was performed in Milwaukee on 1 March 1868.[5]

When Zündt came to St. Louis in 1863, the dominant figure in the local German-American theatrical scene was Heinrich Börnstein, who had settled in St. Louis in 1849 and had been active as a director, playwright, and actor in productions which were staged at the St. Louis Opera House between 1853 and 1861. Performances were later put on at the Apollo Theater until its destruction by fire in 1866. How well Zündt knew Börnstein is problematical, as Börnstein had returned to Germany by 1865, two years after Zündt's arrival in St. Louis. Other German-American playwrights in St. Louis at this time were Friedrich Schnake, John Hartmann, John Gabriel Woerner, and Charles Gildehaus. Schnake, like Zündt, was apparently involved in the *Turnerbund,* for he had served during the Civil War in a company recruited from members of this organization.[6] One local theatrical personality with whom Zündt was definitely acquainted was Louis Pelosi, who directed the German-language theater in St. Louis from 1872 until 1879. Pelosi directed Zündt's short dramatic prologue *Im Olymp* when it was performed at the Olympic Theater in St. Louis in 1873.

Most of Zündt's plays were written in St. Louis; only two plays, *Flitterwochen* and *Das Eismeer,* date from the period when he was living in Milwaukee. The dramas *Jugurtha* and *Lukretia,* as well as the original version of *Die Gemsenjäger,* were written in Munich before Zündt's emigration to the United States. Six of Zündt's plays were written during the years when he was living in Jefferson City: *Yaramatha, Des Künstlers Traum, Rücksichten, Im Olymp, Galilei,* and *Die Eisfee.*

At least four full-length plays by Zündt are definitely known to have been performed, two in Milwaukee and two in St. Louis.[7] While his major work, the play *Jugurtha,* appeared in two printed editions, there is no evidence that the play was ever performed. This must have been a disappointment to Zündt, who probably blamed the prevailing public apathy toward serious dramatic works. What Zündt thought of contemporary German-American theater audiences is clearly revealed in the following passage from *Im Olymp*:

> Wir spielen hier vor allem die Blasierten,
> Wir tadeln flüchtig, was wir nie studierten,
> Und was die guten Musen klassisch nennen,
> Das findet hier wohl kaum ein Anerkennen,
> Man will auch hier nur unterhalten sein
> Und scheut unnöt'gen Denkens schwere Pein.[8]

Zündt's works for the stage include two original dramas, some short dramatic prologues, and a number of translations. Of the two original works for the stage, the play *Jugurtha* merits particular attention. It is an ambitiously conceived verse drama in five acts which Zündt wrote shortly before coming to America. Zündt's source for *Jugurtha* was the Roman historian Sallust. From Sallust's *Jugurthine Wars* Zündt took the story of the North African prince who rose to power through bribery and assassination, but was eventually defeated and imprisoned by the Romans. In his treatment of this material, Zündt adheres closely to his source, as one is reminded by the frequent footnotes with such

statements as "streng historisch" or "nach Sallusts Bericht." In the form which Zündt gave to this material, however, it is apparent that Schiller and Shakespeare furnished the models which he sought to emulate. Schiller's influence is perhaps a bit too obvious in the scene in which one of the characters dies with the words "Seid einig, einig, einig!"—the well-known dying words of Attinghausen in Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*. Similarly, Zündt apparently had Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* in mind when he decided to have Jugurtha address the assembled Romans with the phrase "leiht mir freundlich euer Ohr."[9]

Jugurtha bears testimony both to Zündt's solid classical education and to his undeniable poetic talent. Judged as a work of literature, however, it is difficult to see much more in the play than a technically competent but unexciting epigonic work. Possibly it is Zündt's detachment which deprives this play of dramatic force, for while any of Schiller's plays is enlivened by the intensity of the author's personal commitment, the absence of such qualities in *Jugurtha* imparts a certain blandness to the work.

Zündt's other major original work is *Die Gemsenjäger*, a romantic drama in two acts. Zündt originally wrote the play in Bavarian dialect and published it as *Die Gambsenjaga* in Munich in 1855. A revised version of the play, now titled *Die Gemsenjäger*, was published in St. Louis in 1879.[10] The play is set in the 1830s, at a time shortly after Maximilian II of Bavaria, who was then still the crown prince, had renovated the castle ruin of Hohenschwangau. The play, which is set in the vicinity of the castle, is about two brothers who both want to marry the same girl. Since she cannot make a choice between them, it is agreed that she will marry whichever of the brothers is the first to return from the hunt with a chamois. When the hunt takes place, one of the brothers mysteriously fails to return. A year later he is finally found, his frozen body in a hidden cave high in the Alpine heights. In his pocket is a note to his brother: "God has decided between us, but differently than we thought." The girl and the surviving brother now feel free to marry.

Despite the optimistic theme of youthful love triumphing in the end, there is something disturbing about the retrieval of the year-old corpse, even though we are assured that the body is in no way disfigured and has been well preserved in the cold. One wonders if it was essential to have the body carried onto the stage, where it lies under a blanket during much of the second act. One is also disturbed by the incongruous contrast between the solemnity which surrounds the retrieval of the body and the unconcealed joy of the girl, who is delighted because the discovery removes an obstacle to her marriage.

Zündt's original works for the stage also include an undetermined number of short dramatic prologues. Two of these, *Im Olymp* (1874) and *Columbia am Rhein* (1880) have survived. The former piece was written for the commencement of German performances at the Olympic Theater in St. Louis. It is mainly written in iambic pentameter, though for one speech Zündt preferred the more lyric trochaic tetrameter. The scene is set on Mount Olympus, where the gods are satirically portrayed in the tradition of Kleist's *Amphitryon* (1807). Zeus is seen as bored by

perpetual idleness and somewhat irked by humanity, while Hera, his consort, alludes sarcastically to his amorous escapades. Ganymede is presented as a grumbling servant, while Artemis has the character of a prim old maid.

Columbia am Rhein was originally written to be performed at a benefit for victims of a Rhine flood. The principal figures in this short dramatic piece in verse are a family of German flood victims near Worms. The Rhine and Columbia, i.e., the United States, appear as allegorical figures.

Among Zündt's many translations of works for the stage, the earliest is *Lukretia* (1843), a translation of the verse drama *Lucrèce* of François Ponsard (1814-1867).[11] Zündt's version is a fairly close rendering of the French original. The play recounts the Roman legend of how the rape of Lucretia by Sextus, the son of Tarquinius Superbus, led to a general insurrection against the Tarquins and their expulsion from Rome. Perhaps the most noteworthy aspect of the play is the manner in which it appears to reflect Ponsard's republican and revolutionary tendencies.

In 1870 Zündt translated *Galilée,* another verse drama by Ponsard.[12] In both of these translations, Zündt substituted unrimed iambic pentameter for Ponsard's alexandrines.

Rienzi (1867) is a metrical translation of a five-act tragedy in verse by Mary Russell Mitford. Mitford's play antedates both the novel on the same theme by Edward Bulwer-Lytton and the opera by Wagner which is based on Bulwer-Lytton's novel.[13] The play deals with the familiar story of Cola di Rienzi, the fourteenth-century Italian revolutionary who began his career as a political reformer but soon became a ruthless despot. Mitford's Rienzi is presented as a fanatic idealist whose somber and uncompromising nature is his ultimate undoing. Her portrait of Rienzi is considerably less idealized than the picture presented either by Bulwer-Lytton or by Wagner.

The three dramas *Lukretia, Galilei,* and *Rienzi* all possess as a central theme the struggle for freedom against oppression. This fact sheds some light on Zündt's political sentiments, since it was he who chose these particular dramas to translate. Both *Lukretia* and *Rienzi* are concerned with successful uprisings against tyrannical governments and both plays are replete with fiery revolutionary speeches and excited revolutionary crowds. In *Galilei,* however, the central theme is not violent revolution, but rather the defense of intellectual freedom against clerical oppression. This was a theme calculated to appeal to Zündt, who was deeply involved in the *Turnerbund,* a movement with strongly libertarian and anticlerical tendencies.[14] While all three plays reveal Zündt to be a crusader for political and intellectual freedom, none of the plays could be characterized as being so political as to lose sight of literary values.

Galilei, like Bertolt Brecht's more recent treatment of the same subject, is also a play about a moral dilemma. For Galileo, the way of truth and principle is a lonely path, since he is urged by everyone to act against his conscience. Taddeo, the suitor of Galileo's daughter, seeks to convince him that the world will be little affected by whether or not his teachings become known or accepted. The inquisitors, however, are

convinced otherwise, for they recognize that to undermine the testimony of the scriptures will also undermine the authority of the church.

Zündt's translations of stage works include two fairy tale plays, *Dornröschen* (1877) and *Aschenbrödel* (1878). *Dornröschen* was translated from an undisclosed English source. The burlesque manner of the play suggests that *Dornröschen,* like the play *Aschenbrödel,* was adapted from a British "pantomime," a type of comic play for children traditionally performed in Britain during the Christmas season. A number of details in the play point to the fact that the plot does not derive from the *Dornröschen* of the Grimm brothers, but rather from the version of the story most frequently found in English, the *Sleeping Beauty* of Perrault.[15] *Aschenbrödel* is a free translation of *Cinderella,* a play by the British author Henry James Byron (1835-1884).[16] Like *Dornröschen, Aschenbrödel* is mainly written in rimed iambic pentameter, though in both plays other meters are freely used. *Aschenbrödel* is a burlesque rendering of the familiar tale of Cinderella, again deriving from the Perrault version of the story rather than from the version given by the Grimm brothers.

In a similar tradition is *Die Eisfee oder die gefrorene Hand* (1874), a translation of *The Ice Witch; or, the Frozen Hand,* an Easter pantomime by the English actor and playwright John Baldwin Buckstone (1802-1879).[17] Zündt's version, like the original, is mainly written in prose, though the play includes several songs. The story is about the Norwegian pirate chieftain, Harold, who is shipwrecked in the far North and is lured by Druda, the beautiful Ice Witch, to her court. Druda wishes to marry Harold, but when he becomes restless and wants to return home she places a curse on him. Henceforth his left hand is frozen in such a way that anyone touched by it will instantly die. Harold returns to Norway, but Druda's curse prevents him from leading a happy or ordinary existence. Ultimately the sun god Freyer restores Harold's hand and banishing the Ice Witch forever to her polar realm. Despite the serious mood which lies at the core of this fantasy, the play is realized as a comedy in the tradition of pantomime burlesque. Much of the play's farcical humor is provided by the character Snoro, Harold's comic squire.

Less than half of Zündt's dramatic works were ever published and none of his unpublished works has survived to the present. It is, however, possible to form some impression of what a number of the unpublished plays were like, since many were translations or stage adaptations from some known source.[18]

Taking Zündt's unpublished plays chronologically, the earliest is *Flitterwochen* (1860), a metrical translation of *The Honeymoon,* a comedy in blank verse by the English actor-playwright John Tobin (1770-1804).[19] Zündt was living in Milwaukee at the time he translated *The Honeymoon* and there was a performance of Zündt's German version at Albany Hall in Milwaukee on 9 December 1861.[20] Tobin's play is set in Spain and has a plot reminiscent of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew.*[21] *Das Eismeer* (1865) is a romantic drama in five acts. The play was performed several times in Milwaukee in 1865 and 1871.[22] *Elisabeth* (1866) is a translation of *Elisabetta, Regina d'Inghiliterra* (1853), a tragedy in five acts by Paolo

Giacometti (1816-1882). *Yaramatha* (1869) is a drama in two acts based on an unspecified prose work by James Fenimore Cooper.[23] *Des Künstlers Traum* (1869) was described by Zündt as a *Lebensbild* 'sketch' in five acts, while *Rücksichten* (1871) was a three-act comedy.[24] *Mazeppa* (1877) was a drama in three acts presumably based on Byron's narrative poem *Mazeppa* (1819). *Jolanthe, König Renés Tochter* (1878) is a translation of *Kong René's Datter* (1845), a one-act play by the Danish dramatist Henrik Hertz (1797-1870). The story is about a blind princess in the south of France and has nothing to do with Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe* (1882). There are, however, some curious resemblances between the plot of Hertz' drama and that of André Gide's story "La Symphonie pastorale" (1919). *Die drei Musketiere* (1879) is a three-act drama presumably based on the well-known novel by Alexandre Dumas, while *Das Herz von Midlothian* (1880) derives from Walter Scott's historical novel *The Heart of Midlothian (1818). Zündt's unpublished works also include a number of short dramatic prologues, including Am Neujahr 1882, Geisterspuk,* and *Lasst uns Frieden haben.*

In attempting to reach an overall assessment of Zündt as a dramatic writer, one is forced to give particular attention to the plays *Jugurtha* and *Die Gemsenjäger,* the only full-length plays by Zündt which were completely original works. *Jugurtha* transcends the realm of the trivial and despite obvious defects should probably be conceded a place as one of the more important plays by a nineteenth-century German-American author. *Die Gemsenjäger,* on the other hand, turns out to be a not entirely successful piece of popular entertainment.

As a translator, Zündt's efforts were sometimes defeated by the trivial material with which he worked. When he worked from more serious originals, however, he proved to be a competent craftsman. His translation of Ponsard's *Galilée* is still a readable and performable work, and is perhaps Zündt's most felicitous dramatic effort. His version of Mitford's *Rienzi* is likewise a skillfully accomplished piece of work which retains interest today. Despite his shortcomings, Zündt was a significant figure among German-American poets of the Victorian era and his contributions to the theater merit more critical attention than they have heretofore received.

Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida

Notes

[1] The following are the most important sources on Zündt's life and works: Franz Brümmer, *Lexikon der deutschen Dichter und Prosaisten vom Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart,* 6th ed. (Leipzig, 1913), VIII, 117; "Ernst Anton Zündt" [obituary article], *Amerikanische Turnzeitung* [Milwaukee, Wisconsin], 9 May 1897, p. 1; Ludwig Fränkel, "Ernst Anton Zündt," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* (Munich, 1875-1912), XLV, 486-89; Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluss des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* I (Milwaukee, 1900), 150; Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluß des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts,* II (Milwaukee, 1902), 13; Heinrich Metzner, "Ernst Anton Zündt," *Jahrbücher der deutsch-amerikanischen*

Turnerei, 3 (1894), 176-77; Walter Osten [pseudonym of Theodore Mueller], "Ernst Anton Zuendt," *The Milwaukee Turner*, 4, No. 4 (April 1943), 1-3; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1967), XI, 371; Otto Soubron, "William Otto Soubron Recalls Notable Works by Wisconsin's German Poets," *The Milwaukee Sentinel* [Milwaukee, Wisconsin], 10 May 1903, Sec. 5, p. 11; Robert E. Ward, "Ernst Anton Zündt: Profile of a German Writer in the Midwest," in *German-American Literature*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Metuchen, New Jersey, 1977), pp. 212-15; Gustav Adolf Zimmermann, *Deutsch in Amerika. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 121-27.

[2] Two of Zündt's published plays, *Lukretia* (1843) and the dialect play *Die Gambsenjaga* (1855), were published in Munich before Zündt emigrated to the United States. The plays *Jugurtha, Rienzi,* and *Galilei* were published in the volume *Lyrische und dramatische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1871). Five plays (*Dornröschen, Anschenbrödel, Die Eisfee, Im Olymp,* and *Die Gemsenjäger*) appear in his *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1879). *Die Gemsenjäger* is a revision of *Die Gambsenjaga* in which the Bavarian dialect of the original has been replaced by a language more easily understandable to general audiences. The dramatic prologue *Columbia am Rhein* appeared in *Ebbe und Flut* (Milwaukee, 1894), a volume which also contains a second publication of the drama *Jugurtha*.

[3] Many German-American writers of the nineteenth century wrote plays, most often historical dramas or local-color pieces with an American setting. The following selective list of such writers excludes the names of playwrights who are mentioned elsewhere in the present article: Geza Berger, Gustav Böhm, Caspar Butz, Emil Dietzsch, Karl Dilthey, Friedrich H. Ernst, Christian Esselen, Adolf Hachtmann, Karl Heinzen, Ernst Heinrici, Georg Hermann, Georg Hess, Bernard J. Hoffacker, Joseph Kurz, Ernst J. Löwenthal, Karl Lorenz, Samuel Ludwigh, Heinrich Merker, Karl E. Moelling, Wilhelm Müller, Viktor Precht, Friedrich Rauser, Fernande Richter ("Edna Fern"), William Ludwig Rosenberg, Hugo Schlag, Richard Schlagintweit, Carl Heinrich Schnauffer, Emil Schneider, Reinhold Solger, Friedrich Strubberg, Marie Rickmeyer ("C. Winter"), Robert Theim, Ludwig August Wollenweber, and Philipp Zapf.

[4] Wilhelm Hense-Jensen (1900), p. 150.

[5] John C. Andressohn, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeer deutschen Bühnenwesens, 1850-1911," *German-American Annals*, 15 (1912), 14, 65-88, 150-70.

[6] Max Heinrici ed., *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 459-60.

[7] *Flitterwochen* was performed in Milwaukee in 1861 (*Milwaukee Sentinel*, 7 December 1861, p. 1). *Das Eismeer* was performed several times in Milwaukee in 1869 and 1871 (Lulu Bredlow, "A History of the German Theater in Milwaukee, 1850-1935," M.A. Thesis Northwestern University 1936, p. 109, p. 115; Norman James Kaiser, "A History of the German Theater of Milwaukee from 1850 to 1890," M.S. Thesis Wisconsin 1954, p. 115). *Die Gemsenjäger* and *Dornröschen* were apparently both performed in St. Louis, as Zündt's *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* contains cast photographs of both plays taken by a St. Louis photographer.

[8] *Dramatische und lyrische Dictungen*, p. 55.

[9] Act II, Sc. I (*Lyrische und dramatische Dichtungen*, p. 354).

[10] The revised version appeared as part of Zündt's *Dramatische und lyrische Dichtungen* (St. Louis, 1879). The New York Public Library has an undated copy of *Die Gemsenjäger* in which the date 1853 has been written in on the title page. Actually, this copy appears to be nothing more than an offprint of the 1879 version to which the date 1853 has been erroneously added.

[11] François Ponsard, *Lucrèce* (Paris, 1843).

[12] François Ponsard, *Galilée; drame en trois actes, en vers* (Paris, 1867).

[13] Mary Russell Mitford, *Rienzi. A Tragedy in Five Acts* (London, 1828); Edward Bulwer-Lytton, *Rienzi, or the Last of the Tribunes* (1835); Richard Wagner, *Rienzi, der letzte der Tribunen* (1842).

[14] Zündt's involvement in the turner movement has recently received attention in Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner. Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848 bis 1918* (Munich, 1978).

[15] Charles Perrault, *Histoires ou contes de temps passé* (Paris, 1697). For information on English versions of the tale deriving from Perrault, see Iona and Peter Opie, *The Classic Fairy Tales* (London, 1974).

[16] Henry James Byron, *Cinderella; or, The Lover, the Lackey and the Little Glass Slipper. A Fairy Tale Burlesque Extravaganza* (London, 1861). Henry Byron was a prolific author of works for the stage, including a number of fairy tale pantomimes and burlesques.

[17] John Baldwin Buckstone, *The Ice Witch; or, the Frozen Hand* (London [1831?]).

[18] The starting point for research on Zündt's unpublished plays is the chronological list of works to be found in his *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533.

[19] John Tobin, *The Honeymoon. A Comedy in Five Acts* (London [1808?]).

[20] *The Milwaukee Sentinel* (Milwaukee, Wisconsin), 7 December 1861, p. 1.

[21] The plot of Tobin's play is virtually identical with that of "The Haughty Princess," in *Fairy and Folk Tales of Ireland*, ed. William Butler Yeats (Gerrards Cross, 1973), pp. 263-65.

[22] Lulu Bredlow (1936), p. 115.

[23] In the list of his works which appears in *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533, Zündt states that *Yaramatha* is based on a *Novelle* by "F. Cooper." The exact source of Zündt's *Yaramatha* remains obscure, however, as there is no work by James Fenimore Cooper which bears this title.

[24] *Ebbe und Flut*, p. 533.

Richard C. Spuler

Wilhelm Tell as American Myth

To this day, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* remains a popular and frequently performed work in the repertoire of German-language theaters. As the play became an increasingly important component of school and university curricula during the second half of the nineteenth century, it also secured a place within the German notion of *Bildung und Kultur* emanating from that time; a disproportionate number of lines from *Tell* became *geflügelte Worte.*[1] In 1973, Heinz Tischer commented that the decade-long reading of *Tell* as a canonized classic has done more harm than good: The work has long been used to demonstrate and to "drill" basic concepts of dramaturgy in a relatively superficial manner.[2] Beyond that, the reception of *Tell* has established interpretations of the play which derive less from the work itself than from pedagogical and, more important still, ideological objectives. In fact, with *Tell* one can trace the formation of a literary canon, the institutionalization and enshrining of a few core works to the exclusion of others, particularly evident in the reception of German classicism within Wilhelminian Germany.

The sixteen different American editions of *Wilhelm Tell* prior to 1905 are symptomatic of the nearly wholesale assimilation of German classicism by American *Germanistik.* For the American student, reading eighteenth-century German literature was (and remains) problematic, both in terms of linguistic comprehension and historical acculturation. Noted Germanists of the years around the turn of the century complained of the misuse of these works by subjecting them to "grammatical formalism." The issue continued to generate dissatisfaction with regard to the pedagogical role of German classics within the American curriculum. By 1911, Starr W. Cutting admitted that "we have all been distressed at the signal failure attendant upon the use of eighteenth century classics as an introduction of American learners to German literature."[3]

This sentiment was at odds with another force of the literary canonization of *Tell:* Any canon tends to codify works as exemplary, to invoke from them aesthetic and even ethical norms. The larger view of

German classicism was elaborated by Julius Goebel in 1887, when he wrote that

> the study of the German classics has to be made the means of a ''higher education,'' as Goethe expresses it, and fortunately German classical literature contains the material necessary for this purpose. It furthermore represents in its historical development a gradual realization of the modern human ideal which finally culminates in the maturest productions of Goethe and Schiller.[4]

As one investigator has assessed, prior to 1870 in America, ''*Tell* was the favorite of all the plays, not only because it celebrated the theme of political liberty but also because it retold a story long popular in America.''[5] The preface to an edition of *Tell* in 1854 claimed that

> of all the German literary productions there is perhaps not one with which Americans sympathize so completely as with Schiller's great Drama [sic] of *Wilhelm Tell*: the unity of action, the spirit of liberty which pervades every line, the simplicity of the scenes, the few difficulties which its language presents, when compared with other works of equal worth, all combine to make this a general favorite with those who study the German language.[6]

In general, the play appears to have accommodated the American reader; *Tell* was the most frequently edited of Schiller's works. Robert W. Deering's edition of 1895 acknowledged that ''There is, perhaps, no German play better suited to the needs of students than Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.* Its noble theme, its simple style, lofty poetic tone and wonderful dramatic power make it in every way an admirable text for class use.''[7] *Tell,* ''so often the first classical German drama to be read in our schools,''[8] was given preferential treatment, and from Palmer's edition in 1906 we can infer that *Tell* had indeed been acclaimed as the paradigmatic ''classical'' work: ''*Wilhelm Tell* is not only in the best sense the most popular of German dramas, but also a work of art characteristic of the classical age of German literature and a monument of the cooperation of Goethe and Schiller.''[9]

What standards of evaluation did critics apply to *Tell*? How did they form judgments as literary critics or, as teachers of the play, how did they encourage student response? Frederick Steuber, for instance, aimed at ''getting pupils in the right attitude to 'enjoy' *Tell,*'' and he assured readers that

> an earnest teacher, thoroughly familiar not only with the drama as a whole, but also with the content of every scene, as well as with the very language in which it is expressed; a teacher who is moved by the sentiments of liberty and patriotism in the drama, and can visualize the scenes with their setting in the Forest Cantons, cannot help passing on to his pupil that appreciative spirit which will never cease to glow and illuminate.[10]

Steuber proposed fundamentally characteristic attitudes with respect to the reading of *Tell.* One concerns evoking an empathetic response in the reader. Richard A. Minckwitz' edition of 1905 advised seeking a

"heightened . . . interest and appreciation," and suggested "that the student in approaching a masterpiece of literature should have some acquaintance with the estimation in which it is held by the most eminent critics."[11] It is probably neither correct nor fair to maintain that independent reading of the work was altogether discouraged. More precise would be to suggest that individual analysis was attenuated and rechanneled so that the student was encouraged to respond to the work above all in an "emotional" manner, empathetically rather than critically. Minckwitz appears to argue for a knowledge of the reception of the work, of the "secondary literature," in order to assist in and form a corrective to the individual's potential understanding (or more likely, misunderstanding) of the play. But this is true only in part. Nowhere does he speak of a discriminating purview of the literature on *Tell,* only a familiarity with, an assimilation of, "the most eminent critics." The priorities of his ideal reception ("heightened interest and appreciation") and that of Steuber ("appreciative spirit") suggest a curtailment of discriminating and differentiated analysis. This attitude is summed up in Bayard Taylor's quixotic claim that *Tell* "has that exquisite beauty and vitality which defy criticism."[12]

Steuber's proposed disposition for the reading of *Tell* ("that appreciative spirit which will never cease to glow and illuminate") points to another aspect of *Tell*'s intermix with American myth: Part of creating an empathetic environment for the play's reception meant evaluating the play within a context meaningful to the American student. Concepts of freedom and patriotism thus formed a natural locus of these evaluations, and *Tell* became a suitable instrument for fostering not only a sense of German nationality, but also of American patriotism. America's foremost Schiller scholar at the turn of the century, Calvin Thomas, wrote that patriotism was a sentiment "worthy of a lasting reverence, it is that one which attaches men to the motherland and leads them to stand together against an alien oppressor."[13] Daniel B. Shumway spoke of being "thrilled by the patriotic fervor of Wilhelm Tell," and noted that "Schiller is popular because he is so intensely patriotic at large."[14] And W. H. Carruth knew that

> despite all technical faults, *Wilhelm Tell* has remained one of the most popular pieces on the German stage, and has had an incalculable effect on the cultivation of national feeling. Its popularity has always been greatest in periods of national consciousness, as in 1813-15, 1848, and 1870.[15]

The larger implications of the play's effect were not lost on Carruth, who predicted that *Tell* would replace the *Aeneid* in school and university curricula: "And who can compare the two with reference to their suitability to the rearing of American youth without admitting that the change will be a gain?"[16]

These responses to *Tell,* stemming from the 1890s and the early 1900s, are noticeably different from Bayard Taylor's enraptured awe for the play in 1879 ("that exquisite beauty and vitality which defy criticism") and, also in 1879, J. K. Hosmer's subjective myth-making (he

narrated his thoughts while wandering through the Forest Cantons: "My mind was full of thoughts of *Tell;* I obstinately rejected the mythical explanation of the story; I insisted upon believing it in all its length and breadth.").[17] To be sure, as the nineteenth century came to a close, a current of nationalism ran through America, instigated by a series of imperialistic ventures. Following the Spanish-American War in 1898, the United States took control of the Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, and of the Philippines. In the same year the Pacific islands of Hawaii were annexed, and in 1903 the United States government supported revolution in Panama to assure control of the Panama Canal. The administration of Theodore Roosevelt from 1901 until 1909 spearheaded these territorial acquisitions. And one cannot ignore the fact that these were the years, throughout the Western world, of surging nationalism and empire ideologies.

Within this nexus, it became common to view *Tell* in terms of an "American analogy." Richard Hochdoerfer wrote in 1905 that "to an American college student [*Tell*] is usually a source of inspiration. Witnessing the revolt of a brave people against foreign oppression, he is reminded of the great conflict of his own country."[18] Those who espoused the drama's intent of national unity found in *Tell* a "drama of liberty"[19] particularly adapted to the American audience. Most critics recognized in *Tell* "not a revolution, but an insistence upon constitutional rights within the empire."[20] It was not uncommon to view this "message" of the play as the realization of a development within Schiller's dramas which finally culminated in his "classical works": "The effort of individual fanatics or revolutionaries to overthrow all law and order in attaining an imaginary freedom [in Schiller's early dramas] has become in *Tell* the uprising of a whole brave and patient people to defend and preserve their real liberty from the attacks of foreign tyrants."[21] The distaste for fanatical revolutionaries betokens a conservative view of social change. But the specific historical causes of the "development" noted above generally were not treated. Eventually, then, even notions of liberty and national union, as concretely as they may be manifested in given political and economic institutions, became "*abstractly stated* the theme of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell.*"[22] Attention did not focus on the unique concretizations of polity suggested by the play, whether they be the conservative charter of the Forest Cantons urging *unmittelbare Reichsangehörigkeit,* or the patriarchal bureaucracy of Schiller's Weimar, or the *Kleinstaaterei* of larger Germany during Schiller's time. Instead, the play's individuality became secondary to its perceived "universality." Its "message" was instrumentalized:

> Here is heard the outcry of a whole century battling for the restitution[!] of popular freedom and lawful government. And with it there mingle the voices of other ages and other countries, the voices of the old Germanic freeholders, of medieval burghers, of Luther, of Hampden, and of the minute-men of Lexington.[23]

To be sure, the play was criticized for failing to meet the standards of the classical unities.[24] Occasionally its characterization was considered

weak, and almost always the final act was viewed as superfluous. But as Kuno Francke suggested, "who would not rather silence these and similar objections, and give himself up with undivided heart to reverent delight in this immortal apotheosis of lawful freedom?"[25] "Lawful freedom" is representative of an attitude toward democracy that occurred again and again in discussions of *Tell* and German classicism by scholars of American *Germanistik* around the turn of the century. It reflects a conservative assimilation of the "revolutionary" Tell, an assimilation which played down the revolutionary aspects of the work while trumpeting the patriotic sentiment behind it. Tell was viewed not at all as a revolutionary, but as a patriot. It was only logical that there should follow an association of *Tell* with the American Revolution. But revolution per se was not prized; it was qualified to conform to the prevailing reverence of the status quo. The interpretation of *Tell* in this context was expressed by W. W. Florer, who saw the "essential theme" of the play as "no longer the greatest possible freedom of the individual within the state, but the capability of the people to defend itself, yea to govern itself within certain bounds. The history of the United States certainly must have made a definite impression upon Schiller."[26]

This "American analogy" paramount in *Tell*-interpretations between 1895-1905 represents a significant shift from the earlier view of *Tell* within American *Germanistik*. The Oehlschlager edition of *Tell* in 1854 noted that

> in truth there are but few productions of genius which give so faithful a picture of what they pretend to delineate: for whether on the mountain top, on the stormy lake, or in the narrow defile, not a word is uttered, not a sound is heard, that could destroy the illusion; whoever has seen a good performance of Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* has been in Switzerland.[27]

In 1879 Boyesen experienced the play much as a mountain idyll: "It is like a breath of fresh Alpine air flowing into our faces." Boyesen also praised its embodiment of the artistic ideals of classical antiquity, noting the "Heroditian simplicity and singleness of character in the *dramatis personae*," and the "local idioms and Homeric phrases," exclaiming then: "It is all so vivid, so real, so marvelously convincing."[28] And Hosmer spoke of being "charmed back into the age and country."[29] What these remarks reveal is the idealistic tradition which made the play "real" for critics of much of the nineteenth century. Regarded largely as a mountain idyll, "genteel" critics were able to visualize in the play a utopia which corresponded to what they perceived as "reality." This "drawing-room" perspective of the play considered "local idioms and Homeric phrases" to be qualities of mimetic verisimilitude. While this attitude is still discernable around 1900, it is uncontestably overshadowed by sentiments of American patriotism, instilled by an era of widespread maneuvers toward colonization, which formed a tangible but differently motivated psycho-link to *Tell*.

At the same time it should be noted that the association of *Tell* with the American context was only an analogous one. The immediate connection was of course to Germany. Schiller and Tell were made the

heralds of German unification, and this rendition typifies the *nationales Wunschdenken* predominant in Germany between 1835 and 1883. A politicized view of literary history created this national myth to prepare the way, both culturally and politically, for Germany's unification. The closer the goal came, however, the more the true contours of the epoch blurred.[30]

The need to mythologize Schiller as a national hero began to dissipate after unification.[31] Calvin Thomas welcomed the depolitization of Goethe and Schiller as it took hold during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. He defused the political implications of *Tell* altogether:

> The effect of the play does not, after all, depend mainly upon its vindication of any political doctrine. We are nowhere in the region of abstraction. The sympathy that one feels for the insurgents is in no sort political, but purely human; it is of the same kind that one might feel for a community of Hindu ryots in their efforts to rid themselves of a man-eating tiger. Only in the play this sympathy is very much intensified by the picturesque lovableness of the afflicted population.[32]

Curiously, Thomas insisted on using the term "insurgents" even while denying all polity within the play. His response to the work was empathetic. This liaison to the work bridged the historical gulf between past and present and, in its search for "the effect of the play," subordinated historical considerations. Since politics were banned from the play, there could be no real treatment of history, no solution to the problems which the play does indeed pose. The work became instead a vehicle for cathartic relief. In this connection, Thomas' sources are worth noting. He deferred to August Friedrich Christian Vilmar's work to dispel "the unreason that men could once be guilty of through their habit of regarding Schiller as a political poet." Vilmar, "whose history of German literature enjoyed popularity half a century ago" (Thomas), wrote about German national literature for the middle classes in a popularized manner. His *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalliteratur* (1843) was reissued repeatedly in the following seventy years. A Protestant theologian, Vilmar portrayed German language and literature in its historical development in order to disclose the essence of the German *Volksseele*. He explained that his basic approach was—and the similarity to Thomas' views is evident—"die Sachen selbst in ihrer Wahrheit und Einfachheit zu den Gemütern Unbefangener reden zu lassen."[33]

One point of contention within the play is the death of a political figure. An examination of the responses to this scene in *Tell* will allow for further elaboration on the specific nature of its reception by American *Germanistik*.

Preoccupied with the *genius loci* of the play, most American commentary on *Tell* prior to the 1890s failed to see Geßler's death as problematic; the sequence of events was simply narrated. The nuances of Boyesen's interpretation in 1879, however, situate him at a turning point in *Tell*-commentary. He wrote:

> As far as the conspirators of the Rütli are concerned, it is purely accident that Tell kills Geßler, thereby freeing his country from its

> oppressor. Tell was not present at the Rütli, and in his soliloquy before the slaying repeatedly emphasizes the idea that it is the necessity of protecting himself, his wife, and his children which forces him to take the law into his own hands. The fact that Tell has knowledge of the conspiracy, and is in sympathy with it, is hardly an adequate solution of the problem; it indicates an identity of interests, but not a logical sequence of coherent events.[34]

Underlying Boyesen's interpretation is the notion of *Selbsthilfe,* which dissociates Tell, as Boyesen observed, from the Rütli "conspiracy." On the one hand, the differentiation of Tell and the Rütli group harkens back to a criticism of the "illogical sequence" of these "coherent events." The liberalism of the *Vormärz,* exemplified by Ludwig Börne, reacted strongly against this segregation of "political" action from personal revenge. For Börne, Tell's aloofness and *Philosophie der Schwäche* (Börne's interpretation of Tell's statement: "Der Starke ist am mächtigsten allein") make Tell not a hero, but a philistine.[35] In the fourth edition of his *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur seit Lessing* (1858), where he remained critical of German classicism's *Weltfremdheit,* Julian Schmidt responded similarly: "Was nutzt der nur aus individuellen Verhältnissen hervorgegangenen That des Tell, daß sie nebenbei auch im allgemeinen Interesse geschieht? Sittlich wird dadurch nichts geändert, und außerdem kann im Drama dies Interesse nicht deutlich gemacht werden." For the still liberal-minded Schmidt, Tell's killing of Geßler remained "immer ein Mord," unworthy of praise or admiration.[36] In 1876, Hettner's interpretation offered a compromise: He agreed with Börne et al., that the mode of assassination was unbecoming, but the scene with Parricida was viewed as exculpatory.[37]

After 1880, however, a new strategy of justification evolved. In Scherer's influential history, for example, Tell is portrayed as eminently guiltless, as an exemplum of the man of few words and much action. The literary histories and textbook editions of the play from American *Germanistik* between 1890 and 1905 shared this response. For Wells (1895), Tell was "a type of natural independence."[38] Francke (1896) still wished "that some nobler way had been found for Tell to strike his blow against Geßler than from out of an ambush," but, in contrast both to Börne and the early Julian Schmidt, he categorically dismissed the possibility of Tell rebelling against the "tyrant on the village green of Altorf immediately following Geßler's savage attack against Tell's paternal feeling."[39] Francke's esteem for the "lawful freedom" of the play militated against viewing Tell as a rebel. After the time when Schiller's *Tell* was regarded as the drama of national unity *par excellence* and as healthful pabulum for the people, when Tell's deed was celebrated as the *primum mobile* of freedom, this new strategy of justification shifted the focus from political concerns. In 1901, Thomas diagnosed "a reversion to primitive conditions in which 'man stands over against man' . . . Tell does what he must do. . . . His conduct is not noble or heroic, but natural and right."[40] Thomas' appeal to a context of "pre-civilization" where people deal according to what is "natural and right" insisted on unambiguous clarity at the most

fundamental level. The suggestion that Tell perpetrated murder was thus anathema. Deering wrote in the introduction to his edition of the play that "Tell is no coward, no assassin; he merely planned his attack in a manner certain to succeed." Here Deering made Tell appear to be the level-headed pragmatist, but in his notes to the text he reinforced the idea that "Tell's shot must be justified as righteous self-defense, lest it appear as murder."[41] This addendum clearly assigns the deed a different and more significant dimension. Tell's act is seen as the expression of righteousness, the symbol of a larger transcendent approval, and as such beyond reproach: "The provocation of Tell's deed is his own defense, he needs no further justification."[42] The problem of the individual committing a socially offensible act—not only Geßler's inhumane treatment of Tell and his son, but Tell's questionable *modus operandi* of revenge as well—was no longer considered. While the interpretations extol Tell's act, they belie a predilection of the liberal humanist. Whereas Börne (and even Boyesen) regarded the disjunctive motivations of Tell and the Rütli entourage as an inappropriate response to oppression, the interpretations of American *Germanistik* between 1890-1905 preferred to magnify and exalt the isolation of Tell. The discontinuity of plots was viewed only as a formal problem, as a failure to conform to the classical unities. For the pragmatic American mind, the play became a portrayal of "the suffering and the termination of it through sturdy self-help."[43] Regard for the status quo, for the original idyllic quietude, pre-structured the interpretive framework. The work's status within the tradition of *Germanistik* as a prime component of the canon did not accommodate controversy, and the myth held intact.

Tell was seen to require "no further justification" for his assassination of Geßler because the "lawful freedom" resulting from his actions was associated with the American context of justifiable "revolution" and exemplary democracy. Interpretations of *Tell,* more pronounced as the nineteenth century drew to a close, aligned with the prevailing conservative esteem for the status quo. They read, in fact, as much like a justification of the Monroe Doctrine and inalienable right to self-determination as a defense of the Swiss Cantons' desire for *unmittelbare Reichsangehörigkeit.*

University of Houston
Houston, Texas

Notes

[1] See *Erläuterungen und Dokumente: Friedrich Schiller/*Wilhelm Tell, ed. Josef Schmidt (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1969), p. 94.

[2] Heinz Tischer, *Schillers* Wilhelm Tell. *Anmerkungen über eine kritische Behandlung im Unterricht* (Hollfeld: Beyer, 1973), pp. 11-12.

[3] Starr W. Cutting, "The Teaching of German Literature in High Schools and Academies," *School Review,* 19 (1911), 219. For a detailed discussion of the reception of German classicism, see R. Spuler, *"Germanistik" in America: The Reception of German Classicism, 1870-1905* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag H. D. Heinz, 1982).

[4] Julius Goebel, "A Proposed Curriculum of German Reading," *Modern Language Notes,* 1 (1887), 12.

[5] Henry Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences 1600-1900* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 680, note 41. For the reception of *Tell* in American magazines up to 1880 see the bibliographies in the studies of S. H. Goodnight, "German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846," *Bulletin of the Univ. of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series,* 4 (1908), 1-264; and M. H. Haertel, "German Literature in American Magazines: 1846-1880," *Bulletin of the Univ. of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series,* 4 (1908), 265-452. Pochmann (p. 355) lists the performances of the play between 1804 and 1840. A positivistic account of Schiller's reception through 1859 is given by E. C. Parry in *German American Annals,* NS 3 (1905).

These source materials would provide the starting point for what could be a continuation of the analysis carried out in this essay: namely an examination of the editorial commentary that accompanied the play in the many small and larger towns across the nation where *Wilhelm Tell* was performed again and again.

[6] J. C. Oehlschlager, ed., *Wilhelm Tell,* 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: Weik, 1854), p. iii.

[7] (Boston: Heath, 1895), p. iii.

[8] Arthur Palmer, ed., *Wilhelm Tell* (New York: Holt, 1906), p. iv.

[9] Palmer, p. xxv.

[10] F. Steuber, "When and How to Teach Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* in the High Schools," *Monatshefte,* 10 (1909), 101-02.

[11] (New York: Merrill, 1905), p. 17.

[12] Taylor, *Studies in German Literature* (New York: Putnam, 1879), p. 296.

[13] Thomas, *The Life and Works of Friedrich Schiller* (New York: Holt, 1901), p. 405.

[14] Daniel B. Shumway, "Schiller's Message to the Twentieth Century," *German American Annals,* NS 3 (1905), 195, 199.

[15] Carruth, ed., *Wilhelm Tell* (New York: Macmillan, 1902), p. xxvi.

[16] Carruth, "Schiller and America," *German American Annals,* NS 4 (1906), 146.

[17] J. K. Hosmer, *A Short History of German Literature,* 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Jones, 1879), p. 458.

[18] Hochdoerfer, *Studies in German Literature* (Chautauqua, NY: Chautauqua Press, 1904), p. 188.

[19] Palmer, p. xii.

[20] Carruth, ed., *Wilhelm Tell,* p. xxxv.

[21] Robert Deering, ed., *Wilhelm Tell* (Boston: Heath, 1895), p. xxxix.

[22] Palmer, p. xxvii; italics added.

[23] Kuno Francke, *Social Forces in German Literature: A Study in the History of Civilization* (New York: Holt, 1896), p. 397.

[24] Much of this sort of criticism appears indebted to Carlyle's remarks that the fifth act is an "inferior animation" and that in terms of the play as a whole "a certain want of unity [is its] sole . . . deficiency." See his *Life of Friedrich Schiller* (1825; rpt. New York: Crowell, n.d.), p. 183.

[25] Francke, pp. 394-95.

[26] Florer, "Schiller's Conception of Liberty and the Spirit of '76," *German American Annals,* NS 4 (1906), 111.

[27] Oehlschlager, p. iv.

[28] Boyesen, *Goethe and Schiller: Their Lives and Works* (New York: Scribner, 1879), pp. 417f.

[29] Hosmer, p. 460.

[30] See Klaus L. Berghahn, "Von Weimar nach Versailles. Zur Entstehung der Klassik-Legende im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Die Klassik-Legende,* eds. Reinhold Grimm and Jost Hermand (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1971), p. 75.

[31] See Berghahn, *passim.*

[32] Thomas, p. 413.

[33] Vilmar, quoted in *Germanistik und deutsche Nation,* ed. Jörg J. Müller (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1974), p. 236.

[34] Boyesen, pp. 415-16.

[35] In *Erläuterungen und Dokumente,* pp. 98-99. It should be noted that even in Börne's virulent harangue against the play, *Tell* "bleibt aber doch eines der besten Schauspiele, das die Deutschen haben," p. 99.

[36] (Leipzig: Herbig, 1858), p. 506.

[37] Hettner, *Goethe und Schiller,* 3rd rev. ed. (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1876), pp. 325-26.
[38] *Modern German Literature* (Boston: Roberts, 1895), p. 285.
[39] Francke, p. 395.
[40] Thomas, p. 419.
[41] Deering (1895), p. xxxciii and p. 228.
[42] Deering, p. xxxciii.
[43] Thomas, p. 410.

William D. Keel

On the *Heimatbestimmung* of the Ellis County (Kansas) Volga-German Dialects[1]

Beginning in 1875, large numbers of German Catholics from Russia settled on land purchased from the Kansas Pacific Railroad in Ellis County, Kansas.[2] They came from farming villages established in the 1760s along the Volga River at the invitation of Catherine the Great. The names of their new villages in Kansas reflected those of their Russian origin: Katharinenstadt, Herzog, Schoenchen, Pfeifer, Obermonjou, Liebenthal.[3] To this day each village prides itself on its German heritage, maintained in foreign environments for over two hundred years.

The German dialects taken to Russia in the eighteenth century by the forebears of these Kansans were preserved and passed down from generation to generation until the 1940s. The designation of English as the sole language of classroom instruction in the aftermath of the First World War took its toll.[4] The children of the 1920s, who spoke German dialects as their first language, found the transition to English in the classroom to be a bitter struggle. They were determined to give their children a better start. Thus the generation of the 1940s was taught English in the home. The Volga-German dialects of Kansas now face certain extinction.

This study is the search for a linguistic homeland—a *Heimatbestimmung*—for the dialects still spoken in the villages of Ellis County. Such a *Heimatbestimmung* should not be construed to mean that we will determine the points of origin for the ancestors of these Kansas-Germans in the German homeland. Rather, it is essentially a linguistic description of the Ellis County dialects in terms of the characteristics which distinguish the continental West Germanic dialects. The result will be a place on the German dialect map for these colonial dialects. The *Heimatbestimmung* is simply an initial step in unwinding the more involved development of these dialects. A more complete study will have to consider such factors as the immigration records both to Russia and to Kansas, the establishment of *Mutterkolonien* and subsequent *Tochterkolonien* along the Volga, as well as the numerous social influences which certainly played a major role in shaping the dialects as we find them today.[5]

The dialects spoken in Ellis County have often been simply described by the village name, e.g., Munjor dialect, Catherine dialect.[6] In some studies the

German Settlements in Kansas and the

Volga-German Villages in Ellis County

dialects are claimed to have their origins in Bavaria, the Lower Rhine, East France, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse, the Rhenish Palatinate, the Upper Palatinate, Swabia, Nürnberg, or simply southwest Germany.[7] Much of the evidence used in arriving at these conclusions was fragmentary, hearsay or mere speculation. A rigorous study of these dialects is therefore long overdue.

Data for our study were collected over a two-year period (1979-81) in direct, tape-recorded interviews with some sixty native informants in the original villages as well as in Hays, Kansas. The basis for each interview was a list of forty sentences in English based on the Wenker sentences utilized in German dialectology for one hundred years.[8] Longer sentences were divided into short phrases to facilitate the actual interview. The use of English often meant the loss of a particular vocabulary item in the original German of the Wenker sentences, but we found that there was no overall loss of data, rather an increase in the variety. English was used in the interviews for two very practical reasons: Few of the informants knew Standard German and for those who did the tendency to give the "correct" form, i.e., instead of the dialect form to give the High German equivalent, was a definite problem. The use of the original German sentences would have confused the majority of the informants and encouraged those who knew Standard German to avoid the dialect word.

Phonetic transcriptions of these recorded interviews were then compared with the results of similar research in Central Europe. The published materials of *Der Deutsche Sprachatlas, Der Deutsche Wortatlas* as well as the numerous individual dialect studies such as those by Schirmunski and Wiesinger were essential to our efforts.[9] We were also able to compare our results with the findings of studies conducted during the 1910s and 1920s on the Volga-German dialects in Russia and Germany. Von Unwerth interviewed Russian-German prisoners of war in a Westphalian camp during 1917.[10] On the basis of his interviews, using the Wenker sentences, he described three dialects from the Volga region: 1) Upper-Hessian (Spessart/Vogelsberg), 2) Hessian-Palatine (Worms/Odenwald), 3) West Palatine (Zweibrücken). Dinges, a Volga-German linguist at the University of Saratov, concurred in Von Unwerth's description of the three above-mentioned dialects on the Volga and added four more dialects to the list based on his own research in the Volga colonies: 4) South Hessian (Taunus/Aschaffenburg/Darmstadt), 5) East Middle German, 6) East Low German, and 7) the city dialect (*Stadtmundart*) of Katharinenstadt.[11] For the four West Middle German dialects Dinges offered a set of key words to help identify the dialects:

Upper Hessian: *broudər* 'brother,' *fɛst* 'firm,' *flāʃ* 'meat.'
Hessian-Palatine: *fɛʃt* 'firm,' *gəbrɔxə* 'broken.'
West Palatine: *fɛʃt* 'firm,' *gəbrɔx* 'broken,' *haus* 'house.'
South Hessian: *fɛst* 'firm,' *brūdr* 'brother,' *frtsēlt* 'told.'

Schirmunski concentrated his research efforts on the Black Sea Germans, but also discussed Dinges' findings. Schirmunski expounded the theory that some of the so-called South Hessian dialects were the products of developments in the Volga colonies which paralleled developments in the South Hessian dialect area. These dialects were thus not brought by colonists from Germany to the Volga, but derived via dialect mixture and leveling as occurred immediately to the south of Frankfurt in Germany. Schirmunski labels such dialects New Hessian.[12]

Sample sentences from the Ellis County dialects, based on the Wenker sentences:

Sentence 4. — 'The good, old man broke through the ice with his horse and fell into the cold water.'

Obermonjou:	dr gūdə aldə man is in ais gəbrɔxə mit dem gaul in kald vasr
Pfeifer:	dr ald man is durçn ais gəbrɔxə mit san gaul un ins kaldə vasr gʃtɛrtst
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	dr gūdə aldə man is durç dn ais gəbrɔxə mit dn gaul un is in kaldə vasr nai gfalə
Herzog:	dr gūdə aldə man is durçn ais gəbrɔx mitsamt sin gaul un in kaldə vasr gfal
Katharinenstadt:	dr gūdə aldə man is durçs ais gəbrɔxə mit saim fērt un is ins kaldə vasr gfalə

Sentence 11. — 'I'm going to hit you over the head with a wooden spoon, you monkey.'

Obermonjou:	iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp midəm hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Pfeifer:	iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp mit dn hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	iç ʃlag dir ibr ən kɔp mit nəm hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Herzog:	iç ʃlag dir ibr dn kɔp mitn hɛltsənə lɛfəl du af
Katharinenstadt:	iç ʃlag dir inəm kɔp mitnəm hɛltsərnə lɛfəl du af

Sentence 19. — 'Who stole my basket of meat?'

Obermonjou:	var hat man kɔrb gʃtōlə mit man flaiʃ
Pfeifer:	vɛr hat man bæskət uv flāʃ gʃtōlə
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	vɛr hat man kɔrb mit flaiʃ gərapt
Herzog:	vɛr hat ma kɔrb mit flaiʃ gʃtōl
Katharinenstadt:	vɛr hat mai kɔrb flaiʃ gʃtōlə

Sentence 24. — 'When we got home last night, the others were already in bed and were fast asleep.'

Obermonjou:	vi mr tsərik san kumə hun di andərə ins bɛt gəlēgən un gūd gʃlōfə
Pfeifer:	vi mr tsərik san kumə gɛstərn hun si alə gəlēgən in bɛt un alə gʃlōfə
Schoenchen/ Liebenthal:	vi mr tsərik san kumə varən di andərə ʃōn im bɛt un hun gʃlōfə
Herzog:	vi mr tsərik sin kum han si in bɛt gəlēn un fɛst gʃlōf
Katharinenstadt:	vi mr tsərik sin kumə gɛstərn ovənd di andərə varə ins bɛt un habə fɛst gʃlāfə

Sentence 26. 'Behind our house there are three beautiful apple trees with little red apples.'

Obermonjou: hiniç unsrə haus san drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glānə rōdə ɛbəljə
Pfeifer: hin unsəm haus san ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit ʃēnə rōdə ɛbəl
Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: hinər unsrə haus san drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glānə rōdə ɛbəl
Herzog: hiniç unsrə haus sin drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēm mit glēnə rōdə ɛbəl
Katharinenstadt: hintər unsər haus sin drai ʃēnə ɛbəlbēim mit ʃēnə rōdə ɛbəljə

Sentence 40. 'I drove with the people across the meadow and into the grain field.'

Obermonjou: iç san mit di lait durç di ʃtɛp gfarə inə grīn fɛl
Pfeifer: iç san mit dn lait ibr pastər gfarə ins vātsfɛld
Schoenchen/
Liebenthal: iç san mit di lait ibrn pastər gfarə nai ins vātsland
Herzog: iç sin mit də lɔit ibrs fɛld gfar nibr in vētsfɛld
Katharinenstadt: iç bin mit di lɔit durçs fɛld gfarə un ins grīnə fudər

In what follows, we will make a step-by-step analysis of the Ellis County dialects in order to determine their probable linguistic origins. From the sample sentences one can readily determine that none of the dialects exhibits radically different forms. However, there are variations in lexical material as well as some striking phonetic differences. For instance, the occurrence of *fērt* vs. *gaul* 'horse' in sentence four; the distinction between *gʃtōl* vs. *gʃtōlə* 'stolen' in sentence nineteen; the vowel in *gʃlāfə* vs. *gʃlōfə* 'slept' in sentence twenty-four; or the vowel in *glānə* vs. *glēnə* 'small' in sentence twenty-six.[13]

Map (1) indicates the major isoglosses of the West Middle German (WMG) dialect area in Central Europe. It is clear that all of the Ellis County dialects find their origin in WMG territory. Why can we make this claim? First, the Ellis County dialects all exhibit the shift of West Germanic intervocalic voiceless stops to fricatives (*k, t, p* > *x/ç, s, f,*) as well as the shift of West Germanic *t* to *ts* in most other environments. Thus the dialects must originate south of line (1) on the map (Köln-Kassel), which delineates Middle German dialects to the south from Low German dialects to the north. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs. Low German	
iç	*ik*	'I'
maxə	*makə*	'to make'
vasr	*vatr*	'water'
tsait	*tīd*	'time'
kāfə	*kōpə*	'to buy'

Second, our dialects do not exhibit the Upper German shift of West Germanic *p* to *pf* in such words as *Apfel* 'apple' and *Pfund* 'pound.' Nor do we find the East Middle German reflex of word-initial West Germanic *p* realized as *f,* e.g., *funt*

Map 1. The West Middle German Area.

'pound,' except in the Katharinenstadt dialect. (By the end of our discussion it will be clear that the Katharinenstadt dialect is also a WMG dialect, although it has undergone a different development.) The Ellis County dialects must be located to the north and west of line (2) (Speyer-Kassel), which separates WMG to the northwest from Upper German to the south and East Middle German to the east. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects/ Katharinenstadt	vs.	Upper German/East Middle German	
ɛbəl		*apfəl*	'apple'
kɔp		*kɔpf*	'head'
punt/funt		*pfunt/funt*	'pound'
pɛfr/fɛfr		*pfɛfr/fɛfr*	'pepper'

Other evidence which supports the WMG area over South or Southwest Germany as the general linguistic homeland for these Kansas-German dialects includes the following: 1) Unstressed *ch* [ç] is retained in pronominal forms such as *ich* 'I,' *mich* 'me,' *dich* 'you, sg.,' *euch* 'you, pl.,' and *sich* 'third person reflexive.' This characteristic excludes most of the Upper German dialects including all of Bavarian, Swabian, and Swiss German as well as substantial portions of East Franconian and Alsacian.[14] 2) The formation of the diminutive is based on the typically WMG suffix *-chə/-jə* (the latter involving slight voicing or lenition). The distinctive plural form of this suffix often occurs as *-chər/-jər* as in *ʃēfjər* 'little sheep'; many times, however, the plural sounds identical to the singular as in *fēgəljə* 'little bird(s)' or *ɛbəljə* 'little apple(s).' The form *ʃdigəljə* 'little story' evidences the double ending common to words ending in *g/k* in the WMG area near and to the north of the Main River. The diminutive ending points directly to the Palatinate and the South Hessian area as a potential linguistic homeland for these dialects.[15] 3) The differentiation in the loss of the reduced vowel ə in the prefix *ge-* of past participles in these Ellis County dialects also points to the South Hessian area and the Palatinate. Reduced ə is typically lost before spirants, e.g., *gfarə* 'driven,' *gʃlōfə* 'slept,' or *gsāt* 'said.' The vowel of the prefix is retained before stops and sonorants, e.g., *gəbrɔxə* 'broken,' *gədū* 'done,' or *gəlāfə* 'run.' This characteristic separates our dialects from the majority of Hessian dialects north of the Main River as well as the Lower Alsacian, South and East Franconian dialects bordering the WMG area to the south.[16]

An important isogloss also eliminates the northwestern part of the WMG area from consideration. This is indicated as line (3) on the map (just SE of Koblenz). The Ellis County dialects would be located to the south of this line in the Rhenish Franconian area, not in the Middle Franconian territory to the north. Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs. Middle Franconian	
vas	*vat*	'what'
das	*dat*	'that'
uf	*up*	'on'
dɔrf	*dɔrp*	'village'

Further, the southwest (Lothringian) and the northeast (North or Low Hessian) of the Rhenish Franconian area do not exhibit the New High German diphthongs (*au, ai [ɔi]*) as reflexes of the Middle High German long high vowels (*û, î, iu*) as do the Ellis County dialects (see map [1], line [4]). Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs. Lothringian/North Hessian	
haus	*hūs*	'house'
haisər	*hīsər*	'houses'
lait	*līt*	'people'
baisə	*bīsə*	'to bite'

The salient feature of the Hessian dialects north of Frankfurt (Central or Upper Hessian), the so-called *gestürzte* 'toppled' diphthongs (*ou, ei, oi* as reflexes of MHG *uo, ie, üe*), is also lacking in the Ellis County dialects which exhibit the regular long monophthongs *ū, ī, ī* (the latter also an example of the

widespread unrounding of front rounded vowels in Middle and Upper German). Examples:

Ellis County Dialects	vs. Central Hessian	
gp̄ud	*goud*	'good'
brūdr	*brourər*	'brother'
līb	*leib*	'dear'
mīd	*moid*	'tired'
kp̄ı	*koi*	'cows'

Map 2. Possible linguistic homelands for the Ellis County dialects: 1) South Hessian, 2) Hessian-Palatine, 3) West Palatine.

What remains as a possible linguistic homeland for our dialects is the Rhenish Franconian dialect area from Zweibrücken to Frankfurt. Since we can assume that the Ellis County dialects all represent dialects that left speakers behind on the Volga and since we can compare our findings with those of von Unwerth, Dinges, and Schirmunski, the Ellis County dialects (except that of Katharinenstadt) are limited to three possible linguistic homelands: 1) South Hessian, 2) Hessian-Palatine, 3) West Palatine (see map [2]).

Many vocabulary items in the Ellis County dialects support this general location as well. Examples: *kɔpvē* 'headache,' *laibvē* 'stomachache,' *pɛtr* 'Godfather,' *gōt/gēt* 'Godmother,' *dɔxtərman* 'son-in-law,' *hingəl* 'chicken.' An apparent exception to this general rule is *ʃnɛrç* 'daughter-in-law,' which is today found in isolation in the extreme west of the WMG area. In this case the Ellis County dialects reflect their two-hundred-year isolation from developments in the home country and retain the historically older form rather than replace it with a version of Standard German *Schwiegertochter.*

Of the three possibilities listed above as potential linguistic homelands for the Ellis County dialects (South Hessian, Hessian-Palatine, West Palatine), Hessian-Palatine and West Palatine would at first glance seem to be excluded because of the characteristic palatalization of *s* in words such as *fɛʃt* 'firm' in the two dialects (see map [1], line [5]). None of the Ellis County dialects exhibits this feature. We would appear now to have reduced the possibilities to one, South Hessian. Indeed, South Hessian was found to be rather common on the Volga.[17] Certainly the village dialects of Obermonjou, Schoenchen, Liebenthal and Pfeifer would have no problem being classified as South Hessian dialects. The dialect of Herzog, however, while not palatalizing *s* in *fɛst,* evidences at least three major features which isolate it from the other villages and perhaps from South Hessian. 1) The Herzog dialect typically has *ē*/ɛ as the reflex of MHG *ei;* the other villages have *ā.* Examples:

Herzog Dialect	vs. Rest of Ellis County	
hɛm	*hām*	'home'
vēts	*vāts*	'wheat'
glēn	*glān*	'small'
sēf	*sāf*	'soap'

2) In Herzog the past participles of strong verbs have no ending; in the other dialects we find only the loss of final *n* with ə retained. Examples:

Herzog Dialect	vs. Rest of Ellis County	
gʃlōf	*gʃlōfə*	'slept'
kum	*kumə*	'come'
gfun	*gfunə*	'found'
gəbrɔx	*gəbrɔxə*	'broken'

3) The past participle of the verb *sein* 'to be' in the Herzog dialect is *gəvēn* 'been' as opposed to *gəvɛst* in the others. All three of these characteristics could support the classification of the Herzog dialect as a West Palatine dialect, quite distinct from the village dialects to the south (Obermonjou, Schoenchen, Liebenthal and Pfeifer) and that of Katharinenstadt to the north.[18]

What can we conclude about the dialect of Katharinenstadt? We know several important facts. Colloquially, the dialect of Katharinenstadt is said to be

closer to *Hochdeutsch.* The vocabulary of Katharinenstadt often exhibits lexical items not used in the other dialects which may reflect more influence from the written language, e.g., *fert* instead of *gaul* 'horse,' or *bin* instead of *sin/san* '(I) am.' Another influence from the written language is undoubtedly the pronunciation of such words as *boum* instead of *bām* 'tree,' *glain* instead of *glēn/glān* 'small,' *habə* instead of *hun/han* '(they) have,' or *gʃlāfə* instead of *gʃlōf/gʃlōfə* 'slept.' We also know that the dialect of Katharinenstadt (later Marxstadt) on the Volga defied classification.[19] Dinges labeled it a Middle German city dialect (*Stadtmundart*). It is really no surprise that the dialect of Katharinenstadt in Ellis County reflects the linguistic situation of its namesake on the Volga.

We have thus arrived at a three-way classification of the Ellis County dialects: 1) Katharinenstadt dialect as a WMG *Stadtmundart,* 2) Herzog dialect as a possible West Palatine dialect, and 3) South Hessian dialects in Obermonjou, Pfeifer, Schoenchen and Liebenthal. As was noted earlier, this is by no means a definitive statement regarding the historical origins of the speakers in these villages. Much work also remains to be done in a thorough historical/comparative analysis of these dialects. We have simply classified these Kansas-German dialects with respect to German dialects in general. We have conclusively shown that most of the speculation concerning the dialects spoken in Ellis County was apparently based on insufficient evidence. All too often, a linguistic feature of these dialects, taken in isolation, might point to an origin in another dialect area, e.g., *dɔxtərman* 'son-in-law' would support a Swabian origin as well as a Palatine or a South Hessian. This type of reasoning has perhaps led many to conclude that the dialects are either mixtures of several dialects or have their primary origins outside of the Zweibrücken-Frankfurt area. We are confident that the phonetic and lexical evidence confirms our findings.

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

Notes

[1] This study was partially supported by a grant from the General Research Fund of the University of Kansas. We would also like to acknowledge the support and assistance of many residents of Ellis County, especially that of Lawrence Weigel, Donald Giebler, and Leo Dorzweiler. The assistance of Ilse Vogel-Shire in conducting the interviews was indispensable.

[2] See especially Norman E. Saul, "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly,* 40 (1974), 38-62.

[3] See J[ustice] Neale Carman, *Foreign-Language Units of Kansas: I. Historical Atlas and Statistics* (Lawrence: Univ. of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 72-73.

[4] See Frederick C. Luebke, "Legal Restrictions on Foreign Languages in the Great Plains States, 1917-1923," in *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains,* ed. Paul Schach (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 1-19.

[5] The nature of the *Heimatbestimmung* is discussed in Georg Dinges, "Zur Erforschung der wolgadeutschen Mundarten," *Teuthonista,* 1 (1924), 299-313; Werner Veith, "Pennsylvania Deutsch: Ein Beitrag zur Entstehung von Siedlungsmundarten," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung,* 35 (1968), 254-83; Viktor Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift,* 18 (1930), 113-12 and 177-88, and Viktor Schirmunski, "Deutsche Mundarten an der Newa. II," *Teuthonista,* 3 (1926/27), 153-65.

[6] La Vern J. Rippley, "Zur sprachlichen Situation der Rußlanddeutschen in den USA," in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten: Teil I, Der Mittelwesten,* Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee, Vol. IV, ed. Leopold Auburger, Heinz Kloss, and Heinz Rupp (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. 214.

[7] Gerald L. Denning, "A Linguistic Identification for Kansas Volga German," *Kansas Working Papers in Linguistics*, 2 (1977), 182-87; Glenn G. Gilbert, "The German Language in Ellis County, Kansas," *Heritage of Kansas*, 9 (1976), 8-16; Erich A. Albrecht, "Deutsche Sprache in Kansas," in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten: Teil I, Der Mittelwesten*, p. 165; Rev. Alvin V. Werth, *Our Ancestors' Quest for Freedom Realized in Schoenchen Kansas* (Hays: Schoenchen Centennial Committee, 1979), p. 68.

[8] For a discussion of these sentences see Walther Mitzka, *Handbuch zum Deutschen Sprachatlas* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1952), pp. 1-27.

[9] Ferdinand Wrede, Bernhard Martin, and Walther Mitzka, eds., *Deutscher Sprachatlas* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag; 1926 ff.); Walther Mitzka and Ludwig Erich Schmitt, eds., *Deutscher Wortatlas* (Gießen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1951 ff.); Viktor M. Schirmunski, *Deutsche Mundartkunde*, tr. Wolfgang Fleischer (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1962); Peter Wiesinger, *Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen zur Vokalentwicklung in den deutschen Dialekten*, Studia Linguistica Germanica, No. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1970); Peter Wiesinger, "Die Stellung der Dialekte Hessens im Mitteldeutschen," in *Sprache und Brauchtum: Bernhard Martin zum 90. Geburtstag*, Deutsche Dialektographie, Vol. 100, ed. Reiner Hildebrandt and Hans Friebertshäuser (Marburg: N. G. Elwert Verlag, 1980), pp. 68-148.

[10] Wolf von Unwerth, *Proben deutschrussischer Mundarten aus den Wolgakolonien und dem Gouvernement Cherson*, Abhandlungen der preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Jahrgang 1918, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, No. 11 (Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1918).

[11] Dinges, "Zur Erforschung . . .," pp. 312-13. See also Georg Dinges, "Über unsere Mundarten," in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde des deutschen Wolgagebiets* (Pokrowsk: n.p., 1923), pp. 60-71.

[12] Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte . . .," p. 122.

[13] For the transcription of dialect forms a phonetic orthography has been used, omitting some of the detail of a close phonetic transcription. Vowel length is indicated by a "-" above the vowel.

[14] Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 448-53.

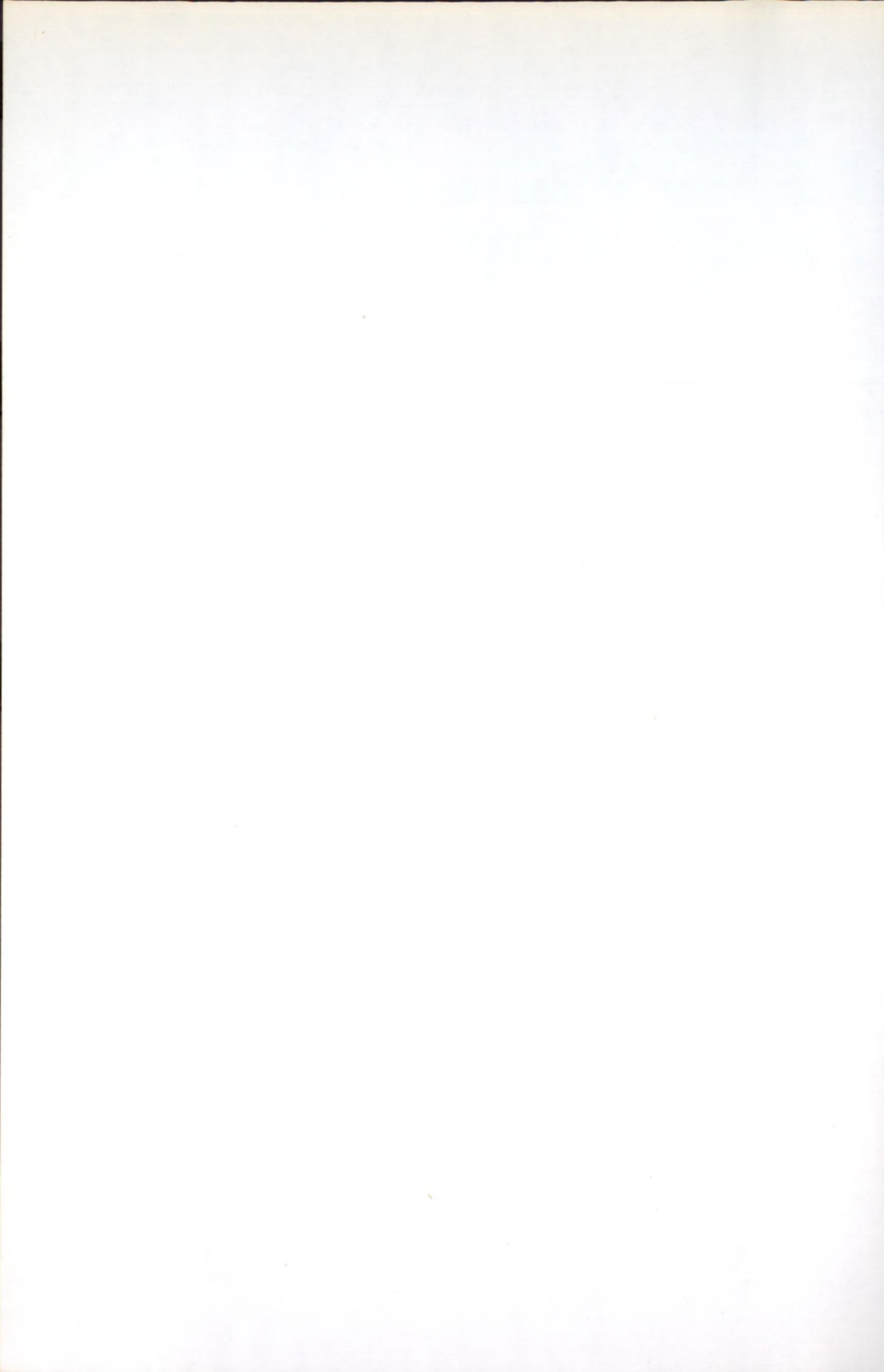
[15] Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 479-80.

[16] Schirmunski, "*Deutsche Mundartkunde*," pp. 166-70.

[17] Dinges, "Zur Erforschung . . .," p. 312.

[18] See Wiesinger, *Phonetisch-phonologische Untersuchungen . . .," II, 156-72; Schirmunski, Deutsche Mundartkunde*, pp. 389, 516; von Unwerth, pp. 65, 67, 68. While the classification of the Herzog dialect as West Palatine is a tentative one, it is also supported by non-linguistic evidence, namely several of the Herzog families trace their origin to the vicinity of Zweibrücken.

[19] Dinges, "Über unsere Mundarten," p. 71.



Robert H. Buchheit

Language Maintenance and Shift among Mennonites in South-Central Kansas

The issue of language maintenance versus language shift has traditionally been a major concern for Mennonites due to their frequency of migration from one language and cultural area to another. An illustration of its importance can be seen in an article in the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* entitled "Language Problem" which discusses the serious problems caused by language transition.[1] On the one hand, maintaining the language of the mother country has aided the Mennonites in their separation from the surrounding culture and strengthened their sense of nonconformity to the world, which is a major tenet of the Mennonite faith. On the other hand, however, some disadvantages to maintaining the mother tongue are evident as well. According to Harold S. Bender, one of the editors of the *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* maintaining the German language in the United States has prevented a program of active evangelism and outreach within the church and has imposed a necessary system of private or parochial schools.[2] The former is supported by a number of Mennonite pastors who welcomed the shift from German to English, so that they could evangelize and reach out to non-Mennonite groups. The latter, however, appears to overstate the case since private schools were established and maintained primarily for religious training and not for language instruction. The overstatement most probably resulted because the Mennonites, like most Germans from Russia, identified religious worship and training very closely with the German language. Furthermore, there have often been serious problems of internal adjustment between generations within the same household as well as between factions within the Mennonite Church. Liberals have advocated the abandonment of the mother tongue since if it has to go anyway, the sooner the better. Conservative groups, on the other hand, have attempted to maintain the mother tongue such as German by making claims of higher spiritual values for the mother tongue and of forfeiture of group principles and even faith in God in the case of the surrender of the mother tongue.[3] Of the various occurrences

of language shift in Mennonite history and the problems that resulted, the most controversial and noteworthy shift occurred in West Prussia in the eighteenth century as the Mennonites shifted from Dutch to German in church services. The change from colloquial Dutch to Low German occurred first and reportedly went rather smoothly. In the churches, however, there was much resistance to the introduction of standard German to replace standard Dutch. The first German sermon in 1762 was apparently not warmly welcomed by the congregation. A second sermon in German five years later was better received, and by the 1770s pastors regularly preached in German always interspersing many Dutch words into their German for the sake of understanding.[4]

The shift from German to English in the United States in the twentieth century has, unlike the above, proceeded more smoothly and with less controversy. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, one finds several instances of Mennonite scholars and professional organizations calling for maintenance of the German language in churches as well as in the homes.[5] By the 1930s, however, it had apparently become obvious to most Mennonites that the shift to English was inevitable and unavoidable since one finds little written in defense of language maintenance, and church congregations had already begun to introduce English into the services on a regular basis. The conflict resulting from the identification of religious worship with the German language was apparently resolved when the retention of the young people and evangelism and outreach programs were given priority over the preservation of the mother tongue. In short, the Mennonites came to the realization that religious principles were not language specific. They also realized that the training in standard German, which the young people had been receiving in German schools, was insufficient for them to understand the German sermons and the scriptural readings. Furthermore, if they intended to broaden their appeal beyond the Mennonite circles in an attempt to increase church membership, they would need to shift to the dominant language which was English. Unfortunately, the local German dialects, although still spoken almost exclusively in the home and in social intercourse, did not provide them with much learning support in their study of standard German. In fact, the dialects were most often viewed as an obstacle rather than an asset in learning and maintaining standard German.[6]

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of language maintenance and shift patterns among six Mennonite groups in south-central Kansas. The geographical area of interest includes the following five counties: Marion, McPherson, Harvey, Reno, and Butler. These make up the main Mennonite district of Kansas. The division into six groups corresponds to the major German dialects spoken by the Mennonites of Kansas and include the following: 1) the Low German speakers from the Molotschna Colony in South Russia, the Crimea, and the Ostrog and Karlswalde areas of Volhynia; 2) the "Swiss" or Volhynian Mennonites; 3) the West Prussian Mennonites; 4) the Swiss Mennonites from the Canton of Bern; 5) the Amish; and 6) the Pennsylvania Germans from the eastern states. The latter two groups

have been listed separately because of major differences between them even though their dialects are basically the same.

Before one begins the actual discussion of language maintenance and language shift among the various Mennonite groups, it is necessary and helpful to define the terms used in this paper. As Sandra Kipp has noted in her recent work on language maintenance and shift in some rural settlements near Melbourne, Australia, Joshua Fishman used the terms language shift and language maintenance in 1966 as self-explanatory terms without a clear definition of either term.[7] She proceeded to define the terms in a manner which is also useful for this paper. She defines "language shift" as the "replacement of one language (L 1) by another (L 2) in all domains of usage, resulting in the loss of function of L 1."[8] Language shift will be used in this paper synonymously with "language transition" and will likewise refer to the process of shift rather than the accomplished fact. Language transition has been employed more often than language shift to describe the change from standard German to English in church services such as in the Missouri Synod of the Lutheran Church.[9] Kipp defines "language maintenance," on the other hand, as the "retention of L 1 in one or more spheres of usage, either together with or in place of L 2."[10] In the case of the Mennonites in south-central Kansas, German (L 1) has been retained together with English (L 2) but hardly ever in place of it.

The first and largest group of German-speaking Mennonites to be considered is the Low German group. They are to be found in nearly all the counties mentioned except for Butler. The majority of this group came from the Molotschna Colony in South Russia in 1874 and the years following while smaller groups came from the Crimea in Russia and Volhynia Province in Poland at about the same time. Their main areas of concentration are in the Hillsboro, Goessel, Lehigh, Buhler, Inman, and Newton, Kansas, areas. Their linguistic roots go back to West Prussia in the eighteenth century where they abandoned Dutch in favor of standard German and Low German. Their ethnic roots can be traced to sixteenth-century Holland which they left because of religious persecution.

A second group of Low German-speaking immigrants came from Karlswalde, Antonofka, and Ostrog, Volhynia, and settled in the Hillsboro, Newton, and Moundridge areas. Those who settled Lone Tree Township of McPherson County are often referred to as the Holdeman Mennonites or the Poles. They, like the Mennonites from the Molotschna, trace their linguistic roots to West Prussia for their Low German dialect and standard German. Some subtle differences exist in the pronunciation and lexicon of the various Low German dialects but they are for the most part mutually intelligible.

A second subgroup is the one from the Crimea which originated from the Molotschna Colony in southern Russia. There are fewer linguistic differences between the Low German of this group and that of the Molotschna Colony.

The church congregations within the Low German-speaking communities maintained standard German for the most part well into the

1940s and some as late as the 1950s. English services were introduced either during World War I or during the 1920s. The 1930s served as a transition period during which services were either bilingual or with some other arrangement such as German every third Sunday or once per month. During the 1940s German was used sparingly during the services as most congregations prepared for the final stages of the shift. In the Brudertal Church north and east of Hillsboro, the Tabor Church near Goessel, the Mennonite Brethren Church in Hillsboro, and the Zion Church near Inman there still were occasional services in German in the late 1940s and early 1950s. Those congregations which were on the fringe of the Mennonite district, which were not homogeneous, or which had a schism or internal problems within the congregation, shifted to English earlier than those who were ethnically, linguistically, and religiously homogeneous in the composition of their congregations. The transitions varied greatly in Sunday school due to the type of classes held. Those for young people tended to shift to English early in the 1920s or early 1930s while those for older people tended to maintain German well into the 1950s and longer. The summer schools in German likewise disappeared for the most part in the 1920s, but some continued as late as the 1940s since their reason for existence was primarily for German instruction and once the shift occurred, there was no longer a need for them. At Tabor College in Hillsboro instruction in German for religion courses was apparently continued well into the 1950s while the language of general communication was already English.[11] Neale Carman attributes some of this to the fact that Hillsboro is the Mennonite Brethren Church headquarters and that Canadian Mennonites of Russian-German descent have influenced the continued use of German as well.[12] Of the three largest church conferences the Mennonite Brethren Church appears to have resisted the shift from standard German to English the best, although in terms of religious conservatism, the Holdeman Church is more conservative than the Mennonite Brethren. Carman's contention that conservatism in religion has some relation to conservatism in language is partially supported by the evidence gathered in south-central Kansas.[13] The General Conference Mennonites, who are considered the most liberal, abandoned the use of standard German in church services earlier than the Mennonite Brethren and the Holdemans. In the case of the Mennonite Brethren and the Holdeman Church, however, the correlation between conservatism in church doctrine and language retention is less positive because of the Canadian Mennonite influence and the increased emphasis on German language instruction in the Mennonite Brethren schools. The Holdeman Church had no such outside influence, nor did they place great emphasis on German instruction in the schools.

With respect to the shift of the Low German dialects to English, there is again no correlation between conservatism in religion and the maintenance of the dialects. Carman in his book, *Foreign Language Units in Kansas,* rated the Goessel and Hillsboro areas and the area north of Moundridge as "super" in importance and estimated the "critical year" to be 1935.[14] At another point, however, he estimated that the critical

year for the Goessel area was as late as 1950.[15] He also noted that the Holdeman Mennonites north of Moundridge were teaching their children Low German as late as the early 1950s which compares well with the critical year given. Carman attributes their unusual language loyalty to the fact that they were disapproved of by other Mennonites and that they also adhered to a stricter church doctrine which resulted in further isolation.[16]

The second major group of Mennonites in south-central Kansas is the "Swiss" or Volhynian Mennonites. In the case of either Swiss or Volhynian the label refers to their ethnic or geographical and not their linguistic heritage. They began their migration in the seventeenth century from Switzerland and they settled first in Montbeliard, France, and the Palatinate of southern Germany before they went via Austria to their new home in Kotosufka, Poland, in the province of Volhynia. In 1874 they immigrated to the United States and settled in Moundridge, Pretty Prairie, and Kingman, Kansas. Their dialect is not Swiss German, as is popularly believed, but a Palatine dialect which they adopted while in the Rheinpfalz.

Standard German generally was retained until the 1940s for church services with the transition period occurring during the 1930s. 1935 marks the year of bilingual services. The schools such as the one at the Eden Church used standard German until 1917 after which time its use became negligible for the preservation of the language.[17] Sunday school classes, on the other hand, were conducted in German until the 1950s, and one informant remarked in the summer of 1981 that some German is still used in the classes for the elderly. However, the young people had long since shifted to English as they were unable to understand the sermons in standard German. Carman attributes this to the fact that people of various backgrounds lived in Moundridge and the young people married outside of their community at an earlier date than in other Mennonite communities.[18]

Compared to standard German the dialects of the Volhynian Mennonites were fostered much better than standard German. In 1950, for example, those born in the early 1920s preferred the dialect to English in social intercourse. Those born in 1930 knew some German but had difficulty with standard German because of the differences between dialect and standard language. As late as the summer of 1981 this writer found several men and women in their eighties and nineties who would rather speak the dialect than English. With the speakers of the next generation, however, one can already notice a decline in fluency and some impoverishment in the lexicon. The young people who are two generations removed can still understand the dialect but are unable to produce any utterances themselves. Carman estimated that the critical years for German in Moundridge and Pretty Prairie were 1935 and 1937 respectively.[19] Generally this seems to compare well with the Low German speakers, except for the Goessel area where he estimated the critical year to be 1950.

The third group is the West Prussian Mennonites who immigrated directly to the Elbing-Whitewater area of Butler County in 1876. Since

they did not experience the sojourn in Russia or Poland as did the other Mennonites, they came to the United States with different attitudes toward language. They generally preferred standard German to Low German unless they were dealing with household servants. Therefore, when they came to Kansas and Nebraska, they spoke primarily standard German with a few forms of Low German mixed in their speech. This reflects a change of attitude toward Low German of the Mennonites who remained in West Prussia until the late nineteenth century. While the second-generation Mennonites from Russia and Poland are generally proud of their Low German and attempt to foster it whenever possible, the second-generation West Prussian Mennonites were discouraged from speaking Low German and some were even forbidden to speak it at home. One finds similar linguistic situations among the sister group near Beatrice, Nebraska. They have preserved the standard German very well and many of those in their fifties and sixties still speak it even today with one another. Except for a few borrowings from Low German in their standard German, e.g., *er ji k* for *er ging* 'he went,' the dialect has already been lost. According to second-generation informants the shift from standard German to English in church services occurred approximately twenty years ago, which is probably an optimistic appraisal since the informants were speaking from memory and not from church records. Their reasons for shifting to English were the same as those of the other groups, namely, for the sake of the young people and so that the church could broaden its appeal.

The fourth group for consideration is the Swiss Mennonites from Canton Bern in the Whitewater area of Butler County. Unlike the so-called Swiss Mennonites in Moundridge, both the ethnic/geographical and the linguistic roots of this group are Swiss. They were a small group of fifteen to twenty families who settled in Butler County in the 1870s and 1880s. Being small in number and isolated linguistically among Low German-speaking neighbors, they shifted from standard German in church and their Swiss dialect to English much earlier than the other groups. Currently one finds very little retention of either standard German or the dialect among individuals of this group even if they are in their seventies and both the husband and the wife spoke the dialect in their youth. In fact, neither of the informants interviewed in 1981 could remember when they had last spoken the dialect.

The most conservative of all the Mennonites both in religious issues and language preservation are the Amish. The first Amish settlers came to Kansas during the 1880s from other states such as Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Pennsylvania and settled for the most part in Reno County near Hutchinson, Kansas. In the first years after their arrival in Kansas, they were a rather homogeneous group adhering strictly to the austere and simple life of nonconformity and pacifism. Today, however, there are at least two distinct groups of Amish in south-central Kansas. The more conservative branch known as the Old Order Amish or House Amish is located near Yoder and Partridge, Kansas, southeast of Hutchinson. Their mode of transportation is still the horse and buggy, and they have no electricity in their homes. It is interesting to note,

however, that they appear to be using more modern agricultural equipment and are not totally dependent on their horses as draft animals. According to the local bishop, they do not have a formal meeting place for church services, but meet every other Sunday in the house of one of the members, hence the label "House Amish." On alternate Sundays they apparently worship privately in their own homes. The language used in church service is a combination of Bible German and Pennsylvania German with some English loanwords as needed. They appear to have great difficulty with standard German, especially in conversation. This is primarily due to the fact that standard German is not taught in the local schools, nor do the Amish have their own schools as in Iowa and other states. The Amish children attend the regular public schools where the language of instruction is English. At home, however, they continue to speak Pennsylvania German almost exclusively. Their successful language maintenance can be attributed primarily to two factors: 1) the Amish continue to live in small closed and rural communities where they and Old Mennonites are clearly in the majority; 2) there are three generations living on nearly every farm. Although the grandparents usually live apart from the children and grandchildren in their own dwelling, they still interact with them daily and have assumed the responsibility for teaching the grandchildren Pennsylvania German. One grandfather remarked that he had noted some impoverishment of the dialect and influence from English in the speech of one of his grandsons, but when questioned about specifics, he was unable to provide any examples. The bishop admitted that English loanwords were becoming rather frequent in their worship services, especially in those contexts where they lacked a German word.

A second group of Amish is the so-called Beachy Amish, who have sometimes been described as one generation removed from Old Order Amish and who received their name from a theology professor whose teachings they adopted. One finds this group mainly in the Partridge area southwest of Hutchinson, Kansas. Being more liberal than the Old Order Amish, they have modern farm equipment, cars, and electricity. Linguistically they also speak Pennsylvania German among themselves, although it is evident that the young people are speaking more English and less Pennsylvania German. In church service they shifted from standard German to English during the late 1950s. The children are still essentially bilingual although an analysis of recent tape recordings indicates considerable impoverishment in the lexicon and extensive borrowing from English. In one case of two young adults in their late teens, from two different families, for example, they had considerable difficulty counting from one to twenty-one in Pennsylvania German as well as expressing themselves about objects and events from their immediate world around them. The father indicated that his family was speaking less Pennsylvania German since they had adopted two Spanish-speaking boys in 1977. So far the boys have not learned Pennsylvania German, but the father indicated that he did wish to teach them the dialect.

When comparing the two Amish groups, the evidence gathered thus far suggests that Pennsylvania German has been better maintained

among the Old Order Amish than among the Beachy Amish. The early shift to English for church services and the outreach program would suggest further that they, too, have resolved the conflict resulting from the identification of religion with the German language.

The last group of Mennonites to be treated is the Pennsylvania Germans who were more liberal than the Amish in religious matters, but who likewise immigrated to Kansas from the eastern states. Some known as Old Mennonites came as early as 1869, 1870, and 1871 and settled in Marion, Harvey, and McPherson Counties. Little is known about them except that some of them appear to have been the least loyal to German of all the groups discussed in this article. In the case of one Old Mennonite Church in Marion County, for example, the transition apparently occurred as early as 1900. Another group of Pennsylvania Germans in McPherson County made the shift some time between 1915 and 1938.[20] The late continuance of German in the latter case was attributed to solid German-speaking surroundings.[21] A third group arrived near Meridian in 1873 and was converted to the teachings of David Holdeman. The fact that the congregation was made up of speakers of Pennsylvania German and Low German apparently had an unsettling influence on the Pennsylvania German, and it caused this group to apparently abandon German in early twentieth century.[22] A fourth group founded an Old Mennonite Congregation near Hesston, Kansas, in 1878. According to personal accounts of individuals traveling in this area in early twentieth century, German was no longer in use by 1912.[23] A final group of Pennsylvania Germans are those in Yoder, Kansas, who are neighbors to the Amish. The older folks are, by their own estimation, still fluent speakers of the dialect and use it in their daily communication with the Amish. Some Old Mennonites have apparently intermarried with the Amish and have a close working relationship with them.

The general picture that one receives concerning the Pennsylvania Germans in south-central Kansas is that many of them shifted from German to English within thirty or forty years after they arrived in Kansas. This is true for not only standard German but their Pennsylvania German dialect as well. The one exception appears to be the Old Mennonites in Yoder who have received language maintenance support from the Amish.

From the preceding remarks about the six Mennonite groups one can draw the following tentative conclusions concerning the maintenance and shift of the German language among Mennonites in south-central Kansas: First, a comparison of the information gathered here with the research done on language maintenance and shift among other German-speaking groups and religious denominations on the Great Plains indicates that the Mennonites were only slightly more successful in maintaining standard German than, for instance, the Missouri Synod Lutherans.[24] Despite what Heinz Kloss calls the religio-societal insulation and pre-immigration efforts at "quality maintenance," which should have enhanced the maintenance of standard German, the matter of maintenance versus shift was viewed by educated Mennonites as a

language problem which should be solved as quickly as possible.[25] During the 1930s it became increasingly evident to church administrators that religion could survive even if the German language did not. This realization resulted in a language shift which began in the late 1920s and was completed in the late 1940s. A comparison of figures shows that at best this was only five to ten years longer than for the Missouri Synod Lutherans.

A second conclusion to be drawn is that the eventual shift from standard German to English in church probably resulted not so much from the anti-war hysteria of World War I as it did from a decision by the church congregations and conferences. Their motivation for doing so was to keep the youth in the church congregations and to broaden the appeal of the Mennonite church for evangelistic work. By 1930 it became obvious that the young people were not receiving enough training from the German schools, if they still existed, in order for them to understand the sermons and the scriptures. Secondly, for some of the churches such as that in Burrton, membership could be increased only by switching to the dominant language with the hope of enticing the spouses and friends to attend the Mennonite church.

A third conclusion is that the Mennonite dialects have been maintained longer and better than the dialects of other German-speaking groups on the Great Plains. From the data gathered so far it appears that the Mennonite dialects survived at least a generation longer and in the case of the Amish, two or three generations longer. Kloss appears to be on target when he says that withdrawal from the world, the building of a self-sufficient society of their own and the shutting themselves off from the dominant cultural and linguistic trends contributed greatly to the maintenance of the dialects.[26]

Fourth, the dialects of the Russian-German Mennonites have survived longer and are in better condition than those of the Mennonites from western Europe or the eastern states. Whenever the Russian-German Mennonites settled near the Pennsylvania Germans or the Swiss Germans, for example, the dialects of the former predominated while those of the latter were abandoned rather early in the twentieth century. The Mennonites from Russia were not only numerically superior, but they were also accustomed to living as a linguistic, cultural, and religious minority and surviving.

Fifth, if one were to rank the individual groups according to the amount of dialect or colloquial speech still spoken today the Amish would rank at the top of the list followed by the West Prussian Mennonites, the Low German-speaking Mennonites, and the Volhynian Mennonites. If, however, one were to rank them according to the quality of maintenance, i.e., resistance to linguistic acculturation and petrifaction, then the West Prussian Mennonites would probably rank higher than the Amish on the list. The former speak a colloquial form of German which is quite close to standard German. By means of formal instruction and extensive reading, they have managed to maintain their colloquial German at such a level that there is little impoverishment of vocabulary or restriction of function. The Amish, on the other hand,

having for the most part only the Bible as a written text, give evidence of extensive linguistic acculturation, particularly in the form of English loanwords. Heinz Kloss also reported a case of extreme petrifaction of the written language among the Amish in the United States as a result of isolation from the mother country.[27]

Sixth, if one examines the present condition of the dialects and the frequency with which they are spoken, it is possible to project a timetable for their disappearance. In another generation most of the dialects, except for Pennsylvania German, spoken by Mennonites in south-central Kansas will exist only as a substrata to English. There are currently isolated linguistic pockets of individual speakers who are attempting to maintain their dialects by promoting dialect use in social intercourse, but the dialects have already lost the function as a medium for group communication. The Pennsylvania German of the Old Order Amish in Kansas will most probably survive for at least another generation despite the degree of linguistic acculturation, petrifaction, and the number of English loanwords. One of the major reasons for its continued survival is the rate of use in the home and in church services. In both cases the older Amish insist on the exclusive use of German and take personal responsibility for teaching the children and grandchildren the dialect at home. The Beachy Amish, on the other hand, are currently in the state of transition. The shift to English will be essentially complete in another generation. Unlike their more conservative brothers, they no longer insist on the exclusive use of dialect, and the children consequently have difficulty in expressing themselves about even such topics as their immediate environment and current events. For linguists this is an opportunity to examine the actual process of shifting to English which occurred among most of the other German-American groups some thirty or forty years ago.

The Old Order Amish will be at a tremendous disadvantage in their fight to maintain their dialect. They are not only resisting a trend of linguistic acculturation which began a century ago, and which has brought about the demise of most immigrant languages in the United States, but they will also be trying to accomplish it with limited resources. They continue to transmit the dialect orally from one generation to the next without any instructional aids or written texts. Without the aid of written texts or the infusion of immigrants into these communities for linguistic renewal, it will be only a matter of time until the young people will no longer be able to use the dialect for necessary communication, nor will they be able to participate in the worship services. This will most probably result in a decision to shift to English for church services as the Beachy Amish did in the late 1950s. Once a shift in worship has occurred, the natural tendency will be to shift from the dialect to English as well. Thus far the church leaders have considered the language as important as the religious principles themselves, but once they decide that the principles are more important, the shift to English will occur very rapidly on all levels of communication. The fate of the dialect is tied directly to the language policy of the church.

In another generation the German dialects of the Mennonites will be rarely spoken and then only by individuals who have made an extraordinary effort to preserve them. For the Russian-German Mennonites the shift will be somewhat ironic since it appears that the United States without government pressure, except for the levying of taxes for establishing English-speaking schools, has accomplished more in the last century to produce language shift than Russia was able to do in the same amount of time from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries.[28]

Morningside College
Sioux City, Iowa

Notes

[1] Harold S. Bender, III, 290-92.

[2] Ibid., pp. 290-91.

[3] Ibid., p. 291. See also Walter H. Hohmann, "Transition in Worship," *Mennonite Life,* 1 (1946), 8.

[4] Hohmann, p. 8.

[5] J. John Friesen, *Die Deutsche Sprache und ihre Bedeutung* (Freeman: Pine Hill Printing, 1926), p. 38; Edmund George Kaufman, "Social Problems of Mennonites," Thesis Bluffton College 1917, p. 91; H. P. Peters, "History and Development of Education among the Mennonites in Kansas," Master's Thesis Tabor College 1925, p. 199.

[6] *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* III, 291; Peters, p. 198.

[7] "German Language Maintenance and Language Shift in Some Rural Settlements," *ITL: Review for Applied Linguistics,* 49-50 (1979), 52.

[8] Kipp, p. 52.

[9] Paul T. Dietz, "The Transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod from 1910 to 1947," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly,* 22, No. 3 (1949), 99-127.

[10] P. 53.

[11] J. Neale Carman, "Language Transition Among Kansas Mennonites," an unpublished paper, Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas, p. 7.

[12] Ibid., p. 6.

[13] Ibid., p. 4.

[14] Vol. I (Lawrence: The Univ. of Kansas Press, 1962), pp. 189, 193. Carman defines "critical year" as one in which a community stopped using German in the majority of homes where there were growing children (p. 2).

[15] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 9.

[16] Ibid., p. 13.

[17] Ibid., p. 15.

[18] Ibid., p. 15.

[19] *Foreign Language Units,* pp. 189, 247.

[20] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 12.

[21] Ibid., p. 12.

[22] Ibid., p. 13.

[23] Ibid., p. 20.

[24] For the transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod see Paul T. Dietz, pp. 99-127.

[25] "German-American Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States,* ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), pp. 206, 209.

[26] Ibid., p. 206.

[27] "German Folklore in America: A Discussion," *The German Language in America: A Symposium,* ed. and introd. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin: Univ. of Texas Press, 1971), p. 159.

[28] Carman, "Language Transition," p. 25.

Werner Enninger
Karl-Heinz Wandt

Pennsylvania German in the Context of an Old Order Amish Settlement: The Structural Instability of a Functionally Stable Variety

1. Subject, assumptions, definitions

This paper deals with the relationship between the structure and the function of Pennsylvania German in the language ecology of a speech community or repertoire community as defined by Gumperz and Kloss.[1] More specifically, it focuses on the relationship between the functional (in)stability of that variety on the one hand, and its structural (in)stability on the other.

The term "function" as it will be used here differs from its use in Martinet's[2] theory of language change, in which "function" is conceived of as the relationship of one linguistic item to other linguistic items. Our use is as follows: (1) "Function" is defined as the relationship between one set of elements of one kind and one set of elements of another kind, i.e., as a relationship between a set of linguistic elements and a set of language external factors. This set of language external factors is roughly equivalent to what Haugen called "the ecology of language."[3] (2) The term "function" is not applied to the micro-level of linguistic features and individual language external factors, but rather to the macro-level of linguistic repertoires with their varieties and their relationships to clusters of social categories and to clusters of unalterable natural "givens," such as climate, soil, and regional populations. (3) The relationships between the linguistic varieties and the extralinguistic social and natural factors can be interpreted as vectors, varying with regard to their direction: A can influence B, B can influence A, and A and B can mutually influence each other. The case under investigation leads us to use the term "function" with a bias, insofar as it implies the notion that the descriptive results can be adequately interpreted even when the relationship is seen as a predominantly unidirectional vector: The language characteristics, i.e., the structure, of a group's linguistic

repertoire with its varieties are to a large degree a function of the language external factors of the social and natural environment of the repertoire. The language characteristics of an individual are, in turn, to a large degree a function of that individual's adaption to his/her relevant environment: family, neighborhood, region, etc.[4] That is, we subscribe to the priority of function over structure.

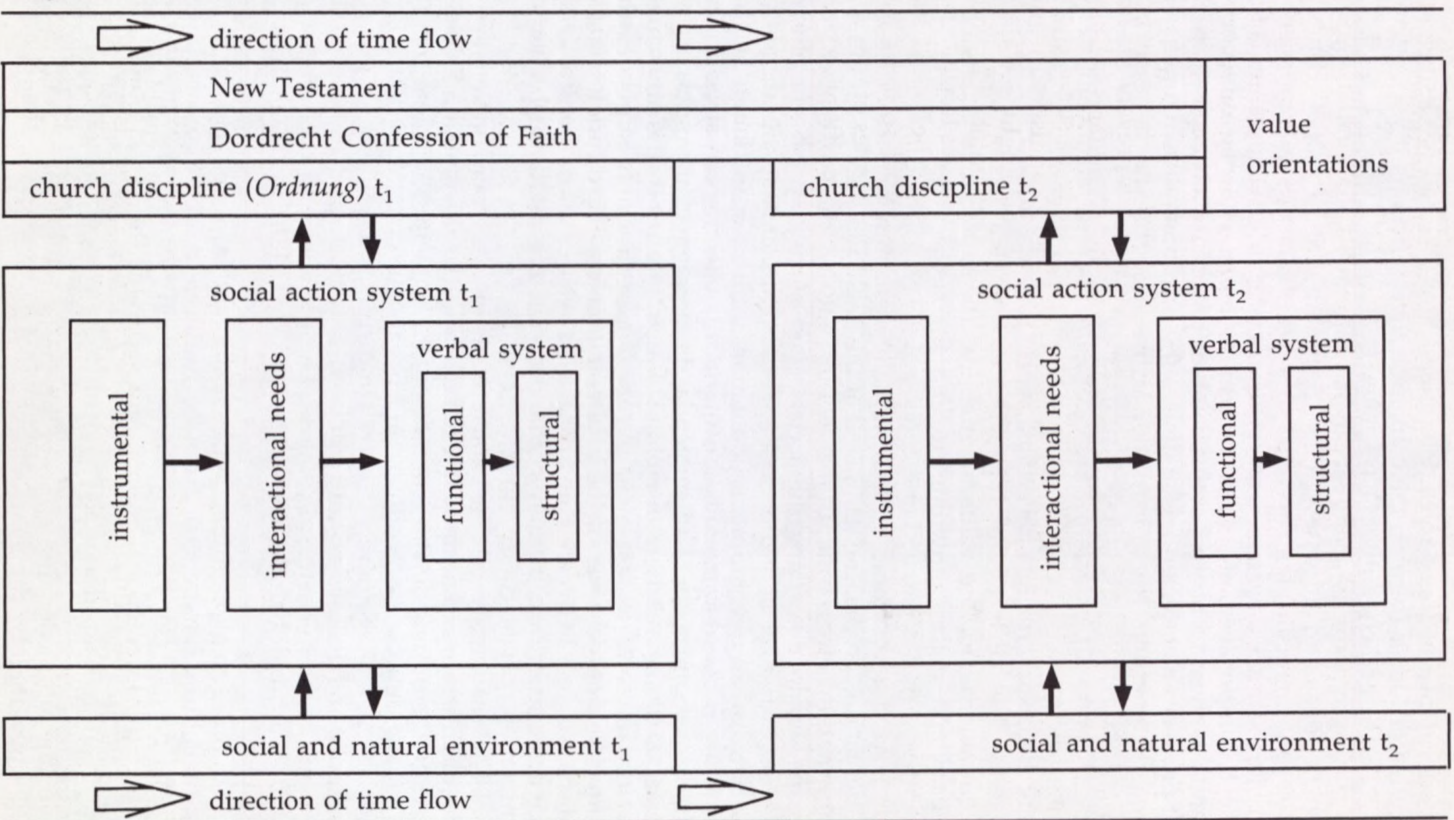
> . . . man is a social animal and the structure of language is determined and maintained by its use in society, self-expression by means of language in particular is very largely controlled by socially imposed and socially recognized norms of behaviour and categorization.[5]

Only a careful reading of the above quotation can prevent the false conclusion that social structure directly determines language structure, and the equally false conclusion that the magnitude of social change directly determines the magnitude of changes in the linguistic structure. Embedding Lyons' statement into role theory one might say that a society imposes recognized norms on the instrumental and verbal behavior of its members and may stipulate expectations as to which role must be realized in which verbal style. In this way the verbal style assumes the status of a role attribute. In monolingual societies such stylistic expectations can be seen to be attached to the roles of the judge and the defendant, the examiner and the examinee, the officiating priest as the agent of the institution "church" and the clients of the same institution. The role does not count as played unless it is performed in the appropriate style, i.e., with the appropriate role attribute. The role attribute is thus modeled as the interface between social structure and modalities of verbal behavior. In multilingual societies such stylistic expectations may extend to the choice of the variety that is appropriate for certain roles or role bundles. As long as a society stipulates that certain roles need to be played in certain varieties, these varieties remain functional in certain domains, and they remain a component of the linguistic repertoire. However, this does not imply that such a variety remains of necessity structurally stable. On the contrary, functional stability of a variety may be bought at the price of structural change of the old instrument as it is flexibly adjusted to novel communicative needs. Pennsylvania German among the Old Order Amish (OOA) appears to be a case in point.

2. Goal and heuristic model

This paper seeks to show that the structural changes which Pennsylvania German among the OOA has undergone in the last 250 years are not indicators of a lamentable structural decomposition of the "pure" original under the "corruptive" conditions of a language-contact situation, but rather that the changes are indicators of a successful attempt of a speech community to adjust flexibly a societally indispensible variety to changing communicative needs. The basic hypothesis is as follows: The institutionalization of PG as an attribute of a certain set of roles has guaranteed that PG has somehow remained functional in the social action system. The type of communicative needs for the effective

Diagram 1: Heuristic model of relevant ecological factors



performance of these roles determined how PG had to change structurally in order to fulfill the communicative functions it was assigned.

As the present authors have stated in an earlier paper,[6] it is assumed that this hypothesis—before it can be subjected to quantitative measurement—needs to be assessed in an attempt (a) to model assumedly relevant linguistic elements and extralinguistic factors as components of a sign-ecological system, and (b) to discover interrelationships among such components, and (c) to determine tentatively their directionality and weighting. The goal of this heuristic procedure has been achieved if it produces a better understanding of the phenomenon, an understanding that permits the construction of more sophisticated research designs, hopefully of a quantitative nature.

Diagram (1) reflects the basic components and relationships of the heuristic model. For space reasons, the ''value orientation'' cell of the etic heuristic grid has been filled with OOA specific, i.e., emic, value tables. The direction of time flow is from left to right. The basic components are the value orientations, the unalterable givens of the social and natural environment and the social action system. Their relationship is construed in the following way: The social action system at t_1 is the resultant of the mutually determining factors of value orientations on the one hand, and of the unalterable givens of the social and natural environment on the other. Ideally, the value orientations alone would determine the social action system, yet the unalterable givens of the social and natural environment (climate, soil, urban/rural setting, urban development, population, infrastructure, language acculturation pressures) may be in disharmony with the value orientations. In the case of the OOA this potential discrepancy is taken care of in the local *Ordnung* 'church discipline' which interprets the unchanging values of the New Testament and the Dordrecht Confession of Faith in the changing contexts of the unalterable givens. In the event that the discrepancies between the unchanging values and the unalterable givens cannot or can no longer be reconciled, individual or even total migration may be the response (cf. below).

The assumedly relevant constituents of the social action system require further attention. With reference to the unchanging values on the one hand and to the environmental givens on the other, the local *Ordnung* defines the positively and negatively sanctioned interactional realms such as the family, the church district, the settlement, parochial schools, the fellowship and affiliated churches, and the permissible realms of the mainstream contacts. These realms and their obligatory/optional/forbidden roles constitute what we call the instrumental action system.

In order to explain functional stability and structural change from a socio-cultural perspective, we need to derive the concept of ''interactional needs'' from the instrumental action system. Basically it determines the interactional realms, and separates the interactional needs from the non-needs. Consequently, we define the interactional needs as the set of all interactional interests of the individuals of the community plus the interactional interests of the community as such, as far as they are sanctioned by the value tables.

The next constituent, i.e., the linguistic system, is related to the above constituents as follows. The role system does not only attract expectations as to what the incumbent of a certain role has to do, but also expectations as to how the incumbent of a certain role has to be and as to how he has to perform a certain role. The latter expectations are role attributes such as sex, age, marital status, qualifications, appearance, posture, and linguistic modalities. Unless the relevant role attribute expectations are met, the behavior does not count as the performance of the role. As was stated above, in the case of multilingual speech communities the role attribute expectations may extend to the choice of the appropriate variety. That is, the role system may determine in which interactional domains and roles a variety is functional, and in which it is not. If such expectations are part of the role system, they determine the functional distribution of varieties over the role bundles of interactional domains. The resultant distribution of varieties over roles is complementary, and the choice of one over the other by an interactant is meaningful socio-culturally. If such expectations are not part of the role system, the distribution of varieties is equivalent. In their quality as role attributes, the varieties are free variants of each other. Socio-culturally, the choice of one over the other is meaningless. In this case the varieties are not anchored in the social action system. At best, their use is governed by habits or customs, not, however, by mores. The constituent "functional linguistic system" reflects these assumptions in our heuristic model.

The last constituent, i.e., the "structural linguistic system," reflects the following assumptions. Each role to be played effectively has connected to it certain communicative requirements. Some roles, as, for example, that of the salesman, require a wide range of verbal and persuasive skills; the role of an auctioneer requires an extreme tempo of delivery; the role of the deacon in an OOA church service requires the skill of reading out the stipulated sections from the Bible. In a multilingual community that stipulates which role must be performed in which variety, this very functional distribution may have long-range consequences for the structure of the varieties. In order to function as the role attribute of a certain set of roles, one variety may only be available in those language skills that are needed for the appropriate performance of these roles; another variety may have to expand structurally; a third variety which is usually used in formal roles may develop all the signs of a formal and standard variety. In those bilingual communities in which variety expectations are not part of the role system, and in which—consequently—the distribution of varieties over roles is equivalent, the structural distinctness of the varieties is dysfunctional on the synchronic plane. Diachronically, the principle of least effort may lead to a preference and maintenance of that variety whose structural elaboration permits the playing of the greatest number of roles; as a rule, this should be the standard variety of the mainstream culture.

The social action system t_2 in the linguistic model differs from the t_1 system only insofar as it is constituted in the interplay of the value

orientations and the unalterable givens of the social and natural environment plus the experiential input of t_1.

3. The case: Pennsylvania German in the context of an Old Order Amish settlement

In order to assess the validity of the assumptions in section one and of the heuristic value of the model suggested in section two, the concepts of the sign-ecological paradigm were applied to what we assume to be an exemplary case of a sign-ecological system. This requires the listing of not overly exciting extra-linguistic factors and linguistic facts of the social action system. In a second step, these data will be interpreted as determinants of the sign-ecological system. This will be done with reference to the value orientations on the one hand, and the unalterable givens of the social and natural environment on the other.

3.1. Relevant components of the social action system of the isolate

3.1.1. Regional distribution

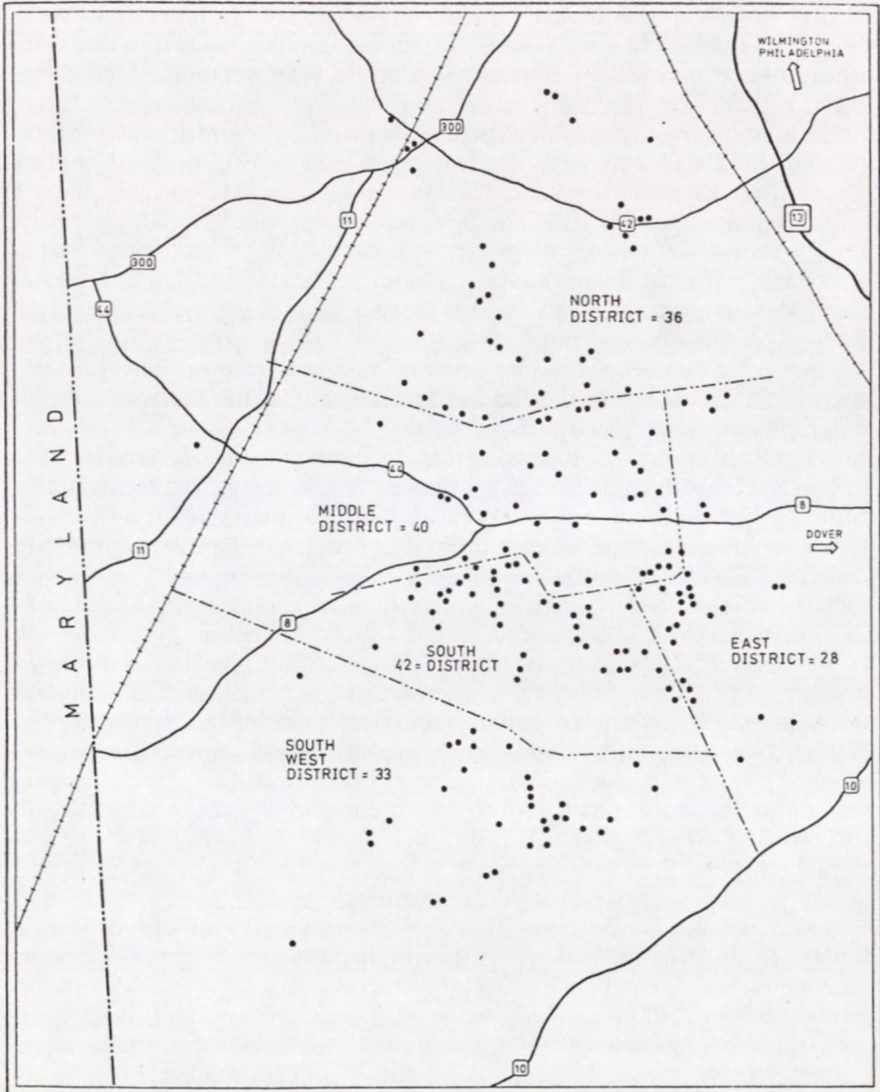
For January 1978 the criteria of (a) shared socio-religious orientation[7] of (b) shared speech repertoire[8] with the varieties American English (AE), Pennsylvania German (PG), and Amish High German (AHG), of (c) shared non-verbal repertoire with a semiotic system of grooming, garment[9] and (Ohio) buggies, and of (d) regular and frequent interaction isolated an intersection of these sets of about 1300 persons born to 170 families with OOA household heads in Kent County, Delaware. The actual total is estimated to be about twenty percent lower, due to the migration of younger persons and abandoned affiliations. The 170 households were distributed over a rural area measuring eight by twelve miles between Dover, the state capital, in the east, and the Maryland stateline to the west (cf. diagram [2]).
A comparison of the OOA population with the total population of Kent County Enumeration Districts (EDs), 11, 15, 16, 17, 52, and 53—which cover the OOA settlement area—shows that the OOA represent a minority of less than thirteen percent of the population of these EDs.

3.1.2. Socio-economic distribution

For 164 of the total of 360 males between fifteen and sixty-four years of age the occupations could be established. As a rule these 164 males are among the 170 household heads.

Occupation	N		%
farmers	70	=	42%
carpenters	37	=	22%
masons	6	=	3%
sawmill-operators, -owners, -managers	13	=	8%
small shop owners (cabinetmakers, machine repair shops, buggy and harness shops, watchmakers, general stores, etc.)	10	=	6%
other permanent occupations (blacksmiths, timbermen)	13	=	8%
other, mostly younger men with changes in occupation	15	=	9%
	164	=	100%

Diagram 2: Regional distribution



BOUNDARIES OF CHURCH DISTRICTS IN 1978 TOTAL = 170

If one classifies the seventy farmers, the thirteen sawmill workers, the thirteen blacksmiths and timbermen as persons with agrarian occupational orientations, and if one takes the sample as representative of the occupational orientation, one can extrapolate that fifty-nine percent of all occupations are agriculturally orientated. This percentage must be assumed to be even higher because some of the persons summarized in the residual category of ''other changing occupations'' must also be assigned to the general category of ''farm-related occupations.'' For the sake of brevity and contrast we will compare these figures with those of the ''unalterable factors of the social and natural environment,'' although—systematically—they are in place in later sections. A comparison of these figures with those for Delaware throws the agrarian orientation of the OOA into a distinctive profile. A careful extrapolation of available figures permits the statement that in 1978 only 2.3% of all Delawarian breadwinners held farm-related occupations; i.e., the respective percentage of the OOA is about twenty-five times higher. The family farms are either owned or run on the basis that aims at the purchase of the farm operated or another farm: one-third share tenant, one-half share tenant, cash tenant. Persons in non-agricultural occupations as a rule pursue their trades in order to accumulate the capital needed for a self-employed agrarian occupation, ideally that of a farm owner. Dual job holding such as farmer-watchmaker, farmer-cabinetmaker is a frequent occupational pattern.

The technology of the economic system is characterized by the absence of modern farming equipment such as milking machines, combine harvesters and tractors for pulling purposes. Antiquated tractors with steel-rimmed wheels are only used for belt power applied to threshing machines, conveyer belts and silo-blowers. Ohio type buggies take the role of automobiles. The energy used is characterized by non-use of mains or self-produced electricity. Fossil fuels (petrol, diesel, bottlegas, etc.) are only used for the tractors, washing machines, lighting, and rarely for milk coolers and cooking ranges. Scrapwood from sawmills, carpenters, construction or demolition work provide the standard cooking and heating energy. Windwheels and a few waterwheels power the pumps that provide the drinking water, cleaning water and the cooling water for the spring house. Horses (no mules) pull the farming equipment, the utility vehicles and the buggies. An extremely important source of energy is human labor; long working hours at a high working speed strike the outsider.

From the economic perspective, the settlement can be subsumed under Ortiz' category of ''peasant economy.''[10] His criteria of peasant economies are all met in our isolate. According to Wolf, peasants are farmers who produce a wide variety of things predominantly for their own household rather than one or two cash crops for the general market.[11] Firth does not focus on only the goal of production but also on the method of production. To him peasants are a system of small producers who aim at the production of their own supplies using simple technology.[12] Thorner considers peasant economy as an agricultural economic form in which the family and the houshold are the basic unit

Diagram 3: Population pyramids

75 +
70-74
65-69
60-64
55-59
50-54
45-49
40-44
35-39
30-34
25-29
20-24
15-19
10-14
5-9
0-4

AMISH PEOPLE IN:
1978

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
% MALE FEMALE %

75 +
70-74
65-69
60-64
55-59
50-54
45-49
40-44
35-39
30-34
25-29
20-24
15-19
10-14
5-9
0-4

POPULATION OF
KENT COUNTY IN:
1970

8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
% MALE FEMALE %

of production.[13] All these concepts of peasant economy are adequate descriptions of the economic system in our isolate.

3.1.3. Demography

The human labor that is needed in such a peasant economy is sufficiently available. Again, we include a comparison with the surrounding non-OOA culture for the sake of contrast and brevity; systematically this comparison belongs to later sections. A comparison of the population pyramids of the OOA with the overall Kent County population, including the OOA, reveals the distinctness of the group's demographic profile. While the OOA population pyramid is almost ideal-typical, that of the overall population deviates considerably from the natural ideal. Note that in the age-groups of 0-9 years the OOA numbers are 1.5 times higher than the overall numbers, and that in the age-group of 65 plus the OOA population is only half as large as that of the overall population of Kent County (cf. diagram [3]).[14]

These distinctive population pyramids of Kent County and a subcultural segment of that population have their equivalence in the respective crude rates of natural increase (CRNI). The OOA have a CRNI of +38.2 per thousand per year as against +6.6 for all Delaware.

3.2. Biological continuity as a prerequisite, and interactional needs as a determinant of the functionality of the varieties of the verbal repertoire

At this point one might either continue a purely descriptive listing of the other components of the behavioral surface phenomena of the social action system, and later interpret these surface phenomena with reference to the value orientations and the givens of the social and natural environment, or one might interpret the facts presented in 3.1 with reference to the value and environmental factors and model them—with reference to the value and environmental factors—as a major determinant of the language ecology system. We opt for the second alternative because it not only leads to an understanding of static facts, but also reconstructs the dynamics of the language-ecological system and permits some assumptions with regard to its diachronic development.

In a first step we try to understand the functional stability of the variety PG with reference to the value orientations. In the given case the functional stability of PG is assumed to be dependent on two language-external factors: (1) the biological continuity of the group, and (2) the degree to which the interactional needs of the present and future members of the group can be confined to presently institutionalized and sanctioned interactional needs.

3.2.1. Biological continuity

The distribution of the members of the repertoire community over the age groups was shown to be ideal-typical. Two values render this distribution plausible. The normative exclusion of birth control accounts for the almost ideal-typical shape of the population pyramid. The principle of non-resistance accompanied by rigid conscientious objection makes the male side of the pyramid absolutely ideal-typical. The CRNI

of +38.2 per thousand per year is a good indicator of an exceptional population growth. Even if one assumes that every third child might join other Mennonite groups in the area or "high churches" of the mainstream society, a net growth of 25.4 per thousand per year can be expected. In view of the rising prices for farmland in Kent County, this increase is in fact so high that it triggers a migration to daughter colonies in Kentucky, Ohio, Ontario, and Paraguay. Essential values of the orientation tables can no longer be reconciled with unalterable givens of the area. At the same time all this means that the biological continuity of the settlement is more than guaranteed.

3.2.2. Interactional needs

Given the minority situation of the OOA (thirteen percent of the regional population) the functionality of AE is self-evident. The value tables permit only the unavoidable interactional contact, yet the AE-speaking areal majority is an unalterable given of the social environment. Thus the question of a maintained functionality applies only to the varieties PG and AHG. It was Kloss who presented the longest list of factors that may influence functional maintenance of German varieties in America. If one neglects his ambivalent factors 7-15, the following six factors remain:

1. religio-societal insulation;
2. time of immigration: earlier or simultaneously with the first Anglo-Americans;
3. the existence of language islands;
4. affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools;
5. pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts;
6. former use as the only official tongue during pre-Anglo-American period.[15]

Instead of testing the applicability of these criteria to the repertoire community (as far as we can see, each except number five applies), we attempt to model the community's sanctioned interactional needs as the basic factor of functional maintenance of the German-based varieties.

An excursus into the theology of the OOA will reveal the value orientations that determine the sanctioned interactional needs of the community. In their historical self-interpretation, the repertoire community perceives itself as a brotherhood that stands in the tradition of the earliest Christian congregations; this brotherhood of true believers has to live in harmony with God's nature, yet in strict separation from those persons who have not taken God's word seriously. This idea of the pure brotherhood is in the center of rudimentary Anabaptist theology. The term *Gmee* reflects the identity of the religious brotherhood, of their congregation in the church service, and of the social community. The power of the resultant norm of concentrating as much interaction as possible on the community, but to limit outside interaction to a minimum, is reflected in the descriptive findings of 3.1 and some other facts which will be added here.

The distribution of the 1300 persons over only twenty family names is an indicator of two norms which restrict interaction: the principle of

endogamy and the restriction of outside missionary work. Here we have one of the rare cases in which race, genetically defined, shared culture, and a common language (repertoire) coincide.[16] The above principles imply that in intra-group interaction there is no need to give up PG and AHG; both can remain functional because the community comprises—with rare exceptions—only persons who have been socialized within the community. The first requirement for converts is the acquisition of these varieties, which serve as markers of socio-religious identity, which—given the areal minority situation—cannot be sought in terms of spatial patterns, such as in the European village.

The distribution of the household heads over occupations is likewise an indicator of a norm restricting outside interaction: On the ideal family farm the community can be more effectively protected from outside influences than in a city environment. At the same time the family farm creates optimal conditions for the formative primary socialization of the children.

The secondary socialization is handled in the parochial school system, which is again a perfect protection from outside influences.

The absolute prohibition of owning modern technology and the conditional use of such technology relates to three areas: The absolute taboo on telephone, radio, television, and recorders limits group-transcending contacts and excludes frequent or permanent influences of the mainstream culture. The fact that the ownership of automobiles is forbidden limits the everyday radius of interaction to the district of the settlement. The regional spread of the church districts and the principles governing the reorganization of districts where the membership exceeds certain limits bear witness to the same intra-orientation. With regard to the economy, the restriction of modern technology can be interpreted as a measure that is to prevent the intrusion of the profit principle that might threaten the principle of solidarity. The implicit and explicit restriction of interaction with the outside mainstream society is complemented by the commandment of frequent intra-group interaction: Regular participation in church services, mutual help and frequent visiting are crucial norms.

4. Functional stability of the repertoire-varieties

Here we resume our earlier assumption that the roles that may and must be played in the various interactional realms do not only attract expectations as to what the incumbent of a certain role must do, but also expectations as to which variety of the verbal repertoire the incumbent of a role has to use. Diagram (4) reflects the results of several months of participant observation and a questionnaire-based survey.
The religiously motivated restriction of the interactional needs of the community creates a large set of roles, which—from the perspective of information exchange—might be played in English, because every fully socialized member commands that variety. However, the attribute expectations appear to be strong enough to associate certain varieties with certain roles. The preference of one over another is not a question

Diagram 4: Distribution of roles and role attributes (linguistic varieties) over interactional realms

interaction with the mainstream society	interaction within the fellowship network						interaction within the affiliation network	
all roles	written roles			oral roles			oral roles	
applicant	scribe	letterwriter	*Zeugnisgeber*	English and mathematics	professional roles	*Täufer*	customer	brother
client	customer	diarywriter		teacher and learner	neighbor	*Täufling*	shop assistant	sister
customer				teacher (except AHG-teacher)	father	precentor		nephew
defendant					mother	reciter		cousin
					child	*Vorsinger*		
					preacher	AHG-teacher and learner		
					playmate			
AE	AE	AHG + AE	AHG	AE	PG	AHG	AE	PG

of exchanging cognitive but social information and the continual affirmation of "we-ness." In the intra-group network, the varieties PG and AHG are functionally stabilized via norms, and the use of AE is merely the response to an unalterable environmental factor. The distribution of the AE roles and the PG/AHG roles over transactional personal roles is a further indicator of the stability of the German varieties:

(a) in the AE mainstream network only a few roles are played, and they are transactional in nature;
(b) in the affiliation network more roles are played, of both interactional (AE) and personal (PG) nature;
(c) most roles of the overall role repertoire are played in the fellowship network, and all are primary roles in nature.

Except for the teacher-student roles they are performed in PG or AHG. Only if PG and AHG are not available in the needed writing skills does AE replace them in the fellowship network.
However, most written AE texts, such as letters, typically have an AHG biblical quotation of formula at the beginning and at the end as a kind of interpretational cue for the enclosed AE text. Even here social identity is signaled.

All AE roles in the mainstream network are secondary roles and are limited to the unavoidable transactional relationship of customer, client, seller, patient, applicant, etc. Within the affiliation network a clear separation between transactional and personal roles is difficult: Qua close or distant relatives, they are no clear outsiders; qua religious affiliation, they are no clear insiders. Thus between OOA and members of the affiliation network there may exist both transactional and personal roles. The choice of variety is a matter of role negotiation, and this initial insecurity as to the appropriate variety illustrates the ambivalence of the role situation.

These observations concerning the present-day situation lead to the following assumptions: 1) as long as the mainstream society does not change its language policy, i.e., as long as it does not exert official pressure toward monolingualism and as long as it does not change the +language contact and −language conflict into a +language contact and +language conflict situation, and 2) as long as the *Ordnung* (which defines the interactional needs) is only modified in detail, but not radically changed, the interaction networks with their roles and role attributes, i.e., varieties, will remain stable. Until then functional instability of the varieties cannot be expected. Ultimately, their functional stability is controlled by the absence of radical social change.

Our argument, which is based on the social role and the notion that the varieties of a speech repertoire can be modeled as role attributes, leads to the same conclusion that Huffines arrived at:

> These communities [Old Order Amish communities] are not only bilingual but also diglossic, i.e., the languages spoken by the Old Orders fulfill non-overlapping functions, and bilingualism supported by diglossia is a particularly stable language situation.[17]

5. Structural (in)stability of the varieties

In view of the fact that language change is universal and continuous, the relative functional stability does not imply the structural stability of each variety over a considerable span of time. The latter depends to a large degree on the specific functions a variety is assigned in the interaction system of the culture. Within the heuristic model and with reference to the case we argue as follows:

The interactional needs as stipulated by the instrumental action system lead to a definition of the roles which the socially competent members of the group must be able to play. Each role, in turn, requires that the individual incumbent command the verbal skills required for the performance of that role. In multilingual societies this may lead to a surprising distribution of verbal skills over the varieties (diagram [5]).

Diagram 5: Language skills of speaker-types

speaker type / skill	I	II	III
listening comprehension	AHG + AE + PG	AE + PG	PG
reading comprehension	AHG + AE + PG	AE + PG (AHG)	PG
written text production	AE (PG)	AE (PG)	
written text reproduction	AE, AHG, PG	AE (AHG) (PG)	
oral text production	AE, PG	AE, PG	PG
oral text reproduction (reciting, singing)	AE, PG AHG	AE, PG AHG	PG (AHG)

Diagram 6: Typology of varieties

criteria				type	variety	remarks
standardization	autonomy	historicity	vitality			
+	+	+	+	standard	AE	
–	+*	+	+	dialect	PG	*lexicon and syntax affected by AE
+*	+	+	–	classic	AHG	*destandardization phase

The skill profile, in turn, makes varying demands with regard to the structural *Ausbauzustände* 'elaboration' of the respective varieties. In Stewart's matrix of language types,[18] the varieties AE, PG, and AHG figure as follows (diagram [6]):

Since AHG is only used as the attribute of devotional roles in which sacral texts or institutionalized ceremonial and ritual formulae must be recited in their unaltered original form, vitality is not only redundant, but vitality is even positively functional insofar as the productivity of the variety would necessarily produce other than the sacral texts. Like Latin, AHG has been preserved from structural corruption, yet not by the normative precepts of grammarians but by its use in frozen form. Its maintenance is not so much the result of a language maintenance effort, but rather the result of maintaining a corpus of sacral, ceremonial, and ritual texts. On the whole, a comparison of the hypothetical historical and present-day state of the variety AHG supports the assumption that the reduced use of the variety will lead to a reduced skill profile and to a reduction of the structure of that variety. The structural instability of AHG is at present limited to the transference of PG phonological features and to spelling pronunciation when recited or sung. The concept of the role and its attribute appears to be a useful instrument in determining the specifics of the reduction of both the skill profile and the structure of that variety.

Diagram (4) reveals that AE is used in intergroup interaction mostly in secondary and transactional role relationships (client, patient, applicant, etc.), whereas in the intra-group network it is subject to the normative influences of the orthographic standard and/or the formal school situation. That means that wherever AE is used, it is subject to the normative forces either of the written standard, or of relatively formal roles. This makes it plausible why in terms of structure the AE of the OOA should exhibit next to no transference from PG and that it should so little deviate from the AE of the socially comparable coterritorial monolinguals, at least with regard to lexicon and syntax. If, in fact, it can be distinguished on these levels, the AE of the OOA is slightly closer to the standard norm of AE.[19]

Even before the completion of the phonological analysis one may almost predict that the results for the OOA of Kent County, Delaware, will confirm Huffines' findings for Lehigh, Berks, Lebanon and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania:

> It was hypothesized that more features specifically associated with the English of the Pennsylvania Germans would be identified in the English of members of the more conservative sects and in the English of full bilinguals than in the speech of those who only understand Pennsylvania German or who are monolingual English speakers. The results indicate that these two sociolinguistic patterns do *not* obtain.[20]

Raith came to the same conclusion.[21]

With regard to PG, it should be remembered that this variety is the attribute of the majority of roles in the OOA role repertoire. This high

functional load puts high demands on the structural *Ausbauzustand* of the variety. The structural complement of this wide functional distribution would be the existence of stylistic options in the variety PG. Our data suggest that such options exist. However, if one assumes, in accordance with the family-tree model of linguistic change, that such options can only develop through continuous diversification of inherited linguistic items, be they lexemes or rules, the stylistic options existing in PG cannot be fully accounted for. The concepts of diffusion and convergence of the wave-theory of language change must be used as complements.

If one were to take only the variable of prosodic modality, one can distinguish three stylistic options available in PG, i.e., psalmodic style, declamatory style, and the prosodically unmarked everyday style.[22] The existence of similar prosodically marked styles in other Old Order Amish groups suggests that the prosodic variable of PG styles can be accounted for in terms of diversification of an inherited predecessor.

The above stylistic options can be further distinguished with reference to their relative participation in diffusion of AE items into PG. For brevity's sake we here bypass the involved theoretical question of whether or not in bilingual and diglossic situations the concept of borrowing needs to be replaced or complemented by the concept of switching. We will call any AE item used in a PG text a "diffused item," and the variegated processes leading to such use "diffusion." The prosodically marked psalmody and declamatory style of two preacher roles show relatively few AE items diffused into PG texts. The prosodically unmarked everyday style shows a higher degree of lexeme diffusion (7%) than non-Old Order PG texts (5%, 4%, 2.5%), even if the topic of discourse, such as the family, the community, visiting, weather, crops, falls within the referential range of the Basic Core Vocabulary (Swadesh).[23]

These figures increase significantly when the topic is farming-equipment, watch-repairing, banking, hospitalization, administration and mainstream culture in general. What from the family-tree perspective may appear as structural impurity can, however, also be seen as a most economic use of the lexicon of the AE variety as lexemic registers of the variety PG by bilingual speakers. In part, the lexicon of PG and AE of the speech repertoire are in complementary distribution. Comparing the structural and functional effects of massive diffusion of AE items into PG texts, we may say that this lexical variability destabilizes the structure of PG. However, it is exactly this lexical variability that stabilizes the functionality of the variety insofar as a growing or changing referential range can be covered in that variety. Since the phonological and syntactic base of such utterances remains PG, and since most of the diffused AE items are phonologically and morphologically integrated into PG patterns, even such utterances indicate the "we-group" origin and the cultural identity of the interactants.

What from a purely structural angle may appear to be the loss of an imputed original purity appears from a structural and functional per-

spective to be a functional gain, i.e., the creative allocation of *dual* function to one stretch of speech: An act of reference and an act of identity are performed in just one utterance. The identificational and the referential functions are normal for any text. What is abnormal here is the fact that the two functions are in part distributed over features of two varieties of the repertoire. This dual function of PG texts infused with AE items appears to be the prerequisite for playing the wide diversity of roles in the intra-group network. The destabilization of the historical structure does not necessarily lead to language death; on the contrary, we interpret it as an indicator of the vitality of the variety PG in the repertoire of the OOA in Kent County, Delaware. We would not even consider the reductive restructuring of PG syntactical rules as an unambiguous indicator of language death, as Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter appear to suggest: "Language death can therefore be looked at as a sort of pidginization . . . ."[24]

The transition of older obligatory rules to optional rules and their convergence on AE rules[25] reduces the total of rules in the overall speech repertoire and simplifies its overall syntactic structure. Like lexemic diffusion, the new rule type and the eventual rule loss can be taken as an instance of Martinet's principle of least effort as applied not to one language, but a speech repertoire: The process reduces the number of material lexemic and syntactic distinctions and maximizes the work that each does. Not the individual variety, but the speech repertoire with its three varieties must be taken as a semiotic system whose internal restructuring is, however, ultimately controlled and checked by the communicative functions which the speech repertoire is made to serve in the community. However, it should be noted that the synchronic variation obtaining in the repertoire is at the same time a potential for rapid diachronic change in the structure of the repertoire. Taken by itself, rapid diachronic change in the structure of a repertoire or in one of its varieties is not necessarily an indicator of language death. If this were so, the English language would have died between 1066 and 1400. Indeed, rapid change can also be a sign of functional vitality. Only dead languages do not change.

6. Conclusion

Structural change is a characteristic of all living languages. In those cases in which two languages form the varieties of the speech repertoire of a sizeable group of bilingual speakers, diffusion and convergence appear to be more important for the explanation of language change than the continuous divergence of the ancestral structure of the varieties. On the synchronic plane such a situation entails the availability of more options to the bilingual speakers. The number of near synonyms and of optional rules increases, and the increased number of options, in turn, presents favorable conditions for diachronic change. However, these structural conditions themselves do not permit any prediction of the direction of diffusion, and which of the varieties will change under

the influence of the other. In the case of bilingual Swedish-Americans the diffusion is unidirectional from AE to American Swedish[26]—as in our OOA case only one variety is affected. In the case of the less conservative Pennsylvania Germans, it is bidirectional (Huffines). In the case of Kannada-Marathi, the language-contact situation that has lasted for over a thousand years has led to a mutual syntactic convergence of both varieties on each other so that the varieties differ only with regard to lexemes and morphs which can fill the slots of a shared and identical syntactic structure.[27]

In contrast to the AE : American Swedish situation and the AE : PG situation of the OOA, not one but both language structures were destabilized, as in the case of the less conservative Pennsylvania Germans. In all cases we have structural reduction of one or both varieties concerned, and loss of linguistic items from one or both of the historical predecessors of each variety. In terms of the family-tree model, which tends to perceive diachronic change in terms of continuous internal diversification of the inherited structure, such a reduction and loss is likely to be interpreted as structural degeneration and imminent structural death. However, some contact varieties have survived and others have not. From a purely structural perspective the most puzzling case is the one in which one contact variety has survived in one ecological embedding, but died in the context of another. The near disappearance of PG in the ecological embedding of the New Orders and the high church communities, and the vitality of PG in the ecological embedding of the OOA can only be explained with reference to the variable "language ecology."

This paper attempted to isolate the extralinguistic factors that determine the functional stability of the varieties of the speech repertoire. Role theory was used as the central heuristic category: As long as roles attract not only expectations as to what the incumbent of a role has to do, but also expectations as to which variety is the appropriate role attribute, parents will not cease transmitting to their children all the varieties in those skills which are a prerequisite for their interactional competence in the community.[28] It is only through the continuous diffusional enrichment of PG by AE items that PG can serve as a role attribute of the majority of roles in the overall role repertoire. The communicative needs created by the growing and changing referential range can be covered in a variety that exploits the AE lexicon as its own referential register. In speech islands, the functional stability of the intra-group variety must probably be bought at the price of structural instability and change of that variety. In this way it can serve the dual function of covering the growing and changing referential range through "borrowed" lexical registers, and of acting out cultural identity through "our" phonological and syntactical patterns.

Universität Essen
Gesamthochschule
Essen, West Germany

Notes

[1] J. J. Gumperz, "The Speech Community," in his *Language in Social Groups: Essays by John J. Gumperz,* ed. A. S. Dil (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 114-28, and H. Kloss, "Über einige Terminologie-Probleme der Interlingualen-Soziolinguistik," *Deutsche Sprache,* 3 (1977), 224-37.

[2] Cf. J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1981), pp. 209 ff.

[3] E. Haugen, "The Ecology of Language," in his *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen,* ed. A. S. Dil (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 325-39.

[4] J. de Vries, "The Swedo-Finnish Mobility Project: Opportunities For Language Contact Research," Symposium on Languages in Contact and Conflict II, Brussels.

[5] J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics,* p. 144.

[6] W. Enninger and K.-H. Wandt, "From Language Ecology to Sign Ecology," in *Studies in Language Ecology,* ed. W. Enninger and K.-H. Wandt (forthcoming).

[7] Cf. Le Page's definition of a speech community. R. B. Le Page, "Problems of Descriptions in Multilingual Communities," *Transactions of the Philological Society,* 181 (1968), 189-212.

[8] J. T. Platt and H. Platt, *The Social Significance of Speech. An Introduction to and Workbook in Sociolinguistics* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publ. & Co., 1975).

[9] W. Enninger, "Nonverbal Performatives: The Function of a Grooming and Garment Grammar in the Organization of Nonverbal Role-Taking and Role-Making in one Specific Trilingual Social Isolate," in *Understanding Bilingualism,* ed. W. Hüllen (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1980), pp. 25-65, and W. Enninger, "The Semiotic Structure of Amish Folk Costume—Its Function in the Organization of Face-to-Face Interaction," in *Problems of Its Notation,* Vol. I of *Multimedial Communication,* Kodikas Supplement, No. 8, ed. E. W. B. Hess-Lüttich (Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1982), pp. 82-123.

[10] S. Ortiz, "Reflections on the Concepts of 'Peasant Culture' and 'Peasant Cognitive Systems,'" in *Peasants and Peasant Societies,* ed. T. Shania (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), pp. 322-24.

[11] E. R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1966).

[12] R. Firth, *Elements of Social Organisation* (C.A. Watts, 1951). Cf. Ortiz, p. 322.

[13] Cf. Ortiz, p. 323.

[14] The source of these figures are the 1970 U.S. Census, quoted from Delaware Statistical Abstract (1975) and our own demographic research.

[15] H. Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States,* ed. J. A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), pp. 206-51.

[16] Cf. Lyons, 1981, p. 190.

[17] M. L. Huffines, "Pennsylvania German: Maintenance and Shift," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* 25 (1980), pp. 35, 43-57.

[18] A. W. Stewart, "A Sociolinguistic Typology for Describing National Multilingualism," in *Readings in the Sociology of Language,* ed. J. A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1968), pp. 531-45.

[19] W. Enninger, "The English of the Amish of Delaware: Its Relation to the English of Coterritorial Monolinguals—Directions of Contact Convergence," American Dialect Society, Salzburg, 4 August 1979.

[20] M. L. Huffines, "English in Contact with Pennsylvania German," *German Quarterly,* 54, (1980), 352-66.

[21] J. Raith, "Phonologische Interferenzen im Amerikanischen Englisch der Anabaptistischen Gruppen Deutscher Herkunft in Lancaster County (Pennsylvania)," *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik,* 48 (1981), 36-52.

[22] W. Enninger and J. Raith, "Linguistic Modalities of Liturgical Registers: The Case of the Old Order Amish (O.O.A.) Church Service," *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* 16 (1981), 115-29.

[23] W. Enninger, "Syntactic Convergence in a Stable Triglossia plus Trilingualism Situation in Kent County, Delaware, USA," in *Sprachkontakt und Sprachkonflikt, Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik,* Beiheft 32, ed. H. P. Nelde (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980), pp. 343-50.

[24] W. Dressler and R. Wodak-Leodolter, "Language Preservation and Language Death," *Linguistics,* 191 (1977), 33-44.

[25] W. Enninger, "Language Convergence in a Stable Triglossia plus Trilingualism Situation," in *Anglistik: Beiträge zur Fachwissenschaft und Fachdidaktik,* ed. P. Freese, et al. (Münster: Regensberg, 1979), pp. 43-63. Cf. J. R. Costello, "Syntactic Change and Second Language Acquisition: The Case for Pennsylvania German," *Linguistics,* 213 (1978), 21-50.

[26] N. Hasselmo, "Code-switching as ordered selection," in *Studies for Einar Haugen,* ed. E. Firchow, et al. (The Hague: Mouton, 1972), pp. 261-80.

[27] J. J. Gumperz, "Communication in Multilingual Societies," in *Cognitive Anthropology,* ed. S. Tyler (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 74.

[28] N. Dorian, "The Problem of the Semi-Speaker in Language Death," *Linguistics,* 191 (1977), 23-33.

Bibliography of German-Americana Published in 1981 Articles, Books, and Dissertations

Steven M. Benjamin and Renate L. Benjamin
in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the
Society for German-American Studies:

Chairman: Steven M. Benjamin, Radford University. Associate Chairmen: Robert E. Coley, Millersville State College; Christa Sammons, Yale University. Members: Armand Bauer, North Dakota State University; Renate L. Benjamin, Radford, VA; Richard Brunt, University of Essen; Randall P. Donaldson, Loyola College in Maryland; Ronald W. Dunbar, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Emma S. Haynes, Washington, DC; Peter Johansson, University of Wisconsin-River Falls; Maureen T. Krause, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology; Peter C. Merrill, Florida Atlantic University; Karl Obrath, University of Cincinnati; Christoph E. Schweitzer, University of North Carolina; Robert E. Ward, Baldwin-Wallace College.

Abbreviations:

Amst	=	*Amerikastudien*
CHIQ	=	*Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*
GCY	=	*German-Canadian Yearbook*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
IMH	=	*Indiana Magazine of History*
JAHSGR	=	*Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NGTHS	=	*Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society*
NSAHS	=	*Swiss-American Historical Society Newsletter*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter of the Society for German-American Studies*
NYSZH	=	*New Yorker Staats-Zeitung und Herold*

PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
PMHB	=	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
SCHM	=	*South Carolina Historical Magazine*
WGAGWB	=	*Ward's German-American Genealogical Workshop Bulletin*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*

Collections:

Ackermann, 1981. Ackermann, Paul K., ed. *The Germans in Boston.* Boston: Goethe Society of New England, 1981. 95 pp.

Frühwald & Schieder, 1981. Frühwald, Wolfgang, and Wolfgang Schieder, eds. *Leben im Exil: Probleme der Integration deutscher Flüchtlinge im Ausland 1933 bis 1945.* Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1981. 285 pp.

Glasrud & Rankin, 1981. Glasrud, Clarence A., and Diana M. Rankin, eds. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota.* Moorhead, MN: Concordia College, 1981. 168 pp.

Glatfelter, 1981. Glatfelter, Armand, ed. *Das Siebental Revisited: The People of Seven Valleys.* York, PA: Mehl Ad-Associates, 1981.

Hartig, 1981. Hartig, Matthias, ed. *Angewandte Soziolinguistik.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1981.

Parsons, 1981. Parsons, William T., ed. *"So hen sie's geduh": Selections from* Pennsylvania Folklife. Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 1981. 296 pp. [Chiefly rpts.]

Phelps, 1981. Phelps, Leland R., ed. *The Harold Jantz Collection: Proceedings of a Sponsored Conference to Introduce the Collection to Specialists in German-American Literary Relations.* Durham: Duke Univ. Center for International Studies, 1981. 145 pp.

Schach, 1981. Schach, Paul, ed. *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains.* Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Pr., 1981. 186 pp.

Bibliography

1. Abrahams, Ethel E. "Learning Arithmetic with the Help of Fraktur." *Festival Quarterly*, May-July 1981, p. 34.
2. Ackermann, Paul K., ed. *The Germans in Boston.* Boston: Goethe Society of New England, 1981. 95 pp.
3. Adams, Paul. "Canadian Studies in German-Speaking Countries." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 1-4.
4. Albares, Richard P. "The Structural Ambivalence of German Ethnicity in Chicago." Diss. Univ. of Chicago 1981. Abstract in *DAI*, 42/6 (Dec. 1981), 2869A.
5. Allen, R. Raymond. "The Fiddle Tradition in Pennsylvania." *PF*, 31 (1981-82), 50-55.
6. Amen, Delbert, and Susan K. Amen. "U.S. Citizenship Declarations of Intent Filed by Germans from Russia in Washita County, Oklahoma, 1907-1935." *Clues 1981*, Part II, pp. 47-53.
7. Anderson, Byron. *A Bibliography of Master's Theses and Doctoral Dissertations on Milwaukee Topics, 1911-1977.* Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1981. 131 pp.

8. Anderson, Dennis. *The Hollow Morn: Bob Dylan's Reception in the U.S. and Germany*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1981.
9. Anderson, Harry H., and Frederick I. Olson. *Milwaukee: At the Gathering of the Waters.* Tulsa: Continental Heritage Pr., 1981. 224 pp.
10. Angermann, Erich, and Marie-Luise Frings, eds. *Oceans Apart? Comparing Germany and the United States; Studies in Commemoration of the 150th Anniversary of the Birth of Carl Schurz.* Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1981.
11. Appel, John J. "Jews in American Caricature." *American Jewish History,* 70 (1981), 103-33.
12. Arndt, Karl J. R. "Boston as Host to General von Riedesel's Brunswick Mercenaries." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 9-14.
13. ——, ed. *Harmony on the Wabash in Transition, 1824-1826.* Worcester, MA: Harmony Society Pr., 1981. 916 pp.
14. ——. "Missouri and World Lutheranism at Bad Boll in 1949." *CHIQ,* 54 (1981), 50-62.
15. ——. "Newspapers and Periodicals." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 70-72.
16. ——. "Schliemann's Excavation of Troy and American Politics or Why the Smithsonian Institution Lost Schliemann's Great Troy Collection to Berlin." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 1-8.
17. ——. "Franklin's Lost Map of Germantown, Massachusetts." *PF,* 31 (1981-82), 87-89.
18. *As Roots Grow: The History of Spruce Grove and District.* Spruce Grove, Alberta, 1981.
19. Aschenauer, Rudolf. *Die Auslandsdeutschen: 100 Jahre Volkstumsarbeit; Leistung und Schicksal.* Berg: Türmer, 1981. 306 pp.
20. Ausländer, Rose. *Im Atemhaus wohnen.* Frankfurt: Fischer, 1981. 151 pp.
21. ——. *Mein Atem heißt jetzt.* Frankfurt: Fischer, 1981. 142 pp.
22. Ball, Joe. *Memories of Central Alberta.* Erskine, Alberta, 1981.
23. Barry, Colman J. "Religious and Language Experiences of German-Catholic Americans." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
24. Barthold, Theodore R. "Assignment to Berlin: The Embassy of James W. Gerard, 1913-1917." Diss. Temple Univ. 1981.
25. Baumann, Michael L. "B. Traven." In *Dictionay of Literary Biography: American Novelists.* Vol. IX, Pt. 3. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981, pp. 99-105.
26. Bausenhart, Werner, "Lehrfach Deutsch an Ontarios Oberschulen." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 178-82.
27. Beam, C. Richard. *Pennsylvania Dutch Language: An Introduction to the Pennsylvania Dutch Dialect.* Lancaster, PA: Spectrum Fidelity Magnetics, 1981. Cassette tape.
28. ——. *Pennsylvania German Dictionary: English to Pennsylvania Dutch.* Millersville, PA: privately printed, 1981. Author at 406 Spring Dr., 17551.
29. Becker, Dorothy R. *Some Early Related Families of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* Fort Worth, TX: privately printed, 1981. Order from 4908A Byers Ave., 76107.
30. Becker, Laura L. "The People and the System: Legal Activities in a Colonial Pennsylvania Town." *PMHB,* 105 (1981), 135-49.
31. Beebe, Lucie B. "German Porcelain in Boston Museums." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 57-64.
32. Bender, Jan E. "The Impact of English on a Low German Dialect in Nebraska." In Schach, 1981, pp. 77-85.
33. Benjamin, Steven M. "The SGAS Directory of German-Americanists: A Progress Report." *NSGAS, 2:4 (1980-81),* 3-4.
34. ——. "The Segmental Vocalic Phonemes of the Pennsylvania German Dialect as Spoken in Northumberland and Schuylkill Counties, Pennsylvania." Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin 1981. 282 pp.
35. ——, and Renate L. Benjamin. "Bibliography of German-Americana Published in 1979 and 1980: Articles, Books, and Dissertations." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 161-95.

36. ———, and the SGAS Bibliographic Committee. *German-American Bibliography for 1981 with Supplements for 1971-1980*. Clarion, PA: Dept. of Modern Languages, Clarion State College, 1981. 245 pp.
37. Bergen, John J. "Freedom of Education in a Religious Context: The Alberta Holdeman Private School Case." *MQR*, 55 (1981), 75-85.
38. Best, Jane E. "Three Bears of Earl Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and Other Bears." *PMH*, 4, No. 4 (1981), 12-27.
39. Bickelmann, Hartmut. *Deutsche Überseewanderung in der Weimarer Zeit*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981. 180 pp.
40. Billington, Ray A. *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Norton, 1981. 364 pp.
41. Bird, Michael S. "A Germanic Plentitude." *Canadian Antiques and Art Review*, Oct. 1981, pp. 34-37.
42. ———. "Perpetuation and Adaption: The Furniture and Craftsmanship of John Gemeinhart, 1826-1912." *Canadian Antiques and Art Review*, March 1981, pp. 19-34.
43. ———, and Terry Kobayashi. *A Splendid Harvest: Germanic Folk and Decorative Arts in Canada*. Toronto: Van Nostrand-Reinhold, 1981.
44. Birk, Hans D. "Armigerous (Arms-Bearing) Families from All Cultural Communities in Canada." *Canadiana Germanica*, 30 (1981), 1-5.
45. Bischoff, G. August. "A 1909 Report on Russian-German Settlements in South Dakota." Tr. and ed. Anton H. Richter. *South Dakota History*, 11 (1981), 185-98.
46. "A Bit of *Gemütlichkeit*." *Wisconsin Trails*, 22, No. 2 (1981), 42.
47. Bonney, Rachel A. "Was There a Single German-American Experience?" In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
48. Bowen, Laurel G. "Manuscript Acquisitions." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 74 (1981), 230-40.
49. Boyer, Carl. *Ancestral Lines Revised: 190 Families in England, Wales, Germany, New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania*. Newhall, CA: privately printed, 1981. 666 pp.
50. Bradunas, Elena. "Some General Questions Concerning the Maintenance of Ethnicity." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
51. Brednich, Rolf W. "Beharrung und Wandel im Liedgut der hutterischen Brüder in Amerika: Ein Beitrag zur empirischen Hymnologie." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung*, 26 (1981), 44-60.
52. ———. *The Bible and the Plough: The Lives of a Hutterite Minister and a Mennonite Farmer*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981.
53. ———. "Die Hutterer: Ein Stück alter alpenländischer Kultur in der Neuen Welt." *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, 84 (1981), 141-53.
54. ———. "Die Hutterer und ihre Beziehungen zum südwestdeutschen Täufertum." *Allmende: Eine Alemannische Zeitschrift*, 1, No. 3 (1981), 25-38.
55. ———. "Hutterische Volkserzählungen." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 199-224.
56. Bretting, Agnes J. *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City, 1800-1860*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981. 185 pp.
57. Brister, Louis E., tr. and ed. "William von Rosenberg's *Kritik*: A History of the Society for the Protection of German Immigrants to Texas." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, 85 (1981), 161-86, 299-318, 409-22.
58. Bronner, Simon J. "The Durlauf Family: Three Generations of Stonecarvers in Southern Indiana." *Pioneer America*, 13 (1981), 17-26.
59. ———. "Investigating Identity and Expression in Folk Art." *Winterthur Portfolio*, 16 (1981), 65-83.
60. Brown, Soi-Daniel. "*Invisible Man*'s Appearance in Germany: An Analysis of Potential Critical Response to the German Translation." *Amst*, 26 (1981), 213-18.
61. Brugsch, Heinrich G. "The Impact of German Medicine on Boston and Massachusetts Physicians." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 68-70.

62. Burghardt, Andrew F. "The Settling of Southern Ontario: An Appreciation of the Work of Carl Schott." *Canadian Geographer,* 25 (1981), 75-76; followed (pp. 77-93) by an excerpt from Schott's work translated by Burghardt.
63. Burkhard, Marianne. "In Memoriam, Corine Honegger-Baumann." *NSAHS,* 17, No. 2 (1981), 3-4.
64. Burzle, J. Anthony. "Editorial Background: *Yearbook of the Society for German-American Studies.*" *NSGAS,* 2, No. 5 (1980-81), 9-10.
65. California Institute of Public Affairs. *Ethnic Groups in California: A Guide to Organizations and Information Sources.* Claremont, CA: Claremont College, 1981.
66. Cantor, Aviva. *The Jewish Woman, 1900-1980: Bibliography.* Fresh Meadows, NY: Biblio Pr., 1981. 88 pp.
67. Capuzzo, Mike. "A Grave Affair: Horrors of an Old Halloween." *Tropic Sunday Supplement of the Miami Herald,* 25 Oct. 1981, pp. 37-46. [On Karl Tanzler von Cosel.]
68. Carlyle, William J. "Mennonite Agriculture in Manitoba." *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 13 (1981), 73-97.
69. Carstensen, Broder. "Informationen zum geplanten Anglizismen-Wörterbuch." *Der fremdsprachliche Unterricht,* 15 (1981) 218-20.
70. Carvajal, Christa, and Annelise M. Duncan. "The German-English School in San Antonio: Transplanting Humanistic Education to the Texas Frontier." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 89-102.
71. Casino, Joseph. "Anti-Popery in Colonial Pennsylvania." *PMHB,* 105 (1981), 279-310.
72. Chrislock, Carl H. "The German-American Role in Minnesota Politics, 1850-1950." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
73. Clar, Reva, ed. *The Jews of Los Angeles: Urban Pioneers.* Los Angeles: Southern California Jewish Historical Society, 1981.
74. Clausing, Stephen D. "English Influence on the American German Dialects with a Comparison to American Icelandic." Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin 1981. 231 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 42/7 (Jan. 1982), 3144A.
75. Cobbs, Alfred L. "The Image of the Black in German Literature." In Phelps, 1981, pp. 111-18.
76. Conn, Sandra. "Three Talents: Robins, Nestor, and Anderson of the Chicago Women's Trade Union League." *Chicago History,* 9 (1980-81), 234-47.
77. Conrad, Glenn R. *The German Coast: Abstracts of the Civil Records of St. Charles and St. John the Baptist Parishes.* Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, Univ. of Southwestern Louisiana, 1981. 226 pp.
78. Conzen, Kathleen N. "The Paradox of German-American Assimilation." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 153-60.
79. ———. "Political Myths and the Realities of Assimilation." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
80. Cordasco, Francesco, and David N. Alloway, eds. *American Ethnic Groups: The European Heritage.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Pr., 1981.
81. Corum, Charles R., and Mary Ann Meyer. "Friedrich Weygold and the Last Portrait of Red Cloud." *South Dakota History,* 11 (1981), 161-63.
82. Costello, John R. *Read and Write Pennsylvania German.* New York: privately printed, 1981. 22 pp. Order from author at Dept. of Linguistics, New York Univ., 10003.
83. Cronk, Sandra. "*Gelassenheit:* The Rites of the Redemptive Process in Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonite Communities." *MQR,* 55 (1981), 5-44.
84. Cunningham, Raymond J. "The German Historical World of Herbert Baxter Adams, 1874-1876." *Journal of American History,* 68 (1981), 261-75.
85. Current, Richard N. "The 'New Ethnicity' and American History: Wisconsin as a Test Case." *History Teacher,* 15 (1981), 43-55.

86. Currie, Julie. "Gustave Baumann: A Century of Delight." *El Palacio*, 87 (Spring 1981).

87. Damon, Allan L. "A Look at the Record: The Facts behind the Current Controversy over Immigration." *American Heritage*, 33, No. 1 (1981), 50-56.

88. Dein, Jane H. "Auguste Lambelet, 1838-1919: Soldier of Fortune." *NSAHS*, 17, No. 2 (1981), 5-32.

89. *Deutschamerikanischer Vereinswegweiser 1981: Guide to German-Speaking Clubs and Societies in the United States. NYSZH*, 147, No. 21 (1981), C1-C64.

90. Dobbie, Joan, Louis Greenblatt, and Blanche Levine. *Before Us: Studies of Early Jewish Families in St. Lawrence County, 1855-1920.* Potsdam, NY: Congregation Beth-El, 1981. 225 pp.

91. Doern, Russel. "Stereotypes Aren't for Real: German-Canadians to Suffer from Discrimination." *Maclean's Magazine*, 6 Oct. 1981; rpt. *Canadiana Germanica*, 29 (1981), 4.

92. Doerry, Karl. "Three Versions of America: Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and May." *YGAS*, 16 (1981), 39-49.

93. Drese, Volkmar. "Breklum und Kropp als Brücken nach Übersee: Die Betreuung der Deutschen in Amerika." In *Kirche zwischen den Meeren: Beiträge zu Geschichte und Gestalt der Nordelbischen Kirche.* Ed. Jens Motschmann. Heide: Westholsteinische Verlagsanstalt Boyens, 1981, pp. 125-32.

94. Drewitz, Arthur. *Die Geschichte des Deutschen Zweiges der Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada: 40. Jubiläum, 1940-1980.* Kitchener, Ont.: German Branch, Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada, 1981.

95. Driedger, Leo. "Attitudes of Ethnic Students toward Endogamy and Exogamy." In *Marriage and Divorce in Canada.* Ed. K. Ishwaren. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981.

96. ———. "Ethnic Prejudice and Discrimination in Winnipeg High Schools." *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 6, No. 1 (1981).

97. ———, Frank Vallee, and John DeVries. "Towards an Ecology of Language Characteristics in Canada." In *Language and the Politics of Accommodation: Comparative Studies in Educational Sociolinguistics.* Ed. Robert N. St. Clair and Moshe Nahir. Louisville: Univ. of Kentucky Pr., 1981.

98. Dujmovits, Walter. "46 Burgenländer-Vereine." *NYSZH*, 147, No. 1 (1981), A6.

99. Duncan, Annelise M. "Die deutsch-englische Schule von San Antonio, Texas, 1858-1903." *Pädagogik und Schule in Ost und West*, 29, No. 1 (1981).

100. Dyck, Cornelius J. *An Introduction to Mennonite History: A Popular History of the Anabaptists and the Mennonites.* 3rd ed. Scottdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. 460 pp.

101. Eberhardt, Elvire. "The Growth of the German Population in Medicine Hat, Alberta from 1884 to the Present." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 62-65.

102. Eichhoff, Jürgen. "Niederdeutsche Mundarten in Nordamerika: Geschichte und Bibliographie." *Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch*, 104 (1981), 134-59.

103. Endres, Barbara. *The Endres Genealogy: Part II, 1900-1976.* Madison, WI: privately printed, 1981. 186 pp. Order from author at 226 Randolph Dr., Apt. 111B, 53717.

104. ———. *The Koltes Family Genealogy, 1750-1980.* Madison, WI: privately printed, 1981. 133 pp. Order from author as above.

105. Engler, Martha C. "Boston's Era of German Music, 1800 to 1918." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 23-26.

106. ———. "Holy Trinity Catholic Church." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 81-83.

107. Enninger, Werner, and Joachim Raith. "Linguistic Modalities of Liturgical Registers: The Case of the Old Order Amish Church Service." *YGAS*, 16 (1981), 115-29.

108. ———, and Karl-Heinz Wandt. "Zur Notation von Repertoire-(dis)-kontinuität: Ein Komplement zur Terminologie im Bereich von 'Language Maintenance' und 'Language Shift.'" In Hartig, 1981, pp. 65-77.
109. Epp, Georg K. "Der mennonitische Beitrag zur deutsch-kanadischen Literatur." *Mennonitisches Jahrbuch*, 1978, pp. 40-47; rpt. *GCY*, 6 (1981), 140-48.
110. Ericksen, Julia A., and Gary Klein. "Women's Roles and Family Production among the Old Order Amish." *Rural Sociology*, 46 (1981), 282-96.
111. Faires, Nora H. "Ethnicity in Evolution: The German Community in Pittsburgh and Allegheny City, Pennsylvania, 1845-1885." Diss. Univ. of Pittsburgh 1981. 649 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 42/8 (Feb. 1982), 3718A-3719A.
112. Fang, Ilse. "A Treasure Trove of German Culture in Boston: The Boston Public Library." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 64-67.
113. Fernandez, Ronald. "Getting Germans to Fight Germans: The Americanizers of World War I." *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 9, No. 2 (1981), 53-68.
114. Fetterman, William B. "Paul R. Wieand: Lehigh County Folk Artist." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 87-93.
115. Filby, William P., ed. *Passenger and Immigration Lists Bibliography, 1538-1900.* Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981. 195 pp.
116. ———, and Mary K. Meyer, eds. *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index: A Guide to Published Arrival Records of about 500,000 Passengers Who Came to the United States and Canada in the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries.* 3 vols. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981. 2340 pp.
117. Fischer, Roger A. "The Republican Presidential Campaigns of 1856 and 1860: Analysis through Artifacts." *Civil War History*, 27, No. 2 (1981).
118. Fishman, Joshua A., Esther G. Lowy, Michael H. Gertner, and William G. Milan. *Language Resources in the United States, I: Guide to Non-English-Language Print Media.* Rosslyn, VA: National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1981. 51 pp.
119. Folsom, Burton W. "Tinkers, Tipplers, and Traitors: Ethnicity and Democratic Reform in Nebraska during the Progressive Era." *Pacific Historical Review*, 5 (1981), 52-76.
120. Forrester, James. "Ethnicity in Wheeling." *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review*, 11, No. 1 (1981), 17-23.
121. Fowler, James H. "Creating an Atmosphere of Suppression, 1914-1917." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 59 (1981), 202-21.
122. Foy, David A. " 'For You the War Is Over': The Treatment and Life of United States Army and Air Corps Personnel Interned in POW Camps in Germany, 1942-1945." Diss. Univ. of Arkansas 1981. Abstract in *DAI* 42/6 (Dec. 1981), 2811A.
123. Fraser, Barbara. "Portrait of the Past." *Dominion Post Panorama* (Morgantown, WV), 18 Jan. 1981, pp. 8-9.
124. Frey, J. William. *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch.* 2nd ed. Lancaster, PA: John Baer, 1981. 140 pp.
125. Frey, Katherine S. "The Danube Swabians in Canada: They Call It Their Land Too." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 78-83.
126. Friesen, Gerhard K. "Ein Brief des Pfarrers Johann Gering Ehlers an den Freiherrn Hans von Gagern vom 16. Januar 1826." *Hans-Staden-Jahrbuch* (Sao Paulo), 29 (1981), 153-62.
127. ———. "German-Canadian Poetry under the Star-Spangled Banner." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 103-14.
128. ———. "H. C. E. von Gagern and German Emigration to the Americas: Some Preliminaries." *Amst*, 26 (1981), 4-10.
129. ———. "Heinrich Rembe's 'Gethsemane': Text and Context." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 130-39.
130. ———. "Moritz von Fürstenwärther and America." *YGAS*, 16 (1981), 73-78.
131. ———. "Von den ersten Einwanderern." *Brasil-Post* (Sao Paulo), 9 Aug. 1981.

132. ———. " 'Yankee'sche Eigenheiten': Anti-Americanism in a 19th-Century German-Canadian Poem." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 115-29.
133. Froeschle, Hartmut. "Friedrich Schiller Foundation for German-Canadian Culture." *Canadiana Germanica*, 32 (1981), 1-2.
134. ———. "German Immigration into Canada: A Survey." Tr. Werner Bausenhart. *GCY*, 6 (1981), 16-27.
135. Frühwald, Wolfgang, and Wolfgang Schieder, eds. *Leben im Exil: Probleme der Integration deutscher Flüchtlinge im Ausland 1933 bis 1945.* Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1981. 285 pp.
136. Garr, John W., and John C. Garr. *Genealogy of the Descendants of John Gar, . . . His Son Andreas Gaar, Who Emigrated from Bavaria to America in 1732.* Cincinnati: privately printed, 1884; rpt. Salt Lake City: Microgen, 1981. 608 pp.
137. Genizi, Haim. "American Interfaith Cooperation on Behalf of Refugees from Nazism, 1933-1945." *American Jewish History*, 70 (March 1981).
138. Gerlach, Elmer K. *Homer and Lillie Gerlach and Their Gerlach, Click, Little and Hempfield Ancestry.* McConnelsville, OH: privately printed, 1981. Order from author at 3480 Terrace Circle, 43756.
139. German Research Association. *The German Connection, Volume V.* San Diego, CA, 1981.
140. "German-American Literature." *South Central Bulletin*, 41 (1981), 50.
141. German-Canadian Committee on the Constitution. "Submission to the Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada." *Canadiana Germanica*, 29 (1981), 1-3.
142. Getto, Dennis. "Building Joins Area Comeback Trail." *Milwaukee Journal*, 26 April 1981, Section VII, pp. 1, 8.
143. Giesinger, Adam. *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans.* Battleford, Sask.: Marian Pr., 1974; rpt. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1981.
144. ———. "A History of the AHSGR: Groping for Practical Policies, 1969-1970." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 3 (1981), 45-52.
145. ———. "Now Is the Time." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 5-8.
146. ———. "The Origins of the AHSGR: The Organizational Meetings." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 1 (1981), 44-49.
147. Giltrow, Janet. "Grove in Search of a New Audience." *Canadian Literature*, 90 (1981), 92-107.
148. Gish, Theodore. "Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, First Commissioner of the *Adelsverein* in Texas: Myth, History and Fiction." *YGAS*, 16 (1981), 79-87.
149. Glasrud, Clarence A., and Diana M. Rankin, eds. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota.* Moorhead, MN: Concordia College, 1981. 168 pp.
150. Glatfelter, Armand, ed. *Das Siebental Revisited: The People of Seven Valleys.* York, PA: Mehl Ad-Associates, 1981.
151. ———. "Heinz L. Hosch." In Glatfelter, 1981, pp. 241-42.
152. Gockel, Herman W. "Lorry Meyer: The Memorable Maverick Who Lifted Missouri into the 20th Century." *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 63-73.
153. Goetze, Klaus. "After World War I." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 27-28.
154. Gommermann, Andreas. "Hungarian and American Borrowings in a Twice Transplanted Fulda Dialect." In Schach, 1981, pp. 86-93.
155. Good, Noah G. "Der Henner geht an die Vendue." *PMH*, 4, No. 1 (1981), 25.
156. ———. "Moch doch mol sel Dohr uff." *PMH*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 23-24.
157. ———. "Saag awwer nie net widder." *PMH*, 4, No. 3 (1981), 31-32.
158. Goodrich, James W. "Gottfried Duden: A Nineteenth-Century Missouri Promoter." *Missouri Historical Review*, 75 (1981), 131-46.
159. Gougler, Richard C. "The Amish Wedding." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 158-60.
160. Graebner, August L. "Johann Michael Gottlieb Schaller: A Biography." Tr. Walter R. Roehrs. *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 2-29.

161. Graeff, Marie K. "Folk Songs." *PF,* 31 (1981-82), 20-25.
162. Grier, Katherine C. "Texas Discovers Its Heritage." *Antiques World,* 4, No. 1 (1981), 42-49.
163. ———. "The Wandering Whittler." *Antiques World,* 3, No. 3 (1981), 36-40.
164. Gross, Konrad. "Literary Criticism in German on English-Canadian Literature." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 305-10.
165. Gürttler, Karin R. "Alte Welt und Neue Welt in den Romanen Henry Kreisels: *The Rich Man* und *The Betrayal.*" In *Annalen III: Kontakte—Konflikte—Konzepte, Deutsch-kanadische Beziehungen, Symposium 1980.* Ed. Karin R. Gürttler and Herfried Scheer. Montreal: Univ. of Montreal, 1981, pp. 106-19.
166. ———, and Herfried Scheer, eds. *Annalen III: Kontakte—Konflikte—Konzepte, Deutsch-kanadische Beziehungen, Symposium 1980.* Montreal: Univ. of Montreal, 1981. 195 pp.
167. Guth, Phyllis. " 'Der Greitzwaegschtor' Will Be No More." *Sunday Magazine of the Allentown Morning Call,* 30 Dec. 1981, pp. 2-3.
168. Gwinn, Erna O. "The Liederkranz in Louisville, 1877-1959." *Filson Club History Quarterly,* 55 (1981), 40-59.
169. "Hand in Hand mit Indianern und Eskimos: Vor Trudeaus Reformausschuß melden Deutsch-Kanadier ihre Rechte als 'Gründervolk' an." *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 11 Jan. 1981; rpt. *Canadiana Germanica,* 29 (1981), 16.
170. Harder, Bertha F. "Low German for Children: Rhymes and Poems." *ML,* 36, No. 3 (1981), 12-16.
171. Harding, Anneliese. "German Art in Boston Museums." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 47-52.
172. ———. "Walter Gropius." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 44-46.
173. Harroff, Stephen B. "Living the Set-Apart Life: Sights and Sounds of the Amish Way." *Old Fort News,* 44, No. 1 (1981).
174. Harvey, Thomas. "A Rejection of Traditional Forms." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
175. Harwood, W. S. "A Bit of Europe in Dakota: The German Russian Colony at Eureka." *Harper's Weekly,* 11 July 1898; rpt. *Workpapers of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia,* No. 25 (1977), pp. 17-20 and *HR,* 11, No. 4 (1981), 32-35.
176. Hassan, W. Richard. "Peter Schantz of the Central Conference." *Mennonite Heritage,* 8 (1981), 13, 20-22, 29-33, 47-49.
177. Haury, David A. *A Guide to the Mennonite Library and Archives.* North Newton, KS: Bethel College, 1981. 310 pp.
178. ———. *Prairie People: A History of the Western District Conference.* Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1981.
179. Haxthausen, Charles W. "The Busch-Reisinger Museum." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 53-57.
180. Haynes, Emma S. *Bibliography of the AHSGR Archives and Historical Library, Greeley, Colorado, 1981 Edition.* Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1981. 99 pp.
181. ———. "The Life of Pastor Thomas Schöck Who May Be the Last Russian German to Come to America in a Sailing Ship." *Clues 1981,* Part I, pp. 73-78.
182. ———. "The Schwartz Family from the Caucasus." *Clues 1981,* Part II, pp. 22-26.
183. "He Fights to Put Safety Reflectors on Amish Carts." *Detroit News,* 13 Feb. 1981.
184. Healy, J. J. "Grove and the Matter of Germany: The Warkentin Letters and the Art of Liminal Disengagement." *Studies in Canadian Literature,* 6 (1981), 170-87.
185. Heider, Werner. "Goethe Society of New England." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 93-95.
186. Heindel, Ned D., and Natalie I. Foster. "The Allentown Academy: America's First German Medical School." *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 2-8.

187. Henderson, Anneliese M. "Ballet." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 28-29.
188. Hennessey, James, S.J. *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* New York: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1981. 397 pp.
189. Hesse, Anna. *Centenarians of Brick, Wood and Stone.* Washington, MO: Missourian Publishing Co., 1969; rpt. with annotations, 1981. 35 pp.
190. Hiebert, Dick, ed., *Foothills Mennonite Church, Calgary, Alberta . . . .* Calgary, Alberta: privately printed, 1981.
191. Hippel, Wolfgang von. "Emigration from Württemberg in the 18th and 19th Centuries." *Immigration History Newsletter,* 13 (May 1981).
192. Hoerder, Dirk, ed. *Plutocrats and Socialists: Reports by German Diplomats and Agents on the American Labor Movement, 1878-1917.* Munich: K. G. Saur, 1981. 422 pp.
193. ———. "Prussian Agents among Polish Americans, 1900-1917: A Research Note." *Polish American Studies,* 38 (1981), 84-88.
194. Hoffmeister, Werner. "Critical Realism in Germany and America: Fontane and Howells." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 27-37.
195. Hogrefe, Jeffrey. "Belter and Rococo." *Americana,* 9, No. 1 (1981), 22-27.
196. Holli, Melvin G. "The Great War Sinks Chicago's German 'Kultur.'" In *Ethnic Chicago.* Ed. Peter Jones and Melvin G. Holli. Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 1981.
197. Hollinger, Paul R. *A History of the United Zion Church, 1583-1980.* N.p.: privately printed, 1981.
198. Hosch, Heinz L. "Das Siebenthal—Siewedahl: The Formal and Informal German Expressions from Seven Valleys." In Glatfelter, 1981, pp. 236-40.
199. ———. "Mei Siewedahl." In Glatfelter, 1981, p. 243.
200. ———. "York County, the Codorus, Seven Valleys." In Glatfelter, 1981, pp. xi-xxi.
201. Hovinen, Gary R. "A Tourist Cycle in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *Canadian Geographer,* 25 (1981), 283-86.
202. Howard-Filler, Saralee R. "Michigan's 'Plain People.'" *Michigan History,* 66 (1981), 24-33.
203. Hubbs, Valentine C., ed. *Hessian Journals: Unpublished Documents of the American Revolution.* Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1981. 145 pp.
204. Huebner, Theodore. "The German Contribution." *NYSZH,* 6 June, 4 July 1981.
205. Hunt, Thomas C. "Methodism, Moral Education and Public Schools: A Look into the Past." *Methodist History,* 19 (1981), 84-98.
206. Hyde, Cyrus. "An Early Pennsylvania Dutch Garden Revisited." *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 156-57.
207. Ishwaran, K., ed. *Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981. 191 pp.
208. Jaeger, Ruth. "Werner Jaeger." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 19-22.
209. Jantz, Harold S. "Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister:* Image, Configuration and Meaning." In *Festschrift für Erich Trunz.* Ed. Hans-Joachim Mähl and Eberhard Mannack. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1981, pp. 103-20.
210. ———. "On Collecting German Americana." In Phelps, 1981, pp. 1-2.
211. Janz, Philip. "The Schwäbisch Synod." *CHIQ,* 54 (1981), 172-79.
212. Johnson, Arta F. *A Guide to the Spelling and Pronunciation of German Names.* Columbus, OH: privately printed, 1981. 52 pp. Order from author at 153 Aldrich Rd., 43214.
213. ———. *How to Read German Church Records without Knowing Much German.* Columbus, OH: privately printed, 1981. 48 pp. Order from author as above.
214. Johnson, Hildegard B. "The Germans." In *They Chose Minnesota: A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups.* Ed. June D. Holmquist. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1981.
215. ———. "The Most Diversified Ethnic Group." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.

216. Johnson, Kathyrn L. "The Mustard Seed and the Leaven: Philip Schaff's Confident View of Christian History." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 50 (1981), 117-70.
217. Jones, George F., ed. "John Martin Boltzius' Trip to Charleston, October 1742." *SCHM*, 82 (1981), 87-110.
218. ———. "Sergeant Johann Wilhelm Jasper." *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 65 (1981), 7-15.
219. ———, and Renate Wilson, eds. *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America, Volume VI: 1739.* Athens: Univ. of Georgia Pr., 1981. 359 pp.
220. Jones, K. Paul. "Alanson B. Houghton and the Ruhr Crisis: The Diplomacy of Power and Mortality." In *U.S. Diplomats in Europe, 1919-1941.* Ed. K. Paul Jones. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 1981.
221. Jordan, Terry G. "A Forebay Bank Barn in Texas." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 72-77.
222. ———. *Immigration to Texas.* Boston: American Pr., 1981.
223. Juhnke, James C. "Gustav H. Enss: Mennonite Alien, 1885-1965." *ML*, 36, No. 4 (1981), 9-15.
224. Kaganoff, Nathan M., and Martha B. Katz-Hyman. "Judaica Americana." *American Jewish History*, 70 (1981), 472-92.
225. Kahn, Lisa. "Adding a Third Cultural Dimension." *Schatzkammer*, 7, No. 1 (1981), 14-19.
226. ———. *Utahs Geheimnisse.* Berlin: Stoedtner Verlag, 1981. 64 pp.
227. Kann, Hans-Joachim. "Neue Germanismen in TIME 1980." *Sprachdienst*, 25 (1981), 94-96.
228. Kantowicz, Edward R. "Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and the Shaping of 20th-Century Catholicism." *Journal of American History*, 68 (1981), 52-68.
229. Kauffman, Henry J. "The Pennsylvania Copper Tea Kettle." *PF*, 31 (1981-82), 2-7.
230. Keil, Hartmut, and John B. Jentz. "From Immigrants to Urban Workers: Chicago's German Poor in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, 1883-1908." *Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 68 (1981), 52-97.
231. ———. "German Working-Class Culture in Chicago: A Problem of Definition, Method and Analysis." *Gulliver*, 9 (1981), 128-47.
232. Keller, Gisela C. "Refugees: One of Many." *HR*, 11, No. 4 (1981), 7-21.
233. Kermes, Constantine. "Farm Animals at the Kutztown Folk Festival." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 146-49.
234. Kessel, Elizabeth A. "Germans on the Maryland Frontier: A Social History of Frederick County, Maryland, 1730-1800." Diss. Rice Univ. 1981. 461 pp. Abstract in *DAI*, 42/2 (Aug. 1981), 821A-822A.
235. Kiehlbauch, Rosina, "Christmas on the Homestead in 1884." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 3 (1981), 1-4.
236. Kirchhoff, Gerhard. "The Goethe Institute Boston." Tr. Heidi Blocher. In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 89-93.
237. Kirchhoff, Theodor. "Eine Eisenbahnfahrt in Texas . . . ." Tr. Robert H. Thonhoff and Margarethe S. Balzer. *East Texas Historical Journal*, 19, No. 1 (1981), 12-16.
238. Klinger, Erwin. "Unbennich." *Der Reggeboge*, 15, No. 1/2 (1981), 10-14.
239. Klippenstein, Lawrence. "Canadian Mennonite Writings: A Bibliographical Survey, 1970-1980." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 284-93.
240. ———. "Early Mennonites in British Columbia: Renata, 1907-1965." *Mennonite Historian*, 7, No. 3 (1981), 1-2.
241. ———. "The Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 3 (1981), 42-43.
242. ———. *Mennoniten-Geschichte und Literatur: Eine Bücherliste.* Winnipeg: Mennonite Heritage Centre, 1981. 16 pp.
243. Kloberdanz, Timothy J. "Cultural Integrity and the Role of Religion." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.

244. Knilli, Friedrich. "Produktionsbedingungen des Fernsehens in den USA und in der Bundesrepublik: Ein Vergleich." *Englisch-Amerikanische Studien,* 3 (1981), 223-33.
245. Kondert, Reinhart. "Germans in Louisiana: The Colonial Experience, 1720-1803." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 59-66.
246. Koop, P. Albert. "Some Economic Aspects of Mennonite Migration with Special Emphasis on the 1870's Migration from Russia to North America." *MQR,* 55 (1981), 143-56.
247. Krammer, Arnold P. *Gefangen in Amerika.* Stuttgart: Motobuch-Verlag, 1981.
248. ———. "Technology Transfer as War Booty: The U.S. Technical Oil Mission to Europe, 1945." *Technology and Culture,* 22 (Jan. 1981).
249. Kuhn, Irene C. "Historic New Harmony." *Gourmet,* 41 (Nov. 1981).
250. Küster, Mathias. "Die Geschichte der 'Central and Eastern European Studies Society of Alberta (CEESSA).'" *GCY,* 6 (1981), 264-73.
251. Landis, Mary A. "Henry Herrmann: An American Manufacturer in the London Furniture Trade." *Antiques,* 119 (1981), 1174-77.
252. Lane, George. *Chicago Churches and Synagogues.* Chicago: Loyola Univ. Pr., 1981. 256 pp.
253. Lang, Hans-Joachim. "Ferdinand Kürnberger One Hundred Years Later." In Phelps, 1981, pp. 51-70.
254. Layne, George S. "The Kirkbride-Langenheim Collaboration: Early Use of Photography in Psychiatric Treatment in Philadelphia." *PMHB,* 105 (1981), 182-202.
255. Leaman, Mary E., and Joan B. Leaman, eds. *The Story of Stumptown Mennonite Church: In Celebration of 200 Years as a Congregation, 1781-1981.* Bird-in-Hand, PA: Stumptown Mennonite Church, 1981.
256. Lee-Whiting, Brenda B. "Doddy-House Duties Outlined in 1912: How a German Farmer in Eastern Ontario Worked and Enjoyed a Secure Old Age." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 89-102.
257. ———. "Furniture Maker from Germany: Renfrew County's J. Albert Zadow." *Canadian Collector,* 16, No. 5 (1981), 37-41.
258. Leibbrandt, Georg. "The German-Russian Branch of the Lauffen-Markgroeniger Leibbrandts." Tr. Paul Reeb. *HR,* 11, No. 3 (1981), 19-25.
259. Lenz, Karl. "Deutschsprachige geographische Arbeiten über Kanada seit 1975." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 294-300.
260. Levarie, Siegmund. "Hans von Bülow in America." *Newsletter of the Institute for Studies in American Music,* 11 (Nov. 1981), 8-10.
261. Lewis, Frank D. "Farm Settlement on the Canadian Prairies, 1898 to 1911." *Journal of Economic History,* 41 (Sept. 1981).
262. Lewis, Gertrud L. "20 Jahre Deutsch-Kanadische Schulgemeinschaft in Sudbury, Ontario." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 261-63.
263. Liddell, Peter. "The First Germans in British Columbia?" *GCY,* 6 (1981), 74-77.
264. ———. "Germans on Canada's Pacific Slopes: A Brief Survey of German Discovery, Settlement and Culture in British Columbia, 1778 to the Present." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 51-58.
265. ———, and Walter E. Riedel. "Der Erzähler und Journalist Carl Weiselberger." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 167-71.
266. Link, Werner. "Demokratische Staatsordnung und außenpolitische Orientierung: Die Einstellung zu den USA als Problem der deutschen Politik im 20. Jahrhundert." In *Politische Parteien auf dem Weg zur parlamentarischen Demokratie in Deutschland.* Ed. Lothar Albertin and Werner Link. Düsseldorf, 1981, pp. 63-89.
267. Lipscomb, Terry W., and George F. Jones. "A Hessian Map of the Stono Battlefield." *SCHM,* 82 (1981), 371-81.
268. Loewen, Abraham J. *Immer weiter nach Osten: Russland-China-Kanada.* Ed. Gerhard Ens. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1981.

269. Lohmeyer, Wolfgang. "A. E. Johann: In der Welt zu Hause." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 225-37.
270. Longenecker, Stephen L. *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Pr., 1981. 196 pp.
271. Ludwig, Carl J. "The Boylston Schul-Verein." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 87-88.
272. Luebke, Frederick C. "Laws against Language: Legal Restrictions on Foreign Languages in the U.S., 1917-1923." In Schach, 1981, pp. 1-19.
273. Lunger, Harold L. *Descendants of Jacob Lunger of Derrs (1811-1896) with a Discussion of His Ancestry: A Preliminary Report*. Granbury, TX: privately printed, 1981. Order from Glenrose Star Rt., Box 53, 76048.
274. Lurix, Carl A. "The German Lutherans in Boston." *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 146-62.
275. Lutz, Hartmut. "Indians through German vs. U.S. Eyes." *Bulletin of Interracial Books for Children*, 12, No. 1 (1981), 3-8.
276. MacFarlane, Margaret. "The Minnesota Valley Restoration Project." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
277. Mai, Brent. "Zu viel Arbeit." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 45-46.
278. Malycky, Alexander. "German-Albertans: A Bibliography, Part I." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 311-44.
279. Manthe, Norbert M. *The Lineage of Ludwig and Louise Mielke*. Milwaukee: privately printed, 1981. 111 pp. Order from author at 833 N. Hawley Rd., 53213.
280. Marcus, Jacob R. *The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History*. New York: KTAV, 1981. 1047 pp.
281. ——. *The American Jewish Woman, 1654-1980*. New York: KTAV, 1981. 231 pp.
282. Martin, Bernard. "Yiddish Literature in the United States." *American Jewish Archives*, 33 (Nov. 1981).
283. Martin, Horst. "The German Contribution to B.C. Culture: Tagung in Vancouver, B.C., März 1981." *Canadiana Germanica*, 30 (1981), 11-13.
284. Mautner, Lorenz, "Die Kanadisch-österreichische Gesellschaft (Canadian Austrian Society) von Toronto." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 258-60.
285. Maynard, Edwin P. *John Mollenhauer of Ebersdorf, Germany and His Descendants*. Brooklyn, NY: privately printed, 1981. 27 pp. Copy at New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York City.
286. McGowan, Marianne. "Old-Time Weekly Brings News to Amish." *Lansing State Journal*, 26 Nov. 1981.
287. Meier, Heinz K. "Les relations de la Suisse avec la Grande Bretagne et les Etats-Unis." *Revue d'histoire de la deuxième guerre mondiale*, 121 (Jan. 1981), 41-47.
288. Meilahn, Elizabeth C., and James A. Meilahn. *Johann Meilahn, Emigrant: His Descendants and Allied Lines; A Genealogical Study*. Chetek, WI: privately printed, 1981. Order from E. Meilahn, P.O. Box 186, 54728.
289. Melady, John. *Escape from Canada: The Untold Story of German Prisoners of War, 1939-1945*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1981. 210 pp.
290. Melnick, Curtis C., ed. *The German Jewish Emigration of the 1930's and Its Impact on Chicago*. Chicago: Chicago Jewish Historical Society, 1981. 24 pp.
291. *Mennonite Genealogy: Contact Addresses*. Winnipeg: Mennonite Heritage Centre, 1981. 4 pp.
292. Merrill, Peter C. "Doctoral Dissertations in German-American Studies: Some of the Year's Best." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 4 (1980-81), 8-10.
293. ——. "Francis Daniel Pastorius: A Heroic Figure in German-American History." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 5 (1980-81), 12.
294. ——. "Retrospective Exhibition Recalls German-American Contributions to Art in Cincinnati." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 5 (1980-81), 3.
295. ——. "Texas Remembers Elisabet Ney." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 5 (1980-81), 11.

296. ———. "Volga German Music Is Alive in Schoenchen." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 5 (1980-81), 7.
297. ———. "Anton Thormaehlen: German-American Poet in Milwaukee." *Milwaukee History*, 4, No. 3/4 (1981), 79-86.
298. Mews, Siegfried. "Quo Vadis?: Zur Situation der amerikanischen Exilforschung anlässlich des Exilsymposiums in Riverside, Kalifornien im April 1980." *Arbeitskreis Heinrich Mann Mitteilungsblatt*, Special Issue, 1981, pp. 192-203.
299. Michael, Moritz. "Mission Report to Germany, 1866." Tr. Johannes Oesch. *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 34-38.
300. Mickle, Jeffrey P. "A Comparison of the Doctrines of Ministry of Francis Asbury and Philip William Otterbein." *Methodist History*, 19 (1981), 187-205.
301. Mieder, Wolfgang. "Angloamerikanische und deutsche Überlieferung des Ausdrucks 'last (but) not least.'" *Sprachspiegel*, 37 (1981), 131-34, 162-66.
302. ———. "Bibliographische Skizze zur Überlieferung des Ausdrucks 'Iron Curtain'/'Eiserner Vorhang.'" *Muttersprache*, 91 (1981), 1-14.
303. ———. "Der Apfel fällt nicht weit von Deutschland: Zur amerikanischen Entlehnung eines deutschen Sprichwortes." *Sprachdienst*, 25 (1981), 89-93.
304. Mihlhauser, W. N., et al. *Nicholas Mihlhauser, Elisabeth Jones: Their Descendants and Families, 1832-1981*. Quincy, IL: privately printed, 1981. Order from author at 1242 Monroe St., 62301.
305. Miller, Hope R. "Heurich Mansion Reflects Age of Opulence." *Antique Monthly*, 14, No. 11 (1981), 2C, 13C.
306. Miller, Levi. "The Role of a Braucher-Chiropractor in an Amish Community." *MQR*, 55 (1981), 157-71.
307. Miller, Olga. *Migration, Emigration, and Immigration, Volume II*. Logan, UT: Everton Publishers, 1981.
308. Miniclier, Kit. "She Writes in Denver, Texas: Death Recurring Topic of German Poetess." *Denver Post*, 8 Feb. 1981. [On Lisa Kahn.]
309. "Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on the Constitution of Canada." *Senate: House of Commons* (Ottawa), 26, 15 Dec. 1980; rpt. *Canadiana Germanica*, 29 (1981), 5-15.
310. Moll, Timothy L. "The Deshler Broom Factory." *Nebraska History*, 62 (1981), 73-79.
311. Moltmann, Günter. "German Emigration Overseas: History and Research Problems." Tr. Georg K. Weissenborn. *GCY*, 6 (1981), 5-15.
312. Moore, Deborah D. *At Home in America: Second Generation New York Jews*. New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1981. 303 pp.
313. Moore, Willard B. "German-American Ethnicity as Strategy." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
314. Morton, Michael. "No Time to Quibble: The Jones Conspiracy Trial of 1917." *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, 59 (1981), 224-35.
315. Mostov, Stephen G. "The Early Years of the Jewish Community." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 79-81.
316. ———. "A 'Jerusalem' on the Ohio: The Social and Economic History of Cincinnati's Jewish Community, 1840-1875." Diss. Brandeis Univ. 1981. 309 pp. Abstract in *DAI*, 42/6 (Dec. 1981), 2821A.
317. Müller, Kurt B. "Die Dreiser-Forschung der Siebziger Jahre: Tendenzen und Perspektiven." *Amst*, 26 (1981), 109-18.
318. Murray, John J. "Blank/Plank Ancestry of the Amish Mennonite Tradition." *PMH*, 4, No. 3 (1981), 13-19.
319. Nadel, Stanley. "Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880." Diss. Columbia Univ. 1981. 337 pp. Abstract in *DAI*, 42/6 (Dec. 1981), 2822A.
320. Narell, Irena. *Our City: The Jews of San Francisco*. San Diego, CA: Howell-North Books, 1981. 424 pp.

321. Naumann, Gottfried H. "Friedrich Carl Theodore Ruhland, 1836-1879." *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 82-85.
322. Newcomb, Thomas L. *Hometown Recipes of Pilgrim Mennonite Church*. Garrettsville, OH: privately printed, 1981. Order from author at 9108 S.R. 305, 44231.
323. ———. *Leseh, Schreivah und Rechlee: Reading, Writing and Arithmetic—Amish Style*. Garrettsville, OH: privately printed, 1981. Order from author as above.
324. ———. "Northeastern Ohio's Mennonite and Amish Folk." *Western Reserve Magazine*, July-Aug. 1981, pp. 70-74.
325. ———. *Observed Impact of Culturally Appropriate Materials on Old Order Amish Pupils in Remedial Reading Classes*. Garrettsville, OH: privately printed, 1981. Order from author as above.
326. ———. *What Every Public School Teacher and Administrator Should Know about Their Amish Pupils*. Garrettsville, OH: privately printed, 1981. Order from author as above.
327. *Newsletter of the Orangeburgh German Swiss Genealogical Society, Volume I*. Orangeburgh, SC, 1981.
328. Niehaus, Juliet A. "Ethnic Formation and Transformation: The German-Catholics of Dubois County, Indiana, 1838-1979." Diss. New School for Social Research 1981. 240 pp. Abstract in *DAI*, 42/8 (Feb. 1982), 3655A.
329. Noblitt, Harding C. "German Allegiance to the Democratic Party." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
330. "North Dakota Speaks with Many Voices." *North Dakota History*, 48, No. 4 (1981), 48.
331. Nusz, Frieda R. "The Buchman Family of Zürichtal and Alexandertal, Crimea." *HR*, 11, No. 2 (1981), 36-39.
332. Olshan, Marc A. "Modernity, the Folk Society, and the Old Order Amish: An Alternative Interpretation." *Rural Sociology*, 46 (1981), 297-309.
333. Osterle, Heinz D. "The Lost Utopia: New Images of America in German Literature." *German Quarterly*, 54 (1981), 427-46.
334. Pache, Walter. *Einführung in die Kanadistik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981. 169 pp.
335. Paetkau, Peter B. "Diamantenhochzeit: David und Susan Klassen." *Der Bote* (Winnipeg), 21 Jan. 1981.
336. ———. "Mennonite Life Seminar." *Mennonite Historian*, 7, No. 4 (1981).
337. ———. "Was Johannes Harder uns zu sagen hatte." *Der Bote* (Winnipeg), 9 Dec. 1981.
338. ———. "Reinfeld: A Village Recalls a Hundred Years." *Mennonite Mirror*, 11, No. 1 (1981-82), 19.
339. Palmer, Virginia A. *Ethnic Sites in Milwaukee County*. Milwaukee: privately printed, 1981. 23 pp. Author at 205 Mitchell Hall, Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 53201.
340. Paris, Erna. *Jews: An Account of Their Experience in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1981. 304 pp.
341. Park, Myrna S. "Christian Schlegel: Alsace to Illinois." *Mennonite Heritage*, 8 (1981), 15-17.
342. Parmalee, Patty L. *Brecht's America*. Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Pr., 1981.
343. Parsons, William T. "Aldes un Neies: Old and New." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 94. Rpt. in Parsons, 1981, p. 63.
344. ———, ed. *The Alfred Shoemaker Pennslyvania German Folk Cultural Files*. Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 1981. 20 reels of microfilm.
345. ———, ed. *"So hen sie's geduh": Selections from* Pennsylvania Folklife. Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 1981. 296 pp. [Chiefly rpts.]
346. ———. "Aldes un Neies." *PF*, 31 (1981-82), 43-46. Rpt. in Parsons, 1981, pp. 151-53.
347. ———, and William K. Munro. "Pennsylvania-Palatinate Informal Folk Cultural Exchanges." *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 120-22. Rpt. in Parsons, 1981, pp. 293-94.

348. Patterson, Nancy-Lou G. "The Dutch-German Mennonite Tradition in Waterloo County, Ontario." *Canadian Antiques,* 2, No. 14 (1980-81), 29-32.
349. ———. "Green Santas, Plum Pudding and 'Spritzen.'" *Canadian Collector,* 16, No. 6 (1981), 29-33.
350. ———. "A Laboratory of Tradition: A Visit to an Old Order Mennonite Home in Waterloo County." *Canadian Collector,* 16, No. 1 (1981), 32-34.
351. Pearsall, John. "Gold and Silversmithing at the Kutztown Folk Festival: A Look at the Craftsmen and Their Techniques." *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 152-55.
352. Perrin, Richard W. *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey in Pioneer Architecture, 1835-1870.* 2nd ed. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1981. 123 pp.
353. Peters, Edmund A. "Joseph Danne: Oklahoma Plant Geneticist and His Triumph Wheat." *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 59 (1981), 55-71.
354. Peters, Victor. "The German Pietists: Spiritual Mentors of the German Communal Settlements in America." *Communal Societies,* 1 (Autumn 1981).
355. Pfanner, Helmut F. "Der Tod im Exil: Zu Gebrauch und Verbreitung eines literarischen Motivs." *Arbeitskreis Heinrich Mann Mitteilungsblatt,* Special Issue, 1981, pp. 238-47.
356. ———. "Schreiben als Selbstbestätigung: Erzählen im Exil." In *Erzählung und Erzählforschung im 20. Jahrhundert.* Ed. Rolf Kloepfner and Gisela Janetzke-Dillner. Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1981, pp. 83-94.
357. Pflanz, Herbert M. "The German Aid Society." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 86-87.
358. Phelps, Julia. "Gustav Wolf." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 36-43.
359. Phelps, Leland R., ed. *The Harold Jantz Collection: Proceedings of a Sponsored Conference to Introduce the Collection to Specialists in German-American Literary Relations.* Durham: Duke Univ. Center for International Studies, 1981. 145 pp.
360. Phelps, Reginald H. "The German Example and American Higher Education." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 15-17.
361. ———. "Karl Follen in Cambridge." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 18-19.
362. Pichler, Meinrad. "'. . . die amerikanische Prosa in Poesie verwandeln . . .': Vorläufige Anmerkungen zu Leben und Werk des Vorarlberger Amerikaauswanderers Johann Josef Rhomberg." *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur,* 25 (1981), 363-80.
363. Pine, Alan S., Jean C. Hershenov, and Aaron H. Lefkowitz. *Peddler to Suburbanite: The History of the Jews of Monmouth County, New Jersey from the Colonial Period to 1980.* Deal Park, NJ: Monmouth Jewish Community Council, 1981. 233 pp.
364. Poore, Carol. "An Alternative Tradition: The Nineteenth-Century German-American Socialists." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 131-39.
365. Pracht-Fitzell, Ilse. *Die Glasbrücke.* Berlin: Stoedtner Verlag, 1981.
366. ———. *Springwurzeln.* Berlin: Stoedtner Verlag, 1981.
367. ———. *The Whistling Beechtree.* Tr. Edward Dvoretzky, John Fitzell, and Ewald Osers. New York: Vantage, 1981. 123 pp.
368. Pritzker-Ehrlich, Marthi. *Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716--1790): Eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerikaauswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts.* Diss. Univ. of Zurich. Zurich: ADAG, 1981. 343 pp.
369. Raith, Joachim. "Phonologische Interferenzen im amerikanischen Englisch der anabaptistischen Gruppen deutscher Herkunft in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania: Unter Berücksichtigung von Sprachgemeinschaftstyp und Erwerbskontext." *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik,* 48 (1981), 35-52.
370. ———. *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp, Sprachkontakt, Sprachgebrauch: Eine Untersuchung des Bilingualismus der anabaptistischen Gruppen deutscher Abstammung in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.* Diss. Univ. of Essen 1978. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981.

371. ——. "Sprachvariation, soziale Bedeutung und Sprachökologie." In Hartig, 1981.
372. Rankin, Diana M. "Ethnicity and Religion: The German-American Experience." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
373. ——. "Folklore and Ethnicity: 400 Years of Hutterite Singing." *JAHSGR,* 4, No. 2 (1981), 26-28.
374. "Recent Publications." *NSGAS,* 2, No. 3 (1980-81), 25-27.
375. Redekop, Calvin. "The Embarrassment of a Religious Tradition." *ML,* 36, No. 3 (1981), 17-21.
376. Reed. Carroll E. "The Morphological History of Pennsylvania German." In *Sprache und Literatur: Festschrift für Arval L. Streadbeck zum 65. Geburtstag.* Ed. Gerhard P. Knapp, et al. Bern: Peter Lang, 1981, pp. 39-45.
377. Regehr, Ted D. "Writing History: A Decade of Canadian Prairie Historiography." *NeWest Review,* 7, No. 4 (Dec. 1981).
378. ——. "Mennonites in Saskatoon: Some Early Occurrences." *Saskatoon History,* 2 (1981-82), 24-32.
379. Reichenbach, Bodo. "The Lutherans." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 77-79.
380. Rein, Kurt. "German Dialects in Anabaptist Colonies on the Great Plains." In Schach, 1981, pp. 94-110.
381. Reiss, W. Tjark, and George Schriever. "Winold Reiss: Painter of Plains Indians." *American West,* 18, No. 5 (1981), 28-37.
382. Richter, Anton. "McClusky's (North Dakota) 'State Press/Staats-Presse.'" *HR,* 11, No. 3 (1981), 39-40.
383. Riedel, Walter E. "Der deutschkanadische Expressionist Herbert Siebner." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 172-77.
384. Rinker, Harry L., and Richard M. Kain. "Lewis Miller's Virginia Sketchbook: A Record of Rural Life." *Antiques,* 119 (1981), 386-401.
385. Rippinger, Joel. "The Swiss-American Congregation: A Centennial Survey." *American Benedictine Review,* 32 (1981), 87-99.
386. Rippley, La Vern J. "Conflict in the Classroom: Anti-Germanism in Minnesota Schools, 1917-1919." *Minnesota History,* 47 (1981), 170-83.
387. ——. "Patterns and Marks of German Settlement in Minnesota." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
388. Ritter, Alexander. "Charles Sealsfield." In *Deutsche Schriftsteller im Porträt. Band IV: Das 19. Jahrhundert.* Ed. Hiltrud Häntzschel. Munich, 1981, pp. 162-63.
389. ——. "Deutschsprachige Literatur der Gegenwart im Ausland." In *Deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur.* Ed. Manfred Durzak. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1981, pp. 632-61.
390. ——. "Zwischen literarkritischem Vorbehalt und kulturpolitischer Empfindlichkeit: Die deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslandes." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 149-66.
391. Roan, Nancy. "Recipes from the 1830's." *Der Reggeboge,* 15, No. 1/2 (1981), 1-9.
392. Robacker, Earl F., and Ada F. Robacker. "Quilts and Quilting: Picking the Winners." *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 169-73.
393. Roe, Mildred B. "Three Wives and Poltergeists." *Detroit Society for Genealogical Research Magazine,* 44 (1981), 155-58.
394. Roger, Dieter. "Prince Rupert of the Rhine: Principal Initiator and First Governor of the Hudson Bay Colony." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 66-73.
395. Rosenberg, Charles W., comp. *The Letters of the von Rosenberg and Meerscheidt Families, 1844-1897.* N.p.: privately printed, 1981.
396. Rowe, Janet C. "The Lock Mill, Loose Creek, Missouri: The Center of a Self-Sufficient Community, 1848-1900." *Missouri Historical Review,* 75 (1981), 285-93.
397. Runnels, Jane G. *A Genealogy of the Getlinger (Geitlinger) Families in Wisconsin, 1856-1981.* Rudolph, WI: privately printed, 1981. 45 leaves. Order from author at 6200 County Trunk O, 54475.

398. "Sale of Wetzel Collection Brings Light to Masterpieces of German--American Art." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 3 (1980-81), 18.
399. Sauers, Roy W. "Pennsylvania Dutch Life along Switzer Run and Penn's Creek." *PF*, 31 (1981-82), 38-42.
400. Schach, Paul, ed. *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Pr., 1981. 186 pp.
401. Scheffer-Louie, Mary. *The Scheffer Family History; The Bergmann Family History; The Scholler and Fassbender Family History*. McFarland, WI: privately printed, 1981. Order from author at 5807 Lake Edge Rd., 53558.
402. Schelbert, Leo. "On Interpreting Immigrant Letters: The Case of Johann Caspar and Wilhelmina Honegger-Hanhart." *YGAS*, 16 (1982), 141-51.
403. ——. "The Switzers: An Essay in Appreciation." In *The Switzers*. Ed. Carol Williams. Virginia Beach, VA: Donning, 1981.
404. Scheuerman, Richard D., and Clifford E. Trafzer. *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest*. Moscow: Univ. of Idaho Pr., 1981. 245 pp.
405. Schlözer, August L. *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Kanada und Neuengland vom J. 1777 und 1778: Aus Hrn. Schlözers Briefwechsel*. Ed. Lothar Zimmermann. Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Association, 1981. 125 pp.
406. Schmidt, Curt E., comp. *Neu-Braunfelser Jahrbuch 1981*. New Braunfels, TX: Folkways Publishing, 1981.
407. Schmidt, Henry J. "Continuity and Change in an Ethical Tradition: A Case Study of North American Mennonite Brethren Church-State Rhetoric and Practice, 1917-1979." Diss. Univ. of Southern California 1981.
408. Schmidt, Herminio. "Die deutschen Sonnabendschulen in Kanada: Entwicklung und Prognose." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 183-98.
409. Schmidt, John F. "Passenger Ship Lists as an Archival Resource." *ML*, 36, No. 4 (1981), 5-7.
410. Schmidt, Peter U. "The Beginning of Hochfeld Village and the Alexanderwohl Church." Tr. Richard Schmidt. *ML*, 36, No. 1 (1981), 4-8.
411. "Schneider Home a Living Museum: It Illustrates How the Well-Off Lived More than a Century Ago." *Toronto Daily Star*, 11 Nov. 1981; rpt. *Canadiana Germanica*, 32 (1981), 13.
412. Schram, Jacob. "Letter of Jacob Schram in Indiana to Karl Zimmermann in Germany, 1842." Tr. Julie Simonton. *IMH*, 77 (1981), 268-87.
413. Schroeder, Adolf E. "The Contexts of Continuity: German Folklore in Missouri." *Kansas Quarterly*, 13 (1981), 89-102.
414. ——. *Missouri Origins: The Landscape of Home*. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Extension Division, 1981. Slide-tape program and 71 pp. text.
415. ——. "Traditional Song Current in the Midwest." In *Proceedings of the International Centenary Conference of the Folklore Society*. Ed. Venetia Newall. London, 1981, pp. 384-90.
416. Schultze, Rainer-Olaf. "Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien: Zum Geleit." *Mitteilungsblatt der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien*, 1 (1981); rpt. *Canadiana Germanica*, 30 (1981), 13-14.
417. Schüppen, Franz. *Charles Sealsfield: Karl Postl; ein österreichischer Erzähler der Biedermeierzeit im Spannungsfeld von Alter und Neuer Welt*. Frankfurt: Lang, 1981.
418. Schwabe, Klaus. "Carl Schurz: Ein Beitrag des deutschen Frühliberalismus zum modernen Amerika." *Alma Mater Aquensis: Jahrbuch der Technischen Hochschule Aachen*, 18 (1980-81), 78-86.
419. Schwartz, Marvin D. "The Manney Collection of Belter Furniture." *Antiques*, 119 (1981), 1165-73.
420. ——, Edward L. Stanek, and Douglas K. True. *The Furniture of John Henry Belter and the Rococo Revival: An Inquiry into Nineteenth-Century Furniture Design through a Study of the Gloria and Richard Manney Collection*. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1981. 88 pp.
421. Schweitzer, Christoph E., ed. *Deliciae Hortenses or Garden-Recreations (1711)*. Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1981. 150 pp.

422. ———. "The Significance of a Newly Discovered Volume by Matthæus Gottfried Hehl." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 67-71.
423. Scott, Kenneth. *Early New York Naturalizations: Abstracts of Naturalization Records from Federal, State, and Local Courts, 1792-1840.* Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981. 452 pp.
424. Scott, Stephen E. *Plain Buggies: Amish, Mennonite, and Brethren Horse-Drawn Transportation.* Lancaster, PA: Good Books, 1981.
425. Seaman, Sally J. *John Nicholas Mayer and All Known Descendants.* Central Point, OR: privately printed, 1981. Order from author at 5121 Seven Oaks Rd., 97502.
426. Segall Aryeh, ed. *Guide to Jewish Archives.* Jerusalem: World Council on Jewish Archives, 1981. 90 pp.
427. Sehm, Gunter G. *Charles Sealsfields* Kajütenbuch *im Kontext der literarischen Tradition und der revolutionär-restaurativen Epoche des 19. Jahrhunderts.* Stuttgart: Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft. 1981.
428. Seltzer, Leon F. "Dresden and Vonnegut's Creative Testament of Guilt." *Journal of American Culture,* 4, No. 4 (1981), 55-69.
429. Sevin, Dieter. "Joachim Maas: Exil ohne Ende." *Colloquia Germanica,* 14, No. 1 (1981), 1-25.
430. ———. "Theodor Plievier und Joachim Maas: Der erfolgreiche und weniger erfolgreiche Exilautor in der Nachkriegszeit." *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* (Reihe A), 10 (1981), 38-44.
431. Shaner, Richard H. "Outdoor Ovens in the Dutch Country." *PF,* 30 (1980-81), 150-51.
432. Shause, Genevieve M. *Wamplers in America.* Alamo, TX: privately printed, 1981. 417 pp. Order from author at 1341 West Business Hwy. 83, 78516.
433. Sherman, Claire R. "Rachel Wischnitzer: Pioneer Scholar of Jewish Art." *Women's Art Journal,* 1, No. 2 (1980-81), 42-46.
434. Shuman, Herman. *Highlights and Heartaches of Brethren Pioneers: North Dakota, Minnesota, Wisconsin.* Pendleton, IN: privately printed, 1981. 122 pp. Order from author at R.R. 4, Box 301, 46064.
435. Slabaugh, John M. "Early Amish Yoder Immigrants." *PMH,* 4, No. 2 (1981), 20-22.
436. Smith, C. Henry. *Smith's Story of the Mennonites.* Ed. Cornelius Krahn. Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1981.
437. Smith, Clifford N. *Reconstructed Passenger Lists for 1850: Hamburg to Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, and the United States.* 4 vols. McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1980, 1981.
438. ———. *Emigrants from Saxony (Grand Duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach) to America, 1854, 1859.* Rpt. McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1981.
439. ———. *Emigrants from the Former Amt of Damme, Oldenburg (Now Niedersachsen), Germany, Mainly to the United States, 1830-1849.* McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1981.
440. ———. *Emigrants from the Fuerstenberg Territories (Baden and the Palatinate, Germany) to America and Central Europe, 1712, 1737, 1787.* McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1981.
441. ———. *Mercenaries from Hessen-Hanau Who Remained in Canada and the United States after the American Revolution.* Rpt. McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1981. 105 pp.
442. ———. *Muster Rolls and Prisoner-of-War Lists in American Archival Collections Pertaining to the German Mercenary Troops Who Served with the British Forces during the American Revolution.* 2 vols. Rpt. McNeal, AZ: Westland Publications, 1981.
443. Sowell, Thomas. *Ethnic America: A History.* New York: Basic Books, 1981. 353 pp.
444. Sprunger, Keith L. "Cornelius H. Wedel and Oswald H. Wedel: Two Generations of Mennonite Historians." *ML,* 36, No. 4 (1981), 16-22.
445. Spuler, Richard C. "Mediating German Culture: American Germanistik at the Turn of the Century." *YGAS,* 16 (1981), 9-25.

446. Stailey, Harry N. "Brecknock Township, Berks County, Pennsylvania: An Index of Early Landholders in Southern Berks County Reflects a Mennonite Community in the Mid-1700's." *PMH,* 4, No. 1 (1981), 20-24.
447. Stanton, Larry. "Material Artifacts Reflect People's Lives." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
448. Steigerwald, Jacob. "Zur Herkunft der Donauschwaben." *Nachrichten der Donauschwaben in Chicago,* Feb. 1981, pp. 5-7.
449. Stern, Guy. "Ob und wie sie sich anpaßten: Deutsche Schriftsteller im Exilland USA." In Frühwald & Schieder, 1981, pp. 68-76.
450. Stern, Jean. "California Impressionist Franz A. Bischoff." *Art and Antiques,* 4, No. 3 (1981), 82-89.
451. Stern, Malcom H. "Jewish Genealogy: An Annotated Bibliography." *History News,* 36, No. 5 (1981), 8 pp.
452. Stich, K. P. "Grove's New World Bluff." *Canadian Literature,* 90 (1981), 111-23. [On Frederick Philip Grove.]
453. Stoll, Joseph. *Shagbark Hickory.* Aylmer, Ont.: Pathway Publishers, 1981.
454. Straub, Theodore F. *The Autobiography of Theodore Friedrich Straub: Memories of a Furniture Dealer and Funeral Director in the German-Russian Community of Eureka, South Dakota.* Ed. Friedrich S. Straub and La Vern J. Rippley. St. Paul: North Central Publishing, 1981. 386 pp.
455. ———. "Eureka (South Dakota) during World War I." *HR,* 11, No. 1 (1981), 2-4.
456. Strauch, Gabriele L. "German American Dialects; State of Research in the Midwest: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Kansas." *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik,* 48 (1981), 313-28.
457. Strauss, Herbert A. "Zur sozialen und organisatorischen Akkulturation deutsch-jüdischer Einwanderer in den U.S.A." In Frühwald & Schieder, 1981, pp. 235-60.
458. Stucky, Solomon. *The Heritage of the Swiss Volhynian Mennonites.* Waterloo, Ont.: Conrad Pr., 1981.
459. Stuecher, Dorothea D. "Double Jeopardy: Nineteenth-Century German-American Women Writers." Diss. Univ. of Minnesota 1981. 279 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 42/10 (April 1982), 4465A-4466A.
460. Styer, Betty M., and Leo E. Styer. *Styer, Gahen and Poehnelt Families of Wisconsin: History and Lineage, 1785-1935.* Baltimore: Gateway Pr., 1981. 103 pp. Order from authors at 8911 Midnight Pass Rd., #114, Sarasota, FL 33581.
461. Suelflow, Roy A., tr. "A '*Gutachten*' for Pastor Sieken." *CHIQ,* 54 (1981), 30-33.
462. Thode, Ernest. "Recent Publications Relating to German-American Genealogy." *WGAWGB,* 4, 22 June 1981, pp. 1-2.
463. Tischauser, Leslie V. "The Burden of Ethnicity: The German Question in Chicago, 1914-1941." Diss. Univ. of Illinois at Chicago Circle 1981. 286 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 42/7 (Jan. 1982), 3277A.
464. Tischler, Kurt G. "The Efforts of the Germans in Saskatchewan to Retain Their Language before 1914." *GCY,* 6 (1981). 42-61.
465. Tolzmann, Don H. "Greetings from the President-Elect." *NSGAS,* 2, No. 4 (1980-81), 1.
466. Toman, Kurt, and Martha Brunner-Orne. "The Austro-American Association." In Ackermann, 1981, p. 89.
467. Trautmann, Frederic. "New York through German Eyes: The Travels of Ludwig Gall, 1819." *New York History,* 62 (1981), 439-61.
468. ———. "Pennsylvania through German Eyes: The Travels of Ludwig Gall, 1819-1820." *PMHB,* 105 (1981), 35-64.
469. "A Traveling Exhibition Commemorates the Birth of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben." *NSGAS,* 2, No. 3 (1980-81), 13.
470. Trefousse, Hans L. *Carl Schurz: A Biography.* Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Pr., 1981. 400 pp.

471. Tucci, Douglas S. "Johannes Kirchmayer: Carver of Saints." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 30-36.
472. Turner, Shirley J. "Henry Kobel of Berks County, Pennsylvania and the Kobel Massacre." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 69 (1981), 243-51.
473. Ueberhorst, Horst. *Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben 1730-1794*. Munich: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1981. 88 pp.
474. Van Camp, Leonard. "Nineteenth-Century Choral Music in America: A German Legacy." *American Choral Review*, 23, No. 4 (1981), 5-12.
475. "VDAK—USA." *NYSZH*, 147, No. 12 (1981), B4.
476. Veidt, Frederick P. "Cincinnati's German-English Bilingual Alternative School: An Update." *Unterrichtspraxis*, 14, No. 1 (1981), 98-104.
477. Viskochil, Larry A. "Arthur Seigel: A Life in Photography, 1913-1978." *Chicago History*, 10 (1981), 66-73.
478. Vogel-Shire, Ilse. "Dialektstudie des Katharinenstädter Deutsch." M.A. Thesis Univ. of Kansas 1981.
479. Vogt, Don J. "Whitman County, Washington Germans from Russia: 1889 Whitman County Census." *Clues 1981*, Part I, pp. 56-61.
480. Von den Benken, Elisabeth. "The Ladies Aid Society and the *Deutsches Altenheim*." In Ackermann, 1981, pp. 84-85.
481. "The Waelderhaus at Kohler, Wisconsin." *NSGAS*, 2, No. 3 (1980-81), 24.
482. Wagner, Jonathan F. "Nazi Party Membership in Canada: A Profile." *Social History*, 14 (May 1981).
483. Wallis, Michael. "Mennonites: A Search for the Golden Time in the West." *American West*, 18, No. 6 (1981), 26-33.
484. Wangerin, Rudolph, ed. "The Doederlein Diary: A Sequel." *CHIQ*, 54 (1981), 113-20.
485. Ward, Don. "Unraveling the Mystery of Ethnic Identity." In Glasrud & Rankin, 1981.
486. Ward, Robert E. "Basic Aids and Sources for Hunting Down German Ancestors in the U.S., Germany, Austria and Switzerland." *WGAGWB*, 11, 8 Dec. 1981, pp. 1-2.
487. ———. "Finding Old Towns That Were Once Part of the Old German Empire of 1871." *WGAGWB*, 1, 1 June 1981, p. 2.
488. ———. "German Genealogical Periodical Items and Articles on Families." *WGAGWB*, 6, 5 July 1981, p. 2.
489. ———. "Histories of Your Ancestral Hometown in Germany." *WGAGWB*, 7, 12 July 1981, pp. 1-2.
490. ———. "Recent Genealogical Publications in Germany." *WGAGWB*, 1, 1 June 1981, p. 1.
491. ———. "Researching Ancestors in East and West Prussia." *WGAGWB*, 2, 8 June 1981, pp. 1-2; 3, 15 June 1981, pp. 1-2.
492. ———. "Some Important German Lineage Books." *WGAGWB*, 5, 29 June 1981, pp. 1-2.
493. ———. "Standard Works on the German-Speaking Element in the American Colonies." *WGAGWB*, 12, 15 Dec. 1981, pp. 1-2.
494. Washburn, David E., ed. *The Peoples of Pennsylvania: An Annotated Bibliography of Resource Materials*. Pittsburgh: Univ. of Pittsburgh Pr., 1981. 231 pp.
495. Weigel, Lawrence. "Laughter, a Good Medicine: Humorous Stories Told by Our People." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 23-35.
496. Weiselberger, Carl. *Carl Weiselberger: Eine Auswahl seiner Schriften*. Ed. Peter Liddell and Walter E. Riedel. Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Association, 1981. 240 pp.
497. Weiser, Frederick S. "The Place of Fraktur among the Mennonites: An Introduction to the Fraktur Collection of the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society." *PMH*, 4:1 (1981), 2-9.
498. Weissenborn, Georg K. "Emanuel Otto Hahn: Teacher and Sculptor, 1881-1957." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 241-44.

499. ———. "Gustav Hahn: Beloved Teacher and Art Nouveau Pioneer, 1886-1962." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 238-40.
500. ———. "Otto Reinhold Jacobi: The Landscape Painter from Königsberg, 1812-1901." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 248-50.
501. ———. "Sylvia Hahn: The Many-Faceted Design Artist." *GCY*, 6 (1981), 245-47.
502. Weitling, Wilhelm. *Die Republik der Arbeiter und die Polemik gegen Marx*. Rpt. Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Topos, 1981. [From *Centralblatt der Propaganda für die Verbrüderung der Arbeiter*, New York, 1850-1855.]
503. Welker, Mary. *Families Involved: Huffman, Welker, Blakely, Drake, Muller*. Racine, WI: privately printed, 1981. 49 leaves. Order from author at 2110 Clarence Ave., 53405.
504. Welsch, Christian. "A Voice from the Past: A German-Russian Life." *JAHSGR*, 4:3 (1981), 21-24.
505. Wemple, George J. *Wemp-Wemple Genealogy*. Lowell, IN: privately printed, 1981. Copy at New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York City.
506. Wenger, John C. "Some Major Doctrinal Emphases in the Anabaptist-Mennonite Tradition." *PMH*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 2-8.
507. Wenger, Samuel S. "Nicholas Stoltzfus in Europe and America." *PMH*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 15-17.
508. White, Ray L. *Günter Grass in America: The Early Years*. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1981.
509. Wiebe, Gerhard. *Causes and History of the Mennonite Emigration from Russia to Canada*. Tr. Helen Janzen. Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981. 73 pp.
510. Wiebe, Katie F. "Mennonite Brethren Women: Images and Realities of the Early Years." *ML*, 36, No. 3 (1981), 22-28.
511. Wilson, Joseph. "The Earliest Anglicisms in Texas German." *YGAS*, 16 (1981), 103-13.
512. ———. "The English Spoken by German-Americans in Central Texas." In Schach, 1981, pp. 157-173.
513. ———. "Lebendiges Deutsch: Anglicisms in Texas German." *NGTHS*, 3, No. 1 (1981), 19-23.
514. ———. "Texas German and Afrikaans." *Journal for Regional Cultures*, 1, No. 1 (1981), 79-87.
515. Winter-Loewen, Maria. *Gelegenheitsgedichte: Weihnachts- Neujahrs- Geburtstags- Hochzeits- Silber- und Goldene Jubiläums-Gedichte*. Steinbach, Manitoba: privately printed, 1981. 174 pp. Order from *Mennonitische Post*, Box 1926, ROA 2A0.
516. Wodke-Replinger, Ilse. "Deutsche amerikakundliche Veröffentlichungen." *Amst*, 26 (1981), 474-99.
517. Wokeck, Marianne. "The Flow and the Composition of German Immigration to Philadelphia, 1727-1775." *PMHB*, (1981), 249-78.
518. Wolf, Edward C. "Wheeling's German Singing Societies." *West Virginia History*, 42 (1981), 1-56.
519. Wollenberg, Robert. "Canadafahrt 1929." Ed. Hans Rollmann. *GCY*, 6 (1981), 251-57.
520. Wood, W. Raymond, and Gary E. Moulton. "Prince Maximilian and New Maps of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers by William Clark." *Western Historical Quarterly*, Oct. 1981.
521. Yerich. Barbara. "Our Heritage: The Seeds of the Future." *JAHSGR*, 4, No. 2 (1981), 46-47.
522. Yoder, Don, ed. *Rhineland Immigrants: Lists of German Settlers in Colonial America*. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981. 170 pp.
523. ———. "The Sausage Culture of the Pennsylvania Germans." In *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Ethnological Food Research, Cardiff, Wales, 1977*. Ed. Alexander Fenton and Trefor M. Owen. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1981.

524. Yoder, Paton, ed. *Katie: Katie Hershberger Troyer Hostetler*. Goshen, IN: privately printed, 1981. 94 pp.
525. Zellick, Anna. "Patriots on the Rampage." *Montana: Magazine of Western History,* 31 (Winter 1981), 30-43.
526. Zimmermann, H. Russell. "Mystery Surrounds Lost Statue." *Milwaukee Journal,* 26 April 1981, Section VII, p. 2.
527. ———. "The Past in Our Present: Germania Once Ruled Local Skies." *Milwaukee Journal,* 26 April 1981, Section VII, pp. 1-3.
528. ———. "The Past in Our Present: Landmark Cost Them a Fortune." *Milwaukee Journal,* 15 Nov. 1981, Home Section, pp. 1-2.
529. Zimmermann, Lothar. "It's a Long Way to Quebec: An Episode Relating to the North American Campaign of the Knyphausen Regiment." *GCY,* 6 (1981), 28-41.

Topical Index

Acculturation & Ethnicity: 4, 30, 47, 50, 65, 78-80, 85, 91, 96, 111, 113, 119-20, 135, 196, 204, 207, 216, 230-31, 234, 243, 264, 271, 280-81, 290, 295, 313, 316, 319, 328, 332, 372-73, 443, 457, 463, 485.

Agriculture: 68, 261.

America in German Literature: 40, 75, 92, 130, 209-10, 253, 269, 275, 333, 342, 417, 427.

American Literature in German-Speaking Lands: 8, 60, 164, 317, 334.

American Revolution: 12, 203, 218, 267, 441-42, 473.

Amish: 83, 107-08, 110, 159, 173, 183, 201-02, 286, 306, 318, 323-26, 332, 369-71, 427, 435, 453.

Architecture: 142, 172, 189, 221, 252, 276, 305, 352.

Bibliographic Materials: 7, 35-36, 65-66, 80, 115, 180, 224, 239, 242, 259, 278, 292, 302, 374, 426, 434, 451, 462, 488, 490, 492-94, 516.

Biographical Information: 18, 22, 48, 52, 58, 62-63, 67, 73, 76, 86, 88, 90, 114, 126, 148, 151-52, 160, 167, 172, 176-78, 181, 208, 217-19, 223, 228, 251, 254, 257, 268, 293, 295, 305, 310, 321, 341, 353, 358, 361, 368, 381, 383, 388, 394-95, 402-03, 405, 412, 433-34, 453-54, 459-60, 470-72, 477, 484, 498-501, 507, 519, 524.

California: 65, 73, 320, 450.

Canada: 3, 18, 22, 26, 37, 41-44, 52-55, 62, 68, 91, 94-97, 101, 109, 116, 125, 127, 129, 133-34, 141, 147, 164-66, 169, 172, 184, 190, 207, 211, 239-41, 250, 256-57, 259, 261-65, 268, 278, 283-84, 289, 300, 334-38, 340, 348-50, 358, 377-78, 383, 394, 405, 408, 410-11, 416, 437, 441, 452, 458, 464, 482, 496, 498-501, 509, 515, 519, 529.

Commercial, Diplomatic & Intellectual Relations: 3, 10, 16, 24, 61, 70, 84, 112, 166, 179, 187, 192, 220, 236, 244, 266, 287, 360, 418, 445, 474.

Comparative Literary Studies: 194, 275.

Customs: 159, 235, 256, 343-44, 349, 392, 424.

Delaware: 107-08.

Education: 1, 26, 37, 70, 99, 186, 205, 262, 325-26, 360, 386, 408, 445, 476.

Emigré Authors: 298, 355-56, 429-30, 449.

Emigration, Immigration & Settlement: 13, 19, 39, 45, 57, 62, 87, 93, 101, 128, 130-31, 134-35, 137, 143, 150, 158, 175, 181, 191, 200, 214, 219, 222, 232, 240, 245-46, 250, 261, 263-64, 290, 307, 311, 319, 354, 368, 387, 394, 396, 404, 409-10, 448, 457, 509, 517.

Florida: 67.

Folk Art: 1, 41, 58-59, 114, 163, 229, 348-50, 497.

Folklore: 55, 306, 343-44, 413, 495.

Food: 206, 322, 391, 523.

Furniture: 42, 162, 195, 251, 257, 419-20.

Genealogical Materials: 6, 29, 38, 44, 49, 77, 103-04, 115-16, 136, 138-39, 177, 182, 212-13, 258, 273, 279, 285, 288, 291, 304, 318, 327, 331, 393, 397, 401, 423, 425, 432, 435, 437-42, 446, 451, 460, 462, 479, 486-93, 503, 505, 522.

Georgia: 218-19.

German Descriptions of America: 237, 269, 467-68, 520.

German Language: 23, 26-28, 32, 34, 74, 82, 97, 102, 107-08, 124, 154, 170, 198, 272, 323, 370, 376, 380, 400, 456, 464, 478, 514.

German Literature in America: 508.

German-American Events & Organizations: 33, 46, 57, 64, 89, 98, 133, 144-46, 148, 185, 233-34, 241, 262,

271, 283-84, 298, 330, 336, 347, 357, 416, 465-66, 469, 475, 480.
German-American Literary Relations: 359.
German-American Literature: 20-21, 129, 132, 155-57, 170, 226, 238, 282, 365-67, 421, 496, 515.
German-American Writers: 25, 109, 127, 129, 132, 140, 147, 165, 184, 225, 239, 265, 297, 308, 362, 389-90, 422, 452, 459.
German-Americans & Politics: 72, 119, 141, 169, 309, 329, 364, 418, 470, 482, 502.
German-English Language Contact: 32, 69, 74, 154, 227, 301-03, 369-70, 400, 512-13.
Germans from Russia: 6, 45, 109, 143-46, 175, 180-82, 211, 223, 232, 235, 246, 258, 268, 277, 296, 330-31, 335-38, 382, 404, 409-10, 444, 454-55, 458, 478-79, 495, 504, 509-10, 521.
Germany in American Literature: 428.
Graphic Arts: 11, 81, 171, 294-95, 348, 358, 381, 383-84, 398, 433, 450, 471, 477, 498-501, 526.
Hutterites: 51-55, 373.
Illinois: 4, 76, 196, 228, 230-31, 252, 290, 321, 341, 456, 463, 477.
Indiana: 58, 249, 299, 328, 412, 456.
Iowa: 484.
Judaica: 11, 66, 73, 90, 137, 224, 280-81, 290, 312, 315-16, 320, 340, 363, 426, 433, 451, 457.
Kansas: 223, 296, 444, 456, 478.
Kentucky: 168.
Louisiana: 77, 245.
Maryland: 234.
Massachusetts: 2, 12-13, 15, 17, 31, 61, 105-06, 112, 153, 171-72, 179, 185, 187, 208, 236, 274, 357, 360-61, 379, 466, 471, 480.
Mennonites: 1, 37, 52, 68, 83, 95-96, 100, 109, 176-78, 190, 197, 228, 239-42, 246, 255, 291, 322, 324, 335-38, 341, 348-50, 375, 378, 380, 407, 409-11, 424, 434, 436, 444, 446, 458, 483, 497, 506, 509-10, 524.
Michigan: 183, 202, 453.
Minnesota: 23, 47, 50, 72, 79, 149, 174, 214, 216, 243, 276, 313, 329, 372, 386-87, 434, 447, 471, 485.
Missouri: 14, 152, 158, 160, 189, 396, 413-14, 456.
Montana: 525.
Music: 5, 51, 105, 153, 161, 168, 199, 260, 296, 315, 373, 415, 474, 518.
Nebraska: 32, 119, 223, 310.
New Jersey: 49, 363.
New York: 49, 90, 195, 228, 312, 319, 321, 419-20, 423, 467.
North Dakota: 330, 382, 434.
Ohio: 286, 294, 316, 322, 324, 456, 476.
Oklahoma: 6, 121, 314, 353.
Pennsylvania: 5, 27-30, 34, 38, 49, 71, 82, 111, 114, 117, 124, 150, 155-57, 159, 161, 163, 167, 176, 186, 197-201, 206, 229, 233, 238, 254-55, 270, 343-47, 351, 369-71, 376, 391-92, 399, 422, 424, 431, 435, 446, 468, 472, 494, 497, 506-07, 517, 520, 522-23.
Press & Journalism: 15, 118, 265, 270, 286, 382.
Religion: 14, 23, 37, 71, 83, 94, 188, 211, 243, 274, 299-300, 354, 372, 375, 379, 385, 407, 506.
South Carolina: 217, 267.
South Dakota: 45, 175.
Swiss-Americans: 63, 88, 123, 327, 368, 385, 402-03, 458.
Texas: 57, 70, 99, 148, 162, 221-22, 237, 295, 395, 406, 511-14.
Virginia: 384.
Washington: 479.
Washington, D.C.: 305.
West Virginia: 120, 123, 518.
Wisconsin: 7, 9, 46, 85, 142, 154, 297, 321, 339, 352, 397, 434, 460, 481, 526-28.
World War I: 113, 121, 193, 272, 314, 386, 455, 525.
World War II: 122, 247-48, 289.