

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 18

1983



E
184
.G3
6315

ENGEL GERMAN LIBRARY

Dept. of Germanic Langs. & Lits.
The University of Kansas



ENGEL GERMAN LIBRARY
Dept. of Germanic Langs. & Lits.
The University of Kansas

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 18

1983

E
184
.G3
G315



Published at the University of Kansas by
THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

with the support of
THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
and THE MAX KADE FOUNDATION

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Officers 1983-84

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 University

Secretary

Diane White, University of North Carolina-Asheville

Newsletter Editor

La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College

Yearbook Editor

J. Anthony Burzle, The University of Kansas

General Information

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

The *YEARBOOK* is published annually. The editors welcome contributions from members of the Society in English or German in all areas of German-American studies. 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 La Vern 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 University, Millersville, Pennsylvania 17551.

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

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Editor

J. Anthony Burzle
University of Kansas

Associate Editors

Helmut E. Huelsbergen
University of Kansas

William D. Keel
University of Kansas

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

La Vern J. Rippley
Saint Olaf College

Leo Schelbert
University of Illinois-Chicago

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

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>From the Editors</i>	vii
ARTICLES	
Don Heinrich Tolzmann	1
<i>Celebrating the German Heritage</i>	
Ernst Rose	7
<i>A Historian's Creed</i>	
Harold Jantz	11
<i>The German-American Tricentennial: A Closer Look</i>	
Christoph E. Schweitzer	21
<i>Francis Daniel Pastorius, the German-American Poet</i>	
Helmut E. Huelsbergen	29
<i>The First Thirteen Families: Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background of the Emigrants from Crefeld (1683)</i>	
Albert R. Schmitt	41
<i>"The Hessians and Who?" A Look at the Other Germans in the American War of Independence</i>	
Don Yoder	63
<i>The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity</i>	
Karl J. R. Arndt	83
<i>Gustav Körner, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois, Honored Fugitive and Champion of German Unity: On the 150th Anniversary of the Frankfurt Drive of April 3, 1833</i>	
Theodore Huebener	87
<i>John Peter Altgeld: The Forgotten Eagle</i>	

Alexander Ritter	91
<i>Charles Sealsfields "Madonna of(f) the Trails" im Roman Das Kajütenbuch. Oder: Zur epischen Zähmung der Frauen als Stereotype in der amerikanischen Südstaatenepik zwischen 1820 und 1850</i>	
Karl J. R. Arndt	113
<i>Sealsfield's Relation to David Warden, United States Consul in Paris, France</i>	
Hans Galinsky	125
<i>The South on Thomas Mann's Map of the United States: A Regional Aspect of Twentieth-Century German-American Literary Relations</i>	
Paul Schach	157
<i>Phonetic Change in German Dialects on the Great Plains</i>	
Lester W. J. Seifert	173
<i>Some German Contributions to Wisconsin Life</i>	
La Vern J. Rippley	185
<i>Official Action by Wisconsin to Recruit Immigrants, 1850-1890</i>	
Adolf E. Schroeder	197
<i>Eden on the Missouri: Immigrant Women on the Western Frontier</i>	
Heinz Kloss	217
<i>Die Deutschamerikaner als Vorkämpfer eines sprachlichen und weltanschaulichen Pluralismus im amerikanischen Schulwesen</i>	
Leo Schelbert and Urs peter Schelbert	233
<i>Portrait of an Immigrant Society: The North American Grütli-Bund, 1865-1915</i>	
Frederick C. Luebke	255
<i>The German Ethnic Group in Brazil: The Ordeal of World War I</i>	

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Steven M. Benjamin and Renate L. Benjamin	269
<i>Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, and Dissertations</i>	
<i>I. Supplements for 1981</i>	270
<i>II. Works Published in 1982</i>	278
<i>Topical Index</i>	294

FROM THE EDITORS

With this edition of the *Yearbook* we commemorate the arrival in Pennsylvania of the thirteen families from Krefeld on October 6, 1683, and also the inestimable impact on the development of the United States made by millions of German-Americans in the course of the past three hundred years.

The 1983 *Yearbook* represents the response to invitations to scholars in German-American studies for a contribution in their area of expertise. The articles are evidence of the intensive work carried on in our field and the recognition of the research of dedicated scholars of German-Americana during a period when such work was often not fully acknowledged.

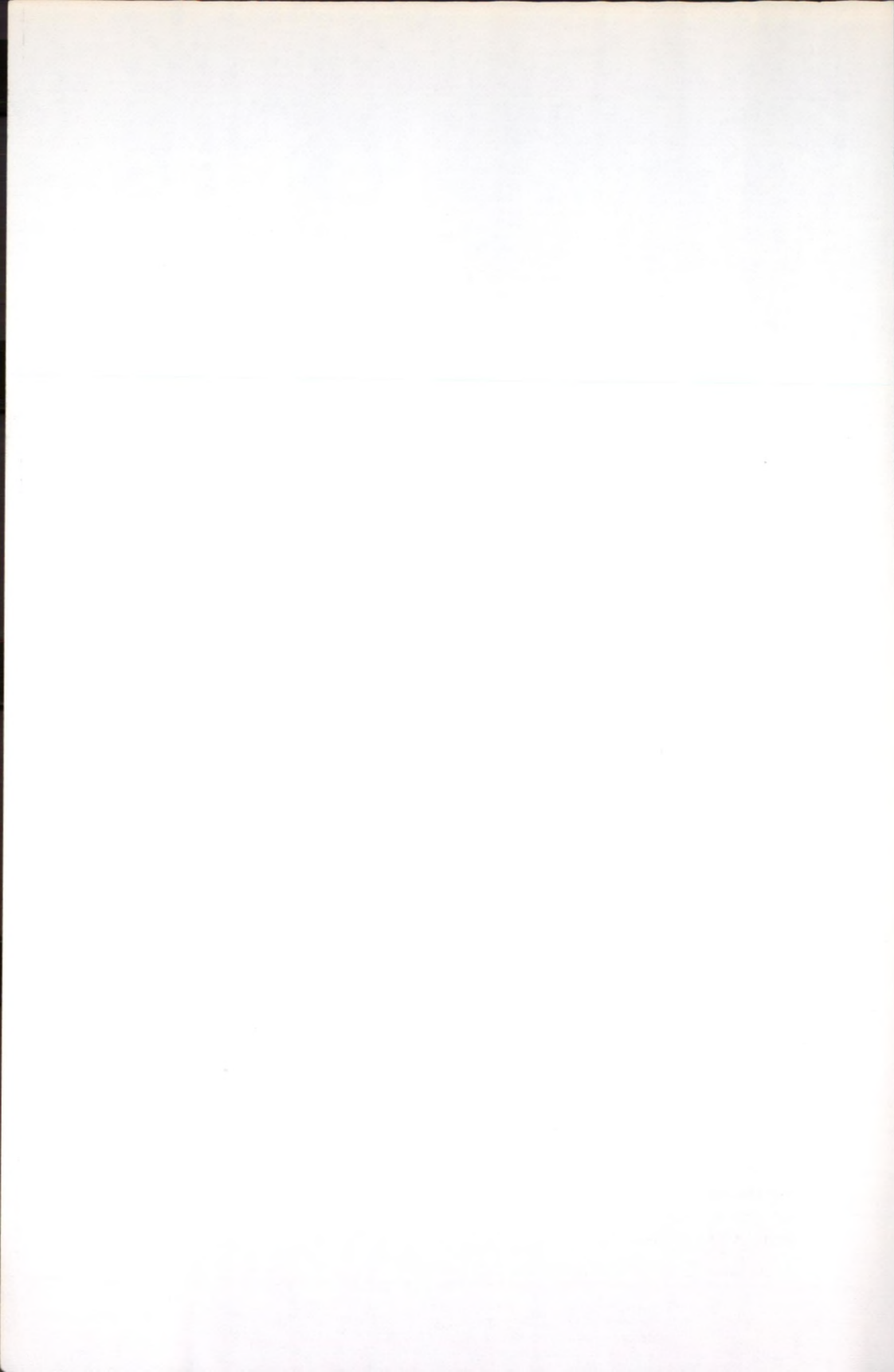
It is our hope that the tricentennial volume of the *Yearbook* together with the varied commemorative events taking place in this anniversary year will increase the interest in German-Americana and stimulate further research which will enhance our understanding of America's German heritage.

Included in the 1983 edition of the *Yearbook* is the continuation of the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana." In addition to the entries for the year 1982, we are beginning the publication of bibliographical supplements for preceding years.

The editors wish to express their sincere appreciation and gratitude to the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, and to the Max Kade Foundation, New York, and its President, Dr. Erich H. Markel, for their generous assistance in making the publication of this special edition of the *Yearbook* possible.

*Max Kade German-American
Document and Research Center
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas*

October 6, 1983



Don Heinrich Tolzmann

Celebrating the German Heritage¹

After two months at sea, thirteen German families arrived at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 6, 1683, the date which has become widely accepted as the beginning of German-American history. Under the leadership of Franz Daniel Pastorius, they established Germantown, which was incorporated in 1854 into the city of Philadelphia as the twenty-second ward. In 1683 Philadelphia consisted of a few poorly constructed dwellings, and the rest, according to Pastorius, "was woods and brushwood."² With respect to the new settlement he wrote "we called the place Germantown which to us signifies likewise the city of brothers."³

To the 2,750 acres of Germantown were soon added land of two other villages: Sommerhausen and Crefeld, both of which were named for the homes of the immigrants. In Germantown the main street was sixty feet wide and lined with peach trees. Each homestead had a three-acre plot of land. An open market place was located at the central crossing-point. The home of the scholarly lawyer, Pastorius, at first consisted of a hovel thirty by fifteen feet with paper soaked in oil for windows. The motto over his door read in Latin, "Small is my house, it welcomes the good man; let the godless one stay away."⁴ Thus began in these humble origins the history of America's largest ethnic group which today numbers about fifty million comprising 28.8% of the population.

In 1883 the bicentennial of the founding of Germantown was celebrated across the United States. The idea for it had been conceived by Oswald Seidensticker, the prolific historian and bibliographer and professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania. He, in cooperation with the *Deutscher Pionier-Verein* of Philadelphia, commenced preparations in 1882 for Germantown's bicentennial, which took place amid pomp and circumstance in a three-day festival, October 6-9, 1883. For the event, Seidensticker wrote a history of Germantown detailing the beginnings of the German immigrations.⁵ At this Philadelphia celebration, one of the main speakers was Seidensticker's colleague from

Cincinnati, Ohio: Heinrich A. Rattermann, editor of the finest nineteenth-century German-American historical journal, *Der Deutsche Pionier*.⁶ Rattermann also participated in the Cincinnati bicentennial celebrations which took place a week later, October 17, 1883. These celebrations were commonly referred to as Pastorius Day celebrations in commemoration of Germantown's founding father. Rattermann's address is noteworthy in that he directed his remarks not only to his immediate audience, but also to later generations as he stated rather exuberantly:

And now let me call out to the generations that will come after us, when they gather in a hundred years to honor their Pennsylvania German forefathers who came from the banks of the Rhine to the shores of the Delaware. And when they also think of their Ohio German forefathers who came from the banks of the Weser, the Elbe, the Weichsel, and the Blue Danube to settle the wilderness and transform it into blossoming villages and cities and farms, then let them not forget that their forefathers were Germans who shipped across the seas with great hardship and tribulation and traveled through the wilderness and mountains in order to establish a blessed, free and happy home for their children and descendants.⁷

The 1883 celebration exerted a deep influence on German-American life. At the academic level it greatly stimulated research in the field of German-American history. Friedrich Kapp notes in his 1884 history of the New York Germans that:

The 200th anniversary of the first German settlement in Pennsylvania has recently awakened a fresh interest among the German-speaking population of the U.S. for the history of the German immigration. It has caused the publication of new and quite worthwhile works in the field and has also brought older works, previously inaccessible, back into memory.⁸

It was in the decades after 1883 that this historical awareness continued to grow and expand so that the final decades of the nineteenth century witnessed the establishment of a number of historical societies, such as the German-American Historical Society, the German-American Historical Society of Illinois, the Pennsylvania German Society, and the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland. They all demonstrated an increased interest in the history, literature and culture of the German element. As Marcus Lee Hansen observed in his essay on the third-generation immigrant in America, "a breeze of historical interest stirred the German-American community."⁹

The "breeze" was indeed far-reaching. The founding of Germantown continued to be celebrated on an irregular basis in German-American communities, and the Pastorius Day Celebration came to be known simply as German Day. To place German Day on a permanent annual basis German societies formed and joined together for the first time in various central coordinating committees called German Day Societies. The phenomenal spread of these organizations led to larger regional groupings and statewide groups, such as the German-Ameri-

can Central Alliance of Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Alliance was led by the son of a forty-eighter, Charles Hexamer, a former student of Seidensticker at the University of Pennsylvania, and also a participant in the planning of Philadelphia's 1883 celebration. It was under Hexamer's leadership that the Central Alliance of Pennsylvania paved the way for the grouping together of the various similar state organizations. On German Day, October 6, 1901, in Philadelphia they established the National German-American Alliance, the largest and most influential German-American organization in the history of the United States. German Day and its first celebration in 1883 can therefore be said to have indirectly contributed to unity in the German-American community at the local, regional, and national levels.¹⁰

In 1908 the 225th anniversary of Germantown was celebrated with the central festivities taking place in Philadelphia under the direction of Hexamer, president of the National Alliance. Two special features of this celebration were the unveiling of a monument in Vernon Park commemorating the German immigrations and the publication of perhaps the outstanding and most comprehensive collection of historical essays on German-American history. It contained essays by Marion Dexter Learned, editor of the *German-American Annals*, Oswald Seidensticker, Rudolf Cronau, Albert Faust and other notable historians of the day.¹¹

German Day had by this time become an integral and central celebration in the calendar of the German-American community, as well as the common denominator which united the various social, economic, and religious elements. As a symbol and as a focal point of community unity, German Day brought together diverse groups from both urban and rural areas and provided German-Americans with a sense of their historical past, present and future. (It should be remembered that the history of American ethnic groups was not a subject taught in the public schools of that time.)¹²

Before World War I, German Day became at times an extravagant event with thousands of participants and noteworthy speakers, such as Carl Schurz. Local politicians, who had suddenly found a German ancestor in their family tree, proudly announced their discovery as they extolled the virtues of the German element. Some even attempted to flavor their speeches with a word or two of German. One of them closed his address at a 1913 Cincinnati German Day with the words:

And now, gentlemen, I have finished. I am glad that Franz Daniel Pastorius landed in America, and I am glad he did much more than land. Permit me to salute him and all his descendants with my one precious German word, "Gesundheit!"¹³

These amusing aspects of the celebrations should not distract from the central point that German Day attained a wider significance far beyond the confines of the German community. The event had become a popular folk festival celebrated by a representative cross-section of German-Americans, and was also well attended and patronized by others interested in the German-American community.

World War I, of course, brought an abruptly harsh end to this activity and obscured much of the valuable historical research that had been conducted; organizations such as the German-American Historical Society passed into the annals of German-American history. However, in spite of these casualties and the cessation of cultural activities and festivities for a number of years, German Day was again celebrated with regularity by the 1920s in German-American communities. And the next major celebration occurred in 1933 with the 250th anniversary of Germantown's establishment. Milwaukee celebrated with a German Month from October 2 to 23, 1933, but the most memorable celebration took place at the University of Cincinnati where Albert B. Faust, author of *The German Element in the United States*, presented the main address, subsequently published by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation of Philadelphia. Faust exclaimed that:

Today we Americans of German stock look backward two hundred and fifty years at the early beginnings of our history in the American colonies . . . our ancestors were there in the 17th century at the very founding of settlements along the Atlantic coast, sporadic at first, but soon to come in great waves of immigration, generation after generation, to share the weal and woe of the American pioneer, to plow the land, build towns and industries, in peaceful labor or in desperate strife. Ever advancing the frontier line farther westward until the sun was seen setting in the Pacific Ocean . . . [they] have had their share of failure and success, of trial and triumph, of labor and honest effort in the building of the American nation. They are privileged to love and cherish America as rightful partners as owners in common with other great stocks that compose the American people.¹⁴

Faust also noted that although New England has its *Mayflower* and its Plymouth Colony, German-Americans have the good ship *Concord* and the settlement of Germantown.

Although *The American-German Review* featured articles on the founding of Germantown, the 275th anniversary in 1958 passed largely unnoticed. However, the preparations for the 1976 celebration of the American bicentennial saw a resurgence of interest in the contributions of German immigrants to the development of the United States. Those concerned with the German heritage and its preservation participated actively in the bicentennial celebrations. Conferences and symposia focusing on the role of the German element in American history were held. The bicentennial along with the recognition in the 1970s of ethnicity as a permanent factor in American life contributed to an appreciation and understanding of the various ethnic groups in America.

With respect to the 1983 tricentennial celebration, let us call to mind several of its significant aspects. The tricentennial signifies the celebration of the beginning of German-American history. Although Germans had been present as individuals scattered throughout the colonies since 1607, at Germantown, for the first time, families established an entirely German settlement in America. The founding of Germantown signifies the commencement of the mass migrations that brought well over eight-

and-a-half million people to America during the next three centuries from the German-speaking lands. The contributions and achievements of this first German-American settlement are symbolic: In 1688 the first formal protest in America against the institution of slavery was issued at Germantown; in 1690 the first paper mill in America was established; in 1695 beer was first brewed in Germantown; in 1702 a school was established; and the first Bible in a European language (German) printed in America came from a Germantown press in 1743. This sampling from Germantown's early history reflects in microcosm the contributions which Germans have made to America in the course of three centuries in every field of human endeavor—commercial, industrial, agricultural, religious, intellectual, artistic, scientific, political, journalistic, and educational. Let the tricentennial serve to enhance and engender a greater understanding and appreciation not only of German-American history, but also of all that embodies the German heritage in America. Let the tricentennial also contribute to the strengthening of cross-cultural relations between the United States and the German-speaking countries of Europe, which are bound to America not only by treaties and alliances, but also by millions of family ties and friendships.

University of Cincinnati
Cincinnati, Ohio

Notes

¹ This is based on a paper presented at the Fourth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, University of Missouri-Columbia, April 1980.

² Albert B. Faust, *Francis Daniel Pastorius and the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Germantown* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1934), p. 10.

³ Faust, p. 11.

⁴ Pastorius translated his motto into German as follows:

Klein ist mein Haus, doch Gute sieht es gern,
Wer gottlos ist, der bleibe fern.

See Faust, p. 11. For further bibliographical references regarding Pastorius and Germantown consult Emil Meynen, *Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America* (Leipzig: Harrassowitz, 1937); Henry A. Pochmann and Arthur R. Schultz, *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin, 1953); and Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-Americana. A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Pr., 1975).

⁵ Oswald Seidensticker, *Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in Amerika und die Gründung von Germantown, im Jahre 1683. Festschrift zum deutsch-amerikanischen Pionier-Jubiläum am 6. October 1883* (Philadelphia: Globe Printing House, 1883).

⁶ With respect to the value and quality of *Der Deutsche Pionier* see Rainer Sell, "The German Language: Mirror of the German-American Struggle for Identity as Reflected in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1869-1887) and the Activities of *Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati*," *Journal of German-American Studies*, 11 (1976), 71-81 and Robert E. Ward, "Bibliographical and Genealogical Data in the Publications of the German Pioneer Society of Cincinnati," *Journal of German-American Studies*, 13 (1978), 113-16.

⁷ Translated in Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *America's German Heritage. Bicentennial Minutes* (Cleveland: German-American National Congress, 1976), p. 85. The original text of Rattermann's address is to be found in his *Gesammelte Werke* (Cincinnati: privately printed, 1912), XVI, 384.

⁸ Friedrich Kapp, *Die Deutschen im Staate New York während des 18. Jahrhunderts* (New York, 1884), p. ii.

⁹ Marcus Lee Hansen, "The Third Generation," in Oscar Handlin, ed., *Children of the Uprooted* (New York: Braziller, 1966), p. 262.

¹⁰ For a general overview of German-American history consult Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, (New York: Steuben Society, 1927).

¹¹ Max Heinrici, *Das Buch der Deutschen in Amerika* (Philadelphia: National German-American Alliance, 1909).

¹² For a discussion of the role of the immigrant in American historiography see Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants 1875-1925* (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1948).

¹³ Stanly E. Bowdle, *The Influence of German Life and Thought on American Civilization. Address of Hon. Stanly E. Bowdle, of Ohio, Before the German-Americans of Cincinnati, Ohio, August 31, 1913*, U.S. 63rd Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 244 (Washington, DC: GPO, 1913), p. 7.

¹⁴ Faust, *Francis Daniel Pastorius*, p. 5.

Ernst Rose

A Historian's Creed

When I retired in 1966, I had been teaching for forty-two years, and I thought that this was quite a long time. Now, in 1983, I have been living in retirement for almost twenty years, and the time of my professional activities no longer appears so exceptional. It is shrinking with each subsequent month and is gradually acquiring its lasting historical significance, a small significance indeed. Colleagues whom I knew in their inspiring prime have gone. The M.A. and Ph.D. theses which I directed have been put into dead storage, and the books I produced are gathering dust or are being remaindered. When I peruse the professional journals to which I am still subscribing, I discover too many articles on subjects with which I am but vaguely familiar or which are completely beyond my vision.¹

Yet the distance from my former haunts also has its compensations. I find myself in a situation where I no longer have to consider personal sensitivities among my presumable audiences and where the lasting outlines of my former problems and solutions come through more clearly. I have been reading fewer special monographs and far more general philosophies and surveys on related and on not related subjects. The scientific treatises of Sagan, Bronowski, Attenborough, the political surveys of Giselher Wirsing, Klaus Mehnert, Edward Mortimer, the philosophical discourses of Nicolai Hartmann, Karl Jaspers, Helmut Thielicke, Hans Küng, all have added to my general understanding and have taught me more than another article on Brecht, or Benn, or Frisch, or Musil.

On February 20, 1960, about 140 professors and teachers of German gathered at the College of the City of New York to look for new directions in a field which even at that time was becoming questionable. Lienhard Bergel of Queens College spoke on the problems of literary history. Victor Lange of Princeton explored the meaning and purpose of poetry. Erich Berger of New York City's Lycée Française pointed at Friedrich Gundolf as the protagonist of a new synthesis of detailed fact-finding and inspired intuition, and André von Gronicka of Columbia

University led a heated discussion of the contributions and shortcomings of the Marxist critic Georg Lukács. Among the debators one found such important names as Heinrich Henel and Hannah Arendt. I myself contributed the general overview and summary.

I recently came across this summary when I was sifting through my papers, and I was astonished how little had changed in the general situation of our subject, although in the intervening decades quite a few details had been added or corrected.² But the feeling of a basic crisis remained, and I was able to take up my statements of more than twenty years ago and formulate them forcefully today.

We are still living in an age where the industrial revolution is at an end³ and where a new approach to reality becomes urgently necessary; the problem is not merely a problem of a temporary inflation. In our speciality also we can no longer take things for granted and proceed along well-trodden pathways. We can no longer be satisfied with the gathering and investigation of largely irrelevant details and must instead concentrate on their display for popular and general academic inspection and on choosing the essentials which are meaningful for the representatives of other cultures and for the scholars from other branches of knowledge.

The future belongs to the generalists who can talk about German-American concerns in the languages of the evolutionists and the theologians, the economists and the sociologists, the psychologists and the archaeologists. To be sure, nobody can master the totality of human sciences and philosophies, and one can at best only approach a general knowledge. But such approaches are not without value, just as the size of π is but an approach and can never be circumscribed exactly. And furthermore such approaches are necessary, if we want to somehow solve the dire problems of our existence and not withdraw into hopeless isolation or yield to the horrible compulsion of self-destruction. Humanistic Germanists will have to learn to talk to scientists, language-bound Americans to developing nations communicating in strange idioms, xenophobic Russians to socializing Europeans.⁴

Within this wide context, our special field of endeavor—the investigation of German contributions to American culture—also assumes new significance. The field as such is, of course, no longer new. On February 8, 1964, the language teachers organized in the *Verein der New Yorker Deutschlehrer* and the Metropolitan Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German were able to devote their Fifth New York Germanists' Meeting at Hunter College exclusively to our speciality. At that time a large group of younger scholars had been at work following such pioneers as Julius Goebel and Albert Bernhardt Faust. Many detailed investigations had been enumerated in twenty-three yearly issues of the "Bibliography Americana Germanica." Henry A. Pochmann had summarized their results in *German Culture in America* (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1957) and A. E. Zucker had edited the definitive book on *The Forty-eighters* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950). Naive popular legends about the German origins of Peter Minnewit and Abraham Lincoln had been disproved, and the whole discipline had

gained a solid footing. It had even acquired the blessings of the historians in the old country, as any comparison of the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* with the recent *Neue deutsche Biographie* will show. The older biographical dictionary treated the German-Americans as lost sons, while the *Neue deutsche Biographie* includes biographies of all Germans who have contributed significantly to Western culture, no matter of which country.⁵

The contributors to that 1964 meeting were, without exception, scholars of substance, to whom it was a pleasure to listen. Adolf Eduard Zucker of the University of Maryland was able to shed new light on such a famous German-American figure as General de Kalb. And Karl J. R. Arndt of Clark University was just completing his monumental bibliography of *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955*. A younger colleague, Hanns G. Reissner from the Leo Baeck Institute, delivered a well-reasoned summary of contributions to American culture by the latest group of German immigrants, who came to the New World between 1933 and 1963 as a result of national socialistic persecutions and post-Nazi developments in Central Europe.

Again, my own task was the delivery of a summary of the results of our meeting. I was especially impressed by the truly cosmopolitan attitude of all the speakers. They represented no ethnocentrism and were entirely able to appreciate the contributions of other American groups, native-born as well as immigrant. Whoever has worked at German-American scholarly tasks for more than a few years, cannot fail to become more independent in judgement and more critical of the two cultures with which one is dealing. Whether one may be of native-born American or immigrant stock one will no longer be able to see any culture as the unique system of values it represents to the unschooled observer. The immigrant scholar in time may approach American culture more closely, but will rarely be completely absorbed by it. And likewise the American-born scholar will not become wholly Germanized. Both will end up as citizens of two worlds. This was not merely my subjective feeling, but was anticipated by the purpose of the meeting which was to deal with the German-Americans as "Spenders and Receivers of a New Culture."⁶

Our work now is freeing our minds. Even in a narrow sense it is an antidote against Northeastern and Middle Western isolationism and nativism. By teaching us the necessity to look beyond our provincial confines it enables us to appreciate transcontinental and transatlantic endeavors and makes us humble. It is history's mission to educate us into better human beings and thus contribute to a solution of the dire problems of our present-day existence.

As T. S. Eliot expressed it in a verse I quoted in 1960:

The only wisdom we can hope
to acquire
Is the wisdom of humility:
humility is endless.

Notes

¹ Every present-day scholar is, of course, familiar with the huge number of specialized articles produced annually in his/her field. Any glance at the successive bibliographies of the MLA or at the issues of *Germanistik* suffices to make one aware of the scholarly maelstrom.

² For a survey of the scholarly yields of the last decades one need but consult the new collective dictionaries and handbooks characterizing the present condition of our field. The second edition of Merker-Stammmler's *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte* is coming to conclusion with its fourth volume. Kosch's *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* and Stammmler's *Verfasserlexikon* are running through vastly improved new editions. The *Neue deutsche Biographie* has already covered half of the letters of the alphabet and will soon also make the rest of the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* obsolete. Etc. Etc. As a contributor to the annual *MLA Bibliography*, to *Neue deutsche Biographie*, and to *Dizionario Critico della Letteratura Tedesca* the author is certainly convinced of the value of summarizing the results of our scholarship. But mere summarization does not solve all of our problems and should no longer occupy the center of our attention.

³ This statement is no mere whim of the author. It is, on the contrary, amenable to a considerable amount of proof. Friedrich Wagner's pioneering study *Die Wissenschaft in der gefährdeten Welt* (München: Beck, 1964), John Naisbitt's factual *Megatrends* (New York: Warner, 1982), and other similar studies have pointed out numerous details making my conclusion more than probable.

⁴ The sciences, on the whole, have better understood the signs of the times than the humanities. This is attested by the books and television series of Sagan, Bronowski, and Attenborough, from whom any non-scientist can but profit. In the humanities the generalizers are still looked down upon, and the translators and therefore valuable communicators of Goethe, Shakespeare, and Dante are far too often dismissed as mere technicians. Cf. the author's article "Shakespeare auf der deutschen Bühne unserer Tage," in *Theatrum Mundi: Essays . . . Dedicated to Harold Lenz . . .*, ed. Edward R. Haymes, *Houston German Studies*, 2 (Houston: Houston Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 221-28.

⁵ See my biographical articles on the Follen(ius) family in *Neue deutsche Biographie*, V (1961), 286-87; on Frederick Heuser in Vol. IX (1972), 46-47, and on Camillo von Klenze in Vol. XII (1980), 44-45.

⁶ The meeting also overcame another dichotomy. The older of the two educational associations sponsoring it was narrowly masculine when I joined it in 1922. As a fresh Ph.D. not far removed from the German student generation of the 1920s I was bold enough to move that ladies of solid academic credentials be admitted as members, but my motion was defeated. In 1964 such male chauvinism had become outdated. Otherwise our meeting would never have taken place in a girls' college where Dr. Anna Jacobson and Dr. Anna Gutmann had presided over a German department. Besides being mediators between two cultures we were now also mediators between two sexual stereotypes and even in this respect gave testimony to the liberating spirit pervading our speciality. The printed program of the meeting also mentioned the Literary Society Foundation, Inc. as a third sponsor. This was founded by the merchant Georg Peters, who as treasurer of the *Literarisch-Geselliger Verein* invested the entrance fee of the *Verein* in a special fund for the support of German-American cultural undertakings.

Harold Jantz

The German-American Tricentennial: A Closer Look

Every time one lifts the lid to take a look at the past, one should be prepared to find something that one did not know was there. This is much more enjoyable and adventurous than assuming in advance that everything worth finding has already been found and that past accounts remain standard except possibly for some minor revisions and additions.

This year, when we celebrate the arrival of Francis Daniel Pastorius in Pennsylvania on August 20, 1683, and the arrival of the Crefeld settlers nearly seven weeks later, on October 6 (OS), we can be assured of hearing much repeated history, with some nice embroidery and variations on a set of familiar themes. And this can be quite pleasant, with much that is new for the young and much that is reassuring and rememorative for those who have heard it before.

If this is all that happens, then these celebrations will have satisfied one very human trait, complacency, at the expense of two other very human traits, curiosity and skepticism. It is restful to have the reassurance that what one has learned about the past remains standard and accepted knowledge, on which one need merely fill in the details. But some people are restless; they insist on rocking the boat, much to the indignation of those who want only a smooth voyage to a familiar port. They do not want to be taken off course to a strange landfall with all the disquietudes of the unknown and unpredictable.

Personally, it would be to my interest this year to carry on in the course traditionally laid down, for on my shoulders has fallen the task of editing the essential parts of the great unpublished manuscript of Francis Daniel Pastorius' *The Beehive*, and seeing to it that at least the verse and the autobiographical and historical parts of it be finally published in a responsible fashion. I shall pass over the vicissitudes that have intervened through the years to cause the loss of the bulk of the transcriptions made and to postpone publication again and again. *The Beehive*, of course, is far from being an unknown quantity. Since the

1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s there has been a succession of scholars who have examined the manuscript, excerpted it, published bits and pieces out of it, even made a start toward a more systematic publication of the whole of it, but then gave up in despairful resignation at the sheer size of it. It remains one of the largest unpublished manuscripts of colonial America and literarily one of the most important.

It would be incautious to claim more than this, because colonial American literature is still in the process of being discovered and the standard handbooks give little indication of what is really there. Even though in my *First Century of New England Verse* the newly found material far exceeded the already known, still more continued to come to light in the ensuing years, including one very large verse manuscript and several other substantial ones, so that a revised edition will have to be greatly expanded. Indeed it was my exploratory New England work that brought me the invitation to edit the Pastorius manuscript. The first step was the research that opened up startling new vistas on the beginnings of American-German relations, and with it incidentally the finding of a remarkable body of early verse that quite changed colonial literary perspectives. The resultant publications brought about election to the American Antiquarian Society and acquaintance with a wide circle of scholars in the early American field, among them the New England poet and scholar, Samuel Foster Damon, grandson of Washington Pastorius. He liked the bold new approaches of *The First Century* and its disregard of established canons that were contradicted by the facts and phenomena. He had contributed materially to it; he actively expanded my perspectives, and we had many a fruitful interchange before he invited me in the name of the Pastorius family to undertake publication of the essential parts of *The Beehive*.

The best earlier work had been done by Marion Dexter Learned, especially in *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown* (1908). Features about it may nowadays strike us as old fashioned and pedestrian; there are occasional lapses and lacks of perspective; his transcriptions from manuscript, though better than Seidensticker's, were not as reliable as they should be; but realistically speaking, we can only be fervently grateful that the task of writing this work fell into the hands of a solid, reliable, truly comprehensive (and comprehending) biographer whose lapses were relatively few and minor.

Till now everyone has been satisfied that Learned covered the biographical ground with thoroughness and reliability and that few matters of importance could be added. Actually there were several likely places where Learned and the others had failed to look and new materials have come to light. To be sure, the status of Pastorius is not likely to change radically through any further research. What is likely to change, however, are some of the larger perspectives. We have just been too downright and absolute in maintaining that the founding of Germantown was something truly new and that here were the beginnings of German settlement in what was to become the United States of America. To be sure, isolated earlier instances of German individuals coming to America have been known and recorded in the standard

accounts of the Germans in America. The point is, however, that what is known and what has been recorded about Germans in the colonies before 1683 and outside of Pennsylvania is only a modest part of what can be known. And at times it was not merely an isolated individual German, here and there, but more than that. How they came over and why, what they brought over from there and what left its impress over here, is sure to be of interest and may even turn out to be of importance. I do not want to review again the well-known incidents of prominent Northwest Germans who became leaders in the early Dutch and Swedish colonies. For these one can go to Faust, Cronau, and the other historians of the Germans in America.¹ Instead I should like to offer some fresh material that may help enlarge our perspectives and show how some of these Germans left a permanent, sometimes even decisive impact on the English-speaking populace among whom they settled and in some instances even upon the native Indian populace as well as on the colonists' perception of these natives. One still unwritten chapter about the Germans in America would be about those among them who maintained remarkably cordial mutual relations with the Indians. Some instances of this are well known, many are not, and the total picture, when it is completed, will be most impressive.

What concerns us at this point is the question: Was there actually an earlier *group* of Germans who came over together to settle in the British colonies or were the Crefelders truly the first? Such a claim can hardly be made for the German artisans who came to Jamestown at the time of the founding of Virginia Colony. They came without families, and the most we can gather from between the lines of Captain John Smith's hostile and unreliable narrative was that their relations with the Indians were all too friendly. In the New Netherlands and New Sweden the situation was different: There actually were German families among the colonists at an early date. And, as is well known, one man, Peter Minuit from Wesel on the Lower Rhine was successively governor of New Netherlands and New Sweden. And this brings us to a point that needs to be clarified, especially because it has been so often confused by American historians unacquainted with the linguistic and territorial situation of the Lower Rhine region in earlier centuries.

Quite a number of the Germans in America during the seventeenth century came from the Lower Rhine region: Wesel, Cleve, and other towns, including Crefeld. This means that their native language was *Plattdeutsch*, Low German, in a dialect that differed only slightly (hardly at all) from the language of the adjoining territory of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, only recently liberated from Spanish Hapsburg rule and formed into an independent republic. Even the Flemish provinces to the south, continuing under Hapsburg rule and largely Roman Catholic, did not lose cultural touch with the independent provinces in language and literature. Joost van den Vondel's parents were refugees from Antwerp to Cologne, where he was born and spent his childhood, though his great literary career was realized in Amsterdam. Anna Maria Schurmann, then almost as famous, and her family, were refugees from Cologne to Utrecht, and the Netherlands remained

her home except for the Altona interlude. Peter Paul Rubens was born in Siegen, Westphalia; nevertheless, he began as a Flemish artist and became a cosmopolitan artist. Hundreds of others, conspicuously groups of radical sectarians, commuted in both directions. Some of the Crefeld emigrants were of Dutch and Flemish descent, whereas prominent leaders and lesser persons in the early New Netherlands could be from Wesel, Cleve, and other German cities. Dutch/*Deutsch* was the common designation for people on either side of the border; although when High German more and more came to be the official written language of the Germans in the northwest (thus gradually dividing them more and more from their neighbors across the border), the designation "High Dutch" came to be used at times even for those Germans who continued to speak Low German. The situation in the region of Crefeld in the transition period is neatly formulated in a report of 1725: "Die ordentliche gemeine Sprache in Stadt und Fürstentum Mörs ist mehrenteils clevisch und holländisch, nach dem niederländischen Idioma, wie wohl sonst in publicis scripturis und im Predigen nur die hochdeutsche Sprache im Gebrauch, wie insonderheit der Stylus curiae auch überall hochdeutsch ist."² Pastorius, although from the Main region of Germany, wrote verses in Low German or Dutch as well as in High German (beyond this in five other languages). In Germantown from the beginning the official languages were High German and English.

In sum, from the early decades of the seventeenth century onward there were German families in the New Netherlands and also in the other colonies to the north and south. They quickly adapted to their larger social environment and soon became indistinguishable, all the more because many of the German names needed no more than slight changes in spelling to appear as Dutch or English names, while others underwent more drastic changes toward the same end. Only special circumstances, documentary or otherwise, caused certain of the colonists to be clearly identified as Germans, and there are such from all the colonies, north, middle, and south, occasionally as prominent as the Crowninshields of Massachusetts or as John Lederer who ranged from the Carolinas, Virginia, and Maryland to Connecticut.

There was one group of German settlers, however, that, albeit assimilated to the vanishing point, did leave a marked influence upon their more numerous English neighbors. They came over more than a half century before the Crefelders. They remain unmentioned in the standard accounts of the Germans in America and one has to look hard to find even a mention of them elsewhere, and then it is only a mention without the further filling in of the background that would make the whole matter intelligible. Here too confusion lurks, especially for those whose hold on history is a bit shaky.

Thus with regard to these early emigrants of 1630, we need first of all to remember that there were two times in history when larger groups of people from the Palatinate left their land, each time to become refugees in England, some staying there or in Ireland, others continuing on a westward course to a new home in a strange new world. The second

and greater wave of Palatine refugees is well known and frequently mentioned, the generation that suffered an unrelenting series of disasters, from the terrorist French invasions on to the climatically calamitous winter of 1708-1709, that brought them by the thousands to England, where Christian charity had one of its great opportunities to be put into effect, in part under the leadership of Queen Anne's husband, the pious Prince George of Denmark and his court chaplain, Anthony William Boehm, a Pietist and disciple of August Hermann Francke of Halle.

By contrast, all too little is known about the American consequences of some prior Palatines having to flee their land early in the Thirty Years' War when Spanish Hapsburg forces invaded the land and subjected Heidelberg to Catholic control from 1621 onward. The number of refugees reaching England on this occasion was smaller, but the impact was probably larger. Just how large it was cannot be simply gathered from any one extant historical treatise, the one partial exception being the little-known but important work by Frances Rose-Troup, *John White, the Patriarch of Dorchester [Dorset] and the Founder of Massachusetts . . .* (New York and London, 1930)—hardly a likely place to look for German Americana. For this work she had the good fortune to have available the manuscript diary of one of John White's parishioners at Old Dorchester, William Whiteway the Younger (ca. 1599-1635) who recorded not only the local events but also the news from the rest of England, also from the Continent, especially Germany as it became engulfed in the Thirty Years' War, and, notably, from the people who were preparing the way for the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. Among these the Reverend John White was one of the most active and effective leaders. Thus from Whiteway's diary Rose-Troup was able to inform us that in 1626 "4 gentlemen, all of the Palatinate, came hither for shelter, and were entertained. Their names were:—Mr. Sleer, Mr. Fisher, Mr. Haake and Mr. Hopff" (pp. 43 f.). And from other sources she could add the names of two further refugees, the Heidelberg and Dorchester physician and author Frederick Lossius, and John Nicholas Rulizius (or Reuliss or Rulice), who became a pastor of the Church of England and John White's assistant from 1627 to 1631. John Caspar Hopff married White's niece, Katherine Gardner, and took his medical degree at Oxford. Among them all Theodore Haak attained the greatest fame as the original founder of a scientific society that was later to develop into the Royal Society, but also as a friend of Milton and the first translator of *Paradise Lost* into German blank verse.

We learn much more about these Palatine exiles and their English associates from G. H. Turnbull's *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius: Gleanings from Hartlib's Papers* (1947), for us an essential supplement to Rose-Troup and an extension to further vistas.

A historical pattern begins to become visible here for one, when we add that Theodore Haak was also a friend and correspondent of John Winthrop the Younger, the founder and long-time governor of Connecticut, but especially when we learn that other Palatine refugees in England gravitated to localities where the Puritans were strong, for instance northward to Old Boston where another famous Puritan pastor

befriended several of them, including young Peter von Streithagen who after the war and the restoration of the Palatinate rose to prominence in the Reformed Church and in gratitude to his benefactor (who had meanwhile moved to Boston, Massachusetts) translated John Cotton's *Way of Life* into German—this apparently the first American book to be so translated. John Davenport, later founder of New Haven Colony, also maintained close contact with the German refugees. The point is that the English Puritans were not primarily or strictly Calvinist; in the New England libraries the theological works from Geneva were far fewer than those from Heidelberg and Herborn, the intellectual centers of the German Reformed Church. Even before the Thirty Years' War there were notable personal and epistolary contacts; one New Englander, Nathaniel Ward, even reported on his Heidelberg conversation with David Pareus, one of the most gentle and conciliatory of the Reformed theologians. And by the way, Gottfried Arnold lists Cotton's *Weg des Lebens* among the mystical books, and truly, it is in no way the work of a stern, uncompromising Calvinist. Thus it is only natural that the Palatines in English exile should seek out the like-minded Englishmen, go to live with them, and become interested in their plans to escape Archbishop Laud's persecution and settle in the freedom of the New World. One of the books the Puritans took with them to America was the *Politica* by the Herborn jurist Johann Althusius, demonstrating logically and biblically that the republican form of government was the best. The manuscript notes by Samuel Mather in the family copy show how its influence continued to the days of the American Revolution.

All this makes more meaningful and comprehensible the treatise on the new American settlement that John White issued at the time of the departure of the Winthrop fleet for Massachusetts Bay. The title reads: *The Planters Plea. Or The Grovnds of Plantations Examined, And vsuall Objections answered. Together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately vndertaken a Plantation in Nevv-England: For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulnessse of the Action* (London, 1630). The full title indicates some of the suspicion and hostility with which this enterprise was regarded by those who felt that the Puritans, who in England were merely anticereemonialist yet generally loyal members of the episcopal Church of England, would in the New World change from nonconformists to separatist Congregationalists. White admits that some modifications might take place, in part out of consideration for the non-episcopal Germans embarking with the Winthrop fleet. Here are his words, here is his statement that the presence of the German colonists in the community would be an influence on the way of life in the New World. It comes on page sixty-five of the original edition where White analyses the varied motivation of settlers sailing for New England, turning last to "the most and most sincere and godly part":

That of them, some may entertaine hope and expectation of enjoying greater libertie there than here in the use of some orders and Ceremonies of our Church it seemes very probable. Nay more then that, it is not improbable, that partly for their sakes, and partly for respect to some

Germans that are gone ouer with them, and more that intend to follow after, euen those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unitie, (the onely soder of a weake unsettled body) will be wonne to consent to some variation from the formes & customes of our Church. Nay I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our State civill or Ecclesiasticall: Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes.

But what happened to these early New England Germans? Where in the records of the Massachusetts Bay is there any further mention of those who went over with the Winthrop fleet and those who "intend to follow after"? The only German whom Winthrop mentions by name was Jost (or Justus) Weillust, the surveyor of ordnance, but he, much to Winthrop's regret, returned to Germany after only a year and a quarter in New England. What happened to his name as it was passed on by speech, ear, and writing among the colonists and their English friends may offer some clue of what happened to the other Germans. His name "Justus" pronounced in the German way was soon understood to be Eustace, and so by 1633 he actually appears in the correspondence as "Mr. Eustace," the namesake of St. Eustachius. This may be an extreme example of the English assimilation of the foreign, though there are others just as colorful. And when a German was named Fischer, or Braun, or Arnold, or Thomas, or Lang, or in any one of a dozen or twenty other ways, his name could be Englished with only slight change. In those days there was a sovereign indifference to orthography, and a person would spell even his own name in three or four different ways, depending on the mood he was in. Thus many a German in New England could have disappeared into an English recording, either easily or with some help from the ear and the imagination.

Another, grimmer factor was the danger of mortal illness during the early years in this strange new world. And this could affect the most privileged and resourceful as well as the most humble. Two sisters of the young Earl of Lincoln were among the early colonists. Lady Arabella and her husband, Isaac Johnson, who came over with the Winthrop fleet that spring, died before the summer was over. Her sister, the Lady Susan, who came over with her husband, John Humfrey, in 1634 survived, only to be subjected to a more prolonged distress. By the same token some or many of the Germans may have died within a few months or years after their arrival. By contrast, other settlers, including some of the prominent leaders, lived on in good health to their eighties and even nineties, enjoying the invigorating climate of their new home. How many Germans returned to Europe, once peace was again established after 1648, we do not know. We do know that some of the Palatines in England did return to Heidelberg and environs. We also can name some of the Germans who lived in New England during the seventeenth century.

We cannot count one transient Swiss from Zürich, Felix Christian Spöri, a physician, who stayed in Rhode Island for several weeks in 1661, recounted a fine bear story and encountered a "Ratelschneak."

Another physician, John Lederer, after his explorations of western Virginia and Carolina, practiced medicine in Connecticut, continued his study of the American Indians, including their medical practices, and corresponded with Governor John Winthrop the Younger in 1674 and 1675 before returning home to Hamburg via Barbados. In the 1680s there were two more German physicians, Henry Burchstead of Nahant and Johann Caspar Richter von Kronenscheldt of Lynn, from whom the eminent Crowninshield family of Salem has descended. Literarily the most active was Christian Ludwig or Lodowick of Newport and Boston who published his first American work in 1692 and his first important German work in 1706. Aside from the physicians there were such assorted Germans before the turn of the century as the Boston silversmith Willem Ross from Wesel, another army engineer, Colonel Wolfgang Romer, and one of the first settlers of Rhode Island, Captain John Luther. No doubt there were others not yet identified.

In the Middle and Southern Colonies there were a number of individual Germans whose names and activities have been recorded in past publications. Outside of Pennsylvania there were relatively few before 1700, in contrast to the many in the next century in settlements ranging from New York, Maryland, and Virginia, through the Carolinas to Georgia. Pastorius after his arrival encountered Germans who had been in America twenty years or more: Silesians, Brandenburgers, Holsteiners, Swiss, etc. But one fascinating German has been entirely overlooked. It was Henry Jacob Falckenberg of Burlington, New Jersey, who by 1684 had been long enough in America to have acquired a mastery of the local Indian language and to serve as translator for the Quaker settlers there. Translations of his were published by Thomas Budd in a pamphlet entitled *Good Order Established in Pennsilvania & New-Jersey*, printed at Philadelphia by William Bradford in 1685. Thus Falckenberg was apparently the first German author with an American publication, preceding Lodowick (1692), Pastorius and Köster (both 1697) by several years. And his work is intrinsically interesting, the first part being: "The Dying-Words of Ockanichon, spoken to Jachkursoe, whom he appointed King after him . . ." (pp. 30 f.). What follows is a fine early example of native Indian eloquence and wisdom. Next comes (pp. 32 f.) the report on a conference held with the Indians, this translation not designated as being by Falckenberg but almost certainly by him, again a pioneer example, this time of an Indian oration, of which more and greater ones were to be recorded in the following century, particularly those in the supple, sensitive renderings of Conrad Weiser, with his awareness of the remarkable individuality developed by the several noted orators, in their range from high seriousness to charming whimsical humor, characteristically with a vivid metaphorical incisiveness. As printed by Benjamin Franklin, his reports on the proceedings for the various Indian treaties and conferences in Pennsylvania have entered American literature as pieces truly worthy of critical attention, although they remain largely unknown even to many an admirer of early American literature.

The chief point to remember is that the whole field of German-American studies is still in a state of flux and that all the supposedly established verities continue to be subject to question and to possible revision, sometimes radical revision. Unfortunately, many of the writers in the field are unaware of this; they take it for granted that the past centuries have been adequately surveyed and that the only chance for something really new lies in the twentieth century. Quite the contrary is the case, as Morton Nirenberg, for instance, showed for the earlier nineteenth century and Guy Hollyday for the mid-century. Most of the boundary posts for that period have now been moved. One further example: Some years ago in Ulm I found an old book entitled *Briefe eines jungen Gelehrten an seinen Freund* (1802); leafing through it later I found that in the 1770s there was a young South Carolinian, Francis Kinloch, who was living on terms of close friendship with the soon-to-be famous Swiss historian, Johannes von Müller, whose early correspondence with Carl Victor von Bonstetten constituted the volume. Subsequently at Schaffhausen I found over a hundred still unpublished letters from Francis Kinloch during his European and American years, also a few from his brother Cleland in Hamburg in a colorful imperfect German. For literary style as well as for content the Francis Kinloch letters are outstanding, and of course Johannes von Müller is known as one of the distinguished prose stylists of the age of Goethe. It is therefore to be hoped that his half of the correspondence can be traced to some Southern plantation house or local historical society.

That further German Americana of equal or greater value is still to be found is all but certain. Among the recently achieved and in progress is the monumental, fundamental work that such scholars as Karl J. R. Arndt and George Fenwick Jones have been carrying on. And one can only hope that there will be further publications of the excellence of Christoph E. Schweitzer's edition of Pastorius' *Deliciae Hortenses or Garden-Recreations and Voluptates Apianae* of 1982. Such achievements will make it easier to accept the more derivative efforts as well intended and even useful tributes to the early German pioneers who decisively helped to give form to those United States in which we continue to live. And a positive, more lasting benefit will come if these celebrations stimulate further young scholars to look more closely at these pioneers and find out what further rich yields a closer study of them would bring. The eighteenth century is rich in the still unexplored. And there are also later fascinating individuals who have been forgotten or largely neglected.

Inasmuch as one of the phenomena we have noted in passing has been the succession of German pioneers who came into close cordial contact with the native Indians, allow me to conclude with another individual of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century who deserves to be better known and more widely studied. It was Rudolf Cronau, who began his career with his important researches on the several landings of Columbus in the West Indies, researches that were given full recognition by the great historian of the early voyages, Samuel Eliot Morison. Cronau's important later volume on the German element in the United States was overshadowed by the more extensive and

detailed work of Albert Bernhardt Faust that became standard in the field. There is much in Cronau, however, to supplement Faust, and there is one section in his work that is vastly superior, namely the one on the German artists in America, though here too we now need a more comprehensive survey. I later found out why his treatment of German-American art was superior when I came upon a splendid folio volume of colored plates done from his paintings of American scenery and American natives during his far-ranging expeditions. One of the portraits he painted while out in the Far West was that of Sitting Bull, and during his sojourn with him a warm friendship developed between the two men, as I learned only after I had located the lengthy obituary of Cronau that appeared in the *New York Herald-Tribune* for October 28, 1939, just forty-four years ago. The choice piece of news was that Sitting Bull had been stimulated by his friendship with Cronau to learn German from him and to converse with him in that language. One can only hope that since his victory at Little Big Horn he and that more unfortunate German American, General George Custer, have met again on the Happy Hunting Ground and achieved a conciliation of their earthly differences. Under such phantasmagoric circumstances it might even be possible to propose that Sitting Bull should in this centennial year be declared an honorary German American.

Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Notes

¹ Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909); Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1909).

² Quoted in Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien*, (Erziehungsverein Neukirchen Kreis Moers, 1940), p. 58. The volume contains much valuable material on the German backgrounds, not only of the Lower Rhine but also, e.g., of the crucial ones in Wittgenstein (Berleburg and Schwarzenau).

Christoph E. Schweitzer

Francis Daniel Pastorius, the German-American Poet

When it comes to his poetry, Francis Daniel Pastorius (1651-1719) must be characterized as another "großer Unbekannter." There are a few samples of his verse in the anthologies of Heinrich Arnim Rattermann and John Joseph Stoudt, but the transcriptions are faulty and neither of the anthologies is readily available.¹ Marion Dexter Learned, who is also the author of a detailed biography of Pastorius, published a selection of his verse in the *Americana Germanica*, a journal that is by now fairly rare.² Finally, there is my edition of the *Deliciae Hortenses and Voluptates Apianae* manuscript (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1982). The relatively short manuscript contains, among other material, verses on flowers and bees. In her dissertation DeElla Victoria Toms has probed the intellectual and literary background of some of Pastorius' poetry.³ The purpose of the following pages is to introduce the poet by selecting and discussing from his vast oeuvre what we believe is representative of his best efforts in the German language.⁴

Francis Daniel—he changed his first name from Franz after his arrival in Pennsylvania—was born in Sommerhausen, Franconia. Like his father, Melchior Adam, Francis Daniel became a lawyer and wrote, in addition to factual accounts, a good deal of poetry. Francis Daniel came to Philadelphia as agent of the so-called Frankfurt Company that had bought a large tract of land from William Penn. Pastorius was joined by thirteen Krefeld families who also had acquired land from William Penn. Thus it came to the founding of Germantown in October of 1683, the first permanent German settlement in the colonies.

The first years in Germantown were extremely difficult for the small group of settlers. But Pastorius was soon able to put his training to good use and became a prominent citizen; he held a variety of posts in the town government, taught school, and provided legal services for his fellow immigrants. In his later years as a member of the leisure class he had time for horticulture and apiculture, for polite society, and especially for reading and writing. His interests covered a wide range, from the Bible to all of history, from legal and moral treatises to medicine

and accounts of the unusual, from the origin of words to word games. He had, then, encyclopedic interests, not uncommon for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European men of letters but out of place among the early German-American settlers in the colonies. Pastorius published a number of prose works, foremost among them the *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung* of Pennsylvania in 1700. He left many manuscripts, the most important of these being the so-called *Beehive*. This manuscript measures 7½ × 12 inches, comprises over 850 pages, and is filled with his small, but usually very legible handwriting. Here we find the most complete body of material that Pastorius composed, adapted, translated, collected, and organized during his life. The *Beehive* is now a prize possession of the Rare Book Collection of the Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library of the University of Pennsylvania. Harold Jantz has been trying for years now to make the *Beehive*, or at least its most interesting parts, generally accessible, a truly Herculean undertaking.

Before we begin to discuss Pastorius' poetry, especially his epigrams, we must address the question as to why he never published a book of verse himself. There are several possible explanations. One reason must have been that he saw himself primarily as a compiler and transmitter of knowledge. He wanted to amass as much information as possible for his two sons who, as he stated, would not have the benefit of their father's superb university education. Thus, some of the poetry found in the *Beehive*, the manuscript that was to pass on to his sons, is copied from other authors. Then, there is the issue of readership. It seems that the bulk of Pastorius' own verse dates from after 1683. His fellow German-American immigrants were primarily interested in almanacs, hymnals, and other Christian literature, if they read at all. A look at Oswald Seidensticker's *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia, 1893; rpt. 1966) informs us that religious publications predominated among the books in German printed in the colonies. Pastorius also wrote religious poetry, but here he did not plead the cause of any one of the many competing Protestant denominations to which German-Americans belonged. As we will see below, he was above sectarianism and thus lacked denominational backing. Finally, there is the issue of choice of language. Pastorius knew that English would be the language of his two sons and therefore turned more and more to that language when compiling information for the *Beehive*. Also, even though he began studying and speaking English only after leaving Germany at age thirty-two, he ultimately wrote more poetry in that language than in German since he could in this fashion communicate with his many English-speaking friends who shared with him a similar cultural background. A manuscript in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, entitled *Alvearialia* attests to Pastorius' enormous efforts to learn English: It is filled with excerpts from a great variety of books in English.

For an understanding of Pastorius' approach to poetry we should look at another manuscript, also in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with the title *Common Place Book*, actually the *Phraseologia Teutonica*. The fairly lengthy manuscript seems to consist of nothing but an alphabetically arranged list of words and their synonyms. On closer

inspection one notices that for many entries there is a category called "poetic." Under this category Pastorius has collected synonyms and phrases that a poet might use in lieu of or in connection with the entry word. Thus, for "Bienen" we find: "Jmmen. arbeitsame honigvögelein. Die gulden gelbe schar. Schumsen [?] und brummen der bienen."⁵ And for "Spinne" there is: "hochhangend mit giffit geschwängert. ertzspin-nerin webet ihre Zelt. gewiß ist, keine menschen hand, die spinnt mit solchem Kunstverstand."⁶

Here we have a key to Pastorius' approach to writing verse, an approach that is especially conducive to the writing of epigrams, that is, of brief gnomic and ironic poems. The point of departure is a word, a thing, even an idea. That word or concept is then amplified. The amplification can take the form of a lesson, a serious reflection on life either from a specifically Christian point of view or from one of general wisdom. A second type of amplification has either a satiric or a humorous twist to it. Finally, there are verses in which Pastorius shows off his linguistic ingenuity, where he plays with words and forms. It is interesting to discover that both Ruth K. Angress and Jutta Weisz describe the same three types when it comes to a classification of German epigrams.⁷ That this genre, which is characterized by wit and pithiness, was also very much on Pastorius' mind when it came to writing poetry, is confirmed by his hope that his verses will be "sharp" and not "edgeless."⁸

In the following we will, with few exceptions, present samples of the three types of epigrams from Pastorius' work since we believe that, at least as far as his German verse was concerned, this genre suited his poetic abilities best. First, though, we want to quote a poem that does not belong to that genre and that contains a clearly Christian message. Pastorius was, after all, a sincere believer who wrote many verses with religious sentiments:

Mir *Jesus* alles ist, die welt mag immer lauffen
nach Ehr u. hohem Pracht, u. sich umb selbe rauffen
Wie *Alexander* thät; Jhm *Midas* gold erkiest;
Und wollust *Epicur*. Mir *Jesus* alles ist.
Die Ehre bringt beschwerd; das gold hat seine diebe;
bey wollust ist gefahr. Die unzertheilte Liebe
Zu *Jesu* giebet Trost, so unser hertz durchsüßt.
Weg Ehre, wollust, gold! mir *Jesus* alles ist.⁹

Pastorius uses the venerable alexandrine, introduced by Opitz as the meter best suited for serious poetry. Our poet allows an effective stress irregularity, such as one might also find in the alexandrines of his predecessors, in the last line where "Weg" is stressed and finds its counterpart in the regularly stressed "Jesus." The poem is built on the typically Baroque antithesis of worldly vs. spiritual values. Also in keeping with the poetic tradition are the prototype figures from antiquity that were passed on from one generation to the next. The first quatrain is effectively enclosed by a phrase that is also used as the conclusion; it could well have been the title of the poem. Instead, as title

Pastorius has a Latin phrase that might have formed the point of departure for the German verses: *Mea Spes est unica IESUS*. An English poem on the same theme follows in both the *Phraseologia Teutonica* and *Beehive* manuscripts.

Let us now turn to the first type of epigram, the one with a serious intent. The following poem is representative of Pastorius' idea of a truly Christian life:

Quietisten, Pietisten,
sind nur Nahmen, Wahre Christen,
Müßen doch mit furcht u. beben
streben Still und fromm zu leben.¹⁰

Line three has a reference to "Phil 2.12" and line four a reference to "1 Tim. 2.2" to give the epigram Biblical authority. In other words, Pastorius favored an inward Christian life over one of propagation of a given creed. In the face of the ever-increasing sectarian splintering, especially noticeable among the German-Americans, he stresses the essential aspects of a truly religious existence in four pithy lines.

Such an attitude is also the basis for Pastorius' antislavery stance as seen in these four lines of a longer poem:

Allermaßen ungebührlich	ist der Handel dieser Zeit,
Daß ein Mensch so unNatürlich	and're druckt mit Dienstbarkeit:
Jch möcht einen solchen fragen,	Ob Er wohl ein Slav wolt seyn?
Sonder Zweiffel wird Er sagen,	Ach bewahr mich Gott! Nein, Nein. ¹¹

These ideas find their official expression in the protest against slavery Pastorius and three other Germantown residents signed on February 18, 1688, for presentation at the Quaker monthly meeting.¹²

In the following we shall give three more examples of the type of epigram that imparts a general lesson. It is common knowledge that vanity, the transitory nature of human life, was one of the favorite themes of Baroque poetry. For Pastorius, as for others, the theme is easily combined with the thought of a fast-wilting flower:

Recht Kluge menschen wißen,	Daß sie und die Narcissen
Diß Welt-rund nur begrüßen,	Und bald von hinnen müßen. ¹³

The smooth meter and the single rhyme make for speed and thus reinforce the idea of brevity.

On the title pages of the *Beehive* and the *Voluptates Apianæ* manuscripts we find:

Beßer bringt man Honig-seim	Immen-gleich von fernen heim;
Als daß man nach Art der Spinnen	Selbst was giftigs solt ersinnen. ¹⁴

There are Greek, Latin, and English versions of the same thought on the *Beehive* title page. A check of Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne's *Emblemata* establishes the fact that the idea was a literary commonplace.¹⁵ "Von fernen" means here out of books and thus refers to the source of much of the poetry of Pastorius and of Baroque literature in general. Originality or *Erlebnisdichtung* was not something a poet of

Pastorius' time strove for. There were exceptions: Thus, he has a series of poems on his adventures with swarms of bees, but they are of a descriptive nature and usually culminate in a sententious phrase. The bee-spider epigram was chosen by our author for such prominent places as the two title pages exactly because it expressed his own idea about what an author should aim for. At the same time, this approach to writing leaves the critic guessing as to the "newness" of the product; that is, not the "newness" of the idea, but the "newness" of the melding of form and contents. It might be that one or the other verse quoted here to exemplify Pastorius' art could have been taken by him verbatim or almost verbatim from another poet. It would be a superhuman undertaking to try to trace the many poems found in Pastorius' manuscripts to their models: There are too many possibilities in too many different languages.

However, there is one epigram in both the *Beehive* and the *Deliciae Hortenses* manuscripts that can be traced to its source: Pastorius rewrote this well-known epigram by Logau:

Frage.

Wie wilstu weisse Lilien / zu rothen Rosen machen?
Küß eine weisse *Galathe*, sie wird errothet lachen.¹⁶

In Pastorius we find:

Wie wilstu weiße Lilien	Zu rothen Rosen machen?
Küß unversehens dein Polyxen,	Sie wird erröthet lachen. ¹⁷

In the case of the *Beehive* a rather different English version follows. DeElla Victoria Toms states that Pastorius' variation of the first half of the second line of the Logau epigram "may be the result of oral transmission, an intervening printed version, or inadequate recollection on the part of Pastorius."¹⁸ It seems to us that the variation might well be deliberate, that Polyxena, the beloved of Achilles, is a good substitute for Logau's Galatheia. There is the "Lilien" / "Polyxen" rhyme; also, Pastorius could have objected to the tautology of "weisse" and "*Galathe*" (*gala* means milk). The "unversehens" adds the cause for blushing that is not found in the model. As is well known, Gottfried Keller was to use the same epigram by Logau for *Das Sinngedicht* where it serves to define the hero's female ideal. For Pastorius the reference to flowers undoubtedly played a major role in his selection since he was a passionate gardener.

Let us turn to the second type of epigram, the satiric and humorous one:

Den leüten dieser Welt Vergleich ich meine Schrift,
Beÿ welchen man Viel Wort, u. wenig Witz antrifft.¹⁹

A satiric comment on people in general serves at the same time to deprecate the wordiness and lack of wit of the author's own writings. Of course, the wit and pithiness of the epigram take out at least some of the sting as far as the poet is concerned.

Pastorius shares with Logau and many other authors of the time a strong anticourtly tendency:

Nep or Catmint: If you set it,	Cats will eat it;
If you sow it,	Cats can't know it.
Du streichst den Fuchsschwantz,	Und giebst ein Judas'-Kuß,
Versteh'st die Hoff-sprach gantz,	Dein Grus is Joabs-Grus;
Doch endlich observirts der Printz.	(Chameleon; Syrenen Sohn!)
	Und lohneth dir mit Katzen = Müntz. ²⁰

This epigram is especially successful with its apt language of metaphors and images. We are fortunate in being able to pinpoint the origin of at least some of the language and thus remove any doubts about authorship. In the *Phraseologia Teutonica* we find the following entry under "Schmeicheln": "einem nach dem mund (maul) reden. den fuchsschwantz streichen. pfeiffen wie er gern dantzen wolte . . . Pöet. liebkooser. fuchsschwäntzer. ein betriegliche* Sÿrene. Cameleon. * Polypus. Joabsgrus, Judaskuß" (p. 292). Joab is David's general who, after greeting Amasa with a kiss, stabbed him to death (2 Samuel 20.9-10). Johann Christoph Adelung gives as one meaning for "Katzenmüntz" a counterfeit coin on the basis of the plant's unpleasant odor (*Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch*, Second Part, 1808, p. 1517). Pastorius is here, as in some other epigrams, at the level of the foremost German practitioners of the genre.

The humorous type of epigram is well represented by the following example that lets a watchdog speak:

Garten Hund.	
Horticustos heiß ich, Böse Leüte beiß ich,	Und ihr Strümpf zerreiß ich;
Aber fromme preiß ich,	Bettel-arme speiß ich:
Was jeder thun will, weiß ich	Drumb Horticustos heiß ich.
Man nennt mich auch Triest-Wacker,	Merckts wohl, ihr Trauben-Zwacker. ²¹

The epigram shows a combination of humor and the author's pride in his ability to come up with seven consecutive two-word rhymes (the first and last ones are repeated) and the virtuoso performance of "Triest-Wacker . . . Trauben-Zwacker" in the concluding line. "Triest" is the pomace, the residue remaining after pressing wine grapes. "Wacker" means the one who is watching and "Zwacker" is a thief.

Another example of a humorous and, in this case, macaronic verse is the following:

Hanns has his hands and tongue at his Command;
He keeps most fast what he did promise, and
Verspricht, und liefert nicht; Das ist ein Schand.²²

This mixing of English and German, the rhyming of "Command," "and," and "Schand," and the surprise reversal in the last line demonstrate Pastorius' excellent control of two languages and his cleverness at creating a humorous effect with words.

Our third and last type of epigram is the playful one in which the poet shows off his linguistic and formal mastery and is less intent on conveying an idea. Already as a young man Pastorius used an acrostic at

the end of his Latin dissertation *De rasura documentorum* (Altdorf, 1676).²³ There is, to mention just one example of an acrostic in his poetry, the "Blumen und Kräuter ABC" that begins as follows:

Anemone wohl bekannt, Braune Mägdlein, so genannt,
Hirn = stärckend Camomill, Hertz = erfrischend Daffodil,
. . .²⁴

Equally playful is the fourfold repetition of "mäßig/müßig" in the following epigram that is patterned on the Latin phrase "Cibi modicus, Sibi Medicus":

Wer mäßig u. nicht müßig, Hat alles überflüßig,
wird keines Dings verdrüßig.
Vice versa: Wer müßig u. nicht mäßig,
versoffen u. gefräßig, ist Jedermann verhäßig.
Mäßig und nicht müßig Leben Hat dem Artzt kein geld zu geben;
Müßig und nicht mäßig seyn bringt dem Artzt sein Nahrung ein =
Füllet ihm den Säckel fein.²⁵

Pastorius successfully recreates the Latin "o"/"e" alternation in the "ä"/"ü" variation.

Many more verses for the three types of epigrams presented here and for other kinds of poems could be added. The examples selected can, however, be considered indicative of the best efforts Pastorius was capable of. Their quality implies that he must be taken seriously as an author of German poetry, especially of epigrams. Francis Daniel Pastorius should be appreciated not just in the historical context of the burgeoning German community in Pennsylvania but also as a German-American poet in his own right who gave shape to his ideas and observations in the New World in language and forms that rival those of his continental predecessors and contemporaries.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Notes

¹ Heinrich Arnim Rattermann, ed., *Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichter und Dichtungen des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts: Eine Anthologie*, Sonderabdruck aus dem *Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois* (1914), pp. 12-20, and John Joseph Stoudt, ed., *Pennsylvania German Poetry, 1685-1830*, The Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 20 (1955) (Allentown, PA: Schlechter's, 1956), pp. 3-7.

² Marion Dexter Learned, "From Pastorius' Bee-Hive or Bee-Stock," *Americana Germanica*, 1, No. 4 (1897), 67-110; continued in 2, No. 1 (1898), 33-42; No. 2, 59-70; No. 4, 65-79. Learned is also the author of *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius, the Founder of Germantown; Illustrated with Ninety Photographic Reproductions; With an Appreciation of Pastorius by Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker* (Philadelphia: Campbell, 1908).

³ DeElla Victoria Toms, "The Intellectual and Literary Background of Francis Daniel Pastorius," Diss. Northwestern Univ. 1953.

⁴ A good but small selection of English poems is found in Harrison T. Meserole, *Seventeenth-Century American Poetry* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 293-304.

⁵ *Phraseologia Teutonica*, p. 58. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission granted by Mr. James E. Mooney, Director of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, to quote from this manuscript.

⁶ *Phraseologia Teutonica*, p. 110 (recte 310).

⁷ R. K. Angress, *The Early German Epigram. A Study in Baroque Poetry* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1971); Jutta Weisz, *Das deutsche Epigramm des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979); see especially chapter iv.

⁸ From a poem that Toms quotes as "Pastorius' own modest statement about his verse" (pp. 230 f.).

⁹ *Americana Germanica*, 1, No. 4 (1897), 102. Whenever possible a published version of the poem quoted is referred to. However, corrections were made according to the manuscript version.

¹⁰ *Americana Germanica*, 1, No. 4 (1897), 107.

¹¹ Rattermann, p. 18.

¹² Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, pp. 261-263.

¹³ Francis Daniel Pastorius, *Deliciae Hortenses or Garden = Recreations and Voluptates Apianae*, ed. Christoph E. Schweitzer (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1982), p. 9 (transcription on p. 53). A longer, nine-line poem on the same thought is found in this collection on p. 17 (transcription on p. 63).

¹⁴ See the reproduction and the following transcription of the *Beehive* title page in Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, pp. 250-253. Johann Philipp Glock in *Die Symbolik der Bienen und ihrer Produkte in Sage, Dichtung, Kultus, Kunst und Bräuchen der Völker* (Heidelberg: Verlag der vorm. Weiß'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung Theodor Gross, 1891) quotes the proverb "Wie die Biene aus allen Kräutern Süßes saugt, so saugt die Spinne aus allen Gift" (p. 258). The proximity between proverb and epigram is discussed by both Angress, pp. 29 ff. and Weisz, pp. 76 f. Swift also uses the contrast between the bee and the spider in *The Battle of the Books*.

¹⁵ See Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, ed., *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), pp. 302 f. For the poetological significance of the bee metaphor see Jürgen von Stackelberg, "Das Bienengleichnis. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der literarischen Imitatio," *Romanische Forschungen*, 68 (1956), 271-293.

¹⁶ Friedrich von Logau, *Deutscher Sinn-Getichte Drey Tausend* (Breslau, 1654; rpt. 1972), Third Part, p. 175, III, 10, 8.

¹⁷ *Deliciae Hortenses*, p. 9 (transcription on p. 53).

¹⁸ Toms, p. 98.

¹⁹ *Americana Germanica*, 1, No. 4 (1897), 96.

²⁰ *Deliciae Hortenses*, p. 10 (transcription on p. 56).

²¹ *Deliciae Hortenses*, p. 25 (transcription on p. 71).

²² *Beehive*, p. 148. Quoted with kind permission of Professor Harold Jantz.

²³ See Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius*, pp. 78-81. The copy with Pastorius' handwritten explanations is now in the Schwenkfelder Library (Pennsburg, PA).

²⁴ *Deliciae Hortenses*, p. 15 (transcription on p. 61). *Braune Mägdlein*: the plant adonis or pheasant's eye.

²⁵ *Americana Germanica*, 1, No. 4 (1897), 103.

Helmut E. Huelsbergen

**The First Thirteen Families:
Another Look at the Religious and Ethnic Background
of the Emigrants from Crefeld (1683)**

When they left their homeland along the Lower Rhine, settled in Pennsylvania, and founded Germantown in 1683, none of the thirteen emigrant families from Crefeld could have imagined that they would be remembered three hundred years later. Their lives had a different focus, and worldly glory was farthest from their minds.

The settlers from Crefeld were plain people and pious people. They mastered their crafts, linen weaving and dyeing; they were not without means and had good common sense in managing their affairs; in legal and administrative matters they were assisted by Francis Daniel Pastorius, their erudite leader. They were courageous and upright—first and foremost, they were children and servants of God.

The inspiration which they received from the Bible served as their primary guidance. They did not want the ways of the world to interfere with the direction of their lives devoted to the glory of God. In accordance with Acts 5.29—"We ought to obey God rather than men"—they accepted neither secular authority, where it appeared to be in conflict with the word of God, nor church authority in any of its hierarchical manifestations. The community of fellow believers and the conscience of the individual under God were the binding principal values they would honor.

The entire group of emigrants must have numbered about forty persons.¹ These are the thirteen names that represent the heads of household:²

Dirk op den Graeff
Herman op den Graeff
Abraham op den Graeff
Tuenes Kunders
Lenert Arens
Reinert Tisen
Wilhelm Strepers

Jan Lensen
Peter Keurlis
Jan Siemens
Johann Bleikers
Abraham Tuenes
Jan Leuken

For anyone familiar with the area, the sound of these names evokes the atmosphere of the Lower Rhine region, the land between the Rhine and the Maas rivers.

There is no record extant of the exact day of departure and the route that the families took from Crefeld. On June 14 and 15, 1683, some of the emigrants were still making legal provisions regarding real estate property.³ They must have left for Rotterdam shortly thereafter. Most likely they boarded a boat from Uerdingen (four miles east) down the Rhine. It is not known on which boat they crossed the channel to England where the *Concord* lay waiting.

James Claypoole, a London merchant and agent, also an active Quaker and a friend of William Penn, had arranged the passage to Pennsylvania. From his letters we know that the "Friends from Crefeld" were behind schedule and that they would have missed the boat with its sailing date on July 17, had there not been another delay. Finally, on July 24, the *Concord* set sail for America. She left from Gravesend on the Thames, about twenty miles east of London. The *Concord* was a sturdy new ship of about five hundred tons, one of the largest at the time; her captain, William Jeffries, was experienced in Atlantic crossings; she carried a crew of forty, was well provisioned for 120 passengers with "14 excellent oxen killed and 30 ton beer and abundance of bread and water."⁴ The voyage went well. Claypoole, also a passenger on the *Concord* with his wife, seven children and five servants, wrote to his brother: "The blessing of the Lord did attend us so that we had a comfortable passage and our health all the way."⁵

On October 6 (OS), 1683,⁶ the thirteen families set foot on the shore of the Delaware River. They decided to stay together on a tract of land (18,000 acres) offered to them by Penn and acquired through the services of Pastorius.⁷ They hoped that their settlement, Germantown, would be the place where they might live according to their conscience and free from the religious oppression that they had experienced in their homeland.

Their expectations were fulfilled. When the immediate needs of shelter and sustenance had been satisfied, they turned to their looms and did what they knew best: weaving. Only a few years later Germantown was known for its fine linens and stockings. After years of toil and labor, during which they encountered the hardships typical of the frontier, the community prospered and grew. More immigrants began arriving as early as 1684: relatives and other families from Crefeld or those who had contact with the Crefelders. Soon Germantown became the gateway for numerous other immigrant groups from Germany who sought religious freedom. By 1702 there were sixty families in Germantown; a meeting house had been built, a school founded; a

paper mill had been erected and Market Square established as a community project. A solid basis had been created for the manifold contributions to the cultural life of the colonies and later the United States.

One of the achievements of the early settlers is of universal significance. Based on their belief that all people are equal in God's sight, the founders of Germantown issued a protest against slavery as early as 1688.⁸ This act for the betterment of mankind represented a giant, though quiet, step in the history of democracy and the liberation of the individual. The pioneers' firm belief in the dignity of the individual and, correspondingly, the tolerance of others expresses the spirit that imbued them and their cooperative venture. Their convictions, the principle of equality and the liberty of conscience, left their imprint on the constitution of the Colony of Pennsylvania and became, in due time, a part of the Constitution of the United States.

The religious belief at the core of the settlers' convictions and its expression in a particular religious affiliation did not seem problematical to the early historians of Germantown and the German immigration to Pennsylvania; only in the last fifty years has the question to which religious denomination the emigrants belonged become a matter of controversy. If one selected an account about the founders of Germantown at random, one would very likely find a passage such as this:

... the Mennonites, followers of the reformer Menno Simon[s], had been subjected to so many restrictions and persecution, that they gladly accepted the invitation of Penn, to settle in his American domain. The first group of Mennonites, that crossed the ocean, came from Crefeld, a city of the lower Rhine.⁹

Well into the twentieth century we find this typical statement: Mennonites from Germany were the founders of Germantown and the first to bring German group settlement to the American colonies. Only occasionally one would encounter a somewhat modified statement with regard to their religious affiliation, such as the one by Albert Bernhardt Faust made in 1933 at the 250th anniversary of the founding of Germantown:

The honor of being the first immigrants . . . falls to the thirteen families from Crefeld, all sectarians, mostly Mennonites, some of whom had become converts to Quakerism, others joining the Society of Friends in America.¹⁰

Faust's qualification that some of the Mennonites had become Quakers was significant, but it did not alter the prevailing view. The question of the settlers' religious affiliation and that of their ethnic origin had not yet been seriously challenged. These questions did not become issues until 1935, when the book by William I. Hull, *William Penn and the Dutch Quaker Migration to Pennsylvania*, even in its title advanced the thesis that "the founders of Germantown were not really Germans, but Netherlands, and not Mennonites, but Quakers."¹¹ Prominent pub-

lications in the United States have accepted Hull's thesis,¹² although one can also find the traditional view that the settlers were Mennonites both in scholarly works and as popular belief.¹³

In Germany, Hull's thesis that the emigrants from Crefeld were Dutch rather than German was never accepted. Among the first to refute Hull's view were Dirk Cattepoel and Karl Rembert.¹⁴ Due to the limited distribution of both publications, their arguments were not generally made known and have, particularly in the United States, been overlooked. Hull's thesis that the founders of Germantown were Quakers, not Mennonites, led to a reexamination of their religious affiliation with varying results. The different viewpoints in this unresolved discussion are exemplified by two articles published in 1982: Charlotte Boecken states that the first thirteen families were nearly all Quakers,¹⁵ while Guido Rothhoff maintains that the emigrants, with the exception of two, were all Mennonites.¹⁶ Upon closer examination, it becomes evident that each author looks at the question from a different perspective: Rothhoff refers to the situation in Crefeld prior to the emigration, while Boecken aims at the time of departure and the post-emigration years in Germantown.

To understand the political, religious, social, and cultural conditions that prevailed in Crefeld prior to the emigration, we must look at Crefeld's history with regard to the city's attractiveness to religious groups not recognized by the official churches; the development of the Mennonite congregation, its receptiveness to new ideas and its spiritualistic tendencies; Quakers in Crefeld, their harassment, and their relation to the Mennonites; and the ethnic roots of the emigrant families.

From its beginnings in 1373, when its charter was granted by Emperor Charles IV, Crefeld as a "city and sovereignty" belonged to the Counts of Moers. (The city of Moers is located about fifteen miles northeast of Crefeld.) In the latter part of the sixteenth century, at the time of the Netherlands' struggle for independence from Spain and Hapsburg, Countess Walburg of Neuenahr-Moers named Prince Maurice of Nassau-Orange (1567-1625) heir to the County of Moers with Crefeld as an enclave. Firm Protestantism and hatred of Spain were the elements that allied Moers and the Dutch House of Orange. Prince Maurice succeeded in regaining the County for the Protestant, in this case, the Reformed faith. Since Walburg's death in 1600, the House of Orange legitimately claimed this small domain as an extraterritorial family possession. Crefeld's status as part of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation was not affected by this transfer.

For Crefeld proper, not for Moers, there was another brief Spanish interlude beginning in 1605. In 1607, as part of the armistice negotiations, a compromise was reached between the General States and Spain, in which the County of Moers was declared a neutral zone. In order to make the Spaniards leave Crefeld, the Orange government had to agree that Catholics would be accepted in the city. This agreement signaled the beginning of religious tolerance and prompted persecuted religious minorities from other parts of the Lower Rhine region to settle in Crefeld. Nevertheless, the situation was far from ideal: On the

outside Crefeld was surrounded by territory under Catholic domination and within the city there were competing, quarreling Protestant factions with rivalry, envy, and animosity. The official church, favored by the Orange administration, guarded its supremacy anxiously. Only members of the Reformed Church could hold public office; all civil record-keeping, including marriage announcements of any faith, had to be done in the Reformed Church. Complaints and harassment of minorities were common although basically religious tolerance prevailed in the city.

After Crefeld had been destroyed by fire in 1584, the city entered the seventeenth century with a population of about 350. An account of 1643 stresses Crefeld's growth, listing ninety-six houses for the city proper.¹⁷ At the time of the emigration to Pennsylvania it had grown to about 1,500 inhabitants.¹⁸ By the end of the seventeenth century Crefeld, in contrast to most other areas in Europe, was able to look back at a period of relative peace, development, and tolerance. Its inhabitants seemed to express pride when they recited:

Reformeerden en Papisten,
Lutheranen en Mennisten,
Dompelaers en Abrams Soonen
T'samen nu in Crefeld wohnen.

Peter von Sarn, preacher in Crefeld, had translated the verse from the Latin original by Hermann Cruse, *Rector* of the *Gymnasium* at Moers:

Papa, Moses, Pennus,
Menno, Calvinus, Lutherus
Una in Crefeldia
Varium cantant alleluja!¹⁹

The original specifically includes William Penn while the vernacular version does not mention Quakers; however, it lists the Dompelaers (Dunkards) for whom there is no reference person in the Latin text.²⁰

One of the first Mennonites to move to Crefeld in response to the edict of religious tolerance was Hermann op den Graeff (1585-1642) who came probably as early as 1609 from Aldekerk via Kempen (towns within a fifteen-mile radius of Crefeld). Hermann is the grandfather of the three op den Graeff brothers who emigrated in 1683. Throughout the seventeenth century the op den Graeffs are referred to as a leading family among the Crefeld Mennonites. Hermann's signature is under the Dordrecht Confession of Faith (1632), adopted most widely among Mennonite groups, and records in the Reformed Church refer to him as bishop of the Mennonites (1637).²¹

The record of 1632 is the first that mentions Crefeld as the seat of a Mennonite congregation, although historians assume that Mennonites existed in Crefeld in the sixteenth century since there is evidence of Anabaptist activity in numerous places throughout the Lower Rhine region.²² In 1637 about two hundred Mennonites, expelled from Jülich (twenty-eight miles south), came to seek refuge in Crefeld. Between 1652 and 1654, another stream of Mennonite refugees, about seventy

families, arrived in the city, this time from Mönchen-Gladbach (fifteen miles southwest of Crefeld). Acceptance and expansion of the Mennonites did not proceed without setbacks. As early as 1615, complaints about their meetings, their preaching, and even their singing were registered by Reformed ministers at various synods in Moers. Not only the official church but also the civil administration protested and opposed Mennonites. In 1653, for example, when a Wilhelm Eick from Gouda applied for residence, the burgomasters told him they did not want him in the city and no more Mennonites.²³

In 1657 Mennonites were allowed to stay in the city without restrictions and permitted to pursue their trades, mainly weaving. Not until 1678, however, could they become regular citizens with all rights and privileges. This right was granted to them by Prince William Henry, who in 1689 became King William III of England. His dictum included a provision by which Mennonites in the cities of Moers and Crefeld could be exempt from serving in the city guard by paying a special defense tax.²⁴ At about the same time the congregation refurbished a house owned by one of its members, presumably as a meeting house,²⁵ and was now able to hold Sunday services unmolested as long as the services followed those of the Reformed Church by one hour. Many meetings were still held in small groups, in conventicles. Mennonites did not build their first church in Crefeld until 1693—ten years after the emigrants had left.

Although Mennonites were united by their name, it is doubtful that they were in full accord as far as religious beliefs and practices were concerned. Also, as Anabaptists of the Reformation, Mennonites in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were still developing and accepting new ideas. The Crefeld congregation, too, was ready to examine new teachings. Those who were merchants and traveled became acquainted with other sectarian groups in Frankfurt and, especially, in Holland.

Religious life after the Thirty Years' War was characterized by a strong desire for *Innerlichkeit*. It must be seen as a broad spiritualistic movement that brought about Quakers, Labadists, Dompelaers, Pietists, Separatists, and Brethren (Herrnhuter). Followers rejected the orthodox formalism of the established denominations and also their constant disputes. They gathered in conventicles; dogma, ritual, and the church as an institution were of little importance to them; active participation in an inner religious life and the idea of personal salvation became important. God and the soul were their focal points.²⁶ For a whole century, from 1650 to 1750, Crefeld was in the center of "awakened" Christians and mystics; they belonged primarily to the Mennonite congregation.²⁷ The religious movements of the time, Labadism and Quakerism, came to the small city during the last quarter of the century, and the Mennonite congregation in particular was open to their ideas.²⁸ This is the context in which we have to view the Crefeld Mennonites' encounter with Quakerism.²⁹ The personal belief in the "inner light" appealed to Mennonites.

It is a fact that Quaker missionaries had made their way across the continent, deliberately seeking out Mennonite groups as their contacts.

As early as 1667, two Quaker representatives, Stephen Crisp (from England) and Jan Claus (from Holland), visited the Lower Rhine region, staying at Uerdingen and Moers. William Penn visited this region in 1677, but the first extant record of a Quaker's visit to Crefeld itself is that of Stephen Crisp in 1678 who reports that "a meeting was set up."³⁰ This was perhaps the beginning of a Quaker group in Crefeld. It was constituted at the latest in 1679 when Quaker leader Roger Longworth came to the city on a trip from the Palatinate to Friesland—regions with Mennonite strongholds.³¹ A number of references testify to Quaker meetings in the years 1679 and 1680. When the records originated with the Reformed, the references invariably contained criticism of the Quakers' missionary activity, of the fact that many advocates came from England and Holland, and that they found curious listeners among the Crefelders.³² The frequency of such reports points to an increased activity of the Quakers, and complaints seem to have led to harassment and attacks against them. One episode is especially revealing: the expulsion of two Crefeld residents with two other men, one woman, and one child by the local authorities in 1680. One of the expelled is Hermann op den Graeff, the oldest of the op den Graeff brothers.

The expellees went to Holland where they stayed with friends and had a pamphlet, *Vertoog*, printed (1680) in which they explained why they would return to Crefeld: They were legitimate residents, were self-supporting, had not committed any crimes, and had not been officially charged. They also listed and refuted what they had indirectly heard as allegations: that they would not pay due respect to the authorities, that they opposed the form of the sacraments, and that they would meet in conventicles.³³ In spite of threats of being flogged and branded they returned to the city. William Penn also submitted a petition to the Prince of Orange on their behalf emphasizing that they had not been expelled for insubordination or immorality but that, in his opinion, they had been expelled because their religious views deviated from the faith of the Reformed Church. The Prince acceded to Penn's request with the restriction that no foreigners be allowed to preach among the Quakers in Crefeld and that the Reformed pastors have the right to supervise the meetings.³⁴ These restrictions were not rigidly enforced, however, and Quaker activity continued as before with visits from Holland and England. The op den Graeffs opened their house to such visitors and their preachings. Roger Longworth and Jan Claus who had heard about the harassment traveled to Crefeld again in 1681 and reported that a group of more than twenty Quakers had been holding meetings regularly.³⁵ The capricious act of expulsion with all its ripple effects—flight to Holland, contact with Quaker friends there, and Penn's appeal—may well have been a key factor for Hermann, his family and friends in pursuing the emigration to Pennsylvania.

By this time (1680), the opposition by the Reformed seemed more strongly directed against the Quakers than the Mennonites. More than the specific religious tenets of the Quakers, and aside from the general aggressiveness in their missionary endeavor, it was their manners toward others that must have caused tension and conflict with the

authorities. Their refusal to remove their hats and to use the polite form of address with superiors—based on the principle of equality of all individuals—must have seemed provocative and revolutionary. This behavior was not commonly shared by Mennonites.

In terms of religious convictions and practices, however, Quakers and Mennonites had much in common: simplicity of life; high regard for a personal religion; and the belief that Christian life comes from an attitude of mind; the refusal to take oaths, to bear arms; the practice of non-violence; the rejection of infant baptism; the tradition of lay preachers; the objections to rigid creeds and set forms of worship. Both, Quakers and Mennonites, held their meetings in homes, had no church building or meeting house, and met in conventicles. These correspondences must have made it easy for both to associate, to worship, and to work together.

Evidence for the closeness is the marriage certificate of a Quaker marriage between "Derick Isacks [op den Graeff] en Nöleken Vijten" (May 20, 1681) which, in addition to their signatures, bears those of seventeen others who were present as witnesses. This document became a major argument for the thesis that the emigrants were Quakers and not Mennonites³⁶ because, first, it gives proof of the group of Quakers that existed in Crefeld in 1681, and, second, it is closely linked to the emigration to Pennsylvania: Of the eleven men who signed the marriage certificate, seven were among the emigrants in 1683, three went later, and only one did not join them. However, most of the names on the certificate were known as Mennonite names at the time.³⁷ Nearly all the witnesses resided in Crefeld; the Isacks/op den Graeff family represented the oldest of the Crefeld families; the others had moved to the city, most likely as refugees, in the second half of the seventeenth century.³⁸ While the document identifies a group of Quakers, it does not indicate the relationship between the small group and the general body of the Mennonite congregation. The least we may conclude from the names on the marriage certificate is that there were family ties and probably personal friendships between the groups.

With the emigration of 1683, the Quaker group in Crefeld ceased to exist. By 1686 Stephen Crisp reported that there were no longer meetings in Crefeld; that all members had emigrated to Pennsylvania.³⁹

The questions remain: Had the Quaker group, during its years in Crefeld, from the late seventies to 1683, completely separated from the Mennonite congregation? Or had it an existence of its own within the body of the congregation? In the absence of clear evidence, the answer may be based on analogous situations in the history of the Mennonites in Crefeld.

One of these situations is the appearance of the Dompelaers in Crefeld.⁴⁰ In the seventeenth century, English Baptists and Dutch Collegiants advocated baptism by immersion; when this trend reached the German Mennonites, who did not practice immersion, it sometimes resulted in splits within the congregation, for instance in Altona near Hamburg. In Crefeld, too, a difference of opinion arose early in the eighteenth century among members of the Mennonite congregation

regarding the form of baptism. It seems, however, typical for the situation in Crefeld that the two practices were accommodated within the congregation.⁴¹ Only later the group of Dompelaers, like the Quakers, decided to emigrate; they went to Pennsylvania after 1720 where they were among the founders of the Ephrata community.

For the period prior to the Dompelaers, Charlotte Boecken points out the ability of the Crefeld Mennonite congregation to adjust to new trends of religious thought infused by refugees from the outside—for instance, those of 1654—and also, in view of the congregation's size, the likelihood of dividing into small groups.⁴²

The language that the emigrants of 1683 normally used in writing was Dutch. This was not unusual since language and speech in the Lower Rhine region were characterized much more by Dutch and Low German than by High German in the seventeenth century. The brief verse on religious tolerance,⁴³ the pamphlet *Vertoog*, the word *Dompelaer*, and the marriage certificate may serve as examples in this context. The similarity between the language in the northern Rhine area and in southeast Holland has recently been discussed by Jan Goossens.⁴⁴ The administration in Moers used both Dutch and German.⁴⁵ Church records in Crefeld (Reformed and Mennonite) were in Dutch into the eighteenth century, sermons were given in the Mennonite congregation in Dutch until 1818,⁴⁶ and the dialect spoken in Crefeld even today can be easily understood by the Dutch people. Certainly, the founders of Germantown spoke the seventeenth-century version of that Low Franconian dialect. The thirteen emigrant families were linguistically and ethnically rooted in the Lower Rhine region.

Perhaps the single most valuable study to shed light on the ethnic and religious background of these families was done by Wilhelm Niepoth: "Die Abstammung der 13 Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Lichte niederrheinischer Quellen" (1953).⁴⁷ Niepoth was able to trace the family history as well as the location and religious denomination for each of the thirteen. His results show (a) that it was a migration from Crefeld as all of the emigrants resided in Crefeld prior to their departure; (b) that the preceding generation, if it did not have residence in Crefeld at about 1650, lived in another location of the Lower Rhine region—most of them in or near Mönchen-Gladbach, others in Kaldenkirchen (eighteen miles west of Crefeld)—in other words, the parents of the settlers all came from an area within an eighteen-mile radius of Crefeld that, except for times of occupation, had been German; (c) that they and their ancestors had all been Mennonites except for two who were Reformed and one whose parents were originally Mennonite but who had brought the children up in the Reformed faith; (d) that all of them, except one, were members of the Quaker group in Crefeld prior to their emigration.

If we apply what is known about the tradition and history of the Mennonite congregation in Crefeld, its spiritual openness and intellectual tolerance, its interest in spiritualism and personal religion, we cannot but assume that the Quakers as a small group and as individuals maintained their ties with the Mennonite congregation, and that neither

can be separated clearly. Cattepoel and others maintain that there was no real separation between the two groups, but that the Quakers as a special group enjoyed a loose association with the larger body of the Mennonites.⁴⁸ If we further take into account the religious background of the thirteen emigrants and their families prior to the relatively short period that the Crefeld Quaker group existed, 1678/79-1683, we find a Mennonite heritage in most of them. Since religious attitudes become established gradually and over a long time, this heritage cannot be ignored. A designation as "Mennonite-Quakers," instead of Mennonites or Quakers, might be more appropriate for the emigrants.⁴⁹ The definition "Mennonite-Quakers" would also bridge the disparate positions that assign the terms "Quakers" or "Mennonites" to the emigrants. The term "Mennonite-Quakers" characterizes the complexity of their religious background more adequately than a label applied on the basis of church affiliation at one specific time.

University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas

Notes

¹ The frequent reference to a party of thirty-three derives from the number of passages, i.e., full fares, booked for the Crefelders; it was, however, one half fare for children, infants were free; the total number in the party, therefore, must not be equated with the number of fares. One adult daughter died on the way from Rotterdam to England; two babies, a boy and a girl, were born on the way to Pennsylvania.

² Spelling and sequence of the names are as found on the Pastorius monument in Philadelphia.

³ Wilhelm Niepoth, "Die Abstammung der 13 Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Lichte niederrheinischer Quellen," *Die Heimat*, 24 (1953), pp. 4, 8.

⁴ James Claypoole's *Letter Book London and Philadelphia 1681-1684*, ed. Marion Balderston (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1967), p. 221-22, letter to Benjamin Furly of July 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

⁶ October 6 (OS), 1683, corresponds to October 16, 1683, in the adjusted calendar. Cf. Guido Rotthoff, "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), p. 15.

⁷ For a detailed account of the steps taken by the Crefelders in purchasing the land, cf. Rotthoff, p. 15.

⁸ The complete text of this document is printed in Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements in America* (New York: Rudolf Cronau, 1916), pp. 20-21; a German translation and a photograph of the original are included in Rudolf Cronau, *Drei Jahrhunderte deutschen Lebens in Amerika* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer [Ernst Vohsen], 1909), pp. 57-61.

⁹ Rudolf Cronau, *German Achievements*, p. 18.

¹⁰ Francis Daniel Pastorius and the 250th Anniversary of the Founding of Germantown (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1934), p. 9.

¹¹ (Swarthmore, PA: Swarthmore College, 1935), pp. 178-79.

¹² Harry M. Tinkcom, Margaret B. Tinkcom, and Grant Miles Simon, *Historic Germantown: From the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955); Stephanie Grauman Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania 1683-1800* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1976).

¹³ For example, LaVern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Twayne: Boston, 1976), p. 25; Presidential Commission for the German-American Tricentennial, *The German-American Friendship Garden* (Washington, DC: U.S. Information Agency, 1983) (flier).

¹⁴ Dirk Cattepoel, "Deutsche Mennoniten oder holländische Quäker?" *Die Heimat*, 16 (1937), 122-26; Karl Rembert, "Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung Krefelder Mennoniten nach Nord-Amerika," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), pp. 161-84, esp. pp. 165, 184. Both the *Beiträge* and numerous volumes of *Die Heimat*, e.g., 4-6, 9-13, 16-19, and later volumes, contain information pertinent to the Krefeld emigrants and the situation of the Mennonite congregation at Krefeld in the seventeenth century. These articles have gone largely unnoticed at the international level of the discussion.

¹⁵ "'Dutch Quaker' aus Krefeld, die (Mit)Gründer Germantowns 1683?" *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), 23-31, passim.

¹⁶ "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683," *Die Heimat*, 53 (1982), 13-22, here p. 19.

¹⁷ Ernst Köppen, *Kleine Stadtbiographie Krefeld von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1948* (Duisburg: Mercator-Verlag Gert Wohlfahrt [1970]), p. 43.

¹⁸ Ernst Crous, "Die rechtliche Lage der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 34; Hans Botzet, "Die Krefelder Einwohnerzahlen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Die Heimat*, 36 (1965), 80-97.

¹⁹ Marliese Darsow and Reinhard Feinendegen, *Krefeld* (Köln: Greven, 1981), p. 8.

²⁰ This deviation is perhaps meaningful and may indicate that, at the time of Sarn's translation, the Quaker movement had ceased in Krefeld and the subsequent spiritualistic movement of the Dompelaers had already reached the city.

²¹ Wilhelm Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde in Krefeld und ihre Beziehungen zu ihren Nachbargemeinden," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 131.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 131; Crous, p. 34; C. Henry Smith, *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), pp. 258 ff.

²³ "Urkunden und Zeugnisse zur rechtlichen Stellung der Mennoniten in Krefeld," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 54.

²⁴ Crous, p. 37, "Reglement en Ordonnantie op de Justitie, Politie en Administratie van Sijn Hoogheydts Domainen tot Moers" (July 25, 1678).

²⁵ Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde," p. 136; Walther Risler, "Zur Baugeschichte der Mennonitenkirche zu Krefeld," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 79.

²⁶ Dirk Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben in der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte rheinischer Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 7.

²⁷ Hermann Keussen, *Geschichte der Stadt und Herrlichkeit Crefeld* (Crefeld, 1859), p. 375.

²⁸ Crous, pp. 37-38.

²⁹ Cf. also Max Goebel, *Geschichte des christlichen Lebens in der rheinisch-westphälischen evangelischen Kirche* (Koblenz, 1860), II, 370.

³⁰ Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien* (Neukirchen, Kr. Moers: Buchdr. d. Erziehungsver., 1940), p. 61.

³¹ Letter of October 24, 1679, Hull, p. 196; cf. Rotthoff, p. 13.

³² Goebel, II, 294 f., note, as quoted by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 9.

³³ Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 9.

³⁴ Goebel, II, 295, note, as quoted by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 10.

³⁵ Longworth's letter to Pemberton [undated]: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Pemberton Papers, I, 117, as cited by Rotthoff, p. 22.

³⁶ Photo reproductions in Hull, opposite title page, and in Rotthoff, p. 16.

³⁷ Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11.

³⁸ Niepoth, "Die Mennonitengemeinde," p. 138; "Die Abstammung," pp. 2-9, passim.

³⁹ Wilhelm Hubben, "Labadisten, Mennoniten und Quäker am Niederrhein," *Die Heimat*, 5 (1926), 268-73, here p. 272.

⁴⁰ See p. 33 and note 20 above.

⁴¹ Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," pp. 13-14.

⁴² Boecken, p. 28.

⁴³ P. 33.

⁴⁴ "Der Sprachatlas des nördlichen Rheinlands und des südöstlichen Niederlands," *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 46 (1982), 254 ff.; cf. also Rothhoff, p. 19.

⁴⁵ Boecken, p. 24.

⁴⁶ Dirk Cattepoel, "Die akademisch vorgebildeten Prediger der Krefelder Mennonitengemeinde," in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der rheinischen Mennoniten*, Schriftenreihe des Mennonitischen Geschichtsvereins, No. 2 (Weierhof [Pfalz]: Mennonitischer Geschichtsverein, 1939), p. 81.

⁴⁷ *Die Heimat*, 24 (1953). 2-9; according to Rothhoff (p. 22, n. 47), the information was recently supplemented by E. Becker, "Der Kaldenkirchener Kreis unter den 13 Auswandererfamilien von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien aus dem Jahre 1683," *Heimatsbuch des Kreises Viersen*, 34 (1983), pp. 66 ff.

⁴⁸ Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11; Rembert, p. 164; Hubben, p. 272; Friedrich Nieper assumes a reciprocal situation in which Mennonites and other Separatists who participated in Quaker meetings in Crefeld but did not give up the association with their original group were called Quakers (original cited by Cattepoel, "Das religiöse Leben," p. 11); Oswald Seidensticker, pioneer historian of German-Americans, claimed as early as 1883, based on the work of Max Goebel, that Mennonites and Quakers stood on common grounds in Crefeld (*Die erste deutsche Einwanderung in Amerika und die Gründung von Germantown im Jahre 1683. Festschrift zum deutsch-amerikanischen Pionier-Jubiläum am 6. Oktober 1883* [Philadelphia: Globe Printing House, 1883], pp. 40-41).

⁴⁹ The term was used by church historian C. Henry Smith in slightly different meanings: *The Mennonite Immigration to Pennsylvania in the Eighteenth Century* (Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania-German Society, 1929), p. 75; *The Story of the Mennonites* (Berne, IN: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941), p. 537.

Albert R. Schmitt

**"The Hessians and Who?"
A Look at the Other Germans
in the American War of Independence**

Some say Columbus discovered the New World with the help of German-made navigational instruments. Perhaps this was a nationalistic way of laying claim to at least some of the fame of this discovery, if only vicariously. The fact is that when the major European powers established their colonial empires in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, Germany, because of her geographic location in the middle of the continent and due to political division and inner turmoil, was in no position to participate directly in securing for herself a share in the newly discovered parts of the world. This does not mean, however, as we well know, that the Germans were not every bit as curious in and intrigued by what the discoverers had found across the oceans, as the rest of the western world was. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* (1494), a bestseller in its time, was the first literary work to mention the New World, its gold "vnd nacket lüt." In 1507 the German humanist and cartographer Martin Waldseemüller (ca. 1475-1520) used the name America for the first time in his *Cosmographiae introductio* wrongly assuming that Amerigo Vespucci had discovered the continent. As we gather from Harold Jantz's English translation of the passage in question Waldseemüller may have used the name in somewhat tongue-in-cheek fashion:

I do not see why anyone should rightly forbid naming it Amerige, land of Americus as it were, after its discoverer Americus [Vespucci], a man of acute genius, or America, inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have received their names from women.¹

There were also contemporary German translations of the first accounts of the New World given by Columbus, Vespucci, Pizzaro, and Cortés, and many maps, atlas-like nautical charts and globes produced by German artisans during the first half of the sixteenth century.² It should be remembered as well that Germans often were also involved in

early colonization efforts, although usually in the service of other countries. The brothers Ehinger, Nicolaus Federmann, and Philipp von Hutten attempted to conquer and colonize Venezuela for the Welsers of Augsburg who had contracted the rights for that territory with the Spanish Crown in 1528. Hutten's accounts were the first to be published (Augsburg, 1550),³ followed by Federmann's *Indianische Historia* (1557). In the same year there appeared Hans Staden's *Wahrhaftig Historia* relating his American adventures (1547-1554) among which was one year spent as a prisoner of "cannibalistic Indians,"⁴ and the year 1567 saw the publication of Ulrich Schmidel's *Neuwe Welt*, reporting on his twenty years (1534-1554) in Brazil.⁵

It was Peter Minnewit (Minuit) of the German city of Wesel who, as governor of the Dutch possessions in North America, purchased the island of Manhattan from the Indians in 1626 for sixty guilders. Few Germans settled in England's North American colonies during the first half of the seventeenth century, since the Thirty Years' War made such a venture next to impossible. The few who did come went to New York, Maryland and Virginia, but when William Penn established Pennsylvania the situation quickly changed. Germany and the United States of America this year commemorate the tercentenary of the founding (1683) of Germantown outside of Philadelphia when thirteen Mennonite families from the town of Krefeld under the guidance of their first mayor, Franz Daniel Pastorius, established their new community, the first entirely German settlement in the British colonies.

From that moment on there is a clearly recognizable intensification of interest among Germans in the New World. But retracing that development is neither the purpose nor the intent of this study.⁶ Rather, it wants to recall a fact which has been widely neglected by historians here and abroad. Every American schoolchild learns the fact that German soldiers, collectively known as "Hessians," fought on the British side against the colonists during the War of Independence. This fact is also known to Germans particularly those who have read Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* (cf. the "Kammerdienerszene," II, ii), or know, which is somewhat less likely, Schubart's poems, Wieland's farsighted reports on America in *Der Teutsche Merkur*, or the writings of Seume and Forster, to name only the more significant ones. Those "white slaves" whose lives and services were leased to the British Crown by their own money-hungry German sovereigns generally do not enjoy the best reputation among Americans. On the other hand, a rather down-in-the-mouth Prussian captain by the name of Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben became a hero of the Revolution by molding Washington's rag-tag army into an effective military force. But Steuben was not the only German to fight on the side of the colonists, there were at least two thousand more, and they are the ones who interest us here because the history books do not mention them. Information regarding them can be found in only a few highly specialized studies which apparently have not been able to amend the generally accepted historical picture. Just like their "Hessian" counterparts they did not fight under a flag of their own, and the irony of history even willed them to fight their German countrymen.

This kind of German military involvement on opposing sides is as good an indicator as any of the political, social, and economic situation prevailing in Germany in the eighteenth century but particularly during and after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763). We have to remember that the modern concept of nationalism was—perhaps fortunately—not known then. Many a young second- or third-born nobleman, whether Austrian, English, French, German or even Swiss who was not to inherit all or part of his family's estate or who came from a family where military service was a tradition would seek service as an officer in the army of a monarch who would have him. Should the fortunes of war or political circumstances change he might also change his allegiance and look for employment in the army or government of another sovereign.

Many of the German princes at that time were deeply in debt or bankrupt, in part as the result of the Seven Years' War, in part because they kept extravagant courts trying to imitate the splendor of Versailles. When the British war efforts against the rebellious colonies in North America began and it became obvious that the British forces for various reasons could not succeed, London sent emissaries to some of the impoverished German princes to propose the "rental" of their subjects as soldiers to help fight the war in America. (It is interesting to note that Russia and the Netherlands had declined such a proposal.) Between 1776 and 1783 six German sovereigns, those of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, Hessen-Kassel, Hessen-Hanau, Waldeck, Ansbach-Bayreuth, and Anhalt-Zerbst agreed to lease some 30,000 soldiers and officers to England for the then exorbitant sum of ca. 1.8 million pounds sterling. Since Hessen-Kassel provided the largest contingent of about 17,000 men all German soldiers were soon known in the American colonies as the "Hessians." Historians assume that of those 30,000 only about 17,000 returned to Germany; approximately 8,000 are believed to have been killed in action, and that some 5,000 deserted and settled in the newly established United States.

These are generally well-known facts about the German involvement in the War of Independence. There is, however, another aspect of German participation which is hardly known at all. When Lieutenant General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur Comte de Rochambeau and his son, Vicomte Donatien Marie-Joseph, left the French port city of Brest on May 2, 1780, for Newport, Rhode Island, where they arrived on July 11, they were in charge of an expeditionary force of about 5,700 soldiers and officers in four infantry regiments, the Bourbonnais, Royal Deux-Ponts, Saintongue, and Soissonais (1,150 men each), plus the Duc de Lauzun's proprietary legion of 300 infantrymen and 300 hussars, as well as a battalion of artillery from the Auxonne regiment.⁷ Rochambeau wanted to take along two more regiments, Anhalt and Neustrie, but there were not enough ships available to transport them (Closen, p. 5, n. 11).

Prior to the French Revolution the French army included a number of foreign proprietary regiments such as German, Irish, and Swiss. One of those foreign infantry regiments going to America was owned and commanded by Colonel Christian Comte des Deux-Ponts and his

younger brother, Lieutenant Colonel Guillaume Vicomte des Deux-Ponts. The regiment had been established in 1756 and assigned by Duke Christian IV des Deux-Ponts to the King of France who promptly put it at the disposal of the Elector of Saxony to fight against Frederick II of Prussia. The territory of Deux-Ponts (Zweibrücken) was in the possession of the Counts Palatine of the Rhine (Pfalzgrafen bei Rhein) as early as the fourteenth century. In the early eighteenth century it became Swedish until 1731 when it reverted back to Germany. Only after the French Revolution did it pass to France for a few years before becoming part of Bavaria in 1799.⁸ The Deux-Ponts regiment, or as it was also known by its German name at the time, "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment von Zweybrücken, oder Royal Deux-Ponts," was entirely German-speaking including most of its officers. Among the non-French officers of this regiment who left written accounts of the American campaign were Baron Ludwig von Closen (German), Hans Axel Comte de Fersen (Swedish), Baron Gabriel-Gaspard de Gallatin (Swiss), Guillaume Comte de Schwerin (German), Baron Jean-Baptiste de Verger (Swiss), and Guillaume Vicomte des Deux-Ponts (German). The most extensive and detailed of those documents known today are the journals of Baron von Closen and Baron de Verger, both of whom remained personal friends and in the service of Zweibrücken even after it became Bavarian. At that time the Swiss de Verger became Johann Baptist Anton von Verger.

According to Closen's accounting of the expeditionary force it numbered ca. 5,700 men. With the Royal Deux-Ponts consisting of 1,150 German-speaking soldiers, most of Duc de Lauzun's legion being German mercenaries, and the second battalion of the Auxonne artillery regiment being made up mostly of Swiss draftees, it is safe to say that almost 2,000 of the 5,700 members of Rochambeau's army, i.e., 30-35%, were German or German-speaking. However, considering these foreign contingents within the French army as "Germans" or "Swiss" in the modern sense would be to disregard entirely eighteenth-century political and historical conditions. Ethnically these soldiers belonged to their respective groups but they also considered themselves as something like adopted sons of France, according to the German proverb "Weß' Brot ich eß', deß' Lied ich sing'." The language spoken in the German units was German, the journals left by the various officers were written in French, the official language at most European courts as well as the language used in much of private correspondence among the educated of all European countries.

The "Biographical Directory" appended by E. M. Acomb to her edition of Closen's journal (pp. 339-65) provides interesting information as to the international makeup of the Deux-Ponts regiment's officers' corps (names already mentioned above will not be listed again with the exception of Fersen's):

Joseph De Staack or Destaack (b. 1737), had entered the regiment d'Alsace, and in 1779 transferred to the Deux-Ponts as captain-commandant;

Baron Louis Eberhard d'Esebeck (b. 1740), captain, later lieutenant colonel, brother-in-law of Baron Christian Karl Wilh. von Closen, who had been colonel of the Deux-Ponts during the Seven Years' War, and was a relative of Ludwig's;

Hans Axel Comte de Fersen (1755-1810), son of a Swedish general and statesman, joined the French army in 1770 and became colonel of the Royal Suédois regiment; after Yorktown he was appointed second-colonel of the Deux-Ponts; he was devoted to Marie-Antoinette and assisted the French royal family in their flight to Varennes in 1791;

Charles Louis de Fladen or Flad (b. 1738), cadet in the service of the Palatinate, in 1777 appointed captain in the Deux-Ponts;

Baron Johan Henric von Fock (Swedish), aide to Rochambeau and de Lauzun;

Baron Karl Leopold von Fürstenwärther (1741-1802), Closen's uncle through his mother's second marriage, joined the Deux-Ponts in 1758 and became a captain in 1776;⁹

Baron Charles Ernest de Haacke (b. 1752), second-captain of the Deux-Ponts in 1779;

Bernard-Antoine de Klocker or Klock (b. 1736), captain-commander in 1778;

Guillaume Frédéric Bernard de Lützow (b. 1758), joined the Deux-Ponts in 1775;

Charles Adam de Mühlensfels (b. 1748), second-captain in 1779;

Guillaume Charles Rühle de Lilienstern (b. 1740), captain-commandant;

Chrétien Louis Philippe de Sundahl or Sunnahl (b. 1734), entered the service of Waldeck in 1754 and in 1779 became captain-commandant in the Deux-Ponts (he could just as well have served in the Waldeck unit on the British side);

Baron George Félix de Wimpffen (b. 1741), joined the Deux-Ponts in 1757;

Baron Jean Christoph de Wisch (b. 1739), captain in 1777.

The Musée Historique de Strasbourg owns one of the more remarkable documents attesting to the internationalism or cosmopolitanism in the eighteenth century. It is a handbill printed in Strasbourg in 1775, advertising in German and French that the "Deutsches Königlich-Französisches Infanterie-Regiment von Zweybrücken, oder Royal Deux-Ponts" welcomes recruits to its ranks:

Auf Befehl des Königs.

Kund und zu wissen seye hiemit jedermänniglich, daß wer Lust hat, unter obgemeltem Regiment für 4 oder 8 Jahre Dienste zu nehmen, der kann sich bey Herrn Von Latuch in Sunthaim [M. de La Touche] melden, welcher ihm gutes Handgeld und richtige Capitulation ertheilen wird. Es genießen solche bey diesem Regiment den Vortheil, daß sie gratis sowol im Tanzen und Fechten, als Schreiben unterrichtet werden. Junge Leute in deutsch- und französischer Sprache erfahren, dabey von guter Auf-führung, werden bald avanciret werden. Wer einen schönen Mann zuweisen wird, soll wohl belohnet werden.¹⁰

Hans Christoph Friedrich Ignatz Ludwig Baron von Closen-Haydenburg, the author of *The Revolutionary Journal*, descendant of one of Bavaria's oldest families through its Rhenish line, was born in "Monsheim near Worms, in territory of the House of Leiningen attached to

Pfalz-Zweibrücken" (Closen, p. xxii). His birth date is uncertain, inasmuch as Closen gave it as 1755, the church records at Monsheim state August 14, 1752, and credentials at the War Ministry in Paris list it as 1754 (Closen, p. xxii). His father was a military man serving for a while as captain in the regiment of Baden-Durlach and at the time of his death (1765) as lieutenant colonel for the Dutch Netherlands. His mother was a Baroness von La Roche-Starkenfels who "was re-married in 1768 to Baron Ernst Ferdinand Ludwig von Fürstenwärther (1737-1821), a captain in the Royal Deux-Ponts regiment" (Closen, p. xxiii), who, however, did not go to America as did his brother Karl Leopold, young Closen's step-uncle. Closen "entered military service as a sub-lieutenant on September 10, 1769, at the age of fourteen or seventeen" (Closen, p. xxiii), advancing very fast due to being "pleasing, very industrious, extremely intelligent, [and] especially well-informed" (Closen, p. xxiii). He left for America as a second-captain and was picked by Rochambeau as one of his aides-de-camp in which position he had not only access to first-hand intelligence information but also frequently met George Washington and other leaders of the American forces as Rochambeau's special envoy (Closen, p. xxvi). His direct knowledge of operational plans and acquaintance with leading personalities are reflected in his journal and make it one of the most valuable sources for the French involvement in the Revolutionary War.

Prior to his departure for America Closen had become engaged to his step-father's daughter, Baroness Dorothea Friederike Karoline von Fürstenwärther, whose mother (d. 1765) had been Juliana Mariana Karoline von Günderröde. Closen married Dorothea upon his return in 1783 and they had one son and four daughters, as had his own parents. Dorothea died in Munich in 1800 leaving an inconsolable husband and their five young children (Closen, p. xxxii). The Closens' lives had not been easy. Although his military career advanced him to major-general in 1792, the French Revolution forced him to resign and leave France for Zweibrücken,

because his native sovereign, the Duc des Deux-Ponts, had threatened repeatedly to forbid him to return to his estates in the Duchy, or had proposed to confiscate them, if he continued to serve in France. He also claimed that he felt the French would think ill of him if he bore arms against his own fatherland. (Closen, p. xxxi)

Times obviously were no longer the same as only thirty-five years earlier when the French Royal Deux-Ponts regiment fought the King of Prussia in the service of Saxony! When French forces occupied the Palatinate in 1793 the Closens' wanderings began and severe financial and material losses ensued. In 1801 Closen was able to return to Zweibrücken, and in 1803 started writing a series of letters to Napoleon whom he asked for a position, but to no avail. Finally, in 1806, he was appointed sub-prefect of Simmern (Hunsrück), one of three arrondissements in the department Rhin-et-Moselle. After the defeat of Napoleon Closen retired from service (1813) and moved to Mannheim where he died on August 9, 1830 (Closen, pp. xxxii-xxxv).

As Macomb states in her introduction it "was for the entertainment of his family and friends that [Closen] began keeping his Journal" (Closen, p. xxiv). It provides fascinating and often highly entertaining reading reflecting the author's intelligence, curiosity, perceptiveness, compassion and sense of humor. The journal with its 338 printed pages takes the reader from the city of Brest across the Atlantic, giving the exact course of the ships with daily readings of latitude and longitude, to the arrival in Newport. On June 18 they captured an English ship and learned of the surrender of Charleston (May, 1780). On June 20 the French fleet had a short encounter with the British under Capt. Cornwallis west-southwest of the Bermudas. In the evening of July 11 the French ships entered the harbor of Newport, Rhode Island, and the last of the troops who were severely weakened by seasickness and the usual scurvy were disembarked on July 15. Almost to the day two years prior to that another French fleet, under the command of Count d'Estaing, had done considerable damage to British warships and land forces at Newport among whom were Hessian and Ansbach regiments.¹¹

Closen's journal reports on life in Newport, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Virginia as well as his various special missions which gave him many opportunities to meet the most important persons leading the revolutionary effort. A list of their names including not only the Washington family and Thomas Jefferson, but John Paul Jones, Heath, Lafayette, John Hancock, Samuel Cooper, et al., reads like a "Who's Who" of the time. Visits to Mt. Vernon and Monticello with private chats with their owners add substantially to the fascination emanating from this well-written document. Closen describes in detail the march from Newport to Yorktown, the siege, battle, and victory on October 19, 1781. After staying in winter quarters in Virginia, mainly in Williamsburg, until July 1, 1782, the French forces marched back to New England. While in New York State, Closen is dispatched by Rochambeau to Boston to negotiate embarkation for the West Indies. He then goes from Boston to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, returns to the troops in New York, sometimes covering as much as one hundred miles on horseback in one day, marches back to Providence with them and eventually returns to Boston. Here the army embarks on December 23, 1782, for the West Indies and Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, whence it returned to France, landing at Brest on June 17, 1783, a little over three years after its departure.

It is not the purpose of this study to provide a comprehensive picture of Closen's journal nor would it be possible to do so in view of the mass of information contained in the diary. In this tricentennial year of the founding of Germantown, emphasis should be placed on what a man like Closen, who saw that first German settlement in North America one hundred years after it had been established, knew and thought about the German element in the young United States as well as its people. Although his allegiance is clearly to "his" army, Closen does indicate more than casual interest in things German in this country without chasing after them in an obvious manner.

On September 2, 1781, on the way to Yorktown, Closen together "with the generals" whom he does not identify paid a visit to Germantown

to see the battlefield . . . , where there was a very hot fight, October 4, 1777. We reached it after travelling 6 miles [from Philadelphia] through very beautiful but almost completely sandy country. The village consists of a single street, more than 2 miles in length; only two small streets intersect it. There are some fine residences, but that is all. (Closen, p. 119)

Returning in August of 1782 Closen mentions that on the right bank of the Susquehanna a "city is to be built . . . , quite near the mouth, to be called *Frenchtown* [Havre de Grace]," since many French wanted to settle there in order to carry on commerce. Somewhat sarcastically he draws a parallel to "*Germantown* near Philadelphia," where such plans "would be ill advised" (Closen, p. 228). But he was clearly delighted to meet some of his German countrymen in and around Philadelphia. The people, their language and customs, the countryside, the climate, and the layout of Philadelphia with its "very wide, and well built streets, which form squares (as in Mannheim)" (Closen, p. 117) recalled to him his "dear native land; and although I was pursuing adventure more than 1800 leagues from there, I felt, I declare, as if I had been transplanted suddenly to the center of the beautiful Palatinate," but, alas, without the "good Rhine wine" (Closen, p. 116)! Frankfort, now part of Philadelphia, he calls "a large and charming village that German emigrés from the Rhineland have built. . . . There I found two former subjects of the Günderrode family:¹² a *Frick* and a *Geil*, natives of *Duchroth* [on the Nahe], who left Germany in 1763" (Closen, p. 116).¹³ A man named Euler, from the same village, "one of our former subjects," and "the man on my right" on the battlefield at Yorktown, "was wounded in a rather peculiar way. As he was marching along, a bomb splinter took off the thick skin from the heel of his foot, just as if it had been cut off with a razor" (Closen, p. 151). Closen commiserated with the unfortunate victim who was hospitalized for quite a while and "finally could walk only with a crutch" (Closen, p. 151).

There is no evidence that Closen looked at Hessians and other German soldiers in the British army with any particular favor or prejudice. In describing the city of Trenton he mentions "the ravages of the Hessians (who made themselves hated by their lack of discipline and of consideration for the peaceful inhabitants during their winter quarters in the Jerseys) . . . " (Closen, p. 115). This statement, although seemingly condemning of his countrymen, has to be seen in the light of his general attitude toward the British—mostly negative—and the Americans—usually positive. How "peaceful" inhabitants of enemy occupied territory normally are is a matter of perspective. After the battle of Yorktown when the British forces filed past the Americans to put down their arms Closen thought the English looked more tired "and much less heroic than the Anspach regiments, who were very handsome and very neatly dressed, better even than the Hessians" (Closen, p. 153).

This is confirmed by Verger who describes the British soldiers as well dressed and then states that the "Hessian regiments, and especially those of Anspach, are as handsome troops as one could see anywhere" (Rice/Brown, p. 151). Verger further indicates that after the surrender "tokens of sympathy" were shown by the French army towards the English and Hessians, an attempt at fraternizing which aroused "much jealousy" among the American officers. The French forces also "tried in every way to soften the lot of the defeated officers by offering to do for them whatever was in our power as individuals. We amused ourselves with the Hessians and Anspachers as far as their situation would permit" (Rice/Brown, p. 151). There thus seems to have been at least some feeling of solidarity among the European enemies from which the Americans were excluded.

Closen singles out the Hessian regiment of Bose¹⁴ as having "served throughout this war with the greatest distinction, and during the entire siege not a man deserted from it, whereas we received many Anspach deserters and two English nationals" (Closen, p. 154). He also mentions the "bravery and *high spirits of the Hessians*" under the command of Colonel Karl von Donop during the fighting at Fort Mercer, New Jersey, on October 22, 1777 (Closen, pp. 121-22).

On the subject of desertion of which both sides of Germans were very much aware during the conflict Closen makes some pertinent observations highlighting the problem. Philadelphia and all of Pennsylvania harbored more Germans from the Palatinate than from Hesse or any other German state that had leased their subjects to England. Closen remarks that the "soldiers of the Deux-Ponts regiment found many relatives in Philadelphia, who came to see them in camp. That necessitated our redoubling our efforts to prevent desertion, for there are many of them who would prefer to seek their fortune in this country" (Closen, p. 120). By the time the French had reached Hartford from Providence on their way south, the Deux-Ponts had lost three men because of desertion, and the Soissonais nine, and Closen hopes the numbers will not increase "since all Germans find it attractive in the interior of the country to become farmers or *field-servants*" (Closen, p. 86). Desertions continued in winter quarters in Virginia (Closen, p. 191) and were reported shortly before embarkation in Boston for the West Indies (Closen, p. 269). Closen learned later that several deserters from the Deux-Ponts regiment settled in the "very prosperous town" of Frankfort near Philadelphia (Closen, p. 116). Others, less fortunate, were captured "by some Americans, *good Whigs*, and were flogged" (Closen, p. 91). This clearly suggests that the Germans in Rochambeau's army serving the French Crown were not any happier or more willing regarding their military service in America than their countrymen on the other side.

Both Verger and Closen comment on the large number of German immigrants living in Maryland and Pennsylvania. Verger marvels at the large population of Baltimore and the fact that "more than two-thirds are Germans who came to America under various auspices" (Rice/Brown, p. 160).¹⁵ He assigns the same percentage of Germans to

Philadelphia (Rice/Brown, p. 162), whereas Closen "was assured that one-tenth of the city was German and that in the county of Lancaster, which is forty miles from here, especially in *Bethlehem*, all the inhabitants were Germans" (Closen, p. 120). Verger's journal echoes this information but with another exaggeration: "The whole of Pennsylvania is populated with nothing but Germans," a fact to which he attributes the countryside as being "extremely well cultivated" (Rice/Brown, p. 163). The Swiss Verger seemed to identify more strongly with the German element than did Closen. "There are many of *our* Moravians living in communities that share their possessions in common," we read in Verger (Rice/Brown, p. 163). Closen is somewhat more objective when he refers to the Pennsylvania Germans, most of whom "are reputed to be Moravians (or Herrnhuter). They have a magnificent establishment [in Bethlehem]. They, as well as those in Newport [Closen, p. 53], still correspond with members of their faith in Germany, reported to be in Zinzendorf, in Moravia, and along the Rhine, in Neuwied, etc." (Closen, p. 120).

The existence of the many religious groups for obvious reasons amazed both Closen and Verger. The former noted "that there is no country on the globe where there is so much tolerance as in America" (Closen, p. 250). He often encountered six to eight denominations in the same town, such as Anglicans, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, New Lights and Methodists.¹⁶ He once heard a Presbyterian minister during a sermon "after dinner" find much fault with the "New Lights" who were moved by religious revival and believed in justification by faith and in an austere morality.¹⁷ Verger states for Baltimore that all "religions are sanctioned here: the Catholics have a church . . . , as well as the Lutherans, Calvinists, Presbyterians, Quakers, Herrnhuter . . . , and Anabaptists" (Rice/Brown, p. 160).

Closen does not allow himself the time to dwell on the individual rites and dogmas of these various groups, but he does go into considerable detail regarding the "peculiarities of one sect, distinguished by the surname of Dunker, nearest to the Moravian brothers (or Herrnhuter) in principles" (Closen, p. 250).¹⁸ He had obtained very particular information regarding the Dunker establishment in both Lancaster and Bethlehem from "reliable and precisely informed travellers" (Closen, p. 252). In Bethlehem they have two large and spacious buildings, one housing young girls, the other young boys. A vow of chastity is demanded for admission to the group. Only by special dispensation may permission be obtained from the elders to marry later on. Their statutes require that two general assemblies must be held each year, those days being their greatest holidays, when "they renew their confession of faith, . . . and pledge mutual *charity, fidelity, friendship, and protection against their enemies*" (Closen, p. 251). Both sexes own their property in common and are economically self-sufficient in order to protect themselves from neighbors and outsiders of different faiths. They believe in the Trinity, but do not regard baptism or communion as sacraments. Baptism at age fourteen is followed immediately by communion and confession of faith. If two young people fall in love they

inform their supervisors who inquire whether there are any moral blemishes to be found in either person. After this examination and without any more ceremony each has to appear before his/her own assembly. Then the girl, accompanied by two eldresses, is taken to the men's chamber where both repeat before the entire assembly their wish to marry, to live together in peace and friendship, "and their willingness to follow the precepts of their respective sexes, which are read to them separately" (Closen, p. 252). They are then given a little cottage, furniture, cattle and a piece of land, where in "general, they live very peacefully and do not know the luxury or the vanities of this world" (Closen, p. 252). It is obvious that for some reason the Dunkers had made an especially strong impression on Closen.

Verger's and Closen's journals are characterized by close observations of customs, flora and fauna, climate and countryside all of which are compared to what they were used to in their homelands. Both had a keen eye for female beauty which, in their opinion, excelled that of their European sisters. Surprisingly, perhaps, neither comments on having met any influential people among the German-Americans, except for a fleeting reference by Verger to Dr. Wiesenthal—a Prussian—and Mr. Zollikhoffer—of Zürich—both living in Baltimore and being among the founders of the German Society of that city (Rice/Brown, p. 161, n. 130).

There is quite frequent and occasionally significant mention made of Blacks and Indians which, on the whole, does not differ substantially from other contemporary accounts. Some references deserve being presented here. On July 4, 1781, Closen went to see General Washington at White Plains where he had the chance to observe, obviously at a parade, "the American army, man for man. . . . It was really painful to see these brave men, almost naked, with only some trousers and little linen jackets, most of them without stockings, but, would you believe it? very cheerful and healthy in appearance. A quarter of them were negroes, merry, confident and sturdy" (Closen, p. 89). Of the Rhode Island regiment he says in a highly complimentary fashion that three quarters of it consist of "negroes and that [this] regiment is the most neatly dressed, the best under arms, and the most precise in its maneuvers" (Closen, p. 92). In winter quarters in Virginia Closen, alone and lost, once came upon "a pitiful little negro cabin" and asked one of its "inmates" to help him find his way (Closen, p. 179). In a concise manner he describes Virginia's high society, "the aristocracy of the country," who live most elegantly and comfortably while their slaves are treated most inhumanely. The description of Blacks given here, although rather detached but very much to the point and in agreement with most contemporary European accounts of slavery and the character of Blacks, deserves to be cited in full:

The large number of negroe slaves that they hold are often treated very harshly and even cruelly, are left to run around almost naked, and are not considered to be much better than animals. The whites believe that they debase themselves if they engage in the work they say is fit only for these wretched beings. I should observe that in New England there are almost no negro *slaves* any longer, whereas in the *southern* provinces all

the negroes are still enslaved. In general, despotism and aristocracy are the rule in Virginia more than elsewhere. A beagle, a *lap-dog*, very often leads a happier life and is much better fed than the poor negroes or mulattoes, who have only their allowance of corn daily with which to do as they please. They have salt meat only once a week. That is the way these miserable beings live. It is true that they recoup themselves often with their light-fingered hands and pilfer some victuals, even money, with incredible dexterity. They are thievish as magpies or faithful as gold: my good Peter, born of *free* parents in Connecticut, belonged to the latter class. (Closen, p. 187)¹⁹

Apparently, Closen makes a connection here between the Blacks' behavior and the way they are treated by their white masters, and seems to indicate that if they are born free they are also decent human beings, although there is no indication that he believed in equality between Black and White.

Closen's abhorrence of the slave trade is stated clearly when the French fleet came upon a slave ship under Austrian flag bound for Haiti from the coast of Guinea:

The commerce (or better, the trade) in negroes is an abominable and cruel thing, in my opinion. On board these ships they are treated worse than beasts; men are on one side, and women on the other, in the forepart of the ship. There is an iron chain which crosses from one side to the other, to which they are all attached, 2 by two, except for the few who are necessary for assistance in the maneuvers. All these unfortunate beings are naked, and at the least movement that does not suit the Captain, they are beaten to a pulp. Their diet consists only of *biscuits* (often moldy or full of maggots) and *rice*, sometimes of salted meat, and rarely, even of some brandy. The loss of a fifth of them, from sickness or despair during a voyage of 2 or 3 months, is expected. (Closen, pp. 286-87)

Closen correctly saw the differences between Blacks and their treatment in North and South America where part of the French fleet was stationed for a while in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, before heading back to France. The Blacks there had better bearing and were more handsome than the ones in the North, leading Closen to assume that they were brought over from "the most advanced districts in Africa" (Closen, p. 304). Conversely, the South American Indians are worse off than their Northern counterparts since the government keeps all colonists, but particularly the Indians, "stupid and ignorant (through priests)" in order "to prevent them from thinking of throwing off their yoke, as the North Americans have done" (Closen, p. 304).

A close look is also taken at Blacks in the French part of the island of Santo Domingo where Closen learns that there are "34,650 whites, 6,036 free blacks or mulattoes, and 300,000 slaves," the latter obviously more or less! Yet there is a distinct difference in the treatment of slaves from that in North America. Blacks gather in the market place to barter small commodities they possess for some furnishings, trinkets, etc. (Closen, p. 318). On the plantations they are no longer treated quite as cruelly as in earlier years although Closen is quick to add that this is not due to a

more humane way of thinking but due to self-interest on the part of their owners. The terrible treatment even of pregnant slaves used to cost too many lives. Replacing slaves at the rate of 6% a year because of death, infirmity or desertion had become too expensive for the owners and/or their managers, a Black costing from 3,000 to 4,000 francs (Closen, p. 318).

Of Indians there is not much mention with one notable exception, and that is the detailed description of the visit at Newport from August 29—Closen writes 28—to September 2, 1780, "of 19 *savages*,²⁰ members of some Indian tribes that still remain attached to France after the loss of Canada" (Closen, p. 37).²¹ During their visit they were "treated with much distinction," as Closen puts it (p. 39), obviously for political reasons. They were thirteen Oneidas and Tuscaroras and five Caughnawagas (Rice/Brown, p. xx) from the Sault of St. Louis, a village of Iroquois Indians south of Montréal which had long been under French and Jesuit influence before 1763. Governor Philip Schuyler of New York had sent the delegation along with interpreters to strengthen relations between the branches of the Six Nations and the United States, detach them from the British, and convince them of the existence of an alliance between the United States and France. All the accounts of this visit reflect varying degrees of bewilderment, prejudice and ignorance on the part of the authors when they were confronted with these "savages." There is no indication whether our reporters had ever heard or read about the "noble savage" who was made so much of by leaders of French and European thought at the time. But those philosophers and writers had never met an Indian in person, their noble ideas had been exercises in philosophy. The reader may be assured that none of the comments made by the members of Rochambeau's army betray any understanding of or even attempt at comprehending the Indians' different looks, language, behavior, customs, dress, etc., thus placing the Indians in a category quite different from the Blacks who were generally looked upon more sympathetically.

The Comte de Charlus (cf. n. 21 above) concentrated his views of the Indians on their behavior and reactions to the unfamiliar French officers and soldiers. He describes their "embarrasement" when seated at the table with Rochambeau and his staff, their obvious amazement, delight and amusement when the army maneuvered before them, their terror when cannons were fired, the pleasure with which they went to Mass as if they were going to the theater.²² Their cries of amazement "resembled rather the howls of animals"; when they did one of their dances "one would think they were wild animals," "their war whoops are at least . . . as terrifying" as their dances, but Charlus nevertheless came to the conclusion that "these people [were] very civilized for savages."²³ How he was able to judge them "not a very honest people" he does not say.

Closen and Verger both were interested primarily in the Indians' physical appearance, but also their manners and behavior. One does not detect any tolerance or understanding of the "savages" here either, they obviously appeared to be anything but "noble" to them. Verger sketched two of the Indians, and Closen, according to Rice/Brown (p.

xx), copied these drawings for his own journal.²⁴ Closen begins his description by stating that "one cannot imagine the horrible and singular faces and bizarre manners of these people" (Closen, p. 37). He speaks of their "brownish, almost bronze" complexion and their hair which "was fastened in shining black braids and attached to the top of the head by a string or a bit of hide" (Closen, p. 37). While almost all had pierced ears and noses "some of them had slashed their ears in several places"; ornaments fastened to their pierced noses seemed to indicate the bearer's trade such as "bow, chisel, horseshoe, etc., etc." (Closen, p. 38). The blankets which they wore over their pearl shell- or glass bead-decorated loin cloths are described as exactly as the chiefs' sandals and other pieces of clothing. The Indians' language was only so much gibberish to Closen's and Verger's ears, but they never asked themselves what their French or German must have sounded like to the "savages." Everything Closen heard was pronounced like prattling, and "in a monotonous and singing tone, with the last syllables heavily accented" (Closen, p. 38). He was not exactly fond of their battle cries, their dancing and music because it began with humming and increased to a "piercing and disgusting" pitch, accompanying their "gestures, grimaces, and contortions of the eyes, body, feet, etc.," all of which was "distasteful" (Closen, p. 38). But the most repulsive aspect of the red men's appearance seems to have been their body paint which was "lubricated with a reddish oil." Through the exertion of dancing all the colors gradually blended and appeared "only as a shining, slimy mass, . . . with the oil running down the body, forming some irregular features, as on maps" (Closen, p. 38). Closen remarks that most of the Indians were tall and well shaped, "very MUSCULAR in build" and yet very supple. "All of them seemed to us to be very carnivorous," which he attributed to the fact that at home they lived mostly on game and fish! In return for blankets, knives, and other hardware they left "their sandals, belts, and . . . also some scalps. That is enough for these savages," Closen finally notes (Closen, p. 39).

There are some interesting marginal remarks made by Closen and Verger regarding one of the interpreters, a German, whom the Comte de Charlus also mentions in his report. Closen calls him "a person named Frey, a German (native of Schwetzingen)"—Verger says "from near Mannheim" (Rice/Brown, p. 121)—"who had lived among them since the year 1758, and who . . . had learned their language." The Indians seemed to like him very much, and he assured the French officers "that he would end his days among them" (Closen, p. 39). Verger corroborates this statement by remarking that the German, according to his own account, would not "leave a country where he was his own master and . . . part from these good people to return to a place where he would be a slave" (Rice/Brown, p. 123).²⁵

A quick look should perhaps be taken at Closen's and Verger's remarks about the colleges they saw and the fact that they were somewhat interested in them at all. Having praised the "cheerful and pleasant disposition" of the citizens of Providence that is also "apparent in their houses and streets," Closen has this to say about the College of

Rhode Island (since 1804 Brown University): "The most noteworthy building [in town] is the college,²⁶ which is very spacious and very well constructed; it is located high on a height behind the city, whence there is a very fine view. There the army hospital was established, even while we were still in Newport, as much because of the healthful air as because of the ease with which the employees could be brought together here" (Closen, p. 83). At least under the French this now venerable building served people; earlier, during the British occupation, it was used as a stable for horses.

The College of William and Mary in Williamsburg was affected similarly during the time the French forces occupied it. Closen saw the college as one of "three large, very well constructed buildings" in Williamsburg, the others being the Capitol and the Governor's Palace. Like Brown, William and Mary was "*without professors and students*" and "about to be used for the establishment of hospitals and for the army depot." One of the wings of the College burned down on November 23, 1781, four days after the arrival of the French, and the French King, according to Closen, "got off for £12,000 in damages, in a settlement that M. de Rochambeau negotiated with the President, Mr. Madison, who had lost a large part of his library and several very fine physics instruments" (Closen, p. 166; Verger gives a less detailed account [Rice/Brown, p. 153 and n. 108]).

During his first visit to Boston on one of his frequent special missions Closen took time out on the afternoon of March 18, 1781, to visit Cambridge where the "college is the most remarkable object, as much for the size of the building as for the establishment in general. There are 10 professors, paid by the state; 250 scholars, who pay only a very moderate fee, attend the college. There are 15,000 volumes in the library, which is very well selected" (Closen, p. 72). The whole structure, as he puts it, which included five "wings," i.e., halls, "is so clean and orderly that the foreigner can only be charmed by it" (Closen, p. 72). What fascinated him most at Harvard was, however—"the very well stuffed skin of a rattle snake. It is 12 feet long and 16 inches in circumference" (Closen, p. 72). About this reptile, which must have been one of the biggest rattlers of all times, he discoursed at length with "the Professor of Physics" in his "natural history museum."

In Philadelphia "there is a very famous College with the title of *University*" (Closen, p. 117). No further description of the University of Pennsylvania is given. Maybe Closen did not have much time to look at that institution more closely during his first visit to Philadelphia—late August, early September, 1781, on the way to Yorktown—although his vivid accounts of various social activities there and a visit to M. Du Simitière's *Kuriositätenkabinett* (Closen, p. 118) would indicate otherwise. On the return from Virginia to New England, exactly one year later, Closen visited the same establishment again, but this time actually also "went to the College to see the *orrery*," which he found very curious and "extremely well made." He admired this "*Sea Clock*" because of its usefulness to navigators whom it helps calculate a ship's position. Closen also knows that this orrery "was made by the same

man [David Rittenhouse]" who built the unassembled one at Princeton (Closen, p. 230). So much for education and its institutions in America where "nature is very beautiful, but art and education have not yet attained the degree of perfection to be found in Europe" (Closen, p. 209). In a note added later Closen does concede, however, that "since 1783 the arts, sciences, and taste have made astonishing progress there" (Closen, p. 209, n. 7).

In concluding this view of the "other Germans" during the War of Independence it may be fitting to point out what these visitors thought of their hosts. Verger does not give us much of an idea as to his opinion of Americans in general. This kind of information is much more abundant in Closen's journal. His greatest admiration goes to the American troops, Whites and Blacks, men of every age, "even children of fifteen," who, "almost naked, unpaid, and rather poorly fed, can march so well and withstand fire so steadfastly" (Closen, p. 102). Closen does give credit for precision, bearing and discipline of the American army "to the labors and zeal of General *Steuben*, a German baron by birth, . . . and to his subordinate, Colonel *Stewart*, an excellent officer, who has learned M. de *Steuben's* style perfectly" (Closen, p. 242). Whether Closen or Verger ever had any personal contact with *Steuben* could not be ascertained. Closen was, however, also aware of the demoralizing effect which lack of pay, food and clothing had on the American troops. He mentions the mutiny of the "Pennsylvania line [regiment], quartered near Morristown in the Jerseys," that had been instigated by a German and an Irishman who were both hanged. Closen assures his readers that in Europe armies would mutiny for less cause (Closen, p. 54).

As has been mentioned before, Closen and Verger were quite taken by the charm, "modesty and sweetness of demeanor" of the women, especially those of Rhode Island, whom "nature has endowed . . . with very fine features" (Closen, pp. 50-51). The Quakers, women and men, called forth his admiration for their seriousness, love of their neighbors, their horror of anything destructive and their love of peace. Closen seems to have been enamored of all women, but particularly the witty, charming, beautiful and young. He usually found the women of any town he happened to be visiting the most beautiful of all, whether it was Newport, Williamsburg, Baltimore, Philadelphia or Boston. He drew silhouettes of twelve of them, two in Newport and ten in Virginia, the two places where he had the most time to indulge in this pastime. The silhouettes and the names of those depicted are to be found facing pages 137 and 164 respectively.

In general, Closen was struck again and again by how easy and free the Americans' manners were, that people did things such as leaning "on your neighbor without ceremony," or putting "your elbows on the table during dinner," which would have been considered evidence of poor breeding in France. He is amazed at how often and at every opportunity Americans shake hands, something he attributes to English manners and compares unfavorably to the French custom of embracing and kissing (Closen, pp. 47, 171). The many toasts that had to be drunk

on various occasions he found very tiring, perhaps because scarcely any wine "*but dry Madeira is drunk in this country,*" and a good Bordeaux, which is called "*French claret,*" is rarely found. He is also amazed that the Americans whose outward appearance suggests "carelessness, and almost thoughtlessness," make such good, brave, and disciplined soldiers (Closen, p. 49)! Related to this easy-going attitude of Americans is what to Closen "appears to be the American principle *to work only on threatened places,*" a remark made in connection with the construction of Fort Mifflin on the Delaware. The Americans "are really trying to finish this fortification, but God only knows when it will be done" (Closen, p. 121).

There is another characteristic which he observed on numerous occasions in the affluent circles in which he and his colleagues moved for the most part. He cannot find enough words of praise for American hospitality and sociability he encountered wherever he went. However, he draws the line when socializing became an end in itself, was practiced to excess, i.e., when people, such as Virginia's high society, "the Carter, Randolph, Harrison, Byrd, etc., families . . . abandon themselves to it, perhaps with too much relish, thinking only of amusing themselves and scarcely concerning themselves with their estates" (Closen, p. 187).

The other side of the coin, so to speak, is the Americans' hunger for money. When cash started running out for the French army in May of 1781, shortly before the march to Yorktown, loans had to be arranged—it is not said through whom—"for as much as 25, 30, and 33 per cent" (Closen, p. 78). When traveling alone on some of his frequent special missions Closen often had to find overnight accommodations at one of the many roadside inns of questionable reputation and cleanliness. "[The] Americans occasionally do scruple to bleed us as much as they can, and when one arrives at a tavern *at night*, they are even more demanding. The next day they present the bill, and many times I have had to pay, in addition to the charge for food and forage, '*for the trouble,*' 2-4-6 crowns" (Closen, p. 128). On the other hand, not only did the American army pay for neither wood nor forage, or anything else for that matter, "*the soldiers plunder a great deal (and almost by turns)*" (Closen, p. 259). After the battle of Yorktown American "deputy quartermasters acted shamefully" by taking *gratis* "surely half" of the merchandise left in some merchants' shops (Closen, p. 156). Closen sees one reason for this unsoldierlike behavior in the fact that the soldiers and some officers were not paid on time, and claimed that they had not been paid for two or three years. He blames contractors who "are trying to make too large profits" for sometimes not delivering rations punctually (Closen, p. 259). The most frequent complaints were "claims for damages from the proprietors" (Closen, p. 257). When Rochambeau broke camp at Crompond (Yorktown), New York, on his way to Boston on October 22, 1782, his landlord, "among others, demanded 1,800 livres damages for something that was worth at most 400," although the French had built a 1½ mile aqueduct which not only provided water for the troops but also turned the landlord's mill. Upon the General's

refusal to pay, the owner summoned the sheriff who declared Rochambeau his prisoner. Uproarious laughter followed, but the General kept his composure and directed the sheriff to address himself to General Washington, whereupon "this fine Monsieur went off like a naughty boy" (Closen, p. 258). In order to save the French army's reputation three impartial experts were employed who estimated the damages at only six hundred francs that were paid immediately. Governor Clinton dismissed the sheriff, "and the good miller was out of his money, since he had to pay all the expenses" (Closen, pp. 258-59). Such are the ways of war.

There is one aspect of the purpose of the American Revolution, for the success of which the French contingent had come across the Atlantic Ocean at immense financial expense and personal hardship, that is entirely absent in the journals of these military men whether French, German, or Swiss, and that is the political significance of the struggle. It was obviously seen by these professional soldiers as a military exercise like any other. If they harbored different ideas about the American Revolution they did not express them. The French government, an absolutistic monarchy, was not interested in the thirteen colonies' political independence or their inhabitants' freedom per se; that would have been quite paradoxical. France had lost Canada to the British and had been defeated by the Prussians and British in Europe during the Seven Years' War. Russia, Prussia and Austria had strengthened their respective positions by dividing Poland among themselves. The opportunity of weakening England, her greatest threat in Europe and abroad, was the strongest incentive that helped push France into the American War. But England was the real winner nevertheless. She no longer had to bear the financial burden of governing the American colonies but continued enjoying trade relations with her former subjects. The exorbitant expense of the French mission in North America and in the Caribbean, on the other hand, led that country deeper into debt and a significant step closer to the Revolution of 1789. There were no freedom fighters among the French, they were good soldiers and loyal subjects *de Sa Majesté très-Chrétienne*. One could only say that the deserters were the ones who demonstrated a love for independence and freedom—for themselves, and doing the same as their Hessian countrymen against whom they had fought. The Indians at Newport were the ones who showed political acumen or at least dared come out with it. During their visit one of them asked General Rochambeau:

"Father," he said to me, "it is very astonishing that the King of France, our father, sends his fighters to protect the Americans in an insurrection against the King of England, their father."—"Your father, the King of France," I told him, "protects the natural liberty that God has given to man. The Americans have been burdened with loads which they could no longer bear. He found their complaints to be just: we shall be everywhere the friends of their friends and the enemies of their enemies. . . ."27

Rochambeau concludes with a rather revealing afterthought: "It was in that way that I got out of, well or poorly, a situation which I could not help finding embarrassing."²⁸

Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

Notes

¹ Harold Jantz, "Images of America in the German Renaissance," in *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. F. Chiapelli (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1976), p. 98.

² Cf. Albert R. Schmitt, "The Elusive Philipp von Hutten: Colonizer in Venezuela," *Journal of German-American Studies*, 13, No. 3 (1978), 64.

³ Cf. Schmitt, n. 2 above.

⁴ On the question of cannibalism in general and on Hans Staden's accounts of that alleged practice in particular see the eminently readable study by W. Arens, *The Man-Eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1979); on Staden see pp. 22-30, 35, 176. Of general interest is the comprehensive anthropological, social, and cultural study by Urs Bitterli, *Die "Wilden" und die "Zivilisierten": Grundzüge einer Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte der europäisch-überseeischen Begegnung* (München: Beck, 1976).

⁵ On Federmann, Schmidel, and Staden see Duncan Smith, "... 'beschreibung einer Landtschafft der Wilden / Nacketen / Grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen': The German Image of America in the Sixteenth Century," in *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt*, ed. Gerhard Friesen and Walter Schatzberg (Worcester, MA: Clark Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 1-19.—A recently published voluminous collection of essays, 876 pages in all, provides a comprehensive survey of German involvement in South and Central America from the beginning to the present. The individual articles cover those parts of the New World alphabetically by countries and regions from Argentina to Venezuela: Hartmut Fröschle, ed., *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung*, Buchreihe Deutsch-ausländische Beziehungen des Instituts für Auslandsbeziehungen Stuttgart, Vol. 15 (Tübingen/Basel: Horst Erdmann, 1979).

⁶ For the most comprehensive and still indispensable investigation of that subject see Harold Jantz, "Amerika im deutschen Dichten und Denken," in *Deutsche Philologie im Aufriß*, ed. Wolfgang Stammer, 2nd ed. (Berlin, 1967), III, col. 309-72; in addition see also for example *Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt* (n. 5 above), *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA*, Wolfgang Paulsen zum 65. Geburtstag, ed. Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler, Wilfried Malsch (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975), *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild: Neuere Forschungen zur Amerikarezeption der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Alexander Ritter, Germanistische Texte und Studien, Vol. 4 (Hildesheim/New York: Olms, 1977), and, for the period close to this paper, Horst Dippel, *Americana Germanica (1770-1800): Bibliographie deutscher Amerikaliteratur, Amerikastudien/American Studies*, Eine Schriftenreihe, Vol. 42 (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1976).

⁷ The most comprehensive presentation of the French campaign is provided in the monumental two-volume documentary with numerous facsimiles, illustrations, maps, and bibliographical references including a list of diaries, *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, trans., ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown (Princeton/Providence: Princeton Univ. Press/Brown Univ. Press, 1972). Vol. I contains the complete journals of Jean-François-Louis Comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur, Jean-Baptiste-Antoine de Verger (von Verger), and Louis-Alexandre Berthier. This work will be cited in the text as Rice/Brown followed by page number.—Among other important monographs and journals, which also include excellent bibliographical material, mention should be made of the following: Jean-Edmond Weelen, *Rochambeau Father and Son . . . and the Journal of the Vicomte de Rochambeau (hitherto unpublished)*, trans. Lawrence Lee, with a Preface by Gilbert Chinard (New York: Holt & Co., 1936); Arnold Whitridge, *Rochambeau*

(New York/ London: Macmillan, 1965); of special significance for this paper, Evelyn M. Acomb, trans., ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill, NC: The Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1958). References to this work will be given in the text as Closen followed by page number. For the lists of the individual units and their commanding officers as well as the names of the ships and their captains, see Closen, pp. 4-6.

⁸ Closen, pp. xxiv; for other information on Zweibrücken and the two brothers Deux-Ponts see, e.g., Samuel Abbott Green, trans., ed., *My Campaigns in America: A Journal Kept by Count William des Deux-Ponts, 1780-1781* (Boston: Wiggin & Lunt, 1868).

⁹ On Moritz von Fürstenwäther, a cousin of Closen's, see Gerhard Friesen, "Moritz von Fürstenwäther and America," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 16 (1981), 73-78.

¹⁰ A. Ulrich Koch, "Le Régiment Royal Deux-Ponts (Régiment de Deux-Ponts en Palatinat) en Amérique du Nord et du Sud 1780-1783," in *Le Carnet de la Sabretache*, NS 23 (1974), Supplément, Pl. No. 188. Koch also provides illustrations of the Deux-Ponts colors ("Drapeau Colonel" and "Drapeau d'Ordonnance"), Pl. No. 182, of "Von Closen quitte Brest [in 1783 after the return from South America] grée comme un marchand de Smyrne," entering a coach aided by his black servant Peter, the coach carrying on its roof a chained parrot, monkeys, a bird cage and luggage, Pl. No. 189. Closen's own description reads: "... after purchasing a good carriage, where I could place—before, behind, and on top—my servants (one white and my superb and faithful negro, Peter), 3 monkeys, 4 parrots and 6 parakeets, I left with post horses in the evening of the 21st [of June, 1783], with this noisy and unruly display, difficult to keep clean, like a merchant arriving from Smyrna. . . ." (Closen, p. 337)—Another illustration in Koch depicts four "Tenues de Royal Deux-Ponts en Amérique," Pl. No. 188.

¹¹ Cf. Charles Warren Lippitt, *The Battle of Rhode Island* (Newport, RI: Mercury Publ. Co., 1915).

¹² As has been mentioned before, Closen was related to the Günderröde family through his mother-in-law. His daughter Charlotte later married into it (Closen, p. 116, n. 20).

¹³ Acomb mentions that "Guillaume de Schwerin, a young officer in the Royal Deux-Ponts," had a similar experience, recounting "that the last day of his stay in Philadelphia he dined with people from Dierdorff who had served at his château" (Closen, p. 120, n. 31). Dierdorf may be a hamlet in the Westerwald, some twenty km NE of Neuwied, since Schwerin's papers are kept in that town in the Fürstlich Wiedisches Archiv.

¹⁴ Describing the order in which the British forces marched out of Yorktown at the surrender, Verger places the Germans last: "the Erbprinz and von Bose regiments of Hesse; the Anspach and von Seybothen regiments of Anspach" (Rice/Brown, p. 148).

¹⁵ Rice/Brown refer to Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans, A History* (Princeton, 1948), who concludes "that about ten percent of the 3,000 names in the directory [of Baltimore, 1796] are undoubtedly German" (Rice/Brown, p. 160, n. 127).

¹⁶ While in Newport Closen remarks at length about Quakers, mentions Anabaptists, Presbyterians and Moravians, but, strangely does not say anything about the remarkable Touro-Synagogue which was completed in 1763. Verger refers to this synagogue as the only house of worship built of stone, while the others are of wood and "not especially notable," apparently including the famous Trinity Church (Rice/Brown, p. 124).

¹⁷ On his first visit to Boston, March 17-20, 1781, Closen attended various religious services that were, however, not very inspiring to him, nor, so it seemed, to the congregations. But the Anglican preacher he heard attracted much better attention since he "frisked about in the pulpit like the Devil in a fount of holy water" (Closen, p. 73).

¹⁸ Acomb provides some basic background information on the Dunkers, or Church of the Brethren, who "were first organized in 1708 by Alexander Mack in Germany." Having been driven out by persecution "they settled in 1719 in Germantown . . . and elsewhere." According to their belief men, after the coming of Christ, were born without sin. Their baptism consisted in "triune immersion in recognition of the Trinity" (Closen, p. 251, n. 74).

¹⁹ Closen took Peter back to Europe with him (cf. n. 10 above).—Acomb mentions a letter by Rochambeau to Governor Harrison of Virginia, June 28, 1782, in which he states "that several of the French army officers, including himself, owned some Negroes, purchased from those captured by the French fleet in Rhode Island [and] from the British

in New York. Some of these Negroes were free and some were not. He would cooperate in returning to the Virginians their slaves, but French rights must be recognized" (Closen, pp. 187-88, n. 37).

²⁰ That number varies; Verger speaks of "about 20 savages" (Rice/Brown, p. 121), Charlus (s. n. 21 below) mentions 19, others 18.

²¹ For one of the various French accounts of the Indians' visit see Durand Echeverria, "The Iroquois Visit Rochambeau at Newport in 1780. Excerpts from the Unpublished Journal of the Comte de Charlus," *Rhode Island History* 11, No. 3 (July, 1952), 73-81; others in Vicomte de Rochambeau, *The War in America: An Unpublished Journal (1780-1783)*, pp. 210-11 (cf. n. 7 above), the journal of Clermont-Crèvecoeur in Rice/Brown, pp. 19-20, and that of Verger in Rice/Brown, pp. 121-23, with copious notes and further references by the editors.

²² Charlus' journal (cf. n. 21 above), pp. 77-79.

²³ Ibid.

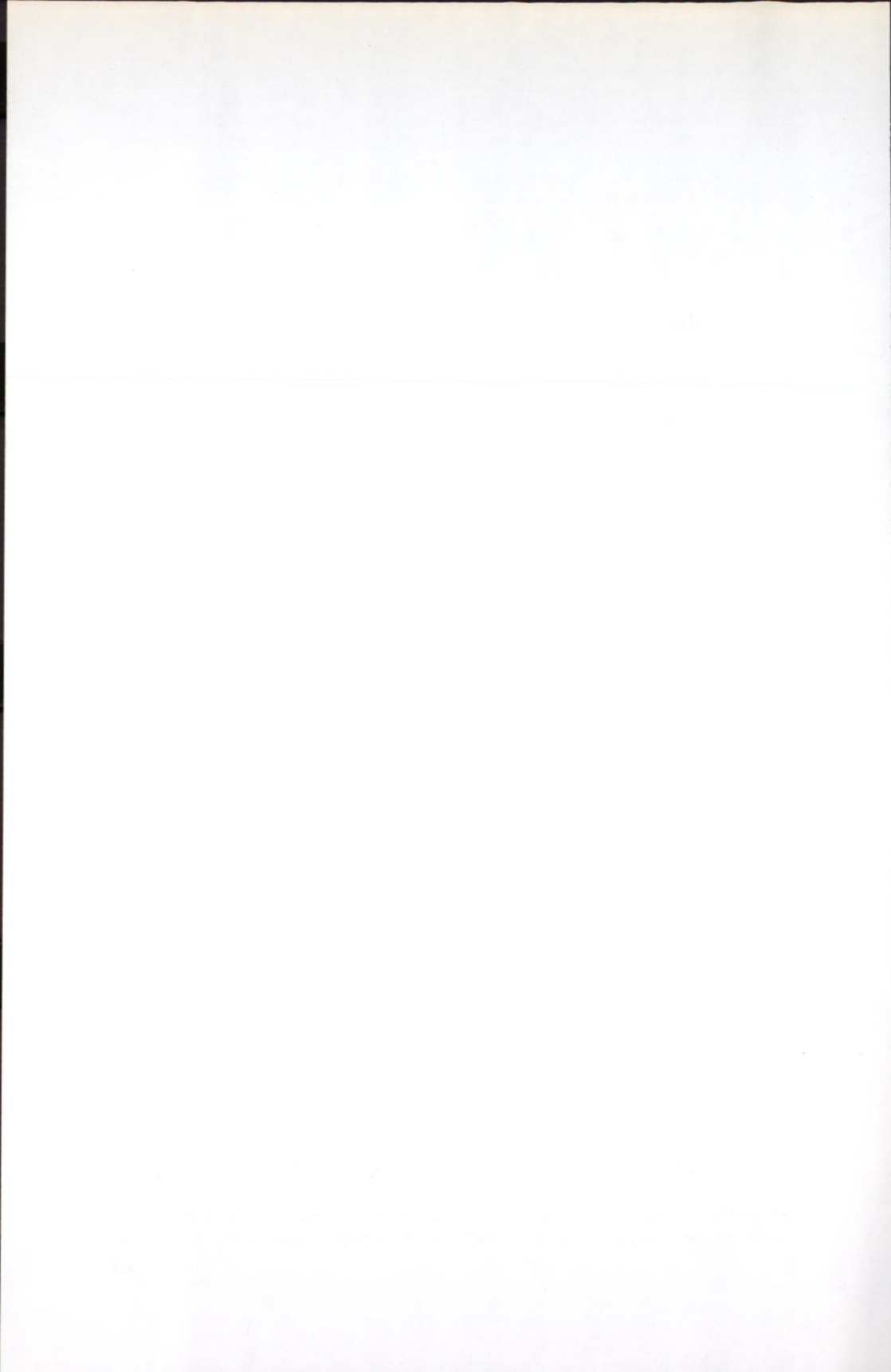
²⁴ The illustrations are reproduced in Verger, Rice/Brown, between pp. 126 and 127, and in Closen, facing p. 264.

²⁵ In a recent article Eberhard Schmitt sheds a great deal of new light on persons of Frey's kind. He counts them among the "coureurs de bois" or "Waldläufer." Such a person "entzog sich so ganz der Sozial- und Herrschaftsordnung des . . . Absolutismus: Er profitierte auf diese Weise von den Vorteilen der weißen und indianischen Kultur, aber wesentlich mehr von letzterer" ("Nordamerika im Spiegel französischer Reiseberichte des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte*, ed. Antoni Mączak, Hans Jürgen Teuteberg, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Vol. 21 [Wolfenbüttel, 1982], p. 266). It is interesting to note, says Schmitt, that the "Waldläufer" were "jener Sozialtypus, der von der indianischen Kultur fast völlig aufgesogen wurde," while on the other hand there were among the white colonists "so gut wie keine Indianer, die von der französischen Kultur assimiliert wurden. . . . Das ist eine der erstaunlichsten Erscheinungen, . . . daß es den Franzosen in keiner Weise gelang, die Indianer zu 'französisieren'" (ibid., p. 268).

²⁶ University Hall, the foundation of which was laid in 1770.

²⁷ Quoted from Jean-Edmond Weelen (cf. n. 7 above), p. 94.

²⁸ Ibid.



Don Yoder

The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity

In the late 1860s the nation was still recovering from the deep wounds of the Civil War. In Pennsylvania the Reformed ministry and people were engaged in their own civil war, the liturgical controversy which almost led to permanent division, and did result, on the so-called Old Reformed side, in new institutions like the *Reformed Church Review*, Ursinus College, and the rival theological seminary. In the midst of this time of bitter strife certain elements within the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania began to turn back upon themselves, into a deeper understanding of what it meant to be Pennsylvania German, as well as what it meant to be Reformed. This upwelling of ethnic feeling in a sense bridged the gulf between the theological parties that were dividing the church by pointing up the church's part in the overarching Pennsylvania German culture. This ethnic awakening among the Reformed ministry in turn created some new institutions and symbols which would continue to deepen the Pennsylvania German's understanding of himself into the twentieth century.

This article outlines the first major phase of the Reformed Church's relation with the problem of ethnic identity of the Pennsylvania Germans.¹ It is, of course, fashionable to be ethnic today and to recast the past in ethnic terms. The Pennsylvania Germans have been around a long time, and there appears to be a lengthy history to the development, in gradual stages, of their ethnic consciousness. In the creation of this sense of identity about a century ago the Reformed element had an important function, through four individuals—Henry Harbaugh, Benjamin Bausman, Eli Keller, and William A. Helffrich.

I. Harbaugh, *The Guardian* and the *Harfe*

In 1870 there appeared in Philadelphia, under the imprint of the Reformed Church Publication Board, a slender volume called *Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart*. The preface, by Benjamin Bausman, a close friend and disciple of Harbaugh, tells us that these poems had originally appeared in a paper called *The Guardian*.

Harbaugh was often requested to edit a collection of them, which he had intended to do, but his early death—he died in 1867 at the age of fifty—left this wish of his many friends unfulfilled. Bausman writes:

Harbaugh wrote these poems, not I, but he was a dear friend of mine—and is still, although on the other side. Grateful love to him as well as to the people, in whose language he sang these songs, moves me to edit this little work. . . . This harp gives a portrayal of the folklife and family life of the German Pennsylvanians. From the cradle to the grave, from the family, school and church, many a precious picture is painted.²

In Bausman's introduction to the *Harfe* the statement is made that

although Harbaugh wrote almost exclusively in the English language, yet he was *von Haus aus* a so-called Pennsylvania German. In his father's house Pennsylvania German was spoken. He absorbed from his earliest childhood the characteristic spirit of this people. He loved their customs, their childlike spirit and their simple piety, and never felt so much at home as in the families and great German churches of East Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania Germans in turn "learned to love him heartily. When he preached, the people streamed to the churches. His sermons were deep and yet simple, fundamental and yet understandable. He was an outgrowth of their very life."

His death made a deep and mournful impression on his many English and German friends. On the Sunday after his decease many a preacher announced to his congregation from his pulpit, with tears in his eyes: "*Unser lieber Bruder Harbaugh ist in die Ruhe gegangen.*" Besides the funeral service which was held at Mercersburg, special funeral addresses were delivered in many large congregations of East Pennsylvania, to full churches, where tears of sorrowing love copiously flowed.

This beloved minister, whose life had so evidently moved and touched that of his own people, was the native associate of John Williamson Nevins and Philip Schaff, and if not a creator he was at least a popularizer of the Mercersburg theology.³ It is not necessary here to review that facet of his work, but rather to set him in the framework of the Pennsylvania German identity problem, to analyze his contributions to that identity.

Looking at most of Henry Harbaugh's published books on religion, one could get the impression that he was nothing more than a completely acculturated minister reshaped into Anglo-American tastes. Among the titles of his religious works are *The Drunkard Maker taken from the Bar to the Bar of God*; *A Plea for the Lord's Portion*; *The Sainted Dead*; *The Heavenly Recognition*; *The Star of Bethlehem*; *The True Glory of Women*; *Birds of the Bible*; and *Youth in Earnest*. These could have been written, one feels, by any relatively talented minister of any of the Anglo-American denominations. In his historical works, all in English—*Life of Michael Schlatter* (1857), *Fathers of the Reformed Church* (1857-1867), and *Annals of the Harbaugh Family* (1861), one sees his concern for tradition and his historical interest in the Pennsylvania Germans. But even more than

these, his love of Pennsylvania rural life and its people shines through the pages of his church periodical, *The Guardian*, which he founded in Lancaster in 1850.

The periodical was in English, and its goal was to provide the youth of the church, particularly the rural youth, with suitable reading matter. Harbaugh's best biographer, Elizabeth Clarke Kieffer, writes of his own contributions to the paper as follows:

It was, of course, in *The Guardian* that Harbaugh most completely expressed himself. Here he had opportunity to make use of all the wide and varied general information which he delighted in accumulating. Here he could give free rein to all those romantic tendencies which surged within him, and within the limits which he had set for himself—for he permitted no "fiction" in his columns and no glorification of worldly pleasures—yet he managed to present life, and particularly the religious life, as a glowing, colorful, exciting thing, which to the young people of the church (and of other churches, for the magazine was non-denominational) who had no access to spicier literature, must have offered the kind of escape which many boys and girls find today in the movies which Harbaugh would have mercilessly condemned.

While his goal was to make piety "intelligent, consistent and lovely," he could not escape imitating the sentimental mood of those "sentimental decades," "while condemning like any Puritan the circus, the dance, fashion, games (chess, even dominoes), cockfighting, novel-reading, marriage with unbelievers, billiard-saloons, newspaper indecencies, and lotteries."⁴

Harbaugh's contribution to the Pennsylvania German identity lay of course in the fact of his having captured the field of Pennsylvania German dialect literature, posthumously but positively, in the publication of his *Harfe* in 1870. His pilgrimage toward this began in August, 1861, when he published in *The Guardian* what was to become his most celebrated poem, "Das alt Schulhaus an der Krick," followed in the December number by another favorite, "Heemweh." His poems, published in *The Guardian* from 1861 to 1867, were, as stated, gathered into a volume by Harbaugh's close friend, Benjamin Bausman, in 1870.

It appears that Philip Schaff's interest in Hebel, the creator of modern Alemannic dialect literature in Europe, whom Schaff called "the German Burns," had had an influence in motivating Harbaugh to respond to the Pennsylvania German muse. Schaff and Harbaugh were close friends, and Schaff felt a great sense of personal loss at Harbaugh's death in 1867. He wrote at the time that Harbaugh

now knows all about the "Heavenly Home," "Heavenly Recognition," and the "Heavenly Employments," about which he wrote so beautifully in the days of his youth to the edification of many thousands of readers. . . . He was endowed with rare gifts of mind and heart. For the defects of his early education he made up by intense application. He was a poetical genius, the only one who has risen, as far as I know, from the German-American population. I first suggested to him the desirableness of immortalizing the Pennsylvania-German in song, as the Alemannian dialect has been immortalized by Hebel. He took up the hint and wrote

his *Schulhaus an der Krick*, which he modestly submitted to me, and which, when published, produced quite a sensation among the Pennsylvania-Germans, and found its way even to Germany.

Schaff's son and biographer tells us that Schaff "used to repeat the *Schulhaus an der Krick* with great spirit."⁵

The *Harfe*, the posthumous product of Harbaugh's dialect labors, attained immense popularity wherever Pennsylvania German was spoken. Its poems were recited in country schoolhouses all over Eastern and Central Pennsylvania, and its lines treasured up in the hearts of simple folk young and old. The book itself went through several editions, and was reviewed widely in this country and abroad. While it was not the first dialect literature to find its way into print, it was from the beginning the most influential monument to Pennsylvania German creativity and continued for generations to spur into creation the work of new generations of poets.

Harbaugh's biographer discusses possible reactions of the pioneer poet to this celebrated book which he himself never saw.

Could he have guessed that in half a century his chief claim to remembrance would lie in the contents of 'Harbaugh's *Harfe*,' a title which he never heard, it is hard to guess what his feelings would have been. Probably he would have been amused, for, certain appearances to the contrary, he was fundamentally a modest man. He might even have been pleased, for he loved his people and his mother-tongue (which he had not neglected to teach to his children), and it is not altogether a despicable achievement to have been the best poet in any language, no matter how restricted its field.⁶

II. Bausman and the *Hausfreund*

Benjamin Bausman (1824-1909) was the second of the Reformed ministers of Pennsylvania German background who was to influence widely and deeply the Pennsylvania German sense of identity. A native of Lancaster County, he was of German and Huguenot descent, with, as "he was careful to state," the German predominating. His father had arrived in America in 1802 from Freilaubersheim in the Palatinate, joining other members of the family who had come to America in 1746 and 1764.⁷ Benjamin grew up in a family with the "typical German method of parental training" (the rod) and "a religious home, after the German style" with table-graces and scripture and prayer-book reading. The family lived on a farm near Millersville, where Bausman's uncle, Abraham Peters, was one of the founders of the normal school in 1855, but they were members of First Church in Lancaster.

There were of course many influences on young Benjamin Bausman. His biographer is careful to point to Mennonite influence—the Bausman farm was in the midst of a Mennonite settlement, and Bausman's only sister and two of his brothers married Mennonites.

Dr. Bausman, by taste and education, was for dignity, order and the artistic in life and worship, but he always glorified the homely virtues,

preached and practiced a simple-hearted piety, kept his heart tender toward those humble in station, and always insisted that his church services must be of such a nature that the most unlettered could appreciate and enter into them heartily. The Mennonite surroundings of his early years left upon him a molding and lasting impress.⁸

After studying at Marshall College, 1846-1851, and a lengthy trip to the West he returned for a year at the seminary, 1851-1852. Through Harbaugh's Lancaster pastorate the two became close friends. He preached his first sermon before Harbaugh's Lancaster congregation on April 25, 1852, and became pastor of Harbaugh's old parish at Lewisburg in 1853, preaching "one English sermon every Sunday and one German sermon every two weeks, and on the intervening Sunday service would be expected in the country." While at Lewisburg he began to contribute to Harbaugh's *Guardian*. A lengthy study tour to Europe and the Holy Land (1856-1857) interrupted his Lewisburg pastorate, but produced two memorable books, *Sinai and Zion* (1861) and *Wayside Gleanings* (1875). His trip to the continent prepared him in many ways for wider service to the Reformed Church of Pennsylvania.

He studied the customs, church life and spirit with far greater thoroughness amongst the Germans than amongst any other people he visited and thus equipped himself for leadership in the practical church activities of his own denomination. No minister of the Reformed Church in the United States understood the religious spirit of the Germans better than Dr. Bausman.⁹

He sensed in his many interviews with leaders of the church abroad that in Germany as well as America, the Reformed element was wrestling with the problem of just what was *Reformirt*. The church union in Germany had not pleased all the Reformed. His old friend and college roommate Herman Rust wrote him from his Ohio parish to purchase

Reformed devotional works, such as prayer and hymnbooks, from which translations may be made for the use of our people. . . . There is nothing more plain to me than that we must supply our Church with Reformed books and other reading matter, in order to secure the attachment of our members to our doctrines, etc. If this is not done, we will never be able to escape the danger of being swallowed up by others. The sad experience of our Mother Church in Germany will surely be repeated in this country, if denominational indifferentism, or rather denominational unconsciousness, is permitted to reign much longer. I see and feel the ruinous effect of this state of things perhaps more than any one else of our brethren, because thousands of persons coming from the old country, though born and raised of Reformed parents, have been so operated upon by the spirit of unionism that they will rather enter into connection with a rationalistic independent church than come to us.¹⁰

Bausman's six months in Germany and Switzerland, where he visited leaders and universities as well as the common people, led him to the

conviction that the German Reformed Church in the United States had a mission to perform, a distinct work among its people which it alone

could do, and that the great task of leaders was to develop a definite denominational consciousness. No minister in the Reformed Church did more than he to bring this about.¹¹

His European travel letters, which were published serially, brought him into fame throughout the church and were highly praised by Schaff, Harbaugh, and others. Harbaugh wrote him that "the people there [Lewisburg] talk about you constantly as though you were their little subordinate deity and they do it in the sincerest way. Prayers are ever going up for you."¹² On his homecoming he returned to Lewisburg, where he preached 1857-1859, and lectured and preached widely elsewhere.

His entrance into the wider work of the Church came the following year with his election as associate editor of the *Messenger* in 1858. He wrote to Schaff, "With [Benjamin S.] Schneck at the *Kirchenzeitung* and myself as an offside horse at the *Messenger*, the team must go. Certainly if we measure noses and legs, the symbols of speed and taste, we shall have few equals."¹³ (This is amusing because Bausman was here describing his spare Lincolnesque figure, long legs, and long pointed nose.)

Chambersburg, which was then the publication center of the Reformed Church, must have been an exciting place to live during Bausman's years as editor, 1859-1866. The stirring events of the Civil War with Chambersburg's part in them, and the beginnings of the liturgical controversy, the denominational civil war, are all chronicled in the pages of the *Messenger*. Bausman, however, was a mediator, seeing church papers as proper outlets for conflicting opinions. While he bore down rather heavily on sectarianism outside the Church, he was not narrowly denominational. He believed that the Reformed Church was best for Reformed people, and he saw clearly that the Church must maintain its European ties.

Whatever course other denominations may pursue, it will be a ruinous policy for the German Reformed Church to sever the ties that bind her to her European mother. To be true to ourselves and our mission, we must grow and assimilate from the past, from the roots upward and not from the top downwards. . . . Vanity and irreverence for the past are besetting sins of American Theology.¹⁴

In 1863 Bausman removed to Reading, where his German preaching was needed—it was not required anymore in Chambersburg. As pastor of Reading First Church, 1863-1872, he was able to carry out his final mission to the Pennsylvania German people as a people, with the establishment of the German paper for the Pennsylvania Germans, the *Hausfreund*. In 1867 Harbaugh had assumed the editorial reins of the *Mercersburg Review*, which had been suspended during the war. At the same time he gave up the editorship of *The Guardian*, which he had founded and edited for seventeen years. At his suggestion Bausman succeeded him, and continued as editor until 1881. During the same period Bausman was to found (1866) and continue to 1903 the editing of what I consider the most important religious journal published for the

Pennsylvania Germans, *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*. Let us examine, then, the origin and significance of this journal.

We are fortunate in having not only the thirty-seven huge volumes of the *Hausfreund* in newspaper format, but many of the letters that passed back and forth between Bausman and his associates in the foundation and editing of the journal. Again, we owe this to Bausman—he preserved much of his correspondence in and copies of his correspondence out. Since there appears to be some confusion as to the relative importance of Bausman and Helffrich in the earliest stages of planning the journal, we shall begin with Bausman's contribution and then proceed to Helffrich's. Between the discussion of Bausman and Helffrich I have placed the correspondence between Bausman and Eli Keller which will illustrate how Bausman cultivated contributions for his pages and stirred up interest in Pennsylvania German literature.

If Bausman was not the sole founder of the *Hausfreund*, he was certainly its principal founder and its editor during the thirty-seven years of its existence. It was his paper and his constituency.

Dr. Bausman knew his constituency and knew also how to touch, nourish and inspire them. It is beautiful to see the tact and humor with which he deals with this people. He was considerate of many of their shortcomings for which they were not wholly to blame, he minced no words in denouncing their sins, but he stoutly resisted any ridicule heaped upon them by those who did not understand and hence had no sympathy with them. He was proud of the solid, homely virtues and native piety which lay concealed sometimes beneath a rough exterior, and the columns of his paper echoed with the good deeds done by Pennsylvania Germans past and present. The style of writing was simple, but the purity of the language was preserved. Its range of ideas was limited, for it must touch the actual lives of the people whose horizon of experience was not wide.¹⁵

He not only tried to be fair in ministering to "his people," the Pennsylvania Germans, but also in the *Hausfreund* he attempted, as he had done during his editorship of the *Messenger*, to mediate between conflicting opinions and parties in the Church. The only thing the paper fought actively was sin.

While, as we shall see, the paper was at first overseen by a church committee, it was independent but church-related. It was published not in Philadelphia but in the center of Pennsylvania Germandom, Reading, at first by the *Adler* (Reading Eagle) press. It was later taken over by Daniel Miller, Reformed layman and Bausman protégé, who published the *Adler's* rival secular weekly in Reading, the *Republikaner*.¹⁶

The *Hausfreund* helped the Reformed Church through the delicate transition from German to English in the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania. In 1866 three fourths of the churches of the area still had exclusively German services. By 1900 the balance had shifted toward English. During the last ten years of its publication it still paid its way, but barely. The subscription list shrank as the older High German-reading Pennsylvania Germans died off. The rising generation read only English, even though they still spoke Pennsylvania German. The

"foreign German" element in the church was provided for by the *Kirchenzeitung*. But the *Hausfreund* lasted three years into the twentieth century, expiring at last in 1903, when it was combined with the *Kirchenzeitung*, now published in Cleveland, with Eli Keller as the eastern or "Pennsylvania German" contributing editor. "The service rendered by the *Hausfreund* was a delicate and difficult one to perform but of inestimable value, and the Church is very different because of it."¹⁷

III. The Bausman-Keller Correspondence

Bausman's lengthy correspondence with Eli Keller, a Pennsylvania German pastor laboring among Pennsylvania Germans in Northeast Ohio, is preserved in the collections of the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.¹⁸ It began when the paper was in the planning stage. In this correspondence Bausman expresses his hopes for the *Hausfreund* as well as his motivation to its establishment. In 1866 Keller had sent him a dialect poem. Bausman writes back, October 26, 1866:

Is Eli also among the poets? Do you know that you have written a magnificent poem? It has all the tenderness and unique touches of nature of the Pennsylvania German character. Go on, dear brother, and prophecy whenever the spirit moves you. Yours is a genuine muse.

After this compliment, Bausman continues with his hopes for the new journal:

In the name of the Lord we, that is I, intend to start a paper for the Pennsylvania Germans of this country, with the permission of Synod. I am not fit for it, but that does not matter. By the grace of God I will do it anyhow. If I do not do it, I fear the brethren and Classes and Synod, will starve the thousands of our simple hearted, but docile unsuspecting people for five or ten years longer, with sapless sympathy and resolutions that mean nothing.

We owe it to this large element in our Church to give them a paper that they will read. They ought to have had one 50 years ago.

And he adds: "Harbaugh says, 'It is the most solemn and important enterprise that has been started in our Church for many years.'"¹⁹

The reply from Keller, written November 6, 1866, was both supportive to Bausman and a revelation of ethnic feelings on the part of a Reformed clergyman.

The main subject of your letter is one of *vast importance*, viz: the spiritual advancement of our beloved countrymen. The genuine Pennsylvania character no doubt has many and rare excellences, and it is only too true, that means have been employed wholly inadequate to reach the German element in Pennsylvania, or if reached, it was in a way to do them more harm than good. Our people have a strong national consciousness, and as a general thing, the time has long ago passed by, when Europeans could do them much good. The awkwardness, ostentation and ungodliness of German European ministers, has in my opinion, done very much to retard the spiritual progress of our Pennsylvanians.

By these means, deep and lasting prejudices have grown up, which can only be removed by faithful and persevering labor by such men as yourself.

Pennsylvanians are naturally *no fools*, and the ability to read and understand such churchly papers as we have, could easily be acquired, and I really believe, in very many cases, is acquired already. But in these papers (*Kirchenzeitung* and *Evangelist*) a foreign spirit meets them, which has no attraction, to say the least. It is true, our present church papers, good as they are, have not "*das Körnigte*," that the people, even the Europeans, want. The *Evangelist* is smooth and polished, showing the Prussian finish. The *Kirchenzeitung*, as far as its editorial animus is concerned, is somewhat stiff and "*unbeholfen*." . . .

The paper which you propose to publish is to be: "a Christian Gentleman." And let me add a *Pennsylvanian* Christian Gentleman. In my judgment, to meet the wants of Pennsylvanians, they must feel when they have the paper in hand, that it is really and truly, a *Pennsylvanian speaking to Pennsylvanians*. I would suggest, that you do not allow European Germans to write even a column—This may seem strong to you, but we must go according to the principle: "*Ich habe es alles macht, aber es frommt nicht alles*." The style ought to be pure—and simple. If the Pennsylvania dialect is used, it ought to be merely in short pithy sayings, as much to show the reader that the writer is his countryman as for any other purpose. Some Europeans have attempted to imitate the Pennsylvania dialect, and the inference a real Pennsylvanian makes is (in very many cases) that he sneers at it, and the conclusion is generally *not far fetched*. I consider it a task of no ordinary kind, to edit such a paper—it must come down in Spirit continuously to the people it is to reach, and yet, at the same time, it must stand infinitely higher than many of them—it must make itself very common, and yet must conduct itself in such a way, that it will command unbounded respect.

And then Keller attempts to encourage the diffident Bausman, who had expressed his hesitancy in regard to ability to edit the new journal:

You have not only been born and raised in the centre of Pennsylvania geographically, but you are a faithful exponent of the Pennsylvania character in its purest style; however, your education and past history, qualify you singularly.

He pledges his aid and gives us a glimpse at the same time of his busy life:

If I can be of any service to you I shall gladly give my hand and my heart. And if my muse can be of any service, I shall compose such as "*En Owedlied*," "*En Marjelied*," "*Der Baurebuh*," "*Es Bauremedel*," etc. etc.—I shall do it, God willing, with the greatest pleasure.

Not that I have plenty of time—I have a little family of six children (Don't be scared Dear Brother!) I am serving three congregations, scattered over a range of 20 miles. I am Pres. of Erie Classis, President of the "*Buchverein*" at Cleveland, Treasurer of the Invalidfund, Chairman of the Classical Committee of Missions, a stated contributor to the columns of the *Evangelist*, etc., etc. But when you say, "In the name of the Lord, I ask you to help me in this sacred work," I feel that necessity is laid upon me. I am satisfied to labor where I am, for though in Ohio, yet I labor among Pennsylvanians almost exclusively, and yet, there is an

inward longing in my breast that tends eastward, and instead of decreasing it seems to increase. It may be, that the natural scenery of Pennsylvania—the mountains, the valleys, the lovely springs of pure water etc. form the power of attraction, or it may be that the Lord has designed me to labor there in the future.²⁰

More confidences are relayed from Bausman to Keller on November 10, 1866. Here we are enlightened on the feelings of the Pennsylvania German element against the so-called "foreign German" or "European German" element within the Reformed Church which they felt did not understand the needs and interests of the Pennsylvania Germans. This was a deep cleavage in Pennsylvania and the Midwest which was eventually to cause divisiveness not only for the Reformed Church but for the Lutherans and Evangelicals as well.²¹ Bausman describes the problem:

I have felt the want of this German paper for several years. Advocated it before our Classis, the East Pennsylvania Classis, and at the Synod of Lewisburg. The foreign brethren tried to laugh us out of countenance; charged us indirectly with fomenting sectional prejudice between foreign and American Germans.

I cannot tell you how much some of us had to work to keep it out of Philadelphia. It was insisted that it should be published there. I saw very well that this would put a foreign German at the gate and that would inevitably kill it. One comfort I feel in having my hand on the helm, is the thought that I can keep it free from all the heavy ballast of a foreign *Gelehrsamkeit*.

Bausman was, as he said, "absolutely the judge of what is to go in."

Yes, it shall be a Pennsylvania German Christian gentleman, by the grace of God. It shall teach our people the grace of charity, prayer, and Christian activity, not by holding up to them Yankee or British specimens, but by telling them what people of their own tribe and tongue have done, and are doing. I want it to dip its life out of the hearts and homes of our people. They have a piety, poetry, customs, habits, language and life peculiarly their own. Just so far as these will inspire the paper, will it find *Anklang*.

And he suggests that it should include articles on the Pennsylvanians in the West, to cultivate missionary sympathy and zeal. "Most of them have relatives in the East." It can thus be "an organ of religious intelligence between our Germans, East and West."²² Again, Bausman plays the role of the mediator.

The history of the establishment of the *Hausfreund* was not without its discouragements. Some influential Pennsylvania German ministers, like Alfred Dubbs of Salem Church, Allentown, turned their backs on the project.²³ On August 23, 1867, Bausman wrote to Keller that he had been tempted to drop the project. "But I pitied our people and do yet. And feel as if I could do almost anything in my power for them. Now why your *silence*? You are among the few that understand what is needed, and who can lend a helping hand. Why don't you do it? *Hilf Bruder!*"²⁴ There are several letters of that sort in the collection, begging

Keller for material and encouragement, but that perhaps belongs under the universal editorial syndrome, at least in the case of journals that are principally, like the *Hausfreund*, one-man editorial operations.

By 1872 Keller was able to return to Pennsylvania. On January 15, 1872, Bausman wrote to Keller of another project which Keller had evidently proposed and which Keller was later to carry out himself, a Pennsylvania German dialect almanac.

I, too, have thought about the expediency of issuing an almanac in the Pennsylvania German. A sort of "Poor Richards Almanac," in this unique tongue. For various reasons.

1. We could reach a large class of people never reached by any church paper.

2. In them we could utter truth in more telling and touching language in this than in any other way.

3. By this means we might preserve many sayings, proverbs, maxims, usages, characteristic anecdotes, etc. etc. of this people which after a while will be lost—a kind of literature that would be a perpetual honor to them.

But, I fear it would be a drag. Almost every German newspaper now prints an Almanac. Ours, at best would have hard work to get a paying circulation. Still it might be well to compare views about its feasibility.

Your proposed Introduction for the Almanac would be capital. One more objection to the Almanac. I doubt whether it is wise any longer to use the Pennsylvania German in a printed form, instead of the usual German. Of course the *Harfe* is a specimen.²⁵

Before we pass to a discussion of the contribution of William A. Helffrich to the *Hausfreund*, a biographical note on Keller himself is in order.

The Reverend Eli Keller, D.D. (1825-1919), whom Bausman encouraged to write dialect with his contributions from Ohio to the *Hausfreund*—despite the negative statement just quoted—was a native of Plainfield Township, Northampton County. He attended Marshall College, Franklin and Marshall College, and the Seminary at Mercersburg, entering the ministry in 1856. He preached eighteen years in Northeast Ohio, at first in German and English, later only in English. In 1874 he returned to Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, taking up the Zionsville charge until his retirement in 1901, a four-congregation parish which necessitated his driving sometimes twenty-five miles on a single Sunday to meet three congregations. His obituary in the *Messenger* (probably by a "European German") takes no notice of his dialect literary work.

Mr. Keller made no pretensions at being an author. His only literary production was a complete "History of the Keller Family," which was published, more or less, for private circulation. He was associated however with Rev. Benjamin Bausman in editorial work and contributed a few articles to the church papers.²⁶

That he was one of the major Pennsylvania German poets is the conclusion of the historian of the dialect literature, Harry Hess Reichard. His longest effort, a description of the processes involved in flax culture,

appeared in his *Pennsylvanisch Deutsch Kalenner* (1885) and is important ethnographically as well as linguistically. A joyous person himself, he expressed his joy in life in his dialect poetry which ranged in theme from boyhood experiences through the church festivals to poems on nature, which Reichard calls "sermonettes, pictures from nature with the lesson the preacher draws from it."²⁷

IV. Helffrich and the *Hausfreund*

Bausman not only poured out his soul in correspondence with Keller about his hopes for the *Hausfreund*, in turn influencing Keller to become a dialect poet, but he also corresponded frequently and fully with another of his contributors, William A. Helffrich. Helffrich (1827-1894), who had come from a long and distinguished line of *Reformirte Prediger* both in the Palatinate and in Pennsylvania, was one of the leaders of the German-language element among the Pennsylvania Reformed, and in a sense the dean of the German Reformed preachers of rural Pennsylvania.²⁸ Bausman, who was from Lancaster County, where German had yielded earlier to the pressures of English, normally wrote English letters to Helffrich, with an occasional paragraph in the dialect. Helffrich normally wrote High German letters to Bausman, with an occasional paragraph in the dialect.²⁹

Bausman wrote to Helffrich, November 13, 1865, on the committee (Helffrich, Charles Leinbach, and P. S. Fischer) appointed by the late Synod "to see after our East Pennsylvania German paper." The committee was to consult with Dr. Fisher and the publication board in Philadelphia "about the matter, so as not to seem revolutionary."

The paper must be published outside of Philadelphia, by a born and educated Pennsylvania German, if possible from East Pennsylvania. Let the committee keep this in mind. Then our people will feel that it is their paper, in style, location, spirit and fact. Versteh? That's my view. Is it not yours too? Let us try and make an earnest start for once to provide for the wants of the earnest, sturdy simple hearted, strong masses of our Pennsylvania Germans. Bro. Helffrich, I beg you to push this thing now, and God and the Church will bless you for it.³⁰

Bausman's obvious sense of mission in this formative period led to his selection as editor, but Helffrich continued as chairman of the supervisory committee appointed by the Synod. Helffrich responded frequently with letters and with articles, and subscriptions for the new journal. But alas, some of Helffrich's German was thought by Editor Bausman too complicated for the readers. On January 16, 1867, Bausman wrote: "*Gewiß, gewiß, wir müssen mehr einfach schreiben. Sie verstehen viel besser deutsch wie ich. Nehmen sie mir's nicht übel. Aber viele ihrer Sätze sind zu lang. . .*"³¹ To which Helffrich replied, February 14, that unfortunately he could not shorten his sentences. Besides, "*Überhaupt verstehen die Bauern gut deutsch—wenn der Inhalt nicht abstract ist, oder Fremdwörter vorkommen.*"³²

Bausman's reference to his own command of German is interesting, and reflects the anglicizing process which seems to have affected

Lancaster County earlier than it did the Lehigh Valley, which Helffrich represented. Then, too, Bausman grew up in a farm family, Helffrich was son and grandson of the parsonage. On November 15, 1866, Bausman wrote to Helffrich with another gentle correction: "The printers prefer the copy written in Latin or English letters, if these suit you as well as the German." And then he writes: "I approve of *your* kind criticism. I have never written a German sermon, and but few letters. Hope to do better by practice." He depends, he says, upon his printers—evidently European-trained Germans—to regularize the capitalization and other matters of German composition. And then he continues:

I don't remember of ever having written a line in German for the press. Nothing but a sense of duty and love for our church and German people prompts me to do it now. I think they can understand my style. As you say, I think chiefly in English.³³

Helffrich's High German literary bias led him to criticize the new paper when it first arrived. On December 20, 1866, in his journal, he writes of the new paper:

Today received the first number of the new paper, under the name of *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*. Now indeed! The thing reminds me of a busy, circumspect, but not quite orderly Hausfrau, who has an old ragbag, into which she sticks everything which seems useful to her, such as thread, needles, patches, cord and even a ten dollar bill. In short, there is, when one examines the contents, all kinds of useful and valuable matter in it, but it is even so only a ragbag. So much for the *Hausfreund*! It is in its appearance ragged enough; but there is in it much good will and even much good, and above all its intention for the church. What is not yet, will develop with time.³⁴

Early in the year 1867, Helffrich writes, "the *Hausfreund* took firm root in my charge. I myself . . . and some others had collected some hundred subscriptions in my charge." By summer "between two and three thousand names were assured for the *Hausfreund*. But instead of three thousand it should have been ten; if the preachers in East Pennsylvania had taken active part, this number would have been reached easily."³⁵ Elsewhere he expressed his pleasure in the fact that the *Hausfreund* "had come alive, was paying its expenses, growing and was everywhere favorably received."³⁶

When the paper temporarily struck hard times in 1873 and the Synod proposed uniting it with the *Kirchenzeitung*, Helffrich mustered support for independence.

A part of the Lancaster brethren wanted to stick the *Hausfreund* in the *Kirchenzeitung*, which at the time was still published by the Synodal Board in Philadelphia and had debts upon debts. The *Hausfreund* was paying for itself and its subscription list would have been quite useful there (= in Philadelphia). The Germans might have been satisfied with pouring the soup together in this way. But the matter did not turn out like that. The German Pennsylvanians were still running the show, and wanted to be heard in the accounting, if they were to pay it. Bausman

was decidedly against the amalgamation; so were nearly all German-Pennsylvanian preachers, who spoke according to their own opinion. The Goschenhoppen Classis decided in favor of the union. Even in our classis there were some Lancaster men, who would have sold out the interests of their congregations, only to get me out of the supervisory committee of the *Hausfreund*. These too would rather barter away the *Hausfreund* to the Publication Board in Philadelphia, but the great majority of the preachers voted in favor of continuing the *Hausfreund*. Even the Lebanon Classis decided for the *Hausfreund*, and so the paper could live on in favor.³⁷

Helffrich's scornful anti-Lancaster statements in the passage just quoted identify him, as he of course was, as an adherent of the anti-Mercersburg, anti-Lancaster, "Old Reformed" position which channeled his interests into the foundation and support of the rival institutions, Ursinus College and the Western Seminary.³⁸ In 1894 he finished his distinguished career as country preacher, leaving behind him those invaluable German journals which appeared in print in 1906 under the title *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*. This autobiographical portrait has taken its place as a leading document in the history of the Pennsylvania German identity, alongside *The Guardian*, the *Harfe*, and the *Hausfreund*.

V. Conclusion

The Reformed Church in the United States in the nineteenth century was beset by pulls from many directions. Like other German-American denominations, the Reformed Church was tempted, through the influence of such movements as revivalism and temperance, to retread itself into British, Yankee, or even Methodist models.³⁹ The distinguished theological leadership at the Mercersburg Seminary—itsself originally from outside the denomination—implanted the seeds of an ecumenical impetus that has continued to the present within the church and outside it in other denominations.⁴⁰ Like all new movements, it provoked opposition, splitting the church constituency into "Old Reformed" and "Mercersburgers"—or later, as Helffrich called them, the "Lancaster Feuerfresser."⁴¹

In the midst of this conflict there arose—through the work of Harbaugh, Bausman, and Helffrich—a movement within the Reformed Church to minister to the spirit of the Pennsylvania Germans, who made up so large a part of the membership of the denomination in Pennsylvania and the Midwest. This movement, which produced the first dialect awakening in Pennsylvania German history, came to a head in the 1860s and 1870s. Is it possible that the Civil War, with its traumatic upheaving of population and bitter sectional feelings, sent the Pennsylvania Germans back upon themselves, into a discovery of their own identity—or into the first major phase of their ethnic self-discovery? There have been many phases in the development of the Pennsylvania German consciousness in the more than two centuries since the Pennsylvania German culture began to develop, but the basic one may well have been that of the 1860s and 1870s. This in turn led in the 1890s to the

foundation of the Pennsylvania German Society, and in the 1930s to the foundation of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, and to other heightenings of Pennsylvania German consciousness along the way.⁴²

This early movement was largely, though not exclusively, Reformed. Perhaps it was chance rather than plan that Harbaugh's *Harfe* became the symbol of the dialect culture rather than Rauch's "Pit Schwefelbrenner" pamphlet of 1868,⁴³ Rachel Bahn's modest volume of poetry of 1869,⁴⁴ or the emigrant Wollenweber's heavy-handed attempt at Pennsylvania German dialect, his little volume, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (1869).⁴⁵ It was the *Harfe* that attracted national and international attention, and inspired a flowering of poets and dialect writers throughout the rest of the century and into the twentieth century.

In analyzing this dialect movement in its first stages, it appears that the Reformed element, through individuals like Harbaugh, Bausman, Keller and others, did more than its share to stimulate and develop it. It would be captious to attempt to claim the dialect renaissance for the Reformed element in the Pennsylvania German culture, but one must register surprise over the discovery that so many of the major dialect writers have been connected with the Reformed tradition. Is there something in the Reformed tradition that lies at the root of this flowering? Could this have been in part because of the identification of the Reformed Church with the Palatinate, which has become the symbol of Pennsylvania German backgrounds in Europe? Could it have been that the hybrid nature of Pennsylvania's Reformed people—Swiss, Huguenot, and Palatine—led our native historians to search earlier than those of other groups for roots and reasons of Reformed differentness? Israel Daniel Rupp, the creator of Pennsylvania German historiography, was Reformed or at least of Reformed background.⁴⁶ Harbaugh, and later Dubbs,⁴⁷ Good,⁴⁸ Hinke⁴⁹ and Dotterer⁵⁰ were all Reformed. Is it possible that this hybrid character of the early Reformed population and the necessity of defining it led part of the Reformed leadership to become professional Pennsylvania Germans, i.e., apologists for Pennsylvania German culture? On the other hand, the other denominational elements in Pennsylvania German culture were more interested in being Lutheran, Moravian, Mennonite, or Brethren than they were interested in labeling themselves "Pennsylvania German." There are exceptions to this, but they do not destroy either the priority or the weight of the Reformed contribution to the sense of Pennsylvania German ethnic identity. Lutherans were in the majority in the culture, and they have, through individuals, made contributions to the Pennsylvania German movements, although in the published field of dialect the first major Lutheran contribution, Pastor A. R. Horne's *Pennsylvania German Manual* (1875), followed Harbaugh by five years. Did Pennsylvania Lutheranism, at least in East Pennsylvania, retain a stronger affiliation for High German than did the Reformed?⁵¹ Was the so-called "European-German" element among the Lutherans stronger in 1870 and in 1900 than among the Reformed? These are questions that I intend to work on statistically.

I have mentioned the crisis of the Civil War as a possible factor in stirring up ethnic identity. Perhaps the answer is to be sought also in the realm of historical linguistics, or even sociolinguistics. It may be that dialect flowers in times of stress in a culture when that culture is forced to fall back on its own resources. There is increasing evidence that this was true of nineteenth-century Pennsylvania, when High German was disappearing as matrix of the culture. It is significant that the Reformed leaders of the first dialect awakening were either from Central Pennsylvania (Harbaugh, Fischer, Bahn, Meyer, Ziegler and others), from Lancaster County (Bausman), or working in the diaspora (Keller). All of these areas are noted for more rapid transition from German to English in the nineteenth century than the Berks-Lehigh area which remained High German into the twentieth century.

The dialect awakening of the Pennsylvania Germans in the nineteenth century sprang from native roots indigenous to our culture and the American situation. One should note, however, that the prior dialect awakening in German-speaking areas of Europe had at least minimal influence on our native writers. Philip Schaff, the Swiss-American theologian, has been cited as bridge-builder in this area in suggesting to Harbaugh that he try writing in Pennsylvania German, as Hebel had written in his Alemannic tongue. And certainly after Harbaugh, one of the favorite sidelines of Pennsylvania German dialect literature has been the "adaptation" by our poets of Palatine and other European-German dialect verse into Pennsylvania German, with varying degrees of success.

What part did the other Pennsylvania German denominations play in this early dialect awakening? For example, the Moravians, apart from Emanuel Rondthaler whose modest little poem, *Owedlied*, was published by Schaff in the *Kirchenfreund* in 1849 and later in the German edition of Schaff's *Amerika* (1854) as the "first poem in Pennsylvania German,"⁵² made almost no direct contribution to the dialect awakening until the twentieth century when poets like Louisa Weitzel and ministers like Byron Horne have contributed. This too, as in the case of the Lutherans, was undoubtedly due to the Moravian adherence to High German into the twentieth century, and their official distaste for anything that smacked of dialect. Edward H. Rauch ("Pit Schwef-felbrenner") was Moravian, but in no case did his dialect production reveal a merging of his denominational consciousness with his Pennsylvania German identity.

The Mennonites and Brethren also made little or no contribution to the dialect awakening of the twentieth century, for sectarian reasons.⁵³ Of the remaining German denominations of Pennsylvania, the German Methodistic sects such as the United Brethren and the Evangelicals occasionally used dialect, or near-dialect, in their preaching and "spiritual" hymnody, a thing unheard of among the other churches until the twentieth century.⁵⁴ The great symbolic figure in these groups is Moses Dissinger, whose plain flat Dutch sermons shocked the squeamish but got results among his rural audiences.⁵⁵

Was it then only in the Reformed Church that ethnicity and religion could combine in the nineteenth century in such personalities as Harbaugh, Bausman, Keller, and Helffrich? Bausman in particular united his religious sense of ministry to his ethnic sense of duty to his "own people." The sense of peoplehood, ethnicity, is often the strongest anchor of religion. And the converse is true. In American immigrant history the church has often been the strongest, and the last anchor of ethnicity.

Finally we have much to learn about the Pennsylvania German sense of identity by studying carefully the reactions of the current ethnic awakenings. If "Red is beautiful" now and "Black is beautiful" now, Benjamin Bausman in a sense was saying a century ago in his sympathetic way that "Dutch was beautiful." He did not put it in those words, but the conviction was there that Pennsylvania Germans were *different*, different from the British, the Yankees, even the "European Germans," that their culture was different and worthy of cultivation. Pennsylvania, the Reformed Church, and the Pennsylvania German culture are all different today because of the ethnically-oriented interests of Henry Harbaugh, Benjamin Bausman, Eli Keller, and William A. Helffrich.

I shall close with two quotations. These brethren of the past whose ethnic interests we have looked at knew what the Shunamite woman in the Bible knew when she said, "It is good to dwell among one's own people." And Helffrich was spokesman for the three in that marvelous *Lebensbild* which I consider the finest autobiography to come out of the Pennsylvania German culture. In it he says, in the dialect, in the midst of his High German text, "*Halt feschdt was du hoscht.*"⁵⁶ Hold on firmly to what you have.

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Notes

¹ This paper was read at the Historical Symposium-Colloquy, 150th Anniversary of Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February 5, 1975, and revised in 1983. It is the first chapter in a monograph on the relation of the Reformed Church to the Pennsylvania German culture. Following chapters deal with (II) The Reformed Historians and Pennsylvania German Identity (analyzing the work of Rupp, Good, Hinke, Dubbs, and Dotterer); (III) The Reformed Church and the Huguenot Movement (analyzing the contribution of John Baer Stoudt and others); (IV) The Reformed Church and the Rise of the Ethnic Societies; and (V) The Reformed Church and the Dialect Church Service.

² H[enry] Harbaugh, *Harbaugh's Harfe: Gedichte in Pennsylvanisch-Deutscher Mundart*, ed. B. Bausman (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1870). The quotations are from Bausman's introduction, pp. 7-9.

³ Biographical materials on Harbaugh include Benjamin Bausman, "In Memoriam," *The Guardian*, January-February 1868; Linn Harbaugh, *Life of Henry Harbaugh, D.D.* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1900); J. H. Dubbs, "The Blessed Memory of Henry Harbaugh," *The Pennsylvania German*, 10 (1909), 12-14; and *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 237-38. The most recent as well as the best biography of Harbaugh is Elizabeth C. Kieffer, *Henry Harbaugh: Pennsylvania Dutchman, 1817-1867* (Norristown, PA: Norristown Herald, Inc., 1945).

⁴ Kieffer, pp. 198-99.

⁵ David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899), pp. 243, 142.

⁶ Kieffer, p. 225.

⁷ For Bausman, see Henry H. Ranck, *The Life of the Reverend Benjamin Bausman, D.D., LL.D.*, (Philadelphia: The Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1912); *Dictionary of American Biography*, II, 60. Bausman's *Wayside Gleanings in Europe* (Reading, PA: Daniel Miller, 1875) describes his own visit, in 1856, to his ancestral village of Freilaubersheim, in Rheinhessen.

⁸ Ranck, p. 40.

⁹ Ranck, p. 114.

¹⁰ Ranck, pp. 117-18.

¹¹ Ranck, p. 118.

¹² Ranck, p. 119.

¹³ Ranck, p. 139.

¹⁴ Ranck, p. 151.

¹⁵ Ranck, pp. 279-80.

¹⁶ For Daniel Miller (1843-1913), one of Bausman's protégés in the Pennsylvania German movement, see Harry H. Reichard, *Pennsylvania German Dialect Writings and Their Writers* (Lancaster, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1918), Ch. xiii, pp. 158-61.

¹⁷ Ranck, p. 285.

¹⁸ The Bausman-Keller letters are preserved in the two huge volumes of Bausman Correspondence in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pennsylvania. They were put into their present form by Henry H. Ranck, Bausman's biographer.

¹⁹ Ranck, pp. 264-65.

²⁰ Bausman Correspondence, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, Letter from Eli Keller to Benjamin Bausman, November 6, 1866.

²¹ For the cleavage between Pennsylvania Germans and "Foreign Germans" (HG *Deutsch-Europäer*, PG *Deutschlerner*) in the American-German churches, see Don Yoder, "Akkulturationsprobleme deutscher Auswanderer in Nordamerika," in *Kultureller Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günter Wiegmann (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1973), pp. 192-94.

²² Ranck, pp. 267-68.

²³ Alfred J. G. Dubbs was a distinguished pastor and member of a ministerial family in the Reformed Church. He was totally bilingual in his pastoral work. His biographer tells us that his custom was "to explain doctrines in both German and English, changing from one language to the other with wonderful facility." Actually he was trilingual, preferring to speak "to the people in their own tongue," Pennsylvania German. His biographer and successor at Salem, George W. Richards, hastened to add that "he by no means, however, spoke Pennsylvania German from the pulpit" (*In Memoriam*—A. J. G. Dubbs [n.p., 1891], pp. 23-24, 34).

²⁴ Bausman Correspondence, Bausman to Keller, August 23, 1867.

²⁵ Bausman Correspondence, Bausman to Keller, January 15, 1872.

²⁶ *Fathers of the Reformed Church*, IX, 259-61. This is the typescript continuation of the Harbaugh-Heisler *Fathers* series, Schaff Library.

²⁷ For an extended and sympathetic appreciation of Keller's dialect writings, see Reichard, Ch. xxii, pp. 216-20. The quotation is from p. 217.

²⁸ The best source on Helffrich is his own autobiography, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand: Oder Wahrheit in Licht und Schatten*, ed. N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich (Allentown, PA: n.p., 1906). On the Helffrich family and their part in Reformed Church history in Pennsylvania, see his *Geschichte verschiedener Gemeinden in Lecha und Berks Counties, wie auch Nachricht über die sie bedienenden Prediger, vornehmlich über die Familie Helffrich, deren Ursprung und Ausbreitung in Europa, nach authentischen Quellen, und deren Immigration und Verbreitung in Amerika, nebst einem Rückblick in das kirchliche Leben Ostpennsylvaniens* (Allentown, PA: Trexler and Hartzell, 1891). He also left two volumes of printed sermons in German. Of his descendants, his grandson Reginald Helffrich, D.D., has been an official of the World Council of Churches, and another grandson, Donald Helffrich, served as president of Ursinus College.

²⁹ Fortunately Helffrich saved all his correspondence relating to the *Hausfreund*. It was bound together in a little homemade volume and is now preserved in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary, under the title *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes von 1865 bis zu 1868*.

³⁰ Bausman to Helffrich, November 13, 1865, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

³¹ Bausman to Helffrich, January 16, 1867, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

³² Helffrich to Bausman, February 14, 1867, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

³³ Bausman to Helffrich, November 15, 1866, in *Sammlung der Correspondenz über die Entstehung des Hausfreundes*.

³⁴ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 374.

³⁵ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 383.

³⁶ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 320.

³⁷ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 477.

³⁸ For the so-called "Old Reformed" (= anti-Mercersburg) position, and a history of its institutions, see James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: The Board of Publication of the Reformed Church in America, 1911). See also Gerald H. Hinkle, "The Theology of the Ursinus Movement," Diss. Yale Univ. 1964.

³⁹ Ranck, p. 268.

⁴⁰ For the Mercersburg Theology, see James H. Nichols, *Romanticism in American Theology: Nevins and Schaff at Mercersburg* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1961).

⁴¹ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*. He speaks also of the "Lancaster-Faction," "Lancaster-Ring," "Lancaster-Richtung," and "Lancaster-Geist."

⁴² For the early history of the Pennsylvania German Society, see Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891-1965*, Pennsylvania German Society, 63 (Gettysburg, PA: The Times and News Publishing Co., 1968), esp. Chs. ii and iii. The lines of direct and indirect influence from the Harbaugh-Bausman-Helffrich awakening of the 1860s to the founding of the Pennsylvania German Society in 1891 can be even more sharply drawn. For example, Frank Ried Diffenderffer (1833-1921), principal founder of the Pennsylvania German Society, was a Lancaster Countian, graduate of Mercersburg College, and a protégé of Bausman.

⁴³ Edward H. Rauch, *De Campaign Breefa fum Pit Schwefelbrenner* (Lancaster, PA: Rauch and Cochran, 1868).

⁴⁴ Rachel Bahn, *Poems* (York, PA: n.p., 1869); see "Poems in Pennsylvania Dutch," pp. 177-200.

⁴⁵ Ludwig A. Wollenweber, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanischen Volksleben* (Philadelphia/Leipzig: Schäfer und Koradi, 1869).

⁴⁶ For Rupp, see *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 225-26.

⁴⁷ Joseph Henry Dubbs (1838-1910) was a disciple of Harbaugh's who succeeded Bausman as editor of *The Guardian* in 1882; his historical works, particularly on Reformed Church history, are widely used. See *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 469-70.

⁴⁸ For James I. Good, see Carl H. Gramm, *The Life and Labors of the Reverend Prof. James I. Good, D.D., LL.D., 1850-1924: A Memorial Volume* (Webster Groves, MO: The Old Orchard Publishers, 1944).

⁴⁹ William J. Hinke (1871-1947), Professor of Old Testament at Auburn Theological Seminary, devoted most of his writing career to Reformed Church history, and in his later years translated colonial church registers and gathered documentation on Reformed Church life in Pennsylvania and Western Maryland; his collection is now in the Historical Society of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, Schaff Library, Lancaster Theological Seminary.

⁵⁰ Henry S. Dotterer was a local historian and genealogist of Montgomery County who founded *The Perkiomen Region*, first in a long line of regional historical publications on the Pennsylvania Germans, in 1895.

⁵¹ Certainly Samuel Kistler Brobst (1821-1876), the most important Pennsylvania German Lutheran minister of the mid-nineteenth century, favored High German over the

dialect. He was closely involved with movements to maintain the German language in church, school and newspaper. See Heinz Kloss, "German-American Language Maintenance Efforts," in *Language Loyalty in the United States*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), p. 219.

⁵² Schaff published what was somewhat misleadingly described as the first literary effort in Pennsylvania German, the "Abendlied" by Emanuel Rondthaler, Moravian clergyman, in the *Kirchenfreund*, II (1849), 306; it was reprinted in the German edition of Schaff's *Amerika* (1854). See David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, p. 142.

⁵³ In a lecture on Pennsylvania German culture given in the spring of 1974 at a Mennonite college in the Midwest, I reported hearing prayers offered in Pennsylvania German dialect services, thanking God for the "Mudderschprooch" and its preservation. A Mennonite professor after the lecture told me he thought such things were "blasphemous."

⁵⁴ Materials on the dialect or near-dialect preaching of the revivalist sects can be found in *Pennsylvania Spirituals*, esp. pp. 114-16.

⁵⁵ See Don Yoder, "The Dialect Church Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 27, No. 4 (Summer 1978), 2-13.

⁵⁶ Helffrich, *Lebensbild*, p. 459.

Karl J. R. Arndt

**Gustav Körner, Lieutenant Governor of Illinois,
Honored Fugitive and Champion of German Unity:
On the 150th Anniversary
of the Frankfurt Drive of April 3, 1833**

In 1983, the tercentenary of the arrival of the first group of German immigrants looking for freedom and a new life, we also celebrate the 150th anniversary of the beginning of the struggle for freedom from oppression by German students under the leadership of Gustav Körner. He led his fellow students in an unsuccessful uprising against the authoritarian powers, and then fled to America to obtain freedom and escape persecution from Prussian authorities. With the following essay Karl J. R. Arndt wishes to honor the memory of this great German-American who like Carl Schurz and many of his fellow countrymen rose to prominence in his adopted land. [The Editors.]

The great impact which the refugees of the revolution of 1848 made upon the United States has tended to obscure the heroic earlier patriotic drive of the *Burschenschaften* on April 3, 1833, to take over the city of Frankfurt and there to bring about the unification of a divided Germany, yet in this earlier attempt lives were lost, many people wounded, and either imprisoned or driven into exile. The leader of this "Frankfurter Attentat" was Gustav Körner, who managed to escape to the United States where he made a successful career as an eminent jurist and political leader as lieutenant governor of the State of Illinois and later as ambassador of the United States to Spain. In German-American scholarship he stands out for his book *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika 1818-1848* (Cincinnati, 1880). We wish to commemorate this neglected chapter in the history of German and American relations and specifically to call attention to Körner's lost "Chicago Archiv der deutschen Burschenschaften," which contained the diary of Gustav Körner.¹

The spirit which drove Körner and his comrades to their action on April 3, 1833, is stated in the following words translated from his diary, as quoted in the original by Dietz, who still had an opportunity to examine the diary:²

We all were firmly convinced that even if our drive should fail and all of us should perish, nevertheless some action must be taken. We were convinced that every drop of blood that might be shed would ultimately bear thousandfold results. We were convinced that failure would set us back only in appearance, because all of us had gained the incontrovertible view that no deed inspired by a free, manly decision based upon self-sacrifice can remain without achieving the results intended. We believed in the truth and justice of our spirit and therefore also in our action much too much so that we did not doubt at all that our cause would surely be victorious, even if not immediately.

Their faith was an important forerunner of the Revolution of 1848.

The plan to seize control of the Free City of Frankfurt depended very much on the cooperation of the citizens of that city, which cooperation had been erroneously inflated by reports from within to the conspirators in Heidelberg. The two centers of control of the city which would have to be taken over in an open attack were the Hauptwache and the Constablerwache, the main center of watch and the constabulary. With these centers of power in the control of the conspirators it was believed that the citizenry would join in the uprising of the good cause of a united Germany. On the evening of April 3 the conspirators assembled at places previously designated and at 9:30 the march toward their objectives began. Thirty-three men, all Heidelbergers, reached the Hauptwache first, which was manned by fifty-one soldiers. After some resistance the Hauptwache was in the hands of the conspirators. One soldier was killed and six wounded. Körner was wounded in the left arm by a bayonet. The noise of the conflict quickly attracted a large crowd. The conspirators urged the Frankfurt citizens to join their cause in the name of freedom, but not the least interest was shown anywhere, contrary to the reports that had been made. At the constabulary the struggle was more serious and turned into a pitched battle. Exact figures were not given because the conspirators rushed their dead and wounded off to cover and safety, but the records mention 9 killed—6 soldiers, 1 citizen, 2 conspirators. Twenty-four were seriously wounded—14 soldiers, 8 citizens, 2 conspirators. The appeal of the conspirators to the citizens of the city of Frankfurt to join their cause was received here just as passively as it had been at the Hauptwache.

The plan of the impending attack had been betrayed to the Hauptwache in advance and because the leaders of the drive had been informed of this betrayal, they gave each conspirator the choice of withdrawing from the attack if he so desired. The victory of the conspirators at the Hauptwache and at the constabulary was of brief duration, because heavy reinforcements of troops were quickly brought in and both centers of city control retaken. Those conspirators who did not or could not flee into the safety of exile were arrested and sentenced to prison.

Gustav Körner was bandaged, dressed in women's clothes, adorned with curly locks under a woman's hat and with his sister rode to safety, ultimately landing in Belleville, Illinois, among the Latin farmers. He

had studied law in Germany and now continued that study in the United States.

Gustav Körner, Frankfurt's loss and the United States' great gain, was born in Frankfurt November 20, 1809. The extensive contribution of that great German city to the population explosion of these United States is a subject calling for a special volume. Körner studied at the *Gymnasium* of his paternal city and at the age of eighteen went to the University of Jena, which at that time was the center of the *Burschenschaften*. The patriotic spirit of the German students of that time found an important champion in Körner who espoused this cause of German unity with warm enthusiasm. Gustav Körner and the *Burschenschaften* believed in and were determined to carry out their mission of a united and strong Germany. Körner and his comrades lived to see their early drive for German unity achieved eventually, although in a more modified form than they had hoped for in their youthful faith and enthusiasm. What he thought of the freedom eventually gained in that later united Germany is reflected in the "Vorwort" to his *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika 1818-1848*:

Deutschland ist zwar nicht mehr der enge Käfig, wie vormals, in dem kein freier Flug denkbar war. Aus dem Käfig ist ein kolossales Vogelhaus geworden, in dem sich die Bescheidenen so frei bewegen können, daß sie glauben, sie flögen in unbegrenzten Räumen. Ein Adlerflug würde sich aber bald an den starken Drähten stoßen, welche das große Gehäuse einschließen.³

To remain within Körner's point of comparison, it is only fair to call to mind that the onward march of what is called civilization has not only threatened the very existence of the American eagle but also the great South American condor. Without in the least wishing to diminish my admiration for our German-American Gustav Körner, we "latter-day saints" will perhaps have to recognize that man's proliferation is his worst problem and that modern man will have to reconsider Goethe's adage: "Es irrt der Mensch, solang' er strebt."

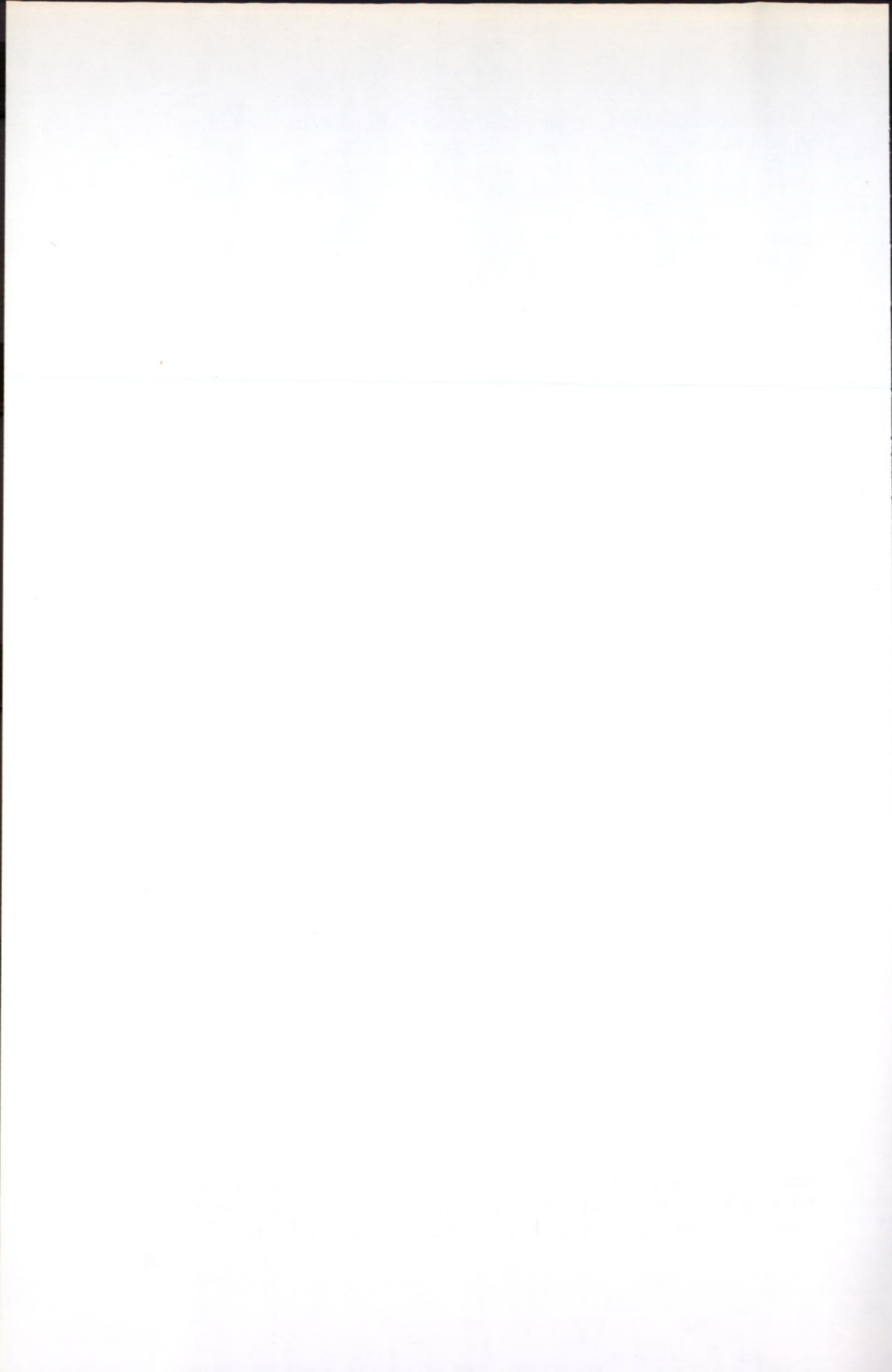
Clark University
Worcester, Massachusetts

Notes

¹ My own searches for this unique historical collection have not been successful, due mainly to the fact that archivists no longer read German script or Fraktur but also to limitations of staff. Searches of this kind, so experience has taught me, must be undertaken personally by local individuals having a zeal for the discovery of German-Americana. Hopefully, these lines will find such an individual in the Chicago area.

² Dr. jur. Ed. Dietz has studied this neglected chapter of history in his book *Das Frankfurter Attentat vom 3. April 1833 und die Heidelberger Studentenschaft. Ein Stück deutscher Kultur- und Rechtsgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1906). Because this article is limited to the bare essentials of the rather brief encounter itself, we refer to his book for further details.

³ Second edition, with additions and corrections (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1884), p. 11.



Theodore Huebener

John Peter Altgeld: The Forgotten Eagle

A German-American statesman who fearlessly upheld the basic ideals of America and became a martyr in his fight for the right was John Peter Altgeld of Illinois. His political career was a distinguished one in the 1880s and 1890s, yet he is barely mentioned in history texts and the average American is ignorant of him. He was a noble character, like that other champion of freedom, Carl Schurz. Denounced and maligned because of his fearless defense of the hapless German workingmen accused of being anarchists, he was rejected and forgotten. One of the few who recognized his greatness was the poet Vachel Lindsay, who wrote of him:

Sleep softly, eagle forgotten . . . under the stone,
Time has its ways with you there, and the clay has its own.
Sleep on, O brave-hearted, O wise man, that kindled the flame. . . .

John Peter Altgeld, born in a small town in Nassau, Germany, on December 30, 1847, was brought to America when he was three months old. His father, a wagon-maker and a man of little education, settled near Mansfield in northern Ohio, where he went into farming. The family was poor and John Peter's childhood was hard. At fourteen he was hired out as a farmhand. His schooling was very meager. During three winters he attended an English district school and a class in German. Borrowing books from neighbors, he read omnivorously, thus making up for his lack of a formal education.

In 1864, at the age of sixteen, he enlisted in the Ohio Home Guard in response to President Lincoln's call for volunteers. He received a bounty of one hundred dollars, of which he gave ninety to his father. As he described it later, he "carried a gun around in the swamps below Richmond." He served briefly but faithfully. After his short career in the army, he worked on the farm and on the railroad. He also taught school for a while. Finally he went to Savannah, Missouri, where he worked as a laborer by day and studied law at night.¹ In 1871, at the age of twenty-

four, he was admitted to the bar. Active in politics, he was elected city attorney in 1872. After four years in Savannah, he went to Chicago with a hundred dollars in his pocket. Industrious and competent, he acquired a large practice in a short time.

He had planned to get into the building business but politics still attracted him. He made rapid headway, being elected in 1886 to the Cook County Superior Court on the Democratic ticket. Four years later he was chosen chief justice and in 1892 he was elected governor of Illinois. He was the first German and the first citizen of foreign birth to attain that office.

During the first year of his administration the World's Columbia Exposition was held in Chicago. His political future seemed bright. He was a power in the party; he had risen to the highest office in the state. If he had been an ordinary politician, his success would have been assured. But he was a man of noble character and tender conscience who could not keep silent in the face of injustice. That had tragic consequences for him.²

He had gained power and prosperity but he never forgot his early poverty and hardship. As judge in Chicago and as governor in Springfield, he always identified himself with the poor and the downtrodden. He defended them and fought for them in speeches, articles and books.

As governor he introduced unprecedented reforms, among them parole and probation for prisoners, regulation of sweat shops and child labor, factory inspection and the limitation of working time for women to eight hours a day.

He pardoned the unjustly condemned anarchists and protested an attempt at federal strike-breaking in Chicago. These acts stirred up such a furor of rage against him that it devastated his political career. He ran for a second term as governor in 1896, but was defeated by a Republican machine-nominated candidate. A half dozen years later he died dramatically.

Altgeld was deeply interested in humanitarian causes. Knowing from personal experience how hard and cruel life may be for the poor and unfortunate, his sympathy went out to them. He was especially eager to provide justice for them in the courts, pointing out how often the rich and powerful escaped punishment. In 1884 he published a book entitled *Our Penal Machinery and Its Victims*, in which he exposed police brutality and the ineffectiveness of the penal system, which, he argued, only bred more criminals. He succeeded in improving conditions in the prisons and established a number of reformatory institutions.

Altgeld's abiding concern with questions of justice and police behavior explains his involvement in the famous, or notorious, Haymarket case.³ This was one of the most unsavory episodes in American history. On May 3, 1886, during a labor meeting in Haymarket Square, Chicago, where speakers were protesting police brutality, a bomb exploded, killing one policeman and wounding several others. Amid vast public indignation, whipped up by the press, eight persons known to be anarchists were arrested, tried and condemned. The hysteria was

so great that the trial took place, to quote a historian, in an atmosphere "more like that of a battlefield than a court room."

No proof of specific guilt was required or asked for.⁴ The defendants were guilty, presiding judge Joseph E. Gary said, not because they had committed a crime, but because they were anarchists. Seven of them were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment. Four were hanged; one committed suicide in jail.

Three were still in prison when Altgeld became governor. Appeals for clemency were made to him. On his making a careful study of the records of the trial, he was horrified by what appeared to be a gross miscarriage of justice. He pardoned the three surviving anarchists—Fielden, Neebe and Schwab. In a pardon message of sixty pages, issued June 26, 1893, the governor presented documentary evidence to reveal the brutality of the police and the dishonesty of the court proceedings. He concluded, "Such ferocity . . . is without parallel in history."

A storm of vituperation descended on Altgeld. Caricatures of him appeared in the papers depicting him as a wild-eyed anarchist with a bomb in each hand and a dagger in his teeth. Since the pardoned anarchists bore German names, Altgeld was termed "an alien enemy of America." Even Theodore Roosevelt denounced him.

One year later the maligned governor was involved in another stormy episode.⁵ It came about through the strike of the American Railway Union against the Pullman Palace Car Company in June, 1894. Although violence and looting occurred in Chicago, Governor Altgeld was sure it could be controlled by the militia. This view was not shared by President Cleveland, who ordered federal troops to Chicago. The outraged governor sent sharp telegrams to the president. He pointed out that under the constitution the federal government could interfere in the affairs of a state only if the governor requested it. He, Altgeld, had not asked for federal troops. Legally, he was in the right.

The intervention of the federal troops broke the strike. Altgeld was portrayed in newspapers and magazines as a dangerous radical who supported mob-violence. During the year 1894 a tornado of defamation struck him.

At the end of his term as governor, Altgeld returned to private life. He resumed his law practice with a younger partner, Clarence Darrow, who was to become famous later.

Altgeld continued to speak and write in defense of liberal issues. On March 12, 1902, he delivered a speech at Joliet, Illinois, pleading the cause of women and children kept in British concentration camps during the Boer War in South Africa. At the close of his address he said, "I am not discouraged. Things will right themselves. The pendulum swings one way and then another. . . . Wrong may seem to triumph, Right may seem to be defeated. But the gravitation of eternal justice is toward the throne of God."

These were his last public words. Suddenly, while his audience still cheered, he staggered off the stage and collapsed. Within a few hours he was dead of a cerebral hemorrhage. The brave man died as he had lived, fighting for justice and rectitude to the very end.

Altgeld was one of the noblest historic figures of the past century—fearless, uncompromising, compassionate. America can be proud of him.

Columbia University
New York, New York

Notes

¹ Stewart H. Holbrook, *Dreamers of the American Dream* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1957).

² Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York: Steuben Society, 1927), p. 176.

³ Richard O'Connor, *The German Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1968), p. 330.

⁴ Samuel E. Morison, *The Oxford History of the American People* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 769-70.

⁵ O'Connor, p. 333.

Alexander Ritter

Charles Sealsfields "Madonnas of(f) the Trails" im Roman *Das Kajütenbuch*. Oder: Zur epischen Zählung der Frauen als Stereotype in der amerikanischen Südstaatenepik zwischen 1820 und 1850

I

Die Lektüre müsse "für unverdorben Herzen passen", habe mit "Güte, Wahrheit, Biedersinn . . . einer so edlen Richtung der Seele die Hand [zu] bieten" und "den Werth einer weiblichen Seele zu erheben".¹ Deshalb sei es erschütternd, daß tatsächlich "Tausende und abermals Tausende von unzüchtigen, albernen, phantastischen und dummen Büchern . . . die Toiletten unserer Damen"² bedecken, "der Tugend die Huldigung des Lasters"³ bringen.

Beide Sätze, mit denen moralisierend literarische Geschmacksbildung gefordert wird, stammen trotz der Einhelligkeit im Urteil nicht aus einer Feder. In der Montage treffen sich C. F. Niemeyer, Autor der populär-pädagogischen Schrift *Vermächtniß an Helene von ihrem Vater* (4. Aufl. 1809), und Charles Sealsfield mit seinem fragwürdigen Verdikt über Goethes *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795 f.) aus dem Vorwort zum Roman *Morton oder Die große Tour* (1835). Es geht den zitierten Verfassern offenkundig nicht um literarkritisch berechnete Einschätzungen, denn ihrer beider Aussagen zielen im weitesten Sinne auf die zeitgerechte Erfordernis einer inhaltlich und stilistisch geglätteten Literatur. Eine solche Botschaft in ihrer betulich sentimentalisierten Qualität, die nur mühsam die fatalen Normen eines kleinbürgerlich bigotten Tugendspiegels verstellt, hält zu Skepsis gegenüber der beanspruchten Vertrauenswürdigkeit an.

Sealsfields Äußerungen zur Weltliteratur sind zwar inhaltlich problematisch—was uns noch beschäftigen wird—aber insgesamt erscheinen sie uns als aufschlußreiche Belege für die zeitgenössische Rezeption von Literatur durch den Literaten, damit aber auch besonders informativ für seine literarische Bildung. Durch diese weist sich der Dichter österreichisch-deutscher Herkunft mit einer Autoren- und Werkkennt-

nis aus, welche charakteristisch für das Literaturwissen vieler amerikanischer Schriftstellerkollegen seiner Zeit ist. Eine solche Voraussetzung ist bei Sealsfields Bearbeitung ausschließlich amerikanischer Themen und Stoffe konsequenterweise von erheblichem Einfluß auf seine gesellschaftspolitische und literarische Auffassung der Frau, der ihr zugewiesenen fiktiven Rolle in den erzählerischen Projektionen historischer Gesellschaftsveränderungen seiner Amerika-Romane. Diesem besonderen Aspekt seiner Epik wollen wir uns zuwenden, die Beobachtungen am Text auf den in mehrfacher Hinsicht für das Oeuvre typisch einzuschätzenden Roman *Das Kajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken* (1841; amerik. 1844) begrenzen.⁴

Bevor wir uns mit dieser Frage eingehender befassen, sind einige Voraussetzungen anzusprechen, die sich auf den noch immer nicht genügend beachteten Zusammenhang von Sealsfields *amerikanisierter* Poetologie und seinen danach gearbeiteten *deutschsprachigen* Amerika-Romanen beziehen.⁵ Die literartheoretischen und rezeptionsästhetischen Notierungen vor allem im *Morton*-Vorwort und in dem Brief an Brockhaus (1854),⁶ die wiederholte Erwähnung von schöngeistigen Autoren und Werken in den anderen Romanen sind demonstrative Gesten zur vorgeblich bedeutsamen eigenen Belesenheit, suggerieren durch zugeschrärfte Urteile Kritikfähigkeit, fördern aber bei so viel bildungseitler Selbstdarstellung eher Lesermißtrauen in die angetragene Weltläufigkeit literargeschichtlicher Kompetenz. Dieser Vorbehalt wird durch die Kenntnis unterstützt, daß Sealsfield als Erzähler Originalität durchaus als relativ einschätzt, was eine in der Forschung zunehmende Belegbarkeit seiner Neigung zu literarischer Adaptation absichert. Ausgesprochen leichtfertig undifferenzierte, in der Sache z.T. völlig verfehlte Literatururteile korrespondieren mit einer für die eigene Produktion folgenreichen, mitgeteilten einseitigen Literaturkenntnis.

Vergleicht man Sealsfields Autor- und Titelnennungen mit dem Rezeptionsverhalten der amerikanischen Leser seiner Zeit, dann ergeben sich übereinstimmende Beobachtungen:⁷

1. Der Autor führt nahezu ausschließlich Verfasser und Titel der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur auf. Deutsche Literatur bleibt bis auf flüchtige Randnotizen weitgehend ausgeklammert.
2. Von der englischen und amerikanischen Literatur werden lediglich diejenigen Titel zitiert, welche markt- wie geschmacksberherrschend zwischen 1790 und 1841 den populären amerikanischen Literaturkanon bestimmen (Bestseller/Massenkonsum): Scott/Irving/Cooper/Bulwer/Dickens.
3. Es bleiben ausgeklammert:
 - (a) die amerikanischen Literaten des Nordostens (u.a. Hawthorne, Thoreau, Poe), welche vermutlich Sealsfield zu anspruchsvoll im Hinblick auf die eigene literarische Leistungskraft und seinen Popularitätsanspruch erscheinen, ihm als Person und Literat gefährlich werden können, denkt man an die Forderungen nach einer substantiellen amerikanischen Nationalliteratur, an Poes in dieser Hinsicht sehr kritische Literaturanalysen, an Hawthornes ironische Hinweise auf Sealsfields europäische Herkunft, die Deutschsprachigkeit, das literarische Mittelmaß seiner Arbeiten;⁸

- (b) die anglo-amerikanischen Trivialliteraten, die den zeitgenössischen Buchkonsum bestimmen, dem ruhelosen, vermutlichen Vielleser Sealsfield ebenso geläufig sind und Einfluß auf des Autors eigene Neigung zu trivialen Beschreibungen verraten;
- (c) die amerikanische Literatur des Südwestens, weil Schriftsteller wie Simms, Paulding, Kennedy, Flint ihm bis zur ungeniert durchgeführten literarischen Anleihe hin vertraut sind.⁹

Tragen wir diese Beobachtungen zusammen, und sortieren wir sie im Hinblick auf das literarische Verständnis seiner erzählten Frauengestalten, so kann man davon ausgehen, daß Sealsfield wenig originell in der eng angeschlossenen Nachfolge einer Traditionslinie Goldsmith/Richardson/Scott-Irving-Cooper-Bulwer/[Dickens?] gearbeitet hat; d.h. er bewegt sich in den Erzählbahnen von *sentimental novel*, *historical romance*, mit Versatzstücken aus der *Gothic romance*, wie sie zur selben Zeit seiner Produktionsphase ihm—eklektisch verwendet—aus dem Roman des Südwestens vertraut sind. Seine Schreibvoraussetzungen hinsichtlich Themenwahl, Stoffgrundlage, Motivverwendung, Handlungsführung, Komposition, Weltsicht und Erzählintention sind in diesen Zusammenhängen zu suchen und auch zu finden, wie wir es nachfolgend belegen wollen. Seinen Drang zur biographischen Amerikanisierung scheint der Autor auch über Literaturkenntnis und Schreibweise absichern zu wollen, bleibt doch auffälligerweise europäische, besonders deutsche Literatur fast nur dann bemerkt, wenn sie auch auf dem amerikanischen Literaturmarkt eine Rolle spielt. Und gerade dieser ausgeprägte amerikanische Charakter von Autor und Werk, in deutscher Sprache dem deutschen Leser offeriert, wird zur Voraussetzung für die jungdeutsche Zuwendung und verstellt gleichzeitig über Etikettierungen wie "völkerkundlicher/exotischer Roman" die Perspektive literargeschichtlich angemessener Erfassung.

Seine epischen Frauengestalten scheinen eher literarische Realisationen zu Lowells bekanntem Urteil über Coopers Roman-Damen als "flat as a prairie and sappy as maples" zu sein,¹⁰ d.h. ihrem Wesen nach dichterische Töchter der bäuerlich-biedereren Madame bei Crèvecoeur (1782).¹¹ Von solch einem bürgerlich-konservativem Frauenverständnis geht der Vorbildeinfluß aus, verfolgbar auch bei Sealsfield bis zum *Kajütenbuch*, vom Autor gründlich angeeignet, lediglich im Sinne der Südstaaten-Lady "fashionable" aufpoliert. Folgerichtig vernachlässigt oder ignoriert der Autor alle davon wesentlich abweichenden Frauenerscheinungen im tatsächlichen amerikanischen Leben und seiner Literatur wie z.B. die emanzipierten Frauen der *frontier* mit ihren außergewöhnlichen Leistungen für die *westward expansion*, für die kulturelle und moralische Stabilisierung der *frontier*-Gesellschaft, zu Sealsfields Zeit längst legendär gefaßt in der Shoshoni-Frau Sacajawea.¹² Genausowenig fügt sich in seine agrarianistisch-patriarchalische Sicht der Gesellschaft die dekadente Großstadteleganz des Nordostens, die *jeunesse dorée*, wie er sie entsprechend kritisch in seinem Roman *Die deutschamerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (1839 f.) dargestellt hat.

Es muß noch auf eine weitere Bedingung für Sealsfields epische Personenausgestaltung hingewiesen werden. Acht Jahre nach der *Battle of New Orleans* kann Sealsfield 1823 in diesem New Orleans, noch als Europa-Flüchtling Carl Postl, in den Gasthäusern miterleben, wie historischer Vorgang der jüngsten Vergangenheit zu Legende, zu *frontier*-Mythos wird, wie historische Individuen in stilisierender Typisierung zum Idol werden: Das glorifizierende Lied von *The Hunters of Kentucky*, im Mai 1822 von Noah Ludlow vor einer "audience of stamping, clapping, whooping flatboatmen and keelboatmen" vorgetragen, erklingt in den Kneipen des French Quarter immer noch. So transformierte amerikanische Geschichte bietet dem historisch-politisch interessierten Autor Sealsfield Stoff und Figuren für sein Schreiben.¹³

Auch im *Kajütenbuch* greift der Autor z.B. auf den Topos vom harten Burschen aus Kentucky zurück. Seine Helden sind keine gebrochenen Charaktere, sondern Positiv-Figuren für pädagogisch gemeinte Vorbildrollen in einer Vorbild-Gesellschaft, z.B. des Südens, als Leitfiguren nach der poetologischen Konzeption vom *Volksroman*¹⁴ zur handelnden Gruppe assortiert. Sie entstammen dem mythisierten, zeitlich schmalen jüngsten Geschichtsabschnitt amerikanischer Historie oder der ihm gegenwärtig als Elite erscheinenden Gesellschaft, typisiert, idealisierend überhöht oder dämonisierend abgewertet, allemal funktional festgelegt als "explorers, pioneers, soldiers, statesmen, inventors, and industrialists . . . for patron saints and titulary geniuses, to inspire love of country and teach the ethics of success".¹⁵ Scotts *chivalry*, Coopers *backwoodsmen*, das gefeierte Patriarchat im Südstaatenroman steuern von der literarischen Seite her Sealsfields Figurenentwürfe und lassen auch ihn die Frau in die epische Nische eher weiblicher Komparserie verdrängen. Der Mann dominiert, der Held Nathanael Edward Morse, *Kajütenbuch*-Leitgestalt, Enkel von Coopers Nathanael Bumpo, Urenkel von Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, aber eben doch unamerikanisch europäisiert. Indem ihn Sealsfield am Romanschluß Behaglichkeit und irdisches Glück genießen läßt, verläßt er die spezifische Denktradition von Aufbruch und Unterwegssein nach dem utopischen *Vanishing Point* wie Kowalski in dem gleichnamigen Film (1970).¹⁶

Fassen wir zusammen: Der Typus als *The American Adam* (Lewis) in *God's own country* (der Mann, handelnd im Raum, leistet Geschichte) schafft die Voraussetzungen für einen Katalog festgelegter Elemente, derer sich auch Sealsfield ausgiebig bedient.¹⁷ Er übernimmt die euphemistische Perspektive der Welt (sofern sie seinem Konzept folgt), die Mentalität betonter Virilität, Typisierung statt Individualisierung, raumgreifende Aktionen als personenübergreifende Geschichtsereignisse statt zeitproblematisierende Erfahrung personengebundener Auseinandersetzung mit Raum, Zeit (= Geschichte, Gesellschaft). Er schließt sich als Literat, dabei wenig differenzierend, der *grand illusion of the day* an: "a new kind of hero in a new kind of world, to be characterized in new language".¹⁸

Aber die Beschwörung dieser idealen Qualitäten in einer großen Geste erscheinen bei ihm—wie wir sehen werden—zu bürgerlicher Biederkeit vereinfacht, klassengesellschaftlich in der favorisierten Süd-

staatengesellschaft ohne Entwicklungschancen konserviert. Daniel Boones Ausspruch von 1799, "I want more ellbowroom!", scheint bei Sealsfield eher zur "Ellbogengesellschaft" der Südstaaten degeneriert zu sein, widergespiegelt im Beiseiteschieben der Frau, in der Bestätigung ihres Minderheitenstatus. Als europäischer Amerikareisender hat der polnische Schriftsteller Henryk Sienkiewicz, mit Auswanderungsplänen spielend, schon zu Beginn seines Aufenthalts in der Neuen Welt geschrieben: "Der Mann arbeitet, die Frau herrscht", auf sie treffe das gute römische Wort "domiseda, lanificia, pia" nicht zu, und kein Amerikaner würde wie weiland das Schweizer Bäuerlein gezwungenermaßen den Hut des Landvogts auf der Stange grüßen, sondern viel eher freiwillig "eine zweite Stange [mit] eine[m] Pantoffel".¹⁹ Das notiert der berühmte Pole, der seinen Sealsfield vorher vermutlich vor der Reise sorgfältig gelesen hat, erst viele Jahre nach der *Kajütenbuch*-Veröffentlichung, im Jahre 1876 für die Warschauer *Gazeta Polska*. Und wie steht nun unser sich so betont amerikanisch gebender Autor aus Böhmen dazu?

II

Im Rahmen dieses skizzierten Produktions-/Rezeptionszusammenhangs wollen wir dem engeren thematischen Anliegen nachgehen, der Gestaltung und Handlungsverwendung der Frauengestalten im *Kajütenbuch*. Wir wählen den Roman deswegen, weil in ihm als Spätwerk (1841) die Schreiberfahrung des Literaten wirksam wird, vor allem aber weil—wie in keinem der anderen Romane—der Autor besonders episch gelungen sein Zentralthema vom *Civilisationsprozeß*²⁰ exemplarisch komplett gestaltet mit subtil geführtem Erzählerwechsel, geschickt zueinander komponierten Zeitebenen und Schauplätzen.

Sealsfield weiß darum, daß "the life-breath of the nation was the memory of her heroes",²¹ und seine Romanfiguren sind deshalb auch keine Charaktere, die sich eigenständig entwickeln, sondern Rollenträger, die in der Geschichte von der Geschichte handeln und berichten. In der erzählerisch bedeutsamen Ausgangsposition werden vierundzwanzig Männer als poetologisch günstige Voraussetzung für romanhaften Geschichtsunterricht präsentiert, denn sie stellen Erzähler, erzählte Personen und Publikum zugleich. Ihr soziales Ansehen, politischer Rang, ihre Wohlhabenheit kennzeichnen sie als typisch gemeinte Vertreter einer reichen Oberschicht der Südstaatengesellschaft. Der symbolische Ganzheitsgehalt ihrer Anzahl, die auffällig aktuell politische Zahlenkorrespondenz zur handlungsgleichzeitigen Sitzungsperiode des 24. Kongresses 1835-37 verleihen politischen Repräsentationswert, der über die Schauplatzwahl Natchez zusätzlich betont wird.²²

In die alkoholisierte Männerrunde, bei traditionell frauenfeindlicher Atmosphäre—erzählerischer Topos seit Irvings Erzählung *Rip van Winkle* (1819 f.)—führt Sealsfield die weithin handlungstragende Gestalt des Edward Nathanael Morse ein: General der texanischen Armee, Held eines Befreiungskrieges, politischer Pionier. Er ist geschichtlich gesehen

der Herold mit der Botschaft, ein Emissär des Sieges patriarchalischer Demokratie (Edward, altengl. "Hüter des Besitzes"), im Sinne des Mythos vom *American Adam* als geläuterte Persönlichkeit eine Erlöserfigur (Nathanael, hebr. "Gott hat uns gegeben"), die den Missionsgedanken seit der Plymouth-Ankunft der Pilgerväter im Geiste von Moses' Einzug ins gelobte Land am Beispiel von Texas erneuert hat (vgl. Namensbezug Moses/Morse).

Morse, dem Motiv von *the poor boy who makes good* entsprechend angelegt, ist wie alle weiteren Romanfiguren als personalisierte Bürgerschaft vom Autor eingesetzt, um sein persönliches Geschichtsverständnis glaubwürdig abzusichern. Die historisch-politische Nachricht dominiert den Handlungsgang, sorgt dadurch zwangsläufig für epische Systematik, ordnet beiden Bedingungen die Personen unter. Auf diese Weise präsentiert Sealsfield Regionalgeschichte als Weltgeschichte, die von Männern bestimmt worden ist; er gibt Einblick in die Gegenwartsgesellschaft als sozialen Zustand, der von Männern wie den anwesenden Southrons (Whiteys) und dem Texaner Morse zum Southron bekehrter Yankee garantiert wird. Die Frauengestalten ordnet der Autor dieser Männerwelt sorgfältig ausgewählt zu, indem er die tatsächliche soziale Bedeutung der Frau für seine Fiktion ins Gegen-sätzliche verkehrt. Erreicht nämlich historisch gesehen die Frau in der ungesicherten *frontier*-Gesellschaft einen weitgehend unabhängigen Sozialstatus, so vermindert sich dieser wieder im Zuge einer Ausbildung von etablierter bäuerlicher/städtischer Gesellschaft (haushaltende Farmers-/Stadtfrau). Der Roman dagegen erweitert den Handlungsanteil der Frau in dem Moment, da die gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Sinne seiner bevorzugten großbürgerlichen Gesellschaft des sog. Landadels der Southrons stabil erscheinen. Sehen wir uns die Damen im einzelnen an.

Die Mulattin als Sambo: sozialer Untergang des freien Negers

Die epische Rollenbesetzung, in Abhängigkeit von der besonderen historischen, gesellschaftspolitischen Erzählintention, legt die Dominanz männlicher Figuren fest, kann Frauen, entsprechend untergeordnet, gleichfalls nur in typisierten Funktionen berücksichtigen. Das schließt die Schilderung von Familienleben als erzähltechnisch und intentional ungeeignet interpersonales Privatverhalten aus, weil es dem romaninternen und dem rezeptionsorientierten Öffentlichkeitsanspruch nicht dient. Beiläufige Anmerkungen weisen auf übliche familiäre Bindungen hin, räumen der Frau in der *homemaker*-Rolle aber keine gesonderte Beachtung ein. Stattdessen werden uns fünf Paare vorgestellt: farbige Händlerin und Prostituierte/Johnny Down; weiße Kolonistin und Ehefrau, Mutter/texanischer Kolonist; irische Wittib Hullagan/Jungbauer Kishogue; kreolische Ehefrau, Mutter/lateinamerikanischer Revolutionär und General Estobal Hualero; weiße (zukünftige Ehefrau und Mutter) Alexandrine Murky/angloamerikanischer General Edward Nathanael Morse. Daß Sealsfield die Reihe der Frauen mit der kri-

minellen Mulattin eröffnet, ist eine erzählerisch konsequente Maßnahme. Erinnern wir uns der Handlung.

Der junge zweiundzwanzigjährige Einwanderer Morse, aus wohlhabender Maryland-Familie, gerät durch Unkenntnis (= Unerfahrenheit) der *frontier*-Lebensverhältnisse in Texas (= Süden) in eine lebensbedrohende Situation. Vom Zeitpunkt der katastrophal verlaufenden Landung an der Küste (Verlust von Gepäck/Landbesitzanspruch) bis zum fast tödlichen Sturz des Entkräfteten in der Jacinto-Prärie führt ihn der Erzähler in eine "Todes-Lebenskrise",²³ aus der ihm das Verbrecher-Trio Bob Rock/Johnny Down/Mulattin heraushilft. Diese Lebenshilfe wird in einem erbärmlichen Blockhaus geleistet, dessen Kurzbeschreibung zutreffend die meist armseligen Behausungen gerade zugewandter Pioniere wiedergibt, hier aber nicht Pioniergeist, sondern soziale Verkommenheit vermitteln soll. Die drei Figuren sind in Erscheinung und Verhalten diabolische Zerrbilder des Menschen, die Mulattin ist Inbegriff der weiblichen "Sünderin", "dick und wohlgemästet", mit "ein[em] häßliche[n], grobsinnliche[n] Gesicht, in dem Laster und Ausschweifungen leserliche Spuren zurückgelassen" haben.²⁴

Diese einzige handelnde Farbige im *Kajütenbuch*, über den abschätzigen Sammelnamen "Sambo"²⁵ epische Stellvertreterin der Neger, verhilft in einer archetypischen Situation pflegender Zuwendung der Frau zum Mann (der Mutter zum Kind) Morse zu einem neuen Leben, indem sie ihn leiblich versorgt, den Schlafenden bewacht. Die von Sealsfield historisch-politisch gemeinte Wiedergeburt-Szene (vgl. *Leslie Fiedler*) mit Morse und seiner Wandlung zum eindeutig parteiischen *Southerner* ist erzählerisch wesentliche Voraussetzung für die gelungene texanische Revolution und die Südstaatengeschichte. So wie Sealsfield, als Katholik und ehemaliger Kloster-Priester, in der späteren Sterbeszene von Bob Rock auf die biblische Motivik der Pietà-Geste zurückgreift,²⁶ so ist auch dieser Vorgang von religiös-sinnbildlicher Motivik zu politisch gemeinter Katharsis säkularisiert: Moses Wiedergeburt in der Blockhütte/Christi Geburt im Holzstall; die Mulattin und ihre geweckte Nächstenliebe/Gleichnis von der Sünderin. Die besondere etymologisch-semantische Füllung der Eigennamen und die damit verbundenen Assoziationen unterstützen die übertragene Bedeutung.²⁷ Damit gewinnt die scheinbar zufällige Rettungsaktion eines Verirrten symbolische Qualität für den weiteren Zusammenhang der Romanhandlung, denn die Mulattin ist an Morse und damit an Murky (Vater und Tochter) in existentiell ausschlaggebender Weise gebunden, da sie durch die Rettung die entscheidenden Voraussetzungen für die Handlung schafft. Ganz im Sinne der Weltsicht des Alkalden ist sie als Personalisierung des Bösen die Hebamme für die Geburt einer neuen Zeit mit einer neuen Gesellschaft.²⁸

Damit bildet im epischen Vorgang die Mulattin in der Reihe der Frauen diejenige, die als das Böse am Romananfang (= revolutionär zu verändernde Situation)/am Lebensanfang von Morse als Texaner die seraphische Schlußfigur Alexandrine kontrastierend ergänzt; denn ohne ihre Leistung wäre die spätere eheliche Verbindung (= Etablierung einer neuen Gesellschaft) nicht vollziehbar. Als ein solches Gegenbild

zur "Madonna" Alexandrine gehört die Mulattin in die Erzähltradition des weiblichen Außenseitertums der bürgerlich-europäischen Gesellschaft, aktuell vor allem seit dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert, wie es Hans Mayer erläutert hat.²⁹ In der Rolle der Sambo, der Negerin, vertritt sie nicht nur bevölkerungspolitisch den rassistischen Outsider, funktioniert sie auch nicht nur als der personalisierte Beweis für die notwendige Kriminalisierung freigelassener Sklaven, z.B. in Texas, und damit als Argument für die Befürwortung der Sklavenhaltergesellschaft, z.B. in Louisiana. Erzählgeschichtlich gehört sie vor allem im amerikanischen Südstaatenroman der Zeit und somit auch bei Sealsfield zu den "Archetypen der Schwarzen Frau", ist "Symbol zerstörerischer Leidenschaft im Gegensatz zu dem erlösender Keuschheit".³⁰ Fiedler weist darüber hinaus auf den Zusammenhang von europäischem gotischen Roman und der amerikanischen *Gothic novel* hin, wobei in letzterer die Negerin die Rolle des Unheimlichen als "Schreckgespenst", als das Böse, Dämonische übertragen bekommen hat, als Projektionsobjekt für die Schuldgefühle einer Sklavenhaltergesellschaft die Hexe spielen muß.³¹

Ein Vergleich mit zeitgenössischen Texten kann zu der Annahme führen, daß Sealsfields literarische Vorbilder für diese Frauenfigur in der vom amerikanischen Südstaatenroman seiner Zeit übernommenen Schauerromanelementen zu suchen sind. Allerdings modifiziert der Autor "die böse Frau" im Sinne seiner Geschichtsphilosophie, indem er die Unentbehrlichkeit von Kenntnis und Mut moralisch gescheiterter Menschen für die befristet vorrevolutionäre Geburtsphase einer patriarchalisch-demokratischen Gesellschaft herausstellt. Für dieses Opfer im Dienste einer höheren Humanität stehen Bob Rock und in besonderer Weise die Mulattin.

Die weiße Frau als Kolonistin: existentielle Gefährdung der Pionierfrau

Wie sich in den Reden von Bob Rock schon andeutet, so wird nun eine zweite weibliche Person in das Romangeschehen eingeführt, eine junge Pionierfrau. Die Welt bietet sich Morse scheinbar im Widerspruch dar: Ist sein Leben gerade erst durch eine Frau gerettet worden, die ihm beispielhaft für weibliche Verkommenheit gilt, so erfährt er jetzt, daß eben dieses kriminelle Trio schuld ist an der Gefährdung einer jungen Frau im *frontier*-Land Texas.

Im Erzählvorgang ist diese zugleich Gegentypus und Entsprechung zur Mulattin: weiße Hautfarbe, Ehefrau, Mutter, unbescholten, siedlungswillig, arbeitsam—aber als Outsider gleichfalls unentbehrlich (*homemaker*-Auftrag) für den Aufbau der texanisch-amerikanischen Gesellschaft. Nachdem Morse sich selbst als Objekt der Bewahrung für den Dienst an der texanischen Befreiung und damit der politischen Missionierung im Sinne der Demokratie erfahren hat, kann ihm dieser Schutz- und Befreiungsauftrag am Beispiel der Pionierfrau vorgeführt werden. Diese Episode veranlaßt erzählerisch die dritte Phase in seiner Entwicklung zum souveränen Bürger (= Entwicklung von Texas zum

souveränen Staat), indem er nach seiner physischen Rettung (Mulattin), der philosophisch-politischen Belehrung (Alkalde) über die letzte Bewährung in der Aktion (texanischer Befreiungskrieg) als General Morse geschichtlichen Prozeß personalisieren kann.

Die epische Ausstattung dieser Episode kennzeichnet ihre grundsätzliche Bedeutung. Aus niederem Beweggrund wird in der rechtsunsicheren Einsamkeit der Prärien ein Einwanderer ermordet, der historisch gesehen alle neuangekommenen Kolonisten in Texas vertritt: Er ist ein Yankee, unerschrocken, redlich, sozial, hat Ehefrau und Kinder, trägt sein Ersparnis von "über fünfhundert Dollars in Gold und Silber" im "Geldgürtel" und führt "Empfehlungsschreiben" bei sich, befindet sich auf dem Wege "nach San Felipe de Austin . . . , um von Oberst Austin Land zu kaufen und sich anzusiedeln".³² Der Mord an dem Kolonisten vernichtet nicht nur "mit einem Schlage" eine Siedlerfamilie, "Vater, Mutter, Kinder", sondern bedeutet beispielhaft auch "ein harter, harter Fall", ein Sakrileg an der guten Sache von Texas, der Demokratie, der Freiheit, dem historischen Vorgang der gesellschaftlichen Veränderung.³³

Auffällig ist in diesem Zusammenhang, daß Sealsfield die junge Kolonistin nicht auftreten läßt. Hat der Dichter, durch die epische Intention begründet, der Mulattin einen besonderen Handlungsauftrag zugewiesen, der keineswegs durch die geschichtlich tatsächliche Bedeutung asozialer Frauen abgedeckt ist, so wird mit der Pionierfrau wiederum eine weibliche Person so eingeführt, wie es ihrem zeitgeschichtlich belegbaren Stellenwert nicht entspricht. Zur historisch gemeinten Zeit der Handlung kann wie in anderen *frontier*-Zonen von einem durchschnittlichen Männerüberschuß von rund 10:1 ausgegangen werden, d.h. weiblicher Minderheitenstatus und erwünschte Gesellschaftsentwicklung verschaffen der weißen Siedlerin einen hohen sozialen Rang. Für die nach Westen gehenden Frauen—weniger allein-stehende Abenteuerinnen, Kriminelle, Missionarinnen denn verheiratete Hausfrauen—bedeuten *frontier*-Gesellschaft und Kolonistenleben die Chance zu größerer persönlicher Eigenständigkeit außerhalb der gesellschaftlichen Konventionen, natürlich auch die Gefahr des physisch-psychischen Zerbrechens. Es sind überwiegend die agilen, zuversichtlichen Frauen, die im Osten aufbrechen, um im Westen die Belastungen des Pionierlebens als Ehefrau, Mutter, Arbeiterin, Kämpferin auf sich zu nehmen, in der dauernden Auseinandersetzung mit Haushaltsführung unter primitiven Verhältnissen, mit aggressiven Naturbedingungen einer "Hell in Texas",³⁴ mit einer der weiblichen Psyche kaum Lebensraum gebenden öffentlichen Lebensführung. Die Männer bringen aber den Frauen gerade darum eine außergewöhnliche Rücksichtnahme und Verehrung entgegen, weil sie in der Familie für menschenwürdige Verhältnisse sorgen (Hygiene, Wohnen), außerhalb der Familie die z.T. barbarischen Lebensumstände zu zivilisiertem Gemeinschaftsleben wandeln, indem sie verrohte Sitten durch Vermittlung von kulturellen Fähigkeiten (über Schule, Bibliothek, Vereine) als Trägerinnen der Kultur bekämpfen. Diese Bedeutung der wenigen

Frauen in Kolonistenregionen führt zu Formen sozialer Gleichberechtigung, zur Idealisierung der Pionierin als "Madonna of the Trails".³⁵

Doch der Dichter nutzt erstaunlicherweise diese fürs Erzählen stoffreiche Offerte überhaupt nicht, er verschweigt die skizzierten Umstände. Die weiße Frau, nach Gaston für den amerikanischen Südstaatenroman vor allem charakteristisch in ihrer Auffassung von *prairie flower* und *homemaker*, wird von Sealsfield, wie wir noch sehen werden, bevorzugt in der ersten Form der Idealisierung übernommen.³⁶ Die tatsächlich zeitgeschichtlich wichtigste der Frauenrollen reduziert der Autor auf ein namenloses Erwähnen am Rande. Wie ist dieser Widerspruch zu erklären, denkt man auch dabei an Sealsfields historischen Anspruch?

Die sicher auch dem Autor geläufige Bedeutung der Frauen für die Kolonisierung einer Westregion steht seiner Forderung nach patriarchalischer Ordnung und Führung der Gesellschaft durch eine sozial abgehobene Oberklasse entgegen. Daher kann er diesen Bereich der Geschichte nicht berücksichtigen, hält deshalb seinen Helden Morse von diesen Frauen fern. Die Kolonistin dient ihm lediglich als Demonstrationsojekt, das Morse und damit auch dem Leser als sozialgeschichtlich notwendige Existenzform für den gesellschaftspolitischen Fortschritt in seinem Sinne nahegebracht wird, und zwar als schutzwürdige Erscheinung der befristeten sozialen Übergangsform. Nicht die Frau in ihrer spezifischen Kolonistenrolle interessiert im Detail, sondern lediglich ihre Funktion für den vom Autor befürworteten Gesellschaftszustand. Das erzählerische Pendant zur Kolonistenfrau ist die Gattin des peruanischen Revolutionärs Estobal Hualero. Vergleichbares, vor allem Unterschiedliches wird noch zu erläutern sein.

Die irische Witwe als *mater humanitatis*: soziale Hilflosigkeit der europäischen Frau

Mulattin und Kolonistin, entnommen der amerikanischen Erzähltradition, werden durch die folgende Gestalt der Wittib Hullagan ergänzt. Mit der Episode *Der Fluch Kishogues oder der verschmähte Johannistrunk*, gearbeitet nach einem Text des Iren Samuel Lover und hier berichtet vom Bediensteten Phelim, konterkariert Sealsfield die amerikanische Handlung des Romans.³⁷ Der tragikomische Vorfall um derbe Lebensfreude und Justizwillkür ist im erzählerischen Scheitelpunkt vom *Kajütenbuch* plazierte, und sowohl mit dem Inhalt als auch der zentralen epischen Position unterstützt der Erzähler seine aufklärerische Absicht, über Amerika für Europa zu schreiben. Der Fall des an sich harmlosen irischen Burschen Kishogues, seine Neigung zum Trinken und der dadurch begangene Irrtum mit dem Pferd des Squires, Inhaftierung, flüchtiger Prozeß, Justizirrtum, Hinrichtung als Volksspektakel sind inhaltliche Umstände, die parallel zur Bob-Rock-Handlung angelegt sind. Durch die Vergleichbarkeit beider Vorgänge kann der Erzähler für den Leser europäische Gerichtsbarkeit im Unterschied zur amerikanischen als völlig korruptiert entlarven, damit den willkürlich repressiv agierenden Absolutismus der Alten Welt im Kontrast zur differenziert

individuell reagierenden Demokratie der Neuen Welt als moralisch und politisch verwerflich kennzeichnen.

Diesen wertenden Zusammenhang hat Sealsfield über Figuren-, Motiv- und Themenverbindungen im Romanvorgang abgesichert: *Frauen*—Mulattin/Kolonistin/Hullagan = alleinstehend, nicht intakte Familienverhältnisse, zwei Wirtinnen, zwei Witwen, Mulattin/Hullagan helfen unterschiedlich erfolgreich existentiell gefährdetem Mann (Morse/Kishogues); *Männer*—Morse/Kishogues, Pferde- und Katastrophen-Motiv, Bob/Kishogues, Delinquenten unterschiedlicher Schuld und Bestrafung.

Die Wittib Hullagan füllt durch die ihr eingeräumte Position und Handlungsweise die Frau in der Rolle einer raum- und zeitunabhängigen Mutterfigur aus, denn der Text betont, daß Frau und Schenke längst vergangen, aber die von ihr eingeführte Mitleidsaktion des Johannistrunks für den armen Sünder als symbolische Geste aktuell geblieben seien. Nicht näher festgelegtes höheres Alter, Witwenstand und berufliche Selbständigkeit kennzeichnen sie als lebenserfahrene, selbstgewisse und sozial aufgeschlossene Persönlichkeit und befähigen sie in der Schenkstube, dem Ort der privaten Geselligkeit und politischen Öffentlichkeit, zu offenbar lebenswichtiger mitmenschlicher Betreuung. Sie ist allgemein akzeptierte Institution sichtbar demonstrierter Humanität, indem sie—an der Straße vom Gericht zum Galgen, vom Leben zum Tod wohnend—dem Menschen eine letzte symbolisch verstandene Zuwendung zeigt. Der Johannistrunk, welcher als "Henkersmahlzeit" das Leben um die "Galgenfrist" verlängert, wird im Bild des schäumenden Kruges zum Sinnzeichen des Lebens angesichts des Todes. Sie agiert gegen die politische Apathie des glotzenden Volkes, gegen den Eifer im Exekutivmißbrauch durch die britische Obrigkeit in Irland.

Aber ihr Tun bleibt zu tragischer Hilflosigkeit verurteilt, nicht nur im Fall Kishogues, sondern grundsätzlich, weil der absolutistische Staat menschenverachtend agiert und der Frau Mitwirkung in der Gesellschaft versagt. An der Reduzierung zur grotesken Karikatur der Menschlichkeit führt Sealsfield das Morbide europäischer Gesellschaftsordnungen vor. Dieses ihm wichtige Anliegen sichert der Autor erzählerisch geschickt über eine vielfältig epische Integration der adaptierten Erzählvorlage. So erweist sich die Episode aus Irland als zentrale narrative Zäsur im Romangeschehen und als kontrapunktischer Bericht zugleich (entsprechend herausgehobener Wechsel von Erzähler: niedere soziale Herkunft, von erzählter Zeit/historisch weit zurückgehend, von dargestellter Gesellschaftsschicht: "niederes Volk", von Textart: Schwank, vom Schauplatz: Europa). Im Hinblick auf die Konstellation der Frauengestalten sind die weiteren weiblichen Figuren der irischen Witwe und ihrer erzählten Position zwischen Leben (Wirtshaus) und Tod (Galgen) symmetrisch zugeordnet: Sie trennt die Damen aus dem vorangegangenen erzählten Teil (Mulattin/Kolonistin = vom Tod bedrohte Frauen—absolutistische Gesellschaftsordnung Mexikos) von den beiden Damen aus dem folgenden Teil (peruanische Generalsfrau/texanische Generalsfrau = für ein freies Leben prädestinierte Frauen—

demokratische Gesellschaftsordnung Perus/Texas' = Lateinamerikas/Angloamerikas). So erweist sich der scheinbar willkürliche erzählerische Einschub dieser irischen Episode keineswegs als schwankhafte Verlegenheitsergänzung, nur um den Unterhaltungswert des Romans zu erhöhen, sondern als episch notwendiges Kompositionselement.

Die Kreolin als Ehefrau und Mutter: großbürgerliche Elite sichert lateinamerikanische Demokratie

Der Autor verleiht dem geschilderten Demokratisierungsvorgang kontinentale Bedeutung und damit den Anspruch auf weltweite Geltung, indem er spiegelbildlich zu den beiden Berichten über Texas (= historisch beispielhafter Fall für Nordamerika) die beiden Berichte über den Freiheitskampf in (Cuba)/Peru anschließt (= historisch beispielhafter Fall für Süd/Mittelamerika). Die epische Verbindung beider auf diese Weise schauplatzmäßig unterschiedlich angelegten Roman-teile, der zentralen Episode um Unfreiheit und fehlende Revolution in Europa symmetrisch zugeordnet, gelingt über Verwandtschaft der Rollenerzähler, Personenidentität (Rahmenhandlung), Erzählrahmen, Themengleichheit. Natürlich hat diese historisch-geographische Verlagerung des berichteten Geschehens Folgen in Erscheinung und funktionaler Verwendung der zu wählenden Frauengestalten.

Sealsfield arbeitet in geschichtlicher Hinsicht relativ korrekt, wenn er die Abhängigkeit der nordamerikanischen Demokratisierung von der Einwanderungskolonisierung der Weißen berücksichtigt, d.h. er weiß ganz offensichtlich um den bedeutsamen Beitrag der Frau dazu, reduziert aber ihren historischen Stellenwert im Sinne seiner erzählerisch-politischen Absicht. Da nun die Demokratisierung in Lateinamerika nicht an Immigration gebunden ist, sondern sich als erforderliche Revolutionsleistung gegenüber der spanischen Kolonialmacht darstellt, die Gesellschaftsordnung reformiert und im neuen Zustand erhalten werden muß, hat das auch erzählerische Folgen für die Frauengestalten. Der Typus der emanzipierten Kolonistin/freien Negerin/asozialen Außenseiterin entfällt, der Typus der Frau in großbürgerlich sozialer Bindung an die Familie und als weibliche Begleitung des Revolutionärs und späteren Politikers erscheint dem Autor für die anderen historisch-geographischen Umstände authentisch.

Die beiden danach eingerichteten Handlungsteile *Callao 1825* und *Havanna 1816* haben somit nicht nur historisch-politische Beispielfunktion, sondern sie sind erzählerisch zusätzliche Erläuterung des Zusammenhangs von männlicher Führerpersönlichkeit, gefestigter politischer Überzeugung und geschichtlichem Auftrag im Dienste der Demokratie, wie er dem Leser im Werdegang des Helden Morse an einer Person exemplarisch vorgeführt wird. In beiden Berichten dominiert die Figur des amerikanischen Kapitäns Ready/Murky und integriert über diese politisch-moralisch lautere Erscheinung das erinnerte Geschehen in exotischer Ferne in den erzählerischen Rahmen, im thematischen Anliegen mit der demokratischen Vorbildrolle der USA. Aus amerikanischer Perspektive erhalten wir Einblick in die lateinamerikanische Revolution,

von Sealsfield personell vorgestellt durch Estobal Hualero, seine Frau und Kinder. Die Zeitfolge, ersichtlich an den Überschriften, ist umgekehrt zur Anlage der ersten beiden Texte *Jacinto/Krieg* als Aktionskonsequenz und Vorgeschichte angelegt: endgültiger Sieg der Revolution = Freiheit – spanische Bekämpfung der Revolution = Unfreiheit. Betrachten wir Erscheinung und Funktion der schönen Kreolin Hualero in beiden Textteilen zusammengekommen.

Wie in der Vorgeschichte zur texanischen Revolution teilt Sealsfield dem Revolutionär in der Vorgeschichte zu den entsprechenden Vorgängen in Lateinamerika eine weibliche Figur zu, die in typisierter Erscheinung die soziale Verantwortung des Mannes personalisiert und als besonders schutzwürdiger Teil der Gesellschaft ihn zu militärisch-politischer Aktion fähig macht.

Die auftretende "junge Dame . . . , deren blasse Schönheit, verbunden mit dem höchsten Adel in Blick, Wort und Bewegung", ist "mit ihren zwei seraphartigen Kindern . . . in sehr feine Stoffe gekleidet", hat "Grazie", spricht im "Flötenton" durch "Perlenzähne" mit "schönen Lippen". Der vom Autor wenig originell in erzählerischen Versatzstücken der *sentimental novel* geschilderte "stille Adel der Frau" wirkt in der idealisierenden Künstlichkeit trivial, schafft gezielt stilisierte kostbare Weiblichkeit madonnenhafter Qualität.³⁸ Man kann diese episch fragwürdige Vereinfachung verschieden deuten. Sicherlich spielt literarisches Unvermögen eine Rolle, wird Sealsfields verklemmtes Verhältnis zur Weiblichkeit Einfluß haben, ist er der Verführung angelesener Vorbilder unkritisch gefolgt, mag auch sein bekanntes Geltungsbedürfnis als sozialer Aufsteiger (vgl. die Episoden um Metternich, Königin Hortense u.ä.) in die literarische Arbeit projiziert worden sein. Unabhängig von der literarisch-künstlerischen Schwäche solcher Personenzeichnung bleiben aber Intention und Umsetzung im Roman, die nach Typisierung verlangen, Begründungen, die der Dichter durch sein Werk absichert. Dieser Zusammenhang sollte bei jeder Wertung beachtet werden.

Auch bei dieser Frauengestalt kommt es Sealsfield nicht auf Individualisierung an, sondern lediglich auf die Mitteilung von Eigenschaften, die direkt der Bewußtseinsbildung des Mannes und damit indirekt dem von diesem zu leistenden revolutionären politischen Geschehen nützen, aber so auch die soziale Dominanz des Mannes für eine eben patriarchalisch geführte Gesellschaft absichern. So ist diese Frau, sind ihre beiden Kinder (= Prinzip der Zukunft) und die indianische Dienerin und Amme (= Akzeptanz patriarchalischer Führung durch Weiße und des subalternen Status als anzustrebender Freiheit von spanischer Unterdrückung) dem "Offizier in der Patriotenarmee" und verfolgten "Staatsverbrecher", dem "Opfer spanischer Grausamkeit" beigegeben als soziales Argument für den Befreiungskampf: "Armes Weib! Arme Kinder! Armes Vaterland!"³⁹

Erst auf diese Weise in die soziale Verantwortung für die Frau, die Kinder, die Gesellschaft eingebunden, kann der Kampf zugunsten dieser Voraussetzung geführt und erfolgreich beendet werden, kann aus dem einfachen Offizier Estobal Hualero der General en Chef im

Generalkorps des Freiheitshelden Simon Bolivar und der Sieger der symbolisch wichtigen, letzten südamerikanischen Befreiungsschlacht von Callao werden. Diese zu Morse thematisch wie regional parallele Handlung begründet für den Leser zusätzlich, warum aus dem bedeutungslosen Immigranten Nathanael Edward Morse der General im Offizierskorps der Freiheitshelden Stephen F. Austin und Sam Houston und der Mitsieger in der zu jener Zeit letzten wichtigen nordamerikanischen Befreiungsschlacht am Jacinto werden kann. Die erzählerische Verbindung von den fiktiven Hauptpersonen Morse und Hualero mit den historisch bedeutsamen Schauplätzen Jacinto und Callao zur besonderen epischen Wirklichkeit des geschichtlichen Romans soll dem europäischen Leser die historisch notwendige Gewißheit vermitteln, daß das "Fortschreiten" der Demokratisierung unaufhaltbar ist. Sealsfield führt dies vor am Sieg über absolutistische Denktradition in beiden amerikanischen Ländern, über den spanischen Kolonialismus und seine Folgeformen, damit aber indirekt über die autoritären Herrschaftsgegebenheiten in Europa, deren Niederlage antizipiert wird.

Die Amerikanerin als zukünftige Ehefrau und Mutter: großbürgerliche Elite sichert angloamerikanische Demokratie

Analog zur literarisch vermittelten Auffassung von der zwangsläufigen Veränderung der gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse zu demokratischer Ordnung bilden auch die Frauen im Roman eine Personenreihe, die jedoch—komplementär zur politisch emanzipatorischen Entwicklung des männlichen Selbstverständnisses—die für die Frau entgegengesetzte Lebensform der bürgerlich-familiären Entmündigung vorführt. Alexandrine Murky ist die Schlußfigur im *Kajütenbuch*, mit der Sealsfield sein Bild von der Frau paradigmatisch erläutert.

Vor allem von der europäischen Literaturkritik häufig als überzogen trivial idealisierte Heroine belächelt, erweist sich bei näherem Zusehen die junge Dame literarisch als durchaus notwendige Figur. Für die Erläuterung ihrer Erscheinung und Funktion nutzt der Erzähler erneut das epische Mittel der erinnerten Vorzeithandlung, um die Handlungsbegründung für den Romananfang nachzuliefern, ihn über Alexandrine mit dem Schluß zu verbinden, damit nun—als erzählerisches Resultat—in der Begegnung zwischen dem Helden Nathanael Edward und Alexandrine die dritte und letzte Phase gesellschaftspolitischer Entwicklung personell beispielhaft gezeigt werden kann: die Etablierung und zukünftige Sicherung der patriarchalischen Gesellschaft im demokratisch befriedeten Land. Erst nachdem die vom Autor symbolisch gemeinte Männerrunde der vierundzwanzig beide Yankees, Murky und Morse, in der Rahmenhandlung als "respektabel"⁴⁰ im Sinne von Weltanschauung und Besitz für das "Mississippi-Ehrenreglement"⁴¹ erkannt hat, erst jetzt darf Alexandrine ihrem noch wenig bekannten Verehrer Morse in der Rolle der liebenden Frau begegnen.

Sealsfields Entwurf dieser Dame zielt auf eine Kunstfigur, in der der Autor seine Kenntnis von der besonderen Hochachtung der amerikanischen Frau gegenüber verarbeitet, diese mit seinem Wissen um die

feudalen Lebensumstände reicher Plantagenbesitzer z.B. aus Louisiana/Mississippi verbindet, aus dem literargeschichtlichen Zusammenhang die ihm ersichtlich geläufige Idealisierung weiblicher Figuren der sog. *prairie* oder *frontier flower* aus dem Südstaatenroman übernimmt, die über den literarisch modischen *Bulwerismus* von der *sentimental novel* her noch zu seiner Zeit aktuell ist.⁴²

So gehört Alexandrine gleichfalls der großbürgerlichen Elite als dem eigentlichen amerikanischen Adel an, versehen mit allen dafür charakteristischen Attributen: Sie trägt einen modischen, etymologisch hochwertenden Namen, wie er neben Theresia, Ernestine, Isabella, Constanza, Florence usw. zu dieser Zeit und in diesen Kreisen üblich ist, kann einen europäischen Erziehungsaufenthalt mit standesgemäßem Umgang innerhalb der französischen *Hautevolee* nachweisen, ist als Tochter der wenigen Reichen und Mächtigen in den Südstaaten eine in diesem Sinne "erstklassige Partie", riskiert in der erzählerisch avisierten Verbindung mit dem Texaner Morse erst dann keine *Mesalliance*, als ihm der Nachweis großbürgerlicher Ebenbürtigkeit über Landbesitz, militärischen Rang und politische Bedeutsamkeit gelingt.

Ihre Erscheinung als hochstilisiertes Ausnahme-Geschöpf ist aus den schon aufgezeigten Produktionsbedingungen Sealsfields zu verstehen und dient ihm zur gezielten Ausgestaltung des Geschehenshöhepunktes. Alexandrine ist also bewußt sowohl nach dem literarischen Geschmack der Zeit als auch nach des Autors konservativem Frauenbild ausgestattet. Die Absichtlichkeit, die hinter diesem trivialen Personenentwurf steht und damit auch eine parodistische Intention nicht ausschließt, deutet der Autor an, wenn er Onkel Duncan mit "kalter Spottlust"⁴³ Morses gestelzten Sprachstil kritisieren läßt: "Würde Tropen und Figuren lassen . . . , in schlichtem Englisch oder Amerikanisch reden. . . ."⁴⁴

Edwin W. Gaston weist für den amerikanischen Südstaatenroman darauf hin, daß "the early novelists . . . failed . . . to present characters common to the Southwest as a unique regional area".⁴⁵ Das haben wir bei Sealsfield in den Figuren von Mulattin und Kolonistin bestätigt gefunden. Für Alexandrine dagegen und ihre literarische Schwester, die Kreolin, arbeitet der Autor ebensowenig historisch-landschaftlich charakteristisch, sondern hält sich an die idealisierende, darin literarisch längst topisch erstarrte Formelrhetorik der *frontier flower*: "a type, a paragon of womanly virtues which for many writers of the day obviously represented, as one of the novelists suggests, 'a model closest approaching ideal perfection' ".⁴⁶ Alle im Südstaatenroman der Zeit zu beobachtenden Eigenschaften der *frontier flower* wiederholen sich bei Sealsfield: Alexandrine ist tatsächlich "resourceful, graceful, and loyal; she is intelligent and accomplished, and above all she is moral"; manchmal "quite capable", dann wieder "equally helpless"; voll "loyalty" gegenüber "parents, lover, friends, and members of other races"; sie ist "a young woman of superior intellect and unusual accomplishment", von "unquestioned morality", gekennzeichnet durch "emotional stamina" ist sie zusammengekommen "a woman of unusual attractive personality", eine "beautiful Dream-Maiden".⁴⁷ Ale-

xandrine entspricht diesem trivialliterarischen Tugendkatalog: Sie ist "die Herrliche, die Göttliche!",⁴⁸ "mit ihrem schönsten Liebreize Engel und Grazie zugleich".⁴⁹

In der personalen Idealisierung, mit dem schriftstellerischen Ausweichen vor der differenzierten tatsächlichen sozialen Realität der Südstaatengesellschaft (reiche Oberschicht/Sklaven, ärmliche Kleinfarmer, Händler, Angestellte als Bevölkerungsmehrheit) liefert auch Sealsfield Projektionen europäisierter Nobilverhältnisse, Wunschprojektionen für die kleinen Leute, Bestätigungsprojektionen für die *high society*, die danach ihr Leben auch einrichten kann, wie es die Cotton-Farmer mit enormem Finanzaufwand getan haben. Konsequenterweise schildern die amerikanischen Autoren dann auch ihre sozial so gestellten weiblichen Figuren in entsprechend "typical environmental patterns": "her allurements may be in the conventional, or drawing-room, sense as whenever the background is that of urban nature, as is the case in many of the novels".⁵⁰ Und Sealsfield tut es seinen Schriftstellerkollegen gleich: Auch Alexandrine führt die Verbürgerlichung der amerikanischen Frau vor, die Dezimierung ihrer individuellen Freiheit, gewonnen in der *frontier*-Gesellschaft, wieder eingeschränkt im Zuge der sozialgeschichtlich unvermeidlichen Verbürgerlichung des Pionierlebens. An Stelle von weiblicher Mündigkeit im Privaten und in der Öffentlichkeit binden die Frau Bildungspflege (Zeichnen, Lektüre, Gesang, Klavierspiel) und Hausherrinnenpflichten angesichts von Zimmerflucht, Garten und Negerdorf ins entmündigende Private. Der überzogen sentimentalisierte Liebestaumel der beiden jungen Leute im *Kajütenbuch* demonstriert zusätzlich gezielt die erwartete völlige Fixierung auf den Mann, der sich selbst die Regelung der Weltverhältnisse vorbehalten wird, während die Frau, quasi domestiziert, als "Haus-Frau" und Erwartende aus der Gesellschaftsöffentlichkeit herausgenommen bleibt.

Die Schlußepisode des *Kajütenbuchs* ist als erzählerischer Fluchtpunkt der Rollenberichte und ihrer Perspektiven episches Finale mit sinnbildlicher Überhöhung. Das Haus, die "Kajüte", als Einrichtung der Behausung, der Sicherung von Familien- und Gesellschaftsexistenz ist vordergründig angemessen repräsentatives Domizil für das junge Paar mit klassischem Grundbesitzerensemble: Herrenhaus, Allee und Park, Wirtschaftsgebäude, Sklavenbehausungen, Ländereien. In der aber schon vom Autor mitgegebenen eigenwilligen Bauweise und deren Interpretation als einer "alttestamentarischen Arche"⁵¹ wird architektonisch Naheliegendes der Zeit (*steamboat-style*) zu der für Amerika wichtigen Grundbedeutung des Hauses als Zeichen von Selbsthaftigkeit, Geborgenheit, Wohlhabenheit, Macht überhöht. Darüberhinausgehend werden die für amerikanisches Denken gegensätzlichen Motive archetypischer Qualität in der Zwitterkonstruktion der "Kajüte" zu Harmonie im Angekommensein versöhnt: Meer und Land, die gefährliche Reise der Pilgerväter und ihre sichere Landung, *westward expansion* als Unterwegssein und Ankommen, aber auch Europa und Amerika wie die Union und Texas in Alexandrine und Morse. In der "Kajüte" (für Alexandrine gebautes Haus) wird das "Paradies" (für Morse stellvertre-

tendes Vaterhaus) gefunden, Aufbruch zu Rückzug in den Innenraum verändert, gesellschaftliche Unbeweglichkeit als Illusion von andauern-der Stabilität der Südstaatengesellschaft festgeschrieben. Der Autor Sealsfield und die von ihm favorisierte soziale Ordnung der Südstaaten sind zum Scheitern verurteilt. Die literarische Zeichnung seiner Frauengestalten spiegelt diesen Zusammenhang wider.

Die von Sklaverei befreite, dadurch kriminell gewordene Mulattin war aus dem Verbrecherviertel Unter-Natchez in die Freiheit der texanischen *frontier*-Gesellschaft geflohen, um als Frau und Bürgerin unterzugehen. Ihre positive Kontrastfigur Alexandrine Murky zieht nach Ober-Natchez, um in der verbürgerlichten Zuordnung zu ihrem Mann ihm zu helfen, Klassengesellschaft und Patriarchat zu erhalten. Sie bekennet: "Uns Weibern steht das Ankämpfen gegen bürgerliche oder politische Verhältnisse nicht wohl an, unsere Rolle ist eine versöhnende."⁵² Die Fragwürdigkeit des literarischen Engagements ist offenkundig.

III

In dem Roman *Das Kajütenbuch* gestaltet Sealsfield amerikanische Geschichte der südwestlichen *frontier*-Region, indem er—thematisch und erzähltechnisch durchaus zeittypisch—nationale "regeneration through violence" im sendungsbewußten Zusammenhang einer "Mythology of the American Frontier"⁵³ versteht und als "Instrument im historischen Prozeß der Amerikanisierung des europäischen Selbst"⁵⁴ verwendet. Von dieser Position aus negiert Sealsfield die nationalliterarische Renaissance seit 1820 in New England, richtet sein Schreiben nach überlieferten Vorbildern und Traditionen der *historical romance* aus, versehen mit den Einflüssen der *sentimental* und *Gothic novel*, generell einer *genteel tradition*, verarbeitet von einem ausgeprägt konservativen *Southern point of view*. Teil seiner physiokratischen Weltsicht, die die im Süden aktuellen chauvinistischen sozialen Umstände von einer bürgerlichen neuaristokratischen Oberschicht, Sklavenhaltung und hypertrophem Sendungsbewußtsein übernommen hat, ist die Unterstützung einer politisch brisanten Vorstellung: die gesellschaftspolitische Aufteilung der Neuen Welt in eine Nordstaatengruppe (Großstadtlandschaft/Industriewirtschaft/abhängige weiße Arbeiter = Proletariat) und eine Südstaatengruppe, Lateinamerika mit einbezogen (Farmlandschaft/Agrarwirtschaft/abhängige schwarze Arbeiter = Sklaverei). Im *Kajütenbuch* wird diese kühne politische Projektion thematisiert, dem Eingeweihten als "dem tiefer Blickenden" erkennbar, für die anderen Leser vom wenig mutigen Autor verschleiert, daß nämlich "dieser neue Durchbruch oder neugegründete Staat . . . für die zukünftige Gestaltung Amerikas so bedeutsam erscheint", weil es ein erster einschneidender Ausgriff auf lateinamerikanisches Territorium ist.⁵⁵

Auf diese Weise beschreibt Sealsfield eine neue *frontier*-Grenze, schafft einen neuen Pioniertypus großbürgerlicher Herkunft und Gesinnung, begrenzt Kolonisierungs-Heldentum auf den Mann, relativiert die Rolle der Frau in völliger "Domestizierung". Es ist die literarische

Modifikation der zeitgenössischen Diskussion über das Thema von der nationalen Selbstfindung Amerikas in "seine Umwelt und Geschichte" als einer spezifisch "amerikanischen historischen Imagination".⁵⁶ Von daher ist auch die poetologische Anlage des figurenreichen "Volksromans" begründet, überzeugen die eingesetzten Rollenerzähler mit ihren Berichten erinnelter Geschichte, erweist sich sein als originell angekündigtes Erzählkonzept mehr als eine Spekulation auf die europäische Unkenntnis amerikanischen Erzählens, für die solche epischen Muster durchaus geläufig sind. Sealsfields Beschreibungen der "Geburt des göttlichen Amerikaners"⁵⁷ als Südstaatler bedeuten somit ebenfalls eine Erweiterung des Motivs vom "Westwärtsziehen" und "den Umkreis der Frauen verlassen";⁵⁸ denn der Frau wird im Roman erst dann ein ans Haus gebundener Aktionsbereich eingeräumt, wenn der ausgezogene Akteur eigene Weltsicht, den Raum und die gesellschaftspolitische Ordnung in geschichtliche Übereinstimmung gebracht hat, wenn er selbst Geschichte, d.h. personifizierter Mythos und Legende für die Öffentlichkeit geworden ist, den die dann beigeordnete Frau über ihren Beitrag im Privaten zu bewahren hat.

Von diesen Voraussetzungen her ergibt sich die Bestimmung der Frauenwelt als persönlichkeitsarme, disponible Figuren und die Gruppierung in zwei soziale Klassen der Outsider/Unterklasse und Insider/Oberklasse, wobei letztere allein beauftragt ist, die Gesellschaft und ihre Kultur zu erhalten. Die ironische Kommentierung der Madame de Maintenon und damit die seit dem siebzehnten Jahrhundert wichtige Tradition weiblicher Emanzipation über Madame de Staël bis zu Rahel Varnhagen in Literatur und Salonführung ist beredtes Zeugnis dafür.⁵⁹ Auch sein gezielt selektiv präsentiertes Literaturwissen unterstützt diesen Zusammenhang: Schillers Jungfrau von Orleans, Goethes Charlotte, Kleists Marquise von O., Lucinde und Vittoria Accorombona werden vom Autor geflissentlich übersehen, weil sie sich im erlebten Konflikt von erwartetem sozialen Rollenverhalten und eigenem spezifisch weiblichen Lebensanspruch exponieren. Sealsfield akzeptiert keine Zweiflerin wie Gutzkows Wally oder Hawthornes Hester Prynne. Seine Frauengestalten sind von solch bürgerlich-geistiger Biederkeit, daß sie nicht einmal begreifen, wie ihr selbstverständlich angenommenes Leben in der Gesellschaft bereits Beweis für die Resignation ist, die in der Literatur von Madame Bovary und Effi Briest in tragischer Erfahrung noch bewußt durchlebt werden muß. So wird auch die zeitgenössisch deutsche Kritik an Sealsfields Amerika-Bild verständlich, das tatsächlich für den europäischen Auswanderer zwar nicht wirklichkeitsfremd, aber doch in der auswählenden Zusammenstellung irreführend war. Vermittelt wird dem Leser vor allem ein Blick hinter die sonst unzugänglichen Luxus-Paravents der *upper class*, also eher eine rezeptionsspekulative, erotisch-politisch bereinigte Schlüssellochperspektive denn aufgeklärt historisch-politische Information und Erläuterung. Es ist die amerikanisierte Adelswelt der Schlösser und Ritter eines Walter Scott, die in theatralischer Ausstaffierung von Landschaft und Interieur, von Massenszenen und Einzelaktion, über strapazierte Monologisierung und Dialogisierung aufpolierte amerikanische Wirklichkeit

anbietet, die fortschreitende " 'Entsexung' des Westens" dokumentiert. ". . . der entsäuerte, kastrierte Westmann" Nathanael Edward Morse und die von ihm mit gehütete Gesellschaftsordnung enthalten keine Notwendigkeit für Emanzipation.⁶⁰

Sealsfield wählt den literarisch bequemen Weg stereotypisierender Personengestaltung der ihm bekannten Südstaatenliteratur und verbindet damit seine eigene ideologische Nichtbeachtung bekannter Vorurteilskritik der Aufklärungsphilosophie gegenüber Frauen, rassisch Benachteiligten, sozial isolierten Randgruppen der Gesellschaft. Unkritisch beschreibt er die an sich paradoxe Konvergenz von bürgerlichem Freiheitsstreben und feudalistisch angelegtem Gerieren als Großbürgertum, verbindet europäische Restauration mit der von ihm favorisierten Südstaaten-Aristokratie in seinen Romanen, rückt sein republikanischer Zorn in die Nähe rhetorisch-modischer Übungen und Lippenbekenntnisse: er vertrete das "Prinzip der Aufklärung des geistigen Fortschritts".⁶¹

"It is all true and right—in its right place—excepting the women, which I disremember", läßt J. P. Kennedy seinen Helden Horse-Shoe Robinson zum gleichnamigen Roman bemerken,⁶² könnte der Amerikaner Sealsfield später als Pensionär in Solothurn nachgesprochen haben. Mit Schillers Stadtmusikant Miller aus *Kabale und Liebe* ist unser Autor sich einig in der antiaufklärerischen Einschätzung von Literatur "aus der höllischen Pestilenzküche der Belletristen", die nur "überhimmlische Alfanzereien" und "Teufelszeug" den weiblichen Lesern liefere.⁶³ Was Schiller 1784 als Ausdruck bürgerlich-bornierter Spießigkeit kritisiert, das befürwortet siebenundfünfzig Jahre später der Belletrist Sealsfield in seinem Beitrag zur "Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert" und dessen Bewahrung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert.⁶⁴ Barbara Duden hat diese Entwicklung in ihren grundsätzlichen Beobachtungen treffend umrissen. Sealsfield steht in dieser fatalen Tradition, läßt sich unkritisch mitbewegen, indem er auch das literarische "Bild von der Kultivierung der Frau" als "Trägerin eines idealen weiblichen Geschlechtscharakters" zeichnet, Frauentätigkeit als "liebende Dienstleistung" idyllisiert, sie als das "schöne Eigentum" des Mannes versteht, das als "ästhetisches Schauspiel" dem "Ausgleich von Pflicht und Neigung" zu funktionieren hat. Sealsfield akzeptiert, daß die "Aufgabe der Frau identisch mit ihrer Selbstaufgabe" ist, sie—wie in unserem Fall—zum "Einrichtungsgegenstand" des noch ungeordneten Interieurs der "Kajüte" wird.

Die Analyse des literarischen Frauenbildes in Sealsfields Roman *Das Kajütenbuch* hat gezeigt, daß werbender Autoranspruch—"die freie Anschauung, Darstellung der bürgerlichen und politischen Verhältnisse in allen ihren Beziehungen und Wechselwirkungen"⁶⁵ leisten zu wollen—und die erzählerische Realisierung eines literarischen Rückzugs in eine inselhafte "central region of comfortable farms"⁶⁶ unvereinbar sind. Seine idealisierten Figurinen aber tragen auf ihre Art in ihrer theatralisch eingerichteten und durchgespielten Romanwelt die "era of good feeling" zwischen 1830 und 1860 auf zutreffende Weise mit.

Als Charles Sealsfield 1841 seinen Roman von der texanischen Befreiung veröffentlicht, hat sein Schriftsteller-Kollege Friedrich Gerstäcker vermutlich schon den kurzen Text *Das schwimmende Theater auf dem Ohio und Mississippi* entworfen.⁶⁷ Es geht darin um die Wechselwirkungen und Verwechslungen von europäischer Theaterwelt und amerikanischer Wirklichkeit auf einem losgerissenen *flat-boat* am 15. September 184-. Schauspieler und Zuschauer erkennen bald die Gefahr, in der sie sich gemeinsam auf dem steuerlos treibenden Schiff befinden. Sealsfields Personen verharren in der Illusion, besteigen ihr bereits gelandetes, vermeintlich angekommenes und fest verankertes Schiff. Um im Bild zu bleiben: Die Vertäuerung der "alttestamentarischen Arche" namens "Kajüte" wird mit Beginn des amerikanischen Bürgerkrieges reißen. Aber der Autor weiß um den unvermeidlichen Zusammenbruch seiner literarischen Illusionen und hört längst vorher auf zu schreiben.

Arbeitsstelle Steinburger Studien
Itzehoe, Federal Republic of Germany

Anmerkungen

¹ C. F. Niemeyer, *Vermächtniß an Helene von ihrem Vater*, 4. Aufl. (Frankfurt a. M.: Friedrich Wilmans, 1809), S. 169-72.

² Charles Sealsfield, "Zuschrift des Herausgebers an die Verleger der ersten Auflage, Morton oder die große Tour von Charles Sealsfield," *Sämtliche Werke*, hrsg. v. K. J. R. Arndt, X (Hildesheim, New York: Olms, 1975), S. 6 f.

³ *Ibid.*, S. 10.

⁴ Textgrundlage ist die folgende Ausgabe: Charles Sealsfield, *Das Kajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken*, hrsg. v. Alexander Ritter (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982).

⁵ Der Verfasser hat in mehreren Arbeiten schon früh mit dem Wiedereinsetzen der Sealsfield-Forschung auf die philologische Erfordernis verwiesen, den Autor und sein Werk auch aus den Produktionsvoraussetzungen der Amerikaerfahrung zu beschreiben, ehe das angemessene Verständnis durch germanistische Festlegungen über Begriffe wie Biedermeier, exotischer/völkerkundlicher Roman, Abenteuerliteratur u.ä. erreicht ist. Die Deutschsprachigkeit des Autors und seine österreichische Herkunft, die Verbreitung seiner Romane vor allem bei deutschen Lesern, die Gewichtung seiner Schriften für die Literaturgeschichte durch die jungdeutsche Rezeption usw. erweisen sich als Bedingungen, die eine konsequent komparatistische Fragestellung nur begrenzt gestattet haben, die aber zukünftige Forschung als sorgfältige Analyse seiner literarischen Herkunft aus dem amerikanischen Literatur- und Gesellschaftsraum zu bestimmen haben wird. Vgl. hierzu die Arbeiten des Verfassers: (1969, 1971, 1973, 1977); "Charles Sealsfield," in *Deutsche Dichter des 19. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. v. Benno von Wiese, 2. Aufl. (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1979), S. 98-127; "Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Emigrant, freier Schriftsteller und die Doppelkrise von Amerika-Utopie und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert," *Freiburger Universitätsblätter*, 21 (1982), H. 75, 43-63. Walter Weiss gibt wichtige Anregungen: "Der Zusammenhang zwischen Amerika-Thematik und Erzählkunst bei Charles Sealsfield," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch der Görres-Gesellschaft*, 8 (1967), 95-118. Friedrich Sengle, "Karl Postl/Charles Sealsfield (1793-1864)," in *Biedermeierzeit*, III (Stuttgart: Metzler 1980), 752-814, und jetzt auch Hartmut Steinecke, "Literatur als Aufklärungsmittel: Zur Neubestimmung der Werke Charles Sealsfields zwischen Österreich, Deutschland und Amerika," in *Die Österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil im 19. Jahrhundert (1830-1880)*, hrsg. v. Herbert Zeman (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1982), S. 399-422, nehmen noch vorsichtige Randpositionen ein. Franz Schüppens vor allem dokumentierende Dissertation erfaßt sorgfältig die materiellen Ausgangspositionen: *Charles Seals-*

field/Karl Postl: *Ein österreichischer Erzähler der Biedermeierzeit im Spannungsfeld von Alter und Neuer Welt* (Frankfurt am Main, Bern: Peter Lang, 1981). Nach dem wichtigen Aufsatz von Walter Grünzweig, "The Italian Sky in the Republic of Letters: Charles Sealsfield and Timothy Flint as Early Writers of the American West," *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 17 (1982), 1-20, kann man mit großem Interesse auf die angekündigte Dissertation des Grazer Amerikanisten warten.

⁶ Vom 21. Juni 1854, Eduard Castle, *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield* (Karl Postl), *Briefe und Aktenstücke* (Wien: Manutius, 1955), S. 289-93. Sowohl dieser Brief als auch das Vorwort zu *Morton* sind in der erwähnten *Kajütenbuch*-Ausgabe abgedruckt (vgl. Anm. 4).

⁷ Vgl. James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1950).

⁸ Vgl. zu Hawthorne den Aufsatz des Verfassers (1982; Anm. 5) und die bei Nanette M. Ashby zusammengestellten Materialien: *Charles Sealsfield: "The Greatest American Author," A Study of Literary Piracy and Promotion in the 19th Century* (Stuttgart: Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1980).

⁹ Vgl. den schon aufgeführten Beitrag von Grünzweig zu Sealsfield/Flint (Anm. 5) und die in den einschlägigen Bibliographien verzeichneten Einzeluntersuchungen.

¹⁰ *A Fable for Critics* (New York, 1848), nach: Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1950), S. 126.

¹¹ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: Dutton, 1957), S. 18.

¹² Vgl. hierzu u.a.: Joan Swallow Reiter, *Die Frauen (Der Wilde Westen)* (o.O.: Time-Life International, 1980). Weitere Literatur im Anhang.

¹³ *A Treasury of American Folklore*, hrsg. v. B. A. Botkin (New York: Bantam, 1981), S. 3.

¹⁴ Terminus aus dem Brief an Brockhaus (vgl. Anm. 6).

¹⁵ *Folklore*, S. 2 f.

¹⁶ *Vanishing Point* (USA, 1970), Regie: Richard C. Sarafian.

¹⁷ R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago, London: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1981).

¹⁸ Lewis, *American Adam*, S. 91.

¹⁹ Henryk Sienkiewicz, *Briefe aus Amerika*, 3. Aufl. (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1980), S. 68.

²⁰ Vgl. zu diesem Begriff Anm. 2 und Anm. 6.

²¹ Alexander Cowie, *The Rise of the American Novel* (New York: American Book Company, 1951), S. 116.

²² Weitere Bezüge: 1835: erster militärischer Konflikt in Texas; 1837: Sieg der amerikanischen Kolonisten. Zwischen 1820 und 1832 bestehen die USA aus 24 Staaten. 1832: Beginn der Auseinandersetzungen in Texas.

²³ *Kajütenbuch*, S. 66.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 75, 80.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, S. 67.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 230 ff.

²⁷ *Bob*, Kurzform von Robert, Rupert: normannischer Vorname (s. Normannenphilosophie des Alkalden), Bedeutung "vom glänzenden Ruhm"; *Rock*, engl. Felsen, Petrus—der Felsen; *Johnny*, Vorname, Bedeutung von Kerl, Bursche im abwertenden Sinne, darin korrespondierend mit dem Nachnamen *Down*—unten.

²⁸ Zur Weltsicht des Alkalden vgl. *Kajütenbuch*, S. 102 ff.

²⁹ Hans Mayer, *Außenseiter* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1981).

³⁰ Leslie Fiedler, *Die Rückkehr des verschwundenen Amerikaners* (Frankfurt am Main: März, 1970), S. 81.

³¹ *Ibid.*, S. 18 ff.

³² *Kajütenbuch*, S. 160 f.

³³ *Ibid.*, S. 99.

³⁴ *Folklore*, S. 196.

³⁵ Vgl. Anm. 12.

³⁶ Edwin W. Gaston, *The Early Novel of the Southwest: A Critical History of Southwestern Fiction 1819-1918* (Albuquerque: Univ. of New Mexico Press, 1961). Für den Stand der deutschen Germanistik ist es bezeichnend, daß auf diese Arbeit noch nicht aufmerksam

gemacht worden ist, obgleich der Autor die Werke Sealsfields als Teil des amerikanischen Südstaatenromans sieht und vergleichend mit abhandelt.

³⁷ Quelle: Samuel Lover, *Legends and Stories of Ireland* (1831).

³⁸ *Kajütenbuch*, S. 313.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 319.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, S. 265.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, S. 271.

⁴² Ein Textvergleich z.B. der Personenbeschreibungen bei Sealsfield (*Kajütenbuch*, S. 351 f.) mit entsprechenden Romanauszügen von zeitgenössischen amerikanischen Autoren des Südens/Südwestens (vgl. Gaston, *Novel of the Southwest*, S. 89-92) belegt über die gleiche Anlage von Diktion und Intention Sealsfields literargeschichtliche Bindung.

⁴³ *Kajütenbuch*, S. 364.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, S. 331 f.

⁴⁵ Gaston, *Novel of the Southwest*, S. 85.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 89 f.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, S. 92-103.

⁴⁸ *Kajütenbuch*, S. 331.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, S. 389.

⁵⁰ Gaston, *Novel of the Southwest*, S. 96.

⁵¹ *Kajütenbuch*, S. 380.

⁵² *Ibid.*, S. 383.

⁵³ Richard Slotkin: *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1973).

⁵⁴ Ursula Brumm, *Geschichte und Wildnis in der amerikanischen Literatur* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1980), S. 79.

⁵⁵ Vgl. die auffällige Zurückhaltung Sealsfields in dem nur andeutenden Sprechen seiner Vorrede (*Kajütenbuch*, S. 7 ff.).

⁵⁶ Brumm, *Geschichte*, S. 29.

⁵⁷ Vgl. Manfred Escherig, "Die Geburt des göttlichen Amerikaners," *Sprache im technischen Zeitalter*, Heft 54 (1975), S. 80-125.

⁵⁸ Fiedler, *Rückkehr*, S. 68.

⁵⁹ Sealsfield, *Zuschrift, Morton*, S. 14.

⁶⁰ Fiedler, *Rückkehr*, S. 160.

⁶¹ Sealsfield, *Zuschrift, Morton*, S. 19.

⁶² John P. Kennedy, *Horse-Shoe Robinson* (New York: Putnam, 1872), S. xii.

⁶³ Friedrich Schiller, *Kabale und Liebe*, in *Gesammelte Werke*, I (o.O.: Bertelsmann, 1955), S. 294 f.

⁶⁴ Vgl. hierzu und für die folgenden Zitate: Barbara Duden: "Das schöne Eigentum: Zur Herausbildung des bürgerlichen Frauenbildes an der Wende vom 18. zum 19. Jahrhundert," *Kursbuch*, 47 (1977), 125-40.

⁶⁵ Sealsfield, *Zuschrift, Morton*, S. 13.

⁶⁶ Smith, *Virgin Land*, S. 143.

⁶⁷ Friedrich Gerstäckers *Werke*, hrsg. v. Paul Römer, I (Hamburg: Hansa, o.J.), S. 476-79.

Karl J. R. Arndt

Sealsfield's Relation to David Warden, United States Consul in Paris, France

In spite of the publication of Eduard Castle's monumental two-volume work on Charles Sealsfield,¹ many biographical relationships remain unclear about the dark and devious peregrinations of this self-tormented wanderer between two worlds who spent so much time and energy of his second life trying to cover all traces that might lead to the discovery of his previous existence as a Roman Catholic priest. Anyone who doubts that he was ever able to erase the character *indelebilis* conferred upon him with his priestly vows should make a very careful study of his tombstone inscriptions at Solothurn, Switzerland, placed there by his instructions and finally putting Sealsfield's divided self together again in a common grave. The quintessence of his life is to be found there in a remarkably concentrated form in a final confession before he faced his Supreme Judge.

Sealsfield's grave beside St. Niklaus Church is suitably marked by two large stone slabs, one bilingual and religiously autobiographical, the other in German and politically of autobiographical significance. The first is the headstone leaning against the north wall of the church and is inscribed:

C P
CHARLES SEALSFIELD
geboren den 5 März 1795
gestorben den 26 May 1864

Psalm 145. And enter not into judgement with thy servant, for in thy sight shall no man living be justified.

Psalm 51. Have mercy upon me my God, according to thy loving kindness, according to the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

The second large stone slab covers the remains of the body and is inscribed in German:

Charles Sealsfield Bürger von Nord Amerika.

The "C P" at the top of the headstone is the anglicized form of his original name Karl Postl and the first date given under the name of "Charles Sealsfield" is the birth date of Karl Postl, while the second date is the date of death of Charles Sealsfield (the haunted Karl Postl). It is very significant that the two scripture passages, so profound and concentrated in this fugitive priest's final confession to Him whom he had sworn to serve, are in English—open, yet concealed to the public. They should properly have been rendered in Latin or in Luther's German, for they are taken from the Catholic prayer books chosen for persons facing the last agony of death, as Postl-Sealsfield faced it in his last hours of solitude before the dissolution of his physical existence. This headstone is the summation of a great and lonely confession.

The stone slab covering his earthly remains, as it were, speaks with the defiance of a free American citizen: "Charles Sealsfield, Citizen of North America," in other words, a notice to the Austrian police: "You cannot touch my body or property, I am a citizen of North America." This was important because it did protect his testament from possible confiscation by the Austrian government as a fugitive from its justice.

Castle states that the American Goethe visitor Joseph Cogswell presented him with a copy of David Warden's *Statistical and Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America* (Edinburgh, 1819), "mit dem sich Goethe eingehend beschäftigte."² Unfortunately, Sealsfield's intimate relationship to the author of this important work on the United States escaped Castle's extensive research. It is the purpose of this article to bring this chapter of Sealsfield's life to light and thus to some degree continue Castle's excellent contributions to our knowledge of the man who in the 1840s was internationally celebrated as "the greatest American author."

David Warden (1772-October 9, 1845) was a diplomat, author, and book collector of Scottish ancestry. He received the degree of A.M. from the University of Glasgow in 1797 and high recognition for his scholarship. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Bangor, then became involved in Irish politics, was arrested but given the choice to stand trial or remove himself forever from His Majesty's Dominions, which he did by emigrating to the United States. In 1804 he became an American citizen and soon entered the consular service of the United States in Paris. *The Dictionary of American Biography* gives a sketch of his life, but the concerns that haunted his service as are indicated in the letters of Sealsfield that follow are not dealt with clearly there. He was highly respected in the cultural world of Paris and was known as a man always ready to be of assistance to American citizens.

The Sealsfield to Warden letters published here cover a span of his life beginning with his arrival in Paris as foreign correspondent of the *New York Morning Courier & Enquirer* to the end of that period and his move to Switzerland to begin the writing of those novels on which his fame as a writer is founded. Always cautious about covering his identity from the public, he had offered his services to the editor of this paper not as an American but as a foreigner, as is seen from the following

introduction to his first printed correspondence in the issue of February 10, 1831:

About two months since, we had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with a learned foreigner, then on a visit to this country, who consented to become our correspondent, upon his return to Europe. We present to our readers the first of his letters to-day, which, it will be perceived, bears the date 31st December. This letter may be considered a day later from Paris, as our former dates were only on the morning of the 31st, containing news of the 30th. Its contents will be found highly interesting, as disclosing a state of things, for which the public was scarcely prepared.

The first letter of Sealsfield to Warden was written in Paris on December 23, 1830. The original is a holograph in the Library of Congress. Sealsfield was offering to take any letters that Warden had for the United States with him for faster mailing. The letter refers to the writing of his first report for the pro-Jackson and Van Buren paper.³

I

Paris the 23 Decr 1830

D Sir!

I thank you sincerely for your kindness and shall previously to my seeing Bishop Gregori,⁴ take the liberty of paying you my compliments. As Mr. Stewarts visit gives me an opportunity of writing I beg you not to forget Mr. O Reilly—He has not yet sent the letters—If you can dear Sir effect any thing with respect to my having access to public papers & connection with the press I shall feel very gratified—the more so as this business having been engaged for a couple of years in it would impede but little the progress of the rest of my studies—⁵

I am just now writing to Washington for the T- & V. B.⁶ the Courir or the public voiture starting to night—If you are willing to write to New York please to have your letters ready I shall at any rate call at your house—where I beg you in case you should not be at home, to leave those letters—

With the highest regard

your obedient humble servant

Ch. Sealsfield

Warden Esqr.

Addressed: D. B. Warden Esqr. forwarded by Mr. Steward Present

II

[8 Feb 1831]

Dear Sir!

I have received letters from New York where the letter writer is desired by Mr. Noah⁷ to present his complements through me to you, and to repeat his assurance through me, that he will do every thing with reference to your wishes. I do not expect that it will be done immediately, but I can give you the assurance that I have the best sign, that you will get what you desire, but of course things must have their times—From what I see the American Aristocracy endeavours and tries to pull the old general down. It will be a long pull and a strong pull, but he will

succeed no doubt in being elected a second time. I anticipate the words of Mr. Noah and you will find me correct—He will certainly be of opinion that you must have some patience.⁸ [?] when I shall have the honour of indicating to you the letters I have received.

I have an opportunity of sending the present by an Englishman who goes over to Bonbigue [?] to see his family and as the gentleman in question is waiting in person for the letter I am rather a little in a hurry and you must pardon the haste.

The letter to the young Miss Thurion I have unfortunately forgotten for nearly four weeks. Last week I sent it with my compliments begging pardon for this inexcusable negligence; but I had so very much business during the first three weeks that I completely forgot—In compensation for this neglect however I wrote in an envelope that if she desired to send letters to France she might address them to me I having opportunity through Mr. Rich to forward them free of expense to you.

I have seen Mr. Rich once but had no time to repeat my visit. He promised to give me a letter to Washington, but I have not yet availed myself of this promise. If you write to him I request you, dear Sir, to make mention of me and to request him to use his endeavours so as to interest Washington. This is an important point as Washington is just now in fashion. Can you send me other letters of introduction? I shall be very glad. As for Gregoires (the Bishop's) letters—I have delivered two of them—viz to Bournay whom I did not find at home though I⁹ . . . [?] What . . . [?] I saw, but who has not . . . [?] both are radical Whigs and therefore not quite the parsons of Fashion which though I care but little for, still it is of some consequence you know. A third letter to Sir Richard Philipps the broker retail bookseller, I did not deliver at all, this Sir Richard Philipps being a man of so suspicious a character that I was advised not even to see him, but of course I shall not like the worthy & . . . [?] Bishop to know the situation if this was, who . . . [?] probably dazzled the good old man by his Baronet title.

I have a good deal to do, but the main point I have done but little—You have not heard of any thing new respecting Correspondent? This, as I correspond with America would be a desirable point. And if your business admits of inquiries I should be infinitely obliged if you would make some.

I am requested to become a contributor to some English newspapers & I believe I shall do it.

This is all I have to write—Pardon dear Sir my plaguing you. I do in the expectance that you will forgive it, knowing that I should feel myself very happy if I can offer my humble services—

What is our friend Mr. Stewart doing? I beg you humbly to present my compliments to him—I hope to see him again.

With the request of pardoning my bad writing and the troubles I give you, I have the honour to remain

Respected Sir,

Your most humbly obedient

Servant Charles Sealsfield

London Chester Street 30 Grosvenor place

8 Febr. 1831

Warden Esqr Am Cons Gen. (U S)

III

[1 March 1831]¹⁰

London Chester Street & Grosvenor place

Honored Sir

As the departure of Captain McDonald affords me an opportunity [of] writing I avail myself of it, to assure you of my respect & to give you information that General Jackson will undoubtedly be elected President for the next term, I now may almost positively assure you that your wishes will be fulfilled.

I hope dear & respected Sir that my letter has reached you—I again beg your kindness to pardon the haste in which it was written—but my time is so very limited that with all the respect & esteem I bear you & heaven knows it is very great, I cannot spare room for writing it over again. I must trouble you to exert your influence to procure me if possible the correspondence of one or two of the respectable daily Journals—Political life is my joy, and though I am offered on several sides very advantageous terms, If willing to give contribution for reviews, yet I prefer correspondence. Will you be so kind to exert yourself—I for my part promise to do & to plague both Van Beuren & Noah as long till they yield to my troublesome solicitations—¹¹

I do not know what to think of Bishop Gregoire's letters to the McAuleys—I have delivered them, and the presents sent by him—they have not ever returned the visit—A poor literat may be thought probably not worthwhile attending by a rich African merchant, but they may rest assured I shall not trouble them, not in my lifetime. Please to give my best wishes to your friend Stewart, and to ask him whether he is still so dissatisfied with Paris—

With the greatest respect Your

Sir most respectfully & humbly
Charles Sealsfield

Warden Esquire

Addressed: Warden Esqr member of the Institut anc. Cons. Gen. of the
U S etc Paris Rue Pot de fer Nro 23

IV

The following letter shows Sealsfield again as the strong supporter of Andrew Jackson and as the well-informed specialist on the American press. The greatest importance of this letter, however, is that it clearly documents Sealsfield as a correspondent of the *Courier & Enquirer*, again in the hands of Mordecai Noah, who thought so highly of Sealsfield's non-political writing.¹²

Of further interest in this letter is the evidence that Sealsfield is trying to arrange a correspondence with a French journal which would be as influential as the *Courier & Enquirer*. For the time being Warden was unsuccessful in making the arrangement Sealsfield really was aiming for, but it is important to know that he had a close friend in Paris, who was highly respected there and whose scholarship and standing as a writer eventually probably helped place Sealsfield in the position of correspondent "of the leading Paris Journal now," as he writes to Poinsett on October 8, 1837. This unnamed journal probably was *Le*

Constitutionnel with from 18,000 to 20,000 subscribers, while the second French journal, the *Journal des Debats*, had only from 13,000 to 14,000. *Le Constitutionnel* had a *Directeur en chef* and under him there were from ten to twelve editors of different branches. The remuneration which was paid for single contributions was very high, running for an article of one column generally from 100 to 150 francs. Sealsfield always was quite money-minded, which is an additional argument for *Le Constitutionnel* rather than the *Journal des Debats*, and Sealsfield also was a snob. He probably worked under one of the ten to twelve editors as a correspondent, for which his experience as former editor of the *Courrier des Etats Unis* in New York would certainly have qualified him and it would have provided the safe anonymous income he needed.

The letter is addressed: "H Warden Esq. au Consul General of the United States of America to France etc. Rue Pot de fer Nro 23 Paris."

On the right hand above the text of the letter is the following: "[By another hand: Bargson (?) Charles Sealsfield] of June. Note. As I intend changing my lodging from 30 Chester Street Grosvenor place to Nro 18 Compton Street Brunswick I beg you to address your answer to the latter Nro."

Warden Esq-

Dear & Honoured Sir!

I have some time delayed in answering your honoured letter but the reason is that I could not possibly write sooner consistently with my desire of giving you information respecting those points which lay nearest your heart, and believe me respected Sir mine too. In the first instance then you will probably hope but little from the present constellation of affairs in America, but you must not despair, and allow me to tell you that the success of your desire etc depends now entirely on the issue of the contest which is now again going on in the U.S. I mean the presidential election. Jackson has consented again to become a candidate for the next four years and I hope & trust he will be elected in spite of the efforts of the American Aristocracy to the contrary, He has however a severe struggle, a struggle the more severe as he has plunged himself & his party into new difficulties by the hostile warfare which is now carried on between himself & the Vicepresident Calhoun, who I suspect will unite himself with Clay's party. You have probably read the cause of the enmity between the President & Vicepresident—I am sorry for it, for at any rate the publication was rather too hasty but still I am fully confident, and from the public genius as evinced in several hundred extracts from U.S. newspapers all of which are enthusiastic in favour of Jackson I am convinced that he will carry the point with a considerable majority—If elected again, nay if his election be only secured, then you may be convinced also that you will be again appointed. I speak from conviction—I have letters before me from which I speak, and you may rely respected Sir that it is not with a desire or view of flattery that I write. However dear Sir with present feeling & circumstances you will be pleased to consider that after so many hundred removals made by General Jackson, & which removals you will be aware have greatly incensed the [torn] to critical ranks against him—it would be in fact impossible to add [torn]ther one for the present to it—You must therefore be a little patient but you may rely at the same time that Mr. Noah will keep fully his work, He loves you dearly he honours you sincerely, & he

has the power of doing for you what no other person can nor will. He is now the chief support of General Jackson & Van Buren in New York, and having again purchased the *New York Courier & Enquirer* the most diffused & supported paper in the U.S. he will have it in his power to be more useful to his friends than any person else. Rely on it Sir I repeat it again, that as soon as the presidential question is decided Mr Noah & Van Buren will do for you what they could not do at present without raising a general hue & cry amongst their insidious & invidious enemies, & these you are well aware constitute a great part of the nation. When however the second & last presidential term is decided in favour of the old democratic & venerated hero, then he will neither care for A nor B, but appoint whom he pleased. Mr Noah & Mr. V. Buren are perfectly well informed about the nervousness of the persone of the US. Embassy at Paris—but for the present they cannot well change or act otherwise.—As much I think it necessary to say on this point. Now with respect to [myself] I thank you most sincerely Respected Sir for the trouble you have given Generhe[? missing] in procuring me some correspondence with one of the respectable daily papers & I am only sorry they are so overstocked but I am free to request you not to forget me & to try again. At the same time I think it not superfluous to say, that I have sources of information to which no other person has access to, & that I could contribute very much in rendering a French Journal highly interesting from this very correspondence. If you read the *Courier & Enquirer* you will see that my correspondence is valued—with respect to France I could render it far more interesting—I beg therefore if consistent with your higher & more important convictions give yourself some trouble assuring you that I shall do on my part what ever is in my humble power—One more request I have to add I received a number of American papers from which I could give some very useful extracts of course in English (by culling them out of the papers) to the Editor & pregenitors[?] of the *Revue de Deux Monds* This Journal might be of use to me. If they would send it to me I for my part would send them contributions. As you are well acquainted with the editor I take the liberty of making this request.

Please to give my compliments to our friend Mr. Stewart & be assured that I shall always remain

Honored Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

Charles Sealsfield

London Grosvenor place Chester Street Nro 30. the 29 of May 1831.

PS. If you should have an opportunity Respected Sir of procuring the *Voleur* (a collection of short pieces from French Journals a sort of synopsis) especially from second hand, that is after it has been read, I would beg to send it to Mr. Rich the bookseller if opportunity offers & to include the price—However I could not wish to become a subscriber, but if it could be had after used, from second hand per example from a reading room. I am solicited by several respectable monthly Journals to contribute trifles & in my idle hours I could do it easily provided there were some materials or ground work. I beg you not to be displeased with the liberty I take, Should I be able to do any service in London please to command me at every time. [End of letter.]¹³

V

This letter to Warden is published with permission of the Maryland Historical Society, which has the original. Apart from the fact that it provides further evidence of Sealsfield's friendship with Warden, it gives us information about the genesis of Sealsfield's Mexican novel *Der Virey*, upon which he was engaged at this time. The letter again refers to the politically powerful Mordecai Noah and gives the impression that Sealsfield is part of the inner political circle of Andrew Jackson. Sealsfield's justification for writing with such authority on Jacksonian politics has so far not been substantiated by evidence in the Jackson papers.

The letter is addressed: "H. Warden Esqr A. Consul General of the U.S. etc *Paris* 12 Rue pot de fer, St. Sulpice."

Dear Sir!

I hope my very dear Sir, this letter will find you well. It is after a long lapse of time, I write to you & many things have changed. What do you think of our present critical situations? Truly, it seems to me, as if they were desirous of straining the vessel of our State to its utmost, in order to see, what it can stand.—Well I hope things will pass over, as so many have passed.

[I?] am now these two years in Switzerland, quite agreeably engaged in literary affairs & labours I told you of. When I had the honour of being at your residence, you were so kind, to present me [with?] your catalogue of American works or rather written [missing] to ancient & modern history of North & South America.¹⁴ [I un ?] fortunately am missing your kind present, just when I am [most ?] wanting it.—Being engaged about the Mexican Revolution,¹⁵ [I ?] am very much in need of a well written last & detailed history [of ?] this revolution, for W. Robinson's¹⁶ history is far too sketchy & incomplete—Would you therefore be kind enough to inform bearer of this letter, a respectable young man, of the best works, which may be had at present, either in Paris or London upon the Mexican Revolution?—There are three or four which, if they appeared in French or English (in translation), I should instantly procure, viz. Zavala's Mexican Revolution¹⁷—Mier¹⁸—Bustamente.¹⁹ Please therefore kindly to answer to this point either verbally or by a few lines to the young gentleman who is the bearer of this letter.—How does our friend Noah? He is busy in the banking affair. A Scandal! I beg very much your pardon for troubling you & hope soon to see you.

Very respectfully Dear Sir Your most obedient humble svt
Zurich the 3 July 1834. Charles Sealsfield
H. Warden Esq.

Am Consul General of the U.S. member of the Institute [?] etc.

VI

The original of this letter is in the Library of Congress. It fills an important gap in Castle's second volume with documents and letters, because for the year 1838 he publishes only Sealsfield's contract of February 16, 1838, with Schulthess of Zürich for the novel "Ramble-town" and its supplementary paragraph of October 4, 1838, stating that the title had been changed to *Neue Land- und Seebilder*. The contract

reflects an uncertain and wavering attitude in Sealsfield which speaks clearly only about the financial part of the deal, "welche Nebentitel dasselbe [Werk] auch haben mag." Otto Heller's bibliography of Charles Sealsfield (Washington University Studies, September, 1939), already wrote about the confusion in this work. It appeared as *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* with "Rambletown" as title of the first part, but the work remained the most confused of all of Sealsfield's works.²⁰ As the following letter shows, Sealsfield was in bad health at that time, and he was probably under financial pressure and needed to publish for income. The explanation it provides makes the letter important.

Sep 26, 1838

Dear Sir!

I am arrived yesterday from Switzerland but with my feet so swollen & in a state of health which does not permit me to stir from my room.—If you have half an hour to spare I should be very glad to see you & to hear news from the United States. In the hope of having soon the honour of your Company

I am Honoured Sir Your most humble obedient Servant
Charles Sealsfield

Hotel de l'Univers & des Etats Unis
12 Rue Croire de petits Champs
Mr. Warden Consul General of the U S—etc
12 Rue pot de fer

The Sealsfield to Warden letters illustrate Sealsfield's great interest in political life, his desire to be respected as a man close to the sources of political power, but yet not so involved personally that the inquisitive public would delve into his past life. With all his interest in politics, which he here calls his "joy," he knew he could never run for political office. He had not forgotten that in his first book, written as "C. Sidons," he had stated that if you wish to get to know yourself well and have forgotten any part of your past, just run for political office in the United States. The campaign that follows will bring everything to light.

This realization of danger of exposure is probably the reason why his name has not yet surfaced in the Jackson papers, and probably never will surface, although that might well be expected from the authoritative manner in which he writes in these letters as a man belonging to the political inner circle. More important than the political pose, however, is what these letters tell us about a relation to a very cultured and learned man of his time with whom he discussed his literary plans and whom he even asked for help.

Clark University
Worcester, Massachusetts

Notes

¹ *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield* (Karl Postl) (Wien: Manutius, 1952); *Der große Unbekannte: Das Leben von Charles Sealsfield* (Karl Postl): *Briefe und Aktenstücke*, ed. Eduard Castle (Wien: K. Werner, 1955).

² *Der große Unbekannte* (1952), p. 185.

³ All of his contributions to the *Morning Courier & Enquirer* are scheduled to be published in volume XXIV of the first complete edition of Sealsfield's works, twenty-three volumes of which have already appeared (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag).

⁴ Warden in 1810 had published *An Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties and Literature of Negroes* translated from the French of B. H. Gregoire.

⁵ Sealsfield always worked behind the scenes on friends pressing for favors of this kind or for favorable reviews of his works. He was quite brazen about it, so that some American critics remarked, without revealing too much, that the author might readily be found close to the reviewer.

⁶ This is a cryptic remark. He was writing for the Jackson and Van Buren *Morning Courier & Enquirer* of New York. (T- & V. B. probably stands for: Tammany and Van Buren.) Since he was writing in great haste and wanted to impress Warden, he probably wanted to say: I am just now writing to Washington and for the Jackson and Van Buren *Courier* in New York. He liked to pose as a man having the confidence of powerful political individuals like Jackson and Van Buren, but so far nothing has surfaced in the political papers to identify him in that way.

⁷ Mordecai Noah was a journalist and political figure. After Sealsfield had become the foreign correspondent of the *New York Morning Courier*, Noah bought the paper, which he had previously owned, and ran it as a strong pro-Jackson journal. He obtained a lot of publicity when he launched a plan to provide a home or center for all the Jews of the world. Rapp's Harmony Society offered to sell him their Harmony on the Wabash for that purpose. Rapp considered his plan to gather all Jews as evidence of the coming millennium, because the gathering of all the Children of Israel was a preliminary move to that end. Noah saw better prospects for his people in New York than on the Wabash.

⁸ Parts of the letter cannot be deciphered because of the careless writing. The ink of the verso of this page ran through the paper covering what Sealsfield had written, and he did not take the trouble to check and rewrite his letter. Sealsfield was a master of polite phrases but very inconsiderate of his correspondent's eyes and patience. His publishers complained about this and it undoubtedly was damaging to his publications and is the probable cause of the brevity of his relationships. The original of this letter is in the Library of Congress.

⁹ Cf. note 8.

¹⁰ This letter has been dated March 1, 1831, but not in Sealsfield's hand. If he wrote a date it was either broken off the edge of the paper or made illegible in the lower right hand corner by a blot of ink two inches long, which did not deter Sealsfield from sending it. The original is in the Library of Congress.

¹¹ Sealsfield believed in and quoted the German proverb: "Eine Hand wäscht die andere," and it would seem plausible that his implied intimacy with Mordecai Noah would somehow surface in like form, but to date I have found only one reference to him by Mordecai Noah, and I found this in a letter dated New York April 13, 1844, addressed to General Morris, editor of the *New Mirror*, Vol. III, No. 5, p. 65, in connection with the "Sealsfield" controversy. I published it in *Modern Language Notes* (May 1952), and it is reprinted in Castle, *Briefe und Aktenstücke* (1955), pp. 152-53. Noah there makes no reference to political interests but refers only to his writings as "not adapted to the columns of a political journal" and calls him "my friend, Charles Saarsfield."

¹² Otto Heller, in his extensive research on Sealsfield, tried unsuccessfully to identify such correspondence, but with this and other evidence, I have been able to identify very definitely the correspondence to which Sealsfield makes reference in this letter, and this correspondence is scheduled to be published in volume XXIV of the forthcoming first complete edition of his works.

¹³ The letters dated May 29, 1831, and July 3, 1834, are from the Maryland Historical Society. I published them in *Modern Language Notes*, 87, No. 3 (April 3, 1972), and they are added to the other four unpublished letters in the Library of Congress to present the more complete chapter now available.

¹⁴ Part of the text on the left margin is missing. *The Dictionary of American Biography* in its sketch of Warden had this explanation: "Bibliotheca Americo-Septentrionalis (1820), a catalogue of one of his collections of books on America, which collection was purchased by S. A. Eliot and presented to Harvard College in 1823; *Recherchés sur les Antiquités de*

l'Amérique Septentrionale (1827): and *Bibliotheca Americana* (1831). A second collection which he made of books on America was acquired by the New York State Library in 1840. Both were especially rich in maps and plans of the battles of the American Revolution and in material relating to the Spanish explorations."

¹⁵ Sealsfield's *Der Virey und die Aristokraten oder Mexiko im Jahre 1812* (Zürich: Orell, Füssli und Compagnie, 1835).

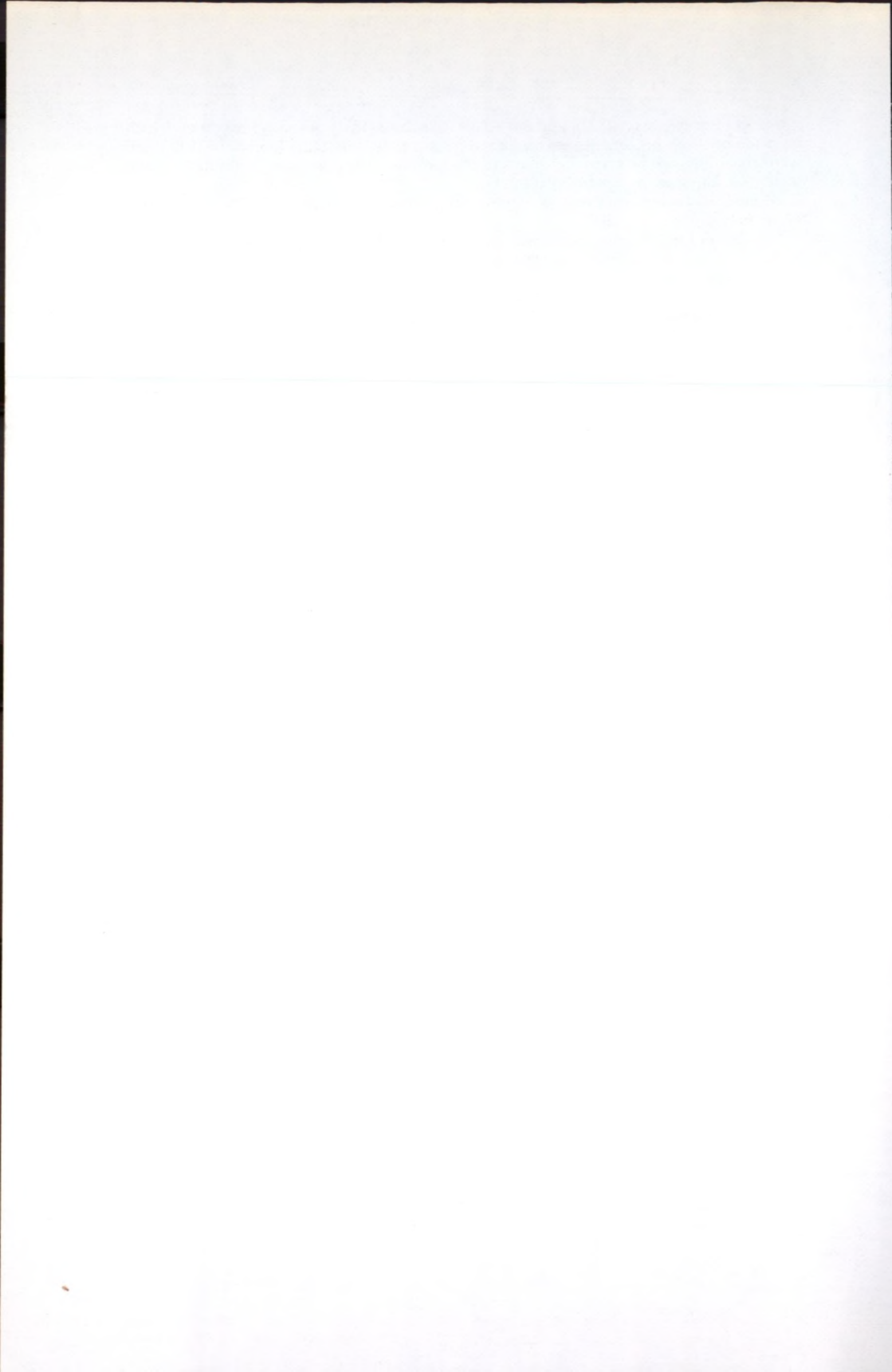
¹⁶ William Davis Robinson, *Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lydia R. Bailey, Printer, 1820; London, 1821). (Spanish, Dutch, and German translations.)

¹⁷ Zavala, Lorenzo de (1788-1836), *Ensayo histórico de las revoluciones de Méjico, desde 1808 hasta 1830, por d. Lorenzo de Zavala* (Paris: O. Dupont et G. Laguionie, 1831-32).

¹⁸ Mier Noriega & Guerra (José Servando Teresa De) *Alerta á los Mejicanos* (1820). [Remarks on the detention in prison of S. T. de Mier Noriega y Guerra, contrary to the Articles of the Constitution.] See *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada Europeo-Americana* sketch of Mier mentioning: *Cartas de un americano á un español*, and *Revolución de Anahuac*. Sealsfield probably referred to Mier's *Historia de la Revolución de Nueva España*, 2 vols. (Londres: Don José de Mier y Guerra Servando, 1813). There were also many papers by him which were not published until recent years, to which Sealsfield might have had access. See catalogues of British Museum and Library of Congress.

¹⁹ C. M. de Bustamante, *Cuadro histórico de la Revolucion de la América Mexicana*, 6 vols. (Mexico, 1823-32).

²⁰ In my 1982 edition of this work (Hildesheim: Georg Olms) I have pointed out this lamentable situation and compared it to the improved and more orderly edition of the American translation.



Hans Galinsky

**The South on Thomas Mann's Map of the United States:
A Regional Aspect of Twentieth-Century
German-American Literary Relations**

Studies on Thomas Mann and his relations or interrelations with America are plentiful and largely familiar. Giving this topic a regional slant and focus on the American South, however, appears to be a strangely unfamiliar undertaking. It requires a few preliminary thoughts on the place the empiric phenomenon of regions holds in the investigation of literary exchanges in general and of German-American ones in particular. Therefore this tentative study falls into an overview of previous research and an in-depth examination of our specific topic. This examination will start out from Mann's receptiveness to regions in terms of his German experience and its imaginative presentation. Both may be expected to precondition his receptiveness to a vastly larger region: America's South. This part of the argument will be followed by a textual analysis of creative contact between *Buddenbrooks* and a nineteenth-century Southerner's short story, Edgar Allan Poe's "The Fall of the House of Usher." Other examples of Mann's responsiveness to Poe will also be drawn on. In the chronological order of Mann's later reactions to the South, political ones aroused by Virginia-born Thomas Woodrow Wilson as well as literary-critical ones to Walt Whitman's image of regional America including the South, to H. L. Mencken, and other, younger, contemporary Southern writers from Thomas Wolfe through Tennessee Williams will be discussed. The contemporary present and the past of the South will be shown to combine, in a brief political interlude, Mann's shortlived contacts with Kentucky's Herbert Agar and Virginia's Thomas Jefferson. Admittedly mosaic-like, a picture of Mann's South will gradually emerge. Suffice it to add by way of definition, that "region" as used in this study is conceived of as "the fusion of people and place, of environment, stock, economics, dialect, history, consciousness, and ways of life."¹

Comparison of literatures and studies of mutual impact originated from examining literatures of European nation states or peoples. It would consider local or regional factors only if literary reception, criticism or influence concentrated on major cities, predominantly capitals, commercial centers or university towns and their hinterland. The region would count in studies of imagology, i.e., the images of a country in the literature of another. Regional groups of authors, e.g., the three Silesian schools of the Baroque or the Swabian School of the Romantic Age, were rarely chosen for subjects of comparative study.

The advent of America, in the sense of the United States of America, as target of comparison or partner in literary exchange did not alter this European habit at once. Since, however, early European settlement in America produced such areas as the Old South, New England, and the middle colonies, these emerging regional entities began to attract attention as recipients and donors in European-American literary and cultural exchanges. Immigration history, genealogical and, above all, dialect studies have consistently observed the operation of regional and local factors. Comparative literature, in this study represented by research on German-American literary relations, has reacted more slowly. Admittedly, as for dramatic literature, the reception of German plays especially in New York, Baltimore, Charleston, St. Louis and San Francisco, has met with early and often continuous attention. It has more recently been extended to "The Beginnings of Cleveland's German Language Theatre, 1820-1860,"² while *Kriterien amerikanischer Theaterkritik: Zur Rezeption des deutschsprachigen Dramas auf amerikanischen Bühnen und in der Presse nach 1945* predominantly focuses on New York City.³ The local fuses with the regional in studies like "Brecht in Minnesota."⁴ Jointly with philosophy, German literature has been studied for its impact on such regions as New England and the South as well as in such cities as St. Louis.⁵ Combined with religion and music, German hymnody, Mennonite hymnody for that matter, has found a niche in research.⁶ On the whole, however, the regional angle is not prominent in the field of German-American literary relations.

Is it more prominent in American-German literary contacts? How do German regional factors interest students of such relations? To be sure, a good many will draw distinctions along national lines, and differentiate between Swiss, Austrian, and German areas of America's literary impact, but here national subdivisions of a common-language area are involved. They must not be equated with states or regional groups of states of the United States. America's literary impact on Bavaria, past or present—would it significantly differ from that on the Rhineland or Saxony? These regions seem much too small to attract the comparatist's attention, although millions of people are concerned and a great many of them are recipients of American literature, often via television adaptations of American plays. Wherever German regions were parts of post-World War II zones of American, British, French or Russian occupation, and wherever they now host non-German armed forces,

their different reactions to American literature in point of reception, criticism, and influence might be surprisingly instructive. This would be particularly true for attitudes toward American plays on regional stages.

Studies in such regionally differentiated German reactions to American literature as well as to German regional images of America are curiously rare.⁷ While in the neighboring field of language-interference research, inquiries into regional patterning of German reactions to American English have been progressing, students of reactions to American literature have been holding back. In the last few years, only the Rhineland-Palatinate area has been explored for regional characteristics of past and present responses to American literature.⁸

Both the German author traveling in America and his or her American colleague on tour in Germany seem to have been particularly open to peculiarities of regions, and most open to express them predominantly in travel books, diaries and poetry. German regional settings of American short stories or novels, and their American counterparts also reflect mutual responsiveness. Happily, comparatists are just as eager to examine these regional facets of German authors' literary images of America as they are to explore the regional touches of American ones of Germany. Jefferson, Irving, Cooper, Longfellow, Melville, Henry James, Thomas Wolfe, and many others as visitors to the Rhineland, the Palatinate or Bavaria, John Quincy Adams as Berlin resident and observer of Silesia—they all have their German counterparts. Particularly some of the German nineteenth-century literary travelers have a fine eye for the variety of American regions, and they incorporate them in imaginative writings as well. Sealsfield is an outstanding example in this respect. Nowhere has the variety of German views of the American regional area and, occasionally, the prejudice underlying them been pinpointed more amusingly and thought-provokingly than in Harold Jantz's "The View from Chesapeake Bay: An Experiment with the Image of America."⁹ To what extent the German author-travelers' vistas and their German readers' reactions to them have been preconditioned by American or German literary or movie representations of these regions poses another problem. As for the past, stereotypes like "the Golden West" or Jack London's Alaska, as for the future, "Dallas"-based images of Texas have to be reckoned with. The image-building function of the Western has been and still is the question most debated by researchers. Even in the shape of conscious resistance to them, the influence of such stereotypes will assert itself by producing new exaggerations or simplifications.

Comparing two or more American regions concerning their responses to, and impact on, German literature has been an adventure risked by but a few explorers. "Northern and Southern Aspects of Nineteenth Century American-German Interrelations: Dickinson and Lanier" may serve as an exceptional example.¹⁰

So far this overview of research on regions has fixed on their role as givers or takers in literary exchanges. Regions functioning in both roles, however, have not been overlooked. The dual role of New England and the middle Atlantic region has often come up for discussion, but there is

room for in-depth studies. On the German side the Rhine valley area and the Palatinate have received fleeting attention as for their dual function of recipient and donor.¹¹ In this age of city and regional partnerships on an international scale, studies like "Pennsylvania-Palatinate Informal Folk Cultural Exchanges" should be extended in order to take in literary exchanges.¹² On the local level yet with consequences for the region, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Heidelberg and Munich could be explored as focal points of literary interrelations.

2

Placed in this broad context of scholarship on regional factors in German-American and American-German literary encounters, research on the German author as political refugee of the 1933-45 period can be seen to tend toward a local, metropolitan, or a continent-wide scope of observation rather than a regional one. For obvious reasons, New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles have already received a great deal of the researchers' attention, but the question whether the regional factor in American life, past and present, has left its reflex in the personal experiences and the imaginative works of prominent German emigrants seems not to have been posed yet.

This study proposes to answer that question selectively. There will be no room for tackling the concomitant question of whether American authors' interest in the regional backgrounds of German refugee writers and their works may have sharpened American awareness of the regional and the local in German literature and have led to explicitly regional and local features in their literary images of Germany or the German-speaking countries altogether. Robert Lowell's touches of Mann's Lübeck in his poem "Exile's Return" points in this direction.¹³ Randall Jarrell's *Pictures from an Institution* (1954) and his Salzburg poems as well as Raymond Oliver's verse description of an aristocratic setting, a castle of Lower Franconia, confirm this supposition.¹⁴ At the German end Carl Zuckmayer and Ernst Křenek, to name but these two, come to mind as competent describers of American regions.¹⁵

2.1

Among German refugee writers in America Thomas Mann is singled out for an inquiry into the significance which American regions hold in his receptive, critical, and creative responses to American life, past and present, literary and non-literary. On purpose it is not the West Coast area already mapped out by Jarrell C. Jackman's article "Exiles in Paradise: German Emigrés in South California, 1933-1950"¹⁶ and by other students, but is the South that has been chosen for the present study in regional perceptiveness. After World War I its attractiveness for Germans had been rising for literary and ethnic, including ethnomusical, reasons, and research on this appeal had been increasing as well. The "Southern Renaissance," the "Southern Agrarians," and "Black Culture of the South" have provided catchword-like formulas powerful enough to focus German scholars' attention on this region or

section. A conference on "German-American Literary Relations" held at Duke University in March, 1979, embraced special Southern subjects, and another in Atlanta in October, 1980, concentrated on the South. Both afforded additional stimulation to ongoing research.¹⁷

In this essay attention will be limited to Mann's reactions to authors and politicians from the South. Strictly personal contacts with Southerners, and reactions to the landscapes of the South, its society, economics, and educational institutions, its newspapers and periodicals deserve a special paper. Non-Southerners like Whitman and Agar, serving Mann as "guides to the South" will be included, however. Even in this restricted field, source materials abound, but many of them still await publication. Of the more intimate kind such as diaries and letters, the five published volumes of the former, at present extending only to 1943, have been mainly relied on. At certain points Klaus Mann's *Briefe und Antworten I, II* as well as his "Lebensbericht," *Der Wendepunkt*, have been consulted.¹⁸

The choice of Thomas Mann enables us to compare pre-, intra-, and post-World War I reactions to the South before, during and after his years of exile in the United States. Limited space prohibits a look at the other side of the coin, i.e., the Southern reactions to Mann in terms of the reception, criticism, and influence of his work and his personality. Researchers have preferably concentrated on the all-American scope of this topic, mostly neglecting its regional side. A supplementary study of this Southern aspect, though restricted to 1945-50, was published in 1982.¹⁹ Its sequel is in preparation. The pre-1945 period, however, has not been covered yet in its Southern details. A complete account of the Southern fortunes of Thomas Mann, especially in Southern periodicals and critical monographs by Southern writers, and full knowledge of Mann's awareness or ignorance of them might help understand the degree and the trends of his interest in the South.

2.2

Receptiveness to a foreign region may be prepared for by awareness of the regional in one's own country. How does Thomas Mann fare in this respect? Commonly, he ranks among the cosmopolitans of German literature. His own rating of his cosmopolitanism was modest, at least when he took up this topic explicitly, as he did in his reply to the inquiry of a German periodical in 1925, the fiftieth year of his life.²⁰ This was nine years before his first visit to America. Surely, the local, stepping stone to the regional, held its firm place in his outlook on life as it did in his art.²¹ In 1926 he gave an address on Lübeck, his native city, and in the same year he made a public speech on Munich, his adopted city. In Mann's own words the former was the address "eines Lübeckers . . . der als Künstler, als Schriftsteller ein Lübecker geblieben ist." He evidences even his familiarity with the regional as a literary-historical principle guiding Josef Nadler's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur nach Stämmen und Landschaften* ambivalently calling it "den neuen, merkwürdigen und übrigens sehr deutschen Versuch." In this Lübeck speech he

confesses to a belief in the harmony of what he names "the most personal" with "the national" and "the most human."²² The Munich talk seems to lead us somewhat closer to our Southern subject. Mann is fully aware of

der unsterbliche, mehr oder weniger humoristisch gepflegte Gegensatz zum Norden. . . . Hier war man künstlerisch und dort politisch-wirtschaftlich. Hier war man demokratisch und dort feudal-militärisch. . . . Was mußte geschehen, damit dies ganze Verhältnis sich beinahe umkehre?²³

Certainly, this intra-German South-North tension remembered by Mann and now felt to be inverted, is not a replica of pre- and post-World War I tension between the South and the North of the United States, although some of its characteristics recur, if not in the same distribution. But the ethnic and economic roots of conflict, besides, the historical experience of its explosion in a civil war are, of course, lacking in that German brand of a North-South tension. The short Austro-Prussian war of 1866 holds quite a different, much more modest place in the German national memory than does the Civil War in the American. Differences of geographical sizes and of populations involved are too obvious to render comparison meaningful.

What a region means both culturally and politically had been impressed on Mann before these two addresses in and on a Northern and a Southern German city. It was a Western region of Germany, the Rhineland, that he made a spirited defence of in 1923.²⁴ A few years later, a southeastern region, Silesia, was celebrated for both its literary and linguistic, dialectal, peculiarities as embodied in Gerhart Hauptmann.²⁵ With reference to German-European relations, Mann's awareness of the regional is paralleled by Germany's geographical situation in Europe. In 1925 he apostrophizes "Fruchtbare Schwierigkeit der Mitte, du bist Freiheit und Vorbehalt!" In the same essay, "Ein letztes Fragment," added to the enlarged edition of *Goethe und Tolstoi*, he speaks of the German people as "weltbürgerlich-mittleres Volk."²⁶ German translations of a contemporary Czech poet from what, in 1903, had been the Austrian part of Silesia, the renderings of his "Schlesische Lieder," excite Mann's interest even much later, in October, 1937, his fourth year in Switzerland.²⁷ When in the United States, he does not lose the sense of the regional in German literary artists. In an American broadcast (1938) of his review of Bruno Frank's novel *Der Reisepaß* (tr. *Lost Heritage*), he introduces the author as "originat[ing] from the South of Germany, from Stuttgart, that part of the country which is the elder and which is democratically-minded."²⁸

Therefore Mann's receptivity to the regional element of German life, although not obtrusively pronounced, could be expected to alert him to the regional in American life. So could his thought of Europe in terms of the well-known formula of "unity in diversity" be expected to facilitate an understanding of a nation whose motto is "*e pluribus unum*." According to John Steinbeck's *America and Americans*, "Mottoes have a way of being compounded of wishes and dreams. The motto of the

United States, 'E Pluribus Unum,' is a fact. This is the strange and almost unbelievable truth; . . .²⁹ How far did Thomas Mann come to grasp it?

2.3

More than thirty years before Mann, a resident of Switzerland at the time, paid his first visit to the United States in 1934, the American South, the oldest of the "plures," had entered his imaginative world. Such entrances, but not only of this imaginative domain, would happen at different times and in amusingly different shapes. At the turn of the century a short-story writer whose spell on German translators, publishers, readers, critics, and writers has been more continuous and more varied than any other American author's was the first Southern visitor admitted. Virginia-reared and South Carolina-trained, Edgar Allan Poe found himself not only mentioned or commented upon, but, primarily by motif-borrowing, integrated with Thomas Mann's first novel, *Buddenbrooks*, *Der Verfall einer Familie* (1901). Even the title of that short story Mann had established contact with, "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839, rpt. in *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque*, 1840), rings a related chord. A classic among Poe's stories has left its impress on what was to become a classic among German twentieth-century novels.

"Also auch nicht Chemie und Englisch! All right! . . ."³⁰ . . . Adolf Todtenhaupt aber, der Primus, wußte alles; . . . Kai Graf Mölln hatte außer seiner Bibel auch die 'Unbegreiflichen Ereignisse und geheimnisvollen Taten' von Edgar Allan Poe vor sich aufgeschlagen und las darin, den Kopf in die aristokratische und nicht ganz saubere Hand gestützt. . . .

"Was heißt denn 'deciderant, patula Jovis arbore, glandes'?" wandte er [Hanno Buddenbrook] sich mit verzweifelter Stimme an Adolf Todtenhaupt. . . .

Kai verfiel in Gedanken, "Dieser Roderich Usher ist die wundervollste Figur, die je erfunden worden ist!" sagte er schnell und unvermittelt. "Ich habe eben die ganze Stunde gelesen . . . Wenn ich jemals eine so gute Geschichte schreiben könnte!"

Die Sache war die, daß Kai sich mit Schreiben abgab. Dies war es auch, was er heute morgen gemeint hatte, als er sagte, er habe Besseres zu tun, als Schularbeiten zu machen, und Hanno hatte ihn wohl verstanden. . . . kürzlich hatte er eine Dichtung vollendet, ein Märchen, ein rücksichtslos phantastisches Abenteuer, in dem alles in einem dunklen Schein erglühte, das unter Metallen und geheimnisvollen Gluten in den tiefsten und heiligsten Werkstätten der Erde und zugleich in denen der menschlichen Seele spielte, und in dem die Urgewalten der Natur und der Seele auf eine sonderbare Art vermischt, gewandt, gewandelt und geläutert wurden—geschrieben in einer innerlichen, deutsamen, ein wenig überschwenglichen und sehnsüchtigen Sprache von zarter Leidenschaftlichkeit . . .

Hanno kannte diese Geschichte wohl und liebte sie sehr; aber er war jetzt nicht aufgelegt, von Kais Arbeiten oder von Edgar Poe zu sprechen.

Als jedoch der greise Rechenlehrer . . . erschien, . . . da sagte er [Kai] . . . ; "Guten Tag, du Leiche."

"Edgar!" sagte Doktor Mantelsack. . . .
 Was? Wie war das? Edgar . . . Das war Lüders. . . .
 ". . . gegen Sie ist er ein Genie, ein Rhapsode . . ."
 . . . Es war das Englische bei dem Kandidaten Modersohn, einem
 jungen Philologen. . . .
 . . . Graf Mölln . . . fuhr fort, sich mit Roderich Usher zu beschäftigen.
 . . .
 . . . der Rhapsode Timm. . . .
 . . . "Verstorben!" rief Petersen. . . .
 . . . "Leider dem Wahnsinn verfallen," sprach Kai. . . .
 . . . Endlich fand sich einer, der weder tot noch wahnsinzig war und
 es übernehmen wollte, die englischen Verse aufzusagen. Es handelte
 sich um ein Gedicht, das 'The monkey' hieß, ein kindisches Machwerk,
 das man diesen jungen Leuten, die sich größtenteils aufs Meer, ins
 Geschäft, ins ernsthafte Lebensgetriebe sehnten, zugemutet hatte, aus-
 wendig zu lernen.
 "Monkey, little merry fellow,
 Thou art nature's punchinello . . ."
 . . . als die Lektüre von 'Ivanhoe' an die Reihe kam, konnte eigentlich
 nur der junge Graf Mölln ein wenig übersetzen, weil bei ihm ein privates
 Interesse für den Roman vorhanden war. . . .
 ". . . Ich will nämlich jetzt etwas Wunderbares schreiben, etwas
 Wunderbares . . . Vielleicht fange ich nachher in der Zeichenstunde an.
 . . ."
 . . . Kai schrieb an seiner neuen literarischen Arbeit in dieser Stunde,
 und Hanno beschäftigte sich damit, daß er in Gedanken eine Orchester-
 Ouvertüre auführte. Dann war es aus. . . .
 . . . Er [Hanno] setzte sich und begann eine seiner Phantasien.

Only quotations of this length, scattered as they are across more than twenty pages of the second chapter of *Buddenbrooks*' "Eleventh Part," its last part, can do some justice to the subtlety with which strands from "The Fall of the House of Usher" are woven into the texture of this chapter. The most detailed of its settings described is a Lübeck *Realgymnasium* classroom in a winter morning around 1876. Particularly the English literature class forms the frame of reference in which Poe's story functions explicitly or by hidden allusion. The graded contrast between the interest which such unrelated class subjects as a silly animal poem and Scott's *Ivanhoe* fail to excite collectively, and the stimulus caused by a subject of individual choice, i.e., Poe's "Fall of the House of Usher," is brought out clearly. The author's irony on a pedagogy assigning unsuitable English-language texts of Romanticism and of animal poetry for children to young men of an import-export trade center such as Lübeck is obvious. Just as obvious is the cleavage, unnoticed by the young English teacher-trainee, between his "official" textual materials inflicted on the group, and the "unofficial" Poe text enjoyed by, and creatively stimulating the one of the two gifted Poe "lovers," Kai and Hanno. But it is during the Old Testament class, not the English one, that the world of Roderick Usher is introduced and set against the world of Job, the one world unknown to all high-school students but those two youngsters, the other also miles away from their dreams of business and military careers.

Hanno, the last of a decaying senatorial family, and Kai, the last of an already decayed aristocratic family, are the only ones relating to a Poe story about the last of the "House of Usher." Hanno relates to it as musician and in this respect resembles Poe's Roderick. Kai can empathize with it as a young creative writer. "*Rhapsode*," linking up with Roderick's "rhapsodies,"³¹ is used as nickname by a teacher ignorant of its Poesque associations, and knowingly repeated by narrator Thomas Mann. Moreover, Mann's use of "*Phantasien*," reinforcing "*Rhapsode*" in its associative power, connects Hanno with Roderick. Both are eminently gifted amateurs. Kai, the creative experimenter, however, has Poe, Roderick's creator, for counterpart. Poe, the inventor of "the most wonderful figure," is fixed upon in Kai's first comment. With a knack for the adequate metaphor and its suitable extension, Mann, Kai's inventor, illustrates the characteristics of Kai's imagination. The metaphors of the subterranean, although associated with contrapuntal motifs of Wagnerian, *Rheingold*, or Novalis-like provenience, also point toward the subterranean layer of the Usher story, its vault, entombment, and surrealist "tunnel" painting.

It is Mann, the author, again who, by the playful art of naming, adds depth to the figure of the exemplary pupil, his name being Todtenhaupt. The name complements the metaphorical, Poesque, "field" of this chapter by a "head of the dead." Mann's allusive invention creates the figure of Lüders, another classmate, whose given name is identical with—Poe's! Nor are the ranks of teachers without such allusive name-giving. Admittedly of sound North German origin and distribution, "*Modersohn*," the name of the teacher-trainee, suggests the etymological meaning of "mother's son." If understood as "son of mold or decay," *Modersohn* contributes to the linguistic field of interrelated images of death.

Mann's skill in interweaving the Usher story with his narrative of a morning of young Lübeckers in high school excels in letting Kai's absorption in "The Fall of the House of Usher" reverberate in spontaneous outbursts. Kai, Count Mölln, who takes his name from the city in which popular jester Till Eulenspiegel is said to have been buried, shares Mann's sense of the comic, even the macabre. Passing by an old teacher in the schoolyard, Kai has a special greeting for him: "Guten Morgen, du Leiche." Kai's excuse for the feigned absence of a classmate runs "Leider dem Wahnsinn verfallen." In this way the field of death metaphors is rounded out. At the same time the motif of Usher's madness is transferred to a setting of schoolboyish humor.

Naturally Mann's description of that Lübeck high school morning is not a cave of echoes, but reverberations of the Usher story, which is explicitly mentioned, may be detected, passing on from motif transfer to the adaptation of structural features, the paired arrangement of Hanno and Kai on the plane of figures does not reflect that of Roderick and his narrator friend. Roderick combines the musical and the literary interests, which Mann attributes to one person each, i.e., Hanno and Kai. Nevertheless, it is the one gifted with the narrative talent who "escapes," whereas the other gifted with the musical talent falls a prey to

death. On the whole, Mann's encounter of Poe has left more than one trace in *Buddenbrooks*.

Though its literary consequences were individual, the encounter as such was not. In the years before *Buddenbrooks* was published, many German and Austrian writers and translators had taken an increased interest in Poe.³² Formerly often separated, now united, the phantastic and the macabre, the grotesque and the symbolic facets, and, above all, the newly discovered psychoanalytical element of Poe's work appealed to authors like Gustav Meyrink, Hanns Heinz Ewers, Karl Heinz Strobl as well as illustrator and author Alfred Kubin. With all of them Poe's influence lasted well into the twentieth century. Poe's "modernity," not the first and not the last stage of Germany's repeated rediscoveries of the American, was firmly established.³³ In those early years of the new century the first complete translation was undertaken by Arthur and Hella Moeller van den Bruck, the same couple that had already translated another favorite of Mann's, Feodor Dostoevski. Book illustrations by Kubin, whom Mann had met in Munich and still remembers in Switzerland on March 30, 1937,³⁴ gave additional support to this neo-romantic metamorphosis of Poe's stature in Germany. Mann shared this collective redirection of attention but did not wax enthusiastic. The artist of *Buddenbrooks*, in the process of its composition, took over from the artist of a major short story what could be fused with some figures and the motif structure, the imagery and the tone of his own novel-in-the-making. It is only by this limited but firm integration, and by the continuity of his contact with Poe that we can recognize the intensity of Mann's encounter of Poe apparently initiated by his reading of "The Fall of the House of Usher." Probably he read it in a German translation rather than in the American original.

The Americanness of the artistic stimulus does not seem to have been of significance to Thomas Mann. Surely, he had portrayed Kai with a collection of Poe's stories jointly with the Bible lying open in front of him on his classroom desk, an ironical trait making the reader's imagination go out to the Usher story and the Book of Job simultaneously. He had not attached any importance to a New Testament—Book of Revelation—element which Poe had woven into the end of the story.³⁵ He may have overlooked it altogether. Therefore the Apocalyptic, a lasting, seventeenth-century heritage of American literature, escaped him. The regional roots of Poe's art, the "Southern Gothic" and the world view it expressed, were of no interest to Mann either. Different from Poe's "The Gold-Bug" or the later "Balloon Hoax," the Southernness of "The Fall of the House of Usher" was not on the surface, i.e., unsuggested by a completely or, in part, regional setting, including, as it did in "The Gold-Bug," a descendant from a New Orleans "ancient Huguenot family,"³⁶ and a black servant. In the Usher story the Southernness was part of a state of mind, easy to escape the foreign eye.

"The Fall of the House of Usher" had offered a literary window opening on the South. The view from it was not taken by Poe's creative German reader. Once again did he act in unison with the literary Poe

enthusiasts in that *fin-de-siècle* Germany. The story was bound to return in his work and loan yet another motif to his novella "Tristan," but direct evidence will be presented much later, and this by Thomas Mann himself in 1933.

However, the 1920s are not without explicit and implicit references to Poe. The explicit one occurs in a thoroughly international context on November 21, 1922. The reference is occasioned by the publication of what Mann calls a "Russische Dichtergalerie," an album reproducing portraits of Russian writers. The international context is furnished by a quotation from Nietzsche.

Diese großen Dichter, diese Byron, Musset, Poe, Leopardi, Kleist, Gogol—ich wage es nicht, viel größere Namen zu nennen, aber ich meine sie—, so wie sie nun einmal sind, sein müssen: Menschen . . . mit Seelen, an denen gewöhnlich ein Bruch verhehlt werden soll, oft mit ihrem Wirken Rache nehmend für eine innere Besudelung, oft mit ihren Aufflügen Vergessenheit suchend vor einem allzu treuen Gedächtnis, Idealisten aus der Nähe des Sumpfes. . . .³⁷

Mann identifies with Nietzsche's view of Poe, but combines it with his own portrait of "Dostojewski's bleiches Heiligen- und Verbrecherantlitz."³⁸ The paradox it contains is of particular interest for its implied equal reference to Poe. While the other international companions of Poe never reassemble in Mann's writings, Dostoevski will return to Mann's later years, especially the ones spent in America.

When he refers to Poe for a second time in the 1920s, he seems to do so implicitly. In his already mentioned Lübeck address of 1926, Mann reminisces on the gestation of *Buddenbrooks*. In this context he mentions "die psychologische short story," not "das Prosa-Epos," as the genre he had come to think himself qualified for.³⁹ By making use of the Anglo-Saxon generic term "short story"—Britishisms and Americanisms are not frequent with him at the time—Mann may have included in this genre "The Fall of the House of Usher." Anyway, he remained silent on its actual integration with *Buddenbrooks*.

Implicit, too, is the evidence furnished by childhood memories of Klaus Mann. In *Der Wendepunkt* he reports parenthetically: "(Als Kind hatte ich Angst vor seiner [Poe's] 'Schwarzen Katze', seinem 'Mörderischen Pendel', seinem 'Schwatzenden Herzen'; . . .)"⁴⁰ Given the interest Thomas Mann took in the literary education of his children, he can be supposed to have read Poe stories to them or encouraged the children to read them.

His interest in the Southern author continued in the 1930s. In Switzerland he read "William Wilson" in early September, 1933, for the first time after he had ordered and received the six-volume edition of Poe's works brought out in German by the reputable Propyläen publishers.⁴¹ By July, 1939, when vacationing in the Netherlands and reading two stories by Robert Louis Stevenson, one of them, "Olalla," reminds him of Poe.⁴² The diary entry is too short and vague to allow of an interpretation that Mann's acquaintance with, and appreciation of,

Poe have now raised him to the rank of a critical yardstick by which to measure other authors.

Acquaintance and appreciation once more develop into creative stimulation as they had done with *Buddenbrooks*' Kai more than thirty years before. In September, 1933, Mann, now virtually a refugee in Switzerland, found "reading Poe" (a diary phrase that might comprise "William Wilson," "The Sphinx," and others), more suited to his intended "Faust novella" than to his "Joseph."⁴³ Less comprehensive and in one respect surprisingly precise is a diary note of September 1, 1933:

Las im Garten nach vielen Jahren wieder einmal den "Fall des Hauses Usher," der zu meinen frühesten Eindruckstraditionen gehört. Hanno B. zitiert ihn, und es fielen mir Einzelheiten auf, die ich nachgeahmt habe: Das Hindurchgehen der Lady im Hintergrund des Zimmers ist das der Pastorin Höhlenrauch in "Tristan."

As not infrequent with authors, memory of their own works is faulty at places. Kai's role, in part, is attributed to Hanno by a reminiscing Thomas Mann. During Mann's temporary stays in the United States in the mid-1930s Poe does not show up in the diaries. The visit in 1938 (February 21 to June 29) included Mann's first coast-to-coast roundtrip. The experience of the continental expanse and the regional variety of the country still reverberates almost a year later:

. . . die Bekanntschaft von Land und Leuten des Ostens wurde bald durch Besuche in großen und kleineren Städten des Mittelwestens, durch das lichte Erlebnis der californischen Landschaft ergänzt. . . . Großartig weiträumige Verhältnisse, eine Atmosphäre der Freiheit.
. . .⁴⁴

But Poe's South had not been touched by the transcontinental traveler and lecturer.

It is during the 1940s that Mann, as it were, met Poe, for the first time, on American, though not native, soil. That chance, geographically speaking, had been missed in January, 1941, when a short lecture tour from Mann's Princeton base led him beyond Washington, D.C., to Durham, North Carolina, Atlanta, and via Philadelphia back to Princeton. Neither the city of Baltimore nor the states of Virginia and South Carolina, which he crossed twice on his roundtrip, left in his diary a reflex that could be interpreted as a meaningful reference to Poe's life and work.

In early September, 1941, under Southern California skies, two favorites of his European years, Dostoevski and Poe, resume company. "Nach Beendigung von Dostojewskys 'Werdejahre' lese vor Einschlafen Unvertrautes von Poe" runs a diary entry made in Pacific Palisades on September 7, 1941. It will take five years until Poe turns up again in the same binational context. In the meantime he enjoys an early comeback in mid-October, 1941. In the new function of travel companion Poe joins Mann on his second coast-to-coast lecture tour. Most fittingly, the German author has selected Poe the imaginary traveler for

fellow-tourist. On the train from Los Angeles to San Antonio he is reading in bed "Poe's phantastische Reise-Romane, Das heiße Meer am Südpol." As for the following night, October 15, 1941, he jots down "1/2 11 zu Bette u. im Poe gelesen." So it is in the Southwest that Mann is exploring *Die denkwürdigen Erlebnisse des Arthur Gordon Pym* (*The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*, 1838; first German tr. 1908). The perusal is continued on October 17 on the train from Austin to New Orleans. The drily factual note says: "Gestern Abend in Poe's Reise-Beschreibungen." Approaching Poe's South at the sign of the Antarctic! "The Gold Bug," with its Mr. Legrand "of an ancient Huguenot family" for hero, would have brought Poe's imaginary South considerably closer to the German traveler. But Mann was rightly fascinated with Poe, the lively storyteller of the Antarctic instead of the casual describer of the Deep South.

The train journey took him nearer to Poe's native Old South when it went across South and North Carolina where in Greensboro, he stopped over at the "King Cotton" hotel.⁴⁵ The name, however, rich in associations as it was, did not evoke any responses to, or comments on, the history of the South. Nor did the Virginia and Maryland sections of Mann's continental trip conjure up the figure of Poe. Contrary to the first transcontinental tour of 1938, its follow-up of 1941 is not commemorated as an experience of America's spaciousness but as a job done: "So ist diese verwickelte, stationenreiche, anspruchsvolle Reise abgelaufen und hinter mich gebracht. 6 Wochen, . . ." He adds, however, "aber resultatlos war der produktionslose Zeitverbrauch nicht, . . ."⁴⁶ Whether among "the results" there was a further growth of regional perceptiveness, is not explicitly stated.

Poe is not dropped after journey's end. Almost a full year after Mann's return to Pacific Palisades Poe, too, makes his return (October 20, 1942), his second one, to California. It is the most interesting one so far, inasmuch as for the first time something of Poe's supposed Southernness seeps through. It is due to Baudelaire that this occurs. "Baudelaire über Poe. Der Haß auf 'die Demokratie', 'den Fortschritt'. Das war frei, kühn und künstlerisch." Through the eyes of Baudelaire Mann believes he is catching sight of a latent anti-democratic, anti-progress element in the world of Poe. Baudelaire identifies with it, and Mann comments on it, and this with exemplary fairness. It is not marked as Southern, however. The third volume of Mann's edition of Baudelaire in German translation included "Edgar Poe, sein Leben und sein Werk" as well as "Weiteres über Edgar Poe." The two titles probably cover all of Baudelaire's three famous essays on Poe.

After the end of World War II Poe reappears in the company of Dostoevski. A constellation of 1922 and 1941 reestablishes itself. This time, it gains in point of clarity. In an introductory essay "Dostojewski—mit Maßen," (1946) the neo-romantic and the clinical psychologist in Mann's multi-faceted personality unite with the cosmopolitan comparatist in singling out Poe's "William Wilson" and comparing its author's and the Russian's treatments of the "split personality" motif embodied in the figure of the *Doppelgänger*. For its "purer absorption of the clinical

in the poetic" Poe's treatment is rated superior.⁴⁷ In this way Mann's initial interest in Poe as master of the "psychological short story," has survived more than four decades.

Diary evidence on the remaining nine years (1947-55) is not available yet. But what is supposed to be Mann's "last manuscript" encompasses the name of Poe and for the first time puts beside it the name of another Southern writer: Thomas Wolfe.⁴⁸ New Yorker Melville brings the company up to three Americans: ". . . und schließlich lassen wir uns, auf der Rückkehr zum Westen, im Nordamerikanischen, bei der krankhaften Intensität Edgar Allan Poe's, bei Thomas Wolfe und Melville nieder." Forming part of Mann's "Geleitwort" for the anthology *Die schönsten Erzählungen der Welt* (1955), the quoted passage is dated "Noordwijk aan Zee, Juli 1955." Almost exactly sixteen years before, it had been at the same Dutch seaside place that Stevenson's "Olalla," "das Bedeutendste" of the tales he had been reading, had "put him in mind of Poe." The comment "morbid intensity" strikes a note new in Mann's view of Poe, yet old in the history of his critical reception. As made by Mann, this comment is meant to refer only to Poe, but neither to Wolfe nor to Melville. A later passage of the "Geleitwort," however, includes all three of them, and will often be quoted:

Diese Angelsachsen wissen zu erzählen—mit einer Sicherheit, einer Drastik und Unsentimentalität, die sehr wohl Raum zur Rührung läßt, einer Kunst zu fesseln, die meine ganze Bewunderung erregt.⁴⁹

The fascination felt by *Buddenbrooks'* Kai has remained, the criticism of Poe is subjectively new, objectively old and mild.

Viewing in retrospect Mann's contacts with Poe from the late nineteenth century through the mid-1950s, from the Lübeck years, recollected in *Buddenbrooks*, through near the end of his life, one cannot fail to recognize the same unswerving loyalty to Poe as has survived all political changes in Mann's native Germany. Yet even when placed by Mann beside Thomas Wolfe, Poe and the regional background he shares with Wolfe elicit no explicit statement on their Southernness.

With diary evidence incomplete as yet, one has to suspend a final answer to the question of whether Mann's 1942 comment on Baudelaire's view of Poe represents Mann's closest approach toward a realization of what links Poe to the South. Mann's slowly grown perceptiveness to the regions of continental America may have promoted this realization. But as his last statement on Poe in the context of world literature implies, that Southern author was still living, as it were, on the supranational top floor of Mann's house of literature with its many national, regional, and local mansions.

2.4

In the chronological order of appearance on Mann's map of the American South a scholar, university reformer, and statesman joins Poe among the German writer's potential and actual American contacts with the South. Hence the next window opening on it is political, not literary. A view from it is offered by Thomas Woodrow Wilson, Mann's senior by

nineteen years. World War I, for the first time in German history, made the United States an "enemy" and an American president a virtual arbiter in inter-European family squabbles of worldwide repercussions. Wilson was a Virginian by birth, not only, as Poe had been, by practical adoption. As to emotional allegiances, he shared them with Poe. So he likewise did university training, unfinished in Poe's case, at the University of Virginia and a part of life in Baltimore, but also professional appointments in the middle Atlantic states. Neither of them, however, was tied to the South by old family traditions,⁵⁰ although both grew up in it. Rather than Staunton, Virginia, did Augusta, Georgia, Columbia, South Carolina, Wilmington, North Carolina, and Atlanta, Georgia, afford young Wilson a more varied experience of the region, when compared to Poe's.

Since Mann's published diaries do not start prior to 1918 and those still awaiting publication do not include any earlier ones, it is not until that last year of World War I that readers can get insight into the intimate image of Wilson formed during the previous years. The three references to him in *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (1918) may take us back to those years, particularly to 1917-18, but they are too brief to illuminate the gradual growth of Mann's view of Wilson.⁵¹ The diaries and passages in two letters (October 9 and 10, 1918) of his correspondence with Ernst Bertram afford considerably more information about Mann's concept of America and German-American relations.⁵² It concerns the nearly two-year period from mid-September, 1918, to the end of April, 1920. The views expressed would merit detailed comparison with the contemporary chorus of German opinionists on Wilson. Ernst Fränkel's fine article on "Das deutsche Wilsonbild" could serve for a reliable point of departure.⁵³ But any hopes of an increasing interest in, and knowledge of, Wilson's Southernness would be disappointed. Southern rhetoric and its long tradition as operating in Wilson's oratory, and Southern Presbyterianism as influencing the world view of the Presbyterian minister's and later theological seminary professor's son lay beyond the scope of Mann. So did the increasingly more effective lecturer and public speaker that Wilson was to become in the course of his legal, academic and political career. Mann's interest in Wilson's religious background occasionally arose but satisfied itself with such an ambivalent term as "the wisdom of a Quaker" in a comment of October 5, 1918:

Ein wenig hart ist es ja, daß es nun an der Weisheit eines Quäkers hängt, ob Deutschland einen Frieden bekommt, der ihm *nicht* unsterblich Empörung gegen den Weltlauf ins Blut impft. Im Interesse des deutschen Geistes und des Wachbleibens seines Gegensatzes zur demokratischen Civilisation wäre dies beinahe zu wünschen.

How he would have viewed Wilson around the time of the ex-president's death in early 1924, can only be surmised. "The Southerner" will surely have had but a minimal chance, if any at all, to be recognized in the personality of the American.

Aside from the private diary notes and letters, Mann availed himself of a periodical article on "Das Problem der deutsch-französischen Beziehungen" (January, 1922) as a public outlet for his view of Wilson.⁵⁴ He did not formulate his opinion himself but identified with an ill-placed characterization of Wilson by Rudolf Pannwitz, another German writer, a dramatist, epic, didactic and philosophical poet.⁵⁵

A balanced view developed much later. The aura of Princeton may have favored it. The same university whose graduate (1879) and president (1902-10) Wilson had been was to serve as host to Mann and confer an honorary doctor's degree on him. Life's more than little ironies had led the Wilson opponent of 1918 to the very university reformed by him. One of these reforms, the "preceptorial," was even mentioned by Mann April 18, 1940, but, understandably, not associated with Wilson. The balanced opinion was voiced in a broadcast of May, 1942. It linked the Atlantic Charter to Wilson's "League of Nations" concept. He alluded to it as "Wilsons Entwurf, für den damals niemand reif war, am wenigsten wir Deutsche."⁵⁶ The voice speaking at the time was a voice of memory. As little as it had found room for the Southerner in the American in former years, did it now have time for it. Understandably so, because international, not regional issues were at stake. At the time of the broadcast in which Mann mentioned Wilson, Mann had already become a resident of Pacific Palisades. The question whether his stay in the United States alerted him to the significance of its regions, and the South among them, will once again have to await an answer.

2.5

A third window on the South, around 1900 or earlier, a literary one, may have opened in late May, 1921. The view from this window was not a direct but an indirect one, taken, as it were, from another man's window on the region, the other man being Walt Whitman. His image of the South as presented mainly in his poetry, especially in his Civil War poems, gradually became accessible to Mann. As is well-known, contact between him and Whitman was established by gifted translator Hans Reisiger, a friend of the Manns since 1913. "Am Sonntag Abend war Reisiger bei uns und las aus seinen Übersetzungen, woran sich Gespräche über Whitmans Männerliebe knüpften." This diary note dates from May 31, 1921. Reisiger's first volume of selected and translated Whitman poems had been published in 1919. A two-volume edition, with an introductory essay appended, came from the press in spring 1922. It was reviewed by Mann as "Hans Reisigers Whitman-Werk" in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 16, 1922.⁵⁷ If one likes a chanting voice and an eye for characteristic details, Whitman as poetic guide to a great many regions of America is unrivaled. His poetic image of America and especially of the North-South conflict as well as its reconciliation do not seem to have produced in Mann a fast-growing awareness of regional differentiation. It would be outright stupid to simplify matters by thinking that Mann, the Northerner, living in Germany's South, would have developed an empathy with an American "equivalent" of

such North-South tensions as expressed in Whitman's poetry. None of his tributes to Reisiger's translations of the poems testify to such an effect. Admittedly, he notices the poet's close links with New York, calling him "der Sänger von Manhattan,"⁵⁸ yet he has to read Whitman's prose tract *Democratic Vistas* (tr. *Demokratische Ausblicke*) to realize the regional ingredients of American life, at least by means of the approximate political expression they find in the "states." He quotes:

. . . gleichwie wir auf der Einheit der Union unter allen Umständen bestehen, um den Rechten der Einzelstaaten die vollste Lebensfähigkeit und Freiheit zu sichern, deren jedes genauso wichtig ist wie das Recht der Nation, der Union.

Mann, the comparatist and advocate of European unification, immediately adds:

Es könnte von deutscher Union die Rede sein . . . oder von zukünftiger europäischer. Denn man darf vorhersehen und -sagen, daß freundschaftliche Verhandlungen, wie sie soeben zwischen Bayern und dem Reiche gepflogen wurden, eines Tages zwischen den einzelnen Nationalstaaten und einer europäischen Oberhoheit spielen werden.⁵⁹

In this context Romantic visionary Novalis is placed beside Whitman and claimed as advocate of "demokratischer Pluralismus," a mixed German-English phrase. Though perhaps not reechoing America's "*e pluribus unum*," it has a close affinity with it. ". . . er ist von fast amerikanischer Frische" is Mann's comment on this kind of pluralism.⁶⁰ All of these passages quoted are to be found in "Von deutscher Republik." This speech made in October, 1922, mentions the "Donnerer von Manhattan" by name more than ten times.⁶¹ Is it by mere chance that the printed text was dedicated to Silesian regionalist Gerhart Hauptmann, and as late as 1954 Mann gratefully remembered Whitman's translator Reisiger as the "Jünger Schlesiens, . . . in Hauptmanns Sphäre beheimatet," whom he had met "in or around 1906" for the first time.⁶²

But let us return from 1954 to those 1920s. In an interview given to the correspondent of the Paris edition of *The New York Herald* Mann, for the first time, placed Poe the Southerner and Whitman, the guide to the regional pluralism of the United States, side by side. For their partner he added Eugene O'Neill, whose plays from the very first have revealed his creative fascination with a region, i.e., New England. The interview seems not to have been reprinted.⁶³

Not until December, 1933, do the diaries resume their first mention of Whitman in 1921: "Abends mit K.[Katia Mann], Klaus und Reisiger zur Stadt zu R.'s [Reisiger's] Vortrag über Whitman. Eine angenehme Darbietung, die alle befriedigte."⁶⁴ Neither this entry nor another of June 1, 1935, linking Whitman and Reisiger anew, extend the theme of American regions, especially of the South. This does not occur until Mann's first transcontinental lecture tour of 1938. Strangely fitting, this experience of the expanse of the country is the fruit of a lecture trip during which Whitman makes his appearance as early as the second

paragraph of "Vom kommenden Sieg der Demokratie." Although democracy is discussed as a "Gesellschaftsprinzip,"⁶⁵ its former American facet of "democratic pluralism" does not recur. Neither in passages commemorating Whitman nor in such as anticipate his [Mann's] personal experience of America's regional variety does "Vom kommenden Sieg der Demokratie" express what the diaries reveal during and after Mann's trip: his already mentioned fascination with the spaciousness of the continent and the regional variety of its cities, fifteen of which he had come to know, not profoundly enough, though, in the course of his trip. The experience resounds in a formulation not yet quoted: "Auf dieser Lecture tour, die mich durch den ganzen ungeheueren Continent Amerika, durch eine große Anzahl seiner Städte geführt hat . . ."⁶⁶ In the 1940-43 diaries, the last published to date, Mann's praise of Whitman, and Whitman's guidance to the South do not figure any longer. Whether silence will last in the ones still awaiting publication, remains to be seen.

Beyond the diaries there is at least one sign of Whitman's attraction, continued or revived. Long after 1945, in a published gratulation upon Reisiger's seventieth birthday, Mann returns to Whitman. Reisiger's translation and his introductory essay are praised as they were in 1922, and Whitman is styled "the hymnodist of democracy."⁶⁷ The South in no way colors what has become Mann's traditional image of Whitman. So, like Poe, Whitman has followed Mann on his return to Europe and reappears in Mann's last year before his death.

The role he has played in Mann's gradual formation of a concept of the South limits itself to three services. All of them were rendered before 1939. From *Democratic Vistas* or, more precisely, its German rendering, Mann learns "democratic pluralism" as operating, ideally, in the relations between the federal union and the states as political spokesmen of regional interests and ways of life. The poetry is heard as lending voice to the states and regions in his chants on American life, and in expressing the intra-American tension between North and South in a spirit of reconciliation. Whitman's short newspaper days in New Orleans and their disputed reflex in his poems seem to have had no attraction for Mann, provided he was aware of them at all. As little as Mann on his transcontinental and Southern tours was interested in visiting places connected with Poe's life in Virginia, South Carolina, and Maryland, did he feel attracted to Whitman's Camden, New Jersey, during his residence in Princeton. He never worshipped at shrines, political or literary. In spite of his taste for biographies, the biographical frame of his first two literary windows on the South was of no or little significance.

2.6

With Poe the supranational in the artistic sense, with Wilson the national and gradually the international in the political sense, with Whitman the universal joined to the national, the regional, and the local had entered the process of Mann's imaginings about American life,⁶⁸

less so his practical experience of it. With Henry Louis Mencken, a native of Baltimore, literary and cultural critic, an interpreter of Nietzsche and translator of his *Also sprach Zarathustra*, a philologist in the good old sense of a "lover of words," joins in as fourth intermediary between Mann and America's South. He is the first of the four mentioned so far whom Mann had an opportunity to meet in person after he had written about him. True, what he had written amounted to no more than a mere mention of the name in a catalogue of names, interlinked by what Mann thought of as their common purpose. The year is 1929, and the place is Mann's preface to Ludwig Lewisohn's, then an American expatriate's, novel, *Der Fall Herbert Crump* (*The Case of Mr. Crump*, 1926). Mann recommends it as contributing to

jene Europäisierung Amerikas zu erzielen, die das Gegenstück zu unserer vielberufenen 'Amerikanisierung' bilden sollte und an der die besten Amerikaner heute arbeiten. Zu ihnen, obgleich im Exile lebend, gehört Lewisohn als Romancier und Kritiker: zu den Männern, die, wie Mencken, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, der brave Richter Lindsey, die Schriftstellergruppen um den 'American Mercury', den 'Dial', die 'Nation', es sich zur Aufgabe gestellt haben, aus dem schönen, energischen und zivilisierten Kindervolk der Amerikaner erwachsene und reife Menschen von Kultur zu machen.⁶⁹

There is no place for such a modest problem as the *regional* roots of Mencken! Two topoi of the contemporary European concept of *American-European* relations, "Kindervolk" vs. "erwachsene und reife Menschen," and "Amerikanisierung" vs. "Europäisierung," join a *German* extra, the topos of "Zivilisierte" vs. "Menschen von Kultur," and together they hold the stage.

Erika and Klaus Mann had met Mencken in New York in late 1927. The portrait of him, which Klaus Mann was to paint later in *Der Wendepunkt*, is much more detailed but, like his father's mention of him, reveals no interest in his Southern background. Thomas Mann's and Mencken's personal meeting—the juxtaposition of their names may amuse the etymologist—came about during Mann's first stay in the United States (May 29-June 8, 1934).

Mit Knopf in seinem Ford zum Souper auf der Dachhöhe eines französischen Restaurants. Die Stadt in Lichtern. Mencken. Der Herausgeber der Saturday-Review. Die angesehene Schriftstellerin—links von mir, Mrs.[?] Kleine Tischrunde. Vorzügliche Küche und Weine. Später in die hübsche Stadtwohnung der Knopfs.⁷⁰

Mencken figures like in a party snapshot skilfully arranged. "Aufzeichnungen zu machen war völlig unmöglich," Mann states in retrospect when already on the voyage back to Europe.⁷¹ Those hectic days of his short visit to the United States did not leave time for more than a bare mention of a Southern celebrity. A masterly use of irony, the art of the witty epigram, a profound knowledge of Nietzsche and modern international literature, even memories of World War I Germany where Mencken had worked as war correspondent in 1916-17 linked the former editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* and the German visitor. Mann's brief diary

note invites many guesses on their mutual reactions and repeated meetings, if any, during those fourteen days of Thomas and Mrs. Mann in the New York area.

When five years later, on April 16, 1939, he arrived from Princeton for a Baltimore lecture on Faust, the city did not evoke any memories of, or associations with, "the sage of Baltimore," let alone Poe.

Die alte geschminkte Hausfrau, pro Franko, anti Roosevelt, wie eher auch unsere Wirte und, unserem Eindruck nach, die Baltimorer Gesellschaft. . . . Sehr glänzende Veranstaltung, Abendkleider und Fracks. Der Sozialismus wurde geschluckt. . . . Ankunft Trenton 12 Uhr . . . Regenwetter, scharfer Temperatur-Kontrast gegen Baltimore.

It would be rash to conclude that in "asides" like these there surfaces a somewhat more general feeling which subliminally hampers a more spontaneous relationship with even the northern fringe of the South.

Mencken has a comeback in a diary entry of December 18, 1940. Once again the setting is a private, though larger, party than in 1934, once again publisher Alfred Knopf and his wife are among the participants. They now include Sigrid Undset, Mann's predecessor, by one year, as Nobel prize winner, Mann's follower, by more than one year, as refugee in America, and Nathan, whom the diary annotators, rightly or wrongly, identify with the New York phantasy writer Robert Gruntal Nathan,⁷² and not with Mencken's co-editor of *Smart Set* and co-founder of *The American Mercury*, George Jean Nathan. For the third time Mencken remains a mere name. His political views, which Klaus Mann's *Wendepunkt*, in its tenth chapter, "Der Vulkan 1936-1939," understandably feels bitter about,⁷³ came to the fore as little as his Southern literary traits. No more after 1940 does Mencken's name turn up in Mann's published diary volumes. To go by them, the "Southerner in the flesh" who was born and died in Baltimore, had excited even less interest in his region, its life and literature than had Poe, the other literary Southerner, who found his end in Baltimore.

2.7

References to further literary Southerners, contemporary with Mencken, turn up much later than Mann's earliest mention of him in 1929. In chronological order they concern Thomas Wolfe from 1936, Julien Green in 1937, James M. Cain in 1939, Richard Wright in 1942, Faulkner and Caldwell in 1951, and Tennessee Williams in 1952. Upton Sinclair, a native of Baltimore, and Lillian Hellman, born in New Orleans but grown up in New York, rank in a special group of "ex-Southerners" although one of the latter's most popular plays is deeply rooted in the South. Pennsylvania-born Marc Connelly resembles Whitman in serving as a non-native literary guide to the South. Strangely, Carson McCullers, with whom Klaus Mann had become acquainted in June, 1940, and Golo Mann often met from March through July, 1941, both being tenants in the same house in Brooklyn,⁷⁴ never turns up in Thomas Mann's diaries, speeches and critical essays.

Of all these literary contemporaries from the South only Thomas Wolfe arouses more than fleeting interest on Thomas Mann's part. In view of the fact that Wolfe's German vogue began with Hans Schiebelhuth's translation of *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) as *Schau heimwärts, Engel* (1932), Mann's reaction is late. It is caused by *Von Zeit und Strom* (1936), the German version of Wolfe's *Of Time and the River* (1935). On April 6, 1936, the diary entry ends with the item "Es kam von Rowohlt der zweibändige Roman von Th. Wolfe *Von Zeit und Strom*, der hoch gerühmt wird." The entry sounds factual but there is a small admixture of curiosity. "Is this high praise justified?" seems to be the question implied. Whether Mann actually read *Von Zeit und Strom* cannot be gathered from the diaries. But almost exactly one year after the first reference to Wolfe, Mann jots down "Nacht-Lektüre Wolfe's *Schau heimwärts, Engel*" (April 4, 1937). Three days later Mann is aboard the *Normandie* bound for the United States. During the home voyage reading is resumed. The novel earns the diary note "*Schau heimwärts. Gut, kräftig.*" On April 30, while still aboard the *Ile de France*, Mann reports "Mit dem Roman von Wolfe dieser Tage fortgefahren." As factual and non-committal as the first diary remark rang, does the last pre-World War II entry sound. When in 1955 Wolfe crosses Mann's path again, it is not the author of two panoramic novels but the short-story teller to whom Mann reacts. Significantly, Wolfe now turns up in the company of Mann's favorite Southerner, Poe, and of Melville. Their summary praise has already been cited in the Poe section of this paper. The last word on Wolfe is left to the writer of an introductory essay, not to the diarist. Hopefully, the as yet unpublished volumes will fill part of the gap (1938-54) in the record of Mann's reactions to Wolfe. With him he got closer to the South's contemporary literature than ever before.

"Vorm Einschlafen lese wieder *Minuit* von Green, das Schönheiten und Merkwürdigkeiten enthält" runs a diary note of March 23, 1937. Julian or, French-spelled, Julien, Green was the Paris-born son of American parents, whom Klaus Mann had met and become acquainted with in the late 1920s.⁷⁵ Brother of Georgia-born writer Anne Green, Julian wrote his novels in French and later in English as well as in French. His play about the south, *Sud*, was not performed in Paris until 1953. Thomas Mann's reading contact with Green may or may not have been assisted by Klaus's personal relations with him. It was well before Green's years of refuge in the United States (1940-45) that he reread *Minuit* (1936; tr. *Mitternacht*, 1936).⁷⁶ Green's ties with the South strengthened during World War II, but neither the person nor the work figure in the 1940-43 volume of Mann's diaries while they do, and very much so, in Klaus Mann's *Der Wendepunkt* and *Briefe und Antworten*. Thus Green can be discounted among Mann's guides to the South, unless the as yet unpublished diary volumes modify this conclusion.

Whether James M. Cain, a native Marylander, should also be disregarded in this role, is debatable. His favorite, yet not exclusive domain is the psychological crime story. In this way he does continue a part of the Poe tradition in Southern writing. But neither his novel *Serenade* (1937), whose speedy German translation *Serenade in Mexiko*

(1938) Mann starts reading in Princeton on February 20, 1939, nor the story *Career in C major* quite fit into this category. *Serenade in Mexiko* is found "attraktiv" and occupies his mind for the next days. "In den letzten Tagen viel mit Cains *Serenade*, starker Eindruck."⁷⁷ Amazingly, such praise resembles that of Wolfe's *Schau heimwärts*, Engel. The "strong impression" is lasting enough to lure Mann to *Wife, Husband and Friend*, the screen version of *Career in C major*, on a Detroit Sunday, March 12, 1939. "Sänger-Ehe-Geschichte reizvoll gespielt. Gut unterhalten" is a comment Hollywood productions or stage adaptations of literary works do not usually draw from Mann.

His next literary encounter will prove this point. The author encountered is Richard Wright, the only Black Southern writer the diaries ever mention. As the entry of November 28, 1942, indicates, he comes across *Native Son* (1940) not in its original, novelistic, shape but in a stage adaptation. "Nachher in [New York's] Majestic Theater: *The Native Son*, sehr verfehltes Negerstück von sozialer Bravheit. Bier schließlich in der Bar." This comment of November 28, 1942, by its very brevity, is telling enough. The in-migration of Black Southerners and Chicago's Black belt, with Bigger Thomas for one of its products, did not direct the attention of his German namesake Thomas to the South.⁷⁸

Not in the diaries but in a book review do Faulkner and Caldwell come up for mere mention of names in 1951. The subject of the review is Albert J. Guérard's, a French-American's, monograph on André Gide. Similar to Mann's presenting of Poe in the company of Dostoevski in 1922, 1941, and 1946, his reference to the two Southern moderns is made in a binational context. This time, however, Mann does not compare a European to an American artist. Rather he studies the role of a European, a French literary intermediary, in the French reception of two American writers. Faulkner and [Erskine] Caldwell are grouped with three old New Yorkers, Whitman, Melville, and Henry James, beside two contemporaries, Hemingway, a Midwesterner, and Steinbeck, a Californian. The binational frame gives way to a trinational one. As was Poe before, so are now all of his countrymen assembled with Dostoevski by cosmopolitan Mann in Gide's hospitable house so well connected with world literature. The inclusion of Joseph Conrad introduces a Pole of British nationality. All of them, James excepted, are looked upon as "importations of strong and demoniacal energies" into France's "precious and exclusive culture."⁷⁹ As often before, a comparatist's eye rather includes than concentrates on modern Southern authors.

The same holds good for Tennessee Williams, the youngest of them to swim into Mann's ken. In his case, however, the comparative context is German-American, and the yardstick of comparison is Gerhart Hauptmann.

Irgendwie trug dieser Dichtermensch die Bluthistorie der Menschheit, insonders auch der deutschen, in sich—gequälter, leibhaftig leidender als irgendein anderer. Michael Kramer: "Sehn Se, da liegt einer Mutter Sohn!—Grausame Bestien sind doch die Menschen! . . . Ihr tatet dasselbe dem Gottessohn! Ihr tut es ihm heut wie dazumal! . . ."—Bei einer jüngsten Wiedereinstudierung dieses Stückes hat die deutsche Presse

etwas gemerkt. Sie fand, da zeige sich deutlichst nun doch, daß lange vor Tennessee Williams (und anderen von heute) Gerhart Hauptmann war. Und, wollen wir hinzufügen, mit ganz anderer Herzenskraft doch wohl und ganz anderem Griff.

Leiden—Blut—der Schrecken der Nacht: und daraus denn nun, inbrünstig verschlungen damit, das Verlangen nach Schönheit, Licht, nach dem "lösenden Jubel der Sonnen". Daraus, zusammen damit—die Liebe zum Frühling Griechenlands. . . .⁸⁰

With this speech commemorating the ninetieth anniversary of the late Gerhart Hauptmann's death, a speech delivered in Frankfurt on November 9, 1952, exactly thirty-four years after the outbreak of the German November revolution, Mann returns to his older contemporary from Silesia. A dramatist deeply rooted in his region is made to challenge, if only for a moment, comparison with a Southern dramatist just as deeply rooted in *his* region. Yet the frame of reference is not the common sense of place but "die Bluthistorie der Menschheit." Mann was unaware at the time how poignantly he defined affinities between the Silesian regional universalist and the Mississippian whose equally universal themes were sounded in regional and even local tunes. And do not the Orpheus and Phoenix motifs in Williams' dramatic work hearken back to the same Greek antiquity conjured up in Mann's speech? The label "von heute" attached to "Williams (and others . . .)" overtones of a critical judgment on the transitoriness of Williams' German popularity nearing its height in those early 1950s, if compared to Hauptmann's "immerwährende(m) Dasein."⁸¹ The chance of an in-depth comparison in German-American terms, regional or national, was not taken just as it had not been in the case of Thomas Wolfe.

So far Mann's selective contacts with Wolfe, Cain, Wright, Faulkner, [Erskine] Caldwell and Williams, as had been his unsevered links with Poe, were thoroughly in keeping with trends of selective reception observable in pre- and/or post-World War II Germany.⁸² In spite of his travels across a continent, Princeton and Pacific Palisades, East and West Coast residences of Mann and part of his family remained places unlikely to open entirely new, idiosyncratic vistas on the South, its literature and its life, past and present. In two respects, however, pre-war Switzerland and, during the war, Hollywood and New York offered access to the literary South by doors temporarily closed to Germans by dictatorship and international conflict.

Switzerland kept a door open for William Keithley's movie version of Marc Connelly's play *The Green Pastures* (1939), which, in its turn, rests on Roark Bradford's *Ol' Man Adam and His Chillun* (1928). In spite of the two prisms intervening between Mann and the original, the German Old Testament user on the grand scale enjoyed this Deep-South transformation of Biblical materials. After the publication of *Joseph in Ägypten* (1936) he was on the way to *Joseph der Ernährer* (1943). "Nachmittags mit K. (Katia) ins Cinéma Nord und Süd: origineller und gewinnender Neger-Bibel-Film" runs the pertinent part of the diary entry for March 12, 1937. The exclusively Black cast took Mann on an imaginary journey to Louisiana. Another tour to the South was guided

by native Louisiana woman Lillian Hellman. A January 22, 1940, performance of *Little Foxes* produced the following impression: "... war interessiert vom Spiel, einem derben Familienstück düster-kritischer Färbung von einer Verfasserin in Hollywood, das schon seit einem Jahre läuft. (Little Foxes)." What a pity that death prevented him from seeing much later Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (1955). The comparison would have been illuminating. "Nur kurz geruht und 1/2 4 Uhr Liesl Frank abgeholt, eine Privat-Aufführung des Films *Little Foxes* im Studio zu sehen,"—this diary note of December 10, 1941, testifies to Mann's continuing interest in a powerful play of social criticism now available in a screen adaptation.⁸³ The performing arts opened a third door to the South, although this time a Northerner was at the center. In the company of Caroline Newton, psychoanalyst and friend of twelve years' standing, Mann went to a New York production of *Harriet*, Florence Ryerson's and Colin Clements' play about the authoress of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. But the brief comment "angenehmes Stück" (November 10, 1943) avoids any resumption of the North-South conflict theme brought home to him in Whitman's poetry, and inextricably linked with the novel and its writer.

With Upton Sinclair and Willa Cather it is not literary images of the South conveyed by dramatists and/or movie makers but living persons whose Baltimore boyhood memories, in Sinclair's case, and Virginia childhood reminiscences in Cather's might have served Mann as "aids to reflection" on the post-bellum South. True, Mann's familiarity with Sinclair's work is evidenced by references to him in 1925 and 1928, and in the diaries his name will turn up as that of a personal acquaintance in 1938, and from 1941 through 1943.⁸⁴ *Dragon's Teeth*, Sinclair's most recent novel, is referred to more than once.⁸⁵ So is personal correspondence with him. But, as in Mencken's case, there is neither an explicit nor an implicit hint of the South and Sinclair's native Baltimore. The same is true for Willa Cather and her Virginian childhood. Contacts with her begin late, i.e., in 1936, and at first are literary ones as with Sinclair. As with him, they lead to personal meetings, though not in California but in New York, in April, 1937, and May, 1938.⁸⁶ Alfred Knopf was of great assistance, both belonging among the authors published by him. What makes the Cather-Mann relationship of singular value to this study is the fact that here German-American relations for the first time turn into German-American *interrelations*. Of all the contemporary American writers she is the only one to have published on Thomas Mann, and this before they met. "Gespräch mit Miss Cather unter vier Augen über den *Joseph*" (March 8, 1938) may easily have touched upon her article, "The Birth of Personality: An Appreciation of Thomas Mann's Trilogy," published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, June 6, 1936. Under the title "Joseph and His Brothers" it was included in her volume of essays, *Not under Forty* (1936). "Willa Cather in demselben Blatt (*The Saturday Review of Literature*) über Joseph als 'The Birth of Personality', Auszug aus einem größeren Essay, der als Broschüre erscheinen soll," indicates Mann's early reaction in a diary note of June 26, 1936. In that essay a dual aspect of Thomas Mann, the "forward-goer" and his "backward-

ness," are of special interest to Cather.⁸⁷ It would be rash, however, to surmise that this dual vision may be part of her Southern heritage.

Of contemporary authors associated with the South not by family traditions but personal loyalties due to early life in neighboring regions, T. S. Eliot appears to be the only one mentioned in Mann's diaries. The native St. Louisian, as editor of the London *Criterion* had published Mann's essay "Die Stellung Freuds in der modernen Geistesgeschichte" (1929) in an English translation.⁸⁸ Mann the diarist had chronicled the event on July 28, 1933. Eliot, not the editor but the critic interested him nearly a decade later when, in Pacific Palisades on October 11, 1942, he was reading *American Harvest*, a collection of essays, by Edmund Wilson and T. S. Eliot. Mann's reaction, "hochstehende Kritik," is rare praise. Eliot the poet is encountered when Mann received from an old Washington, D.C., woman friend, a copy of the first, London, edition of *Four Quartets* (1943). The diary jotting of June 21, 1943, registers its arrival. Later entries include no comment. When and if reading, "The Dry Salvages" section of *Four Quartets*, Mann would have empathized with the brilliant evocation of the Mississippi River, as dominant a geographical feature of Eliot's St. Louis as of the Deep South. The impression created by this quartet would have compensated for the dissatisfaction he had felt in Kansas City at the showing of a color film adaptation of Twain's *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer*. He had seen the motion picture on March 13, 1938, and thought it "zu süß." In the diaries, lectures, and speeches as well as in the essays he never mentions Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*. Thus a late nineteenth-century access to the Deep South, provided by another Missourian, was not made use of, and Southern humor as an ingredient of Twain's works was missed.

This brings to an end the story of Mann's literary and, in part, personal contacts with contemporary or partly contemporary American literary authors as Mann's actual or potential guides to the South.

2.8

In the very midst of these encounters, which had started with first reactions to Thomas Wolfe in 1936 and ended, maybe temporarily, with an unfavorable comparison of Tennessee Williams to Gerhart Hauptmann, in 1952, two political voices joined with the literary ones in offering Mann additional vistas on the South. The first voice was contemporary and of non-Southern origin, the second rang from the past and was the voice of a Virginian founding father of the United States. Both spokesmen, Herbert Agar and Thomas Jefferson, wrote political prose of literary rank.

Jotted down in Chicago on November 26, 1940, Mann's diary entry runs: "Las nachher [nach dem Lunch] Zeitungen. Bewegender Artikel von Agar in den Daily News. High tide for intervention in this country now." Probably he had met Agar at committee meetings for the formulation of the manifesto *The City of Man: A Declaration on World Democracy* (1940).⁸⁹ The plan for such a manifesto is already hinted at in

a diary note of January 19, 1940, but Agar is not mentioned yet. Both, he and Mann, belong among the signers of it. The Chicago newspaper article Mann refers to in November, 1940, *The Lotos Eaters*, speaks for itself. It advocates intervention. Four months later, a Pacific Palisades diary passage of April 27, 1941, says: "Abends in den Ausgaben der *Nation*. Guter Artikel von Agar über die Typen der Appeaser." After that, Agar disappears from the pages of Mann's intimate chronicle. There is no indication so far that Mann was aware of Agar's involvement in Southern politics, literary, cultural and economic. Never was Mann so near to the South of the 1930s and of 1940 as in the person of Agar. To the historian of pre-World War II Southern literature and culture he is well-known as a staunch non-Southern member of the "Southern Agrarians" and co-editor, with Allen Tate, of *Who Owns America?* (1936). Born in New Rochelle, New York, and trained in Princeton University, he had worked for two Louisville papers as London correspondent during the depression years of 1929-34. In 1940 he was appointed editor of one of them, the *Courier-Journal*.⁹⁰ In this journalistic, professional, capacity Mann came to know and appreciate him. The former advocate of a neo-agrarian South did not interest or escaped him. As with Mencken, it was the American, not the Southern critic that appealed to him in the person of Agar. The national, nay, international issue pushed the regional one into the background.

In this respect Thomas Jefferson fared the same way in the world of Thomas Mann. Not the author of *Notes on the State of Virginia* but the actual writer of the Declaration of Independence matters to him. His responses to the political theorist and statesman are brief but, for around four months in 1943, rewardingly intense and moving. Most probably they were occasioned by the bicentennial of Jefferson's birth. "Gelesen über Jefferson in Büchern aus der Bibliothek" (January 26, 1943) introduces the three diary jottings and the two references in Mann's public statements which evidence the intellectual encounter of a Virginia gentleman of Enlightenment and Revolutionary times by a sixty-seven-year old Lübeck senator's son, now a refugee in California's Pacific Palisades. However, he may have come across Jefferson's political theories and activities around two years earlier. "Von Borgeses die *Documents of American History* mit drolliger Widmung vom Enkelkind" was confided to the diary on December 22, 1940. At that time Henry Steele Commager's renowned collection crossed Mann's path. "Nachmittags über Jefferson. Vorbereitung zu einem Broadcast nach Australien" resumes the Jefferson theme sounded in California, and indicates the context of his Jefferson study (January 31, 1943). "... nach dem Frühstück die australische Message beendet, die zugleich als statement über Lincoln dienen mag" (February 2, 1943) is of linguistic as well as psychological interest. Mann's German has come to accept outright transfers from English, and a mental slip reveals the close association of Jefferson and Lincoln, with the Civil War hero replacing the Revolutionary hero in Mann's mind or rather on his tongue. There is cogent proof for it in that the actual broadcast, Mann's contribution to the series "America Talks to Australia," includes a reference not to

Lincoln but to Jefferson. His birthday, April 13, 1943, was due for commemoration.

There is a straight line running from Thomas Jefferson, the author of the immortal document called the Declaration of Independence to Henry A. Wallace who on May 8th, 1942 delivered his famous speech about the Century of the Common Man . . . If we ask ourselves, however, what is the conserving and all-pervading characteristic element of America's political philosophy, the answer is: it is the principle that "men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights" and that among those inalienable rights is the "pursuit of happiness."

Happiness as a natural right of man . . . belongs to the optimistic pioneer spirit of America. Schopenhauer, a German philosopher, has called optimism "ruthless" and declared all life to be essentially suffering; and that to speak to man about happiness was to deride him.⁹¹

German-American relations, here established not by reception or literary impact but by comparison, surface even in this document of Mann's mind. He does not gloss over "all antagonism and differences of conviction which naturally divide even this country" but among such "natural divisions" the regional ones find no place in a talk from continent to continent. The American Civil War, a war of two sections, is replaced in Mann's speech by "this civil war of humanity."⁹²

His occupation with Jefferson continues after the anniversary of the great Virginian's birthday. "Beschäftige mich mit van Loons Buch über Jefferson . . ." (April 22, 1943). This note refers to Hendrick Willem van Loon's recent book *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate Biography* (1943). Van Loon, a Dutch-American journalist and author, with a Ph.D. degree from Munich (1911), had been among Mann's American hosts in June, 1935, and become a close acquaintance.⁹³ His support given German political refugees was most generous.

Many sentences of Mann's "Message" to Australia, in which Jefferson had figured, reappear literally in the original version of "Kindness," an article Mann wrote for *Good Housekeeping* (September, 1943). In it Jefferson reappears, too. The Declaration of Independence is now looked upon as "ein spezifisch amerikanisches statement, geboren aus dem Geiste der "Kindness." Although also in this magazine essay the factors "which naturally divide even this country" are not hidden, regional ones do not count. "Amerikanische(s) Leben . . . amerikanische Menschlichkeit" are words used at the very beginning of this essay.⁹⁴ Jefferson the Virginian does not fit into it. The American has replaced him entirely. So even this intense appeal he has for Mann opens no window on the South. Like Mencken, Wolfe, Faulkner, Caldwell and Williams, Jefferson remains a potential not an actual guide to a complex region.

Mann's contacts with Southern periodicals—his very close ones with the proprietor of the *Washington Post* and with his wife are of no interest here although Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer was the sender of the *Four Quartets* copy⁹⁵—do not modify the over-all picture of Mann's responses to Southern authors and non-Southerners associated with the region. Louisiana-based, *The Southern Review* interests him for a moment on

April 19, 1939, when Harry Slochower's contribution "Thomas Mann and Universal Culture: An Interpretation of his Joseph Cycle" elicits the dry comment "merkwürdig."

An invitation of *The Virginia Quarterly Review* for Mann to contribute an article in German reached him in Princeton on March 11, 1941. Work on it was begun on April 24, 1941, and continued the following day. The pertinent note (April 25) mentions the title found for the essay as "Denken und Leben." The diary entry of May 6, "Nach dem Post und Zeitschriften, *Nation*, *Virginia Quarterly*," indicates reading in these two periodicals rather than progress of work on Mann's contribution to the latter. By that date the essay may have already been completed and mailed to Charlottesville, Virginia. A later note of May 25, "Die Korrektur des Artikels für *Virginia Quarterly*," refers most probably to the arrival of the proofs, because the diary note of June 18, 1941, chronicles "*The Virginia Quarterly* mit meinem Artikel." An entry of June 30, 1943, and the preface (March 1952) to Mann's *Altes und Neues* (1953) signal his continued attention to articles in this journal and to his essay "Denken und Leben" published in it. The close interest with which Mann had followed the way of his philosophical and political essay from the beginning through its publication and even remembers it eleven years later shows no sign of curiosity about the regional background of American academic periodicals. By now it would have been foolish to expect such signs. It would be equally foolish, however, to explain their lack by pointing to a diary jotting like "Die Inkoherenz [Mann's spelling] der amer. Bevölkerungsgruppen. Zusammengewürfeltes Kolonial-Land mit Technik" (June 30, 1941). Here Mann confides to his secret diary conversation over the tea table of the Aldous Huxley household, on a day when he was "tief niedergeschlagen" on account of "Böse Nachrichten aus Rußland," and felt "Das Verhängnis wird seinen Weg gehen." Not the right moment to sound the optimistic theme of Whitman's "democratic pluralism" of America's states and regions, or to anticipate the "optimistic pioneer spirit" as hailed in the "Message" to Australia.

2.9

So far this paper has followed the reception, criticism, and creative influence of the South. Its imagology in Mann's work, i.e., its scenic or figural image embodied in individual novels or stories, has as yet been neglected. At least once Mann has risked in a story of his the portrayal of an American inclusive of his regional ties.⁹⁶ Of Mann's Americans Ken Keaton, the young American in the German-American constellation of persons central to the late work *Die Betrogene* (1953), was born "in einer kleinen Stadt eines östlichen Staates."⁹⁷ After graduation from high school he went to college in Detroit, Michigan. If native, his retroflex *r*, represented by -*rr* in the German text, points to one of the middle Atlantic states of the East, if acquired, to Michigan. Anyway, Ken is not a Southerner. Cautious as Mann will be in giving literary shape to Americans altogether, he avoided with particular care a region of the

United States that would have taxed the experience and imaginative empathy of any contemporary German author, whether still in American exile, a returnee to Europe or without any longer residences overseas. For some reason or other, falling into the trap of clichés seemed to be exceptionally easy in that area. The more ironical it is that in this very story about Rosalie von Tümmeler and Ken Keaton Mann's affinity with a Southerner, Tennessee Williams as author of *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone* (1950), is remarkable. The universal theme of "das gefährliche Alter" is reshaped by both authors, though in entirely different settings, leave alone other differences.⁹⁸ The Mississippian and the man from Lübeck, for a second time, meet at unexpected moments, and now on the level not of reception, criticism or influence but artistic affinity.

3

Southern Gothic as created by Poe, Southern oratory and a Southern Presbyterian world view with Wilson for spokesman, the Civil War and democratic pluralism for reconciliation of regional divisions given a lyrical and a prose voice by Whitman, the Southern rebellion against a mainstream culture, to Mencken's mind still permeated with Northern "Puritanism," the contemporary Southern novel in four variations—Wolfe, Cain, Faulkner, and Caldwell—the international success of Southern drama, with Williams incorporating in it so much of the "Southern myth," Southern neo-agrarianism advocated by Agar, and Southern revolutionary energy in the person of Founding Father Jefferson—surely, the South has its place on Mann's map of America. The owner of this map, however, was, on the whole, not aware of, nor interested in the regional heritage or the regional loyalty of the persons mentioned. Mann's links with the South, a few firm, the majority but tenuous, do multiply in the course of his life. Certainly, the South *is* on the map, yet it is not the peculiarities of the region or section that are noticed and appreciated or criticized. It is its overall Americanness that is taken for granted.

This conclusion is tentative, subject to modification by Mann materials still awaiting publication, and by studies in his non-literary and strictly personal contacts with Southerners as well as by research on his responses to Southern landscapes, climate, society, and folk-culture, both white and black. Jazz and Blues are not absent from the total image gradually building up in Mann's mind and work. Two features of the picture drawn in the present study bid fair to remain essentially unchanged by future research: Mann's creative affinity at one moment of his contacts with the South was with the youngest, Williams, while his creative response was limited to the oldest, to Poe. So Klaus Mann was not too far off the mark when, in order to win over a badly needed rich sponsor to finance his projected journal, he tried to persuade his father to let out that Mann, Sr., together with "a first-rate American" would figure as "Editorial Advisor." The front page of the journal would feature "Editorial Advisors, Th. M. und [sic] Edgar Allan Poe!"⁹⁹

Notes

- ¹ Max Lerner, *America as a Civilization* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1957), p. 182.
- ² Helmut J. Kremling, in *Papers from the St. Olaf Symposium on German-Americana*, ed. La Vern J. Rippley and Steven M. Benjamin, Occasional papers of the Society for German-American Studies, No. 10 (Morgantown, WV: Dept of Foreign Languages, West Virginia Univ., 1980), pp. 79-86.
- ³ Renate Hücking, *Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftliche Dissertationen*, No. 58 (Hamburg: Lüdke Verlag, 1980).
- ⁴ Arthur H. Ballet, *Drama Survey*, 3 (1963), 141-51.
- ⁵ See Hans Galinsky, "Rezeption unter den Aspekten 'Epoche,' 'Gattung,' 'Volksgruppe,' 'Region,' 'Altersgruppe,'" in his *Amerikanisch-deutsche Sprach- und Literaturbeziehungen: Systematische Übersicht und Forschungsbericht 1945-1970* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1972), pp. 101-03.
- ⁶ Ada Kadelbach, *Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860)*, Diss. Univ. of Mainz 1971, 285 pp.
- ⁷ Galinsky, *Amerikanisch-deutsche Sprach- und Literaturbeziehungen*, pp. 50-52.
- ⁸ Hans Galinsky, "Amerikanische Dichter und amerikanisches Englisch in und aus Rheinland-Pfalz," *Universität im Rathaus*, ed. Präsident der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, I (Mainz: Pressestelle der Universität, 1981), 81-117.
- ⁹ *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1969* (Worcester, Mass., 1969), pp. 151-71.
- ¹⁰ Hans Galinsky, in *American-German Literary Interrelations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Christoph Wecker (München: Fink, 1983), pp. 124-65.
- ¹¹ See note 8.
- ¹² William T. Parsons and William K. Munro, *PF*, 30 (1980-81), 120-22.
- ¹³ *Lord Weary's Castle and The Mills of the Kavanaughs*, Meridian Books, M 107 (New York: Meridian Books, 1961), p. 1.
- ¹⁴ "II: Nachmittag im Schloß," *Southern Review*, 13 (1977), 579-80.
- ¹⁵ Carl Zuckmayer, *Als wär's ein Stück von mir. Horen der Freundschaft. Erinnerungen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1966); Alice Herdan-Zuckmayer, *Die Farm in den Grünen Bergen* (Hamburg: Toth, 1949); Ernst Krenek, *Gedanken unterwegs* (München: Langen-Müller, 1959).
- ¹⁶ *Southern California Quarterly*, 61 (1979), 183-205.
- ¹⁷ Hans Galinsky, "The Current State of German-American Studies in Germany: Resources and Research," in *The Harold Jantz Collection*, ed. Leland R. Phelps, Occasional Paper Series, No. 8 (Durham: Duke University Center for International Studies, 1981), pp. 71-91.
- ¹⁸ Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1918-1921, 1933-1934, 1935-1936, 1937-1939, 1940-1943*, ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1979; 1977; 1978; 1980; 1982). Klaus Mann, *Briefe und Antworten I, II*, ed. Martin Gregor-Dellin (München: Ellermann, 1975); *Der Wendepunkt* (München: Ellermann, 1976). [This is an enlarged version of *The Turning Point* (New York: Fischer, 1942).]
- ¹⁹ Hans Galinsky, "The Give-and-Take of an American Section: Literary Interrelations between the American South and Germany in the Early Post-War Period (1945-1950)," in *Die amerikanische Literatur in der Weltliteratur, Themen und Aspekte: Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von Rudolf Haas*, ed. Claus Uhlig and Volker Bischoff (Berlin: Schmidt, 1982), pp. 363-91.
- ²⁰ "kosmopolitismus," *Moderne Klassiker*, Fischer Bücherei (subsequently abbreviated MK/FB), 117, p. 145.
- ²¹ E. Keippel, "Regional and Autobiographical Elements in the Works of Thomas Mann," M.A. thesis Northwestern Univ. 1934.
- ²² "Lübeck als geistige Lebensform," MK/FB, 119, p. 178, *ibid.*, 183.
- ²³ "München als Kulturzentrum," MK/FB, 117, p. 161. Cf. p. 162.
- ²⁴ "Der 'autonome' Rheinstaat des Herrn Barrès," *ibid.*, pp. 130-32.
- ²⁵ "Gerhart Hauptmann," MK/FB, 115, p. 270. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 266.
- ²⁶ "Goethe und Tolstoi," MK/FB, 113, p. 217.
- ²⁷ "Beschäftigung mit den 'Schlesischen Liedern' von Petr Bezruč," *Tagebücher 1937-1939*, p. 118.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 869; cf. p. 677.

- ²⁹ (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 13.
- ³⁰ *Exempla Classica*, 13 (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1960), p. 484. Subsequent quotations are from pp. 488, 491, 493, 494, 498, 501, 502, 503, 504, 509.
- ³¹ *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, The Virginia Edition, ed. James A. Harrison (New York, 1902; rpt. 1965), III, p. 284.
- ³² Best survey to date in Gerhard Hoffmann, "Edgar Allan Poe and German Literature," *American-German Literary Interrelations*, ed. Wecker, pp. 52-104.
- ³³ Franz H. Link, *Edgar Allan Poe, Ein Dichter zwischen Romantik und Moderne* (Frankfurt-Bonn: Athenäum, 1968).
- ³⁴ *Tagebücher 1937-1939*, pp. 47, 577.
- ³⁵ Poe's "there was a long tumultuous shouting sound like the voice of a thousand waters," the next to last sentence of the story, echoes Rev. i.15, and xiv.2. The preceding "blood-red moon" passage points to Rev. vi.12.
- ³⁶ This motif is sounded in the very first paragraph of the short story.
- ³⁷ MK/FB, 113, p. 121.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ³⁹ MK/FB, 119, p. 179.
- ⁴⁰ *Der Wendepunkt*, p. 129.
- ⁴¹ *Tagebücher 1933-1934*, p. 164.
- ⁴² *Tagebücher 1937-1939*, p. 429. Cf. pp. 813, 814.
- ⁴³ *Tagebücher 1933-1934*, p. 166. Cf. p. 164 ("Mittwoch den 20. VIII. 33'): "Von Fischer kamen bestellte Bücher: Don Quixote und die schöne, sechsbändige Poe-Ausgabe des Propyläen-Verlages. Ich suchte die scharfsinnig-phantastische Geschichte von der 'Sphinx' und las sie K[atia] und ihrer Cousine vor. Las dann für mich Weiteres."
- ⁴⁴ "Dankrede bei der Verleihung des Ehrendoktors der Universität Princeton," (May 18, 1939), *Tagebücher 1937-1939*, p. 902. See also note 66.
- ⁴⁵ *Tagebücher 1940-1943*, p. 340.
- ⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 353.
- ⁴⁷ MK/FB, 115, p. 17.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 377.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York: Scribner's, 1946), XX, 352-53.
- ⁵¹ MK/FB, 116, pp. 74, 362, 395.
- ⁵² *Tagebücher 1918-21*, see Index, sub Wilson (around 40 references); *Thomas Mann an Ernst Bertram: Briefe aus den Jahren 1910-1955* (Pfullingen: Neske, 1960), p. 80. *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (see note 72), II, pp. 246, 251, 252, 254.
- ⁵³ *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien*, 5 (1960), 66-120.
- ⁵⁴ MK/FB, 117, pp. 77-93.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.
- ⁵⁶ MK/FB, 118, pp. 227-28; cf. *Tagebücher 1940-1943*, pp. 1041-42; cf. Index, sub Wilson, p. 1198.
- ⁵⁷ Thomas Mann, *Gesammelte Werke* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974), X, 626-27.
- ⁵⁸ MK/FB, 117, p. 128.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 117.
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 120.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- ⁶² MK/FB, 119, p. 408. But cf. *Tagebücher 1918-1921*, p. 646, and *Tagebücher 1935-1936*, p. 419.
- ⁶³ MK/FB, 119, p. 121.
- ⁶⁴ *Tagebücher 1933-1934*, p. 268.
- ⁶⁵ MK/FB, 118, p. 10.
- ⁶⁶ "Ansprache bei der Verleihung des 'Cardinal Newman Award'" *Tagebücher 1937-1939*, p. 872.
- ⁶⁷ MK/FB, 119, p. 409.
- ⁶⁸ Joel A. Hunt, "Mann and Whitman: Humaniores Litterae," *Comparative Literature*, 14 (1962), 266-71.
- ⁶⁹ MK/FB, 113, p. 350.
- ⁷⁰ *Tagebücher 1933-1934*, p. 436.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁷² *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, p. 799. He was president of the U.S. PEN Club. See Mann's letter to him (June 6, 1940), *Die Briefe Thomas Manns: Regesten und Register*, ed. Hans Bürgin and Hans-Otto Mayer, II, 1934-1943 (Frankfurt, 1980), p. 418. See also *Der Wendepunkt*, p. 470.

⁷³ *Der Wendepunkt*, pp. 402-03.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 455, 470, 481, 513. Golo Mann, "Erinnerungen an meinen Bruder Klaus," in Klaus Mann, *Briefe und Antworten*, II, p. 337.

⁷⁵ *Der Wendepunkt*, pp. 263-66.

⁷⁶ *Tagebücher* 1935-1936, pp. 406-08. The year before he had read *Der Geisterseher*. See *ibid.*, pp. 75, 79.

⁷⁷ *Tagebücher* 1937-1939, pp. 363, 364, 365.

⁷⁸ As for a Black couple in the Manns' Princeton household see Katia Mann, *Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1974; Fischer Taschenbuch, 1976), p. 121. As regards "Gussy," a Black help, see *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, Index, p. 1142.

⁷⁹ MK/FB, 115, p. 262.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

⁸² Galinsky (see note 19), pp. 364-70.

⁸³ *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, September 15, 1943, p. 626, mention Herman Shumlin's screen adaptation of Hellman's play *Watch on the Rhine* (1941).

⁸⁴ MK/FB, 119, p. 104; 113, p. 350. *Tagebücher* 1937-1939, p. 210, 1940-1943, pp. 374, 523. *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (see note 72) list one letter each for 1936-38 and 1940, three for 1942, one for 1943.

⁸⁵ *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, pp. 368, 374, 523.

⁸⁶ *Tagebücher* 1935-1936, p. 321; 1937-1939, pp. 54, 186, 222, 224.

⁸⁷ James Woodress, *Willa Cather, Her Life and Art* (New York: Pegasus, 1971), p. 254.

⁸⁸ *Criterion*, 12 (1932-33), 549-70.

⁸⁹ *Die Briefe Thomas Manns*, June 19, 1940, mention a letter to Agar.

⁹⁰ *Twentieth Century Authors*, ed. Stanley J. Kunitz and Howard Haycraft (New York: Wilson, 1942), p. 11; (1st Suppl. 1955), p. 7.

⁹¹ "(Radio-Botschaft nach Australien)," *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, p. 1080-81.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 1081.

⁹³ For references see *Tagebücher* 1935-1936 through 1940-1943; see also *Die Briefe Thomas Manns* (14 letters from 1936 through 1943).

⁹⁴ Rpt. in *Tagebücher* 1940-1943, pp. 1089-93.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 591.

⁹⁶ Wolfgang Leppmann, "Der Amerikaner im Werke Thomas Manns," *German Quarterly*, 38 (1965), 619-29; rpt. in *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild*, ed. Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim-New York: Olms, 1977), pp. 390-400.

⁹⁷ Thomas Mann, *Sämtliche Erzählungen* (Frankfurt: Fischer, 1963), p. 709.

⁹⁸ Carl F. W. Behl, "Das gefährliche Alter," *Deutsche Rundschau*, 80 (1954), 86-88. Affinities with *The Glass Menagerie*—the four-person constellation consisting of mother, daughter, son, and visitor, the physically handicapped daughter, the mother-daughter relationship—should not be overlooked. See Katia Mann, *Meine ungeschriebenen Memoiren*, p. 91, as for the source of *Die Betrogene*.

⁹⁹ *Briefe und Antworten*, II, p. 139.

Paul Schach

Phonetic Change in German Dialects on the Great Plains¹

One of the most intriguing and significant aspects of the study of ethnic speech enclaves is the fact that these language islands enable us to observe various kinds of linguistic change at first hand. We can, for example, trace the process of lateral accommodation and compromise that occurs when individuals or communities with incompatible dialects need to communicate. We can also study the vertical influence of the standard language (in both its formal written and informal spoken forms) on the dialects of the enclaves. We can consider a wide variety of problems, including code switching and interference, associated with bidialectalism and bilingualism. Most of the linguistic changes directly observable in speech islands have parallels in the homeland that are recorded in histories and reflected in dialect geographies of the language. A major difference between linguistic change in the home country and in transplanted dialects is the length of time involved. Changes that seemingly required centuries in the place of origin can occur within a generation or two in speech enclaves. Thus it seems obvious that the spacial distribution of linguistic phenomena in the home country can be related to changes on the diachronic plane in language islands and vice versa.²

Remnants of the many German dialects once spoken on the Great Plains still provide opportunities for the application of dialect geography to linguistic history. Especially intriguing are the twice- or repeatedly transplanted German dialects that came to the Great Plains by way of the Volga, the Black Sea region, and other areas of eastern Europe. In those cases where the German homelands of such Great Plains dialects are known, it is possible to trace linguistic change over a period of two centuries. One of the few German colonies on the Volga for which we have information regarding the provenience of the settlers is Balzer. It was partly for this reason that we chose the Balzer dialect as spoken in Lincoln, Nebraska as one of the first German dialects to be studied.³

The colony of Balzer was located about eight miles west of the Volga and about sixty miles south of the provincial capital Saratov. Established in 1765, Balzer had a population of 11,556 in 1926. The official name was Golyj Karamysch. Its German designation, like those of most German colonies on the

Volga, derived from the name of the first mayor, Balzer Barthuly, whose place of origin is variously given as Essen and Hesse. The latter is evidently correct since the main street, on which he and his descendants lived, was named Hessen Straße.⁴ According to an *Immigrantenliste* for the years 1765-67 eleven of the colonists were "aus: Düdelsheim/Isenburgischen [sic]," forty-six "aus: Isenburgischen [sic]," twenty from the Palatinate, and the remaining sixteen from elsewhere.⁵ Another source includes colonists for the year 1768, bringing to 246 the number of immigrants "from Issenburg, Hessen [sic]," which was incorrectly identified with Neu-Isenburg near Frankfurt/Main.⁶

There are cogent reasons for assuming that the geographical area referred to was the territory of the Count of Isenburg/Büdingen and that most of the Balzer colonists came from the city and the environs of Büdingen. A glance at the map of Hesse prepared by Karl Stumpp reveals that whereas there was little emigration from the Frankfurt area, Hessians were lured to Russia from dozens of communities north, west, and south of Büdingen.⁷ The reason for this is obvious. The Russian emigration agent Facius, who was expelled from Frankfurt in 1766, was warmly welcomed in Büdingen, where "the Russian commissioner enrolled and shipped away thousands of subjects" from the surrounding areas.⁸ Further confirmation is provided by a "Verzeichnis der Aus- und Einwanderer" from Hesse to the Volga that lists over one hundred emigrants from the city and over two hundred from the district of Büdingen as well as dozens who were married in the *Kreisstadt* prior to emigration.⁹

Since about three fourths of the Balzer colonists came from this locality, we should expect our Lincoln "Balzerer," as they choose to identify themselves, to speak some form of Central Hessian and thus to say [aɪç saɪn] for *ich bin*, [kent] for *Kind*, and [lɔit] and [mɔit] for *Leute* and *müde* (<MHG *iu* and *üe*). Further primary features of Central Hessian are the raised midvowels, as in [ʃni:] *Schnee* and [ru:t] *rot* (<MHG *ē/ō*) and the "tumbled diphthongs," as in [leip] *lieb* and [brɔudɐ] *Bruder* (<MHG *ie/uo*).¹⁰ We have recorded all of these forms at various times and places on the Great Plains, but only a few of them from the lips of our Balzer speakers.

These informants, who had attended schools in Balzer in which the languages of instruction were German and Russian, immigrated to Nebraska as adults after World War I. The earliest interviews (1955-56) were conducted in Standard German, but the stimulus words and phrases were presented in English in the hope of minimizing Standard-German influence. This stratagem was not overly successful, partly because the English terms frequently had to be explained and partly because our Balzerer, like most Volga-German speakers, felt ill at ease in responding in dialect to interrogators speaking Standard German. Subsequent interviews, in which only dialect was spoken, elicited more Balzer-German and fewer Standard-German responses. Several other factors may well have been involved in the fact that our latest efforts (1978-83) were more successful. Because of the discontinuance of German church services, the disappearance of German newspapers, and the decline in correspondence with German relatives abroad, our Lincoln Balzerer would naturally revert more and more to dialect.

As indicated above, Balzer German as spoken in Lincoln, Nebraska, has retained few of the primary features of Central Hessian. Our speakers all said [hɛŋgəl] for [hɪŋgəl] *Huhn*, but this is the only Balzer word we recorded in

which a short high front Middle High German front vowel (*i*, *ü*) is reflected by [ɛ]. The fact that the English loanword *store* is pronounced [ʃdu:ɐ] suggests that the raised Middle High German *ō* had not completely disappeared at the time of immigration. Furthermore Georg Dinges reported [ʃdoiljə] *Fußbank* (*Stühlchen*) from the colony for the year 1931. For the previous year he reported [bɛtlɔ:rə] *Bettstelle*. In a "Schwank" or anecdote recorded by Dinges in Balzer about ten years earlier we find such Central Hessian forms as *Kend* for *Kind*, *frou* for *fragt*, *aich* for *ich*, *su* for *so*, and *wei* for *wie*.¹¹ My most recent Balzer informant, however, who left Russia at the age of ten, cannot recall ever hearing any words pronounced in that manner. The discrepancy is more apparent than real. "Schwänke" are usually related by elderly people in what my Indian informants call the "deep, old" language. And, as we shall see, there was no reason for all the Balzer colonists to abandon their ancestral tongue completely. As Dinges has shown, two dialects could and did persist in a given colony, especially in a large one like Balzer.¹²

Except for the fact that Balzer German lacks rounded front vowels, the vocalism of this dialect closely resembles that of Standard German. The five *ē/e* phones of Middle High German have coalesced into the two phonemes /e:/ and /ɛ/, which are realized as [e:] and [ɛ]. (Schwa will be assigned to the /e/ phoneme.) The long vowels /i: o: u:/ are also higher and more tense than the short series /i o u/. /a:/ and /a/ are realized as [ɑ:] and [ɑ]. The diphthongs are /ai/ and /au/. /oi/ occurs in only a few words, which can be regarded as Standard German loans. The almost complete absence of /oi/ seems all the more remarkable when we recall that /oi/ was the reflex of Middle High German *üe* as well as *iu* in the original Central Hessian dialects of Balzer.

The vocalism of Balzer German can be exemplified by the following words: /fri:/ *früh*, /ʃdig/ *Stück*, /se:e/ *sehen*, /rexd/ *recht*, /sa:xe/ *sagen*, /fale/ *fallen*, /kob/ *Kopf*, /ro:d/ *rot*, /pund/ *Pfund*, /bru:der/ *Bruder*, /laid/ *Leute*, and /haus/ *Haus*. Doublets in our Balzer recordings are quite numerous. Typical examples are /ned/—/nix/ *nicht*, /ko:der/—/ka:der/ *Kater*, /ʃo:f/—/ʃa:f/ *Schaf*, /ha:m/—/haim/ *heim*, /a:xe/—/auxen/ *Augen*, /pund/—/fund/ *Pfund*, /vaiver/—/vaiber/ *Weiber*, /duvag/—/tabag/ *Taback*, /kume/—/komen/ *kommen* and /gekend/—/gekan/ *gekannt*. The first word of each doublet is a dialect form; the second approximates Standard German. During interviews informants frequently made such comments as "we say [ʃo:f], but [ʃa:f] is 'better' German." Such doublets and words that have no Standard German cognates enable us to reconstruct an earlier form of Balzer German that we might label the "replacement" language for the original Central Hessian dialects. The form /fund/ for *Pfund* is perhaps best explained as one of the East Middle German loans such as are found sporadically in Hessian dialects, where West Germanic *p-* has otherwise remained unshifted.

The reasons for the (partial) replacement of Central Hessian in Balzer are obvious. Because of the scarcity of agricultural land Balzer soon became an industrial and trading colony—indeed, the leading German commercial center on the west bank of the Volga in the entire Saratov district. Mills, factories, and foundries flourished. A specialty of Balzer was *sarpinka* (a kind of gingham made from dyed fibers), enormous quantities of which were produced in this colony. This industry, in turn, financed the founding of mills to transform the chief agricultural product of the colonies, wheat, into flour, a major source of

export and income.¹³ In order to communicate with buyers and sellers from many colonies, Balzer manufacturers had to learn to employ a form of language that was mutually acceptable and understandable. Farmers, craftsmen, and others who had little contact with the outside world could, of course, continue to speak their ancestral tongue. The transition from Central Hessian to the Volga *Umgangssprache*, a form of Rhenish Franconian, was quite simple: speakers avoided the primary Central Hessian features—phonetic and lexical—by substituting individual words from Rhenish Franconian. At first blush this may seem like speculation, but a similar, albeit less comprehensive, development occurred in the Hessian dialects from the villages of Kraft, Herzog, and Frank in the Volga settlement area (recorded in Kansas in 1982). In the Kraft dialect, for example, the raised midvowels occur sporadically, as in [vi:ə] for *weh*; but [ksi:] *gesehen*, which has been retained in the dialects of Herzog and Frank, has been replaced in the Kraft dialect by [kse:ə]. In none of these dialects, however, did I find relics of tumbled diphthongs or [ɔi] as a reflex of Middle High German *üe*.¹⁴ Furthermore Dinges and Schirmunski reported on several other villages along the Volga in which Hessian and Swabian dialects underwent radical vocalic changes through the influence of Rhenish Franconian and Standard German.¹⁵ The consonants and the remaining vowels and diphthongs of the original dialects were so similar to those of Rhenish Franconian that they caused no difficulty in communication. As the pressure of Standard German grew—through the influence of the village schools, the churches, and (since 1874) the newspapers—Central Hessian/Rhenish Franconian bidialectalism yielded to Rhenish Franconian/Standard German bidialectalism. The dialect spoken by our Lincoln Balzerer is essentially Rhenish Franconian with Standard German interference that varies somewhat from one individual to another and from one occasion to another.

By contrast, in relatively isolated farming villages the Central Hessian dialects of the colonists could be preserved. Our Norka speakers in Nebraska, for example, have retained the primary features of Central Hessian to this very day. They are especially teased by speakers of other dialects for their pronunciation of [kɔi] *Kühe*, [fɔis] *Füsse*, [frɔi] *früh*, [grɔi] *grün*, [sɔis] *süß*, etc.¹⁶

About two years after the completion of our initial study of Balzer German an analysis of the phonology and morphology of Amana German appeared in print.¹⁷ This dialect is spoken in seven villages that comprise the Amana Community of the True Inspiration, located eighteen miles southwest of Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The Amana Community was founded in 1853 by Germans who emigrated in 1843. The ancestors of the Amana-German speakers came from a region of central Hesse bordered by Büdingen, Gelnhausen, and Hanau. Their ancestral dialects must therefore have been very similar to those of the Balzerer. Amana German has retained fewer phonetic features of Central Hessian and fewer Hessian lexical items than Balzer German. The phonology, especially the vocalism, of the two dialects is almost identical, as a comparison of the following forms with those given for Balzer German will show: /li:b/, /fdig/, /se:en/, /rexd/, /sa:xen/, /falen/, /kopf/, /ro:d/, /pfund/, /bru:dr/, /nai/, /laid/, and /auxen/. According to Reed and Wiese, /oi/ is marginal, occurring only in a few words such as /boime/ *Bäume* that are occasionally used instead of /baime/. I follow Reed and Wiese in writing /pf/, although this phoneme is realized as [ph].

On the mistaken assumption that I could elicit more "genuine" Amana-German dialect forms than Reed and Wiese had done, I attempted to conduct interviews in several of the Amana villages in a form of Rhenish Franconian acquired during several years of studying Rhenish-Franconian dialects. The attempt was not productive. My informants had difficulty understanding my dialect and responded with their "best" Standard German. Instead of saying [dʊəft], [bʊəfdə], and [drebə] for *Durst*, *Bürste*, and *Treppe* they said [dʊəst], [bʊəsda] and [trebə]. Like the Balzerer, most speakers of Amana German have two "levels" of language. One is used for casual conversation among themselves, the other for singing, reading aloud, and for speaking to tourists or intruders like myself. The former sounds like *Rheinhessisch* or Rhenish Franconian, the latter like an old-fashioned form of Standard German with occasional Hessian words or phrases.

How could the Central Hessian dialects spoken by the ancestors of the Amana people be so radically transformed in such a short period of time? Reed and Wiese emphasize the influence of written Standard German and consider the possibility of premigration lateral influence from Swabian for the articulation of /ai/ as [ɔi]. Kurt Rein distinguishes between /ai/ and /oi/ and considers the latter to be a relic from Central Hessian (and thus a reflex of Middle High German *iu*). He also posits influence from an "earlier variant of a super-regional Hessian *Umgangssprache*" as well as from written Standard German.¹⁸ This *Umgangssprache* was similar to, but not identical with, the city dialect of Frankfurt/Main. Thus the phonological changes in the Balzer- and Amana-German dialects would have been caused by similar vertical forces, but these forces would have been operative in Russia following the first migration in the case of Balzer German and in Germany before emigration in the case of Amana German. Furthermore, lateral influence from neighboring villages must have been significant in the transformation of Balzer German, although less decisive than the vertical influence of Rhenish Franconian and Standard German.

Another Great Plains dialect for which we know the homeland is the so-called "Swiss Mennonite" or "Schweizerisch," spoken in Moundridge, Kansas, and Freeman, South Dakota.¹⁹ The misnomer "Schweizerisch" stems from the fact that the ancestors of these Mennonites originally came from the canton of Bern, Switzerland. Their home was in the northern Palatinate, however, from 1670 until 1797, when they proceeded by stages to Volhynia. During their stay in Germany their High Alemannic Bernese was replaced—virtually completely, as it seems—by a Palatine dialect. The immigration to the United States occurred in 1874. The only obvious Alemannic feature in Volhynian Mennonite German today is the diminutive ending /li/, which it shares, however, with many other Palatine dialects in Germany and on the Great Plains.

The vocalism of Volhynian Mennonite German is very similar to that of Balzer German and Amana German. The two *e* phonemes are /e:/ and /e/, realized as [e:] and [e]. Vowel length is phonemic, and long vowels are somewhat higher and more tense than the corresponding short ones. The lowering of short vowels before *r* plus consonant is not as marked as in most Palatine dialects on the Great Plains. The phoneme variant [æ:] occurs only before *r* in words like [hæ:r] *her* and [væ:r] *wer*. Instead of being reduced to [ə], short vowels retain their phonetic value in pretonic position, so that *gelesen* is pronounced [ge'le:s]. The formation of the past participle with loss of final *-en* is

a characteristic feature of Palatine dialects in the areas in which these Mennonites lived in Germany.

In the consonant system, however, Volhynian Mennonite German deviates considerably from Balzer German and Amana German and from the Palatine dialects their ancestors spoke two centuries ago. In the first place, /r/ is pronounced as a weak apical alveolar trill in all positions and is seldom vocalized or assimilated as in Palatine dialects generally. (This articulation of /r/ is not uncommon, however, among Hessian dialects on the Great Plains.) In voiced surroundings the stops *b*, *d*, *g* become slightly voiced and in intervocalic position are spirantized, so that Kurt Rein could designate them as *lenes aspiratae*.²⁰ Thus *Abend* is pronounced [o:bhət] or [o:bβət] instead of [o:βət], as generally in Palatine dialects. There is no evidence of *d*-rhotacism. Either this sound shift occurred in the German homeland after emigration from the Palatinate, as I once attempted to demonstrate, or the stop has subsequently been restored, as Rein is inclined to assume.²¹ In the treatment of -*g*- Volhynian Mennonite German also deviates markedly from Palatine dialects generally. Whereas -*g*- (as [gh] or [gʏ]) is retained in Volhynian Mennonite German regardless of the preceding vowel, it appears as a spirant or completely disappears in Palatine dialects, where we find such forms as [li:jə], [li:çə], and [li:ə] for *liegen* and [a:yə], [a:xə], and [a:ə] for *Augen*.

Although the vowel system of Volhynian Mennonite German is similar to those of Balzer German and Amana German, there are a few individual sounds that are intriguing. In Volhynian Mennonite German the first person singular of *haben* is /hab/ and the common plural is /hen/. We should expect /hun/ in both cases. In northern Palatine dialects Middle High German *ei* is reflected by /a:/. The Moundridge variant of Volhynian Mennonite German has /e:/, and the Freeman variant has /ai/ as in Standard German. The Palatine reflex of Middle High German *ou* is a long vowel, realized variously as [a:], [æ:], and [ɑ:]. In Volhynian Mennonite German as in Standard German it appears as /au/.

How are these consonantal and vocalic deviations to be explained? The pronunciation of /r/ as a trill in all positions and the retention of full vowels in pretonic position appear to be "reading" pronunciations, i.e., attempts to speak "mehr der Schrift nach." /e:/ as a reflex of Middle High German *ei* and the deviant *haben* forms could represent vertical influence from an early Palatine *Umgangssprache*. /ai/ as a reflex of Middle High German *ei* could be a survival of Alsatian—one contingent of emigrants to Volhynia came via Alsace and Montbéliard—fortified by Standard German. The treatment of -*b*- and -*g*- could also represent an effort on the part of the speakers of Volhynian Mennonite German to imitate Standard German. In eastern Europe they were variously in contact with Hutterites, who spoke Upper German, and with West Prussian Mennonites, who spoke Low German. With both of these groups communication was possible only in Standard German. Furthermore, there were German villages in Galicia and Volhynia in which only Standard German was spoken. Even today there is a certain amount of Standard German interference in the speech of many of these Mennonites despite the fact that German schools and German church services were discontinued at the time of World War I.

Since our first Balzerer spoke little English, there was little trace of English influence in their speech. The English loanwords were well incorporated into their Balzer-German sound system. In Amana German and Volhynian Men-

nonite German, however, English influence is quite noticeable, especially in the articulation of the /l/. In both dialects the alveolar [l] has either been replaced by the American retroflex [ɭ] or else, if retained, is accompanied by a simultaneous raising of the back of the tongue. In either case the auditory impression is similar: the /l/ sounds "dark" as opposed to the "light" alveolar /l/ pronounced with the tongue not raised toward the velum.

Whereas the substitution of the American lateral for the German one is quite general, the substitution of the American retroflex [ɭ] for the German apico-alveolar trill [r] is only sporadic. It occurs more often in final position than initially, and more generally among young speakers than among older ones. This intrusion of the American *r* is not unusual in German dialects spoken in this country by bilinguals. It is not uncommon on the Great Plains to hear English spoken with a German accent (usually unvoicing of voiced consonants, especially in final position) and German spoken with an English accent (principally substitution of [ɬ] and [ɸ] for [l] and [r]). In addition to these two kinds of sound substitution, we occasionally find plurals formed by the addition of -s by analogy to English. On the other hand many individuals speak their native German dialect and English, which they acquired in school, with little or no trace of phonetic interference from their other language. Surprisingly enough, some of these bilinguals pronounce what little Standard German they know—prayers, songs, Bible verses, sentences from the catechism—with excruciatingly perfect English sound substitution. We shall return to this question presently.

In marked contrast to Amana German and Volhynian Mennonite German, in which English phonetic influence was largely confined to the replacement of two German phones by their English equivalents, several Low German dialects have undergone major modification of their vowel systems under the influence of English. The dialects Eastphalian and East Frisian are spoken in Gage County, south of Lincoln. The informants were second- and third-generation descendants of settlers who emigrated from the region of Hermannsburg in the southern part of the Lüneburger Heide and from two communities in East Frisia, Grossefehn and Moorlage, during the early 1880s. These two Low German dialects were studied by Jan E. Bender, who has spoken both Eastphalian and East Frisian since childhood.²²

The pronunciation of Nebraska Eastphalian is less crisp, more relaxed, than that of the dialect in the homeland. Thus [pɛ:bə] *Pfeffer* is pronounced [pɛ::bə], with marked lengthening of the radical vowel. [bla:s] *blaß* becomes [bla:s], and [zɔlt] *Salz* is sometimes pronounced [zɔ::lt]. In addition to lengthening, short vowels have undergone opening. The locus of articulation has moved backward, possibly under the influence of the American retroflex or velar [ɭ], which has supplanted the German alveolar [l]. Whereas the phonemes /a/ and /a:/ are realized in Germany as [æ] and [a:], they are pronounced [a] and [ɑ:] in Nebraska. Long vowels (or short vowels followed by long continuants) sometimes are diphthongized, so that [vɛ:n] *gewesen* becomes [vɛ:ən], [fɛl:n] *Feld* becomes [fɛa:n], and [smø:kn̩] *rauchen* becomes [smœøk̩n̩].

Other changes that are characteristic of the Nebraska variant of the Eastphalian dialect are the simplification of consonant clusters and the loss of final consonants, especially those that do not occur in English. Two doublets recorded by one and the same informant will illustrate the first type of sound change: [vɛ:zn̩]—[vɛ:n] *sein* or *gewesen*, and [nax̩ŋs]—[naxs] *nachts*. /g/ and

/x/ are frequently dropped in final position: [fələ:ə] *vielleicht*, [gəneo] *genug*, and [neefiri] *neugierig*. Both kinds of consonant loss are illustrated by [tʃɪni] for [tʃɪndɪç] *zwanzig*.

In the homeland the Eastphalian dialect underwent an equally comprehensive change in its sound system under the influence of Standard German. [ʀ], imported from Standard German, now occurs in free variation with the native [r], as do [β] and [v] when preceded by /t/, /k/, and /ʃ/: [tvi:ç] *Zweig*, [kvap] *Kaulquappe*, and [ʃvesdə] *Schwester*. Formerly only [β] occurred following these three consonants. As we saw above, the /a/ is realized as [æ], which Bender attributes to the influence of Standard German. Whereas vowels in the Nebraska variant of Eastphalian tend to be lengthened, lowered, and sometimes diphthongized, the opposite tendency is noticeable in Germany under the strong influence of Standard German. Unless there is a sudden powerful renaissance of Eastphalian, it will soon disappear, since many parents in the Hermannsburg area no longer teach their children their ancestral dialect.

In East Frisia, on the other hand, Low German is spoken by young and old alike, and Standard German is used only when absolutely necessary. Despite the fact that East Frisians speak Standard German with massive sound substitution from their dialect, however, the speech of younger speakers shows some Standard German influence. Whereas old East Frisian triphthongs have been preserved in Nebraska and by the oldest dialect speakers in Germany, they are pronounced as diphthongs by the youngest generation under the influence of Standard German. By contrast, diphthongization of vowels in the Nebraska variant has occurred under English influence. This divergence can be illustrated by the following words: [ɔ:bm] vs. [ɔ:obm] *Ofen*, [pɛ:pə] vs. [pɛepə] *Pfeffer*, [vɔ:ət] vs. [vɔəəd] *Wort*, and [ʃβɔ:ə] vs. [ʃβɔə] *schwer*.

Through English influence there has also been a general lengthening of vowels, as illustrated by the following words: [is]—[i:s] *Eis*, [hus]—[hu:s] *Haus*, [fi:f]—[fi::f] *fünf*, and [twɔlf]—[twa:lf] *zwölf*. Among younger speakers of East Frisian in Germany the offglide of short vowels tends to disappear under the influence of Standard German, diphthongs become monophthongized, and, as already noted, triphthongs are reduced to diphthongs. Among American speakers as well as older German speakers the diphthongs too have been preserved. Typical examples are [blɔ:dn]—[blɔ:odn] *Blätter*, [bɛ:tə]—[bɛ:etə] *besser*, [lɔ:f]—[lœɔf] (*ich*) *glaube*, and [zœ::m]—[zœ:əm] *sieben*. Through English influence the initial voiced sibilant has been unvoiced.

There are good reasons for believing that the vocalic changes in the Nebraska variant of East Frisian caused by influence from English are primarily third-generation phenomena, just as the vocalic differences in the speech of younger persons in East Frisia represent recent sound substitutions from Standard German. My earliest notes on the East Frisian of Nebraska, which date from 1940, reflect the speech habits of the mid 1920s—that is, the language of East Frisian immigrants and their children. My informant, Dr. Gerjet Memming, came to the United States from East Frisia in 1925 at the age of twenty-one. He worked as a *Knecht* on East Frisian farms in Nebraska for several years before beginning to study English in preparation for college. Although not a dialectologist, Memming held a doctoral degree in Germanic philology and was a specialist in East Frisian folktales, which he collected during summer visits to Germany. Through his fieldwork in the area of the folktale, he was thoroughly

acquainted with geographical and generational differences in the dialect of his native province. During his first two years in Nebraska, Memming heard little or no English spoken among his East Frisian friends and relatives. The only phonetic aberration he noted in the East Frisian of Nebraska was a tendency to "confuse" /d/ and /r/ in medial and final position.

Bender, however, observed numerous consonantal replacements in the speech of his third-generation East Frisian informants. Frequently such substitutions are reciprocal. Whereas /f/ replaces /g/ in [zɛ:ɛf] *Ziege*, /g/ replaces /f/ in [a:ʏ] *Erbse*. Similarly /kŋ/ stands for /tn/ in [haɛrɔ:kŋ] *heiraten*, but /tn/ for /kŋ/ in [tɔotn joə] *nächstes Jahr*. /m/ and /ŋ/ are mutually replaceable as in [vy:əŋ] *Würmer* and [zɛ:dəm] *Zeitung*, and so are the liquids, as in [haɔəl] *Eber* and [i:shœkər] *Eiszapfen*—the latter only before initial vowels.

Another reason for assuming that the vowel shifts and the consonantal aberrations in the Nebraska variants of these two Low German dialects are third-generation phenomena is the fact that there are so many doublets, especially in Eastphalian. One and the same individual will use the received form and the form with consonant substitution. Typical examples are [a:fn] beside [a:fn] *Erbsen*, [teegŋ] beside [teedn] *ziehen*, [eegŋ] beside [eɛdn] *eins*, and [zu:bm] vs. [zu:gŋ] *saugen*, whereby associative interference from [zu:bm] *saufen* seems to have been involved. Similarly the substitution of [brɛ::n] for [brɛ::ŋ] *Gehirn* was apparently influenced by English *brain*.

Whereas the vocalic divergence in these two Low German dialects is due primarily to the vertical influence of Standard German and English respectively, the consonantal aberrations, according to Bender, are the result of not hearing correctly and of not having incorrect pronunciations corrected. To this explanation might be added the observation that cohesive East Frisian and Eastphalian speech communities no longer exist. The dialects are spoken by scattered individuals and families, whose neighbors speak only English or perhaps English and a Low German dialect quite different from their own. Even during the time when this area of Gage County was popularly known as "Little Germany," Eastphalian and East Frisian speakers were surrounded and outnumbered by Germans who spoke different dialects of Low German. The greatest number spoke *Niedersächsisch* 'Low Saxon.' The dissolution of the speech communities is reflected by the disintegration of the languages under the crushing weight of English. Lateral influence on East Frisian and Eastphalian, both here and abroad, is demonstrable, but since it was not a major force in the sound changes discussed above, it need not be considered in detail here.

Consonantal changes similar to those which Bender mentioned have been observed elsewhere. In various Low German, and especially in Palatine and Hessian, dialects the "confusion of *d* and *r*" has consistently changed medial and final alveolar stops to apico-alveolar trills or taps. This kind of consistent change seems to be *sprachimmanent*, the result of certain habitual articulatory tendencies.²³ As already noted, the sporadic occurrence of *d*-rhotacism in German dialects from Russia raises the question of the date of this consonant shift.

Several cases of consonantal aberration have been observed in the Hutterite dialect.²⁴ Among the most interesting is the treatment of *Kuvert*, which appears variously as [ka'vɛrt], [ka'verk], and, with exchange of velar and alveolar stops, as [ta'verk]. This type of sound confusion fits Bender's category of *Hörver-*

fehlungen, which we might interpret as a combination of defective hearing and defective reproduction. It is interesting in this connection to recall Sturtevant's comment that he pronounced "*trough* as *trouth* until age thirty" and that he became aware of his faulty pronunciation "only by seeing a printed list of words with *gh* for the sound of *f*."²⁵

Rein notes some interesting doublets in Hutterite that he assigns to two different subdialects. Thus in Standard Hutterite *Geschrir*, *Geschichte*, *geschickt*, *gesund*, and *Gesicht* have the expected forms [kʃi:r], [kʃiçt], [kʃikxt], [ksunt], and [ksiçt]. In Basic Hutterite, however, the initial stop is assimilated to the sibilant, resulting in such forms as [tʃi:r], [tʃiçtlə], [tʃikxt], [tsu:nt], and [tsiçt]. Similarly final stops are assimilated to bilabial nasals, so that *bestimmt* and *kommt* become [pʃtʌmp] and [kʌmp]. How and to what extent Hutterites abandon such assimilated forms when they make the transition from the basic to the standard subsystem of their dialect remains unexplained. My own recordings of Hutterite to date come from noncommunal informants, in whose speech the distinctions reported by Rein are no longer clearly discernible.

My previous experience with German speech enclaves had not prepared me for the wide variety of bilingual-bidialectal situations I discovered on the Great Plains. "Normally" one spoke a German dialect in the home and with most members of the community. English, which was learned in school and from playmates, was used in business or social intercourse with poor, benighted outsiders who could not speak German (and thus had at best a very slim chance of getting through the Pearly Gates). Standard German was acquired in church, in school, and from older relatives. The acquisition process consisted in making minimal concessions to the written word, under constant admonitions to speak "mehr der Schrift nach." The imperfect and pluperfect indicative tenses were learned but never used in speaking. Cases had to be shifted: *gegen der Wand* became *gegen die Wand*. Some genders were changed: *der Butter*, *die Bach*, and *das Eck* became *die Butter*, *der Bach*, and *die Ecke*. Lexical substitutions were made: *sprechen* replaced *bappeln*, *schwätzen*, *reden*, *plaudern*, or *verzählen*. The trickiest aspect of this concession to the *Schriftsprache* was in the sound system. The acme of success was achieved when one could produce with a fair degree of consistency [v] instead of [β], [z-] instead of [s-], and the rounded front vowels [ø] and [y]. Unfortunately there were few occasions on which this highest possible form of High German could be displayed. In general Standard German was spoken with a rather marked Swabian or Franconian accent, which was also present, but usually to a lesser degree, in English. This, in brief, was the "normal" situation in the German enclaves with which I was familiar. Similar situations also prevail in some German language islands on the Great Plains, but not in all of them.

The most startling situation is the one alluded to above: individuals speak both English and German dialect without foreign accent but Standard German with virtually complete substitution of American phones. Three typical examples will suffice to illustrate this phenomenon. One of my chief informants for *Letzebergisch* (*Luxemburgisch*) was a delightful woman of eighty-eight who spoke her native dialect and English with equal fluency and with scarcely a trace of phonetic interference. During our third taping session she recited her daily prayer in Standard German. Although the words were German, the phones were American. The son of my first Volga-German informant speaks English

perfectly. Although his native dialect is dormant, he can produce words and phrases that are phonetically identical with the recordings of his father's dialect made thirty years ago. When he recites materials memorized from the catechism, however, he sounds like any other speaker of English for whom German is a totally foreign tongue. The last case is an American girl who was bilingual in childhood and completed the *Volksschule* and was confirmed in the Evangelical church in Heidelberg. After one year of high school and one summer of college German she had become bidialectal in German: with her American classmates she spoke as they did, and with Germans she spoke normal German.

How are such phonetic aberrations to be explained? In the first case I am inclined to believe that it was simply a matter of second-language interference. In the third case it could only have been peer pressure, a witting or unwitting desire to conform to group standards. In the second case we have both of these factors involved, reinforced by the formidable combination of background-erasure complex and adolescent rebellion against transmitted values that plagued many of us at times when *Deutschenhaft* became almost unendurable.

Deliberate modification of pronunciation and complete shift of dialect are far more frequent among German speakers on the Great Plains than I had anticipated.²⁶ This commonly occurs in childhood, and is one of the major forces leading to dialect amalgamation and the formation of *Ausgleichsmundarten*. Occasionally the speaker of a minority dialect will learn the majority dialect in order to communicate with neighbors. Not infrequently one's native dialect is abandoned in favor of that of a spouse if this is perceived to be a finer form of speech. I recorded an amusing example of this recently in North Dakota. In response to the stimulus sentence "I don't remember that any more" a woman replied [des ʁoɪs ɪç nʉmi]. Since this deviated markedly from previous responses by speakers of the local dialect, I tried to nudge my informant in the right direction by saying [mʉnɪçə sɑ:ʏə des ʁe:s ɪç nɪmi]. To this she replied that she had formerly also spoken that way; but when her husband said this dialect was [ʁi:ft] 'ugly,' she gave it up and learned to speak his.

To what extent can we determine on purely linguistic evidence the original homelands of the dialects discussed above? Both of the Low German dialects can be identified as East Frisian and Eastphalian despite the marked divergence brought about by the influence of Standard German and English, respectively. The dialect of Norka is unique in that it has retained primary characteristics of Central Hessian. It can therefore be located somewhere near Büdingen, but it cannot, of course, be identified with any local dialect (*Dorfmundart*). By contrast, Amana German and Balzer German have lost their original identity as Central Hessian dialects, and primarily under vertical influence have come to resemble, especially in their phonology, dialects spoken about one hundred miles southwest of Büdingen.

It is interesting to note that Balzer German, Amana German, and Volhynian Mennonite German share one phonetic change with each other and with virtually all Rhenish Franconian (mostly Palatine and Hessian) dialects I have recorded on the Great Plains: as in Standard German we find in these transplanted tongues the reduction of the three *e* and the two *ē* phones of Middle High German to two phonemes, /e/ and /e:/. which are usually realized as [e] and [e:]. At first blush we might be tempted to ascribe this phonetic reduction purely to influence from Standard German, but if this were so, we would be hard put to explain the fact

that many Hessian dialects, including those of Rimbach im Odenwald, Darmstadt, and Frankfurt/Main, have retained four *e* phonemes: /e e: ε ε:/.²⁷ On the other hand, the region southeast of Büdingen also reveals the same coalescence of *e* phones as Standard German and our three transplanted tongues, and in the remaining Central Hessian dialects the distinction between the reflexes of the three Middle High German *e* phones is in disarray, as a glance at maps 4-7 in Wiesinger's "Dialekte Hessens" will reveal (see note 9). In other words, the reduction of five Middle High German *e* phones to two phonemes, which occurred long ago in Balzer German and Amana German (and several centuries ago in Pennsylvania German), is now taking place in the Central Hessian dialects.

Since Standard German and many dialects get along splendidly with two *e* phonemes, the question rises as to why the other two or three were retained so long by Central Hessian and other German dialects. The answer, of course, is isolation and tradition. But the tourist trade and the need to commute to work in far places have largely overcome the former isolation and thus modified tradition in many regions of Germany. In the once isolated Rimbach only the oldest people and those who are locally employed still speak *Ourewällerisch*. Most younger people speak the regional *Umgangssprache*. In view of all this it seems quite possible that in due course the people of Büdingen will again be speaking the same language as their distant cousins, the Balzerer of Lincoln, Nebraska.

Cora Miller Connor's observation that there are no significant generational differences in the Freeman version of Volhynian Mennonite German applies also to the Moundridge version. Among the oldest speakers there is somewhat more interference from Standard German, whereas the tendency to substitute the American *r* for the apical trill is more noticeable among younger speakers.

In marked contrast to the Low German dialects investigated by Bender, the *Plautdietsch* of the Mennonite community in Henderson, Nebraska, is still a viable language that is habitually, or at least occasionally, spoken by most members of the community over the age of sixty.²⁸ Few individuals below the age of fifty can speak *Plautdietsch*, although many of them understand it rather well. English and Standard German interference is more noticeable in the lexicon than in the phonology. A major reason for the preservation of this Low German dialect for over a century in Nebraska is the fact that the large, compact community is predominantly Mennonite. The churches were the main social as well as religious centers. The Eastphalian and East Frisian communities studied by Bender simply lacked the necessary cultural focus, isolation, and "critical mass." Consequently the two languages fell into disuse when the passing of the oldest generation made the continued use of Low German unnecessary. Whereas second-generation speakers are comfortably bilingual, English is the dominant language for the third generation, and the phonology of the dialect, which is only infrequently heard and used, becomes destabilized.

Most of the instances of phonetic change discussed in this paper were sound replacements that were made on a word by word basis. In the Odenwald [fla:] and [brout] were among the first words to be replaced by Standard German forms. Older people retain the traditional pronunciation; younger people say *Fleisch* and *Brot*.²⁹ In a few isolated villages along the Volga like Norka the Central Hessian dialects could be preserved. In others, like Balzer, the language had to be accommodated to the superregional Rhenish Franconian *Um-*

gangssprache. As more and more dialect words are replaced by lexical items from Standard German or the regional *Umgangssprache*, the phonology of the language enclave is realigned. The new subsystems or series, however, are not always complete. Words that lack cognates in the *Umgangssprache* and words that are etymologically murky tend to resist replacement. But as we have seen, the dialect forms of even common words like *gesehen* can be preserved in the new *Ausgleichsmundart*.

Conversely individual Standard German forms can replace dialect forms and thus disrupt a series. A case in point is the Palatine dialect of Sutton, Nebraska, which resembles Pennsylvania German in the consistent reduction of short vowels before *r* plus consonant to /a/, realized as [a], [a], or [æ]. In this dialect, however *durch* is not pronounced [darɪç], but [durəç] with a [u] that is higher and tenser than that in Standard German. When on occasion the expected dialect form is used, the speaker is twitted for it and "corrected." The word *durch* may serve to illustrate the relationship between dialect geography and diachronic linguistics. As a glance at map five in my study of phonetic change in the Palatine dialects reveals, [darɪç] is attested for about sixty places along the Glan river from Bingen to an area southwest of Kusel. The prevailing form for the Palatinate, the Rhineland, and adjacent areas of Hesse is /dorx/. But Standard German *durch*, which is pressing in from the south and the northwest, occurs more frequently than the eighteenth-century [darɪç], which is preserved in Palatine dialects on the Great Plains. The older *a*-forms of *Durst* and *Wurst* are found in the same general area of those for *durch*, although not always in the same villages (see map four). The *o*-forms of *Durst* and *Wurst*, however, occupy a territory that is much larger and less indented than that of the *dorch* forms. In other words, the inroads of *durch* upon the dialects and the *Umgangssprachen* of the region are much stronger than those of *Durst* and *Wurst*. The reason for this seems to be the frequency with which the word *durch* occurs and the correspondingly frequently felt need of teachers to "correct" what they perceive to be substandard pronunciations.³⁰

However that may be, linguistic atlases with their relic and Standard German forms as well as isoglosses that theoretically should, but factually do not, coincide, and dialect enclaves, with their relic and Standard German forms as well as subsystems that lack perfect symmetry, tell the same story. Sound change in the language islands as well as in the homeland is a matter of sound importation on a word by word basis. The twice transplanted dialects of Balzer and Norka, both on the verge of extinction, have survived for over two centuries. Norka German has retained the primary features of its Central Hessian origins; Balzer German has lost these features, with the result that its sound system corresponds to that of Rhenish Franconian. Since our informants were all first-generation speakers, their language displayed little English influence—primarily the importation of [tʃ] as in the loanword [gəratʃ] 'garage' and the substitution of [ʈ] for [l]. The fate of Amana German was similar to that of Balzer, but both English and Standard German—primarily in the form of *Bibeldeutsch*—are stronger in the Amana colony. The complicated history of Volhynian Mennonite German in Europe has been thoroughly studied by Kurt Rein. Because of the relatively slight individual differences in the Freeman subdialect, it seems likely that a significant amount of lateral adjustment must have occurred shortly after immigration. There seems to be little phonological

difference, however, between the speech of the second and third generations. The somewhat more noticeable individual differences in the Moundridge version seems to be due to lateral influence from nearby enclaves of other German dialects.

The most remarkable sound changes brought about through English influence are those recorded by Bender for Eastphalian and East Frisian. In both dialects there was a reordering of the phonemic inventory and a shifting of the focus of articulation with lowering and opening of vowels and a tendency toward diphthongization and the retention of triphthongs. In the German homeland under the influence of Standard German the development of the sound system was diametrically opposed. The Nebraska versions of these dialects also exhibited consonantal aberrations (especially among homorganic consonants), the simplification of consonant clusters, and the loss of final consonants (especially such as do not occur in English). It seems quite likely, as Bender suggests, that the consonantal aberrations would have led to systemic changes, but this development has been cut short by the demise of these two dialects.³¹ The most remarkable fact about these and, indeed, all the phonetic changes discussed in this study, is the suddenness with which they occurred.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Lincoln, Nebraska

Notes

¹ It is a pleasure gratefully to acknowledge support from the Research Council and the Center for Great Plains Studies of the University of Nebraska and from the National Endowment for the Humanities for my study of German dialects on the Great Plains.

² See Viktor Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, 18 (1930), 113-22, 171-89, and Paul Schach, "Zum Lautwandel im Rheinpfälzischen: die Senkung von kurzem Vokal zu *a* vor *r*-Verbindung," *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*, 26 (1958), 200-22.

³ For a preliminary analysis of Balzer German see Aina Sirks, "A Study of a Nebraska-German Dialect," M.A. Thesis Univ. of Nebraska 1956.

⁴ See Hattie Plum Williams, *The Czar's Germans. With Particular Reference to the Volga Germans*, ed. Emma S. Haynes, Phillip P. Legler, and Gerda S. Walker (Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1975), p. 105.

⁵ See Karl Stumpp, *The Emigration from Germany to Russia in the Years 1763-1862* (Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1982), pp. 77-78.

⁶ See Jacob Volz, *Festschrift der Balzerer Wiedervereinigung* (Lincoln, NE: n.p., 1938), pp. 1-2.

⁷ See map 7, "Karte von Hessen mit den Orten, aus denen die Wolgadeutschen ausgewandert sind (1763-69)" (Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, n.d.).

⁸ See Hattie Plum Williams, *The Czar's Germans*, pp. 81-84.

⁹ See Karl Stumpp, *The Emigration*, pp. 117-65.

¹⁰ See Peter Wiesinger, "Die Stellung der Dialekte Hessens im Mitteldeutschen," in *Sprache und Brauchtum. Bernhard Martin zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Reiner Hildebrandt and Hans Fiebertshäuser, Deutsche Dialektographie, Vol. 100 (N. G. Elwert Verlag: Marburg, 1980), pp. 68-148.

¹¹ See Bernhard Martin, "Deutsche Wortgeographie," rpt. in *Sprache und Brauchtum*, pp. 56, 59, and Georg Dinges, "Über Unsere Mundarten," in *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde des deutschen Wolgagebiets* (Pokrowsk: Abteilung für Volksbildung des Gebiets der Wolgadeutschen, 1923), p. 75.

¹² See Matthias Hagin, "Namhafte Wolgadeutsche," in *Heimatsbuch der Deutschen aus Rußland 1973-1981*, ed. Eduard Markstädter, Matthias Hagin, and Reinhold Keil (Stuttgart: Landsmann-

schaft der Deutschen aus Rußland, 1982), p. 152, and Ernst Christmann, *Der Lautbestand des Rheinfränkischen und sein Wandel in der Mundart von Kaulbach (Pfalz)* (Speyer am Rhein: Pfälzische Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaften, 1927), pp. 1-2.

¹³ See Fred C. Koch, *The Volga Germans in Russia and the Americas from 1763 to the Present* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 62-65, and Jacob Volz, *Festschrift*, pp. 5-6, where the names of the owners of mills and factories are recorded.

¹⁴ See Paul Schach, "Observations on Palatine and Hessian Dialects on the Great Plains," in a forthcoming *Festschrift*, and Dinges, "Über unsere Mundarten," p. 67.

¹⁵ See Schirmunski, "Sprachgeschichte und Siedlungsmundarten," pp. 112-22, 179-88.

¹⁶ The Norka dialect is currently being studied by Mary Lyn Tuck of the University of Nebraska, whose doctoral dissertation is being written under the direction of Dieter Karch.

¹⁷ Carroll E. Reed and Herbert F. Wiese, "Amana German," *American Speech*, 32 (1957), 243-56.

¹⁸ See Kurt Rein, *Religiöse Minderheiten als Sprachgemeinschaftsmodelle. Deutsche Sprachinseln täuferischen Ursprungs in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik*, Beihefte NF 15 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), pp. 193-200; esp. p. 198.

¹⁹ See Cora Miller, "A Phonological and Morphological Study of a German Dialect Spoken near Freeman, South Dakota," M.A. Thesis Univ. of Nebraska 1966.

²⁰ See Rein, *Religiöse Minderheiten*, pp. 126-41.

²¹ See Schach, "Zum Lautwandel im Rheinpfälzischen," pp. 221-22 and the six linguistic maps, and Rein, *Religiöse Minderheiten*, pp. 132-34.

²² See Jan E. Bender, "Die getrennte Entwicklung gleichen Niederdeutschen Sprachgutes in Deutschland und Nebraska," Diss. Univ. of Nebraska 1970; "The Impact of English on a Low German Dialect in Nebraska," in *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains*, ed. Paul Schach (Lincoln and London: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1980), pp. 77-85; and "Consonantal Aberrations in Low German Dialects of the American West," *Selecta: Journal of the Pacific Northwest Council on Foreign Languages*, 1 (1980), 130-33.

²³ See Ernst Christmann, *Der Lautbestand des Rheinpfälzischen*, pp. 80-84.

²⁴ See Herfried Scheer, "The Hutterian German Dialect: A Study in Sociolinguistic Assimilation and Differentiation," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, 54 (1980), 229-33, and Rein, *Religiöse Minderheiten*, p. 272.

²⁵ Edgar H. Sturtevant, *Linguistic Change: An Introduction to the Historical Study of Language* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1917), p. 34.

²⁶ For interesting parallels in Swedish see Folke Hedblom, "Swedish Dialects in the Midwest: Notes from Field Research," in *Languages in Conflict*, pp. 29-47.

²⁷ See Mary K. Schmidt, "A Phonological and Morphological Study of the Dialect Spoken in Rimbach im Odenwald," M.A. Thesis Univ. of Nebraska 1965, pp. 5, 7, 15; R. E. Keller, *German Dialects. Phonology and Morphology* (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1961), p. 166; and Rein, *Religiöse Minderheiten*, p. 198.

²⁸ See Robert E. Buchheit, "Mennonite 'Plautdietsch': A Phonological and Morphological Description of a Settlement Dialect in York and Hamilton Counties," Diss. Univ. of Nebraska 1978. But note the marked individual differences (pp. 107-11), some of which resemble the phonological aberrations attested by Bender.

²⁹ See Mary K. Schmidt, "A Phonological and Morphological Study," pp. 1-3.

³⁰ See Schach, "Zum Lautwandel im Rheinpfälzischen," pp. 221-22.

³¹ See Bender, "Consonantal Aberrations," p. 133.



Lester W. J. Seifert

Some German Contributions to Wisconsin Life

It is difficult and perhaps even dangerous to write on the topic given as the title of this essay.¹ It is difficult not to degenerate into a weepy sentimentality for "the good old days," even though it must be said that many fine aspects and features that characterized the way of life of the earlier German inhabitants of Wisconsin have been irretrievably lost with the passing of time. It is dangerous, because it is so easy to fall into exaggerated praise of anything and everything even remotely connected with the Germans in Wisconsin; this trend of thought leads to such absurd conclusions as the one I once heard made about the grain-binder, a farm implement now almost obsolete: "So eine gute Erfindung muß ein Deutscher gemacht haben!" But it is very hard to believe that McCormick and Appleby are likely German names.² It is no easy task to hold a safe course between Scylla and Charybdis, to avoid the whirlpool of sentimentality and the rocks of fulsome praise. If I succeed in steering this course, my remarks may be both informative and interesting.

First, a bit of nostalgia, a little picture composed of bitter-sweet elements. The time is the end of the nineteenth century. The place is Mayville, Wisconsin, a thriving little city of roughly two thousand inhabitants located in Dodge County, approximately sixty-five miles northeast of Madison. At least eighty percent of the population is German by birth or by descent and the language of most homes and business places is naturally German, although of several varieties. The teacher of German and Latin in the Mayville High School is at that time a man born in Efferen, Germany, in 1852 whose name is Gerhard Hubert Balg.

Herr Balg spends none of his free time fishing in the East Branch of the Rock River that flows past his house, or hunting small game in the woods, fields, and marshes of the pleasant countryside around Mayville, or even playing a game of *Schafskopf* or *Skat* with a group of friends in Bachhuber's Saloon, located on the widest Main Street in all of Wisconsin. No, Herr Balg spends his free time, virtually every minute of it, bent either over his books or over sheets of paper that he has filled

with materials which must be incomprehensible to all his fellow townspeople. What Herr Balg is writing will, when finished, bear the imposing title of *A comparative glossary of the Gothic language with especial reference to English and German*. And if he ever takes a local resident into his study, such a visitor must be astonished at the books he sees—texts, grammars, and dictionaries not only of Gothic and of English and German in their various stages of development, but also of the Scandinavian languages, of Latin and its later derivatives, of Greek, Sanskrit, Lithuanian, and of several Slavic languages; all of these are cited in his *Comparative glossary*. Gerhard Balg knows a lot about a lot of languages. He had, after all, earned a Bachelor's degree at the University of Wisconsin in 1881 and a Doctor's degree in 1883 at the University of Heidelberg, where he studied chiefly with the renowned scholar Wilhelm Braune, before he settled in Mayville, Wisconsin, as a high-school teacher. It takes from 1887 to 1889 just to have the type set and to have the printing done in Mayville by Jakob Mueller on the press which the latter uses for publishing his weekly German-language newspaper, *Der Dodge County Pionier*, a newspaper published without interruption from 1872 to 1948, certainly one of the longest-lived non-English-language newspapers to be published in the United States.³

The 683-page *Comparative glossary* is indeed a monumental work, the first etymological dictionary to be done in America, as we read on page xii of Balg's "Introductory remarks" which are written in an interesting reformed spelling of English:

Considering all the difficulties under which my Glossary, the first work of its kind publisht in America, has cum into existence, as well as the deplorabl fact that in its' preparation I hav had no personal help whatever, I solicit the kind indulgence of those who use it, hoping at the same time that my humbl effort may be of sum value to the student of Germanic filology.

In 1883 Balg had already published an English translation of Wilhelm Braune's *Gotische Grammatik* and this translation saw a second edition in 1895. In the meantime, Balg's edition of the *Gothic Bible* was published in Milwaukee in 1891.⁴

In view of all this, it is safe to assume that Balg enjoyed his work with the Gothic language; so wherein do we find the bitterness mentioned at the beginning of this episode? The excellence and usefulness of his *Comparative glossary* are attested by the fact that it is often cited by Sigmund Feist in his *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, a work that captured the admittedly limited market because it is even better than Balg's work.⁵ The similarly small market for Balg's *Gothic Bible* was pre-empted in 1908 by the appearance of Wilhelm Streitberg's great edition of *Die gotische Bibel*, because the latter work contained on facing pages the Gothic text of Bishop Wulfila and a Byzantine Greek version that scholars long thought could have served as the original for the Gothic Bishop's translation,⁶ the Greek on the left and the Gothic on the right.

It is my hope that these words have raised a small monument to the memory of Gerhard Hubert Balg, a remarkable person who had the courage to follow unusual pursuits in a small rural Wisconsin community a century ago.⁷ He was a fitting intellectual successor to the so-called Latin farmers of Watertown—to the Arndts, the Borcherts, the Pieritzes, the Schleys, to mention a few by name—those highly educated fugitives from the unsuccessful German revolution of 1848 who took up land in Dodge and Jefferson counties in the 1850s and of whom it is said that they steered the plow with their right hand, while with their left they clutched an open copy of Virgil's *Georgica* in the Latin original, of course!

Were individuals like Balg and the Latin farmers merely eccentrics? Were they only the subjects of jokes or the objects of derision, when the less conspicuous members of the community gathered in homes and in churches, in places of business and in the saloons? I do not think so. There was, rather, a good deal of admiration for the talents and the high degree of education possessed by these unusual people. In my own family, for example, in which the different branches were farmers from the time they settled in Dodge County in the 1830s and 1840s, it was genuine praise to be characterized as "so gelehrt wie der Lehrer Balg."⁸

The Germans certainly had much to do with the high quality of Wisconsin's educational system from the lowest to the highest stages. It is no wonder that the people of Wisconsin in general and of Watertown in particular are proud of the fact that Margarethe Schurz began an educational institution for little children that was aptly named "ein Kindergarten,"⁹ a term that together with the institution so named has become an integral part of life in Wisconsin and in the United States. It is interesting to speculate, whether Margarethe Schurz through her *Kindergarten* didn't exert a deeper influence on America than her more famous husband, Carl Schurz. At the other end of the educational process, our colleges and universities, particularly our graduate schools, have been greatly influenced by the German model.

In the elementary schools and in the high schools of Milwaukee, Watertown, La Crosse, Sheboygan, Manitowoc, and of many other communities, German was a required subject of study until the hysterics of World War I put an end to this program. However in the Lutheran parochial school of Juneau, Wisconsin, that I attended in the 1920s, we had an hour a day of instruction given in German, consisting mostly of grammar and spelling, of singing and memorizing poetry and hymns, of reading parts of the Bible or materials based on the Bible, with smaller amounts of arithmetic and a bit of history.

The parochial elementary and secondary schools maintained by Catholic congregations, whether the parishioners be of German, Irish, or other descent, and by the German Lutherans have long occasioned heated arguments over their validity in a democratic society. Regardless of any individual's opinion, it is a fact that the number of Catholic schools has decreased in the period since World War II, while the number of such Lutheran schools has increased markedly. So successful have the latter been that other denominations, among them the Baptists

and the Seventh-Day Adventists, have established their own schools in the last three decades. These parochial schools, so strongly supported by so many Wisconsinites of German extraction, have exerted a great influence on the education and the subsequent life of large numbers of her citizens.

The subject of parochial schools leads quite naturally to the consideration of another contribution of the Germans to Wisconsin life, a contribution made mostly by north Germans in conjunction with people from the Scandinavian countries. I do not know whether there are statistics available to prove it, but I am virtually certain that a higher percentage of Wisconsin's residents belongs to Lutheran congregations than is the case in any other state of the Union with the possible exception of Minnesota. There is scarcely a city or village in Wisconsin which does not have a Lutheran church—even the rural countryside is dotted with them. At Lebanon in Dodge County, there are two fine Lutheran churches less than a half mile apart, at one time there were even three in a distance of less than two miles—silent witnesses to the intransigence of mankind that led to splits of a formerly unified congregation.¹⁰ In spite of such events, the Germans exerted a powerful influence on the Lutheran Church in Wisconsin and, through the church, on the cultural and religious atmosphere of our state.

The 1982 *Yearbook of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod*¹¹ lists 477 member congregations in Wisconsin alone. These 477 congregations support 164 elementary schools, ten high schools, two preparatory academies, one two-year college, one four-year college, and one theological seminary—all in the State of Wisconsin.¹² It can hardly be doubted that such an extensive enterprise must exert a considerable influence on the life of all Wisconsin residents. Furthermore, it must be borne in mind that these figures pertain to one group only, although, to be sure, it is the one group in which the German element is by far the strongest.

From churches and schools we go on to some secular organizations that usually combined cultural and social activities in various degrees of balance or imbalance. It has been said, whenever there are three Germans together, two of them will form some sort of organization, which, for lack of anything else, might have been a funeral club, at least until roughly 1900. Membership in such a funeral club was really a sort of insurance policy that guaranteed to provide what was considered a "decent" burial in those days. The members perhaps thought that they might just as well enjoy themselves while they waited for the inevitable to happen to them, for their meetings, especially the big annual meetings, were famous, or infamous, for the quantities of food and beer consumed.

Only in the most recent decades do the Germans seem to have lost the propensity for joining organizations. Now the various turner clubs and singing societies find it increasingly difficult to enlist enough young members to insure the continuation of their activities. Only the larger cities in the state are able to support such organizations. As far as I have been able to find out, several *Turnvereine* have survived in Milwaukee

and there are individual clubs in Madison, Watertown, Racine, Manitowoc, and Eau Claire. The *Turnhallen*, originally built for the practice of gymnastics and to house modest libraries, have gradually become dance-halls or are used for amateur theatrical performances. In the present days of interest in physical fitness, the gymnastic function is being re-introduced by some of the *Vereine* still in existence. Actually, not much is known about the history of the *Turnvereine* in Wisconsin and so it is hard to evaluate their importance; they deserve a thorough sociological investigation.

German singing societies had an enormous popularity in Wisconsin up to World War I and even until World War II. Today, as far as I know, there are only nine of these groups left—three in Milwaukee and one each in La Crosse, Madison, Manitowoc, Racine, Sheboygan, and Superior. Some of these may no longer give public recitals or concerts, but do participate as members of the massed choruses at regional *Sängerfeste*.

The earliest known organization of this kind in Wisconsin was formed in Milwaukee in 1843 under the name of "Die Beethoven-Gesellschaft" with its goal stated as the "improvement of vocal and instrumental music." Several other societies were formed in the 1840s: "Der sociale Männergesangverein," "Der deutsche Sängerverein," "Der Gesangverein," "Der Musikverein von Milwaukee." This last organization presented its 390th concert on January 23, 1900, but the date of its demise is unknown to me. There were surely others, especially in the 1850s; some of them lasted only briefly, others simply changed names. It is often difficult to uncover and follow the historical thread through the maze of organizations. Such groups as the "A Capella Chorus" and "The Orion Society," in spite of their names, received their original impetus and their sustaining force from the many professional and amateur musicians and singers among the German population of Milwaukee in particular and of Wisconsin in general. One of the longest-lived and still existent singing societies is the "Madison Maennerchor," founded in 1852; its repertory is still largely restricted to German-language songs.

It is pointless to heap up names, titles, and dates of important musicians and performances.¹³ However, for personal reasons, I must write a few words about Eugen Luening, who was born in Milwaukee in 1852 and died at Oconomowoc in 1944. As a rather precocious seventeen-year-old youth he was sent to Germany to study piano and conducting at the famous Leipzig Conservatory. Upon his return to Milwaukee in 1873, he served as conductor of the "Maennerchor" until 1877; at the same time he composed a good number of the pieces sung by the "Chor." In that year he again went to Germany for the purpose of overcoming the depression that resulted from the death of his beautiful young wife.

Luening's stay in Germany lasted two years and early in this period he became a close friend of Richard and Cosima Wagner. Many years later he recalled those days in words that I remember as being close to these: "Ich war bei den Wagners so gut wie zu Hause; ich konnte

kommen und gehen, fast wie ich wollte." When he returned to Milwaukee in 1879, he conducted the "Maennerchor," directed the "Musikverein," founded and taught in his own "Luening Conservatory of Music," and accepted many invitations to be the guest conductor for various organizations in Chicago, Cleveland, and St. Louis. From 1909 to 1912 he was a faculty member of the School of Music at the University of Wisconsin in Madison and served as the Acting Director for the academic year 1909-1910. He did not return from a leave of absence he took in the second semester of 1911-1912 for the purpose of studying and composing in Munich, Germany. He stayed there during the years of World War I for reasons that are unclear and when he came back to Wisconsin in 1919 it was to live in retirement at Oconomowoc until his death on October 18, 1944. During the ninety-two years of his life he was not only a conductor, a musical director, a piano soloist, and a teacher; he also composed songs, piano pieces, orchestral music, and a number of operas. It was an opera that brought about my all-too-brief acquaintance with him.

In the spring of 1937, when I was a senior at Northwestern College in Watertown, a friend of mine, A. Peter Wittman (now deceased), who worked at the Pabst Farms just outside Oconomowoc, suggested that we take an aged composer to dinner at a good restaurant in town. My friend Pete had been told that this composer, Eugen Luening, had composed an opera based on a German-language play written by Pete's grand-father, Wilhelm Wittmann, who had resided in Manitowoc and Sheboygan for most of his life.

At the dinner, when the question about the opera was put to Eugen Luening, he acknowledged that he did indeed write such an opera, but it had never been performed, because he was dissatisfied with his own work; out of respect for his late friend, he was still working on the score, therefore he could not comply with the younger Wittmann's request for the copy of the play. Did he, Luening, know whether the elder Wittmann had written other plays? Oh yes, he himself had read several and had picked the one most suitable for operatic treatment. Did he still have copies of these other plays? No, he had returned them to the author, before he, Luening, had gone to Munich in 1912, and Wilhelm Wittmann had died shortly thereafter.

Eugen Luening was a charming person and the dinner was a very pleasant one in spite of the fact that my late friend Pete did not get a copy of the play, or plays, which he was looking for. Still, we parted with mutual assurances that we would meet again and this seemed quite possible, for at age eighty-five Eugen Luening was hale and hearty and seemed to be in complete control of his mental faculties. However, such a meeting never came about, for shortly after the one dinner the three of us had together, Pete had to move to the Milwaukee office of Pabst Farms and I went from Northwestern College in Watertown to the University of Wisconsin. The entire matter gradually receded into my subconscious mind, where it remained until Ann Reagan asked me, if I had ever heard of a Milwaukee musician and composer named Eugen Luening. When I related this episode to her and she told me of his death

in 1944, I asked her half-jokingly, if she thought that we might now find the Wittmann play. You can imagine how unhappy I was, when she reported that Luening had burned many of his works before his death, apparently also the operatic score that he said he was still working on in 1937.¹⁴

Concerning contributions to everyday life in Wisconsin, allow me to begin at home on our family farm about half-way between the little cities of Juneau and Horicon in Dodge County. It is due to the vagaries of the early surveyors and road-builders that the land on which our farmstead is situated is part of a roughly rectangular tract of 1480 acres instead of being divided into the regulation square sections of 640 acres. On the inside of the road providing the bounds for the 1480-acre rectangle in question, in the 1920s there were ten farmsteads owned and occupied by the following families, proceeding clockwise from the farmstead of 1) Seifert, 2) Schoenemann, 3) Koepsel, 4) Zastrow, 5) Herrick, 6) Wrucke, 7) Bogda, 8) Schulz, 9) Pufahl, 10) Pufahl.¹⁵ Eight of the ten farmsteads were German. The Herricks were called Yankees, although they really came from western New York; they kept a most untidy farmstead. The Bogdas were Bohemians who chattered away in German with their friends and neighbors.

Of course, there have been many changes. Already in the 1920s, the Schoenemann farm was bought by the Blums, Germans from Swabia. The Zastrow farmstead has been razed and the land inside the rectangle is now part of the Koepsel farm. The Wruckes bought the Herrick farm. The city of Horicon has annexed most of the Bogda farm. The Schulz farm and the two Pufahl farms are in the hands of an absentee owner, who razed the one Pufahl farmstead; the families operating the combined farm live at the other two farmsteads. This is an example of an important fact: In eastern Wisconsin particularly, and also in other parts of the state where the land is especially good, the great majority of names to be read on the mailboxes is German—not as many today as fifty years ago, but still the clear majority.

If Wisconsin is indeed "America's Dairyland," then it is the Germans and their descendants who have made it so. As my uncle Otto Lichtenberg used to say: "Nur die Deutschen sind dumm genug, sich so vom Vieh festbinden zu lassen."¹⁶ It is true that dairy farming greatly restricts the going and coming of the farmer because of the regularity with which cows must be milked, if their milk-producing system is to be kept in good working order. In return, a dairy herd almost automatically assured continued fertility of the fields. All of us, I suppose, enjoy seeing a fine herd of black and white cows out on a green pasture. We owe it to the Germans that most of the Wisconsin herds consist of Holstein cattle¹⁷ rather than the Ayrshires of northern England, Scotland, and Ireland, or the Guernseys and Jerseys of southern England; moreover, once the Holsteins had been introduced, they could not be displaced even by the excellent Brown Swiss cattle.

We owe another farming practice to the Germans in that they brought along the concept of crop rotation as a means of maintaining soil fertility. The ancient Romans followed the practice of letting a field

lie fallow in cycles that varied from three to seven years, depending upon the richness of the soil, a practice that spread throughout the Roman Empire including Britain. The Germans discovered that the same, or even better results could be achieved by not planting or sowing the same crop in a field year after year, by crop rotation in the modern terminology. This method kept every field in production by eliminating the necessity for fallowing. To be sure, the Germans who settled in eastern Pennsylvania after 1683 brought this practice with them, but it was re-introduced by the Wisconsin Germans.¹⁸

Another rural contribution by the Germans is more a matter of aesthetics than of productivity. Most of the German farmers have been very proud of their farms and of their appearance, especially of the farmstead. Accordingly, they have tended to keep the buildings and fences in good condition; there are no machines or tools lying or standing around outside, exposed to all kinds of weather, covered with unsightly and damaging rust. If an implement is not in immediate use, it belongs in a shed or some other shelter designed for it. The Germans set the standard in this respect and those who did not meet this standard were derided as Yankee or Irish farmers. It was a game for us as children, when driving through the countryside, to guess from the appearance of the farm and the buildings whether the name on the mailbox would be German or English.

It is time to leave the farm and to say a few things about German culture in the city. Again, virtually every city and village had its stores and businesses, its shops and factories owned by Germans and their descendants, often for two and three generations by the same family. Most of them, of course, were and are small but nevertheless important for the community in which they are located. In Madison, for example, three generations of Schroeders have been undertakers, three generations of Pertzborns have been plumbers, and three generations of Marlings have operated a lumber yard.

Some of the firms founded by Germans have become very large and exert an influence far beyond the State of Wisconsin, although the firm today may be German in name only: the Oscar Mayer Company in Madison, the Kohler Company outside Sheboygan, the Heil Company in Milwaukee, and of course, the former barons of beer—Blatz, Pabst, and Schlitz. To this day, the beer brewed in Wisconsin is of the German type rather than being like the beers and ales of England. In the 1930s and 1940s, after the repeal of prohibition, there were about seventy-five different breweries in Wisconsin. Although the geographic spread of these breweries did not quite bear out the truth of the statement, it used to be said that we had a brewery for every county in the state with a few left over to let the other states know how good Wisconsin beer was.

In the 1920s and 1930s, in many parts of Wisconsin some variety of German was still used for daily communication on many farms and in many city homes. When you walked along the streets of such cities as Juneau, Horicon, Mayville, Beaver Dam, Watertown, Jefferson, in certain sections of Milwaukee, and in many other cities too numerous to name here—you were sure to hear people conversing in German.

Today, a short fifty years later, this is no longer the case. On some farms and in some particularly close-knit families, German is still used daily as the normal intra-family vehicle of communication. On the streets of the cities just named, you may hear friends greet each other with: "Guten Tag, wie geht's?" or a dialect equivalent thereof and there may be some such response as: "Immer noch zum Aushalten." However, after an exchange or two, the conversation is usually continued in English.

A few rural and small-town Lutheran congregations—e.g., in Juneau, Mayville, Iron Ridge, Hustisford—still have German services, but this too will not last much longer. In St. John's Lutheran Church, my home congregation in Juneau, when I was a child, English services were held only once a month; by the time I was in the middle teens, services were held in both languages every Sunday; then the number of German services began to be reduced, until today there are German services only once a month. At funerals, both languages are quite often used.

The mention of funerals was, of course, not accidental, for a figurative funeral is in the offing. In my family we were brought up trilingually. We used English in the schools and with people who knew no German—we were rather surprised at such ignorance. We used a variety of Standard German in church, to a limited extent in the parochial school, and with Germans who did not know our dialect. The language of the home and the farm, of play with most of the children from neighboring farms, of large family gatherings and parties and picnics—there were dozens of such celebrations—for all these things our language was the *Oderbrüchisch* Low-German dialect.

In 1966, I was finally able to visit our ancestral home in the Oderbruch, this reclaimed marsh and swamp lying from fifty to one hundred kilometers east and northeast of Berlin. The Seiferts came from a small village called Wuschewier and I was amazed to find that only a few of the oldest people spoke *Oderbrüchisch* and the rest used *Berlinisch*. It was clear that the "best" *Oderbrüchisch* was not spoken in the old homeland, but in Dodge, Jefferson, and Washington counties, Wisconsin. In Wisconsin, too, the end is not far off. We can already hear the death rattle signaling the expiration of another dialect and this sad sound seems to be a fitting close to an era that is ending.

University of Wisconsin—Madison
Madison, Wisconsin

Notes

¹ This essay was first presented at the "German-American Heritage Weekend," February 25-27, 1982, University of Wisconsin—Madison.

² There is no real reason to doubt that Cyrus Hall McCormick (born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, in 1809, died in Chicago, Illinois, in 1884) invented the horse-drawn grain-reaper in 1831 but did not have it patented until 1834, when other persons began to copy his basic design. Although John F. Appleby (born in the vicinity of Janesville, Wisconsin (?), in 1840, died in Mazomanie, Wisconsin, in 1917) is most often credited with

the invention of the attachment that gathers and binds the grain into bundles, the matter of priority in inventions and patenting is complicated and far from clear. A German Bohemian by the name of Jacob Behel who lived in and around Rockford, Illinois, in the period between 1850 and 1880 seems to have played an important, perhaps even crucial though largely unrecognized role in the development of a workable binding mechanism. Cf. William T. Hutchinson, *Cyrus Hall McCormick*, 2 vols. (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1930 and 1935); esp. II, 522-72 ("Harvester and Binder Rivalries, 1868-1885").

³ The Wisconsin State Historical Society has an almost complete file of this newspaper. One interesting aspect of German-language journalism in the United States was treated by Mary Anderson Seeger, "English influences on the language of the *Dodge County Pioneer* of Mayville, Wisconsin," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin-Madison 1970.

⁴ Gerhard Hubert Balg, trans., *Gothic grammar with selections for reading and a glossary*, by Wilhelm Braune, 2nd ed. (New York: B. Westermann & Co., 1883); *A comparative glossary of the Gothic language with especial reference to English and German* (Mayville, WI: The Author; New York: B. Westermann & Co.; London: Truebner & Co.; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1887-1889); *The first Germanic Bible translated from the Greek by the Gothic Bishop Wulfila in the fourth century and the other remains of the Gothic language* (Milwaukee, WI: The Author; New York: B. Westermann & Co.; London: Truebner & Co.; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1891); trans. and ed., *A Gothic grammar with selections for reading and a glossary*, by Wilhelm Braune (4th ed.), 2nd ed. (Milwaukee, WI: The Author; New York: B. Westermann & Co., Lemcke & Buechner; London: Kegan, Paul, Trench, Truebner & Co., 1895). For the last three works, where the author is given as the primary publisher, I suspect that the others listed were no more than distributors of texts furnished by Balg himself.

⁵ Sigmund Feist, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache mit Einschluß des Krimgotischen und sonstiger gotischer Sprachreste* (Halle [Saale]: Max Niemeyer, 1909). The second edition, a thoroughly reworked version, appeared in 1923. In the third edition, again re-worked and now greatly expanded, the phrase that begins with *und* in the title has been changed to *und sonstiger zerstreuter Überreste des Gotischen*; the place of publication and the publisher have been changed to Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939. This last edition is the masterpiece among all the etymological dictionaries ever compiled. Feist's first venture into the domain of Gothic etymology was his *Grundriß der gotischen Etymologie* (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1888). This work, although contemporaneous with Balg's *Comparative glossary*, was decidedly inferior to the *Comparative glossary* in thoroughness and completeness. There can hardly be any doubt that Feist learned much from Balg in preparing his *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*. It is of more than passing interest that Feist did not include Balg's work in the list of cited works until the 1939 edition, although citations from Balg are frequently used in the earlier editions. I shrink from assuming that the early omission of Balg's name was purposeful.

⁶ Wilhelm Streitberg, *Die gotische Bibel* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1908). A greatly revised second edition was published in 1919, an edition that has been reissued in recent years.

⁷ Many of these remarks are based on stories told in the family of my mother, Anna Sophia Ernestina Jagow. Several of the Jagows were close acquaintances, perhaps even friends of the Balg family. He taught in the Mayville High School only five years, then taught two years in the Milwaukee school system, and after that he was the private tutor of the children of a number of wealthy families, mostly in Milwaukee. His family continued to live in Mayville and he commuted by train. He died in Mayville on September 28, 1933. I have so far found three obituaries: (1) *The Milwaukee Journal*, 3 October 1933; (2) *The Dodge County Pioneer*, 5 October 1933; (3) *The Wisconsin Alumni Magazine*, November 1933.

⁸ In our North German *Oderbrüchisch* dialect this, in phonetic transcription, was [ˌzoː jeˈliːr viː der ˌliːrər ˈbalx].

⁹ The little building in which the first *Kindergarten* was held has been preserved although moved to the grounds of the Octagon House Museum in Watertown, a museum of local culture and history.

¹⁰ The German Lutherans were not the only ones to have this problem. The Norwegian Lutherans at Koshkonong in southeastern Dane County also split and built two churches only a long stone's throw apart from each other.

¹¹ John A. Trapp, ed., *1982 Yearbook Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 1981).

¹² The two academies, the four-year college and the seminary, are partly supported by the Wisconsin synod's member congregations in other states.

¹³ Ann Reagan, "Art music in Milwaukee in the late nineteenth century," Diss. Univ. of Wisconsin—Madison 1980, treats the situation in Milwaukee for the period from 1850 to 1900. One of Reagan's main sources of information about Eugen Luening's life and work was the latter's son Otto Luening whom she interviewed at Kenosha, Wisconsin, on April 2, 1979. Otto Luening is also a musician and composer, one who is in the forefront of electronic music; he lives in New York City. See esp. Reagan, pp. 62-81. Since Reagan completed her study, I have uncovered a few bits of additional information in the University of Wisconsin records. Eugen Luening served as Acting Director of the School of Music only for the academic year 1909-1910. For 1910-1911 he was listed as Associate Professor of Voice Culture and Theory, while Louis A. Coerne served as Director. For 1911-1912 Luening was an Associate Professor of Music with the cryptic addition "On leave of absence, second semester, 1911-12"; Coerne was again Director.

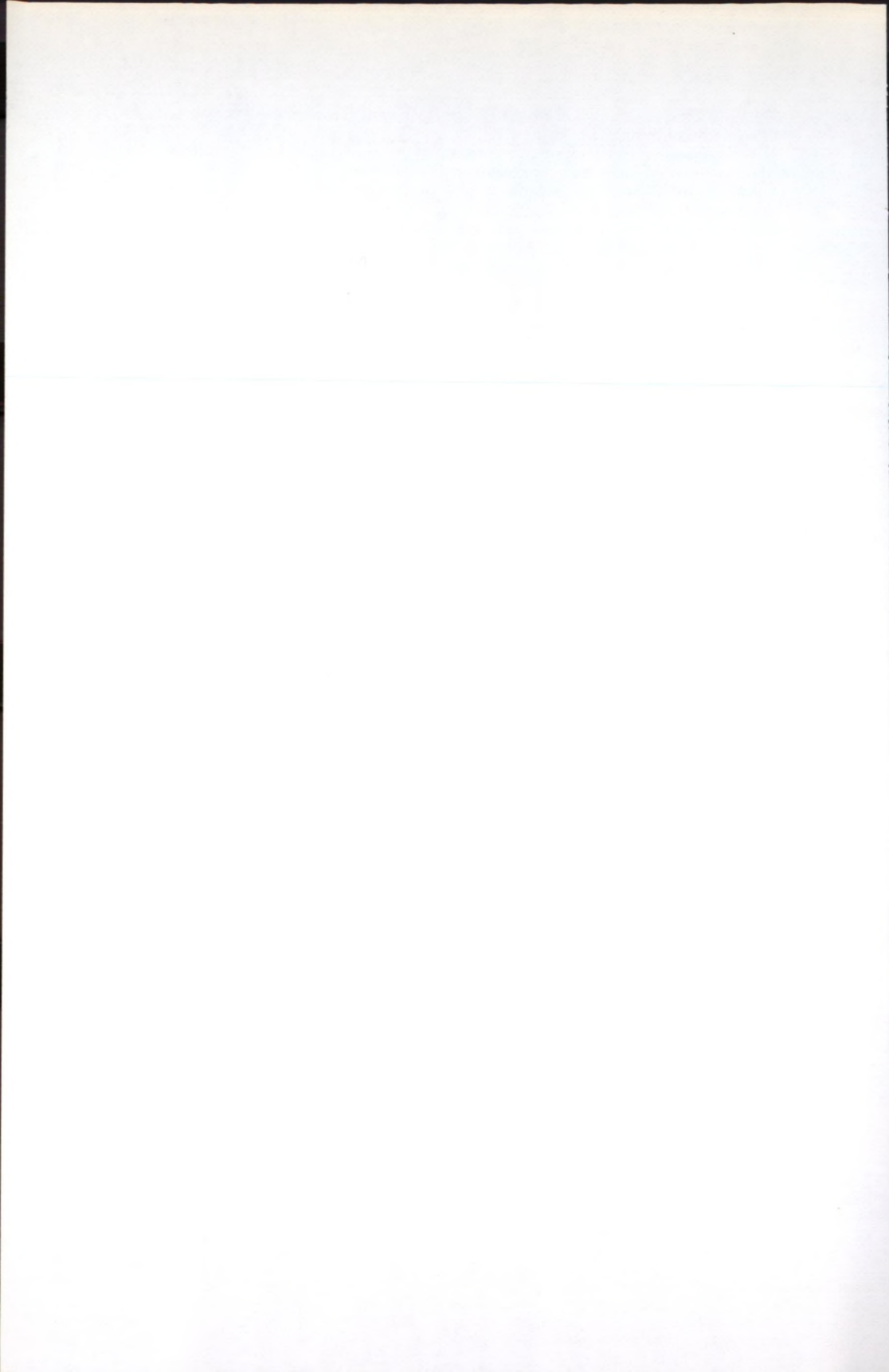
¹⁴ Cf. Reagan, p. 80.

¹⁵ Some of these farms also had land across the road from the farmstead.

¹⁶ Uncle Otto actually said it in *Oderbrüchisch*: [ˌblo:t di ˈdy:tʃen zin dum je, no:x, ˌzix ˌzo: font ˌfe: ˈfes, biŋ: te lɔ:ten]. The Lichtenberg farm is located just west-northwest of the village of Hustisford.

¹⁷ This breed was developed along the North Sea coast of Germany and the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and is therefore often called the Holstein-Frisian breed.

¹⁸ As far as I have been able to find out, there is not one treatise dealing with the origin and spread of crop rotation, in German called "Fruchtwechselwirtschaft." Of course, all histories of agriculture must deal with this subject, but some do so only very cursorily; moreover, the views expressed by different writers vary widely. What I have written here finds corroboration in Richard Krzymowski, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft* (Stuttgart: Eugen Ulmer, 1939); Richard H. Shryock, "British versus German traditions in colonial agriculture," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26 (1939-40), 39-54. Divergent views are to be found in Theodor Freiherr von der Goltz, *Geschichte der deutschen Landwirtschaft*, 2 vols., (Stuttgart and Berlin: J. G. Cotta Nachfolger, 1903); Norman Scott Brien Gras, *A history of agriculture in Europe and America*, 2nd ed. (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1946). For an evaluation of statements made about agriculture by the ancient Latin writers, see Albert Thaer, *Grundsätze der rationellen Landwirtschaft*, neue Ausgabe. (Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel & Parey, 1880). The first edition was published in installments from 1809 to 1812. This work was so outstanding that it was pirated almost immediately. It became a foundation stone in "scientific agriculture." Cf. the American translation, *The principles of agriculture*, William Shaw and Cuthbert W. Johnson, trans. (New York: C. M. Saxton and Company, 1856).



La Vern J. Rippley

Official Action by Wisconsin to Recruit Immigrants, 1850-1890

Like other states in the Old Northwest, Wisconsin campaigned for immigrants between 1850-1890, virtually all of whom came from the North European countries: Germany, Norway, England, and Sweden.¹ Unlike the others, Wisconsin's main effort by far was targeted toward the German states and the results of this decision can be read in the state and federal censuses, as we shall see at the conclusion of this essay. Official recruitment of immigrants to Wisconsin was spearheaded by state commissioners of immigration. Preparing the seedbed in which future commissioners could cultivate their arts was the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature which enacted liberal laws to enfranchise foreign-born citizens.² Although United States naturalization laws required five years of residence for citizenship, in December, 1843, newly arrived Germans in Wisconsin petitioned that they be permitted to vote in a territorial referendum on statehood in 1844. The territorial legislature could not ignore their 1,200 signatures and in January, 1844, passed an act providing that "all free white male inhabitants above the age of 21 years, who have resided in said territory three months shall be deemed qualified, and shall be permitted to vote on said question."

Out of this act came new laws granting immediate suffrage to every free white male of twenty-one years, foreigners included. An amended act of 1845 restricted the franchise to those who had resided at least six months in the territory and required that the voter "shall have declared his intention" to become a citizen of the United States. A comparable plan with a one-year residency requirement was in the constitutional draft of 1846 but was rejected. In the constitutional convention of 1847-48 the topic of franchise for the foreign-born again occupied center stage. Arguments that New York and Ohio had already allowed short periods of residency for suffrage helped in Wisconsin. Supporters argued that the requirements of one-year residency should be shrunk to six months in order to encourage potential new immigrants to head

straight for Wisconsin. In the end, liberals prevailed and the short residency provision remained in effect in Wisconsin until 1912.

Wisconsin legislated its first immigrant recruitment vehicle in 1852, four years after statehood, allocating to the "Commissioner of Emigration" \$1500 for salary, \$1250 for the publication of pamphlets, \$250 for office rent, \$100 for maps, and \$700 for assistants to the commissioner.³ The law provided that the commissioner reside in New York, and the first, Dutch-born Gysbert Van Steenwyck, began work in New York on May 18, 1852. After opening the office he contacted immigrant welfare agencies, consuls, shipping firms and similar organizations. Soon he appointed his assistants, a Norwegian, two Germans, and an Englishman. Already the staffing situation showed a pro-German bias. He also published pamphlets describing resources and opportunities for the Wisconsin settler—20,000 in German (further demonstrating the favor accorded German-speaking immigrants), 5,000 in Norwegian, and 4,000 in Dutch. Some 5,000 copies were sent to Europe for distribution while over 20,000 were disseminated in New York on vessels, in taverns, and in hostels to arriving immigrants. In addition to the pamphlets, Steenwyck advertised in English, German and Dutch newspapers which were published in New York. He also peppered the Habsburg territories with his "gospel" which yielded for Wisconsin the first concentration of Czechs anywhere in America.⁴

Wisconsin's commissioner was at first inexperienced and not alone in his campaign for immigrants. Railroad agents and private ticket sellers also sought to influence newcomers. For instance the New York and Erie Railroad sold tickets for departures from the wharf so that docking passengers would not be able to change their minds and head in a direction not served by that line. Whenever an immigrant ship came into port, there was never a lack of hungry agents and runners who swarmed about peddling their services. At portside, as a consequence, the new arrivals were either too busy or too confused. Steenwyck therefore decided to station his agents in Europe and to advertise in at least eight foreign newspapers, most of which were in Germany, thus skewing the effort still more to attract this cultural group. The *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* of Rudolstadt in 1852 carried news columns about Wisconsin's efforts to secure immigrants,⁵ and in subsequent years reprinted the annual reports of Wisconsin's commission of immigration. Papers carrying Steenwyck's advertisements were located in Swabia, Cologne, Mannheim, and in Amsterdam. In his *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Emigration* Steenwyck claimed that 436 persons had called personally at his New York office and that 7,389 left New York during 1852 for Wisconsin by way of the Hudson River Railroad and the steamboat route over the Great Lakes.⁶

Following Steenwyck as commissioner in 1853 was Hermann Haertel, a German land agent from Milwaukee, and a friend of Dr. Hildebrandt of Mineral Point. Hildebrandt, of German birth (along with his countrymen, Franz Huebschmann and Moritz Schoeffler), had represented the immigrants' cause ably at Wisconsin's constitutional conventions and subsequently as United States Consul to Bremen, Germany.

In Bremen, it turns out, Consul Hildebrandt proved to be of considerable help to Haertel. Expanding his scope from the previous administration, Haertel advertised in the *London Times*, the *Tipperary Free Press*, the Swiss *Baseler Zeitung*, and the German *Leipziger Allgemeine Zeitung*. Haertel personally wrote a series of articles for the *New York Tribune* about the railroads of Wisconsin. During 1853 some 30,000 pamphlets were distributed, half in Europe, the remaining at U.S. points of entry. Hundreds of letters were answered and the commissioner or his staff visited with 3,000 persons who were considering Wisconsin for their permanent home. Two thirds of them came from Europe, most from Germany, the rest from Norway, Sweden, Ireland, England, Scotland, and Holland. In 1853 Haertel was assisted by a secondary agent for immigration, a man whose duty it was to travel between Wisconsin and New York to make sure the state was accurately represented in the eastern papers. Filling this office was Thomas J. Townsend who wrote exuberantly about Wisconsin's immigrants:

There is a Germany in America which is destined to be greater than the German's fatherland. Ireland is already Cis Atlantic, and regenerate. The Scandinavian, with a remarkable power of assimilation, touches our shores and is American in thought, feeling and language.⁷

There was reason to be optimistic. In 1853 on a single ship, according to Haertel, a party of 120 Germans landed in Wisconsin with almost \$60,000 in their pockets. During 1853 alone, 17,000 Germans, 4,500 Irish, 3,500 Norwegians and a smattering from other countries arrived in Wisconsin. When it became known in other states that wealth was part of the baggage carried especially by the German immigrants, however, opposition to the Wisconsin commissioner arose in neighboring states, which set up competitive offices of their own.

Pleased with his accomplishments, Haertel recommended in 1853 that the Wisconsin statutes be changed to allow re-election of the commissioner of immigration annually. However, like his predecessor, Haertel served only one year and was succeeded in 1854 by Frederick W. Horn, a lawyer and superintendent of schools of Ozaukee County. Horn followed the advice of Steenwyck in establishing an office in Quebec where the majority of immigrants were English, Irish and Norwegian. These newcomers, Horn reasoned, were all likely to follow the St. Lawrence westward to Wisconsin. About 20,000 Norwegians passed through Quebec in 1854 on their way to Wisconsin. Regardless of its apparent success, in a mere six months this office was discontinued and recruitment continued only in New York. From this source alone, during the three months of May, June, and July of 1854, Horn claimed to have steered some 16,000 Germans to Wisconsin.⁸ Later that year 9,000 more German immigrants reportedly arrived, 7,000 by way of Chicago and 2,000 via the Great Lakes to Milwaukee. Thousands more arrived the same year through Green Bay, Manitowoc and other lake ports.⁹

In spite of the soaring success enjoyed by Horn, political opposition, fanned to hysteria by nativists in 1855, turned unfavorable for any commissioner at all. Against the recommendations of its special study

committee, therefore, the legislature in 1855 repealed the governor's power to appoint immigration agents.¹⁰ Almost as quickly as the immigration bubble had grown, it had now burst. German immigration, the principal source of Wisconsin's newcomers, plunged on a national basis from nearly 215,000 in 1854 to a mere 72,000 in 1855 for a variety of reasons.¹¹ Among the nativists there was a tendency to blame "foreigners" for domestic problems. Abroad, economic conditions began to improve following repeated crop failures from 1850-1853, thereby dissipating the pressure for emigration. Wisconsin, therefore, ceased to recruit immigrants and did not resume until 1867.

The writer of the 1853 commissioner's report stressed the opportunities for the German immigrant in agriculture. "It is to that great body of emigrants who are seeking a home in the West as cultivators of the soil, that the natural capabilities of Wisconsin most of all, address themselves" (p. 8). Wisconsin offered not just prairies, but prairies encircled by that all important commodity for the immigrant—wood. Wood to build houses, wood for barns, wood for rail fences (for barbed wire was not invented until 1874), and above all, wood for fuel both at home and as temporary income for the settler who needed to earn money by peddling this salable product in local towns. The writer mentioned that millwrights, carriage artisans, and railroad builders were in great demand. For the future, the reporter theorized correctly, the lumbering industry would grow in Wisconsin as would ship construction and especially cast iron foundries. Telegraph lines had already been laid north from Chicago to Milwaukee, thence to Madison, and across the state to Galena, Illinois. Nevertheless, immigration to Wisconsin declined in 1855, dropped precipitously after the panic of 1857, and was reduced further during the Civil War from 1861-1865.

After the war ended, state legislators in 1867 established a new agency, called now the board of immigration, composed of the governor, the secretary of state, and six other members.¹² All served without compensation but received \$2,000 to meet expenses. Initially the new board focused inwardly. Instead of concentrating on the ports of entry, the governor appointed three persons in each county to report favorable information for immigrants to the state board. These county members solicited names of friends and relatives who would be put on a mailing list. Publications of the state board were thereby sent directly to prospective immigrants in Europe. During its first three years, the board published and distributed pamphlets in English, German, French, Welsh, Dutch, Norwegian and Swedish. After a year, the budget was expanded to \$3,000 for materials and in 1869 an executive director was appointed to carry out the duties of the board more efficiently. Moreover, state agents were appointed for Milwaukee and Chicago to encourage immigrants to stay in, or come to, Wisconsin.¹³

In 1871, the board of immigration was succeeded once more by a commissioner of immigration, which office was elective on a biennial basis.¹⁴ The commissioner was required to keep an office in Milwaukee and to issue pamphlets each year in English, French, German, Welsh, and Norwegian. While he operated from his Milwaukee office, an

assistant was stationed in Chicago four months out of the year. Initially the new office was held by Ole C. Johnson of Beloit, and by M. J. Argard from 1874-1875, after which the office was again abolished.

Immigrant recruitment now followed economic upsurges and downswings. However, during the term of Ole Johnson, the state again published pamphlets in foreign countries and secured the cooperation of steamship companies and consuls to distribute information about Wisconsin abroad where it would do the most good. Johnson also made arrangements with railroads that if prospective immigrants were interested in reaching Wisconsin, their reason for declining would never be a lack of funds. The *First Annual Report of the Commissioner of Immigration* provides a wealth of information about Johnson's other activities.¹⁵ He either sent pamphlets himself or provided individuals with postage sufficient to send them. Johnson targeted his efforts on the inhabitants of European countries.

Our state is heavily timbered, and not so easily brought under cultivation as the prairies of our neighboring states, and it needs the industrious hardworking yeomanry of the old world, men who are able and willing to fell the huge trees and perform other hard labor necessary in clearing the land.¹⁶

Expressing a belief that prevailed among early Wisconsinites, Johnson reiterated that forested lands were the best for the immigrants. He conceded that timbered soil required more intense labor to clear it but this disadvantage was easily counterbalanced by the opportunity for a constant income, which was vital to immigrants without means.

With this conviction, Johnson determined to stretch his promotional budget by having pamphlets printed in Europe for one-third the cost of production in the United States and also avoid freight charges. His efforts were rewarded to the extent that between May 1 and December 1, 1871, a total of 8,121 immigrants came to Wisconsin by way of his offices in Milwaukee and Chicago. The largest number from these two stations were Norwegians (3,553) followed by 2,717 Germans and 514 Swedes. The remaining were Danes, Englishmen, Irish, and Belgians. With his eye on the legislature and its budget committee, Johnson pointed out that at least 10,000 new immigrants had come to Wisconsin during 1871. If each newcomer were valued at \$100, then the wealth added to the state as a result of immigration was one million dollars. Thus Johnson requested \$10,000 for the following year's immigration activities.

Johnson's descriptions were European-, more accurately, German-language-oriented. Crawford County boasted its "large German school" in Prairie du Chien while Dane County pointed to its six townships with mostly Norwegians and six others with mostly Germans. Allegedly, Germans and Norwegians were evenly represented in the remaining townships. Green County's Swiss-born J. J. Tschudy wrote of "untold numbers of creeks and small streams, most of which furnish valuable hydraulic power, utilized for grist-mills, saw-mills, carding-mills, etc." Sauk County writers insisted that "there are German settlements in every town in the county." Appended to the annual

reports were tables of information about numbers and nationalities of immigrants to the United States and Wisconsin. The authors wanted to call attention to the fact that the immigrant was welcome in Wisconsin. In addition to numerical data on nationalities, there were tables of information on ports of departure from Europe and arrival within the United States, suggesting what route immigrants might best select.

Each year Commissioner Ole C. Johnson reported how he spent the state's allocation to advertise for immigrants. During 1872, 10,000 English-language pamphlets were printed in London and another 10,000 in Germany where J. A. Becher, a former resident of Milwaukee and later president of the immigration board, helped distribute them. Becher detailed the firms and consuls who dealt out the 10,000 Wisconsin pamphlets which Becher had printed by B. F. Voigt in Weimar, Germany. Becher personally called on consuls in Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Frankfurt am Main, Stuttgart and Hannover. He also enlisted the aid of the North German Lloyd at Bremen, the Hamburg-Amerika Line in Hamburg, the Baltic Lloyd in Stettin, Consul H. C. A. Gross in Vienna, and the Emigration Protective Society of Hamburg, all of which agencies, according to Becher, were delighted to distribute the Wisconsin literature. There was also a Norwegian press run. Welsh pamphlets were prepared only in this country, where Welsh-language promotion in the coal fields of Pennsylvania yielded handsome returns for Wisconsin. Johnson also stressed the educational opportunities of Wisconsin by procuring forty thousand lithographic views of Wisconsin's state university for distribution in England, Belgium, Germany and Norway.

For the year 1874 the commissioner was M. J. Argard of Eau Claire. As a result partly of the panic of 1873 in the United States and partly of improved farming and fishing conditions in Norway, immigration to Wisconsin declined considerably during the 1870s. Nevertheless, 2,458 Germans arrived during the second half of 1874 through the port of Milwaukee alone. During the same period there were arrivals in Milwaukee of 925 Norwegians, 321 Bohemians, 107 Danes, and a smattering of other foreigners adding up to 4,109 European arrivals in six months through Milwaukee alone. Commissioner Argard parroted his predecessors in complaining of the awful treatment allocated to the immigrants who traveled through Chicago en route to Midwestern states. For the good of all new arrivals in Chicago, Argard beseeched Wisconsin's Governor William R. Taylor to reopen a Wisconsin office there. He praised the authorities of Milwaukee and those in charge of the Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company for the exemplary treatment they accorded the immigrants.

Its achievements notwithstanding, the office of commissioner of immigration was severely limited by the Wisconsin legislature in 1874 and abolished in 1875.¹⁷ Argard wrote the last report for his office, which ceased functioning on September 30, 1875. In it he complained that the legislature was manipulated "by third-rate politicians" who placed Argard's

manhood and self-respect in the keeping of men, who grasp with the avidity of cormorants and voracity of sharks, after positions they are in no wise competent to fill.

In 1879 the Wisconsin legislature once again reversed itself by adopting a more positive attitude toward immigration. This time it created another board of immigration, the commissioners of which filed their first annual report in January for the year ending December 31, 1880. J. A. Becher, of German origin, now became president of the board. Again exact statistics on arrivals at Milwaukee were reported. In 1880 Germany supplied only slightly more immigrants than did Norway, both delivering over 11,000 followed by Sweden 6,852, Denmark 2,344, Poland 2,249, Bohemia 1,347, and Ireland 1,065. Other tables in the report show that large numbers of Norwegians and Swedes were also passing through Milwaukee but instead of remaining in Wisconsin continued en route to Minnesota. Reportedly these immigrants brought along an average of \$60 to \$70 each. Arrivals in 1880 of over 21,000 people intending to live in Wisconsin yielded considerable wealth for the state.

The new board advertised in England and Sweden, in Berne, Switzerland, as well as in the German cities of Hannover, Gotha, Mannheim and Rostock. The board also published and distributed 10,000 copies of a pocket map of Wisconsin which included a description of the state and its advantages for immigrants. Also the Chicago office was reactivated with considerable success. Not least, Kent K. Kennan, an agent for the land department of the Wisconsin Central Railway Company, was appointed as a representative for the state board of immigration without cost to the state.¹⁸ Kennan had maps of Wisconsin inserted in the *Emigrant's Friend* in England, and in *Ott's Handbuch für Auswanderer* in Germany. He also saw to it that a large number of map-pamphlets were printed in English, German, Swedish and Norwegian, most of which were distributed by mail. Kennan also advertised in *Der Ansiedler* of Milwaukee, the *American Settler* of London, the *Allehand for Folket* of Orebro, Sweden, and in German papers in Hannover, Rostock, Gotha, Königsberg, Kaiserslautern, Stuttgart and Berlin, as well as in Berne and Vienna.

In 1881 Mr. Kennan reported, however, that the ability of commissioners to influence German immigration directly was now on the wane:

On account of the stringent laws in those countries which furnish a large percentage of emigrants, very little can be done by personal efforts of an agent. The object he is sent to accomplish, can only be secured by extensive advertising and the distribution of pamphlets.¹⁹

Upwards of 75,000 documents were distributed by Kennan, some 7,570 of them state pamphlets which fell short of the demand because "these pamphlets, by reason of their official character, carry much more weight and are more eagerly sought for and read by the people, than those of railway and land companies." Kennan carefully pointed out that he improved his credibility with prospective immigrants by representing impartially the state instead of the railroad, by furnishing information to

the laborer bound for Milwaukee as well as for the farmer headed for agricultural lands upstate.

State Board President Becher, in 1881, included in his report a letter from United States Consul Grinnell of Bremen regarding the wealth and caliber of German emigrants.

The emigrants this year are, without exception, of the best agricultural and industrial classes, taking money with them, the savings of years, the proceeds of their little tenements sold here, etc. . . . Germany has never before lost such numbers of worthy and industrious people as are this year emigrating to the United States, and the loss to the German empire can scarcely be over-estimated. . . . Everyone of them carries to that country, in his labor, a capital which may be estimated at \$1200. The total value of the labor thus conveyed to the United States during the last five years, may therefore be estimated at about \$700,000,000. No wonder that the United States of America prosper!²⁰

In 1882, twenty thousand new and revised editions of the Wisconsin maps and pamphlets were printed in the German language, by far the largest press run of all. Since Kennan focused most of his attention on German-speaking emigrants, advertising in the German papers was expanded considerably. Now carrying advertisements for Wisconsin were the papers of Aachen, Dresden, Leipzig, Mainz, Oldenburg, Stettin, Würzburg, Augsburg, Kassel, Darmstadt, Magdeburg, Ulm, Wiesbaden, Paderborn and Posen, a network that covered most of the German-speaking peoples.²¹ Once again the board spelled out the need for more foreign immigration to populate the northern counties of Wisconsin. "No effort should be spared to lead immigration in that direction. The most effective methods of promoting these ends are advertising in foreign newspapers, and the distribution of suitable documents."²² The Wisconsin board of immigration now took credit also for new federal legislation that regulated the transportation of immigrants: "Through the efforts of two representatives of this State, Congress at its last session enacted a law for the carriage of passengers by sea."

In 1883 and 1884 the Wisconsin board resorted to biennial instead of annual reports. Again there were statistics about financial disbursements and arrivals. In 1883 over 27,000 passed through Milwaukee to settle permanently in Wisconsin while nearly as many proceeded to other states, primarily Minnesota. In 1884, the Wisconsin total dropped to 23,600. Repeatedly the largest group was comprised of Germans, about 15,000 annually, followed by Norwegians with 2,700. Some 1,600 came from Poland and 1,300 from Sweden. Printing and advertising continued to be directed toward German-speaking peoples with 11,600 pamphlets distributed in these regions annually compared to a mere 1,300 each to Sweden and Denmark.²³ True to pattern, the board "advertised in 41 newspapers, principally German." Sample letters of inquiry generated by newspaper advertising were incorporated and a pitch was made for continuation of the board in light of the great wealth the immigrants were thought to be bringing to the state.

As it turned out, however, the Wisconsin board of immigration was doomed. Its last report was filed in 1886 during which the board still advertised in some seventy newspapers. The writer summarized the organization's biennial activities including an 1885 letter from Kent K. Kennan in Basel, Switzerland: "I was impressed by the great number of letters which we received from intending immigrants, asking specifically for a copy of the brochure issued by the Wisconsin Board of Immigration." In a vain effort to change the minds of legislators, supportive comments from newspaper editors all across Wisconsin and from abroad concerning the fine publications of the board were incorporated into the final report. In total, more than 100,000 copies of the state pamphlet had been distributed in various languages besides some 21,000 pocket maps which contained descriptions of the state. In this final report, the board took credit for peopling the northern counties of the state and the factories of the state's major cities with top quality immigrants.

Without a doubt, the most effective single individual in promoting immigration from Europe, especially from Germany to Wisconsin, was Kent K. Kennan. There is some evidence that in doing so he may have violated certain German laws against advertising schemes to promote emigration to Wisconsin, and apparently he established his office in Basel primarily to avoid confrontation with wary German authorities. In the police files at Basel is an inquiry into Kennan's activities, but no specifics about any infractions of the law. However, it appears that investigators were gathering evidence against him, for to this file item was attached a newspaper clipping from *Der Volksfreund aus Schwaben*, February 13, 1883, which reads:

Emigrants! The fifth common passage to the state of Wisconsin (North America) will leave Bremen on April 4 on board the express steamer, *Elbe*. Travel from Bremen to New York takes only nine days. Information concerning travel costs is available from the office of the North German Lloyd in Bremen. Valuable maps and brochures are also available free and postpaid from the Commissioner of Immigration for the above named state: K. K. Kennan in Basel.²⁴

When Kennan wrote about Wisconsin he always exuded the zeal of a true missionary. Kennan also published his own book about Wisconsin, *Der Staat Wisconsin, seine Hülfsquellen und Vorzüge für Auswanderer* (Basel, 1882) and expended untold efforts for the benefit of "his" emigrants.²⁵

Whether Wisconsin's official efforts to secure immigrants were successful beyond those of other states is not easy to determine. What is certain is that Wisconsin did attract for permanent settlement the nation's largest component of rural German immigrants. The high percentage of German stock populations in Milwaukee and other eastern Wisconsin urban centers is common knowledge. Inasmuch as it was to the German-speaking countries that Wisconsin's immigration agencies targeted their greatest efforts, it is safe to conclude that these state commissions and boards were one, if not the most important, of the deciding factors. Ever since the commissioners began their work in

the 1850s, Wisconsin always received the largest proportion of immigrants coming from Germany. In terms of rural settlement in contrast to urban concentration, Wisconsin in 1910 had fifteen counties, ten of them contiguous, in which the populations were over thirty-five percent first- and second-generation German. No other state was close, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska and Texas each having only one county each with a similar density of rural German settlers.²⁶ The cause-effect relationship between official action taken by Wisconsin and the resulting population composite seems conclusive.

Saint Olaf College
Northfield, Minnesota

Notes

¹ Theodore C. Blegen, "The Competition of the Northwestern States for Immigrants," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 3 (1919-1920), 3-29. See also John G. Gregory, "Foreign Immigration to Wisconsin," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1901 (1902), pp. 137-43.

² Louise P. Kellogg, "The Alien Suffrage Provision in the Constitution of Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 1 (June, 1918), 422-25. Kate Asaphine Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," *Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 12 (1892), 299-334 discusses the many factors making Wisconsin desirable, including publicity about the state being designated a "German state" in the union. A general outline about legislative action is on p. 314, a discussion of privately published materials begins pp. 314 ff., and the early work of commissioners of immigration is sketched on pp. 319-21, and 327-30.

³ *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of Wisconsin, 1852*, Chapter 432. The law reads: "A commissioner of emigration for the state of Wisconsin shall be appointed by the governor, whose duty it shall be to reside and to keep an office in the city of New York from the first day of May next to the first day of May in the year 1853; to be present during the usual business hours at such office and to give to emigrants the necessary information in relation to the soil and climate of the state and the branches of business to be pursued with advantage therein, and the cheapest and most expeditious route by which the same can reach the state, and to give such further information as will, as far as practicable, protect emigrants against the impositions often practiced upon them; to report to the governor as often as required, and in the manner to be prescribed by him, the number of emigrants sent by him to the state, their nationality, and the branches of business intended to be pursued by them; to employ such assistance in the business of his office as will be required and approved by the governor." The state law was among the very first that solicited immigrants while also offering them protection against exploitation. A further section of the law specified that descriptions "of the state shall be printed in English, German, and such other languages as the governor shall deem advisable."

⁴ Blegen, "The Competition," p. 5, and Karel D. Bicha, "The Czechs in Wisconsin History," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 53 (Spring, 1970), 194-203, esp. 194.

⁵ *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, No. 21 (19 Feb. 1852). See also such information as the census of Wisconsin reported in the same paper No. 22 (21 Feb. 1852).

⁶ Blegen, "The Competition," p. 6. Note that there are several "First Annual" reports of the Commissioners of Immigration in Wisconsin, the first in 1852. Another "first" appeared in 1872 for the year 1871. See *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, No. 23 (Feb. 1853). Because ports of immigrant entry were scattered, Steenwyck recommended stationing agents in all European countries as well as in Quebec, Philadelphia, and New Orleans. See also John Goadby Gregory, ed., Ch. iv, "Wisconsin Welcomed Immigrants," in *West Central Wisconsin* (Indianapolis: Clarke, 1933), I, 141-53.

⁷ *Annual Report of 1853*, p. 2.

⁸ Blegen, "The Competition," p. 9. According to Blegen the report of Horn as third commissioner of immigration was never printed but stored in manuscript form in the governor's vault, under the date August 1, 1854. With reference to the early commissioners and Milwaukee, see Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836-1860* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1976), pp. 37 ff. About Superintendent Horn, cf. Joseph Schafer, "Four Wisconsin Counties, Prairie and Forest," *Wisconsin Domesday Book*, General Studies, Vol. II (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1927), pp. 236 ff.

⁹ Everest, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," p. 301.

¹⁰ *General Acts of Wisconsin, 1855*, Chapter 3. The New York office was closed on April 20, 1855. Newspapers in Germany reported the repeal with disappointment, e.g., *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, No. 46 (15 June 1855).

¹¹ See the graphs in La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne, 1976), p. 75.

¹² *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1867*, Chapter 126.

¹³ *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1869*, Chapter 118. See also Blegen, "The Competition," p. 12, and Halvdan Koht, "When America Called for Immigrants," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, 14 (1944), 159-83.

¹⁴ *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1871*, Chapter 153.

¹⁵ It was printed by the state offices in 1872 for the year 1871 and annually thereafter.

¹⁶ *First Annual Report, 1871*, p. 9.

¹⁷ *General Laws of Wisconsin, 1874*, Chapter 238 and 338, and *The First Annual Report, 1874*.

¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Board of Immigration for the Year Ending December 31, 1880*, p. 6.

¹⁹ Quoted in *Annual Report, 1881*, p. 13.

²⁰ *Annual Report, 1881*, p. 14. Becher quotes from the *Hamburger Handelsblatt*, 18 March 1881, a paper in which Kennan advertised regularly.

²¹ The complete list is in the *Annual Report of 1882*, pp. 12-13.

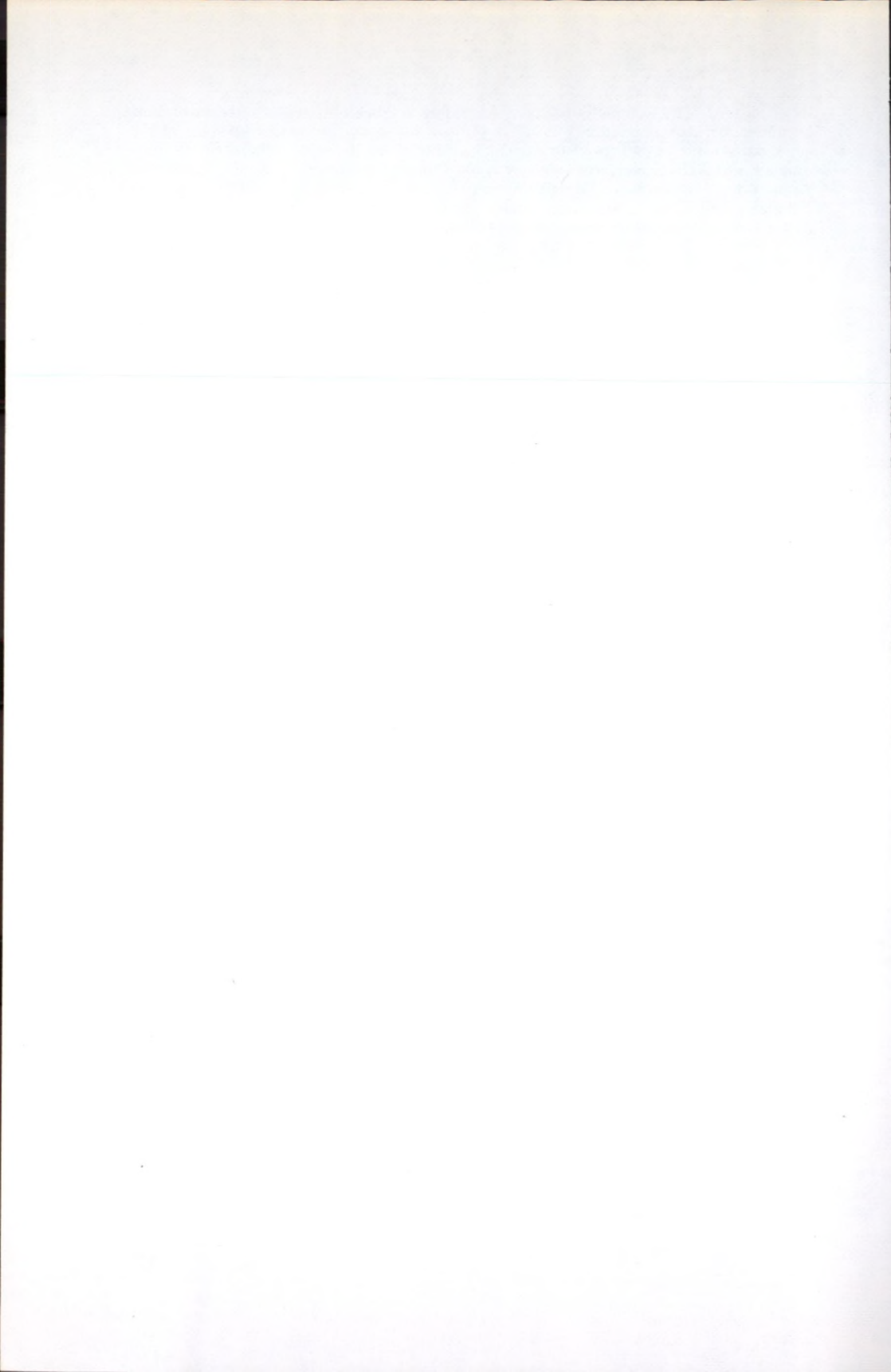
²² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²³ *Biennial Report, 1884*, pp. 11 ff.

²⁴ Translation is by the author. The original German is reproduced in Albert B. Faust, *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1916), p. 119.

²⁵ In the introduction to her article, "How Wisconsin Came by its Large German Element," p. 299, Everest thanks Kennan for his help in the preparation of her material. Presumably in 1892 he was back in Wisconsin, perhaps in retirement.

²⁶ Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1980), pp. 405-25, esp. pp. 412-13.



Adolf E. Schroeder

Eden on the Missouri: Immigrant Women on the Western Frontier

On January 5, 1835, twenty-two year old Henriette Bruns, "Jette," as she was known to her family and friends, wrote to her brother, Heinrich Geisberg, regarding her plans to emigrate to America with her husband and young son:

How many parents sigh as they stand beside the cradle and wonder how they can raise the little ones. . . . Probably every emigrant would have told you this . . . , and from this only, without being in need, one would still have sufficient reason to undertake such a trip; without having to seek a glittering fortune and without expecting it. I can say that my expectations are certainly not too high. If I only consider that in the first place, over there one can live almost without having to pay taxes, that one can buy land cheaply and can live on it, that the fertile soil will sufficiently provide the needs of a household, that the other necessities can be arranged as one wishes, without having to worry about one's station and one's situation. Then I find very little else to worry about. . . . I still think that with our modest wishes we cannot fare poorly.¹

Jette was born into a large, devoutly Catholic family which belonged to what she referred to in her autobiography, written many years later, as the "so-called distinguished people"² of the city of Oelde. She was the daughter of the mayor and tax collector of that city, and was brought up in a family dedicated to reading and music. In Münster, where she was educated, she lived in the home of her father's brothers, an extensive establishment on the River Aa with large gardens which she was able to recall in the most exact detail in her old age in Missouri. Jette, now married to a doctor, added honestly: "When I now think of our departure . . . I have to say that since the New Year all courage has left me. . . . I am so terribly frightened, and I cannot tell Bruns this. But . . . I do not sway for a moment."

Dr. Bernhard Bruns, a native of Lohne in Oldenburg who practiced medicine in Oelde and Stromberg, had decided shortly after his marriage into the Geisberg family that America promised a better oppor-

tunity for him and a better life for his family. He had become, his wife confided to her brother, tired of "having to extort his fees."

Bruns has a good practice and is not easily discouraged . . . but . . . if he finally gets his bills paid, he knows only too well how often the poor debtor has to suffer in order to satisfy his bill and how often he has to deprive himself of that little which formerly would have protected him.

Having to collect fees from patients who could not afford to pay them was very likely, as his wife believed, the beginning of his dissatisfaction. In addition, Dr. Bruns had suffered some embarrassment because of wide-spread gossip relating to the pregnancy of a young woman in Enniger, the daughter of the magistrate, for whom he had tried to find lodging. Although the rumors were generally conceded to be unfounded, even by the woman's parents, the situation had occasioned considerable letter writing among members of the Geisberg family and their friends before the marriage. He also seems not to have been able to win the complete confidence of the Geisberg uncles in Münster, who took an extraordinary interest in Jette's courtship and the prospects of her husband after the death of her father in 1831 had left her orphaned. There was a nagging doubt that the doctor could adequately support their brother's daughter,³ an unvoiced disapproval of the marriage that Jette felt deeply even years afterward in America.⁴ It seems equally likely, however, that Dr. Bruns's determination to seek a new life was motivated as much by the emigration fever sweeping Germany as by personal or professional problems. "It was in the air," Jette wrote in her autobiography. "Bruns kept himself well-informed and we talked a lot about it."⁵

In June of 1835 he set out for America to seek a home for his wife and son in the American West. After a brief stay in Baltimore, he proceeded to St. Louis, where by chance he met Nicholas Hesse, who had just settled with his large household on the Maries River southeast of Jefferson City.⁶ Writing to Jette from St. Louis on October 3, 1835, describing the site on the Maries which he had chosen for their future home, Bruns demonstrated his thorough familiarity with Gottfried Duden's *Report*,⁷ the work which was not only largely responsible for the massive nineteenth-century emigration to Missouri, but has been considered by some historians to be one of the most important pieces of literature in the history of German emigration.⁸ A lawyer and civil servant from Remscheid in the Ruhr Valley, Duden had arrived in St. Louis in October of 1824 on a self-appointed mission to search for a favorable location for German emigrants. He settled on Lake Creek, in what is now Warren County, where he lived for three years as a gentleman farmer, enjoying unusually mild winters and temperate summers and writing about what he saw and experienced. His *Report*, published in several editions after his return to Germany, was intended to serve as a practical guide for prospective emigrants. Indeed, much practical advice was offered, but in spite of himself Duden, clearly enchanted by the Missouri landscape, evoked a life of limitless opportunity, in which the new settler becomes quickly established in a

benevolent environment, where crops thrive, family harmony prevails, and little cash is needed. In discussing the amazing fertility of the land, he had emphasized that the "meaning of *fertile soil* in these regions is very different from that in Germany. Good soil or first rate soil does not require fertilization during the first century."⁹ Average or second rate soil in Missouri was that which would not need fertilizer to increase its yield for the first twelve to twenty years. The soil in the location which Dr. Bruns had discovered on the banks of the Maries River, in what was then Gasconade County, was first rate. He wrote of the area to which he was to bring Jette and their young son with an intermingling of lyrical descriptions of the natural surroundings and practical observations worthy of Duden himself:

I have found the place which I like completely and which you will also like. It is . . . approximately 30 hours from St. Louis, 15 English miles from Jefferson, two miles from the Osage. Here there flows a river, the Maria River,¹⁰ which is as big as the Ems near Warendorf and which joins the Osage two hours from here. I have liked this Maria River so much that I have resolved to make our future residence there. . . . The river has a very fertile bottom . . . so that the addition of fertilizer will not be needed to increase the yield of the harvest for the next 100 years.

In short, "the pleasantness of the place, the fertile soil which is suitable for planting all necessary things, the favorable location at the river and on the hillside. . . . [F]ire and building wood, good healthy spring water" seemed to Dr. Bruns to ensure the comfortable life which German emigrants expected to find in Missouri. Several German families were already in the area to provide company, and he assured her that he had not seen any snakes, although he had walked or ridden in the forest every day. Duden had devoted considerable time to discussions of snakes, including the report in his Fifteenth Letter that "Stories are told of snakes crawling into houses and even into beds."¹¹ He had conceded that the proximity of poisonous snakes in the Missouri forests had some effect on everyone, "especially on women," but had assured his readers that rattlers and other snakes caused less worry in Missouri than did mad dogs in Europe. Following Duden, most settlers who wrote of their experiences on the frontier described the various snakes they had seen and recounted snake stories they had heard. Actually, although Dr. Bruns had not run across any on his explorations into the forests, snakes were as prevalent in the Westphalia settlement as in Duden territory. Nicholas Hesse reported that while it rarely happened that a person was bitten by a poisonous snake, there was always that possibility from April until fall. "In the spring and summer of 1836 I myself killed five rattlesnakes,"¹² copperheads had been killed by his neighbors, and his daughters had been chased out of the field by an angry black snake. Nevertheless the news that her husband had not seen any snakes in Missouri was no doubt welcome to Jette Bruns, waiting impatiently in Oelde for word from America.

Just over a year after his discovery of the site on the Maries River which he liked so much, on November 2, 1836, the Bruns party,

including two of Jette's brothers, Franz and Bernhard Geisberg, Bruns's brother, David, and a maid and her daughter arrived in the "so-called Westphalia Settlement."¹³ In her autobiography Jette writes: "Our shelter was in the middle of a field, a simple log cabin with two bedsteads, one table, four chairs and one bench."¹⁴ To her brother Heinrich she wrote that the cabin had one window and was the "size of our living room at home." As winter approached the disadvantages of life in a log cabin became more apparent. "When it rains it is just too sad in these log cabins," she wrote. "I frequently think back to our comfortable living room." More depressing than the discomfort, however, was the loneliness of being separated from family and friends with little opportunity to make congenial new acquaintances. Gert Goebel, son of Professor David Goebel,¹⁵ who had come to Missouri with the Gießen Emigration Society as a young man of eighteen, wrote of the isolated Westphalia settlement some years later:

At a very early time, even before the founding of Hermann, we heard from time to time of a German settlement on Maries Creek, and of a certain Dr. Bernhard Bruns. The region in which this settlement was established was little known at that time, and communication with it was difficult, because approaching it from the east the Gasconade had to be crossed, and from the west the Osage.¹⁶

Two years before the Bruns family arrived eight to ten members of the Solingen Emigration Society, led by Friedrich Steines, which had broken up on their arrival in St. Louis in July, 1834, had settled in the Osage country.¹⁷ The following summer two of the group visited Steines on his farm on Tavern Creek in Franklin County, some thirty miles from St. Louis. "They now live on the Osage and spoke in highest terms of that country. Still they expressed the wish that they would like to buy land here in order to have some German neighbors and be closer to St. Louis."¹⁸ A number of the families who had come over with the Solingen Society were reported to have handsome estates in Osage County, but others had started to drift back to St. Louis or to other towns on the Missouri River. The wife of one settler was said to have insisted on living on the left bank of the Osage in order to be able to visit Jefferson City and receive visitors from there, apparently necessitating the purchase of a second farm with less desirable land at a higher price. For Jette Bruns trips to Jefferson City were infrequent, and it would be ten years before she would see the city of St. Louis again. During her fifteen years in the Westphalia settlement she was to experience the disappointments, hardships, and tragedies all too common on the frontier and find Duden's dream of a prosperous and peaceful life in Missouri more and more elusive.

Duden's critics, against whom he spent years defending himself,¹⁹ believed with some justification that he had misled prospective emigrants by his romanticized view of pioneer life in Missouri. That many of the early settlers were disgruntled and unhappy with their lot on the frontier is indicated by observations of travelers who came to see for themselves what Duden's Eldorado on the Missouri was like. Gustav

Koerner, on a walking tour from St. Louis to Jefferson City in the fall of 1833, encountered many immigrants who denounced Duden bitterly, "for his all too rosy and often inaccurate descriptions of this part of Missouri, and for having caused so many to lose their money, their spirits, and their health by injudicious settlements."²⁰ Even in the Duden settlement itself, where Koerner spent the night with Mr. Haun,²¹ the Pennsylvanian with whom Duden had stayed while his cabin was built, the Germans expressed their great disappointment and "blamed Duden for having exaggerated the advantages and minimized the drawbacks of this part of the State of Missouri."²² Friedrich Gustorf, sometimes excessively eager to draw out Duden critics, found many of them on his visits to Missouri in 1835-36. He reports in his diary of October 16, 1836, that "One German gentleman from the vicinity of Hannover told me several sad stories about the suffering and hardship of several middle class German families in Missouri and Illinois."

Their experiences are beyond imagination. With their wives, sons, daughters they live wretched lives. Imagine people from the finest German classes living in miserable huts! Previously they had lived in comfortable houses, and now they have to eat the plainest of food and do the hardest work in the fields, surrounded by black forests and cut off from society and all the conveniences of life. They live in memory of the sweet past, in contrast with the miserable present, and in contemplation of a sad future.²³

In some cases the more prosperous of the earliest settlers, those who Duden had thought would be most successful, did manage for a time to achieve a way of life in rural Missouri which, although completely incongruous on the frontier, approximated their vision of the new Eden. Baron Wilhelm Johann von Bock and other members of the Berlin Society, who had settled near Duden's former residence and established the town of Dutzow, named for the Baron's estate in Mecklenburg, were visited by Koerner on his 1833 walking tour. He found that although there was sickness in almost every house, it being the malaria season, "their homes were comfortable, some even having brick houses. [Von Bock's] farm was well cultivated and comprised some rich bottom land. In some of their log cabins we even found some good pictures, libraries and pianos."²⁴ Some three years later when Gustorf visited, in August of 1836, he found the warm and hospitable welcome from Madame von Bock and her daughters which probably accounted for the stream of visitors and travelers who favored the Baron with their company. The living room of his home

was decorated with German engravings, a piano, and a small collection of books. It was filled with young Germans from the cultured classes, and the conversation was vivacious. They talked about a ball that had taken place in the house a few weeks ago, and also about the habits and customs of the Americans, which the Germans cannot get used to. We all refreshed ourselves with a strong coffee that was served in beautiful cups. All this went on until evening, when a delicious dinner was served as well as a warm punch that put everyone in a mellow mood. We then

sang German songs. Darkness fell on the scene of jubilant German youth in an area that had been settled only a few years. When the guests were preparing to leave, my gracious host invited me to stay for the night, which offer I readily accepted.²⁵

Having stayed the night, the next morning Gustorf made the obligatory visit to Duden's neglected cabin, then occupied by a shoemaker "surrounded by ragged children." He returned to the von Bock home for lunch, where he particularly enjoyed the real German cream puffs, and spent a pleasant afternoon with the von Bock daughters and other guests. The lively conversation focused on English language and literature, and one of the young guests played the piano and sang "exquisitely."

Gert Goebel, imbued with the values of the idealistic Gießen Society noted that the members of the Berlin Society were almost all estate owners, bankers, merchants, doctors, and

a number of them were actually of the nobility. The latter had no profession except being noble, and therefore had no substantial basis of earning a living. . . . The old Americans observed the doings of these people with dumb amazement, the Germans laughed at them, for the dignified ceremonials and the rather severe etiquette of their society contrasted strangely with the simple customs of their neighbors.²⁶

Friedrich Münch, one of the leaders of the ill-fated Gießen Society, criticized the Baron because even before he built a dwelling he prepared a log club house with billiard tables and a "poorly selected library."²⁷ Although disapproving of the life style of the nobility who surrounded the Baron, taking advantage of his hospitality, Goebel considered von Bock himself a "thoroughly good old gentleman." His grandiose dream of making Lake Creek, the small brook made famous throughout Germany by Duden, navigable to the Missouri River and building a large fashionable hotel in Dutzow to attract the rich plantation owners and other millionaires of the South during the summer months, was not realized and could not have been realized without more of a fortune than the Baron commanded. As his good nature and generosity continued to be abused and as his farm was neglected in favor of hunting parties and other diversions, his fortunes declined, but he and Mrs. von Bock spent their old age with their married daughters, who, according to Goebel, became highly respected and capable housewives, high praise from the republican son of the former tutor of the Prince of Coburg.

Among the less wealthy immigrants, who could not afford the amenities enjoyed by the von Bock family, the wives and daughters by necessity accommodated as best they could to the hardships of the frontier. Whether they had shared their husbands' vision of a new Eden in Missouri is rarely known. Jette Bruns observed that it was her relationship to Bruns, not inclination, that brought her to America. A story by Goebel indicates that during the preparations to leave their homes, the common sense of the women sometimes prevailed in the face of even the most acute emigration fever:

I have known German immigrants who were so fascinated by reading Duden's book that they did not want feather beds to be packed, maintaining that it would be nonsense to carry beds since they were going to a land with a Sicilian climate. Fortunately the attachment the women had for their feather beds triumphed over the illusions of their husbands, for it did not take long until the women found reason to be pleased with their sober foresight; the men kept silent, but they did like very much to climb into a warm bed.²⁸

There are few such revealing insights into politics of the sexes on the frontier, however. In general the views of women reflected in the diaries, letters, and observations of travelers are fragmentary and abound in one-dimensional stereotypes, heroic in many cases, but silent and accepting of the new environment into which they had been thrust. Timothy Flint, whose descriptions of the Lutheran settlers on the White Water River in Southeast Missouri,²⁹ among whom he lived for more than a year in 1819-1820, provide the first detailed vignettes of domestic, religious and social life of German settlers west of the Mississippi, was in many ways a perceptive observer, and some of his anecdotes illuminate characteristics of the women in direct contrast to his generalizations regarding their attitudes. "Their wives have no taste for parties and tea," he notes. "Silent, unwearying labor and the rearing of their children are their only pursuits."³⁰ Yet, his landlady and advocate, "Madam Ballinger [sic]," engages the minister, "an educated man, but a notorious drunkard," in a spirited argument when he comes to her house to offer a satiric comment on Flint:

"Well," said he, "I judge you will now get good fast, now that you have a Yankee preacher. Does he know one word of Dutch?" "Very little, I suppose," she replied, but in order to vindicate her preacher, she added, "but he knows French," etc.; and she went on giving my knowledge of various languages, according to her own fancy:—"And mein Gott, what I tinks much good, he does not trink one drop of whiskey!"³¹

In addition to being outspoken, rather than "submissive and silent" the women of the White Water River settlement seemed to take a healthy interest in their apparel. Flint reports:

I counted forty-five female dresses hung around my sleeping room, all of cotton, raised and manufactured and colored in the family. The ladies of the city are not more inwardly gratified with the possession of the newest and most costly furniture, than those good, laborious, submissive and silent housewives are, in hanging round their best apartments fifty male and female dresses, all manufactured by their own hand.³²

The members of the Gießen Society tended to see in their wives a saintly forbearance and dedication to duty. Goebel believed the best educated women made the best farmer's wives:

They were the most unpretentious and modest women and never demanded of their husbands comforts and unessential conveniences to which they certainly had become accustomed, but which the financial situation of their husbands precluded. These women, who never lost sight of their genuine feminine dignity, considered it no disgrace to do

their own washing and scrubbing, to milk the cows, in other words, to do work the like of which they had previously never been obliged to do.³³

Doing the work the like of which they had never been obliged to do before and never imagined they might have to do was necessary and urgent on the frontier and contemporary observers agree that, without the contributions of women, progress, and perhaps even survival, would not have been possible. After the first rough cabin had been built, the men usually took on work in the neighborhood to earn extra money, Goebel reports, while the women and children cleared away underbrush in the woods. Some women even made fence rails, a task Goebel had reason to know required considerable skill,³⁴ and when the men spent their days off or moonlit nights building fences, their wives and children carried rails on their shoulders to help.³⁵ In the towns, as well, women made substantial contributions to the family income. Goebel writes of Bernhard Fricke, a harness maker from Kassel who settled in Washington early in the 1830s, commenting ambiguously that as long as he worked at it, he had a good trade.³⁶ The other Germans in the little town were not married and needed a place to board. Mrs. Fricke, it seems, was a model housekeeper and cook, "so she had no rest until she had resolved to take these young people in to board."³⁷ Soon travelers and others sought lodging there, and the little log house, in which the family had lived at first, had to be enlarged to accommodate the demand. This is all we would know of Mrs. Fricke, that she was persuaded to take in boarders and lodgers, had the Missouri River not been very low in the fall of 1853. Jessie Benton Fremont, returning from Independence, where she had seen her husband off on the privately financed expedition to locate an advantageous southern railroad route to the Pacific, left the steamboat at Washington to continue overland to St. Louis. She was alone and had been told that only Germans lived in Washington, but restless at the slow progress of the boat and declaring that "Anywhere in Missouri I felt at home," she was deposited on the bank among the crowd who had come to watch the boat stop. Asking for a hotel she was led into the "clean, ugly, comfortable town," and taken to a large house, where she was welcomed by the mistress and her daughters, who "came forward and made me as quietly welcome as though they knew me."

Their faces, the furniture, the violins and guitar, and high pile of music books; the pretty light hair of the women, too-tightly-plaited, all were Germany itself. I pleased myself by accepting this unquestioning hospitality as it was given, and still did not give my name.³⁸

It was after Jessie Fremont had been shown up to her room and had taken off her hat and gloves that the mother of the family was overcome with an overwhelming homesickness and grief for the lost past, suddenly reminded by the gloves of her former life, and convinced that her visitor was from her homeland.

"Ah, dear God! You are a lady from my country;—you are from Hesse-Cassel. The ladies in my country wear these gloves when they go hunting with the king. They have stopped in their carriages at my door, and I have carried them drink. It is twenty-four years since I have come away from my country; but I love it best . . ." and then she let the tears fall, for the lost home.³⁹

When Jessie Fremont identified herself, however, the hostess, composing herself, seemed as "pleased as if I had been a lady hunting with the king," and the news made her doubly welcome in the family, whose members considered her father their senator and a friend to all the Germans. She shared in the celebration for the wedding anniversary of her hosts and enjoyed what seemed to be their habitual evening recreation:

After the early supper, they all gathered in the large room, which was positively elegant from its glistening cleanliness, and the window-seats filled with plants, and the large table in the centre, covered with music and instruments. With the same delightful simplicity and absence of consciousness which had marked everything else among them, each took his instrument and place by the table,—sons and sons-in-law,—the father and several of the younger women taking their music, and then followed piece after piece of such music as only Germans can play rightly,—occasionally all joining in a lovely song.⁴⁰

Many of those contemplating emigration tried to plan for the changed environment they expected on the frontier. Some sent scouts to report on conditions and others made elaborate plans for the entertainment and recreation of their families. William Robyn writes of the rich gentleman in Emmerich whose intention was to buy a large tract of government land in Missouri to establish a cattle ranch. Realizing they would have no near neighbors, he decided to have his children study music so they could amuse themselves and buying a harp, violin, guitar, flute, and two horns, he engaged Robyn and another teacher to instruct the children, thereby gaining a son-in-law when one of the daughters fell in love with Robyn and announced that she would not go to America if she could not marry her music teacher.⁴¹ In spite of such well-laid plans and of sustained efforts on the part of emigrant families to transplant their cultural and social life to the new country, however, homesickness was a constant in their lives. Jette Bruns, an articulate woman, given to examining her life and experiences, writes hauntingly of the pervasive dreams of home, "the memories of the sweet past," that accompanied her waking and sleeping moments even when she found satisfaction and happiness in her accomplishments. On December 3, 1836, she wrote Heinrich:

You cannot believe how satisfying it is to work. I probably have had very few days in which I was ever as busy as I am here, that is, having to do hard work, but I'm quite happy in doing this and like all the others I have a tremendous appetite and sleep soundly. (It is strange, but almost every night now I have been dreaming of our father, and then I am still a child with him and I spend beautiful hours in that dream.)

Struggling with her own homesickness and the often disabling depressions of her brother Bernhard, Jette found her determination to survive the hardships she encountered strengthened by the plight of her neighbor, Nicholas Hesse.

Our first visit at Mr. Hesse's upset me very much. The lady took Bruns aside, cried and complained that she couldn't stand it here. They were the only refined family there. No doubt Mr. Hesse was to be blamed himself that he wasn't doing so well. He had brought with him a teacher, a secretary, workmen and a maid. He wanted to establish a distillery at a time when there weren't even fields there. Soon thereafter when the people began to claim American wages, that didn't work. His wife wanted to remain a lady and did not want to work. He would have liked to have seen it through and worked and become a surveyor. This was a big setback in our expectations. But as it often happens instead of making us disappointed it strengthened us and steeled us even more. We were not going to do as they had done. This was our firm resolve. The Hesses went back to Europe.⁴²

Back in Germany after a journey on which his brother died in St. Louis of ague, complicated, the doctor thought, by homesickness, and his only son, an infant, died on the train between Lancaster and Philadelphia, Hesse showed sympathy and understanding for the illness which had caused the collapse of his dreams:

The memory of relatives, friends and old acquaintances causes a longing which in many, especially tender-hearted women, creates a homesickness which often degenerates into real melancholy that cannot be cured by any medicine. The cause is not in a faulty judgment of the conditions of the old and new home, but rather the love for the original home, which is common to all people of the earth.⁴³

He wrote a book for prospective emigrants to America in which he advised that "The conditions for happiness in the American woods are . . . quite different for the father of a family than for an unmarried man,"⁴⁴ pointing out some of the day-to-day frustrations the settler could expect to experience in establishing a farm.

Whether mesmerized by Duden, fired by their own noble aspirations, or frustrated and disheartened by the situation at home, most of those planning emigration seemed incapable of imagining the "conditions in the American woods." Even those who believed they were taking all necessary precautions were committed so firmly to a dream, whether it be the achievement of complete individual freedom or the establishment of a rejuvenated *Germania* in the Far West, that news of limited opportunities, hardship and suffering, even of illness and death, carried little weight with them. Friedrich Steines sent his younger brother Hermann, accompanied by a cousin, Adolph Greef, and his family, to scout the situation in Missouri before departing with his parents, his own family, and other members of the Solingen Society. Greef wrote bluntly from St. Louis in December of 1833: "America is not a place for immigrating scholars. The farmers and artisans represent the educated classes here."⁴⁵ Hermann had discovered in Baltimore that

"The interior of the country, especially the state of Missouri, is in very bad repute," and concluded that "if one is well located in his native land, he ought not to leave it lightmindedly. . . . emigration means a revolution in one's life."⁴⁶ From St. Louis he wrote in detail of the problems and dangers, citing letter and page of the appropriate cautionary advice in Duden's *Report* to reinforce his own observations. He made the pilgrimage to Duden's farm, drank from Lake Creek, and with his companion went into Duden's hut and recited some passages from the *Report*; but he decided that although he was not familiar with all aspects of farm life, as far as he did know it he hardly thought it would "arouse reveries" in him. He realized that women would have to be strong in body and buoyant in spirit to hold to the dreams of their husbands in a one-room cabin on the frontier. Yet when the moral choice had to be made between oppression in Germany and freedom in America, especially when it was clear to him that his brother intended to come whatever he said, Hermann found justification for emigration.

There will be inconveniences for all of us to face, but if you wish to see our whole family living in the same country, a country where freedom of speech obtains, where no spies are eavesdropping, where no wretched simpletons criticize your every word and seek to detect therein a venom that might endanger the life of the state, the church and the home, in short, if you wish to be really happy and independent then come here and become farmers in the United States. Here you will find a class of beings that . . . still respect the man in man. . . . here no despots are to be feared.⁴⁷

Meanwhile Friedrich, irritated by the injustices of the military and a regimented school system, determined to join his brother in Missouri, looked forward to a happy life as a planter

Wo noch der Mensch! ein Mensch! den Menschen achtet
Nur Seelen-Adel gilt.
Wo Unschuld nicht im finstern Kerker schmachtet,
Die Brust für Freiheit schwillt.⁴⁸

"In the still seclusion of the Missouri forests," he wrote, "where nature still reigns supreme, there it must be better. There many hearts shaken by storms will find peace."⁴⁹ He arrived in St. Louis in early July of 1834 and his family seemed to have withstood the trip well, but before the month was out his four children, his wife, and a sister-in-law had died of cholera. He retreated to the Missouri woods, built his farm on Tavern Creek in Franklin County, remarried, and after a few restless years⁵⁰ established Oakfield Academy, where the sons of St. Louis German families received rigorous training in languages and science, finally finding there, perhaps, the peace and independence he had sought in the Missouri woods.

Paul Follenius, leader with Friedrich Münch of the Gießen Society, was to see his dream of establishing a new and free Germany in the great North American republic as a "refuge . . . for all those to whom, as to ourselves, conditions have become unbearable,"⁵¹ founder in dissension and discord. Even before the two groups, one traveling with

Münch by way of Baltimore, the other with Follenius by way of New Orleans, met in St. Louis it was clear the plan was doomed. In one of the largest, most ambitious and thoroughly planned group emigrations, the Gießen Society had sent scouts to the Arkansas Territory to locate a favorable site for settlement, believing that climatic conditions there approximated those on the Spanish plains and that their Society with its carefully selected cross section of German social and occupational groups could in fact achieve a model German state to serve as a center of culture for the Germans who were to follow. When the scouts returned and reported that no such plan could be carried out in the Arkansas Territory, the plans to emigrate were so far advanced they could no longer be cancelled, and the group set out for Missouri, launched by Münch's "Emigration Song," which, with the optimism of its genre, anticipated none of the disappointments and tragedies they were to endure in the "huts on the Missouri, where the sun of freedom shines."⁵² Follenius, one of the leaders, with his brother Karl Follen, of the League of Black Brothers, the revolutionary student group at the University of Gießen, was married to Münch's younger sister, and the brothers-in-law settled with their families on adjoining property near Duden's Hill. "Of unusual height and broad shoulders, a good gymnast, a good swimmer, a good duelist," Münch wrote of his friend, "he learned to swing an axe as well as any one."⁵³ In spite of rising the earliest in the morning, plowing and sowing, in spite of his own determined efforts and those of his wife, he could not get ahead.

As with many gifted people he lacked the ability of exact figuring, which is to be sure subordinate, and yet so important in practical life. In spite of tremendous effort and moderate expectations it remained impossible for him to get beyond an existence full of worries and deprivation.⁵⁴

Shortly after returning to his farm from St. Louis in the fall of 1844, the newspaper he had tried to start having failed after only three issues,⁵⁵ he fell ill of typhoid fever and died, leaving his wife with six children, four of whom had been born in Missouri.

In the Westphalia settlement the Bruns and Geisberg families struggled to establish a foothold on the Maries and Osage rivers. A second son was born to Jette in February, 1837, and named for her father, Max. She recalled in her autobiography: "... the boys were a joy to us. But often in the evening, when the workmen were sitting around the only fireplace, I went to bed with the children in order to be out of the way."⁵⁶ In April of 1837 Dr. Bruns wrote to Jette's uncle, Caspar Geisberg: "In general all Germans are very satisfied and would not exchange their situation with their former life. It is indeed beautiful here. . . . The location is like a paradise. The soil cannot be worn out." Work was proceeding on the large house they had decided to build on a hill overlooking the Maries, but so slowly Jette wrote her brother in August "that the entire world is amazed." She was to regret the decision to build a German *Fachwerk* house, patterned after those she had known in Oelde and Stromberg⁵⁷ and wished many times that they

had settled for a good log house. The Maries flooded and the garden was washed away. She confided to Heinrich:

We have had very little luck with everything we have tackled this year. . . . Now we have many people and little to eat. A great worry for the housewife. . . . Well, what else should I complain about? That I am very often vexed? That I feel doubly annoyed with all these misfortunes? That it is no fun to represent cook, nursemaid and housewife in one person?

Jette was not yet twenty-four, and sometimes her burdens and responsibilities seemed more than she could bear. Her letters report misfortune after misfortune. Little pigs floated away in the flood, and split rails for fences had to be lugged back and put into place. Her brother Bernhard grew worse, imagining thousands of voices in the air, and often unable to do anything when there was so much work to do.⁵⁸ The maid, Jenne, disappointed with America, lived in a state of outrage, attacking the children, the chickens, the animals, inanimate objects and the world at large. "It is a sad and money-poor time," she wrote to her Uncle Caspar on Christmas Day, 1837. The next year was no better, and although her husband and brothers continued to write with great pride of their farms, the land they had cleared, the money they had made, and their bright prospects, and although she sometimes wrote of the landscape and garden with playful affection, cataloguing and describing the domestic animals and reporting proudly on the progress of the children, the tragedies that occurred moved her deeply. Two Swedes who kept a store on the Osage River inexplicably locked their doors, got into boats and disappeared without a word. Someone read that a body was found later in the Missouri River near St. Charles which matched the description of one of them. The other body was swept away. A young man riding home from town at night fell from his horse and died from the injuries. A neighbor who had come on the ship with them drowned in the Maries. On March 14, 1838, Jette wrote of a young neighbor who was burned to death:

Today young Mrs. Huber was buried. It has been almost two weeks since she rushed into the arms of her husband . . . completely enveloped in flames. She suffered tremendously. Her face, the arms and shoulders had been burned. Still affected by giving birth and by the death of her second son, she had been overcome by dizziness. . . . She could give no other reason for the outbreak of the fire. Often I have admired her heavenly patience when she was suffering those severe pains. The wounds began to heal, she could see with both eyes, but the fever became strong, the fire went inside, and she died last Monday. She was not yet twenty years old.

For Jette the serpent in paradise was not the rattler whose seventeen rattles she sent to her brother as a novelty, but the tragedies she witnessed and the fever which struck again and again, six times in the summer of 1838. Her loneliness and the homesickness for her large, closely knit and often quarrelsome family at home never abated. In June, 1840, she wrote to Heinrich:

How lonely I am. No female being who thinks as I do, with whom now and then I can exchange my feelings when I need that kind of refreshment, when I want to forget the daily troubles and sorrows, when these could be set aside for a short time. . . ."

Two more children were born, and her pleasure in them was immense, but in 1841 three of her children, those born in America died within three weeks of each other of dysentery. The little girl, Johanna, named for Jette's sister in Germany, died September 13, Max on September 19, and the baby, Rudolph, who seemed at first to be recovering, died suddenly on October 2. The deaths of the children, for whose future she had left her home, devastated her. She wrote to Heinrich in November: "Now all my wishes and strivings have been made quiet. I don't even care to go to Germany any more. It hurts me too much. . . . How gladly I would have said farewell to the world six weeks ago. That I had to lose little Rudolph hurt me too much." In December she wrote to her sister Johanna:

My thoughts are constantly with . . . little Rudolph . . . with Johanna . . . with Max. A thousand memories remind me of them. It is always quiet and empty here now. We have suffered much while the children were sick. I cannot really imagine how I could have stood it so calmly. From one bed to the other, day and night no rest, constantly swaying between hope and doubt. Oh, these were four terrible weeks. Max was completely exhausted and finally went to sleep quietly, but Johanna and little Rudolph had their death struggle. I cannot forget it!

In the years following the deaths of her children, Jette was often, as she put it, at odds with the whole world. Left alone for long periods while Bruns kept up his widely scattered practice, for which he was often paid in IOUs, having given up all hope of ever seeing her family in Germany again, she wanted only to leave Westphalia and start anew somewhere else. "I really don't like the farmer's life any more," she wrote in May, 1846. "I would like to have some peace and quiet. There's nothing in it for me but a lot of hard work." She had by now spent almost ten years in the Westphalia settlement, and her oldest son, Hermann, had been sent to St. Louis to attend the Jesuit Academy. In April of 1847, in a letter to Heinrich that bore the sad news of the death by consumption of the wife of their brother, Franz, after a long and harrowing illness, she reported: "We went to St. Louis, Bruns and I. For the first time, after ten years, I saw a city again. And yet nothing was strange to me, neither the people, nor the houses, nor all the doings and goings in the street." In August of that year she lost another child, a son, born prematurely, who lived only eight days. Of the eleven Bruns children, five died in childhood and two more preceded her in death. In 1851, after Bruns had given up his practice and they had moved to a large farm across the Osage at Shipley's Ferry, five-year old Albert died of sunstroke. They sold the farm a few years later and in February of 1854 moved, at Jette's insistence, to Jefferson City. Here Bruns fell into such a severe depression that she later recalled this period as the worst in her life,⁵⁹ but eventually he recovered and started a business which

seemed to thrive. In 1856 they were able to visit Germany, and she realized her dream of seeing the brothers and sisters she had left behind twenty years before and even returned to Oelde, although few of the old friends of her youth were still there.

The Civil War brought chaotic times to Missouri, and Germans were often threatened and reviled by Confederate sympathizers for their strong pro-Union stand. It was a grievous time for her. The son named for her brother Heinrich was killed in battle in Iuka, Mississippi, in 1863, two months before his twenty-first birthday, and Dr. Bruns died in 1864 while serving as mayor of Jefferson City. He left his business affairs in a shambles, and Jette found herself alone with many debts and no resources. To support her children, she opened a boarding house⁶⁰ and managed to get through the worst of her financial problems with the assistance of her brother-in-law, Hermann Bruns, and prominent friends, although it would be many years before she was free of financial worries. In 1872, when she was fifty-nine, Hermann, her oldest son, the one born in Germany, died at age thirty-eight. She lived with her other children, visiting them in Ohio, St. Louis, Seattle, and Jefferson City, suffering their griefs and disappointments, worrying about her grandchildren. It was not until the early 1890s, twenty-five years after Dr. Bruns's death, that she finally received a pension for his service as a medical officer in the Union Army and became financially independent. She spent the remainder of her life in Jefferson City, where she died November 3, 1899, sixty-three years and one day after her arrival in the Westphalia settlement. Her daughter, Ottilie Hess, writing in 1891 of her hope that her mother would bring her autobiography up to date, evoked the essence of her character:

Naturally it is no pleasant work, for these were heavy worrisome years in which she, a woman standing by herself, had to create an existence for herself and her children. But it will be a pleasant remembrance for her descendants and an example of what will power may achieve.

Friedrich Münch, who became widely known in the Far West for his writings on German life in Missouri, recognized that since everyone had to help himself on the frontier, the old patriarchal family had been done away with. In his assessment of the contributions of the wives of the Latin farmers who came to Missouri in the 1830s and 1840s, however, the women appear as abstract, if heroic figures, always stoic in the face of hardships and disappointments, carrying out the traditional roles of the homemaker in the background while the tragedies of the men are played out center stage:

Our wives here have an important and difficult task, but they are aware of their importance and are never plagued by boredom and are satisfied with what they accomplish for the welfare of their families. They keep their houses clean and in good order, they take care of all the cooking, baking, washing, knitting, mending, sewing, . . . take care of the children, milk the cows, make butter and cheese, dry vegetables, make soap, tend to the flower and vegetable garden, take care of the chickens,

and in spite of everything they do not cease to live as cultured human beings.⁶¹

The illuminating glimpses of the women on the White Water River who astounded Timothy Flint with their industry—and forty-five female dresses hanging around his room—and of Mrs. Fricke, overwhelmed with long suppressed homesickness on the evening of her anniversary, pouring out her grief to Jessie Fremont, provide a human dimension to frontier life generally missing in the early writings of settlers, visitors, and observers. Jette Bruns, often lonely and weary, often plagued by boredom, scolding her brothers and sisters at home in Germany because they would not write her of the social activities she missed so much—then helplessly envious when they did write of balls and parties—complaining of the hardships, shaken by the tragedies in the Westphalia settlement, grieving for her lost children, is no less heroic because she was not silent, not always (or even very often) satisfied with what she could accomplish for her family.

It was this vitality, willpower, and determination that transformed the frontier. Accepting full partnership in the often disastrous adventure of establishing a new home in the Missouri woods, their determination to survive strengthened by the adversities they faced, they held to their values and strong sense of family. The orphaned children of their brothers, sisters and cousins, their parents and other aging relatives were taken into their households as a matter of course. They valued education and saw that their children, girls as well as boys, had the best education possible. When the Old Order Lutherans from Saxony opened the *Gymnasium* or "Log Cabin College" which was to become Concordia Seminary in 1839, young women as well as young men were enrolled. At a time when men played the female roles in the theatrical productions of the Anglo-American Thespian societies in Missouri,⁶² women and children took active part in all aspects of the theatricals and musical programs put on by the *Turner* and other German organizations. Their love for music accounted for the preservation in family groups, or later in musical societies across the state, of the old German songs which seemed their last tie to the homeland. They brought and transplanted on the frontier the concept of Christmas as a family-centered religious holiday at a time when Americans were not quite sure when it occurred or, if they knew, amused themselves by shooting, setting off dynamite, and engaging in other raucous activities to celebrate the day.⁶³ They refused to accommodate to the melting pot concept of American history even during times of virulent nativism when it would have been easier to do so, insisting that their children learn the German language and carry on German traditions. As a consequence, the little centers for German culture which Duden and Follenius dreamed of did in fact arise in Missouri. In Augusta and Hermann, in Washington and Westphalia, in Altenburg and Freistatt and in many other towns and communities German cultural traditions survived well into the twentieth century, handed down in the family from generation to generation. The immigrant women who came to the

frontier were largely responsible for the preservation of traditional values which have had a lasting impact on Missouri's cultural, historical, and social development.

University of Missouri-Columbia
Columbia, Missouri

Notes

¹ Bruns-Geisberg correspondence, a collection of unpublished letters owned by Carla Schulz-Geisberg of Nienberge/Münster. All subsequent quotations relating to the Westphalia settlement are taken from this collection, which is currently being prepared for publication (A. E. Schroeder, trans. and ed.), unless otherwise indicated.

² A. E. Schroeder, trans. and ed., "The Autobiography of Henriette Bruns," unpublished TS, p. 8.

³ In the Bruns-Geisberg correspondence there is a letter of December 14, 1831, from Heinrich Hüffer, the only brother of Jette's mother, Johanna, who had died in 1827 at the age of thirty-one after the birth of her seventh child. In it he reports to Caspar Geisberg: "B. confessed to me recently that he did not have a fortune, but that his position earns him a satisfactory income, so, for instance, last year he had been able to credit himself with 1,300 thaler. This estimate may have been somewhat high; however, one can say that he should certainly be able to reach half of this amount in the future."

⁴ On November, 6, 1838, Jette, still torn from the parting with her sisters and brothers and smarting from slights by the Geisberg clan, wrote her brother, Heinrich: "Uncle . . . and Aunt have, since I am a married woman, treated us not always very kindly; it hurt, but I tried to make Bruns forget it."

⁵ "Autobiography," p. 13.

⁶ Nicholas Hesse, *Das westliche Nordamerika, in besonderer Beziehung auf die deutschen Einwanderer in ihren landwirtschaftlichen, Handels- und Gewerbeverhältnissen* (Paderborn: Joseph Wesener, 1838), p. 56, reports that he together with six other German families settled in Westphalia in the late summer of 1835 (all translations by A. E. Schroeder).

⁷ Gottfried Duden, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerika's und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26 und 1827), in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Ueberbevölkerung* (Elberfeld: Sam Lucas, 1829). For easier reference the English edition is quoted. *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, 25, 26, and 1827)* (Columbia, MO: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1980).

⁸ Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1941), p. 149.

⁹ Duden, Thirteenth Letter, p. 55.

¹⁰ The Maries River, which the Germans called the Maria River.

¹¹ Duden, p. 76.

¹² Hesse, p. 91. Actually by May, 1838, Jette had apparently reconciled herself to snakes in Westphalia. She wrote her brother Heinrich that she had sent him a rattlesnake rattle with seventeen rattles.

¹³ A map of the "so-called Westphalia Settlement" attached to Hesse's book shows approximately thirty German names along the Maries River indicating farms purchased by settlers 1834-37.

¹⁴ "Autobiography," p. 17.

¹⁵ David Goebel was a professor of mathematics at Coburg who joined the Gießen Emigration Society, arriving in St. Louis in the summer of 1834. He settled near Washington, MO.

¹⁶ Gert Goebel, *Länger als ein Menschenleben in Missouri* (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1877), p. 50 (all translations by A. E. Schroeder).

¹⁷ Steines reports that "Arnz, Scheulen, Kloenne, Clarenbach, Uberr, Sandfort, Muehlinghaus and Jaeger Heuer have all gone 100 miles farther west and have settled in

the neighborhood of Jefferson City." William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, 15 (April 1921), 536.

¹⁸ William G. Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 15 (July 1921), 677.

¹⁹ In the second and third editions of his *Report*, published in 1832 and 1834, as well as in essays and letters, Duden vigorously contested the conclusions of others and defended his own.

²⁰ Thomas J. McCormack, *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809-1896* (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1909), I, 314.

²¹ Jacob Haun, one of the earliest settlers in Montgomery County, settled on Lake Creek, where seven years later Duden became his neighbor.

²² Koerner, I, 321.

²³ Fred Gustorf, *The Uncorrupted Heart: Journal and Letters of Frederick Julius Gustorf* (Columbia, MO.: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1969), p. 77.

²⁴ Koerner, I, 320.

²⁵ Gustorf, pp. 134-35.

²⁶ Goebel, pp. 7-8.

²⁷ Friedrich Münch as quoted by William G. Bek, "The Followers of Duden," *Missouri Historical Review*, 19 (October, 1924), 129.

²⁸ Goebel, p. 7.

²⁹ Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years, Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeys, in the Valley of the Mississippi* (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Co., 1826), pp. 232-38. This group crossed the Mississippi River near Ste. Genevieve on January 1, 1800, brought from North Carolina under the leadership of Major Frederick Bollinger, and settled along the White Water River.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 235-36.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 236.

³³ Goebel, p. 68.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35, writes of the exhausting days he and a companion spent trying to split rails until an American showed them how to select the trees suitable for rails and go about the task.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Jessie Benton Fremont, *The Story of the Guard: A Chronicle of the War* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863), p. 55.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57. Although Jessie Fremont does not identify the family with whom she stayed in Washington, historian Ralph Gregory, who has made an extensive study of early settlers of Franklin and Warren counties, believes it must have been the Bernhard Fricke family (see *Washington Missourian*, 2 May 1968).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

⁴¹ Ernst C. Krohn, ed., "The Autobiography of William Robyn," in *Missouri Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), pp. 239-55.

⁴² "Autobiography," p. 18.

⁴³ Hesse, p. 208.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁴⁵ Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 14 (January 1920), 218.

⁴⁶ Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 14 (October 1919), 53.

⁴⁷ Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 14 (January 1920), 230.

⁴⁸ Friedrich Steines, "Stimmt an ein Lied, ihr Schwestern und ihr Brüder," *Deutsches Volksliedarchiv Freiburg*, Mappe in Gr. XIII.

⁴⁹ Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 15 (April 1921), 521.

⁵⁰ Bek, *Missouri Historical Review*, 16 (October 1921), 126.

⁵¹ Friedrich Münch, *Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit* (St. Louis: Conrad Witter & Neustadt a.d. Haardt, 1873), pp. 64-65, writing his recollections in 1861 refers to the pamphlet, *Aufforderung und Erklärung in Betreff einer Auswanderung im Großen aus Deutschland in die nordamerikanischen Freistaaten*, which Münch and Paul Follenius published in 1833 (all translations by A. E. Schroeder).

⁵² Friedrich Münch, "Auswanderungslied," *Gesammelte Schriften* (St. Louis: C. Witter, 1902), p. 3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁵⁵ *Die Waage*, (St. Louis, 1844).

⁵⁶ "Autobiography," p. 20.

⁵⁷ The Bruns house is still standing in Westphalia, MO, although it has been unoccupied for a number of years.

⁵⁸ "Autobiography," p. 20.

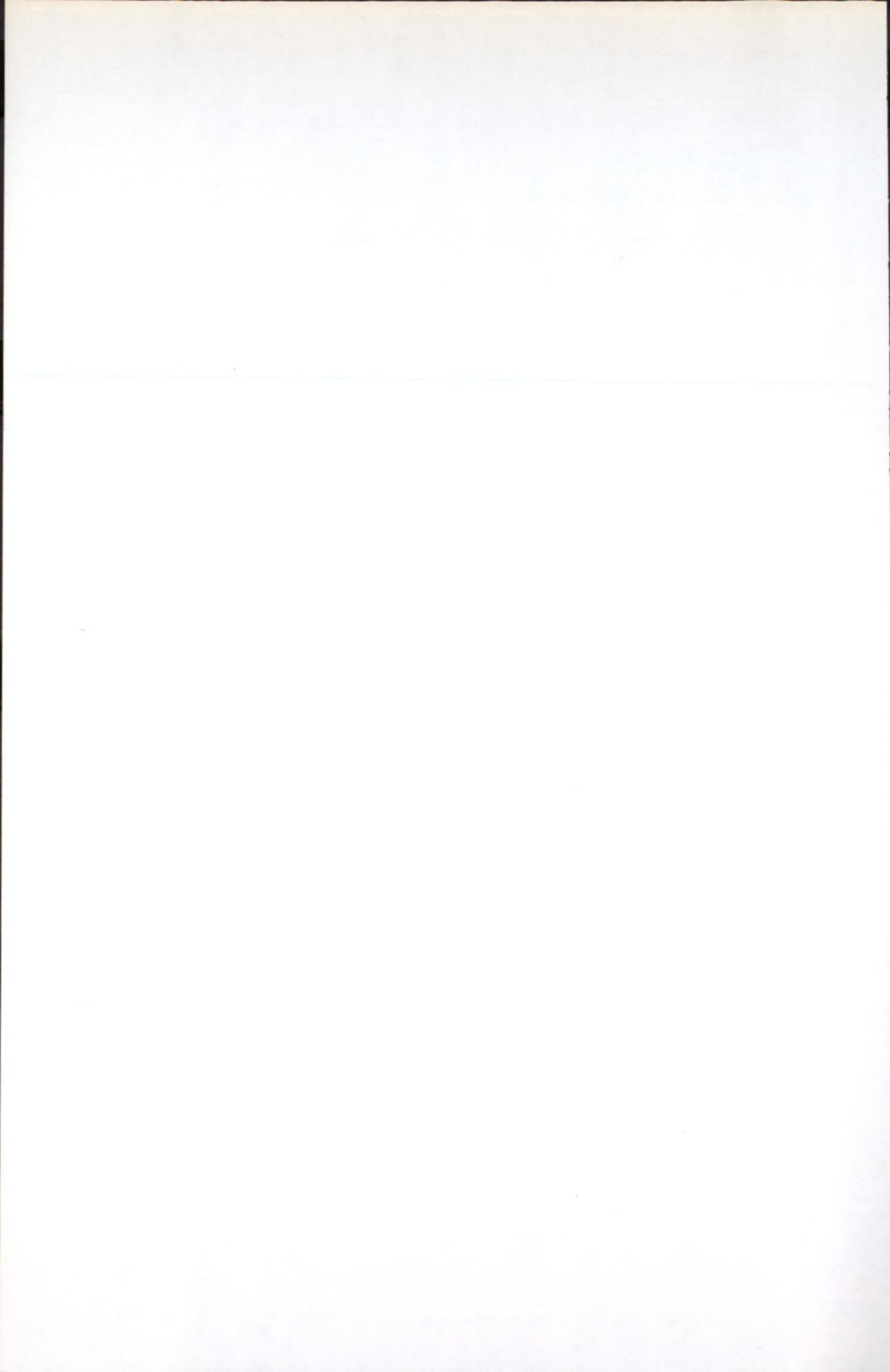
⁵⁹ "Autobiography," p. 26.

⁶⁰ The Bruns Boarding House, across from the Capitol, came to be known as the "German Diet," because it was patronized by Münch, Goebel, and other German legislators and officials. Judge Arnold Krekel called it "the radical corner."

⁶¹ Friedrich Münch, *Der Staat Missouri, geschildert mit besonderer Rücksicht auf deutsche Einwanderung* (New York—St. Louis: Farmers' & Vine-Growers' Society, 1859), p. 100.

⁶² See Elbert R. Bowen, *Theatrical Entertainments in Rural Missouri Before the Civil War*. Univ. of Missouri Studies, 32 (Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Press, 1959).

⁶³ The seventeen-year old son of a neighboring farmer confided to Frederick Steines that he didn't know whether Christmas came in January or not (*Missouri Historical Review*, 15, 667) and Gert Goebel reports that before the Civil War in Missouri "There was no church celebration of any sort. No presents were given and the fine German custom of decorating a Christmas tree was unknown" (Goebel, pp. 80-81).



Heinz Kloss

Die Deutschamerikaner als Vorkämpfer eines sprachlichen und weltanschaulichen Pluralismus im amerikanischen Schulwesen

I. Vorbemerkung

Im Folgenden soll der Beitrag der Deutschamerikaner zur Schaffung und Aufrechterhaltung bestimmter pluralistischer Möglichkeiten im amerikanischen Schulwesen skizziert werden.¹ Dabei handelt es sich zum Teil um solche Erscheinungsformen, die keineswegs von allen Menschen liberaler Gesinnung begrüßt werden. Zu allen Zeiten haben einige Amerikaner und zu gewissen Zeiten—so um 1920—hat wohl ihre große Mehrheit im Namen des Fortschritts gewünscht, daß das öffentliche Schulwesen englisch sei, und nicht wenige sogar wünschten, daß auch das private Schulwesen einsprachig englisch sei und daß auf der Grundschulstufe, also etwa bis zur 6. Klasse, andere Sprachen nicht einmal als Fach gelehrt würden. Sehr viele Amerikaner bedauerten und bedauern noch jetzt, daß es neben den weltlichen Staatsschulen in ihrem Lande auch private konfessionelle Schulen gibt. Und das Bedauern steigerte sich zu aktiver Gegenwehr, wenn diese konfessionellen Schulen, wie u.a. die lutherischen und katholischen der Deutschamerikaner, um 1890 zugleich zweisprachig waren, zuweilen sogar mit einem deutlichen Übergewicht der deutschen Sprache, oder wenn sie, wie die Gemeindeschulen der Altamischen von 1970, Lehrmethoden und vor allem auch Lehrziele vertraten, die nach der Überzeugung dieser Kritiker weit hinter den Erfordernissen eines modernen Schulwesens zurückblieben.

Es wird in Westeuropa und Nordamerika zu oft (und in den kommunistischen Staaten fast immer) übersehen, daß die bejahenswerten Ideale und Ziele, für die sich die verschiedenen großen Denker und Idealisten der Gegenwart einsetzen, sich nicht durchweg leicht miteinander vereinbaren lassen, sondern sich teilweise ausschließen oder doch mindestens behindern. Die große Mehrheit der Menschheit von heute bejaht z.B. sowohl die Emanzipation der Rassen wie die der

Sprachen und Sprachgemeinschaften. Aber wenige Menschen sind sich klar darüber, wie sehr die Verwirklichung dieser beiden Ziele dadurch erschwert wird, daß es bei der Emanzipation der Rassen vornehmlich um die *Aufhebung* von Sondereinrichtungen (*desegregation*) geht, bei der Emanzipation der Sprachgruppen hingegen vornehmlich um die *Schaffung* oder Duldung von "segregierenden" Einrichtungen, z.B. um eigene Schulen.² Auf der Ebene der abstrakten Theorien wird das Ideal der Gleichheit vornehmlich durch desegregierende Institutionen verwirklicht, während das Ideal der Freiheit fordert, daß gerade im Schulwesen ein unbegrenzter Pluralismus herrsche, zumal auf sprachlichem und religiösem Gebiet. Diese teilweise Unvereinbarkeit so vieler der höchsten Ideale der Menschheit trägt dazu bei, der Weltgeschichte tragische Züge zu verleihen, da nur schwer zu verhindern ist, daß durch die Verwirklichung eines bestimmten Ideals ein anderes zu Schaden kommt.

Persönlichkeiten und ganze Regierungen, die diese Antinomie nicht einsehen wollen und an die alleinige Gültigkeit und Fortschrittlichkeit der von ihnen verkündeten Menschheitsziele glauben, sind unfähig, den tragischen Grundzug im Wesen geschichtlicher Abläufe zu erkennen und werden durch diese Einseitigkeit verführt, Andersdenkende rücksichtslos zu verfolgen.

Wenn die Deutschamerikaner im Schulwesen pluralistische Züge einführten oder verteidigten, so dienten sie damit dem Ideal der Freiheit. Diese Gesamtleistung können, nein, müssen auch solche Freiheitsfreunde bejahren, die gleichzeitig bestimmte konkrete Einzelergebnisse bedauern, wenn nicht gar beklagen.

II. Die Durchsetzung der zweisprachigen Staatsschule

Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert hat auf dem Boden der heutigen Vereinigten Staaten einige Fälle gekannt, wo es freie öffentliche—aber nicht staatliche—Schulen gab; und an diesen wurden nichtenglische Sprachen gebraucht.³ Im Bereich der Staatsschule bedeutete der Durchbruch von der rein englischen zur zweisprachigen oder sogar nicht-englischen Schule ein Gesetz Ohios vom 1. April 1839,⁴ das ich 1940 als "Ausgangspunkt des neueren Volksgruppenrechts in den Vereinigten Staaten" bezeichnet habe.⁵ Dieses Gesetz wurde nicht etwa geräuschlos und beiläufig angenommen, sondern war das Ergebnis mehrjähriger Auseinandersetzungen mit den vor allem unter den *Whigs* tonangebenden Zweisprachigkeitsgegnern.⁶ Die Hauptbestimmungen wurden acht Jahre später (unter Ersetzung von "German" durch "French") in Louisiana übernommen.⁷ Wegen ihrer Bedeutung, die ihnen zumal auch im Hinblick auf die Zweisprachigkeitsgesetzgebung im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert zukommt, gebe ich beide Gesetze im Wortlaut wieder:

Ohio: Gesetz von 1839

Sec. 18: In any district where the directors keep an English school and do not have the branches taught in German it shall be lawful

Louisiana: Gesetz von 1847

Art. 26: In any district where the directors keep an English school and do not have the branches taught in French, it shall be lawful

for youth in such district who desire to learn in the German language to attend a district German school; and the directors of the district where such youth reside on being satisfied that such youth have actually attended school under some duly qualified teacher shall give the teacher or teachers where such youth attend an order or orders on the proper township treasure for the portion of school money that would be coming to such youth from the funds of the proper district and the same rule shall be adopted and privileges allowed in favor of those wishing to learn the English who reside in districts where the German language is taught and so of any other language.

for the youth in such districts, who desire to learn in the French language, to attend at a district school where the French is taught; and the directors of the district where such youth reside, on being satisfied that such youth have actually attended school under some qualified teacher, shall pay the teacher of the school or schools where such youth attend, the portion of school money that would be coming to such youth out of the funds of their district, and the same rule shall be adopted and privileges allowed, in favor of those wishing to learn the English in districts where the French language is taught, and so of any other languages.

Das louisianische Schulgesetz von 1847 als Ganzes ging zurück auf Alexander Dimitry (1805-83). Dieser hatte 1834-42 am Postministerium in der Bundeshauptstadt Washington gearbeitet; ferner war er persönlich befreundet mit Louisianas großem in Deutschland gebürtigem Juristen Christian Roselius. Die Vermutung ist erlaubt, daß einer dieser zwei Umstände ihm die Kenntnis von der besonderen Entwicklung im ohioschen Schulwesen verschafft hat.⁸

Für Cincinnati machte ein Staatsgesetz von 1840 die deutsche oder zweisprachige Schule, die 1839 nur gestattet worden war, durch einen Zusatz zum Charter der Stadt verbindlich.⁹ Ein Schulgesetz Ohios von 1853 ermächtigte die Schulvorstände (*boards of education*) der Townships zur Einrichtung von "German schools for the instruction of such youth as may desire to study the German language or the German and English languages together".¹⁰

Andere Regelungen, welche öffentliche deutsche oder zweisprachige Schulen erlaubten, waren ein Schulgesetz Oregons von 1872¹¹ und eine Entscheidung des *Superintendent of Public Instruction* in Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1852.¹² Und in Colorado machte ein Gesetz von 1867 die zweisprachige Schule ("wherein both the German and English language shall be taught") unter gewissen Voraussetzungen sogar verpflichtend.¹³

Ein Schulgesetz Neumexikos von 1880 gestattete die rein spanische wie auch die zweisprachige öffentliche Schule, eines von 1891 nur die zweisprachige. In Louisiana haben die Verfassung von 1879 und ein Schulgesetz von 1888 die zweisprachige englisch-französische Staatsschule erlaubt.¹⁴

Von den mit den oben angeführten Gesetzen angebotenen Möglichkeiten, entweder deutsche oder zweisprachige Staatsschulen zu errichten, ist die erste nur selten verwirklicht worden;¹⁵ in der Regel

entstanden zweisprachige Schulen, und selbst diese wurden vielfach im Laufe der Jahre umgebildet zu englischen Schulen mit Deutsch als bloßem Fach.

Zahlreich wurden nach dem ohioschen Durchbruch von 1839 die Staatsgesetze, welche in der Staatsschule nichtenglische Sprachen als Grundschulfach zuließen.¹⁶ Zwei (in Kansas 1867 und Indiana 1869) gestatteten sogar nur Deutsch, eines (Iowa 1861) gestattete "Deutsch oder andere Sprachen". Einige Gesetze zählten mehrere Sprachen auf: Texas 30. April 1870 "Deutsch, Französisch, Spanisch oder irgendeine andere Sprache"; Texas 1896: "Deutsch, Tschechisch, Spanisch, Lateinisch, Französisch, Griechisch" (ähnlich Texas 1904); Kalifornien 1909: "Französisch, Italienisch, Deutsch" (1913: Spanisch eingefügt). Die meisten staatlichen Schulgesetze aber ließen grundsätzlich "alle" Fremdsprachen zu, z.B. Wisconsin 1854, Illinois 1857 und 1872, Texas 13. August 1870, Minnesota 1867 und 1877, Nebraska 1913.

Daß aber fast überall die Deutschamerikaner die wichtigste auf solche Gesetze drängende Gruppe bildeten, sehen wir z.B. in Minnesota daran, daß das Gesetz von 1867 als "das deutsche Schulgesetz" galt,¹⁷ und für Kalifornien 1909 und 1913 wie auch für Nebraska 1913 entnehmen wir es unserer Kenntnis der Entstehungsgeschichte der Gesetze. Die Grenze zwischen Staatsschulen mit Deutsch als zweitem Unterrichtsmittel und Deutsch als bloßem Fach war im übrigen oft fließend.¹⁸

Zweimal mußten Oberstaatsgerichte das Recht auf Fremdsprachenunterricht in der Staatsschule schützen, 1874 in Michigan im Fall *Stuart vs. School District* (30 Mich 69), dem sog. "Kalamazoo Case",¹⁹ und 1881 in Illinois, wo im Fall *Powell vs. Board of Education* (97 Ill 375) ausdrücklich gerade der Deutschunterricht verteidigt wurde²⁰ und das Urteil in den Worten gipfelte: "The teaching of modern languages in our common schools has been too long acquiesced in to be now changed."²¹ Diese ganze Entwicklung aber hat ihren Anfang genommen 1839 in Ohio.

III. Der Kampf gegen Einschränkung der Sprachenfreiheit der privaten Schulen (1890-93)

Private Volksschulen wurden zunächst von den meisten, ja fast allen religiösen Gemeinschaften gegründet. Aber seit den vierziger Jahren des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts fanden sich die meisten protestantischen Kirchengemeinschaften allmählich damit ab, daß ihre Kinder stattdessen "weltliche", d.h. bekenntnisfreie Staatsschulen besuchten. Nur fünf größere Gemeinschaften sträubten sich gegen diese Entwicklung. Von ihnen waren zwei deutschen Ursprungs: die lutherische Missouri-Synode und die ihr nahestehende Wisconsin-Synode; eine war niederländischen Ursprungs: die Christlich-Reformierten; eine angelsächsischen Ursprungs: die Adventisten vom Siebenten Tag; eine war pluri-ethnischen Ursprungs unter Vorwiegen des irischen und des deutschen Elementes: die römisch-katholische Kirche. Sie alle hielten fest an einem eigenen Volks- und Oberschulwesen, für das sie keinerlei staatliche oder kommunale Beihilfen erhielten und—mit Ausnahme der Katholiken—auch fast nie beanspruchten.

Dieses private Schulwesen wurde von den deutschen Lutheranern so ausgebaut, daß auf der Grundschulstufe das Deutsche überwog, und die *high school*-Stufe zweisprachig war. Seit den siebziger Jahren—zuerst in Massachusetts 1873, etwa zehn Jahre später in Rhode Island—begannen einzelne Staaten die sprachliche Freiheit der privaten Schulen zu beschränken.²² Die Angriffe der achtziger Jahre, hinter denen die 1887 gegründete American Protective Association stand, richteten sich vermutlich in erster Linie gegen die zweisprachigen Schulen der deutschamerikanischen Katholiken. Aber der politische Konflikt flammte am heftigsten in Wisconsin und Illinois auf, wo die Feinde einer nicht rein englischsprachigen Privatschule außer auf den erwarteten Widerstand der deutschamerikanischen Katholiken auf den mindestens in diesem Umfang unerwarteten Widerstand der deutschamerikanischen Lutheraner stießen. Im Februar 1889 wurde in Wisconsin das Bennett-Gesetz angenommen, welches u.a. vorsah: "No school shall be regarded as a school under this act, unless there shall be taught therein, as a part of the elementary education of the children, reading, writing, arithmetic and U.S. history in the English language." Im Mai 1889 wurde in Illinois das Edwards-Gesetz angenommen, dessen sprachpolitische Kernvorschrift fast gleichlautend war, aber zu den obigen Fächern Erdkunde hinzufügte. Beide Gesetze wurden von republikanischen Mehrheiten beschlossen; ihr Widerruf setzte also einen Wahlsieg der Demokraten voraus. Die deutschstämmigen Katholiken, die seit je im allgemeinen demokratisch wählten, wandten sich in Massenversammlungen gegen diese Gesetze, wobei sie weniger die Sprachenfrage betonten, als ganz allgemein dem Staat das Recht auf Einmischung in die Führung von Privatschulen absprachen. Die Lutheraner hatten bei ihrem Abwehrkampf zwei interne Hindernisse zu überwinden: Erstens hatten sie bis dahin im allgemeinen republikanisch gewählt, anderseits war es bei ihnen, anders als bei den Katholiken, nicht üblich, daß die Geistlichen politische Losungen ausgaben. Aber schon bei den Wahlen von 1890 gelang es, sie zu bewegen, für die Demokraten zu stimmen, und beide Gesetze wurden bald darauf von demokratischen Parlamentsmehrheiten widerrufen.

Was sich wie ein voller Sieg ausnahm (und im juristischen und staatspolitischen Sinne auch war), war freilich in kulturpolitischer Hinsicht insofern nur ein Teilerfolg, als die unter den Bennett- und Edwards-Gesetzen durchgeführten Einschränkungen des Deutschunterrichts nur noch teilweise rückgängig gemacht werden konnten und sich die Deutschamerikaner seither hüteten, in der Behandlung der beiden Sprachen über eine Gleichstellung des Deutschen hinauszugehen.

IV. Das Ringen um die katholische ethnische Gemeindeschule (1890-92)

Gleichzeitig mit der Sprachenfreiheit aller privaten Schulen wurden die Existenzgrundlagen der katholischen Gemeindeschulen gefährdet, und zwar von innerkirchlicher Seite. Unter den amerikanischen Ka-

tholiken gingen zu jener Zeit Auseinandersetzungen vor sich: einerseits in theologischer Hinsicht zwischen einem konservativen und einem liberal-modernistischen Flügel, andererseits in sprachpolitischer Hinsicht zwischen Gegnern und Befürwortern einer raschen, als *Americanization* aufgefaßten Verenglischung.

Die theologischen und die sprachpolitischen Gruppierungen dürfen nicht als identisch behandelt werden, so als ob alle Modernisten zugleich *Americanizers* gewesen wären.²³ Doch bestanden naturgemäß stärkste Affinitäten zwischen diesen beiden Flügeln auf der einen und ihren Gegnern, unter denen das irischamerikanische Element vorherrschte, auf der anderen Seite. Die Befürworter baldiger Verenglischung, deren Wortführer Erzbischof John Ireland von St. Paul war, traten vor allem gegen die Errichtung eigener ethnischer Kirchengemeinden (*national parishes*) ein, in deren Gemeindeschulen nicht-englische Sprachen besser gepflegt werden konnten als in sprachlich gemischten Gemeinden. Daneben lag Ireland eine Neuregelung des kirchlichen Schulwesens durch die Schaffung von halböffentlichen katholischen Schulen am Herzen, wodurch die besonders unter den sprachdeutschen Katholiken weit verbreiteten privaten Kirchspielschulen untergraben worden wären. Die katholischen Deutschamerikaner arbeiteten in der Bekämpfung dieser Tendenz eng zusammen u.a. mit dem St. Raphaelsverein in Deutschland, zumal mit dessen Gründer Peter Paul Calensly, aber auch mit anderen Kreisen, z.B. mit Quebec-Franzosen wie Ministerpräsident Henri Mercier.

In der Schulfrage legte Ireland ein Projekt vor, wonach die privaten, vom Staat nicht subventionierten Gemeindeschulen abgelöst werden sollten durch einen Mischtyp, der sich eng anlehnte an ein zuerst (1873) in Poughkeepsie, New York, verwirklichtes, seither wiederholt nachgeahmtes Modell. Der sogenannte Poughkeepsie-Plan sah vor, daß die Katholiken ein eigenes Schulhaus errichteten, die Lehrkräfte (Schwestern) stellten und diese für den Religionsunterricht bezahlten; der Staat prüfte die Schwestern, bezahlte sie für die "weltlichen" Unterrichtsstunden und zahlte eine nominelle Miete für die Benutzung des Schulgebäudes.²⁴ Dieses Verfahren hätte (1) die katholischen Bürger von der Pflicht befreit, die doppelten Schulsteuern—für die staatlichen und für ihre privaten Schulen—zu zahlen und (2) die Errichtung oder den Fortbestand ethnischer Konfessionsschulen behindert. Der kirchenrechtliche Streit, ob dieser Mischtyp wünschenswert, ja auch nur zulässig sei, wurde in Rom vom Vatikan am 21. April 1892 mit einem *tolerari potest* beendet. Das schien ein Sieg zu sein, der aber, wie der Sieg der Deutschamerikaner 1890 in Wisconsin und Illinois, nur ein halber war. Denn durch den Widerstand der deutschen Katholiken hatten Irelands Pläne solches Aufsehen erregt, daß er nicht daran denken konnte, sie im großen Maßstabe zu verwirklichen, zumal seine Gegner die Entscheidung nicht als ein grundsätzliches Pro, sondern als die bloße Genehmigung einer rein örtlichen Regelung, als ein "Darf", nicht als ein "Soll" interpretierten. Diese Regelung scheiterte überdies in Faribault selber im Oktober 1893 am Widerstand angelsächsischer Kreise,²⁵ während andererseits der Vatikan im gleichen Jahr 1893 dem

Prinzip der ethnischen Kirchspiele in den USA seine volle Billigung gab.²⁶ Schon 1937 formulierte ich: "Der Kampf wurde auf der kirchlichen [d.h. kirchspiel- und kirchspielschulrechtlichen] Ebene gewonnen, auf der volklichen ging er verloren."²⁷

V. Die Rettung der Sprachenfreiheit im privaten Schulwesen (1923)

Von den drei bisher skizzierten Kämpfen wurden die beiden ersten vornehmlich mit dem Stimmzettel ausgefochten, der dritte auf der Ebene des Kirchenrechtes. Die beiden jetzt noch zu behandelnden Kämpfe wurden vornehmlich in Gerichtssälen geführt, zumal vor dem U.S. Supreme Court. Dessen Entscheidung von 1972 ist so jungen Datums, daß sie und die ihr vorausgegangenen Auseinandersetzungen zumal im Ausland noch wenig bekannt sind. Umgekehrt stellt die Entscheidung des Supreme Court von 1923 vermutlich das bestbekannte unter allen fünf hier behandelten Ereignissen dar.

Nach dem späten Eintritt der Vereinigten Staaten in den Ersten Weltkrieg wurden mancherlei Sondermaßnahmen gegen die Pflege der deutschen Sprache im Schulwesen getroffen, z.B. in Louisiana durch ein Gesetz (1918),²⁸ in Iowa durch eine Gouverneursproklamation,²⁹ in Süddakota durch den State Council of Defence, in Nebraska durch eine Parlamentsentschließung.³⁰ Nach Kriegsende aber erließ ein Staat nach dem anderen Gesetze, die sich gegen die Pflege aller nichtenglischen Sprachen in den öffentlichen und privaten Grundschulen unterhalb der 9. Klasse richteten.³¹ Diese Gesetze fielen in denjenigen Staaten, in denen das sprachdeutsche Element stark vertreten war, vor allem also im Mittelwesten, meist strenger aus als z.B. in Neuengland mit seinen vielen Frankoamerikanern,³² deren Sprache seither rechtlich besser gestellt war als z.B. die der in Staaten mit starkem deutschen Anteil konzentrierten Skandinavier und Polen.

Gegen die Schulgesetze von Iowa, Ohio und Nebraska³³ erhoben die sprachdeutschen Protestanten gerichtliche Klage und zwar in den vier Prozessen *Bartels vs. Iowa*, *Pohl vs. Ohio*, *Bohning vs. Ohio*³⁴ und *Meyer vs. Nebraska*. Das Oberbundesgericht entschied am 4. Juni 1923 über alle Fälle, ging aber dabei von *Meyer vs. Nebraska*³⁵ aus, einer Klage, die auf hochkonservative Altlutheraner der Missouri-Synode zurückging.³⁶ In Nebraska hatten 1917 die deutsch-englischen Gemeindeschulen in hoher Blüte gestanden.³⁷ Ein Staatsgesetz von 1919 (Siman-Gesetz) verbot, Schüler unterhalb der 9. Klasse nichtenglische Sprachen zu lehren, wobei aber die Tragweite dieses Verbotes, zumal die Frage, ob es sich auch auf bloße Ergänzungsschulen bezog, umstritten blieb. Diese Zweifel beseitigte das rigorose Norval-Gesetz vom 14. April 1921. Schon 1920 war der Gemeindeschullehrer Robert T. Meyer in Hampton, Nebraska, verurteilt worden, weil er einen Schüler einen deutschen Bibeltext vorlesen ließ; dieses Urteil wurde am 16. Februar 1922 vom Oberstaatsgericht bestätigt.³⁸

Das Oberbundesgericht sprach Meyer frei und begründete seinen Freispruch damit, daß ein Verbot, Schüler, die noch nicht die 8. Klasse absolviert haben, in der Schule eine nichtenglische Sprache zu lehren,

unvereinbar sei mit dem Vierzehnten Zusatz (1868) zur Bundesverfassung, zumal beide Staatsgesetze (1919 und 1921) in Friedenszeiten ergangen seien, als kein Notstand mehr vorgelegen habe.³⁹ Im einzelnen schütze das Urteil (1) Kinder, die eine fremde Sprache erlernen wollen, (2) Eltern, die ihren Kindern die Möglichkeit, eine zweite Sprache zu beherrschen, sichern wollen, (3) Sprachlehrer, die in der Ausübung ihres Berufes geschädigt würden.

Diese rein individualrechtliche Begründung argumentierte so, als ob es sich um den Erwerb einer Zweitsprache handele, obwohl sie in einer anderen Passage davon sprach, die Verfassung schütze "all those who speak other languages as well as . . . those born with English on the tongue". Richter Oliver Wendell Holmes wies in seiner Abweichenden Stellungnahme deutlich daraufhin, daß die für den Fremdsprachenunterricht geltenden Regeln nicht ohne weiteres angewendet werden dürften, wenn die in der Schule gelehrt Fremdsprache, z.B. "Polish or French or German", zugleich die Familiensprache der Schüler sei.

Die Entscheidung in *Meyer vs. Nebraska* kam allen nichtenglischen Bewohnern der Vereinigten Staaten zugute—in ihren praktischen Auswirkungen den nichtdeutschsprachigen sogar weit mehr als den Deutschamerikanern. Mit dieser Magna Charta der privaten Nationalitätenschulen waren die Vereinigten Staaten den meisten anderen Staaten der Neuen Welt weit voraus und sind es zum Teil noch heute.

Groß wurde die rechtsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Entscheidung. Ohne sie wäre zum Beispiel eine grundlegende Entscheidung wie die von 1925 in *Society of Sisters vs. Pierce*⁴⁰ nur schwer, eine wie die von 1927 in *Farrington vs. Tokushige*⁴¹ gar nicht vorstellbar; auch in der jetzt zu schildernden Entscheidung *Wisconsin vs. Yoder* wird sie vom Gericht herangezogen.

VI. Der Kampf um die "unmoderne" Alternativ-Schule der Altamischen (1972)

Nach den deutschamerikanischen Lutheranern hat noch eine andere deutschamerikanische religiöse Gemeinschaft eine Entscheidung des Oberbundesgerichtes über ihre schulischen Rechte herbeigeführt: die Altamischen (Old Order Amish),⁴² die ich in diesem Abschnitt kurz als "die Amischen" schlechthin bezeichnen werde.⁴³ Sie hatten im neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert ihre Kinder in die staatliche Volksschule geschickt.⁴⁴ In den zwanziger Jahren wurden die bisherigen Einklassen- und Einraumschulen zu Mittelpunktsschulen (*consolidated schools*) verschmolzen, was den Kontakt der amischen Kinder mit einer andersgläubigen und meist nichtagrarischen Umwelt erhöhte und sie den Schultag in großer räumlicher Entfernung von der Wohnung verbringen ließ; die Atmosphäre dieser Großschulen wurde immer unpersönlicher und zugleich religionsferner; die Lehrer dieser Schulen wurden bei ihrer Ausbildung angehalten, das kritische Denken der Schüler zu fördern u.ä.

Die erste Amischen-Schule entstand 1925 in Apple Grove bei Dover, Delaware; erst 1938 folgten je eine in Pennsylvania und Delaware, 1945

gab es fünf, 1955 fünfzig Schulen und 1982 besuchten in den USA 15800 Schüler 550 amische Gemeindeschulen.⁴⁵ Diese Schulen entsprachen in vielfacher Hinsicht nicht den staatlichen Normen: Die Lehrkräfte besaßen kein Lehrer-Diplom, sondern hatten selber nur die achtklassige Grundschule absolviert, die Schulen führten nicht über die 8. Klasse hinaus, viele von der "modernen" Pädagogik für unentbehrlich gehaltene Fächer und Betätigungsweisen—u.a. auch Sport, Musik Tanz—wurden vernachlässigt, die Inneneinrichtung der Räume war zuweilen dürftig. Und in keinem Falle durften Schüler nach der 8. Klasse eine Oberschule (*high school*) besuchen, was die Amischen veranlaßte, für ein 9. Schuljahr eigene sogenannte *vocational schools* zu schaffen, deren Schüler aber nur einmal wöchentlich gemeinsam unterrichtet wurden und im übrigen in den Farmbetrieben und Haushalten der Eltern und Nachbarn eine auf *learning by doing* beruhende praktische Ausbildung erhielten.

Die Ablehnung so vieler vom Staat für alle—öffentliche und private—Schulen gesetzter Normen führte zu zahlreichen Reibungen mit den jeweiligen Schulbehörden.⁴⁶ Da die Amischen sich nur sehr ungern an die—ihnen als Teil der "Welt"—geltenden—staatlichen Gerichte wenden, haben viele amische Eltern Geld- und selbst Haftstrafen auf sich genommen, statt Berufung einzulegen. Dennoch kam es zu etlichen Berufungsverfahren. Keim⁴⁷ führt zwölf Gerichtsentscheidungen aus den Jahren 1927-66 an, die in die zweite, dritte und selbst vierte Instanz gingen und die fast alle gegen die Amischen ausfielen, darunter auch zwei Entscheidungen der Oberstaatsgerichte von Indiana (1948) und Kansas (1966). Aber so gering lange Zeit das Verständnis der meisten Juristen für die Altamischen war: die Volksmeinung verurteilte überwiegend die Verfolgung und Bestrafung dieser moralisch untadeligen Mitbürger; nicht selten wurden gerichtlich über Amische verhängte Geldstrafen von Nicht-Amischen bezahlt. Als gar 1965 in Oelwein, Iowa, die örtliche Erziehungsbehörde versuchte, die Schüler einer amischen Schule mit Gewalt per Bus in eine nahe Staatsschule zu bringen,⁴⁸ regnete es Proteste, weil der Staat diesmal nicht gegen Schuleltern, sondern gegen Kinder Gewalt angewendet hatte.

Im Jahre 1971 bahnte sich eine grundsätzliche Wende an. Das Oberstaatsgericht von Wisconsin sprach drei Amische frei, die verurteilt worden waren, weil sie ihre Kinder nach Abschluß der 8. Klasse nicht in die Oberschule geschickt hatten.⁴⁹ Gegen den Freispruch legte das Department of Education der Staatsregierung in Madison beim Oberbundesgericht Berufung ein. Ehe dort die Entscheidung gefallen war, schrieben Hostetler und Huntington:

In the U.S. the O.O.A. are granted a tenuous permission, revocable virtually at the whim of the state superintendents, to maintain their own schools. It is national public opinion, not school officials or state legislatures, that enables the Amish to keep their own schools in operation.⁵⁰

Diese öffentliche Meinung hatte den Amischen einen wichtigen Verbündeten gebracht, als 1966 der Schulstreit in Iowa den lutherischen

Geistlichen Lindholm in Michigan bewog, ein *National Committee for Amish Religious Freedom* zu gründen,⁵¹ dem führende Mitglieder der Intelligenzschicht beitraten und das die Dienste eines weit bekannten juristischen Spezialisten für religionspolitische Rechtsfragen, William Ball, gewann.⁵² Daß am 15. Mai 1972 auch das Oberbundesgericht die angeklagten Amischen freisprach,⁵³ war großenteils das Verdienst von Lindholm, Ball und dem Deutschamerikaner John Hostetler von der Temple-Universität, der als Sachverständiger auf die Fangfrage des Bundesstaatsanwaltes "Um was geht es denn im Erziehungswesen? Geht es nicht darum, in der Welt voranzukommen?" die vieldeutige souveräne Antwort gab: "Es kommt alles darauf an, in welcher Welt."⁵⁴

Die Gerichtsentscheidung von 1972 hatte viele Aspekte, von denen an dieser Stelle nur einer, der verfassungsrechtliche, wenigstens angedeutet werden kann.⁵⁵ Das Oberbundesgericht hatte in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren den Vorrang (*preferred position*) der sechs im Ersten Zusatz zur Bundesverfassung aufgezählten Rechte festgelegt und sie zu Grundrechten (*fundamental rights*) erklärt. Im Jahre 1963 hatte es, in *Sherbert vs. Verner*,⁵⁶ erstmals festgelegt, daß unter diesem Grundrecht das Recht auf freie Religionsausübung den Vorrang vor den übrigen fünf habe. In der Entscheidung von 1972 wurde die Grundrechts-Bestimmung über das Verbot, von Staatswegen religiöse Einrichtungen zu schaffen oder aufzulösen, jener Bestimmung über Religionsausübung gleichgestellt; diese beiden religionsbezogenen Grundrechte sind seither höheren Ranges und schutzwürdiger als die vier anderen des Ersten Verfassungszusatzes. Groß ist auch die Bedeutung der Entscheidung von 1972 für den kulturellen Pluralismus, zumal das Gericht aufgrund der Expertengutachten von Hostetler und D. A. Erickson einräumte, daß eine Schulform, die nach den in Amerika herrschenden erziehungswissenschaftlichen Maßstäben unzulänglich war, in mancher Hinsicht bessere Ergebnisse vorweisen konnte als die staatlichen Schulen.

Est ist denkbar, daß der Fall *Wisconsin vs. Yoder* auch für andere Länder der industriellen (und/oder nachindustriellen) Gesellschaft noch Bedeutung gewinnt, falls nämlich in ihnen die Frage geklärt werden muß, wieweit ein Nebeneinander der herrschenden Kulturströmung mit alternativen Subkulturen möglich ist. Aber auch die fünf älteren, oben von mir behandelten kulturpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen, in denen ja weniger religiöse als sprachpolitische Fragen im Vordergrund standen, können zum Beispiel in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland noch Beachtung finden, falls sich die Frage zuspitzt, auf welches Ausmaß an Sprachenrecht junge und jüngste Zuwanderergruppen billigerweise Anspruch erheben können.⁵⁷

VII. Nachwort

Vier Hinweise zur allgemeinen ethnolinguistischen, besonders aber der deutschamerikanischen Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten seien zum Schluß angefügt:

Zum ersten: Im neunzehnten Jahrhundert spielten die Deutschamerikaner eine ähnliche Rolle als *die* führende nichtenglische Gruppe in den Vereinigten Staaten wie heute die Spanischamerikaner, die *Hispanics*. Schon der bloßen Kopfzahl nach waren sie so stark wie alle übrigen fremdsprachigen Gruppen zusammengenommen. Und dem entsprach ihr Einsatz dort, wo es galt, im öffentlichen und im privaten Schulwesen freie Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten in sprachlicher und konfessioneller Hinsicht durchzusetzen oder zu bewahren.

Zum zweiten: Wie heute die *Hispanics* nicht eine einheitliche Volksgruppe bilden, sondern deutlich gegliedert sind in Alteingesessene, zumal in Neumexiko mit Süd-Colorado, sowie Einwanderer und Einwanderernachkommen aus (Alt-)Mexiko, Kuba, Puerto Rico, dem übrigen Lateinamerika und Spanien, so bildeten im neunzehnten Jahrhundert die Deutschamerikaner nicht *eine* innerlich fest zusammengehörige und nach außen zusammenhaltende Gemeinschaft, sondern waren in eine Reihe von Volksgruppen aufgegliedert, die sich aber nicht in erster Linie, wie die heutigen Spanischamerikaner, nach ihren Herkunftsländern unterschieden, sondern durch ihre Weltanschauung. Ihre weltanschaulichen Teilgruppen bildeten große Lebenskreise, mit weitgehend—natürlich nicht hundertprozentig—getrennten Lebenszielen und -formen. Es lassen sich um 1890 vornehmlich unterscheiden: als deutlich von allen abgegrenzt

- I. die Katholiken,
- II. die konservativen oder Altlutheraner,
- III. die Sozialisten;

als weniger deutlich abgegrenzt

- IV. die relativ liberalen Protestanten (vor allem Reformierte, "Unierte", liberale Lutheraner),
- V. die dem Kirchenwesen gleichgültig, z.T. sogar ablehnend gegenüberstehenden Liberalen,⁵⁷ deren typische Zusammenschlußform der weltliche Verein wurde, so daß man sie später geradezu als "Vereinsdeutsche" den "Kirchendeutschen" gegenüberstellte,
- VI. eine erhebliche Zahl kleinerer, meist als "Sekten" bezeichneter Kirchengemeinschaften.

Bei den Deutschamerikanern war ein Zustand eingetreten, der der in der niederländischen Nation eingetretenen "Versäulung" (*verzuiling*) ähnelt.

Zum dritten: Diese Aufgliederung oder -spaltung der Deutschamerikaner im neunzehnten Jahrhundert zwingt zu einer entsprechenden, vielperspektivischen Darstellung ihrer Geschichte. Bereits 1937 schrieb ich von einer "Aufspaltung des Deutschtums in eine Reihe von Volksgruppen"; das Deutschamerikanertum zerfalle in "eine Reihe von totalen Weltanschauungsgemeinschaften" und: "Das Deutschtum (in USA) ist nicht untergegliedert, sondern auseinandergegliedert."⁵⁹ Ich wies darauf hin, daß es sich nach 1830 bei Versuchen, "das" Deutschamerikanertum zu einigen, in Wirklichkeit fast stets nur um Versuche zur Einigung des liberalen Deutschtums handelte. Als einzige *echte*, d.h. sich an alle Weltanschauungsgruppen wendende Einigungsversuche

konnten vornehmlich die "Deutsch-Amerikanische National-Konferenz" vom Mai 1916 in Chicago⁶⁰ und der "Deutschamerikanische Nationalkongreß" in New York 1932 gelten,⁶¹ daneben wohl auch die "Pittsburgher Konvention" von 1837⁶² und die versuchte Gründung eines "Deutschamerikanischen Presse-Vereins" in Philadelphia 1876.⁶³

Zum vierten: Wenn wir jetzt auf die fünf Fälle zurückblicken, wo Deutschamerikaner den pluralistischen Einschlag im amerikanischen Bildungswesen einführten, stärkten oder retteten, so ist deutlich, daß es sich dabei meist nicht um einen Einfluß *der* Deutschamerikaner handelte, sondern um Bestrebungen, die von einer oder zwei Teilgruppen ("Säulen") ausgingen und die von den anderen Teilgruppen eher mit Unbehagen, ja Ablehnung zur Kenntnis genommen wurden. Der erste Kampf (1839 ff.) wurde vornehmlich von den liberalen Deutschen ausgefochten, der Kampf um die Edwards- und Bennett-Gesetze vornehmlich von Lutheranern und Katholiken, der innerkatholische Streit um Faribault-Plan und ethnische Kirchspiele von den deutschen Katholiken. Der Sieg von 1923 vor dem Oberbundesgericht war vornehmlich das Verdienst der machtvollen Teilgruppe der konservativen Lutheraner, der Sieg von 1972 ein solcher der—im Vergleich zu den Lutheranern—winzigen Teilgruppe der Altamischen.

Es war im neunzehnten Jahrhundert nichts Seltenes, daß diese Teilgruppen offen gegeneinander Stellung nahmen.⁶⁴ So argwöhnten die deutschamerikanischen Katholiken und Lutheraner immer wieder, daß es den liberalen, sei es freireligiösen, sei es freidenkerischen Deutschen bei ihren Bemühungen um Einführung des Deutschen in den staatlichen Volksschulen in erster Linie nicht auf die Erhaltung oder gar Ausbreitung der deutschen Sprache ankomme, sondern darauf, daß möglichst viele Schulleitern ihre Kinder statt in die Kirchenschule fortan in die weltlichen, ihnen durch Deutschunterricht schmackhaft gemachten Staatsschulen schickten.

Das in diesem Nachwort angedeutete, aber meinem ganzen Aufsatz zugrundeliegende Bild von einer lange Zeit (etwa 1830-1930) vielgliederten, in ihrer Einstellung zu Sprache und Weltanschauung völlig uneinheitlichen deutschen Sprachgruppe in den Vereinigten Staaten ist heute im einschlägigen Schrifttum Amerikas nur teilweise, in dem Deutschlands nur selten wiederzufinden. Nach wie vor herrscht das Klischee vor, daß die Einwanderer des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts "quickly lost their cultural values and native language capabilities" und daß "this total assimilation pattern was established as the standard for all successive immigrants to follow".⁶⁵ Für diese Auffassung "stellen die Deutschamerikaner eine Gruppe dar, die sich . . . relativ schnell amerikanisiert hat," bedingt durch "vor allem die eigene Bereitschaft, sich in die Gegebenheiten Amerikas und in die amerikanische Gesellschaft einzufügen," wobei in beiden Zitaten Assimilation und Amerikanisierung gleichgesetzt werden mit Anglisierung.⁶⁶ Dieses ungenaue Bild von der Vergangenheit, vom neunzehnten und frühen zwanzigsten Jahrhundert, kann leicht auch den Blick für die Möglichkeiten und Notwendigkeiten des Jahrhundertendes trüben.

Notes

¹ Über die meisten der nachfolgend skizzierten Vorgänge habe ich bereits in früheren Büchern und Aufsätzen geschrieben. Nachstehend greife ich in meinen Quellenangaben nicht auf die ursprünglichen Originalquellen zurück, sondern nur auf meine eigenen Arbeiten, wobei ich die Hinweise wie folgt abkürze:

Kurzform:	Voller Titel:
HK 1937	Heinz Kloss, <i>Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums</i> (Berlin, 1937), 328 S.
HK 1940	_____, <i>Die Erstsiedlergruppen</i> , Bd. I von <i>Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten</i> (Essen, 1940), xvi, S. 1-600.
HK 1942	_____, <i>Die Zuwanderergruppen</i> , Bd. II von <i>Volksgruppenrecht in den Vereinigten Staaten</i> (Essen, 1942), xi, S. 601-1007.
HK 1962	_____, "Die deutschamerikanische Schule," <i>Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien</i> , 7 (1962), 141-75.
HK 1963	_____, <i>Das Nationalitätenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten</i> (Wien, 1963), 327 S.
HK 1969	_____, <i>Grundfragen der Ethnopolitik</i> (Wien, 1969), 624 S.
HK 1971	_____, <i>Laws and Legal Documents Relating to Bilingual Education in the U.S.</i> (Washington, DC, 1971), 92 S.
HK 1977	_____, <i>The American Bilingual Tradition</i> (Rowley, MA, 1977), xiii, 347 S.

² HK 1969, S. 34-41, 508-11.

³ Schulen der Niederländer in New York, der Schwenkfelder in Pennsylvanien; s. HK 1963, S. 214, 168.

⁴ HK 1940, S. 449-50; HK 1977, S. 158.

⁵ HK 1940, S. 450.

⁶ Eingehende Schilderung dieser Auseinandersetzungen s. HK 1940, S. 447-52, 461-62.

⁷ Ebd., S. 179.

⁸ Ebd., S. 180.

⁹ Ebd., S. 451; HK 1963, S. 180.

¹⁰ HK 1940, S. 452; HK 1971, S. 82.

¹¹ HK 1942, S. 660-61; HK 1971, S. 87.

¹² HK 1940, S. 268; HK 1971, S. 88.

¹³ HK 1940, S. 371-72; HK 1971, S. 83.

¹⁴ HK 1971, S. 84-85.

¹⁵ Für ein Beispiel aus Colorado s. HK 1940, S. 373-74.

¹⁶ S. die Tabelle bei HK 1963, S. 96-97, ferner für Texas und Kalifornien HK 1940, S. 397-99, 420-21.

¹⁷ S. *Amerikanische Schulzeitung* [Louisville, KY], Jg. 1 (1870), S. 164, und dazu HK 1942, S. 623.

¹⁸ Viele Beispiele bei HK 1940, S. 627-48; s. auch HK 1940, S. 473, und HK 1962, S. 150.

¹⁹ HK 1940, S. 637-38; bestritten worden war das Recht der örtlichen *high school*-Behörde auf Einführung von Fremdsprachenunterricht; die Entscheidung dehnte die Gestattung dann aber auch auf die *primary school districts* aus.

²⁰ HK 1942, S. 621-22.

²¹ Daran anschließend: "... except by legislative action. It ought not to be done by legislative construction."

²² HK 1942, S. 735-39.

²³ Hierzu wichtig die knappen Hinweise bei Colman J. Barry, *The Catholic Church and German Americans* (Milwaukee, 1953), S. 244-45, Anm. 13.

²⁴ HK 1963, S. 71; detaillierte Beschreibungen des "Faribault-Stillwater-Planes" bei F. J. Zwierlein, *The Life and Letters of Bishop McQuaid* (Roma: Desclee, 1925-27), II, 163-64; Anton Gisler, *Der Modernismus* (Einsiedeln, 1912), S. 101-02; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1930), IV, 174-83; Daniel F. Reilly, *The School Controversy (1891-1893)* (Washington, DC, 1943); keines der vier hier genannten Bücher ist mir zur Zeit zugänglich.

²⁵ Barry, S. 199-200; vgl. auch den wichtigen Brief Leos XIII. vom 1. Mai 1893, den Barry S. 219 erwähnt.

²⁶ Robert Rumilly, *Histoire des Franco-Américains* (Montreal, 1958), S. 120, 137-38, 147; Barry, S. 135.

²⁷ HK 1937, S. 153.

²⁸ HK 1942, S. 749.

²⁹ Ebd., S. 941-44.

³⁰ HK 1963, S. 77.

³¹ HK 1942, S. 750-62; HK 1977, S. 71-74.

³² In Rhode Island erlaubte ein Gesetz von 1925 sogar die zweisprachige Privatschule; s. HK 1942, S. 758-59; HK 1971, S. 66-67.

³³ Texte (engl.) s. HK 1942, S. 752-53 (Iowa und Ohio); S. 768, 772-73 (Nebraska).

³⁴ Bartels war Lehrer an einer lutherischen Gemeindeschule im Bremer County, Iowa; das Oberstaatsgericht erklärte, er hätte wohl Religion, aber nicht die deutsche Sprache—also ein weltliches Fach—mittels des Deutschen lehren dürfen. Pohl war Lehrer, Bohning Trustee einer Kongregationsschule in Garfield Heights; über die in erster Instanz getrennten Verfahren entschied das Oberstaatsgericht am 7. Juni 1921 gemeinsam. Vgl. 191 Iowa 1060; 102 Ohio 474.

³⁵ 262 U.S. 390. über die Vorgeschichte und Geschichte dieses Prozesses s. HK 1942, S. 764-81.

³⁶ Zu nennen ist vor allem Pastor C. F. Brommer in Hampton, Präses des Nebraska-Bezirks der Missouri-Synode. Über Hilfe, die die Altlutheraner dabei von anderen deutschen und nichtdeutschen Gruppen erhielten, s. HK 1942, S. 775.

³⁷ HK 1942, S. 767.

³⁸ *Meyer vs. Nebraska*, 107 Neb 657; vgl. HK 1942, S. 770 u. 951 über drei einschlägige Entscheidungen des Oberstaatsgerichtes.

³⁹ Längere Auszüge aus dem Urteil (engl.) bei HK 1942, S. 775-77.

⁴⁰ 268 U.S. 525; s. HK 1942, S. 782-85; HK 1963, S. 73-74.

⁴¹ 273 U.S. 234; s. HK 1942, S. 785-93; HK 1963, S. 240.

⁴² Meine Hauptquelle für das Folgende ist das Sammelwerk von Albert N. Keim (Hg.), *Compulsory Education and the Amish: The Right not to be Modern* (Boston: Beacon, 1975), zitiert nach der Paperback-Ausgabe (Boston, 1976), bes. J. Stoll, "Who Shall Educate Our Children?" S. 16-42; D. A. Erickson, "Showdown at an Amish Schoolhouse," S. 43-83; A. N. Keim, "A Chronology of Amish Court Cases," S. 93-98.

⁴³ Es gibt neben den Old Order Amish mehrere andere Amischen-Gruppen wie die Amish-Mennonites, die Beachy Amish, die Church Amish, die aber, da sie stärker akkulturiert an die *mainstream society* sind, wenige oder gar keine eigenen Schulen unterhalten.

⁴⁴ Eine Episode blieb die in den neunziger Jahren von S. D. Guengerich ausgehende Bewegung zur Gründung deutscher, die englische Staatsschule ergänzender Gemeindeschulen; s. Stoll in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 24-26.

⁴⁵ Ferner in Ontario 500 Schüler in neunzehn Gemeindeschulen; die Zahlen entnahm Werner Enninger ("Die Gemeindeschulen der Altamischen" in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten: Teil II, Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee*, ed. Heinz Kloss et al. [Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1983, im Erscheinen]) dem Novemberheft 1982, S. 22, des in Aylmer, Ont., seit 1957 erscheinenden *Blackboard Bulletin*, der Schulzeitschrift der Altamischen.

⁴⁶ Der älteste schriftlich belegte Konflikt entstand in Ohio 1914.

⁴⁷ Keim in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 94-98.

⁴⁸ D. A. Erickson in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 43-83; s. auch Hostetler/Huntington (1971), S. 97-98.

⁴⁹ *Wisconsin vs. Yoder*, 49 Wis. ed 430; Bauer Jonas Yoder in New Glarus, Wisconsin, war einer der drei Angeklagten.

⁵⁰ Hostetler/Huntington (1971), S. 104.

⁵¹ Keim in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 93-94; William C. Lindholm war Pastor einer Gemeinde bei Livonia, Michigan.

⁵² William Ball in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; s. auch Balls Beitrag "Building a Landmark Case: *Wisconsin vs. Yoder*" in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 114-25.

⁵³ *Wisconsin vs. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205.

⁵⁴ Ball in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 118; vieldeutig war diese Antwort, weil das Wort "Welt" hier sowohl auf die von den Amischen abgelehnte Umwelt, wie auch auf die eigene äußere Lebenssphäre der Amischen, wie auf eine jenseitige Welt bezogen werden konnte.

⁵⁵ Anhand von Balls Beitrag (s.o.) und von Leo Pfeffer, "The Many Meanings of the Yoder Case," in Keim (Hg.) (1975), S. 136-48.

⁵⁶ 374 U.S. 398.

⁵⁷ Vgl. hierzu auch Heinz Kloss, "Language Maintenance Rights of Immigrant Groups," *International Migration Review*, 5 (1971), No. 2, 250-68.

⁵⁸ Unter denen man die frühen (seit 1830) Gesinnungsliberalen und die nach etwa 1880 dominierenden Spätliberalen unterscheiden kann, s. HK 1937, S. 46-49, 185-86, 248 ff.

⁵⁹ Ich habe die "Versäulung"—noch ohne jenen niederländischen Ausdruck zu kennen—zum Hauptthema meines Buches *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums* gemacht; HK 1937, S. 36-64, bes. 36, und als exemplifizierendes Beispiel das Kapitel über die deutschen Katholiken in USA, S. 136-81, mit einem vergleichenden Schema für die fünf Haupt-Weltanschauungsgruppen des Deutschamerikanertums, S. 178-80.

⁶⁰ HK 1937, S. 278-84.

⁶¹ Dessen Verhandlungen als Broschüre veröffentlicht wurden: *Erster National-Kongreß der Amerikaner deutschen Stammes. Sitzungsberichte und Erläuterungen* (New York, [1933]).

⁶² HK 1937, S. 195-207.

⁶³ Ebd., S. 237-44.

⁶⁴ Beispiele bei HK 1942, S. 668-70, 674-76, 745-46, 780 u.a.m.

⁶⁵ *The Prospects for Bilingual Education in the Nation. Fifth Annual Report of the National Advisory Council for Bilingual Education, 1980-81* (o.O., 1981), S. 35.

⁶⁶ Günter Moltmann, "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im Überblick," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*, 32, H. 4 (1982) (= Sonderheft Germantown—300 Jahre Auswanderung in die USA 1683-1983), 307-11 (hier: 311).



Leo Schelbert
Urspeter Schelbert

Portrait of an Immigrant Society: The North American *Grütli-Bund*, 1865-1915

In 1889 Adelrich Steinach, a medical doctor in New York City, published an extensive work in German, entitled *Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, unter Mitwirkung des Nord-Amerikanischen Grütli-Bundes*.¹ It is a puzzling book. Its pages list hosts of immigrants of all walks of life and describe countless meetings and festivals organized by Swiss singing, sharp-shooting, gymnastic, and support societies. The work undoubtedly deserves the label filiopietistic.² It wants to show

under what difficulties and strains the first settlers had arrived in the colony; under what deprivations they had to struggle for survival during the first years . . . how they achieved, however, a secure livelihood, at times even prosperity, under the guidance of a severe taskmaster, experience, and by courage and industry.³

But there is more to the book than mere ancestor worship. It typifies the outlook of the association called *Nord-Amerikanischer Grütli-Bund*, a national league of Swiss immigrant societies and the focus of this essay. The study intends to offer a portrait of the league by sketching, first, its organizational evolution in the United States, then its main activities and Swiss prototype and, finally, the socio-economic traits of its 1915 membership. This will reveal not only the basic features of the *Bund*, but also illustrate how a particular group of German-speaking newcomers balanced old attachments with new loyalties.

I

On June 13 and 14, 1865, seven Swiss immigrants assembled in the *Schweizerhalle* of Cincinnati, Ohio, as delegates from seven *Grütli-Vereine* that had been established previously in St. Louis (1849), Cincinnati (?), Chicago (1856), Tell City, Indiana (1858), Louisville (?), Rochester (1861), and Buffalo (1862).⁴ On the prompting of the St. Louis association they were engaged in founding a national league of Swiss immigrant

associations dedicated to mutual support, and in drafting a constitution and by-laws for the organization. The document's Article One reads in translation from German as follows:

- ¶1 The *Grütli-Bund* of the United States of North America aims to unite all Swiss support societies into a closer friendship—and brotherly league and to further education and fellowship among the members.
- ¶2 The *Grütli-Bund* consists of the united Swiss support societies of North America whose members are Swiss or descendants of Swiss.

The delegates proposed that an affiliated society was to have at least twenty members. Every two years one of the local associations was to be elected *Vorort*, administrative seat of the national organization. Five especially elected members of that chosen association were to constitute the *Bundesvorstand*, the league's executive board. The main purpose of the proposed national association was to be "benevolent" in the sense of Article Nine:

Member societies are founded to grant each member [of the *Bund*] help and assistance in every accident of life and to consider and treat each as if he were one of their own.⁵

The seven local organizations ratified the proposals of their delegates, chose appropriately the St. Louis *Grütli-Verein* as *Vorort*, and designated July 1, 1865, as the starting date of the *Bund*. The executive board, led by a Jacob Brandenberger, had a thousand copies of the constitution printed and distributed special membership cards for those on journeys. In 1867 two important local societies joined the league, the *Grütli-Verein* of Washington, D.C., with 40, and that of Newark, New Jersey, with 60 members. This brought the total membership to 556 people.⁶

Cincinnati was chosen next to serve as *Vorort*. Within a year local Swiss societies in Nashville, Syracuse, Brooklyn, Utica and Pittsburgh with a total of 133 members joined the organization which concentrated its activities during those first years on creating an effective support system for the sick, widowed and orphaned, and for defraying burial costs. Table 1, which lists the 1867/68 assets and 1868/69 disbursements of the *Bund*, shows the scope of these efforts.⁷

The entry of the Washington and Newark *Grütli-Vereine* led to a shift in basic orientation. Their members claimed that the constitution was in need of thorough revision and argued that the focus of the *Bund* should be shifted from supportive to patriotic and educational activities. Newark's proposal put it succinctly:

A unified organization of all Swiss associations [in the United States] shall be envisaged. Besides [providing] sick benefits and support of widows and orphans, such endeavors shall become central that aim for the further education and moral and intellectual elevation of the country's Swissdom.⁸

Whereas the founders of the *Bund* had viewed the creation of a support system for times of financial distress as primary and "the moral and

TABLE 1

1867/68 Assets and 1868/69 Disbursements of the North American *Grütli-Bund*
(in dollars)

Location	Assets 1867/68	Disbursements 1868/69				
		Sick	Widows & Orphans	Burials	Total	Per Capita
Cincinnati	2,755.00	246.00	74.50	86.00	406.50	3.68
Louisville	2,399.40	379.00	25.00	87.00	491.00	6.29
St. Louis	1,492.29	383.00	32.75	52.00	467.75	3.89
Chicago	1,100.00	51.80	122.00	— —	173.80	2.80
Buffalo	795.00	97.00	240.00	80.00	417.00	9.06
Newark	773.00	132.00	— —	45.00	177.00	2.45
Rochester	770.00	12.00	4.00	— —	16.00	0.44
Washington, D.C.	757.00	70.00	33.00	— —	103.00	2.64
Nashville	620.00	50.50	— —	— —	50.50	2.10
Tell City	461.70	96.00	— —	— —	96.00	4.17
Brooklyn	172.25	5.00	— —	— —	5.00	0.10
Syracuse	127.85	?	?	?	19.35	0.79
Totals	12,223.49	1,522.30	531.25	350.00	2,422.90	3.20

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, p. 12.

intellectual elevation of the membership as merely a nice addition," the newly joined groups hoped to reverse these priorities.

On April 12, 1869, delegates from member societies of the East Coast gathered in New York City without authorization of the central board, then stationed in Cincinnati, in order to lay the groundwork for that shift. John Hitz (1828-1908), the unsalaried representative of Switzerland in Washington, D.C., was to play a leading role in this endeavor.⁹ He served as chairperson of the meeting that made the following proposals: The city of Washington should be chosen as permanent seat of the *Bund*; a formal convention as provided by the constitution should be held for the purpose of its thorough revision; the recently established weekly, *Der Grütliener*, then a private venture, was to be purchased by the *Bund* as its official organ. Most important was the request that all Swiss societies, regardless of purpose, should be able to join the league which would then become the true representative of all Swiss living in the United States. Sigbert Meier, who sketched the history of the *Bund* for its fiftieth anniversary publication, viewed this ultimate goal as utopian; it would founder on traditional Swiss localism on the one hand, and on socio-economic differences on the other, especially in the United States "where in mockery of all democracy," he thought, "social extremes are far more pronounced than in the most feudal state of Europe and where those social extremes are reflected also among the Swiss."¹⁰

Local societies, especially of the East Coast, gave these proposals much support and were instrumental in choosing Washington, D.C., as the next *Vorort*. John Hitz was chosen president of the executive board who defined the primary goal of the *Bund* to gain "respect and honor for

genuine Swissness and the Swiss name" in the United States. He concluded his appeal to Swiss societies outside the league with these words:

May no one be ashamed of his old homeland! If the honor of the Swiss name is at stake, each shall view himself as equal, be he high or low, rich or poor. . . . In whatever form you will join—as sharpshooting, gymnastic, singing, social, benevolent or support societies—you will always find faithful brethren, ready to support you in your endeavors, in defense of Swiss interests, in honor of the Swiss name, for the protection of everyone. Let all enter with the slogan of our fathers in the *Grütli*: "One for All, All for One."¹¹

The revision of the constitution in the spirit of the New York proposals turned out to be difficult because many local societies preferred the original form of the *Bund*. By mid-September 1873 a compromise had been worked out that all member societies were willing to accept. The *Vorort* would change every two years as before, however, a burial fund on a national scale was to be organized.¹² Furthermore, the league's overall goal received a strongly patriotic and assertive trait as expressed in Article One of the new document:

- ¶1 The North American *Grütli-Bund* aims to unite all existing Swiss associations within the territory of the United States into one league, to further among its Swiss an active life of the mind, to nourish and nurture the love [for], and attachment to, the old fatherland, and to gain respect for the Swiss name in our new homeland.
- ¶2 This goal shall be reached
 - a. By supporting the sick, widowed and orphaned, or those otherwise in need.
 - b. By instruction, establishment of libraries, written and oral presentations, and stimulating discussions.
 - c. By furthering sharpshooting and gymnastic endeavors.
 - d. By the cultivation of song, the celebration of patriotic festivals, and intensified fellowship.
 - e. By lively contacts and exchange of views with societies in Switzerland whose principles approximate ours.
- ¶3 Thus the North American *Grütli-Bund* includes the following associations:
 - a. Support- and benevolent societies.
 - b. Singing-, music-, and fellowship [*Geselligkeits-*] societies.
 - c. Literary and educational societies of all kinds.

Any local society was welcome to affiliate with the league if it consisted exclusively of Swiss and their descendants, counted at least ten members, and "had chosen one of the aims" listed in Article One as its life's task."¹³

Local *Grütli-Vereine*, even if they did not affiliate with the *Bund*, adopted this outlook. The constitution of the San Francisco *Grütli-Verein*, published in 1875, stated for instance that "the association intends to awaken an intellectually active life among the Swiss of the city" and quoted the declaration of intent of the *Bund* nearly verbatim. But it set its priorities differently:

¶3 This goal shall be reached by:

- a. Instruction;—creation of a library;—written and oral presentations, and stimulating discussions.
- b. Cultivation of song and noble fellowship;—celebration of patriotic festivals.
- c. Creation of an employment office for the best of the membership and newly arrived Swiss.
- d. Mutual support and benevolence, if possible in cooperation with other Swiss societies of that kind in the area.¹⁴

This association, then, put intellectual pursuits first, patriotic edification second, help in finding employment third, and mutual support last. Many other societies however, perhaps a majority of them, clung to the earlier preoccupation with matters of mutual assistance and benevolence.¹⁵

Between 1869 and 1874 the *Bund* flourished under the dynamic leadership of John Hitz. Membership nearly doubled and the number of societies that entered the national organization rose substantially. From 1874 to 1877 St. Louis served again as *Vorort*, but without distinction. The *Grütli-Verein* of Cincinnati with 140 and that of Philadelphia with 285 members withdrew from the league. In 1877 Louisville, Kentucky, was chosen *Vorort*, a disastrous choice as the next years were to reveal. The executive board seems to have been dominated by men with a penchant for petty disputes with member associations. Especially the financial and corresponding secretary, named J. Russenberger, minced no words in his memoranda and annual reports. As a result thirteen local associations, among them Washington, Newark, and New York, left the *Bund*. Luckily the next choice of *Vorort* turned out quite differently. Although the *Grütli-Verein* Buffalo had won the election with only a narrow margin and was thought too limited in resources to serve effectively, the years between 1881 and 1885 reversed the destructive trend. With great tact and patience many of the alienated associations were won back and the league resumed its growth at a fairly steady pace.¹⁶ Table 2 features the increase in sections and members for selected years between 1865 and 1915: during the first eight years the *Bund* grew steadily, then declined due to strife; in 1885 growth resumed to reach a plateau around 1900.

The fiftieth anniversary celebration of the *Bund* revealed a well-managed and financially sound organization. The later years of World War I, however, demanded much circumspection and resulted in the destruction of records. "It seems," reminisced Fred Eidenbenz in 1940, "that most of the papers [of the *Bund*] were done away with during the war years of 1917-1919; for two reasons. Paper dealers everywhere were collecting old paper stocks. Also, since German text papers were not popular in those war times, it was wiser to dispose of them in order to avoid trouble."¹⁷ Despite the immigration quotas of the 1920s the *Bund* continued to grow. In 1925 it had 92 member societies with a total membership of 8224. The onset of the depression, however, signaled the start of a steady decline during the next decade, as graph 1 demon-

TABLE 2
Number of Member Societies and Size of Membership of the North American
Grütli-Bund for Selected Years 1865 to 1915

Year	Sections	Members
1865	7	409
1867	9	556
1868	14	689
1871	20	943
1873	32	1309
1884	29	1520
1886	37	1843
1887	39	2185
1891	49	3620
1896	65	3662
1902	70	3744
1905	71	4890
1913	72	5716
1915	72	6012

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, passim.

strates. The 1931 membership of 7641 had shrunk to 4522 by 1938 and to 3749 by 1940. Bad economic times brought unusual demands for support and by 1938 threatened the fiscal base of the organization.

At a convention in 1938 the groundwork was laid for a thorough transformation of the *Bund* into a fraternal life insurance organization and its name was changed to North American Swiss Alliance in 1940. The new definition of purpose shows important shifts, partly under the pressure of World War II:

The North American Swiss Alliance is a strictly NON-POLITICAL fraternal organization and has no other affiliations or commitments. It fosters loyalty to our adopted country, the United States of America, and urges full observance of its laws.

Only after this declaration of loyalty are the other goals mentioned: The consolidation of "the separate efforts of all the various Swiss societies into one great group"; the protection of "members in time of need and in case of death"; the promotion of "cultural relations and goodwill between the United States and Switzerland"; and, finally, the preservation of "the traditions and cultural heritage of the old Fatherland."¹⁸

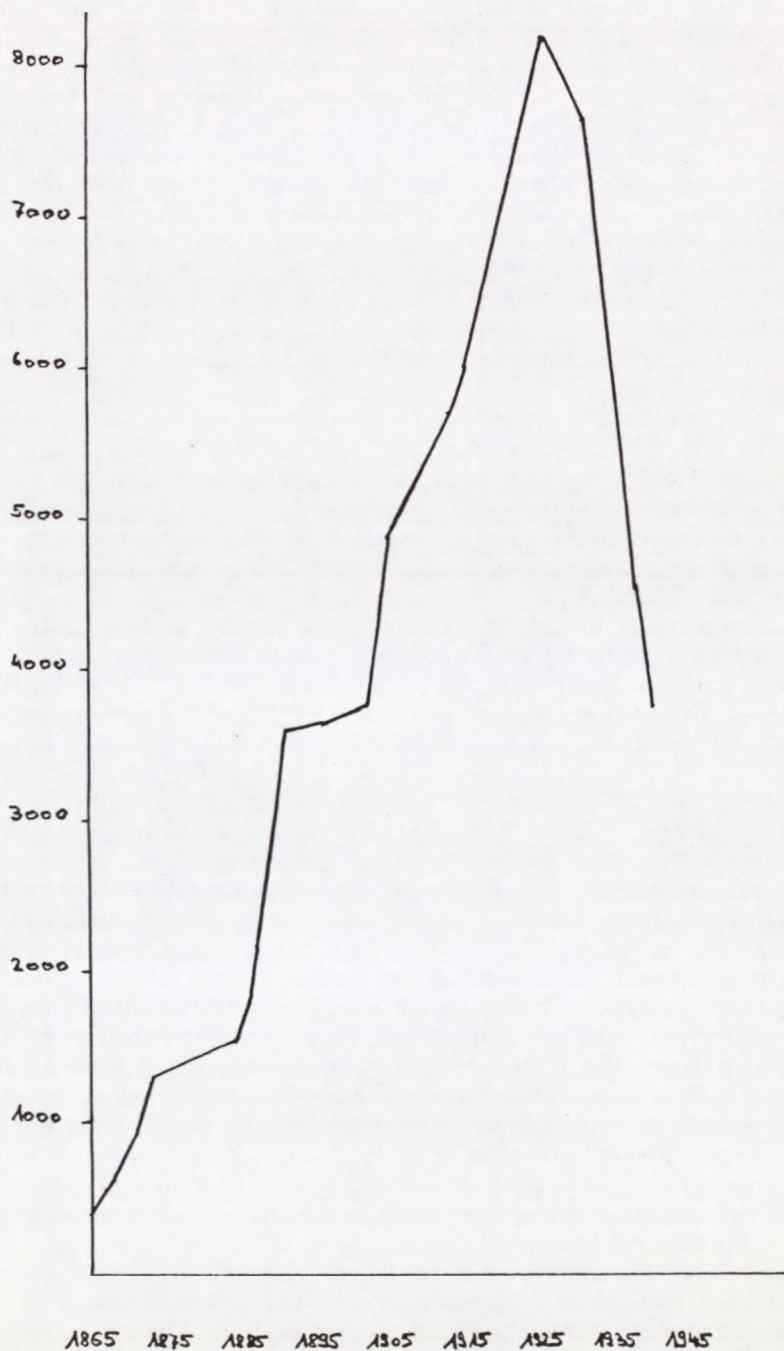
In actuality the Alliance had become little more than a life insurance organization along ethnic lines; the profession of the other goals was to remain largely an echo of times long past.

II

The activities of the *Grütli-Bund* centered in its local associations which often cooperated with independent Swiss organizations of a given area. The efforts of the *Grütli-ner* of Rochester, as reported by Adelrich Steinach and Sigbert Meier, may serve as a typical example.¹⁹ In 1880 about a thousand Swiss were living in Rochester among about

GRAPH 1
Growth and Decline of North-American *Grütli-Bund* Membership 1865-1940.

Members



90,000 inhabitants. By 1888 they had formed five different organizations. The oldest was the *Schweizer-Verein*, founded in 1861 and one of the first local associations that had joined the *Bund* in 1865. It held monthly meetings dedicated to fellowship, discussion of issues, and management of the society's affairs. It maintained a library of some 160 volumes, celebrated the annual *Grütli-Festival* on November 17, and had in 1888 \$3,488 in assets for support and benevolent activities. On July 4, 1888, it celebrated the American national holiday by commemorating the 500-year anniversary of the Battle of Näfels²⁰ by a special "costumed pageant [that included] Swiss heroes, horsemen, cross-bow marksmen, twenty-two girls whose different costumes symbolized the cantons," that is the member states of the Swiss Confederacy. "Live pictures" represented Swiss historical scenes.²¹ The *Schweizer-Verein* collaborated closely with the Swiss Club, the Swiss Men's Choir, the Helvetia Men's Choir, and the Swiss Sharpshooters Club. In 1884 both choirs helped celebrate the *Grütli-Festival* and later merged to form the Harmony Society.

Steinach's book reports similar efforts for numerous other places. In New York City, for instance, the Men's *Grütli-Singing Society* performed in 1874 a specially designed dramatization outlining the course of Swiss history. Other performances included plays or musicals with patriotic Swiss themes. The 127 members also made excursions to places such as Fair View, College Point, Eckstein's Brewery, and Kern's Farm on Staten Island.²²

Another example of the activities of the member societies in the *Bund* was the centennial celebration of 1876, held in Philadelphia to honor the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The *Grütli-Verein* of Washington, D.C., took the lead in organizing a Swiss-American People's Day in Philadelphia for August 26 and 27 that was to commemorate the Battle of St. Jakob at the Birs of 1444.²³ The aged General John August Sutter (1803-1880), on whose Californian possessions gold had been discovered in 1848, was presiding over the festivities that had attracted nearly a thousand Swiss. A festive parade of Swiss organizations opened the celebration, followed by various speeches. One of them dealt with the question "why a community like Switzerland had preserved its freedom for so long."²⁴ A banquet, much singing, and a light entertainment concluded the first day. The following morning more speeches were heard that featured aspects of Swiss history and Swiss cultural traditions. One speaker discussed "The Duties of a Swiss Abroad Towards His Native Land and Toward His Adopted Fatherland." "Be citizens," the speaker exhorted his countrymen, "be genuine men, true Swiss, faithful Americans, and do not yourself diminish your rights by neglecting the *one* duty, that of voting."²⁵ Later in the day formal motions were passed that recommended joining the *Bund* and the vigorous promotion of its goals, especially "ideal endeavors in the sense of rational progress."²⁶

Such sentiments were not wholly new; local *Grütli-Vereine* as well as the *Bund* drew their inspiration and basic organizational pattern not from American models, but from an association that had been founded

on May 6, 1838, in Geneva, the French-speaking city of Calvin's fame.²⁷ Since 1836 some German-speaking Swiss, mainly young single journeymen from the cantons of Appenzell and Glarus, had gathered on the last Sunday in April to re-enact the *Landsgemeinde*, that is the legislative annual open-air meetings of their respective states. They marched in solemn formation to their chosen meeting place where they elected a *Landamman* or governor, then discussed and voted on the very matters that were before the actual gatherings then taking place in their home cantons. In 1838 the group decided to establish a formal organization and to name it *Grütli-Verein* on the suggestion of Johannes Niederer (1779-1843), a reformed minister, theologian, and close collaborator of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827). "You shall be called *Grütli-ianer*," the respected Dr. Niederer is supposed to have exclaimed at a meeting of May 20, 1838, "because I foresee that from this fraternal organization of Swiss, regardless of cantonal differences, something magnificent will emerge, just as free Switzerland emerged from the *Grütli*."²⁸ That name refers to the meadow where, according to the old chronicles, representatives of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden had secretly assembled in the late fall of 1307 to reaffirm the original Swiss League by a solemn oath of mutual support and loyalty in the face of the designs of Hapsburg nobles.²⁹

A constitution was drafted that stated the goal of the association in these words:

The society seeks the free mutual exchange of ideas, enlightenment and general education, especially as to patriotic matters.³⁰

Swiss of good reputation, who were at least seventeen, were able to join. Meetings were held weekly where such questions were debated as the establishment of uniform weights and measures, the management of orphanages and poorhouses, the founding of a national university and teachers' college, and the freedom of the press. True to Alpine democratic traditions, a vote was taken only when a basic consensus seemed to have emerged.

In the mid-1840s the association promoted vigorously the transformation of the Swiss League of States into a Federal Nation State. The organization's central purpose had been defined more sharply in the main paragraph of the revised constitution of 1840:

The *Grütli*-Association honors the principle of cantonal and national sovereignty as adopted in the *Grütli-Bund* of 1307. Its purpose is to preserve the integrity of democracy in the spirit of its founding and progressive development. To achieve this purpose it seeks as much as possible the enlightenment and education of its members as people and citizens by

- a. free discussion
- b. written communication
- c. public readings.³¹

The main influence on the *Grütli-Verein* in the 1840s emanated from Albert Galeer (1816-1851), the son of a German political exile living in

Switzerland. After Albert Galeer had completed his studies in philosophy and philology at the University of Heidelberg, he became ever more involved in the liberal movements that culminated in the 1848 revolutions. He was also closely associated with Giuseppe Mazzini (1805-1872) and had embraced many of his views. Galeer transformed the *Grütli-Verein* into a "Männerschule," that is a school for young men. They were to meet almost daily for lessons in history, languages, geography, and song and to debate important questions of the day. Discussions were not to be followed by common political action, however. The *Grütli-Verein* was to be an instrument for continuing education that prepared the young men for independent enlightened political activity.³²

In the first years the organization grew only moderately. By the mid-1840s it had sections in cities like Geneva with 120, Lausanne with 40, Bern with 50, and Paris with 80 members. After 1848, when the Swiss Confederation had adopted its present shape, the ever-growing number of *Grütli-Vereine* vigorously promoted other political and social reforms. They opposed the continuation of the foreign military service; furthered the founding of cooperative stores and the establishment of a national Sick Benefit and Burial Fund; fought for the passage of a national factory law, the creation of a Federal Labor Bureau, the free distribution of school materials, and the adoption of federal regulations of primary education.³³

In the later decades of the nineteenth century the *Grütli-Verein* adopted ever more vigorously the causes of labor and social justice. It supported the founding of the Second International, but rejected the Moscow International as "undemocratic and un-socialist."³⁴ It reached the height of its influence at the turn of the century. By 1903 the association counted 298 sections and a total of 8912 members. The emergence of strong trade unions, of politically neutral gymnastics, singing, and sharpshooting societies, and of a vigorous social-democratic party led to a slow decline and, in 1925, to a merger with the latter.³⁵ Relations with the North American *Grütli-Bund* were only sporadic,³⁶ but ceased altogether with the growing commitment of the Swiss national *Grütli-Verein* to social democracy.

Like its American offshoot, the Swiss *Grütli-Verein* was an organization of transition. It fostered a strongly patriotic, but pluralist nationalism, especially after 1870, when the unification of Germany and Italy seemed to threaten Switzerland's survival. Before unification these states had been divided into separate or only loosely affiliated territories and many of them were of a size comparable to that of the Swiss Confederacy. After 1870, however, the latter was surrounded by large nations that hoped to absorb eventually all people speaking their respective language. Thus the *Grütli-Verein* fostered a national unity based on an idealized common historical experience and unique cultural traditions that, according to the association, had welded Switzerland's four language groups into a genuine state.³⁷

The Swiss *Grütli-Verein* focused also on the socio-economic transformations of its day, symbolized in the rise of industrial mass-production,

wage-labor, and the formation of corporations. The organization tried very consciously to unite people from all walks of life—artisans, tradesmen, small businessmen, professionals, and laborers—in the name of the higher unity of the nation, its idealized past, and unique mission. Some of the local *Grütli-Vereine* of the United States, especially those of Washington, D.C., and Toledo, Ohio, seem to have shared some of that orientation;³⁸ most others, however, remained aloof from questions of labor and social justice and stressed total independence from the Swiss organization. In 1911 the North American association changed its name from *Grütli-* to *Schweizer-Bund* in order to symbolize its separate perspective.³⁹

Both national networks of organizations, then, had started in culturally alien surroundings and strove to shape the future by preserving the substance of the past. The Swiss *Grütli-Verein* helped easing the transition of Switzerland from a league of states to a nation state, and from an economy based on crafts and guild traditions to one of industrialized mass production. The North-American *Grütli-Bund*, in turn, contributed effectively to the transformation of Swiss immigrants to ethnics by nurturing cohesion, mutual support, and the celebration of an idealized past that could serve as a guide to the future.

III

After the sketch of the history of the North American *Grütli-Bund* and its relationship to the Swiss parent society, the question remains what kind of immigrants had joined the organization. The publication celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the *Bund* permits at least a partial answer.⁴⁰ It contains an alphabetical list of the member societies with dates of their founding and entry into the *Bund*. In addition each society listing offers an alphabetical roster of members including the year, place, and canton of birth as well as profession and year of entry into the local association. These data allow the construction of a numerical profile of the membership as to geographic origin, place of residence, age, occupation, and social status.⁴¹ The resulting profile features, however, not only the membership of the *Bund*, but also the 1915 Swiss presence in the United States for which it may serve as a fairly representative sample.

As to geographic origin the data show that five sixths of the *Grütli*aners were born in Switzerland, most others in the United States, a few in countries such as Germany, Austria, or France.⁴² Table 3 indicates the general distribution; nearly nine tenths of the men were Swiss-born, but not quite two thirds of the women.

Table 4 divides the Swiss-born membership of the *Bund* according to canton of birth and compares the data with the total of Swiss emigrants for the years 1906 to 1915 and with the 1910 total of the Swiss resident population. The comparison does not reveal specific patterns. Data for some areas are fairly in balance, other regions are significantly over- or under-represented. French-speaking Swiss from cantons such as Neuchâtel, Vaud, and Geneva, however, as well as Swiss from the Italian-

TABLE 3
**Distribution of the Grütli-Bund Membership According to
Region of Birth and Gender**

Region	Total		Men		Women	
	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
Switzerland	5,009	83.3	4,430	88.3	579	58.1
United States	654	10.9	528	10.5	126	12.6
Other	188	3.1	56	1.1	132	13.3
Unknown	161	2.7	2	0.1	159	16.0
Total	6,012	100.0	5,016	100.0	996	100.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218.

TABLE 4
**Distribution of the 1915 Swiss-born Grütli-Bund Membership
According to Swiss Cantons of Origin and in Comparison
with their 1906-1915 Emigrant and Resident Population Totals**

Region	1915 Grütli-Bund Membership		1906-1915 Total of Cantonal Emigrants		1910 Swiss Resident Population Total	
	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
Bern	1,648	32.9	9,778	20.2	645,877	17.2
Zurich	530	10.6	6,661	13.8	503,915	13.4
Aargau	488	9.7	1,711	3.6	230,634	6.1
St. Gall	367	7.3	3,697	7.7	302,896	8.1
Schaffhausen	249	5.0	498	1.0	46,097	1.2
Schwyz	240	4.8	1,558	3.2	58,428	1.6
Thurgau	152	3.0	1,095	2.3	134,917	3.6
Appenzell-A.R.	151	3.0	64	0.1	14,659	0.4
Grisons	140	2.8	1,140	2.4	117,069	3.1
Solothurn	139	2.8	937	1.9	117,040	3.1
Luzern	116	2.3	1,264	2.6	167,223	4.5
Basel-Land	115	2.3	980	2.0	76,488	2.0
Valais	114	2.3	1,447	3.0	128,381	3.4
Glarus	106	2.1	624	1.3	33,316	0.9
Basel-Stadt	84	1.7	2,865	5.9	135,918	3.6
Uri	72	1.4	404	0.8	22,113	0.6
Obwalden	71	1.4	508	1.1	17,161	0.5
Ticino	54	1.1	5,901	12.2	156,166	4.2
Neuchâtel	46	0.9	1,963	4.1	133,061	3.5
Nidwalden	30	0.6	118	0.2	13,788	0.4
Vaud	26	0.5	1,920	4.0	317,457	8.5
Zug	24	0.5	458	1.0	28,156	0.8
Fribourg	20	0.4	349	0.7	139,654	3.7
Appenzell-I.R.	17	0.3	593	1.2	57,973	1.5
Geneva	10	0.2	1,641	3.4	154,906	4.1
Total	5,009	100.0	48,174	100.0	3,753,293	100.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218; *Statistisches Jahrbuch der Schweiz 1915* (Bern 1916) p. 68; Statistisches Bureau, *Die Ergebnisse der Eidgenössischen Volkszählung vom 1. Dezember 1910* (Bern 1918), p. 61.

speaking canton Ticino had joined the *Bund* in proportionately smaller numbers, German-speaking emigrants from cantons like Bern, Appenzell-A.R., and Schaffhausen in proportionately larger groups. Just as the *Grütli-Verein* of Switzerland, also its North American counterpart seems to have been most popular among German-speaking Swiss and especially of those three cantons.

Of the 654 Swiss who were born in the United States and members of the *Grütli-Bund* in 1915, 132 (20.2%) hailed from Ohio, 69 (10.5%) from New York, 66 (10.0%) from Missouri, 60 (9.2%) from Pennsylvania, and 55 (8.5%) from Kentucky. One hundred eighty-eight of the 1915 *Grütli-Bund* members were born in other countries; of these 142 Swiss came from Germany, 20 from Austria, and 10 from France.

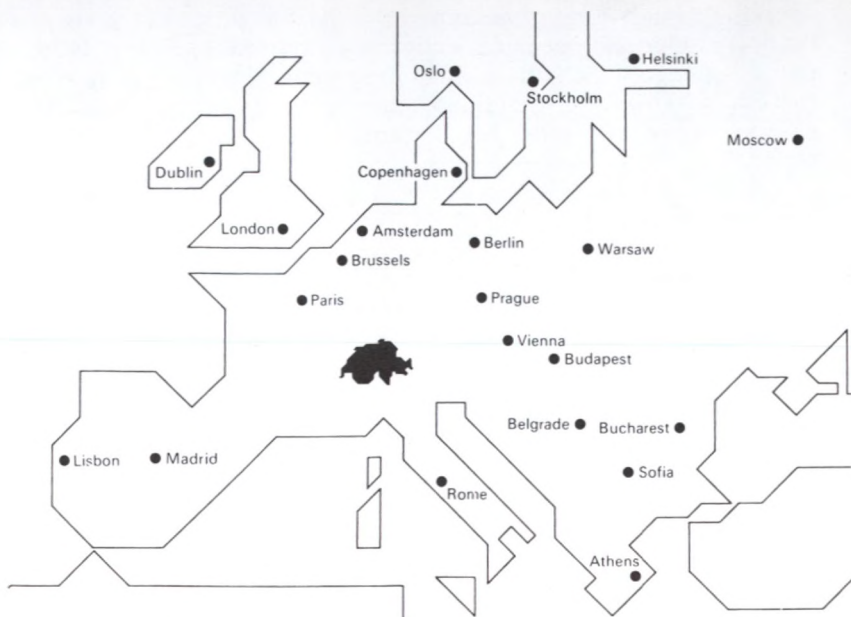
The member societies of the *Grütli-Bund* were quite dispersed over the United States (see map 1), but mostly found in urban centers of the Northeast and the Great Lakes region. The list of those fifteen societies with more than one hundred members and representing nearly two thirds of the total membership illustrates this point (Table 5).

If one compares the 1915 *Grütli-Bund* membership with the 1910 Swiss presence of those states of the Union with more than two thousand Swiss-born, no clear pattern of distribution emerges. While rural states such as Illinois, Wisconsin, and Ohio had comparable numbers of Swiss-born, Wisconsin counted far fewer *Grütli* members than Illinois, whereas Ohio was overrepresented by more than five percent. Relatively high proportional representation in the *Bund* by states such as Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Missouri confirms that Swiss in urban centers favored the organization. Table 6 shows these proportions.

The membership of the *Grütli-Bund* was predominantly male in conformity with its early designation as *Männerschule*, a school for men. In 1915 it counted 5016 men and 996 women, a proportion of 83.4 to 16.6 percent. The distribution as to age groups is featured in Table 7 and in Graph 2.

The data show that the age group 45 to 49 years of age was the largest for the total membership, closely followed by those aged 50 to 54. The latter group was the largest for the male membership whereas the age group 40 to 44 was largest for the women, closely followed by the age group 45 to 49; together the latter two represented 41.6 percent of all women members. The age groups between 17 and 34 years were 21.9 percent smaller than one would expect, the age groups above 60 years 15.5 percent larger. The male membership was heavily concentrated in the group of higher middle age. In contrast, 58 percent of the women were between 35 to 49 years of age, and only 9.7 percent 60 years or older.

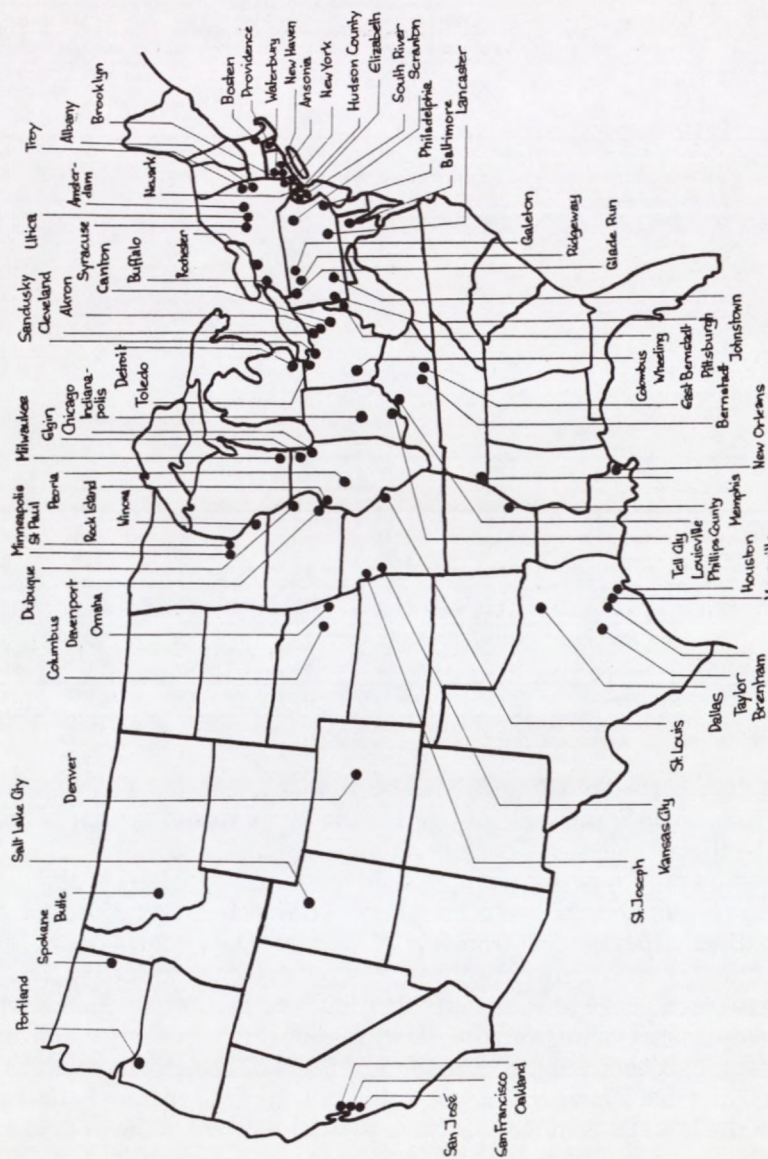
The median age distribution of the 1915 *Bund* membership is featured in Table 8. The Swiss-born men were with a median age of 48 significantly older than the U.S.-born *Bund* members with 29.6. The data seem to confirm E. P. Hutchinson's findings that Swiss-born immigrants were among those groups with highest median ages. In 1940, the only year for which data for Swiss-born in general are available, the Swiss-born median age was 56.1, surpassed only by Swedish-born with



Map 1: Switzerland's Position in Europe



Map 2: The Swiss Cantons



Map 3: Geographic Distribution of *Grütli-Bund* Associations in the United States in 1915.

TABLE 5

Member Societies of the North American *Grütli-Bund* with More Than 100 Members in 1915 According to Size and Gender Distribution

Rank	Location	Membership					
		Total		Men		Women	
		Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent	Absolute	Percent
1	St. Louis, Missouri	518	8.61	403	8.03	115	11.54
2	Hudson County, New Jersey	445	7.40	379	7.55	66	6.63
3	Chicago, Illinois	389	6.47	389	7.75	--	--
4	San Francisco, California	365	6.07	263	5.24	102	10.24
5	New York City	310	5.16	292	5.82	18	1.81
6	Cleveland, Ohio	299	4.97	298	5.94	1	0.10
7	Portland, Oregon	280	4.66	262	5.22	18	1.81
8	Toledo, Ohio	233	3.87	185	3.69	48	4.82
9	Milwaukee, Wisconsin	170	2.83	152	3.03	18	1.81
10	Ridgeway, Pennsylvania	160	2.66	96	1.91	64	6.42
11	Scranton, Pennsylvania	144	2.40	138	2.75	6	0.60
12	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	135	2.24	93	1.86	42	4.22
13	Akron, Ohio	123	2.04	99	1.97	24	2.41
14	Dallas, Texas	117	1.95	84	1.68	33	3.31
15	Buffalo, New York	110	1.83	87	1.74	23	23.10
	15 Largest Societies	3798	63.16	3220	64.18	578	58.03
Totals	Other 57 Societies	2214	36.84	1796	35.82	418	41.97
	All 72 Societies	6012	100.00	5016	100.00	996	100.00

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Grütli-Bund*, pp. 93-218.

58.0, Norwegian- and North Irish-born with 56.3, and German-born with 56.6; in 1910 the median age for the latter was 47.3, that is quite close to that of the Swiss-born *Bund* membership of 47.7.⁴³

Because only very few women listed an occupation, the occupational analysis centers on the male members. They listed over 350 different occupations that ranged from drover, candymaker, loan fixer, and varnishmaker to trimmer, beerbottler, covemaker, and loom fixer. In order to get a sense of the status distribution, each occupational label received a status value from one (low) to four (high).⁴⁴ Table 9 indicates the resulting general status distribution for 5007 male members of the *Bund*. The table shows that a good third of the 1915 membership held jobs in the low status range; not quite two thirds were in the middle and superior category, and only three percent had occupations of high status.

Over a fifth of the occupational identifications consisted of generic labels such as employee, worker, examiner, manager, technician, and capitalist. Most of the others were sufficiently specific to allow their

TABLE 6

Distribution of the 1915 *Grütli-Bund* Membership in U.S. States with
More than 2000 Swiss-Born in 1910

U.S. State	1915 <i>Grütli-Bund</i> Membership			Swiss in U.S. States with More Than 2000 Swiss-Born in 1910			
	Rank	Absolute	Percent	Rank	Absolute	Percent in <i>Bund</i>	Percent Swiss-Born
Ohio	1	846	14.1	3	10,988	7.7	8.8
New York	2	750	12.5	1	16,312	4.6	13.0
Pennsylvania	3	630	10.5	7	7,484	8.4	6.0
Missouri	4	609	10.1	8	6,141	9.9	4.9
New Jersey	5	598	10.0	6	7,548	7.9	6.0
California	6	490	8.2	2	14,520	3.4	11.6
Illinois	7	398	6.6	4	8,660	4.6	7.0
Oregon	8	280	4.7	9	3,853	7.3	3.1
Wisconsin	11	170	2.8	5	8,036	2.1	6.4
Nebraska	12	129	2.1	16	2,150	6.0	1.7
Indiana	14	104	1.7	15	2,765	3.8	2.2
Michigan	16	90	1.5	14	2,780	3.2	2.2
Kansas	17	86	1.4	13	2,853	3.0	2.3
Minnesota	18	66	1.1	12	2,992	2.2	2.4
Iowa	25	20	0.3	10	3,675	0.5	3.0
Washington	29	8	0.1	11	3,447	0.2	2.7
Totals		5,274	87.7		104,204	5.1	83.5
All		6,012	100.0		124,847	4.8	100.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218; Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, Abstract* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), pp. 205-209.

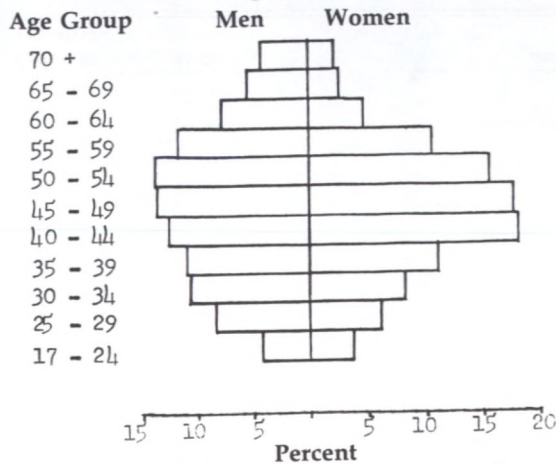
TABLE 7

Distribution of 1915 *Grütli-Bund* Membership According to
Age Group, Age Group Rank, and Gender

Age Group		All		Gender Distribution	
Years of Age	Rank	Absolute	Percent	Percent of Males	Percent of Females
17-24	10	242	4.1	4.1	3.7
25-29	7	462	7.8	8.1	6.0
30-34	6	594	10.0	10.3	8.3
35-39	5	640	10.8	10.7	11.1
40-44	3	778	13.1	12.1	17.9
45-49	1	824	13.8	13.2	17.4
50-54	2	817	13.7	13.4	15.6
55-59	4	674	11.3	11.5	10.3
60-64	8	412	6.9	7.3	4.7
65-69	9	292	4.9	5.3	2.9
70+	11	218	3.7	4.0	2.1
Totals		5,953	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Grütli-Bund*, pp. 93-218.

GRAPH 2
Distribution of 1915 Grütli-Bund
Membership According to Age
Group by Gender



grouping into occupational classes. Table 10 gives them in descending numerical order and divides them also according to status level.

These data not only confirm but also complement E. P. Hutchinson's comment that in 1900 "immigrant males from Switzerland were most numerous in manufacturing and in domestic and personal service . . . [and] especially found among servants and waiters, saloonkeepers and bartenders, and in the textile industry except for cottonmills."⁴⁵ The many varied and quite specific subdivisions of occupational designations used by the male membership seems to indicate, furthermore, that these immigrants viewed their occupations as crafts or specialized skills rather than as mere forms of wage labor. The wide range of occupations shows, finally, that the *Grütli-Bund* was fulfilling at least one major ideal of the founders of the Swiss *Grütli-Verein*, that is the gathering of people from all walks of life into one organization that was to pursue their mental and physical welfare regardless of occupation and status. The common laborer, blue collar worker, farmer, banker, and professional could cooperate in fostering economic well-being and an enlightened patriotism that strove not only to preserve the accustomed traditions and values, but also to nurture new attachments to the adopted country. Thus, the occupational inclusiveness, combined with the compatibility of Swiss and American traditions, enabled the North American *Grütli-Bund* to serve as a bridge that effectively united the old with the new and significantly eased the burden of immigrant life.

University of Illinois at Chicago
 Chicago, Illinois

Staatsarchiv Zug
 Zug, Switzerland

TABLE 8

Median Age of 1915 North-American *Grütli-Bund* Membership According to Birth Region and Gender in Comparison with 1910 U.S. White Population

Group	Category	Number of Cases	Median Age
Total <i>Bund</i> Membership	Men	5016	46.2
	Women	996	45.4
	All	6012	46.0
Swiss-Born <i>Bund</i> Membership	Men	4430	48.0
	Women	579	45.5
	All	5009	47.7
U.S.-Born <i>Bund</i> Membership	Men	528	29.6
	Women	126	33.3
	All	654	30.2
Other-Born <i>Bund</i> Membership	Men	56	38.5
	Women	132	46.4
	All	188	43.0
1910 White U.S. Population	Native Parentage	Millions 49.489	22.0
	Foreign or Mixed Parentage	18.898	20.0
	Foreign Born	13.346	37.2
	Total	81.732	24.4

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218; E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants*, pp. 3, 15.

TABLE 9

Distribution of 1915 Male *Grütli-Bund* Membership According to Status Level of Occupation

Category	Absolute	Percent
Low	1714	34.2
Middle	2197	43.9
Superior	945	18.9
High	151	3.0
Total	5007	100.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218.

TABLE 10
**Distribution of 1915 Male *Grütli-Bund* Membership According to
 Nature and Assigned Status Level of Occupation**

Nature of Occupation	Total		Low		Middle		Superior		High	
	Abs.	Percent	Abs.	Percent of Total	Abs.	Percent of Total	Abs.	Percent of Total	Abs.	Percent of Total
Generic	1023	20.4	799	16.0	34	0.7	136	2.7	54	0.1
Services	541	10.8	329	6.6	209	4.2	2	0.0	1	0.0
Agriculture	498	9.9	19	0.4	55	1.1	423	8.4	1	0.0
Innkeeping	431	8.6	41	0.8	170	3.4	210	4.2	10	0.2
Woodworking	405	8.1	20	0.4	380	7.6	2	0.0	3	0.1
Food, Drink, Tobacco	383	7.7	51	1.0	303	6.1	21	0.4	8	0.2
Textiles	333	6.7	94	1.9	239	4.8	0	0.0	0	0.0
Metalworking	298	6.0	76	1.5	181	3.6	38	0.8	3	0.1
Dairying	229	4.6	184	3.7	42	0.8	3	0.1	0	0.0
Construction	183	3.7	11	0.2	136	2.7	19	0.4	17	0.3
Baking	169	3.4	0	0.0	169	3.4	0	0.0	0	0.0
Leatherworking	104	2.1	10	0.2	92	1.8	2	0.0	0	0.0
Color Trades	93	1.9	15	0.3	75	1.5	3	0.1	0	0.0
Professions	59	1.2	0	0.0	11	0.2	25	0.5	23	0.5
Printing and Bookbinding	51	1.0	0	0.0	35	0.7	16	0.3	0	0.0
Artistic Pursuits	48	0.9	0	0.0	34	0.7	14	0.3	0	0.0
Healthcare	43	0.8	2	0.0	0	0.0	15	0.3	26	0.5
Railroad	37	0.7	22	0.4	15	0.3	0	0.0	0	0.0
Mining	35	0.7	25	0.5	2	0.0	8	0.2	0	0.0
Glassworking	23	0.5	10	0.2	9	0.2	4	0.1	0	0.0
Banking	12	0.2	0	0.0	5	0.1	2	0.0	5	0.1
Varia	7	0.1	6	0.1	1	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	5007	100.0	1714	34.2	2197	43.9	945	18.9	151	3.0

Source: [S. Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 93-218.

Notes

¹ *Geschichte und Leben der Schweizer Kolonien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord Amerika, unter Mitwirkung des Nord-Amerikanischen Grütli-Bundes* (New York: T. Bryner, 1889). A. Steinach was born April 26, 1826 in Uznach, Canton St. Gallen. He studied at the Universities of Freiburg (Germany), Munich, Paris and Strasbourg. In 1855 he moved to the United States and practiced medicine. He authored the two-volume work *System der organischen Entwicklung* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1886). For biographical sketches see Steinach, *Geschichte*, p. 355 and *Prominent Americans of Swiss Origin* (New York: James T. White, 1932), pp. 134-35.

² For a discussion of the term see Edward N. Saveth, *American Historians and European Immigrants 1875-1925* (1948; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965), pp. 202-15.

³ Steinach, *Geschichte*, pp. 3-4; all translations are those of L. Schelbert, if not mentioned otherwise.

⁴ [Sigbert Meier], *Nord-Amerikanischer Schweizer-Bund 1865-1915* (Union Hill, NJ: Michel and Rank, [1916]), p. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

⁹ Ibid.: John Hitz was "identified with the American Fröbel Society, the Kindergarten Association, and the Industrial Home School." He succeeded his father, John Hitz, Sr. (d. 1864), a mining engineer, as consul of Switzerland, in 1864 and served until 1881; for biographical sketches see: Steinach, *Geschichte*, pp. 137-40, especially valuable as to his family background; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1904), xii, 62; on his consular activities see Heinz K. Meier, *The United States and Switzerland in the Nineteenth Century* (The Hague: Mouton, 1963), pp. 126-30.

¹⁰ Meier, *Schweizer-Bund*, p. 10.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 13.

¹² The Winkelried Foundation was an attempt to create a national burial fund; success was only limited, however; *ibid.*, pp. 18-20.

¹³ *Constitution des Nord-Amerikanischen Grütli-Bundes* (Newark, NJ: J. Schläpfer, 1873), p. 1; copy provided by courtesy of the Minnesota Historical Society.

¹⁴ *Constitution des Grütli-Vereins San Francisco* (San Francisco: M. Weiss, 1875), p. 3-4; copy in Bancroft Library, University of California. Special thanks are due to Consul Alphons Frey, Swiss Consulate General, San Francisco, for his kind assistance in securing a copy.

¹⁵ This becomes evident from Steinach, *Geschichte*, *passim*, and also S. Meier, *Schweizer-Bund*, *passim*.

¹⁶ S. Meier, *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

¹⁷ Fred Eidenbenz, *75th Anniversary Jubilee Book of the North American Swiss Alliance* (New York: Community Press of Yorkville, 1941), p. 98.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

¹⁹ Steinach, *Geschichte*, pp. 61-63; Meier, *Schweizer-Bund*, pp. 77-78.

²⁰ In April 1388 the peasants of Glarus, almost unaided, destroyed the Austrian forces at Näfels, sent to reconquer the Glarus valley; see Edgar Bonjour, et al., *A Short History of Switzerland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 100.

²¹ Steinach, *Geschichte*, p. 62.

²² Ibid., pp. 3-35.

²³ "At St. Jakob an der Birs . . . , 26 August 1444, the Swiss, outnumbered by ten to one, and by professional soldiers at that, fought [the French] until they . . . were wiped out almost to a man"; Bonjour, *Short History*, p. 117. The heroic resistance led France to recognize the independence of the Confederacy.

²⁴ Steinach, *Geschichte*, p. 91; in the following years a few more such *Volksfeste* were organized.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 92-93.

²⁶ Ibid., pp. 93-94.

²⁷ For the early years see J. K. Wilhelm, ed., *Der moralische Volksbund und die freie schweizerische Männerschule, oder der Grütliverein. Eine vertrauensvolle Rede an das Schweizer-volk, vornämlich an die Jüngern. Von Albert Galeer. Nebst einem geschichtlichen Abrisse* (Bern: Konrad und Allemann, 1864); valuable surveys provide: William Harbutt Dawson, *Social Switzerland* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1897), pp. 69-77; P. Brandt, "Grütliverein," in *Handwörterbuch der schweizerischen Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung*, Naum Reichesberg, ed. (Bern: Verlag Encyclopädie 1901-1911), II, 451-58; R. Seidel, "Grütliverein (Schweiz)," *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 3 (1926): 778-79; Erich Gruner, *Die Arbeiter in der Schweiz im 19. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Francke, 1968), pp. 468-504. A partisan description of the struggle within the organization after 1910 is [Hans Müller], *Grütlianer-Manifest* (Zürich: Schweizerischer Grütliverein, [1917]).

²⁸ Wilhelm, ed., *Volksbund*, p. 72; *ibid.*, pp. 183-99, a description of the first celebration of the Grütli-League, November 17, 1839.

²⁹ The first formal alliance had occurred in 1291; the 1307 gathering of the confederates on the Rütli involved "a secret oath to drive out their oppressors"; Bonjour, *Short History*, p. 79; *ibid.* 79-81, a discussion of the controversies concerning the validity of sources. For a delightfully mischievous treatment of the story see Max Frisch, *Wilhelm Tell für die Schule* (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1971).

³⁰ Wilhelm, ed., *Volksbund*, p. 73.

³¹ Ibid., pp. 89-90.

³² Ibid., pp. 89-90.

³³ R. Seidel, "Grütliverein," p. 779.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ See, for instance, "Allgemeiner Bericht," *Jahresbericht des schweizerischen Grütlivereins 1871-1872*, p. 5: The hope is expressed that *Grütlivereine* abroad might become more closely affiliated with the Swiss organization; then special reference is made to Consul Hitz and to the fact that the North-American "*Bund* has quite close ties to the Swiss Central Organization [*Centralverband*]" ; the contacts between the two national associations need further methodical investigation.

³⁷ Gruner, *Arbeiter*, p. 470.

³⁸ Meier, *Schweizer-Bund*, p. 18, calls John Hitz "the soul of all progressive ideas in the *Bund*"; p. 25: Discussions in the weekly *Grütliener* "seemed finally to end up in social-democratic waters"; p. 27: "Some feared Toledo might influence the *Bund* social-democratically."

³⁹ Ibid., p. 25: The change "occurred in taking account of the fact that the Swiss *Grütli-Verein* had become a political party with a definite tendency, and one did not want in our circles that the *Bund* would be mistakenly identified with political tendencies."

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 93-218.

⁴¹ In the context of the 1980 Newberry Institute of Family History, directed by University of Illinois at Chicago Professors Richard Jensen and Daniel S. Smith, the authors created the basis for an electronic data analysis. They gratefully acknowledge the generous assistance of the staff of the Institute as well as of James Mott, Ph.D. candidate and University of Illinois at Chicago Data Archivist.

⁴² Swiss citizenship is independent of the locality of birth; it generally derives from juridical membership in one of the Swiss communes and extends from there *ipso facto* to the canton and the nation; see "Gemeinde," *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, 3 (1926), 428-30.

⁴³ Edward P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850-1950* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1956), p. 17.

⁴⁴ Space limitations do not permit the inclusion of a complete listing of the occupations and the assignments of status levels; the classification "Dairy Trades" may serve as an example, however: "Dairyman, milker, milkman," 183 cases, status level 1 (low); "milk-seller, cheese-maker, buttermaker, dairy-store," 45 cases, status level 2 (middle); "cheese merchant," 3 cases, status level 3 (superior).

⁴⁵ Hutchinson, *Immigrants*, p. 180.

Frederick C. Luebke

The German Ethnic Group in Brazil: The Ordeal of World War I¹

In April, 1917, shortly after Brazil broke off diplomatic relations with Germany, Brazilians of German origin or descent were victims of numerous, destructive riots. Although death and personal injury were minimal, property damage was enormous as hundreds of residences, business houses, factories, and warehouses were damaged or destroyed by mobs gone out of control. Porto Alegre was the scene of the worst riots, but disturbances occurred almost simultaneously in São Paulo, Pelotas, and other cities of the South, where large numbers of German Brazilians lived. Six months later, following Brazil's declaration of war against the German Empire, another series of riots resulted in more destruction in the German districts of Rio de Janeiro, Petrópolis, Curitiba, and elsewhere.²

Like most riots, these outbursts of violence may be attributed to immediate causes. In this case, intergroup tension was intensified by genuine dismay and anger over Germany's having torpedoed Brazilian merchant vessels, by virulent anti-German propaganda, and by the rhetorical excesses of pro-Ally politicians. But that is like saying that World War I itself was caused in 1914 by the Serbian nationalist who assassinated the Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo. The anti-German riots in Brazil are better understood within a larger context of ethnic history: The behavior of the dominant Luso-Brazilians (persons of Portuguese language and culture) and the minority Teuto-Brazilians (as the Germans were often called) may be best interpreted if examined historically in terms of ethnic group relations, perceptions, and images.³

Germans were among the earliest and most numerous of non-Portuguese Europeans to settle in Brazil. Beginning in the 1820s, a small stream of Germans entered the country, largely as a consequence of vigorous recruitment efforts sponsored by the Brazilian government. The number of German immigrants seldom exceeded two thousand in a single year. Yet after nearly a century they had multiplied and pros-

pered until they numbered approximately 400,000 persons, mostly Brazilian-born and German-speaking.⁴

Although colonies of German immigrants developed in several of the large cities and seaports in Brazil, the majority sought new homes in rural regions that had been ignored or bypassed by earlier Portuguese or Azorean settlers. Locating chiefly in the southern states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina and to a lesser extent in Paraná, they built a new society, different from what they had known in Germany and different as well from that of the receiving Luso-Brazilian society. The Teuto-Brazilians adapted their agricultural practices to subtropical realities, raised large families, and built churches, schools, and towns. They were the dominant group in some provincial cities, notably São Leopoldo, Blumenau, and Joinville, and became an influential minority in such major cities as Porto Alegre, São Paulo, and Rio de Janeiro.⁵

Because of the accidents of time and place, the Germans in Brazil had been allowed to develop their own society without much interference. By the 1880s, the last years of the Brazilian Empire, they had become a society within a society—a large, diverse, and structured community with its own values, attitudes, language, and folkways. In general, they were well received, respected, and valued for the contributions they were making to Brazilian economy and culture.⁶

With the advent of the republic in 1889, however, attitudes toward the Teuto-Brazilians began to change. The difference was partly a matter of confidence: The republic had to demonstrate its authority and its ability to govern, a task made more difficult by the diffusion of political power among the states and the development of political parties on a state basis. The abolition of slavery had its own repercussions as many thousands of new immigrants were recruited in Italy, Spain, and Portugal to supplement the labor supply. At the same time, the modernization of the economic structure of Brazil was under way, especially in the South. With the expansion of industry in relation to the production of agricultural commodities came economic and social dislocations that were new to Brazilian experience. As the world has witnessed so often in the twentieth century, modernization produced new social problems and tensions, especially in the cities. Some Brazilians, doubting the capacity of their society to absorb the flood of immigrants, demanded that the newcomers learn to conform to Brazilian ways.⁷

A measure of nativism also invaded Brazilian thought and attitude. Nativism was consonant with the doctrines of the Comtean positivism to which many of the new republican leaders subscribed. The commitment of the Brazilian positivists was not merely to *progress*, but also to *order*, which they understood to include a harmony among the classes, races, ethnic groups, and sexes. They could applaud the diverse origins of Brazilian society and culture and yet insist that a new unity—a distinctively Brazilian unity—had to be achieved, by force of dictatorship, if necessary.⁸

During the decade before the outbreak of World War I, many Brazilians in all levels of society, but especially among the ruling classes,

began to perceive the Germans as a problem—an element that threatened the equilibrium of Brazilian society.⁹ The Germans seemed rich and powerful, socially exclusive, and unwilling to be assimilated. To the more suspicious, they were eager accomplices in a vast Pan-Germanic plot to extend the power of the German Empire and with it German language and culture to all parts of the world, especially the southern states of Brazil.¹⁰

The Brazilian image of the Germans, like most stereotypes, rested on insufficient and distorted information, rhetorical exaggeration, and myths.¹¹ There was little comprehension of the diversity within the group, such as the differences that divided Catholics from Protestants or the disparate values and behaviors that separated rural farmers from urban workers and businessmen, or Teuto-Brazilians from *Reichs-deutsche*. Perceptions were drawn primarily from the behavior of the ethnic elite—the articulate, educated clergy, journalists, and businessmen who perpetuated immigrant culture because it served their economic interests and satisfied their psychological needs.

To the most ethnocentric among the German elite it seemed obvious that Luso-Brazilian culture was inferior to their own. They found little in it that they deemed worthy of adaptation or imitation. Brazilian culture was thought to be weak, and Luso-Brazilians themselves seemed to combine indolence with ridiculous conceit. As for their Portuguese language, it seemed useful to know but unimportant in terms of world culture. Compared to German, they thought, it offered few literary treasures.¹²

At the same time, however, these same Teuto-Brazilians sought acceptance and recognition. They were eager to be considered an essential element in their adopted country's history and they wanted Brazilians to understand and appreciate how extensive their contributions had been to Brazil's development. Thus, the literature of Teuto-Brazilian filiopianism describes how individual Germans had participated in the exploration of the land, the independence movement, and the preservation of Brazilian territorial integrity through the wars with Argentina and Paraguay. Moreover, they insisted that German leaders had helped to initiate the renewal of national intellectual life through their defense of liberty of conscience. Filiopianists also stressed the role of the Germans in placing new value and dignity on work and in condemning slavery as morally and socially obnoxious; they had contributed significantly to the elevation of moral, cultural, and material standards in Brazil; and they could take credit, at least in part, for the emergence of the middle class in Brazil.¹³

For a substantial proportion of the German subsociety in Brazil, this kind of ethnocentric talk was pointless. Like any other immigrant group, the German included persons who were favorably disposed toward the language and culture of the host society and wanted to become a part of it as quickly and painlessly as possible.¹⁴ Unlike the cultural idealists who insisted that it was their right to maintain their immigrant speech and folkways and who denied the right of the government to demand that they learn the language of the country, such rapid assimilators were

eager to abandon the marks of immigrant status because they had become a source of social and economic deprivation.

Between these two—the cultural chauvinists at one extreme and the rapid assimilators at the other—was the majority, who saw no problem at all. They went about their daily business gradually adapting to their surroundings and rarely giving the problem of assimilation any thought. If their assimilation was unusually slow, it was because they had further to go, culturally speaking, than, for example, the Italians, to whom they were frequently and negatively compared. Because of this cultural distance, they tended to cluster in separate communities. Since they were so numerous, they could create the institutions that maintained their distinctive cultural forms. Yet through daily contacts at work, in school, at church, or at the store, they learned Portuguese more or less automatically. Whether they learned quickly or slowly depended upon individual circumstances and whether it provided good or poor opportunities for interaction with speakers of Portuguese. For most of them, however, the ability to speak Portuguese became the symbol of higher social status; it was the avenue to social and economic progress, especially for the young.¹⁵

When governmental personnel began to object to the exclusiveness of the rural German colonies and the slowness of the Germans to assimilate, as they did in the two decades preceding World War I, they thought first of the extreme cases—the highly isolated districts where there were no Portuguese-language schools and where hundreds of second- and third-generation children could be found whose knowledge of Portuguese was rudimentary at best. Similarly, when they tried to identify typical German attitudes, they naturally paid attention to the most conspicuous persons—the noisy idealists who made speeches and wrote editorials, essays, and letters demanding the right to maintain their cultural separatism.

Thus the Luso-Brazilian majority acquired a distorted image of the Teuto-Brazilians. Some elements of the composite picture were correct, others were out of proportion, and a few were simply wrong. For decades in the nineteenth century, the Luso-Brazilian majority had ignored the question of German assimilation, probably because it had not seemed important enough to demand action. Then, when the failure of the Germans to assimilate began to be perceived as a problem, some Brazilian leaders tended to overreact and to press for extreme or far-reaching measures that were intended to enforce greater conformity.

When national rivalries exploded into world war in 1914, Luso-Brazilian sympathies were strongly with France and her allies and their tolerance for the loyalty Teuto-Brazilians naturally felt for Germany was correspondingly reduced. Influential political and cultural leaders then attacked Brazil's German ethnic group as a menace to national security and recklessly charged them with a full range of subversive activity. The subsequent anti-German riots of 1917 were thus the natural children born of intergroup tensions in conjunction with the accidents of world history.

The long neutrality period from 1914 to 1917 was generally a period of incubation for these tensions. Circumstances in Brazil were much like those in the United States. Germans in both countries felt a strong bond of loyalty to the land of their fathers; the host societies leaned toward the Allies. In Brazil, the Portuguese-language press quickly became a vehicle for intensely anti-German atrocity propaganda; the Germans in Brazil vigorously countered with propagandistic efforts of their own. The effect of this verbal conflict was to rejuvenate the German ethnic community and invest it with a new sense of self-esteem, if not strength. The German-language press thrived and voluntary organization experienced new surges of vitality as they shared in the new chauvinism.¹⁶

German ethnic behavior was not, of course, uniform. This was especially true of the churches. The leading Protestant denomination was the Evangelical Church, which was organized in several synods. Especially strong in Rio Grande do Sul, it claimed as members about half of all Teuto-Brazilians. In the nineteenth century the Evangelicals (plus certain Lutheran groups) developed strong institutional ties with the Prussian state church, from which they received most of their clergy in addition to significant financial support. Not surprisingly, it became a central doctrine among Evangelicals that German language and culture were inseparable from religious belief. In the neutrality period, therefore, Evangelical parishes and other institutions became powerful agents for the promotion of pro-Germanism. They raised funds for the German Red Cross, bought German war bonds, sponsored bazaars and rallies to aid German victims of war; special prayer services were held to implore the deity for the success of German arms.¹⁷

In contrast to the Evangelicals, the Lutherans, especially those affiliated with the North American Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, were much less chauvinistic. Their subsidies came not from Germany but from the United States. Even though this church still used German as its basic language, it believed that a transition to Portuguese was essential to survival. Hence, it never offered a word of defense for Germany or for the preservation of *Deutschtum*. These Lutherans saw the European conflict as a judgment of God upon a sinful people—punishment for wickedness, unbelief, failure to pray, contempt for God's word, and the idolatry of human wisdom as revealed especially in modern science and theological liberalism.¹⁸

The German Catholics in Brazil provided a third pattern of behavior. That Catholicism was the religion of the vast majority of Brazilians made their situation fundamentally different from the Protestants. The German Catholics were nearly as numerous as the Evangelicals but were much less chauvinistic. Because the Catholic church was universal and multiethnic, it tended to unite its German adherents with other Brazilians—persons of Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish origins—rather than to separate or isolate them from the rest of society. Even when a Catholic parish consisted largely of Teuto-Brazilians, it usually was not a ready agency for raising either money or enthusiasm for Germany's cause. Moreover, the preeminent German in the Brazilian Catholic hierarchy, Archbishop João Becker of Porto Alegre, was determined to

align his administration with the dominant attitudes and behaviors of Luso-Brazilian society. Nevertheless, there were individual German Catholics who were outspoken in their partisanship for Germany.¹⁹

In contrast to the churches, secular ethnic societies, especially the umbrella organizations, were more likely to lend themselves consistently to active or vocal pro-Germanism. Brazil had no national organization like the National German-American Alliance in the United States, but early in 1916 a German agent, ostensibly working as a fund-raiser for the German Red Cross, founded the short-lived *Germanischer Bund für Süd-Amerika*. Widely publicized, this organization inevitably generated suspicion and alarm among partisans of the Allies; but even within the German subsociety it also earned much opposition because it represented a challenge to the established ethnic leadership, especially the Evangelical clergy.²⁰

The *Germanischer Bund* unintentionally stimulated the growth of patriotic organizations among Luso-Brazilians, the most important of which was the *Liga pelos aliados* (League for the Allies). Led by the brilliant Brazilian orator and statesman, Ruy Barbosa, this organization bore a striking resemblance to the National Security League in the United States. Both organizations defended the Allies, advocated preparedness, protested alleged German atrocities, raised funds for the British and French Red Cross, and sought to hasten the assimilation of immigrants through educational means—literacy programs, instruction in the language of the host society, and in the promotion of patriotism. A special target of the *Liga pelos aliados* was Brazil's distinguished foreign minister, Lauro Müller, a thoroughly assimilated second-generation Teuto-Brazilian who was finally forced out of office in May, 1917.²¹

Following Germany's decision to resume unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917, anti-German propaganda was intensified in Brazil. It was repeatedly charged that Germany was plotting to use the Teuto-Brazilian colonies in the southern states as the base for its imperialist designs. Similarly, the German-language newspapers persisted in their intense pro-Germanism, despite many ominous signs that Luso-Brazilian tolerance for such behavior was weakening.²²

The breaking point came on April 5, 1917, when a German submarine torpedoed a small Brazilian freighter, the *Paraná*, off the coast of France. Official confirmation of the sinking came on the same day the United States declared war on Germany.²³ Brazilian newspapers stormily protested the loss and demanded that the government take decisive action; the *Liga pelos aliados* urged an immediate declaration of war and several prominent dailies swelled the chorus.²⁴ Patriotic rallies and demonstrations attracted huge crowds in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, and elsewhere. In several cities these demonstrations were transformed into ugly anti-German affairs. Allegedly impelled by patriotism, crowds of people surged to prominent German business establishments, clubhouses of German societies, and German-language newspapers. Despite genuine efforts of municipal governments to maintain order, several demonstrations degenerated into riots causing enormous losses due to arson and looting.²⁵

On Saturday, April 14, and continuing through to Tuesday, April 17, Porto Alegre experienced the worst of these riots, as much of its German district was burned. Mobs consisting largely of waterfront riffraff, enlivened by alcoholic drink, pillaged the district. At the end of three days of riot, nearly three hundred buildings lay in various stages of ruin. Factories, warehouses, restaurants, schools, newspaper offices, plus many private residences were damaged or destroyed.²⁶

Riots plagued other cities in Rio Grande do Sul, most notably Pelotas, located near the southern tip of Brazil. Although the heavily German state of Santa Catarina was mostly spared, other cities from Curitiba in Paraná to Pernambuco far to the north experienced disturbances. Governments on all levels attempted to cope with the problem of civil disorder as efficiently as possible, yet in the weeks that followed, superpatriots continued their intolerant and inflammatory rhetoric. The press also continued to print, as it had before the riots, the wildest of rumors, including one that an army of 80,000 armed Germans were gathering in Santa Catarina, where the governor was Felipe Schmidt, another Brazilian-born German, a cousin of Lauro Müller, the foreign minister.²⁷

The range of reaction among the Germans of Brazil following the April riots was as varied as the people themselves. A few fled to the exclusive German colonies in the interior, but most were willing to accommodate their behavior to the newly narrowed standards of patriotic conduct. Some decided that the best course would be to make overt gestures of assimilation. This could be done most obviously by changing German names to something acceptable in Portuguese. Others dropped their memberships in the numerous *Vereine* or withdrew their children from the German schools. The German-language newspapers suspended publication for a couple of weeks, but by the end of April most had resumed publication, with government approval. A sharp division of opinion emerged regarding the proper course to follow. Some die-hard chauvinists were more determined than ever to maintain their ethnicity and to assert the justice of the German cause, but others advised a more moderate course.²⁸ Even though the majority of the ordinary German-speaking Brazilians had been indifferent to the war in Europe, many persons had now been touched by it in a frightfully direct way. Given the unrestrained character of the riots and the hatred they seemed to project, many Teuto-Brazilians wondered what would happen to them if Brazil actually declared war.

That did not occur until another six months had passed. On October 25, 1917, following the news that another Brazilian vessel, the *Macao*, had been torpedoed, the Brazilian president asked Congress to declare war, which it promptly did the following day. Nearly as promptly, Brazil subjected itself to another round of riots. This time Rio Grande do Sul remained relatively free of trouble, although this was not true of the city of Pelotas. Santa Catarina suffered serious disorders in Itajaí and Florianópolis. But the worst excesses occurred in the cities farther north, beginning on October 28 in Curitiba, spreading to Petrópolis, and

climaxing in Rio de Janeiro on November 3. As in April, property damage was extensive but there was no loss of life.²⁹

Government repression of its German ethnic citizens began immediately after the declaration of war. The minister of the interior ordered an end to all publications in the German language, including newspapers, periodicals, and books, even prayer books and textbooks for teaching German speakers to learn Portuguese. Another decree ordered the closing of all German schools in which Portuguese was not the language of instruction. The Brazilian postal service announced that it would no longer handle materials printed in the German language. There were also injunctions against the use of German-language in public meetings, including worship services in the immigrant churches.³⁰

Congress also enacted special wartime legislation, the most significant of which was the *Lei de guerra*, enacted on November 16, 1917. This law chiefly treated economic problems and was aimed directly at the great German-owned banks and coffee-exporting firms. By it the president of the republic was empowered to seize the property of enemy aliens and to sell all goods consigned to them. Superpatriots in the Congress also demanded and received a provision granting the president the authority to declare any part of the country to be under a state of siege. The next day the president announced that Rio de Janeiro and the southern states were in such a state of siege. Martial law was imposed, seven hundred German aliens were interned, and detachments of the Brazilian army were billeted in the German colonies. Inevitably, German aliens were required to register with police; passes with fingerprints and photographs were issued; and mail was censored.³¹

The total prohibition against any publication in the German language was far severer than any wartime restrictions imposed by the United States upon its German-speaking minority. In Brazil economic survival for the publishers was possible only if they switched entirely to Portuguese, which many of them did. Such Portuguese-language substitutes almost always were considered to be temporary expedients but inevitably most newspapers experienced sharp reductions in the number of their subscribers.

Like the newspapers, the German-language schools were shut down immediately—267 in Santa Catarina alone. They were not allowed to open until they could demonstrate that they were staffed with teachers competent in Portuguese and that instructional materials in Portuguese were going to be used.³² In the United States there was nothing comparable to Brazil's nationwide closure of private and parochial German-language schools, although German-language instruction was generally curtailed in the public schools. Even though enforcement was lax in some districts, many schools never reopened. Because public schools had never been established in many areas of German settlement, the regulation meant that thousands of Teuto-Brazilian children were simply deprived of education during the war.

It was also a difficult time for many of the German churches, especially in the larger towns and cities, where superpatriotic pressures

were felt most strongly. Inevitably, the Evangelicals suffered the most because of their insistence on the linkage between religion and German language and culture. A few congregations simply suspended all public functions for several months. Others tried to make the requisite transition to Portuguese. Some that were located in remote rural districts ignored the wartime restrictions entirely and continued undisturbed. Enforcement was thus inconsistent or haphazard. Higher government officials often tended to be tolerant and understanding, but local authorities were sometimes harsh and unyielding. Still other officials enforced the anti-German decrees only when superpatriots in a local community demanded it. Individual preachers and parishes endured harassment, but the most important general consequence of the war for the Evangelicals was that it cut off the source of financial support and the supply of well-trained clergymen. They were thus forced to become more independent, more self-reliant.³³

In contrast to the Evangelicals, the Catholics and the Missouri Synod Lutherans fared reasonably well. Again, individual clergymen and congregations suffered, sometimes deservedly. The Lutherans, because of their connections with the United States, actually prospered during the war, and, by all accounts, suffered no depredations during the riots, even though their congregations included virtually no one who was not German. In the numerically dominant Catholic church, the ranking Brazilian prelate (the archbishop of Rio de Janeiro), issued a pastoral letter urging understanding and tolerance of the Teuto-Brazilians, but the German-born archbishop of Porto Alegre, João Becker, imposed his own prohibition against the use of the German language in his diocese, closed all Catholic schools administered by German priests, and replaced parish priests of German birth. When individual German parishes were attacked in the superpatriotic press, Becker failed to defend them, fearing the wrath of superpatriots within Brazil's ruling class, and earning thereby the contempt of many Teuto-Brazilian Catholics.³⁴

It was relatively easy for the numerous *Vereine* to accommodate to the new restrictions, compared to the churches, schools, and newspapers. Large numbers changed their names to something in Portuguese; some revised and rewrote their governing documents and opened their doors to persons other than Germans. Even so, most such organizations lost many members during the war and some simply voted themselves out of existence.³⁵

Brazil's actual participation in the war was limited. Its navy patrolled a part of the Atlantic but no soldiers were sent to the battlefields of Europe. Agricultural production was greatly stimulated, but the impact of war was almost imperceptible for most persons. Under such conditions, the intense anti-German feelings that prevailed during the fall months of 1917 were bound to dissipate. Some of the severest federal restrictions were relaxed and a few were removed by spring, 1918, although the ban on publication in the German language remained in force through most of 1919. On the state level there was much variation. In Santa Catarina, for example, restrictions against German-language schools remained in force until 1921.³⁶

After the war, the Germans of Brazil quickly returned to their old patterns of cultural chauvinism and self-imposed separation. German-language schools reopened, newspapers resumed publication, German sermons were heard again in the churches, and the *Vereine* resumed their activities as before the war. Teuto-Brazilian businessmen and industrialists prospered. Nevertheless, the forces of assimilation inevitably eroded ethnic consciousness in many persons. It is impossible to determine how many Teuto-Brazilians were absorbed into the Brazilian mainstream because of war-born influences. But in the isolated, rural colonies, bastions of German ethnicity remained intact, if not untouched. The cultural distance between Teuto-Brazilians and the rest of society, enhanced by the strong sense of German cultural superiority, remained much greater in Brazil than in the United States, where the decline of German ethnicity was almost precipitous.³⁷

Even though a general spirit of tolerance prevailed in Brazil in the postwar decade, a residue of bitterness remained. Just as some Luso-Brazilian patriots continued to insist that national unity demanded programs of forced assimilation, there were Teuto-Brazilians who felt more disillusioned and more alienated from political life than ever before.³⁸ Some newspapers, such as the *Germania* of São Paulo, resumed preaching the gospel of ethnic chauvinism immediately upon resumption of publication in 1919. Still, this journal also insisted that Germans owed their Brazilian fatherland love and loyalty and that they had the responsibility to work for its progress and welfare.³⁹ Nevertheless, the sense of resentment remained keen in many Teuto-Brazilian hearts. Their sense of ethnic distinctiveness had been intensified by the war; it was further strengthened by political unrest in the southern states of Brazil during the 1920s, when self-protection against revolutionary bands became necessary in some communities. Taken together, these experiences caused many German Brazilians to be receptive to the siren song of *Volkspolitik*. When the Nazi variations on that theme were played in the 1930s, some Teuto-Brazilians found the music irresistible.⁴⁰ Given this history, it should come as no surprise that the programs of forced assimilation undertaken by the Brazilian government under the Vargas regime and thereafter were more intense and prolonged than anything attempted during World War I.

University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Lincoln, Nebraska

Notes

¹ This essay was presented at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, December 29, 1982, in Washington, D.C. The first several paragraphs are taken from the author's article, "A Prelude to Conflict: The German Ethnic Group in Brazilian Society, 1890-1917," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 6 (January 1983), 1-17, and are reprinted here with the permission of the publisher, Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., Oxford, United Kingdom.

² Detailed accounts of the riots may be found in various metropolitan newspapers of Brazil, April 16-18, 1917, e.g., see *A Federação* and *Correio do Povo* of Porto Alegre and *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro. For summary accounts in the German-language press, see *Deutsche Post* of São Leopoldo, April 24, 1917, and *Germania* of São Paulo, April 25, 1917; *New York Times* published numerous translations of dispatches from Brazilian newspapers; see similar sources for the later riots, which occurred from October 28 to November 2, 1917.

³ Cf. my account of the impact of World War I on the German ethnic group in the United States, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Univ. Press, 1974).

⁴ Imre Ferenczi, comp., and Walter F. Willcox, ed., *Statistics*, Vol. I of *International Migrations* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1929), pp. 695, 700-1.

⁵ The most comprehensive study of Germans in Brazil is by Jean Roche, *La colonisation allemande et la Rio Grande do Sul* (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études de l'Amérique Latine, 1959). A large number of filiopietistic histories have been published in German, the most useful of which is by Karl Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer und seine Nachkommen in Brasilien: 1808-1824-1974* (São Paulo: Instituto Hans Staden, 1974). The most important English-language writer on the Germans in Brazil is the anthropologist Emílio Willems, who has published a half dozen or more excellent articles in American journals since 1940. Willems is also the author of *A aculturação dos alemães no Brasil: Estudo antropológico dos imigrantes alemães e seus descendentes no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1946). For examples of recent scholarly, monographic work in Portuguese, see the published proceedings of three symposia, each entitled *Colóquio de estudos teuto-brasileiros* (Porto Alegre, 1963; Pernambuco, 1974; Porto Alegre, 1980).

⁶ Gilberto Freyre, *Order and Progress: Brazil from Monarchy to Republic*, ed. and trans. Rod W. Horton (New York: Knopf, 1970), pp. 56-57, 123-24, and 188-89. Freyre has noted that, of all the immigrant groups, the Italians were the most desired, the most imitated, and the most highly praised by Brazilian leaders who in those years hoped the influx of European immigrants would "whiten" the population. Since Italians were closer than Germans to Luso-Brazilians on a sociocultural distance scale, they were less separatistic and thus more capable of producing the desired genetic effect. See pp. 256-57.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 123 and 197; E. Bradford Burns, *A History of Brazil* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1970), pp. 250-54.

⁸ Freyre, *Order and Progress*, p. 13; Fernando de Azevedo, *Brazilian Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1950), pp. 159-60 and 414-18.

⁹ Martin Fischer, "O problema da conservação da cultura alemã," in I. *Colóquio de estudos teuto-brasileiros* (Porto Alegre: Centro de Estudos Sociais da Faculdade da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1963), pp. 339-56; Egon Schaden, "Der Deutschbrasilianer—Ein Problem," *Staden-Jahrbuch: Beiträge zur Brasilkunde*, 2 (1954), 181-94.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Sylvio Romero, *O allemanismo no sul do Brasil: Seus perigos e os meios de os conjurar* (Rio de Janeiro: Ribeiro, 1906). A decade later Edgardo de Magalhães wrote a piece for English readers, but it merely repeated typical anti-German propaganda of the war period. See his "Germany and South America: A Brazilian View," *Nineteenth Century and After*, 81 (January 1917), 67-80.

¹¹ Schaden, "Der Deutschbrasilianer," p. 184.

¹² *Deutsche Zeitung* [Porto Alegre], 20 October 1917; Oskar Canstatt, *Brasilien: Land und Leute* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler, 1877), pp. 251 and 416; Ernest Tonnelat, *L'expansion allemande hors d'Europe* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1908), pp. 125 and 141; Clarence H. Haring, *The Germans in South America: A Contribution to the Economic History of the World War* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1920), p. 43.

¹³ Arpad Szilvassy, "Participação dos alemães e seus descendentes na vida política brasileira," in I. *Colóquio de estudos teuto-brasileiros*, pp. 247-61. A classic example of Teuto-Brazilian filiopietism is Karl H. Oberacker, Jr., *Der deutsche Beitrag zum Aufbau der brasilianischen Nation*, 3d ed., rev. and expanded (São Leopoldo: Federação dos Centros Culturais 25 de Julho, 1978). The second edition appeared in the Portuguese language under the title, *A aculturação teuta a formação da nação brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Prensença, 1968).

¹⁴ Fischer, "O problema da conservação," p. 344.

¹⁵ Schaden, "Die Deutschbrasilianer," pp. 189-93.

¹⁶ These generalizations are based on both the Portuguese- and German-language press of the period, including such representative newspapers as *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio de Janeiro], *A Federação* [Porto Alegre], *Deutsche Zeitung* [Porto Alegre], and *Germania* [São Paulo]. See also Hans Gehse, *Die deutsche Presse in Brasilien von 1852 bis zur Gegenwart* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1931) and Georg Königk, *Die Politik Brasiliens während des Weltkrieges und die Stellung des brasilianischen Deutschtums* (Hamburg: Hans Christian, 1935).

¹⁷ Joachim Fischer, "Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses," in *Es begann am Rio dos Sinos: Geschichte und Gegenwart der Ev. Kirche Lutherischen Bekenntnisses in Brasilien*, ed. Joachim Fischer and Christoph Jahn (Erlangen: Verlag der Ev.-Lutherischen Mission, 1970), pp. 85-186; Erich Fausel, *Dr. Rotermond: Ein Kampf um Recht und Richtung des Evangelischen Deutschtums in Südbrasilien* (São Leopoldo: Verlag der Rio Grandenser Synode, 1936); *Deutsche Zeitung* [Porto Alegre], August 1914.

¹⁸ *Evangelisch-Lutherisches Kirchenblatt für Süd-Amerika* [Porto Alegre], 15 August 1914; 15 November 1915; *Lutherische Kirche in Brasilien: Festschrift zum 50-jährigen Bestehen der lutherischen Synode* (Joinville: n.p. [1955]).

¹⁹ Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, pp. 517-24; Petrus Sinzig, *Nach dreißig Jahren* (Curitiba: Verlag des Franziskanerprovinzialat, 1922); Hugo Metzler, *Die St. Josefskirche der deutschen Katholiken zu Porto Alegre während des Weltkrieges* (Porto Alegre: n.p., 1918).

²⁰ See the entire run of the Bund publication, *Monatsblätter des Germanischen Bundes für Süd-Amerika* [Porto Alegre], 1916-17, in the Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Stuttgart, West Germany.

²¹ These generalizations are based on scores of references to *Liga pelos aliados* in *Jornal do Commercio* [Rio de Janeiro] and other newspapers. See also *New York Times*, 4 May 1917; *Germania* [São Paulo], 4 May 1917.

²² See especially *Deutsche Zeitung* [Porto Alegre] and *Germania* [São Paulo] for the period.

²³ *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 April 1917; *New York Times*, 7-9 April 1917.

²⁴ *New York Times*, 8-14 April 1917.

²⁵ *Jornal do Commercio*, 12 April 1917; *New York Times*, 14, 15 April 1917; *Deutsche Zeitung*, 13 April 1917.

²⁶ See note 2.

²⁷ *Correio do Povo* [Porto Alegre], 20 April 1917; *Jornal do Commercio* 23 April 1917; *New York Times* 20, 25 April 1917.

²⁸ *Jornal do Commercio*, 19, 26, 30 April, 3 May 1917; *Correio do Povo*, 25 April 1917; *Fünzig Jahre Deutscher Verein Germania und Deutschtum in Bahia* (Berlin: Emil Ebering, 1923), p. 153; *Deutsche Post* [São Leopoldo], 24 April 1917.

²⁹ *O Paiz* [Rio de Janeiro], 3, 4 November 1917; *A Federação*, 31 October, 1, 9 November 1917; *Jornal do Commercio*, 4, 5 November 1917; Sinzig, *Nach dreißig Jahren*, pp. 100-03, 143-44; Wilhelm Fugmann, *Die Deutschen in Paraná: Das deutsche Jahrhundert-Buch* (Curitiba: Empresa Editora Olivera, 1929), pp. 87, 121, 127, and 192.

³⁰ *Correio da Manhã* [Porto Alegre], 27, 28 October 1917; *A Federação*, 30 October, 5 November 1917; Königk, *Die Politik Brasiliens*, p. 52; *O Paiz* [Rio de Janeiro] 5, 6 November 1917; *Jornal do Commercio*, 25 October to 16 November 1917; Percy A. Martin, *Latin America and the War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925), p. 81; Percy A. Martin, "Brazil," in *Argentina, Brazil, and Chile since Independence*, ed. A. C. Wilgus (1935; rpt. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), p. 256; *Fünzig Jahre Deutscher Verein Germania*, p. 157.

³¹ *Jornal do Commercio*, 17 November 1917; *A Federação*, 17 November 1917; *Hundert Jahre Deutschtum in Rio Grande do Sul, 1824-1924* (Porto Alegre: Typographia do Centro, 1924), p. 384.

³² Martin Braunschweig, "Die rechtliche Stellung des deutschen Schulwesens in Südbrasilien," in *Die Kulturbedeutung der deutschen evangelischen Kirche in Brasilien*, ed. Bruno Geißler (Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1922), p. 50. *A Federação*, 9 November 1917; *O Paiz* [Rio de Janeiro], 9 November 1917.

³³ Wolfgang Ammon, *Chronik von São Bento in Santa Catharina, 1873-1923* (Joinville: Boehm, 1923), p. 230; *75 Jahre Deutschtum: Santo Angelo-Agudo* (São Leopoldo: Rotermond, 1932), p. 129; *Lutherische Kirche in Brasilien*, pp. 140, 151, and 176; Fritz Wüstner, *Kirchengemeinde Joinville* (Joinville: privately printed, 1951), p. 51; Fausel, *Rotermond*, pp. 148-50, 153, and 154; Fischer, "Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirche Lutherischen

Bekenntnisses," p. 150; Rudolph Becker, *Deutsche Siedler in Rio Grande do Sul (Ijuhy: Verlag der Serra-Post, 1938)*, p. 79.

³⁴ Pfarrer Radlach, "Die Einwirkungen des Weltkrieges auf die deutsch-evangelischen Gemeinden in Santa Catharina," in *Die Kulturbedeutung der deutschen evangelischen Kirche in Brasilien*, p. 26; Haring, *The Germans of South America*, p. 48; Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, p. 515; *Der Familienfreund: Katholischer Hauskalender und Wegweiser für das Jahr 1918* (Porto Alegre: Hugo Metzler [1917]), p. 124; Sinzig, *Nach dreißig Jahren*, pp. 100-101 and 144-45; *A Federação*, 9 November 1917; *Correio do Povo*, 27 November 1917; Metzler, *St. Josefs-gemeinde*.

³⁵ Roche, *La colonisation allemande*, p. 539; *Jornal do Commercio*, 6 November 1917; Heinrich Hinden, *Deutsche und deutscher Handel in Rio de Janeiro: Ein hundert-jähriges Kulturbild zur Zentenar-Feier der Gesellschaft 'Germania,' 1821-1921* (Rio de Janeiro: Gesellschaft Germania, 1921), p. 524.

³⁶ Ferdinand Schröder, *Brasilien und Wittenberg: Ursprung und Gestaltung deutschen evangelischen Kirchentums in Brasilien* (Berlin: Verlag Ev. Hauptverein für Deutsche Ansiedler und Auswanderer, 1936), p. 357; Gottfried Entres, ed., *Der Staat Santa Catharina in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Deutschtums* (Florianopolis: Livraria Central, 1929), p. 223.

³⁷ Koseritz' *Deutscher Volkskalender für Brasilien auf das Jahr 1921* (Porto Alegre: Krahe, 1920), p. 120; Max Dedekind, *Brasilien, das Ziel deutscher Auswanderer und die Deutsche Evangelische Kirche in Brasilien* (Elberfeld: Evangelische Gesellschaft für die protestantischen Deutschen in Südamerika, 1924), p. 25. Cf. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty*, pp. 309-31 and "The Germans," in *Ethnic Leadership in America*, ed. John Higham (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1978), pp. 64-90.

³⁸ Fouquet, *Der deutsche Einwanderer*, p. 181; Erwin Buchmann, "Die deutsch-sprachige Presse in Brasilien," *Staden-jahrbuch*, 4 (1956), 221.

³⁹ *Germania*, 19, 22 August 1919; Koseritz' *Volkskalender*, 1921, p. 33.

⁴⁰ Joseph L. Love, *Rio Grande do Sul and Brazilian Regionalism, 1822-1930* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1971), pp. 199-215; Becker, *Deutsche Siedler*, p. 83; Königk, *Die Politik Brasiliens*, p. 66.



Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: 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 University; Ronald W.
Dunbar, University of Wisconsin-Madison; Peter C. Merrill, Florida
Atlantic University; Christa Sammons, Yale University. Members:
Armand Bauer, North Dakota State University; Renate L. Benjamin,
Radford, VA; Randall P. Donaldson, Loyola College in Maryland;
Robert W. Frizzell, Illinois Wesleyan University; Emma S. Haynes,
Washington, DC; Peter Johansson, University of Wisconsin-River
Falls; Maureen T. Krause, Rose-Hulman Institute of Technology;
Christoph E. Schweitzer, University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill; Randall Thomas, Radford University.

Abbreviations:

AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
Amst	=	<i>Amerikastudien</i>
BHPSO	=	<i>Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio</i>
CG	=	<i>Canadiana Germanica</i>
CHSB	=	<i>Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin</i>
CL	=	<i>Canadian Literature</i>
GQ	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
GSR	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>
HR	=	<i>Heritage Review</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
HZ	=	<i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
IMR	=	<i>International Migration Review</i>
JAHSGR	=	<i>Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia</i>

JAS	=	<i>Journal of American Studies</i>
Mh	=	<i>Monatshefte</i>
MHB	=	<i>Mennonite Historical Bulletin</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NSGAS	=	<i>Newsletter for the Society of German-American Studies</i>
PF	=	<i>Pennsylvania Folklife</i>
PMH	=	<i>Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage</i>
UP	=	<i>Die Unterrichtspraxis</i>
WLT	=	<i>World Literature Today</i>
YGAS	=	<i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i>
ZKA	=	<i>Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch</i>

Collections:

- 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.
- Scherer & Paul, 1981. Scherer, Karl, and Roland Paul, eds. *Pfälzer—Palatines: Beiträge zur pfälzischen Ein- und Auswanderung sowie zur Volkskunde und Mundartforschung der Pfalz und der Zielländer pfälzischer Auswanderer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*. Kaiserslautern: Heimatstelle Pfalz, 1981.
- Spalek & Bell, 1982. Spalek, John M., and Robert F. Bell, eds. *Exile: The Writer's Experience*. Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Pr., 1982. 370 pp.
- Tolzmann, 1982. Tolzmann, Don H., ed. *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee*. Cincinnati: Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982. 105 pp. [Chiefly rpts.]

I. Supplements for 1981

1. Abel, Mary B. "Massacre at Gnadenhütten: The 1782 Moravian Indian Murders." *American History Illustrated* 16:8 (1981), 28-31.
2. Adams, Charles J. "Wallace Stevens: Poetry Focused on the 'Pennsylvania Dutch?'" *HSR* 47 (1981-82), 4, 36-39.
3. Alba, Richard D. "The Twilight of Ethnicity among American Catholics of European Ancestry." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 454 (1981), 86-97.
4. Anderson, Harry H. "The Women Who Helped Make Milwaukee Breweries Famous." *Milwaukee History* 4:3/4 (1981), 66-78.
5. Arndt, Karl, J. R., ed. *A Documentary History of the Indiana Decade of the Harmony Society, 1814-1824*. 2 vols. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1975, 1978. Rev. David B. Eller, *Journal of the Early Republic* 1 (1981), 82-83.
6. ———, ed. *Harmony on the Connoquenessing: George Rapp's First American Harmony, 1803-1815*. Worcester: Harmony Society Pr., 1980. Rev. Vernon H. Nelson, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 105 (1981), 498-99.
7. ———. "Teutonia, Ohio: Quintessence of German-American Idealism." In Phelps, 1981.

8. Auburger, Leopold, Heinz Kloss, and Heinz Rupp, eds. *Deutsch als Muttersprache in Kanada; Berichte zur Gegenwartslage*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977. Rev. Richard J. D'Alquen, *Mh* 43 (1981), 444-45.
9. Bailey, Nancy I. "F.P.G. and the Empty House." *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, 1981, pp. 31-32, 177-93. [Frederick Philip Grove.]
10. Baker, Frank. "John Wesley and the German Pietists in Georgia." In Phelps, 1981.
11. Bastein, Friedel H. *Die Rezeption Stephen Cranes in Deutschland*. Frankfurt: Lang, 1977. Rev. Friedl Herwig, *Amst* 26 (1981), 468-71.
12. Baumann, Walter. "Gerhart—With the Ständebuch of Sachs in Yr/Lug-gage." *Paideuma* 10 (1981), 589-94. [Influence of Hans Sachs on Ezra Pound's "Cantos."]
13. Bayer, Yehuda, and Nathan Rotenstreich, eds. *The Holocaust as Historical Experience: Essays and Discussion*. New York: Holmes & Meyer, 1981. 288 pp.
14. Beam, Richard C. "The Terminology of Tobacco Farming in Pennsylvania German." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 487-506.
15. Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Morden. *Bergthaler Mennonite Church of Morden: Milestones and Memories, 1931-1981*. Morden, Manitoba, 1981. 192 pp.
16. Biggs, Mark. "Conservation Farmland Management: The Amish Farm versus Farm Belt Agriculture." M.S. thesis Pennsylvania State Univ. 1981. 41 pp.
17. Bigham, Darrel E. "Family Structure of Germans and Blacks in Evansville and Vanderburgh County, Indiana in 1880." *Old Northwest* 8 (1981).
18. Bischoff, Oskar. "Mundart und Mundartforschung." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 475-80.
19. Blothner, Dirk. "'Der amerikanische Freund': Eine Untersuchung zur Filmwirkungspsychologie." Diss. Univ. of Cologne 1981. 149 pp. [Film by Wim Wenders.]
20. Bond, Richard C. "The Dialect of the Pennsylvania Dutch." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 190-92.
21. Bowman, Donald R. "The Lower Miami Brethren Division in the Miami Valley, Montgomery County, Ohio by the 1811 Virginia Committee." *Brethren Life and Thought* 26 (1981), 31-35.
22. Braswell, David M. "Phillip H. Postel: Immigrant, Pioneer, Miller." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 273-90.
23. Brown, Horace W. "Reminiscences of Dr. Senn." *Milwaukee History* 4:3/4 (1981), 87-94. [Nicolaus Senn (1844-1908) emigrated from St. Gall in 1852.]
24. Brunette, Peter. "Filming Words: Wender's *The Goalie's Anxiety at the Penalty Kick*." In *Modern European Filmmakers and the Art of Adaption*. Ed. Andrew Horton and Joan Magretta. New York: Ungar, 1981, pp. 188-202.
25. Bruntz, George G. *Children of the Volga*. Ardmore, PA: Dorrance & Co., 1981. 111 pp. [Bruntz family of Hastings, Nebraska.]
26. Carlson, Alvar W. "German-Russian Houses in Western North Dakota." *Pioneer America* 13:2 (1981), 49-60.
27. Carstensen, Broder. "Englisches im Deutschen: Bericht über Planung und Vorarbeiten zu einem Anglizismen-Wörterbuch als Schwerpunkt eines Forschungsprojekts." In *Anglistentag 1980 Gießen: Tagungsbeiträge und Berichte*. Großen-Linden: Hoffmann, 1981, pp. 13-48.
28. ———. "Lexikalische Scheinentlehnungen des Deutschen aus dem Englischen." In *Kontrastive Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft: Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums Trier/Saarbrücken 25.-30.9.1978*. Ed. W. Kühlwein, G. Thome, and W. Wilss. Munich: Fink, 1981, pp. 175-82.
29. ———. "Zur Deklination aus dem Englischen entlehnter Substantive im Deutschen." In *Forms and Functions: Papers in General, English, and*

- Applied Linguistics Presented to Vilém Fried on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Ed. J. Esser and A. Hübler. Tübingen: Narr, 1981, pp. 103-22.
30. Connelly, John L. "Old North Nashville and Germantown." *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 39 (1981), 115-48.
 31. Creech, Mary. "The Moravian Archives of Old Salem, Winston-Salem, North Carolina." In Phelps, 1981.
 32. Denlinger, A. Martha. *Real People: Amish and Mennonites in Lancaster, Pennsylvania*. 2nd ed. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. 86 pp.
 33. DeVries, George. "Lessons from an Alternative Culture: The Old Order Amish." *Christian Scholar's Review* 10 (1981), 218-28.
 34. de Zayas, Alfred M. *Die Anglo-Amerikaner und die Vertreibung der Deutschen*. 6th ed. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1981.
 35. Dick, C. L. *The Mennonite Conference of Alberta: A History of Its Churches and Institutions*. Edmonton: Mennonite Conference of Alberta, 1981. 147 pp.
 36. Dittmar, Kurt. "Jüdische Ghettoliteratur: Die Lower East Side, 1890-1924." *Amst* 26 (1981), 270-92.
 37. Dorson, Richard M. "The Pernicious Influence of the Grimm Brothers on American Folkloristics." In Phelps, 1981.
 38. *Ebbes fer alle—ebber ebbes fer dich: Essays in Memoriam, Albert Franklin Breinigsville*. Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980. Rev. C. Richard Beam, *PMH* 4:3 (1981), 32-33.
 39. Egri, Peter. "European Origins and American Originality: The Case of Drama." *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 29 (1981), 197-206.
 40. Fierman, Floyd S. "The Spectacular Zeckendorfs." *Journal of Arizona History* 22 (1981), 387-414. [From Hannover to Santa Fe starting in 1853.]
 41. Frantz, John B. "John Philip Boehm: Pioneer Pennsylvania Pastor." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 128-34. [B. 1683 at Hochstadt near Frankfurt, he came to Pennsylvania in 1720.]
 42. Frideres, James S. "Prejudice and Discrimination in Western Canada: First and Third World Immigrants." In *Multiculturalism in Canada*. Ed. G. S. Paul and S. M. A. Hameed. Edmonton: Univ. of Edmonton Pr., 1981, pp. 351-73.
 43. Galinsky, Hans. "The Current State of German-American Studies in Germany: Resources and Research." In Phelps, 1981.
 44. ———. "Foreign Scholarship: German Contributions." In *American Literary Scholarship: An Annual/1979*. Ed. J. Woodress. Durham: Duke Univ. Pr., 1981, pp. 481-511.
 45. Gatzke, Hans W. *Germany and the United States: A "Special Relationship"?* Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1980. Rev. Holger H. Herwig, *GSR* 4 (1981), 332-33.
 46. Gaugler, Nancy K., ed. "Conversation with Marguerite de Angeli." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 109-14. [Author of fictional works on Pennsylvania Germans.]
 47. Glatfelter, Charles H. *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793; Volume I, Pastors and Congregations*. Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1980. Rev. *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine* 32 (1981), 58-59.
 48. ———. *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793; Volume II, The History*. Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1981.
 49. Gottschall, Terrell D. "Germany and the Spanish-American War: A Case of Navalism and Imperialism, 1898." Diss. Washington State Univ. 1981.
 50. Graybeal, Steven S. "The Styles and Functions of the Pennsylvania German Barn." *HSR* 15 (1981), 30-63.
 51. Greene, Douglas G. "Adolf Hitler and John Dickson Carr's *Least-Known Locked Room*." *Armchair Detective* 14 (1981), 295-96. [Propaganda drama for radio.]
 52. Groseclose, Barbara S. "Itinerant Painting in Ohio: Origins and Implications." *Ohio History* 90 (1981), 129-40.

53. ———. "Painting, Politics, and the American Genre of the Nineteenth Century." *Antiques* 120 (1981), 1210-17.
54. Habegger, David L. *The Life of Samuel B. Hirschy*. Wichita, KS: privately printed, 1981. 34 pp. [Mennonite.]
55. The Habegger Sisters. *Muddy Pond Mennonite Community Cookbook*. Monterey, TN: privately printed, 1981. 79 pp.
56. Harbaugh, William H. "Jost Herbach-Harbaugh from the Gersweilerhof and His Descendants in the USA." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 291-312.
57. Harder, Helmut. *Anleitung zum Glauben*. Winnipeg: CMBC Publications, 1981. 213 pp.
58. Haury, David A. *Prairie People: A History of the Western District Conference*. Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1981. Rev. Theron F. Schlabach, *ML* 36:3 (1981), 30-31.
59. Hawn, Dexter. "'Palatines' und deren Nachkommen unter den Loyalisten in Kanada." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 121-40.
60. Hertzler, David. *From Germantown to Steinbach: A Mennonite Odyssey*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. 225 pp.
61. Herzog, Kristin. "Unser Bild von Amerika: Onkel Tom's Hütte als Modell." *Evangelische Kommentare* 14 (1981), 144-46.
62. Hess, Hans. "Konrad Krez: Ein deutscher Freiheitskämpfer und Poet in der Alten und Neuen Welt." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 245-72.
63. Hjartarson, Paul. "Design and Truth in Grove's *In Search of Myself*." *CL* 90 (1981), 73-90. [Frederick Philip Grove.]
64. Hoch, Jeanne M. "Selected Travelogues of Friedrich von Bodenstedt and Friedrich Wilhelm Hackländer: A Reflection of the Times." Diss. Vanderbilt Univ. 1981.
65. Hoerder, Dirk. "Bibliographic and Archival Preservation of Non-English Labor and Radical Newspapers and Periodicals in North America, 1845 to 1976." *International Labor and Working Class History* 16 (1979), 46-50; *Immigration History Newsletter* 13 (1981), 11-12.
66. Hopple, Lee C. "Germanic European Origins and Geographical History of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Amish." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 69-86.
67. Horst, Isaac R. *Conestoga Mennonite Cookbook*. Mt. Forest, Ontario: privately printed, 1981. 328 pp.
68. Janzen, William. "The Limits of Liberty in Canada: The Experience of the Mennonites, Hutterites, and Doukhobors." Diss. Carleton Univ. 1981. 743 pp.
69. Jennings, Lee B. "Kerner, Lenau und der amerikanische Dämon." In *Beiträge zur schwäbischen Literatur und Geistesgeschichte*. . . . Ed. Margot Buchholz and Hartmut Froeschle. Weinsberg: Justinus-Kerner Verein, 1981, pp. 96-106.
70. Jentsch, Theodore W. "The Country Cemetery: Connection between Past and Present." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 182-85.
71. Jones, George F., and Renate Wilson, eds. *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America, Volume V: 1738*. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Pr., 1980. Rev. Milton Rubincam, *Journal of Southern History* 47 (1981), 271-72.
72. Jones, Henry Z., and John P. Dern. "Palatine Emigrants Returning in 1710." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 53-78.
73. Just, Michael. "Die Transitwanderung der 'New Immigration' in Deutschland und ihr Eintreffen in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika." Diss. Univ. of Hamburg c. 1981.
74. Karg, Herma. *Die Einwanderung der Heimatvertriebenen als Problem der amerikanischen Innenpolitik 1945 bis 1952*. Diss. Univ. of Konstanz 1979. Konstanz, 1981. 283 pp.
75. Kauffman, Henry J. "Domestic Architecture in Lancaster County." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 104-08.
76. Keith, W. J. "Grove's 'Magnificent Failure': *The Yoke of Life* Reconsidered." *CL* 89 (1981), 104-17. [Frederick Philip Grove.]

77. Kelz, Heinrich P. "Die Plosive der Pennsylvaniadeutschen." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 481-86.
78. Kendig, John D. "Winter Holidays in the Dutch Country." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 64-68.
79. Kleinschmidt, Wolfgang. "Pfälzische Migration unter volkswissenschaftlichen Aspekten: Probleme und Aufgaben." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 391-404.
80. Klippenstein, Lawrence, ed. *That there Be Peace: Mennonites in Canada and World War II*. Winnipeg: Mennonite Heritage Center, 1979. Rev. Peter Penner, *MQR* 55 (1981), 271.
81. ———. *Directory of Historical Libraries and Archives: Mennonite and Brethren in Christ*. Winnipeg: Mennonite Heritage Center, 1981. 6 pp.
82. Klotzbach, Kurt. "Deutsche Pioniere in Texas." *Magazin für Amerikanistik* 5:1 (1981), 12-23; 5:2 (1981), 14-22.
83. Kurth-Voigt, Lieselotte E., and William H. McClain. "Louise Mühlbach's Historical Novels: The American Reception." *Internationales Archiv für Sozialgeschichte der deutschen Literatur* 6 (1981), 52-77.
84. Kvam, Wayne E. "The Melville Legacy in Hochhuth's *Tod eines Jägers*." *Melville Society Extracts* 45 (Feb. 1981), 9-10.
85. Ladies of the Upper Room Sunday School Class. *Hillsboro Mennonite Brethren Church Cookbook*. Hillsboro, KS: privately printed, 1981. 217 pp.
86. Leaman, Mary E., and Joan B. Leaman, eds. *The Story of Stumptown Mennonite Church: In Celebration of Two Hundred Years as a Congregation, 1781-1981*. Bird-in-Hand, PA: Stumptown Mennonite Church, 1981. Rev. James O. Lehman, *PMH* 4:4 (1981), 33.
87. Lensing, Leo A. "A Report on Raabe Scholarship in the United States: Dissertations and Books 1950-1981." In *Wilhelm Raabe: Studien zu seinem Leben und Werk; Aus Anlaß des 150. Geburtstages*. Ed. Leo A. Lensing and H.W. Peter. Braunschweig, 1981, pp. 521-39.
88. Lewars, James A. "Pennsylvania German Kicked Roofs." *Historical Review of Berks County* 47 (1981-82), 10-12, 14-15, 58.
89. Lich, Glen E., and Dona B. Reeves, eds. *German Culture in Texas: A Free Earth; Essays from the 1978 Southwest Symposium*. Boston: Twayne, 1979. Rev. David E. Schob, *Western Historical Quarterly* 11 (1981), 336-37.
90. Liddell, Peter G. "With So Many Trees, Where Is the Forest?: On the History of the Germans in British Columbia." In *Annalen 3—Kontakte, Konflikte, Konzepte: Third Montreal Symposium German-Canadian Studies, May 1980*. Ed. Karin Gürtler and Herfried Scheer. Montreal: Univ. of Montreal, 1981, pp. 102-05.
91. Loewen, Abraham J. *Ein Jegliches hat seine Zeit*. Clearbrook, British Columbia: privately printed, 1981. 139 pp. [Bible and doctrine.]
92. Loewen, Harry. "Themes and Symbols in the 'Mennonite' Novels of Ernst Behrends" *ML* 37:1 (1981), 14-18.
93. Loewen, Ted. *Reedley First Mennonite Church: The First Seventy-Five Years, 1906-1981*. Reedley, CA: First Mennonite Church, 1981. 102 pp.
94. Long, James W. *The German-Russians: A Bibliography of Russian Materials with Introductory Essay, Annotations, and Locations of Materials in Major American and Soviet Libraries*. Santa Barbara, CA: CLIO Pr., 1978. Rev. Walter Sawatsky, *MQR* 55 (1981), 173-74.
95. Lösche, Peter. "Die amerikanischen Präsidentschaftswahlen 1980: Eine Analyse aus deutscher Sicht." *Zeitschrift für Parlamentsfragen* Heft 4 of 1981.
96. Luckmann, Benita. "Exil oder Emigration: Aspekte der Amerikanisierung an der New School for Social Research in New York." In *Leben im Exil: Probleme der Integration deutscher Flüchtlinge im Ausland 1933 bis 1945*. Ed. Wolfgang Frühwald and Wolfgang Schieder. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1981, pp. 227-34.
97. Lund, Adrienne F. *The Amish Way Cookbook*. Chagrin Falls, OH: Jupiter Pr., 1981. 196 pp.

98. Luthy, David. "A History of 'Lebt Friedsam.'" *Family History*, Jan. 1981, pp. 19-21.
99. Mahoney, Olivia, and Nancy Glick. "Coverlet Weavers." *Chicago History* 10 (1981), 233-38.
100. Martens, Helen. "Die Lieder der Hutterer und ihre Verbindung zum Meistersang im 16. Jahrhundert." *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 26 (1981), 31-43.
101. McDermott, John. "Varieties of International History." Rev. of Hans Gatzke's *Germany and America: A "Special Relationship"?* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1980) and Phyllis Keller's *States of Belonging: German-American Intellectuals and the First World War* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1979). *Canadian Review of American Studies* 12 (1981), 101-12.
102. McGrath, William R. *Appreciating 15 Values of Our Amish-Mennonite Heritage*. Minerva, OH: privately printed, 1981. 24 pp.
103. McNeil, William C. "American Money and the German Economy: Economics and Politics on the Eve of the Great Depression." Diss. Univ. of California 1981.
104. Miller, D. Paul. *The Illinois Amish*. Gordonville, PA: Pequea Publishers, 1980. Rev. C. Richard Beam, *HSR* 15 (1981), 26-28.
105. Miller, Mark E., ed. *Amish Cooking*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. 318 pp.
106. Moltmann, Günther. "Stand und Aufgaben der deutschen Überseewanderungsforschung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Hamburgs." In *Die deutsche und skandinavische Amerikaauswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Kai D. Sievers. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1981, pp. 15-34.
107. Mullen, Inga. "The Image of 19th-Century German Literature in English and American Criticism." Diss. Case Western Reserve Univ. 1981.
108. Munro, Joyce C. *Willing Inhabitants: A Short Account of Life in Franconia Township, Montgomery County, Pennsylvania*. Souderton, PA: Horace W. Longacre, 1981. 125 pp. Rev. Joseph S. Miller, *PMH* 4:4 (1981), 32-33.
109. Nelson, Vernon H. "The Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania." In Phelps, 1981.
110. Nischik, Reingard M., and Helmut Bonheim. "William Carlos Williams in Deutschland." *William Carlos Williams Newsletter* 4:1 (1981), 14-18.
111. O'Neil, Patrick. *German Literature in English Translation: A Select Bibliography*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Pr., 1981. 242 pp.
112. Pache, Walter. "The Dilettante in Exile: Grove at the Centenary of His Birth." *CL* 90 (1981), 187-91. [Frederick Philip Philip Grove.]
113. Paetkau, Peter B. "J. J. Neufeld's Unique Ministry in Low German." *Mennonite Mirror* 11:8 (1981-82), 9.
114. ———. "Winkler Welcomes Past as Ex-Residents Return." *Mennonite Mirror* 11:4 (1981-82), 20. [Manitoba.]
115. Parsons, William T. "Palatines, Württembergers and Other German-Americans on the Colonial Frontier of Pennsylvania." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 97-120.
116. ———, tr. and ed. "Pennsylvanisch Deutsch un Pfälzer: Dialect Comparisons Old and New." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 117-27. [Poems from the Palatinate and Pennsylvania with English translations.]
117. Paul, Roland. "Ein Pfälzer im Dienste der Spanischen Krone: Johann Daniel Weber aus Steinwenden." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 229-44.
118. Pellman, Rachel T., and Joanne Ranck. *Quilts among the Plain People*. Lancaster, PA: Good Books, 1981. 96 pp.
119. Perkins, James A., and Barbara B. Burns, eds. *Hochschulzugang in den USA und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland: Berichte einer deutsch-amerikanischen Studiengruppe des International Council for Educational Development*. Göttingen, 1981. 270 pp.
120. Petkau, Irene F., and Peter Blumenfeld. *Where Land and People Meet*. Blumenfeld, Manitoba: Blumenfeld Historical Committee, 1981.

121. Pratt, Norma F. "Archival Resources and Writing Immigrant American History: The Bund Archives of the Jewish Labor Movement." *Journal of Library History* 16 (1981), 166-76.
122. Raeithel, Gert. "'Halbwegs in bester Ordnung': Die sprachliche Fehlleistung als Bildungsfaktor." *Materialien zur politischen Bildung* 3 (1981), 107-10. [Amerikanismen.]
123. Rankin, Diana M. "A Selected Bibliography on the German Heritage in Minnesota." In *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota*. Ed. Clarence A. Glasrud and Diana M. Rankin. Moorhead, MN: Concordia College, 1981, pp. 141-59.
124. Reimers, David M. "Post-World War II Immigration to the United States: America's Latest Newcomers." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 454 (1981), 1-12.
125. Ring, Johannes. *Das Bayernbild in angloamerikanischen Zeitschriften zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts 1900-1909*. Diss. Univ. of Munich 1979. Munich: Wölfle, 1981. 237 pp.
126. Ritter, Alexander. "Zwischen literarkritischem Vorbehalt und kulturpolitischer Empfindlichkeit: Die deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslands." *Germanistische Mitteilungen* 11 (1981), 71-88. Rpt. in *Recherches Germaniques* 11 (1981), 229-45.
127. Robacker, Earl F., and Ada F. Robacker. "On Baskets and Basket Makers." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 146-51.
128. Rosthern (Saskatchewan) Historical Society. *Old and New Furrows: The Story of Rosthern*. Altona, Manitoba: D. W. Friesen, 1976. Rev. Jacob W. Elias, *MQR* 55 (1981), 398.
129. Roth, Dwight E. "Aging and Modernization among the Yoder Amish and Hesston Mennonites." M.A. thesis Wichita State Univ. 1981. 103 pp.
130. Sander, Volkmär. "Corviniana non leguntur: Gedanken zur Raaberezeption in Amerika und England." *Jahrbuch der Raabegesellschaft*, 1981, pp. 118-27.
131. Schelbert, Leo. "Von der geistlichen Welt des Pfälzer Predigers Johann Peter Müller 1709-1796." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 215-28.
132. ———, and Hedwig Rappolt, eds. *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten*. 2nd ed. Olten, Switzerland: B. Walter, 1980. Rev. Reinhard R. Doerries, *Amst* 26 (1981), 96-98.
133. Schell, Ernst. "Hermit of the Wissahickon: Johannes Kelpius, Mystic and Pietist." *American History Illustrated* 14:6 (1981), 24-28, 48.
134. Scherer, Karl. "'Pfälzer'—'Palatine': Ein Leitbegriff der Wanderungsgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts; Skizze zum Bedeutungswandel einer Herkunftsbezeichnung." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 25-32.
135. Scheuerman, Richard D., and Clifford E. Trafzer. *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest*. Moscow: Univ. of Idaho Pr., 1981. Rev. James M. Bergquist, *American Historical Review* 86 (1981), 1162-63.
136. Schinto, Jeanne. "Words into Movies: *The Tin Drum* and *The Left-Handed Woman*." *Cimarron Review* 55 (1981), 57-61. [By Günter Grass and Peter Handke, resp.]
137. Schlabach, Ervin. *The Amish and Mennonites at Walnut Creek*. Sugarcreek, OH: Schlabach Printers, 1981. 117 pp.
138. Schlichtmann, Hansgeorg. "Saskatchewan Rural Settlements after 1930: Problems and Observations." In *The Prairies and Plains: Prospects for the 80s*. Ed. J. Rogge. Winnipeg: Dept. of Geography, Univ. of Manitoba, 1981, pp. 45-64.
139. Schmidt-Bortenschlager, Sigrid. "Emanzipation und literarischer Markt: Schriftstellerinnen auf den Bestsellerlisten; Ein Beitrag zu den amerikanisch-deutschen Kulturbeziehungen." *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 6 (1981), 289-300. [Influence of the Women's Liberation Movement on West German readers.]
140. Schmitt, Orlando. *Church Music and Worship among the Mennonites*. Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1981. 48 pp.

141. Seilhamer, Larry. "Remnants of Conrad Beissel's Church." *Brethren Life and Thought* 26 (1981), 152-53. [Origin of the German Seventh Day Baptists in 1728.]
142. Shaner, Richard F. "Summer Drinks of the Pennsylvania Dutch." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 176-79.
143. Shiber, Cornelia S. "The German Theater in New Orleans during the Nineteenth Century." *Xavier Review* 1 (1980-81), 93-103.
144. Shoemaker, Alfred L. "A List of 529 Pennsylvania German Words of the Arthur Amish Dialect Not Recorded in Lambert's Dictionary." *HSR* 15 (1981), 2-26. [Illinois.]
145. Sievers, Kai D., ed. *Die deutsche und skandinavische Amerikaauswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1981. 204 pp.
146. Smith, Jeffrey. "The Image of Lessing and Mendelssohn in *Die Deborah: Allgemeine Zeitung des amerikanischen Judenthums*." *Lessing Yearbook* 8 (1981), 93-112.
147. Snyder, Ray, and Ann Snyder. "Spatterware." *PF* 31 (1981-82), 154-55.
148. Spalek, John M., Adrienne Ash, and Sandra H. Hawrylchak. *Guide to the Archival Materials of the German-Speaking Emigration to the United States after 1933*. Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Pr., 1978. Rev. Wolfgang D. Elfe, *Mh* 73 (1981), 225.
149. Sparks, Esther. "Ernst Damitz." *Chicago History* 10 (1981), 212-17. [Prussian-born painter.]
150. Spiro, Herbert J. "Zwischen Hamburg und Texas: Das Wilhelm-Gymnasium und die High School in San Antonio." In *Wilhelm-Gymnasium Hamburg*. Ed. Peter-Rudolf Schulz. Hamburg, 1981, pp. 174-78.
151. Starnes, Thomas C. "Goethes amerikanischer Oberst: Anmerkungen zu Brief Nr. 2969 in der Weimarer Ausgabe." *Goethe* 98 (1981), 86-90.
152. Stephenson, Peter H. "Like a Violet Unseen: The Apotheosis of Absence in Hutterite Life." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 4 (1981), 433-42.
153. ———. "The View from Rattenberg-on-the-Inn and the Ethnography of Intuition." In *Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 78*. Ed. Marie-Françoise Guedon and D. G. Hatt. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1981. [Hutterites.]
154. Stich, K. P. "Extravagant Expression of Travel and Growth: Grove's Quest for America." *Studies in Canadian Literature* 6 (1981), 155-69. [Frederick Philip Grove.]
155. Strauss, Herbert A. "Jewish Emigration from Germany: Nazi Politics and Jewish Responses." *Leo Baeck Yearbook*, 1981, pp. 343-410.
156. Strelka, Joseph P. "Topoi der Exilliteratur." *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 100 (1981), 219-32.
157. Ueberhorst, Horst. *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit 1848 bis 1918*. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1978. Rev. Holger H. Herwig, *GSR* 4 (1981), 137-38.
158. Viereck, Karin. "Englisches Wortgut: Seine Häufigkeit und Integration in der österreichischen und bundesdeutschen Pressesprache." Diss. Univ. of Innsbruck 1980. Rev. Hermann A. Fink, *Amst* 26 (1981), 361-67.
159. Viereck, Wolfgang, ed. *Studien zum Einfluß der englischen Sprache auf das Deutsche*. Tübingen: Narr, 1980. Rev. Hermann A. Fink, *Amst* 26 (1981), 454-58.
160. Voris, Renate. "'Freiheit oder Sozialismus': Zum Bild der DDR in neueren amerikanischen Textbüchern für den Deutschunterricht." *UP* 14 (1981), 33-43.
161. Voth, Norma J. *Festive Cakes of Christmas*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. 87 pp.
162. Wagner, Jonathan F. *Brothers beyond the Sea: National Socialism in Canada*. Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier Univ. Pr., 1981. 163 pp.

163. Waldenrath, Alexander. "Pennsylvania German Literature: John Birmelin and Charles C. More." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 507-28.
164. Wandt, Karl-Heinz. "Konzepte der soziolinguistischen Sprachkontaktforschung: Eine Regelkreisanalyse." Diss. Univ. of Essen 1981.
165. Weathers, Winston. "Kafka: In Oklahoma and Other Strange Places." *Kansas Quarterly* 13 (1981), 79-90. [Dialogue between father and son inspired by Kafka's *Amerika*.]
166. Weaver, William W. "Early Printed Cookbooks of the Pennsylvania-Germans: Their Sources and Legacy." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 361-74.
167. Weiser, Frederick S. "From the Cradle to the Grave: Something about Pennsylvania German Personal Documents and Folk Art." In Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 375-90.
168. Wellmann, Jürgen P. "Mein Atem heißt jetzt: Ein Gespräch mit Rose Ausländer." *Literatur und Kritik*, 1981, pp. 157-58, 474-76.
169. West, Roxroy. "Canadian Immigration Agents and Swiss Immigration, 1870-1930." M.A. thesis Univ. of Ottawa c. 1981.
170. White, Vernessa C. "A Comparative Study of Alienation, Identity, and the Development of Self in Afro-American and East German Fiction." Diss. SUNY-Binghamton 1981. Abstract in *DAI* 42/1 (July 1981), 206A.
171. Wilhelm, Hubert G. "A Lower Saxon Settlement Region in Western Ohio." *Pioneer America Society Transactions* 4 (1981), 1-10.
172. Yoder, Don. "The Dialect Church Service in the Pennsylvania German Culture." *PF* 27:4 (1977-78), 2-13. Rpt. in Scherer & Paul, 1981, pp. 349-60.
173. ———. "European Chapbook Literature in Pennsylvania German Culture." In Phelps, 1981.
174. Yoder, Elmer S. *The Amish Mennonites of Macon County, Georgia*. . . . Hardville, OH: Diakonia Ministries, 1981. 259 pp.
175. Zitzman, Manfred S. "William Helffrich: Horse and Buggy Preacher." *Historical Review of Berks County* 47 (1981-82), 104-05. 118-20, 142-45, 148-60.
176. Zook, Joe. *Authentic Pennsylvania Dutch Recipes*. Gordonville, PA: Gordonville Print Shop, 1981. 14 pp.

II. Works Published in 1982

177. *ABC Lesebuch fuer Kinder*. Gordonville, PA: Gordonville Print Shop, 1982. 25 pp.
178. Ackermann, Paul K., ed. *Germans in Boston*. Boston: Goethe Society of New England, 1981. Rev. Peter C. Merrill, *NSGAS* 3:4 (1982), 7-8.
179. Adams, Willi Paul, ed. *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten: Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände*. Berlin: John F. Kennedy Inst. für Nordamerikastudien, Univ. of Berlin, 1980. Rev. James M. Bergquist, *IMR* 16 (1982), 905-06; Walter Struve, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 25-27.
180. ———. "Die Assimilationsfrage in der amerikanischen Einwanderungsdiskussion 1890-1932." *Amst* 27 (1982), 275-92.
181. Agnew, Brad. "Henry Vogel: Not One of Those Emigrants That Wound Up Millionaires." *Kansas History* 5 (1982), 169-76.
182. Alder, Garfield. *Die Tauf- und Kirchenfrage in Leben und Lehre des Samuel Heinrich Fröhlich, VDM, von Brugg 1803-1857*. 2nd ed. Bern: Lang, 1980. Rev. Werner Enninger, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 17-18.
183. Anderson, Alan B. "Generation Differences in Ethnic Identity Retention in Rural Saskatchewan." *Prairie Forum* 7:2 (1982).
184. Appel, John J. "Immigrants and Symbols of Unity: The Huddled Masses and the Little Red Schoolhouse." In *American Education and the European Immigrants*. Ed. Bernard J. Weiss. Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1982.

185. Arndt, Karl J. R., ed. *George Rapp's Separatists, 1700-1803: The German Prelude to Rapp's American Harmony Society; A Documentary History*. Worcester: Harmony Society Pr., 1980. Rev. Hilton C. Oswald, *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 54 (1981), 45-47; Eberhard Reichmann, *Indiana Magazine of History* 78 (1982), 62-63.
186. ———. "May Olson: In Memoriam." *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 11-12.
187. ———. "Publication of Translations with and without German Originals." *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 13-14.
188. Ascher-Nash, Franz. *Die wahre Perspektive meines Lebens: Ein Essay*. Cincinnati: Verband deutschsprachiger Autoren in Amerika, 1978. Rev. Jerry Glenn, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 29.
189. Atwood, Rodney. *The Hessians: Mercenaries from Hessen-Kassel in the American Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Pr., 1980. Rev. Horst Dippel, *HZ* 234 (1982), 696-97; Peter Marshall, *JAS* 16 (1982), 256; William B. Willcox, *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (1982), 277-78.
190. Ausländer, Rose. *Ein Stück weiter*. Cologne: Verlag Braun, 1979. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 27-28.
191. ———. *Einverständnis*. Pfaffenweiler: Pfaffenweiler Presse, 1980. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 27-29.
192. ———. *Im Atemhaus wohnen*. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1981. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *WLT* 56 (1982), 330-31.
193. ———. *Mein Atem heißt jetzt*. Frankfurt: Fischer, 1981. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *WLT* 56 (1982), 330-31.
194. B. J. F. "Ordnung." *MQR* 56 (1982), 382-84. [Discipline among Amish and Mennonites.]
195. Baltensperger, Bradley H. "Agricultural Change among Nebraska Immigrants, 1880-1900." *JAHSGR* 5:4 (1982), 40-48.
196. Barnett, James. "August Willich: Soldier Extraordinary." *BHPSO* 20:1 (1962), 60-74. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 22-35.
197. Bauschinger, Sigrid, Horst Denkler, and Wilfried Malsch, eds. *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt, Nordamerika, U.S.A.; Wolfgang Paulsen zum 65. Geburtstag*. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975. Rev. Jürgen Schlunk, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 9-11.
198. Bayor, Ronald H. *Neighbors in Conflict: The Irish, Germans, Jews and Italians of New York City, 1929-1941*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1978. Rev. Paul Spengler, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 14-15.
199. Beck, Earl R. "The Allied Bombing of Germany, 1942-1945, and the German Response: Dilemmas of Judgment." *GSR* 5 (1982), 325-38.
200. ———. "German Tourists in Florida: A Two-Century Record." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 61 (1982), 162-80.
201. Becker, Carl M., and William H. Daily. "Some Architectural Aspects of German-American Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati." *BHPSO* 20:1 (1962), 75-88. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 10-21.
202. Bell, Leland V. *In Hitler's Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism*. Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Pr., 1973. Rev. Walter Struve, *NSGAS* 3:4 (1982), 8-10.
203. Bender, Urie A. *Four Earthen Vessels: Biographical Profiles of Oscar Burkholder, Samuel F. Coffman, Clayton F. Dersting and Jesse B. Martin*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1982. Rev. E. Morris Sider, *ML* 37:3 (1982), 30-31.
204. Benjamin, Steven M., and Renate L. Benjamin. "Bibliography of German-Americana Published in 1981: Articles, Books, and Dissertations." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 145-68.
205. Berg, Carol J. "Agents of Cultural Change: The Benedictines at White Earth." *Minnesota History* 48 (1982), 158-70. [White Earth Indian Reservation.]
206. Berg, Wesley P. "Choral Festivals and Choral Workshops among the Mennonites of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, 1900-1960, with an Account of Early Developments in Russia." *MQR* 56 (1982), 200-01. Abstract of diss. Univ. of Washington 1979.

207. ———. "Choral Singing among the Mennonites of Russia." *MQR* 56 (1982), 256-68.
208. Berl-Lee, Maria. *Lieder einer Doppelzunge*. Darmstadt: Bläschke, 1982. 84 pp. [Lyric.]
209. Berlin, Jeffrey B. "Stefan Zweig and His American Publisher: Notes on an Unpublished Correspondence, with Reference to *Schachnovelle* and *Die Welt von gestern*." *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 56 (1982), 259-76.
210. Bernard, Richard M. *The Melting Pot and the Altar: Marital Assimilation in Early Twentieth-Century Wisconsin*. Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Pr., 1980. Rev. La Vern J. Rippley, *Minnesota History* 47 (1981), 331; Robert Ernst, *Old Northwest* 7 (1982), 71-72; Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, *IMR* 16 (1982), 683-84; Frederick C. Luebke, *Journal of the West* 21 (1982), 110-11.
211. Berrol, Selma C. "In Their Image: German Jews and the Americanization of the Ost-Juden in New York City." *New York History* 63 (1982), 417-34.
212. Bickel, John W. "Linguistic Leaves." *JAHSGR* 12:3 (1982), 38-42.
213. Bickelmann, Hartmut, "Das Abenteuer der Reise." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
214. ———. "Das Geschäft der Auswanderung." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
215. Bilik, Dorothy S. *Immigrant Survivors: Post-Holocaust Consciousness in Recent Jewish American Fiction*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Pr., 1981. Rev. Sanford Pinsker, *South Atlantic Review* 47 (1982), 97-98.
216. Billigmeier, Robert H. "Recent German Immigration to America." In *Contemporary American Immigration: Interpretive Essays*. Ed. Dennis L. Cuddy. Boston: Twayne, 1982, pp. 108-35.
217. Billington, Ray A. *Land of Savagery, Land of Promise: The European Image of the American Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Norton, 1981. Rev. Char Miller, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 65 (1982), 147; Margaret Walsh, *Indiana Magazine of History* 78 (1982), 63-64.
218. Bird, Michael S. "When Furniture Becomes Folk Art: Neustadt Cabinet-maker John P. Kempp, 1857-1914." *Canadian Collector* 17:5 (1982), 46-50.
219. Boecken, Charlotte. "'Dutch Quaker' aus Krefeld, die (Mit)Gründer Germantowns 1683?" *Die Heimat* 53 (1982), 23-31.
220. Boeschenstein, Hermann, and Hartmut Froeschle, eds. *Deutschkanadische Schriften, Reihe A: Belletristik*. Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Assoc., 1977-. Rev. Don H. Tolzmann, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 16-17.
221. Bohlman, Philip V. "Viele Einwanderer aus der alten Welt: German-American Rural Community Structure in Wisconsin." *Midwestern Journal of Language and Folklore* 8:1 (1982), 8-33.
222. Bower, Tom. *Pledge Betrayed: America and Britain and the Denazification of Post-War Germany*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982. 480 pp.
223. Bretting, Agnes. *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800-1860*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1981. Rev. Walter Struve, *NSGAS* 3:4 (1982), 10-11.
224. ———. "Die Konfrontation der deutschen Einwanderer mit der amerikanischen Wirklichkeit in New York City im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert." *Amst* 27 (1982), 247-58.
225. ———. "'Little Germanies' in den Vereinigten Staaten." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
226. ———. "'Zwischen alter und neuer Heimat: Das Problem der Amerikanisierung.'" *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
227. Bronner, Simon J. "The Durlauf Family: Three Generations of Stonecarvers in Southern Indiana." *Pioneer America* 13:1 (1982), 17-26.
228. Brubaker, Landis H. "The Brubakers and Their Lands in East Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *PMH* 5:2 (1982), 10-29.
229. Bruegmann, Hans F. "Erlebnisse eines Neueinwanderers in den 50er Jahren." *CG* 33 (1982), 8-11.
230. Brunk, Ivan W. "Mennonites in the Carolinas." *PMH* 5:1 (1982), 14-21.
231. Buchheit, Robert H. "Language Maintenance and Shift among Mennonites in South-Central Kansas." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 111-22.

232. ———. "‘Plautdietsch’: Some Impressions about Mennonite Low German in Kansas and Nebraska." *ML* 37:3 (1982), 16-20.
233. Burghardt, Andrew, and Hansgeorg Schlichtmann. "German Research on Canada, 1965-1980: A Bibliography." *Canadian Geographer* 26 (1982), 60-64.
234. Burzle, J. Anthony, and Helmut E. Huelsbergen. *Max Kade German-American Document and Research Center: Catalogue Addendum*. Lawrence: Max Kade German-American Document & Research Center, Univ. of Kansas, 1982. 45 pp.
235. Cahn, Geoffrey S. "The American Reception of Weimar Culture 1918-1933." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 47-62.
236. ———. "Weimar Culture and Society through American Eyes: Weimar Music—the View from America." Diss. St. John's Univ. 1982. 493 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/5 (Nov. 1982), 1641A.
237. Carstensen, Broder. "'Babys' oder 'Babies'? : Zum Plural englischer Wörter im Deutschen." *Muttersprache* 92 (1982), 200-15.
238. Catudal, Honoré M. *Kennedy and the Berlin Wall Crisis: A Case Study in U.S. Decision Making*. Berlin: Berlin Verlag, 1980. Rev. Knud Krakau, *Amst* 26 (1981), 358-61; Melvin Small, *Journal of American History* 68 (1982), 991-92.
239. Chase, Thomas C. "Christian Frederick Post, 1715-1785: Missionary and Diplomat to the Indians of America." Diss. Pennsylvania State Univ. 1982. 209 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/7 (Jan. 1983), 2424A.
240. Christiansen, Jens P. "Labor Productivity in the Steel Industry: A Comparative Study of the Federal Republic of Germany and the United States of America." Diss. Stanford Univ. 1982. 263 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/8 (Feb. 1983), 2728A-2729A.
241. Clemens, Leonard. "Elmdale, Michigan, 1910-1916." *MHB* 48:1 (1982), 1-8.
242. ———. "From Elmdale to Goshen." *MHB* 48:2 (1982), 5-7.
243. ———. "Goshen: The 1920s and Years Following." *MHB* 48:4 (1982), 9-11.
244. ———. "Life in Goshen: The 1920s." *MHB* 48:3 (1982), 3-5.
245. Clement, Fritz. "Rosella: Farm Home of Today Was Trading Post of Yesteryear." *HR* 12:4 (1982), 42-44.
246. Cobbs, Alfred L. *The Image of America in Postwar German Literature: Reflections and Perceptions*. Bern: Lang, 1982.
247. Connelly, John L. *North Nashville and Germantown*. Nashville, TN: North High Association, 1982. Publisher at POB 60351, ZC 37206.
248. Cook, Colleen. "Germany's Wild West Author: A Research Guide to Karl May." *GSR* 5 (1982), 67-86.
249. Daniel, Ute. *Dollardiplomatie in Europa: Marshallplan, kalter Krieg und US-Außenwirtschaftspolitik 1945-1952*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1982. 215 pp.
250. Davidson, David. "Looking for Good Germans." *American Heritage* 33:4 (1982), 90-95. [American Military Government in southern Germany.]
251. Diamond, Sander A. *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Pr., 1974. Rev. Walter Struve, *NSGAS* 3:4 (1982), 8-10.
252. Dinnerstein, Leonard. *America and the Survivors of the Holocaust*. New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1982. 409 pp.
253. Dobkowski, Michael N. *The Politics of Indifference: A Documentary History of Holocaust Victims in America*. Washington, DC: Univ. Pr. of America, 1982.
254. Doerries, Reinhard H. "Soziale Eingliederungsprozesse von Iren und Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten: Ein Vergleich." *Amst* 27 (1982), 259-74.
255. Douglas, Alec. "The Nazi Weather Station in Labrador." *Canadian Geographer* 101:6 (1982), 42-47.
256. Dreiling, Norbert R. "Ich bin auch ein Deutscher aus Rußland." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 1-4.
257. Driedger, Leo, and J. Howard Kauffman. "Urbanization of Mennonites: Canadian and American Comparisons." *MQR* 56 (1982), 269-80.

258. Duden, Gottfried. *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years along the Missouri*. Ed. James W. Goodrich, et al. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Pr., 1980. Rev. Elfrieda Lang, *Indiana Magazine of History* 77 (1981), 294-95; Robert W. Frizzell, *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1 (1982), 87-89; Glen E. Lich, *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85 (1982), 349-51.
259. Durzak, Manfred. *Das Amerikabild in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur: Historische Voraussetzungen und aktuelle Beispiele*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979. Rev. Karl-Heinz Schoeps, *Mh* 74 (1982), 89-90.
260. Dvoretzky, Eduard. *Der Teufel und sein Advokat*. Berlin: Stoeckner, 1981. [Poetry and short prose.] Rev. Suzanne Toliver, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 22-23.
261. Dyck, Cornelius J., ed. *An Introduction to Mennonite History*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. Rev. David J. Smucker, *PMH* 5:2 (1982), 37.
262. Easton, Loyd D. "German Philosophy in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati," in Tolzmann, 1981, pp. 66-79.
263. Eisenberg, C. G. *History of the First Dakota-District of the Evangelical-Lutheran Synod of Iowa and Other States*. Tr. Anton H. Richter. Washington, DC: Univ. Pr. of America, 1982. 258 pp. Rev. La Vern J. Rippley, *NSGAS* 3:4 (1982), 7.
264. Eisenberg, Carolyn. "U.S. Policy in Postwar Germany: The Conservative Restoration." *Science and Society* 46 (Spring 1982).
265. Eisiminger, Sterling, and John L. Idol. "Nathaniel Hawthorne and Emanuel Leutze." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 118 (Jan. 1982).
266. Enninger, Werner, and Joachim Raith. *An Ethnography-of-Communication Approach to Ceremonial Situations: A Study on Communication in Institutionalized Social Contexts; The Old Order Amish Church Service*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982. 104 pp.
267. ———, and Karl-Heinz Wandt. "Pennsylvania German in the Context of an Old Order Amish Settlement: The Structural Instability of a Functionally Stable Variety." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 123-44.
268. Epp, Frank H. *Mennonites in Canada, Volume II: 1920-1940; A People's Struggle for Survival*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1982. 640 pp.
269. Esh, Christian G. *The Beginning and Development of Parochial Special Schools in Lancaster County, 1875-1982*. Gordonville, PA: Gordonville Print Shop, 1982. 29 pp.
270. Ewald, Johann. *Diary of the American War: Johann Ewald, Field Jäger Corps*. Ed. Joseph P. Trustin. New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1979. Rev. Horst Dippel, *HZ* 234 (1982), 697-98.
271. Exner, Richard. *Fast ein Gespräch*. Munich: Schneekluth, 1980. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *WLT* 55 (1981), 92-93; Susan L. Versluys, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 12-13.
272. ———. *Mit rauchloser Flamme: Gedichte*. Munich: Schneekluth, 1982. 111 pp. Rev. Susan L. Versluys, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 17-18.
273. Farr, William E. "Germans in Montana Gold Camps: Two Views." *Montana* 32:4 (1982), 58-73.
274. Feser, Phyllis. "The View from Within." *HR* 12:4 (1982), 33-39.
275. Fichter, Michael. *Besatzungsmacht und Gewerkschaften: Zur Entwicklung und Anwendung der US-Gewerkschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1944-1948*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1982.
276. Flanagan, Maureen A. "The Ethnic Entry in Chicago Politics: The United Societies for Local Self-Government and the Reform Charter of 1907." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 75:1 (1982), 2-14. [In-depth discussion of the roles of Germans and German newspapers.]
277. Fogelson, George J. "The Jews of Santa Cruz: The First Eighty Years, 1854-1934." *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 14 (Jan. 1982).
278. Foltin, Lore B. "Franz Werfel's Image of America." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 300-10.
279. Frey, J. William. *A Simple Grammar of Pennsylvania Dutch*. 2nd ed. Lancaster, PA: John Baer & Son, 1981. Rev. Noah G. Good, *PMH* 5:3 (1982), 33.

280. Friesen, Patrick. *The Shunning*. Winnipeg: Turnstone Pr., 1980. Rev. Anna K. Juhnke, *MQR* 56 (1982), 303-04.
281. Froeschle, Hartmut, ed. *German-Canadian Yearbook*. 6 vols. Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 1973-1981. Rev. Rolf W. Brednich (Vols. I-IV), *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 78:2 (1982); Jürgen Eichhoff (Vols. I-V), *Mh* 74 (1982), 185-86; (Vol. VI), *Mennonite Historian*, Spring 1982, and *Pazifische Rundschau* (Vancouver), 13 Feb. 1982.
282. ———. "Die Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada feiert ihr zehnjähriges Bestehen." *CG* 34 (1982), 8-23.
283. ———. "Wanderungsforschung und ethnische Studien im Aufwind: Eine Auswahlbibliographie." *CG* 34 (1982), 24-26.
284. ———, and Victor Peters, eds. *Deutschkanadische Schriften, Reihe B: Sachbücher*. Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Assoc., 1977-. Rev. Don H. Tolzmann, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 16-17.
285. Fruehauf, Erich. "Early Surveys in Kansas." *Kansas History* 5 (1982), 121-38.
286. Frühwald, Wolfgang, and Wolfgang Schieder, eds. *Leben im Exil: Probleme der Integration deutscher Flüchtlinge im Ausland 1933-1945*. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1981. Rev. Peter Brandt, *HZ* 235 (1982), 752-53; Joseph P. Strelka, *GQ* 55 (1982), 610-11.
287. Fryer, Judith E. *25 Year Index to Pennsylvania Folklife (Including The Pennsylvania Dutchman and The Dutchman)*. Collegeville, PA: Pennsylvania Folklife Society, 1980. Rev. Charles D. Cashdollar, *Pennsylvania History* 49 (1982), 62.
288. Gallert, Petra M. "German-Language Translations of Faulkner." *Mississippi Quarterly* 35 (1982), 283-300. [Checklist.]
289. Garvan, Beatrice B., and Charles F. Hummel. *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Celebration of Their Arts, 1683-1850*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1982. 196 pp. [Illustrated exhibition catalogue.]
290. Giesinger, Adam. "The History of AHSGR: The Eventful Year 1971." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 61-65.
291. ———. "The History of AHSGR: The Important Role of Dr. Stumpp in the Early Years." *JAHSGR* 5:2 (1982), 1-3.
292. ———. "The Volga German Refugees of 1921-1922." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 21-26.
293. Gilpin, John. "Cornelius Hiebert, M.L.A." *Alberta History* 30:4 (1982), 10-16. [Mennonite politician of Didsbury, Alberta.]
294. Gish, Theodore. "Ferdinand J. Lindheimer's *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung*: Portrait of a German-Texan Weekly 1852-1872." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 71-78.
295. Glasrud, Clarence A., and Diana M. Rankin, eds. *A Heritage Deferred: The German-Americans in Minnesota*. Moorhead, MN: Concordia College, 1981. Rev. Jo Ann E. Argersinger, *North Dakota History* 49:3 (1982), 34-35; Michael Brook, *History* 67 (1982), 444-45; Reinhard R. Doerries, *Amst* 27 (1982), 478-79.
296. Goertz, Hans-Jürgen. *Die Täufer: Geschichte und Deutung*. Munich: Beck, 1980. Rev. Werner Enninger, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 18-19.
297. Goertz, Reuben. "Pioneering in Dakota Territory." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 5-11.
298. Goeth, Ottilie F. *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother (Was Großmutter Erzählt) 1805-1915*. Ed. Irma G. Guenther. 2nd ed. Burnet, TX: Eakin Pr., 1981. 272 pp.
299. Gong, Alfred. *Gnadenfrist*. Baden, Austria: Grasl, 1980. [Lyric.] Rev. Jerry Glenn, *WLT* 55 (1981), 465; Allen P. Weirick, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 14-15.
300. Good, Noah G. "Die Tille fohrt mit'm Mailman weg." *PMH* 5:4 (1982), 30-31. [Dialect sketch.]
301. ———. "Ich hab ihn net treffe wolle." *PMH* 5:1 (1982), 22-25. [Dialect sketch.]
302. ———. "Ja, un du hoscht aa widder recht." *PMH* 5:3 (1982), 22-24. [Dialect sketch.]

303. Gottlieb, Moshe R. *American Anti-Nazi Resistance, 1933-1941*. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1982. 426 pp.
304. Goyne, Minna A., ed. *Lone Star and Double Eagle: Civil War Letters of a German-Texan Family*. Fort Worth: Texas Christian Univ. Pr., 1982. 276 pp.
305. Grabbe, Hans-Jürgen. *Unionsparteien, Sozialdemokratie und die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika 1945-1966*. Düsseldorf: Droste, 1982.
306. Graber, Robert B. "The Sociocultural Differentiation of a Religious Sect: Schisms among the Pennsylvania German Mennonites." *MQR* 56 (1982), 198-99. Abstract of diss. Univ. of Wisconsin-Milwaukee 1979.
307. Green, W. Anthony. "The Dialectologist Ernst Christmann, 1885-1974." *HSR* 16 (1982), 3-12. [Researcher of Palatine dialects.]
308. ———. "The Dialectologist Julius Kraemer: An Appreciation of His Work to Mark the Occasion of His 80th Birthday on December 29th, 1981." *HSR* 16 (1982), 15-28. [Researcher of Palatine dialects.]
309. Gregory, Ralph. *The German-Americans in the Washington, Missouri Area*. Washington, MO: Missourian Publishing Co., 1981. Rev. Robert W. Frizzell, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 21-22.
310. Gross, Leonard. "Chronicling Our Mennonite History." *MHB* 48:2 (1982), 1.
311. Grossberg, Mimi, ed. *Geschichte im Gedicht: Das politische Gedicht der austro-amerikanischen Exilautoren des Schicksalsjahres 1938*. New York: Austrian Institute, 1982. 98 pp.
312. Grünzweig, Walter. "The Italian Sky in the Republic of Letters: Charles Sealsfield and Timothy Flint as Early Writers of the American West." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 1-20.
313. Haag, Earl C. *A Pennsylvania German Reader and Grammar*. University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Pr., 1982.
314. Hagr, Bodo. "Die Hutterer: Zur Akkulturation und Isolation einer deutschsprachigen Minderheit in Nordamerika." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
315. Hale, Douglas. *The Germans from Russia in Oklahoma*. Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Pr., 1980. Rev. Norman E. Saul, *Great Plains Quarterly* 1 (1981), 266-67; Peter L. Petersen, *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 60 (1982), 90-91.
316. Hammond, Theresa M. *American Paradise: German Travel Literature from Duden to Kisch*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1980. Rev. Glen E. Lich, *GSR* 5 (1982), 127.
317. Harr, Gottlieb. "Memories and Experiences in South Russia, Siberia and North Dakota, U.S.A." Tr. Marvin A. Eckman, Josephine Eckman, Armand Bauer, and Elaine Bauer. *HR* 12:2 (1982), 6-59.
318. Harsham, Peter M. "A Community Portrait: Over-the-Rhine, 1860." *CHSB* 40 (1982), 63-72.
319. Head, Ronald B. "The Declension of George W. Blaettermann: First Professor of Modern Languages at the University of Virginia." *Virginia Cavalcade* 31 (1982), 182-91.
320. Henzel, George M. "Over-the-Rhine U.S.A." *CHSB* 40 (1982), 7-62.
321. Herscher, Uri D. *Jewish Agricultural Utopias in America, 1880-1910*. Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Pr., 1981. Rev. Richard Carwardine, *JAS* 16 (1982), 316-17; *IMR* 16 (1982), 917.
322. ———, and Stanley F. Chyet, eds. *A Socialist Perspective on Jews, America and Immigration*. Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1980. Translated from Yiddish. Rev. William S. Engelman, *IMR* 16 (1982), 224-25.
323. Hettasch, Siegfried. "Von Labrador nach Quebec: Ein persönlicher Bericht von Siegfried Hettasch der Labrador-Mission in Nain, Neufundland." Ed. Karin R. Gürtler. *CG* 33 (1982), 1-6. [Report by German missionary from 1981.]
324. Hiebert, Marva, Nelson Springer, Lawrence Klippenstein, Rachel Hiebert, and Grace Schowalter. "Radical Reformation and Mennonite Bibliography, 1981." *ML* 37 (Sept. 1982), 21-26.

325. Hobbie, Margaret, ed. *Museums, Sites and Collections of Germanic Culture in North America: An Annotated Directory of German Immigrant Culture in the United States and Canada*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Pr., 1980. Rev. Frederick C. Luebke, *Journal of American Folklore* 95 (1982), 489-90.
326. Hoenisch, Michael. "Film as Instrument of the U.S. Reeducation Program in Germany after 1945." *Englisch-Amerikanische Studien* 4 (1982), 196-210.
327. Hofer, Arnold M., and Kenneth J. Walter. *History of the Hutterite Mennonites: Published in Connection with the Centennial Observance of the Coming of the Hutterites to Dakota*. Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Pr., 1974. Rev. Anton H. Richter, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 13-14.
328. Höfer, Werner, ed. *Favored—Forever?: A Critical Dialogue on America; Today and Tomorrow*. Vienna: Econ Verlag, 1976. Rev. Peter Pabisch, *GSR* 5 (1982), 436.
329. Hoffman, Klaus D. "Songs of the Germans from Russia: Mirror of an Ethnic Minority." *JAHSGR* 5:2 (1982), 38-43.
330. Holli, Melvin G., and P. Jones, eds. *Biographical Dictionary of American Mayors, 1820-1980*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Pr., 1982. [Includes all of the German-American mayors of the 15 largest cities in the U.S.]
331. Holton, Gerald, and Yehuda Elkana, eds. *Albert Einstein: Historical and Cultural Perspectives*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1982. 439 pp.
332. Holzach, Michael. *Das vergessene Volk: Ein Jahr bei den deutschen Hutterern in Kanada*. Hamburg: Hoffmann & Campe, 1980. Rev. John S. Oyer, *MQR* 56 (1982), 385-86.
333. Hopple, Lee C. "Germanic European Origins and Geographical History of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Schwenkfelders." *PF* 32 (1982-83), 72-95.
334. Hostetler, Beulah S. "Leadership Patterns and Fundamentalism in Franconia Mennonite Conference, 1890-1950." *PMH* 5:2 (1982), 2-9.
335. Hostetler, John A. *Hutterite Society*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1974. Rev. Peter Johansson, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 11-12.
336. ———. *Amish Society*. 3rd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Pr., 1980. Rev. Roy C. Buck, *PMH* 4:2 (1981), 32-33; James S. Olson, *South Dakota History* 11 (1981), 314-15; Victor Stoltzfus, *Rural Sociology* 46 (1981), 163-65; Phillip L. Berg, *Plains Anthropologist* 27 (1982), 94-95; William K. Crowley, *Journal of Historical Geography* 8 (1982), 223; Werner Enninger, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 15-17; J. Winfield Fretz, *MQR* 56 (1982), 213-14.
337. ———. *Amish Life*. 5th ed. Scottdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1981. Rev. Omar B. Stahl, *PMH* 5:1 (1982), 33.
338. Huelsbergen, Helmut E. "Ansichten über Amerika: Leit motive in deutschen Reiseberichten aus den zwanziger Jahren." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 29-46.
339. Ishwaran, K., ed. *Canadian Families: Ethnic Variations*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1981. Rev. Gerd Schroeter, *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (1982), 118-22.
340. Jahraus, William L. "The Relationship between Ethnic Traditions and Officeholding of the Early German-Russians of McIntosh County, North Dakota, 1889-1915." *HR* 12:3 (1982), 26-35.
341. Jantz, Harold. "America and the Younger Goethe." *Modern Language Notes* 97 (1982), 515-45.
342. ———. "Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*: Image, Configuration, and Meaning." In *Studien zur Goethezeit: Erich Trunz zum 75. Geburtstag*. Ed. Hans-Joachim Mähl and Eberhard Mannack. Heidelberg: Winter, 1982, pp. 103-20.
343. Jentz, John B. "Evaluating the Reliability of the Published Manufacturing Census: The Problem of the Hand Trades." *Historical Methods* 15:2 (1982). [German workers in Chicago.]
344. Jeschke, Ernest A. "A Trip to America in 1909." *Clues* 1982, Part II, pp. 15-22.
345. Jones, Calvin N. "Views of America and Views of Germany in German POW Newspapers of World War II." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 63-70.

346. Jones, George F., and Renate Wilson, eds. *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America, Volume VI: 1739*. Athens: Univ. of Georgia Pr., 1981. Rev. Milton Rubincam, *Journal of Southern History* 48 (1982), 273-74.
347. Jones Wilbur D. "Some Cincinnati German Societies a Century Ago." *BHPSO* 20:1 (1962), 38-43. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 36-41.
348. Jordan, Gilbert J. *Yesterday in the Texas Hill Country*. College Station: Texas A & M Pr., 1979. Rev. Garna L. Christian, *Journal of the West* 21:3 (1982), 74-75; Glen E. Lich, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 5-8.
349. Jordan, Terry G. "The Forgotten Texas State Census of 1887." *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 85 (1982), 401-08.
350. ———. *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*. Austin: Univ. of Texas Pr., 1982.
351. Juhnke, James C. *A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites*. Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1975. Rev. Eleanor Turk, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 15-16.
352. Just, Michael. "Emigration aus dem dritten Reich." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
353. ———. "Politische Flüchtlinge gehen nach Amerika." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
354. Kaganoff, Nathan M. "AJHS at 90: Reflections on the History of the Oldest Ethnic Historical Society in America." *AJH* 71 (1982), 466-85. [German Jewish "establishment" founded the American Jewish Historical Society.]
355. ———, and Martha B. Katz-Hyman. "Judaica Americana." *AJH* 71 (1982), 358-80. [Bibliography.]
356. Kahn, Lisa. *Utahs Geheimnisse: Gedichte*. Berlin: Stoedtner, 1981. Rev. Jerry Glenn, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 18-19.
357. Kaikkonen, Olli. *Deutschland und die Expansionspolitik der USA in den 90er Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Einstellung Deutschlands zur spanisch-amerikanischen Krise*. Jyväskylä, Finland: Jyväskylä Univ. Library, 1980. Rev. Woodruff D. Smith, *American Historical Review* 87 (1982), 478-79.
358. Kann, Hans-Joachim. "Germanismen in TIME 1980." *Muttersprache* 92 (1982), 38-48.
359. ———. "Neue Germanismen in TIME 1981." *Sprachdienst* 26 (1982), 68-71.
360. Kauf, Robert. "Ernst Waldinger: Between the Danube and the Hudson." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 286-99.
361. Keady, Sylvia H. "Theodor Fontane und William Dean Howells: Eine vergleichende Studie." Diss. Stanford Univ. 1982. 248 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/8 (Feb. 1983), 2688A.
362. Keel, William D. "On the Heimatbestimmung of the Ellis County (Kansas) Volga-German Dialects." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 99-110.
363. ———. "Studying German Dialects in Kansas." *University Forum* (Ft. Hays State Univ.) 27 (Summer 1982), 6-9.
364. Kehr, Kurt. "'Deutsche' Sprache bei Mennoniten und Amischen im Shenandoah Valley, Virginia." *Muttersprache* 92 (1982), 227-40.
365. Keil, Hartmut, and John B. Jentz. "The Chicago Project: A Study in German Ethnicity." *American Studies International* 20:4 (1982), 22-30.
366. Kennan, George, and Whitfield J. Bell. "Views from Another East Berlin." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 126 (1982), 472-80. [Adams County, Pennsylvania.]
367. Kiehlbauch, Rosina. "Christmas 1894." *JAHSGR* 5:4 (1982), 2-4.
368. Kloberdanz, Timothy. "Plainsmen of Three Continents: Volga German Adaption to Steppe, Prairie and Pampa." *JAHSGR* 5:2 (1982), 29-37.
369. Kloss, Heinz. *Research Possibilities in the German-American Field*. Ed. La Vern J. Rippley, Hamburg: Buschke, 1980. Rev. Wolfgang Viereck, *Amst* 27 (1982), 233-34.
370. Koppensteiner, Jürgen. "Österreichische Literatur in den U.S.A." *Zirkular* 4:6 (1982), 4-8.
371. Koreneva, Marija M. "The Novel of the First and Second World War in Western Europe and the USA." In *Proceedings of the 19th Congress of the*

- International Comparative Literature Association. Innsbruck: Inst. für Sprachwissenschaft, Univ. Innsbruck, 1982, pp. 63-66.
372. Krätzer, Anita. *Studien zum Amerikabild in der neueren deutschen Literatur: Max Frisch, Uwe Johnson, Hans Magnus Enzensberger und das "Kursbuch."* Bern: Lang, 1982. 336 pp.
 373. Kurtz, Michael J. "American Cultural Restitution Policy in Germany during the Occupation, 1945-1949." Diss. Georgetown Univ. 1982. 231 pp. Abstract in DAI 43/9 (Mar. 1983), 3085A.
 374. Lang, Hans-Joachim. "Katherine Anne Porters Einladung auf *Das Narrenschiff*." In *Die amerikanische Literatur in der Weltliteratur*. Ed. Claus Uhlig and Volker Bischoff. Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1982, pp. 458-75. [Includes German reception of the novel.]
 375. Lange, Wigand. *Theater in Deutschland nach 1945: Zur Theaterpolitik der amerikanischen Besatzungsbehörden*. Frankfurt: Lang, 1980. Rev. Rüdiger Scholz, *Germanistik* 22 (1981), 911-12; Sol Gittleman, *GQ* 55 (1982), 282.
 376. Lay, K. Edward. "European Antecedents of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Germanic and Scots-Irish Architecture in America." *PF* 32 (1982-83), 2-43.
 377. Lederer, Herbert, and Eliza R. Bostwick. "American Doctoral Dissertations on Austrian Authors: Degrees Granted in 1981." *Modern Austrian Literature* 15 (1982), 126-27.
 378. Lehman, Daniel R. "Hans Lehman: Immigrant of 1737." *PMH* 5:3 (1982), 9-13.
 379. Lehnert, Herbert. "Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht, and the Free Germany-Movement." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 182-202.
 380. Lich, Glen E. *The German Texans*. San Antonio: Univ. of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981. Rev. La Vern J. Rippley, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 5; *IMR* 16 (1982), 515.
 381. Liddell, Peter G. *A Bibliography of the Germans in British Columbia*. Vancouver: Canadian Assoc. of Univ. Teachers of German, 1982. 89 pp.
 382. Loewen, Harry, ed. *Mennonite Images: Historical, Cultural, and Literary Essays Dealing with Mennonite Issues*. Winnipeg: Hyperion Pr., 1980. Rev. Ted D. Regehr, *MQR* 56 (1982), 295-96; Gerald C. Studer, *MHB* 48:4 (1982), 12.
 383. Loewy, Ernst. "Die Differenzen des Exils: Am Beispiel der Exilliteratur." *Neue Rundschau* 93 (1982), 166-81.
 384. Longenecker, Stephen L. *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Pr., 1981. Rev. Gerald C. Studer, *MHB* 48:3 (1982), 8; Jerome H. Wood, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (1982), 564-66.
 385. Luebke, Frederick C., ed. *Ethnicity on the Great Plains*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Pr., 1980. Rev. Nicholas C. Burckel, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66 (1982), 72-73.
 386. Lyon, James K. *Bertolt Brecht in America*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1980. Rev. J. M. Ritchie, *German Life and Letters* 35 (1981-82), 82-92; Geneviève Cimaz-Martineau, *Études Germaniques* 37 (1982), 90-91; H. Glade, *WLT* 56 (1982), 112; Ralph J. Ley, *Modern Drama* 25 (1982), 571-74; Paul Schlicke, *JAS* 16 (1982), 475-76.
 387. MacMaster, Richard K., Samuel L. Horst, and Robert F. Ulle, eds. *Conscience in Crisis: Mennonites and Other Peace Churches in America, 1739-1789; Interpretations and Documents*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1979. Rev. Roger E. Sappington, *Brethren Life and Thought* 26 (1981), 124-25; Grant Wacker, *Journal of Southern History* 47 (1981), 99-101; Jack Michel, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 106 (1982), 126-28.
 388. Mann, Maybelle. "Karl Bodmer: From Frontier America to the Barbizon Woods." *Art and Antiques* 5:2 (1982), 52-61. Swiss artist (1809-1893).
 389. Marcus, Jacob R. *The American Jewish Woman: A Documentary History*. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1981. Rev. Maxine S. Seller, *Journal of American History* 68 (1982), 912-13; *IMR* 16 (1982), 704.

390. ———. *The American Jewish Woman, 1654-1980*. New York: KTAV Publishing House, 1981. Rev. Maxine S. Seller, *Journal of American History* 68 (1982), 912-13; *IMR* 16 (1982), 704.
391. Mast, J. Lemar, and Lois A. Mast. *As Long as Wood Grows and Water Flows: A History of the Conestoga Mennonite Church*. Morgantown, PA: Conestoga Mennonite Church, 1982. Rev. James O. Lehman, *PMH* 5:4 (1982), 37.
392. McMaster, Mary E. "The Nineteenth Century German Political Immigrant and the Construction of American Culture and Thought." Diss. New School for Social Research 1982. 251 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/9 (Mar. 1983), 3120A.
393. McMullen, Robin, "The Anatomy of a Cupboard." *Canadian Collector* 17:3 (1982), 37.
394. Melady, John. *Escape from Canada: The Untold Story of German Prisoners of War, 1939-1945*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1981. Rev. W.J. McAndrew, *Canadian Historical Review* 63 (1982), 242-43.
395. Merrill, Peter C. "Ernst Anton Zündt and the German-American Theater." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 79-88.
396. ———. "Pennsylvania German Folk Crafts: The Living Tradition." *PF* 32 (1982-83), 50-58.
397. Middel, Eike, et al. *Exil in den USA: Mit einem Bericht "Schanghai—Eine Emigration am Rande."* Leipzig: Reclam, 1979. Rev. Alexander von Bormann, *Mh* 74 (1982), 345-46.
398. Migliazzo, Arlin C. "Ethnic Diversity on the Southern Frontier: A Social History of Purrysburgh, South Carolina, 1732-1792." Diss. Washington State Univ. 1982. 277 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/9 (Mar. 1983), 3089A.
399. Miller, Joseph S. "The Kansas Movement: Paul Erb's Viewpoint." *PMH* 5:3 (1982), 20-21.
400. ———. "The Pennsylvania Mennonite Church near Zimmerdale, Kansas." *PMH* 5:3 (1982), 14-19.
401. Misse, Fred B. "Truman, Berlin and the 1948 Election." *Missouri Historical Review* 76 (Jan. 1982).
402. Mitchell, Mary M. "A Blue Rock Road Plantation." *PMH* 5:1 (1982), 9-13.
403. Moltmann, Günter, ed. *Aufbruch nach Amerika: Friedrich List und die Auswanderung aus Baden und Württemberg 1816-17*. Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1979. Rev. Diane V. White, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 34-35.
404. ———. "Deutsch-amerikanische Wanderungen und deutsch-amerikanische Beziehungen." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
405. ———. "Die deutsche Amerikaauswanderung in der Kolonialzeit und das Redemptioner System." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
406. ———. "Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Nordamerika im Überblick." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
407. ———. "Einleitende Überlegungen zum Thema." *Amst* 27 (1982), 243-46. [Topic: "The Socialization of European Immigrants in the United States in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries."]
408. ———, ed. *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983*. Stuttgart, 1982.
409. ———. "Überlegungen zur didaktischen Umsetzung des Themas." *Amst* 27 (1982), 293-98. [See no. 407 above.]
410. Moore, Deborah D. *B'nai B'rith and the Challenge of Ethnic Leadership*. Albany: SUNY Pr., 1981. Rev. Jonathan S. Woocher, *AJH* 71 (1982), 535-38.
411. Murphy, John H. "An Assessment of Cognitive Beliefs about Germans and the Concomitant Affective Themes and Strengths." Diss. Univ. of Northern Colorado 1982. 199 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/9 (Mar. 1983), 2877A.
412. Nadel, Ira B., ed. *Jewish Writers of North America: A Guide to Information Sources*. Detroit: Gale, 1981. Rev. Eric Homberger, *JAS* 16 (1982), 139-40.
413. Newcomb, Thomas L. *A Compiled History of the Geauga-Trumbull Ohio Amish/Mennonite Settlement*. Garrettsville, OH: Privately printed, 1982.

414. Noble, Allen G., and Gayle A. Seymour. "Distribution of Barn Types in the Northeastern United States." *Geographical Review* 72 (1982), 155-70.
415. Odwarka, Karl, ed. *Culture and Civilization of the German Speaking States*. Philadelphia: Iowa Chapter, American Assoc. of Teachers of German, 1975. Rev. Steven M. Benjamin, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 9.
416. Oyer, Mary. *Exploring the Mennonite Hymnal*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1980. Rev. Ellen Porter, *The Hymn* 33 (1982), 263-64.
417. Palmer, Howard. *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982.
418. Paris, Erna. *Jews: An Account of Their Experience in Canada*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1981. Rev. Irving Abella, *Canadian Historical Review* 64 (1982), 66-67.
419. Parmalee, Patty L. *Brecht's America*. Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Pr., 1981. Rev. Ralph J. Ley, *Modern Drama* 25 (1982), 574-75; Siegfried Mews, *GQ* 55 (1982), 455-56.
420. Patterson, Nancy-Lou G. *Swiss-German and Dutch-German Mennonite Traditional Art in the Waterloo Region, Ontario*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1979. Rev. Steve Friesen, *Journal of American Folklore* 95 (1982), 239-40.
421. ———. "Barn-Farmers and Farmer Traditional Patterns Govern the Orderly World of Mennonite Barns and Farms." *Canadian Collector* 17:5 (1982), 39-42.
422. ———. "Death and Ethnicity: Swiss-German Mennonite Gravestones of the 'Pennsylvania Style' (1804-1854) in the Waterloo Region, Ontario." *ML* 37:3 (1982), 4-7.
423. Paul-Merritt, Carol. "The Reception of the German Writers in Exile by the American Liberal Press, 1933-1945: Changes and Trends." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 95-118.
424. Penner, Peter. "Guardian of the Way: The Farmer Preacher Henry S. Voth, 1878-1953." *ML* 37:3 (1982), 8-13.
425. Penzel, Klaus. "The Reformation Goes West: The Notion of Historical Development in the Thought of Philip Schaff." *Journal of Religion* 62 (1982), 219-41.
426. Perrin, Richard W. *Historic Wisconsin Buildings: A Survey in Frontier Architecture, 1835-1870*. 2nd ed. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1981. Rev. Larry A. Reed, *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 65 (1982), 215-16.
427. "The Peter Weber Collection." *MHB* 48:2 (1982), 1-4; 48:3 (1982), 5-8. [Letters of Mennonite minister Weber (1731-1781) and his family.]
428. Pfanner, Helmut F. "Deutschsprachige Exilliteratur: Grundlage zur kontrastiven Kulturanalyse." *UP* 15 (1982), 214-23.
429. Pierce, Frank W. *The Washington Saengerbund: A History of German Song and German Culture in the Nation's Capital*. Washington, DC: Washington Saengerbund, 1981. Rev. Don H. Tolzmann, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 16.
430. Piltz, Thomas, ed. 1776-1976: *Two Hundred Years of German-American Relations; Eine Dokumentation mit 391 Abbildungen im Text und auf Tafeln*. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1975. Rev. Peter C. Merrill, *NSGAS* 3:2 (1982), 12-13.
431. Pochmann, Henry A., and Arthur R. Schultz. *Bibliography of German Culture in America to 1940*. 2nd ed. Millwood, NY: Kraus, 1982. 489 pp. Rev. *IMR* 16 (1982), 919.
432. Prieb, Wesley J. "Anna Barkman: A Child Pilgrim." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 58-60.
433. Raith, Joachim. *Sprachgemeinschaftstyp, Sprachkontakt, Sprachgebrauch: Eine Untersuchung des Bilingualismus der anabaptistischen Gruppen deutscher Abstammung in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982. 241 pp.
434. Raphael, Marc L. "American Jewish Studies: A Semiannual Report on the Status of the Field." *AJH* 71 (1982), 381-85.

435. Redekop, Calvin. *Strangers Become Neighbors: Mennonite and Indigenous Relations in the Paraguayan Chaco*. Scottdale, PA: Herald Pr., 1980. Rev. Leo Driedger, *MQR* 56 (1982), 208-09.
436. ———. "Mennonite Displacement of Indigenous People: An Historical and Sociological Analysis." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 13:2 (1982), 71-90.
437. Reeves, Dona B. "An Ethnic Inventory for the German-Texans." *University Forum* (Ft. Hays State Univ.) 27 (Summer 1982), 1-3.
438. Regehr, Ted D. "Mennonites and the New Jerusalem in Western Canada." In *Building the New Jerusalem on the Prairie*. Ed. B. G. Smillie. Saskatoon: Prairie Books, 1982.
439. Reimensnyder, Barbara L. "Powwowing in Union County: A Study of Pennsylvania German Folk Medicine in Context." Diss. Univ. of Pennsylvania 1982. 357 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/3 (Sept. 1982), 887A.
440. Reitz, Jeffrey G. *The Survival of Ethnic Groups*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980. Rev. J. L. Elliot, *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 19 (1982), 453-54.
441. Repp, Arthur C. *Luther's Catechism Comes to America: Theological Effects of the Small Catechism Prepared In or For America Prior to 1850*. Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Pr., 1982. 329 pp.
442. Repplinger, Ilse. "Deutsche amerikakundliche Veröffentlichungen." *Amst* 27 (1982), 491-513.
443. Riedel, Walter E. *Das literarische Kanadabild: Eine Studie zur Rezeption kanadischer Literatur in deutscher Übersetzung*. Bonn: Bouvier, 1980. Rev. Walter Pache, *Amst* 26 (1981), 227-28; Helfried W. Seliger, *German-Canadian Yearbook* 6 (1981), 282-83; K. P. Stich, *CL* 92 (1982), 98-99.
444. Rife, Janet W. *Germans and German-Russians in Nebraska*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Pr., 1980. Rev. Nicholas C. Burckel, *Nebraska History* 63 (1982), 292-93.
445. Riforgiato, Leonard R. *Missionary of Moderation: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Lutheran Church in English America*. Lewisburg: Bucknell Univ. Pr., 1980. Rev. Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pennsylvania History* 49 (1982), 69-71.
446. Rippley, La Vern J. "Germans: The Largest Minority." *University Forum* (Ft. Hays State Univ.) 27 (Summer 1982), 9-12.
447. Ritter, Alexander. "Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Emigrant, freier Schriftsteller und die Doppelkrise von Amerika-Utopie und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert." *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 75 (1982), 43-63.
448. Robinson, David M. "Margaret Fuller and the Transcendental Ethos." *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 97 (1982), 83-98. [Includes reception of Goethe in America.]
449. Röder, Werner, and Herbert A. Strauss, eds. *Biographisches Handbuch der deutschsprachigen Emigration nach 1933, Bd I: Politik, Wirtschaft, öffentliches Leben*. Munich: Saur, 1980. Rev. Alexander Fischer, *HZ* 235 (1982), 753-55.
450. Roe, John. "Impersonal Wars Inflict Personal Agony." *JAHSGR* 5:4 (1982), 31-32.
451. Rogers, William W., and Jeneane Kaiser. "From the Rhine to the Alabama: Hugo Lehmann Lures the Germans." *Alabama Review* 35 (Jan. 1982).
452. Rollmann, Hans. "Die Berufung Ernst Stadlers an die Universität Toronto: Eine Dokumentation." *Seminar* 18 (1982), 79-113.
453. Ronnenberg, Ernie. "Bindemann: A Legendary Preacher Who Rode a White Horse." *Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, 6 Jan. 1975. Rpt. in *CG* 34 (1982), 4-6. [Frederick W. Bindemann (1790-1865).]
454. Rosenberg, Marjorie von. *German Artists of Early Texas: Hermann Lungkwitz and Richard Petri*. Austin, TX: Eakin Pr., 1982. 98 pp.
455. Rotthoff, Guido. "Die Auswanderung von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien im Jahre 1683." *Die Heimat* 53 (1982), 13-22.
456. Sahl, Hans. "Die Pennsylvania-Deutschen: Geschichte eines Dialekts (Hörspiel)." *Die Heimat* 53 (1982), 32-34.

457. Schach, Paul, ed. *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains*. Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Pr., 1981. Rev. Tim Dunnigan, *Plains Anthropologist* 27 (1982), 333-34; Herbert L. Kufner, *GQ* 55 (1982), 237-38.
458. ———. "Some Notes on Linguistic Interference in American-German Dialects." *Schatzkammer* 8 (1982), 1-22.
459. Scheede, Karl-Heinz. "Geschichte der Christbaum—Briefmarken." *CG* 34 (1982), 8-10. [First christmas tree of Baron von Riedesel.]
460. Schöberl, Ingrid. "Auswandererwerbung durch Information: Amerikanische Broschüren in Deutschland im 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhundert." *Amst* 27 (1982), 299-339.
461. ———. "Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland und Einwanderungspolitik in den Vereinigten Staaten." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
462. ———. "Franz Daniel Pastorius und die Gründung von Germantown." *ZKA* 32:4 (1982).
463. Schröder, Hans-Jürgen. "Economic Appeasement" Zur britischen und amerikanischen Deutschlandpolitik vor dem Zweiten Weltkrieg." *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 30 (1982), 82-97.
464. Schürer, Ernst. "German Drama in Exile: A Survey." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 48-67.
465. Schweizer, Niklaus R. *Hawai'i und die deutschsprachigen Völker*. Bern: Lang, 1982. 293 pp. Also as *Hawai'i and the German Speaking Peoples*. Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing, 1982.
466. Scott, Stephen. *Amish, Mennonite, and Brethren Horse-Drawn Transportation*. Lancaster, PA: Good Books, 1981. Rev. P. S. Hurst, *PMH* 5:1 (1982), 33.
467. Sealsfield, Charles. *Das Kajütenbuch*. Ed. Alexander Ritter. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982. 528 pp. Rev. Karl J. R. Arndt, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 31-34.
468. Seele, Hermann. *The Cypress and Other Writings of a German Pioneer in Texas*. Tr. Edward C. Breitenkamp. Austin: Univ. of Texas Pr., 1979. Rev. Glen E. Lich, *GSR* 5 (1982), 275-76.
469. Sell, Donna-Christine, and Dennis Walle. *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts*. Champaign: Graduate School of Library Science, Univ. of Illinois, 1979. Rev. Peter C. Merrill, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 30-31.
470. Shea, William L., and Merrill R. Pritchett. "The Wehrmacht in Louisiana." *Louisiana History* 23:1 (1982), 5-19.
471. Sheftall, John M. *Germans in the Southwestern United States of America: An Historic Overview*. Atlanta: Consulate of the Federal Republic of Germany, 1982. 48 pp.
472. Simmons, Linda C. *Jacob Frymire: American Limner*. Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1975. Rev. Peter C. Merrill, *NSGAS* 3:1 (1982), 19-20.
473. Smith, C. Henry. *Smith's Story of the Mennonites*. 5th ed. Ed. Cornelius Krahn. Newton, KS: Faith & Life Pr., 1981. Rev. Keith L. Sprunger, *ML* 36:3 (1981), 29; Peter J. Klassen, *MQR* 56 (1982), 298-99.
474. Smyser, W. R. *German-American Relations*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1980. Rev. Gerald H. Davis, *GSR* 5 (1982), 296.
475. Sowell, Thomas. *Ethnic America: A History*. New York: Basic Books, 1981. Rev. Pierre van den Berghe, *IMR* 16 (1982), 900.
476. Spector, Susan J. "Uta Hagen: The Early Years, 1919-1951." Diss. New York Univ. 1982. 405 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/7 (Jan. 1983), 2160A. [German-American actress.]
477. Speiss, Philip D. "The Schuetzenbuckel: Cincinnati Perpetuates an Old German Custom." *CHSB* 25 (1967), 240-45. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 42-45.
478. Spuler, Richard C. "Germanistik" in America: The Reception of German Classicism, 1870-1905. Stuttgart: H. D. Heinz, 1982.
479. ———. "Wilhelm Tell as American Myth." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 89-98.
480. Starr, Stephen Z. "Prosit!!!: A Non-Cosmic Tour of the Cincinnati Saloon." *CHSB* 36 (1978), 175-91. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 46-53.

481. Stephan, Alexander. *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945: Eine Einführung*. Munich: Beck, 1979. Rev. Alexander von Bormann, *Mh* 74 (1982), 344-45.
482. Stern, Norton B. "The Jewish Community of Eureka, Nevada." *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* 25 (1982), 95-115.
483. 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. Rev. Tom Killian, *South Dakota History* 11 (1981), 248-49; William Sherman, *North Dakota History* 49:1 (1982), 35-36.
484. Strauss, Herbert A., ed. *Jewish Immigrants of the Nazi Period, Volume II: Classified and Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Saur, 1982. 286 pp. Rev. *IMR* 16 (1982), 706.
485. Strelka, Joseph P., Robert F. Bell, and Eugene Dobson, eds. *Protest—Form—Tradition: Essays on German Exile Literature*. University: Univ. of Alabama Pr., 1979. Rev. Dieter Sevin, *South Atlantic Review* 47 (1982), 67-68.
486. Teltschick, Jonnie. *The Grass Jungle: German Settlers in Frontier Texas*. Burnett, TX: Nortex Pr., 1981. Rev. Dona B. Reeves, *German Texan Heritage Society Newsletter* 4:3 (1982), 20-21.
487. Tengler, Heinz F. "The Historical Novel in German Exile Literature, 1933-1945: Central Characters as Counter-Figures and Analogues to Fascist (and Other) Dictators." Diss. Univ. of California-San Diego 1982. 337 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/3 (Sept. 1982), 815A-816A.
488. Thorp, Daniel B. "Moravian Colonization of Wachovia, 1753-1772: The Maintenance of Community in Late Colonial North Carolina." Diss. Johns Hopkins Univ. 1982. 448 pp. Abstract in *DAI* 43/3 (Sept. 1982), 902A-903A.
489. *300 Years of German Immigrants in North America: A Calendar*. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1982. 60 pp.
490. Toll, William. *The Making of an Ethnic Middle Class: Portland Jewry over Four Generations*. Albany: SUNY Pr., 1982. 242 pp. Rev. Joshua Stampfer, *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 83 (1982), 415-16.
491. Tolzmann, Don H. "Musenklänge aus Cincinnati." *CHSB* 35 (1977), 115-29. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 54-65.
492. ———. "Cincinnati's German Heritage in the Twentieth Century." In Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 92-102.
493. Trautmann, Frederic. "Western Pennsylvania through a German's Eyes: The Travels of Franz von Löhner, 1846." *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 65 (1982), 221-37.
494. Trefousse, Hans L., ed. *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration*. New York: Brooklyn College Pr. 1980. Rev. Frederick C. Luebke, *IMR* 16 (1982), 230-31.
495. ———. *Carl Schurz: A Biography*. Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Pr., 1982. 386 pp. Rev. Robert W. Frizzell, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 20-21; Allan Peskin, *Civil War History* 28 (1982), 276-77; *IMR* 16 (1982), 920.
496. Twaddell, James E. "A Photographic Study of the Byerstown Woodwork Shop." *HSR* 16 (1982), 31-47. [Production of carriages for Old Order Amish and Old Order Mennonites.]
497. Ueberhorst, Horst. *Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben: Soldier and Democrat*. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1981. Rev. Peter C. Merrill, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 19-20.
498. ———. "Das deutsche Element in der Arbeiterbewegung der USA: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Vereinigten Staaten." *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte: Beilage zur Wochenzeitung "Das Parlament"*, 6 Mar. 1982, pp. 20-36.
499. ———, and Wolfgang Stump. *Friedrich Ludwig Jahn and His Time, 1778-1852*. 2nd ed. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1982. 120 pp.
500. Vagts, Alfred. "Andrew Carnegie and Wilhelmine Germany." *Amst* 27 (1982), 413-32.

501. Van Ravenswaay, Charles. *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture*. Columbia: Univ. of Missouri Pr., 1977. Rev. Walter Struve, NSGAS 3:3 (1982), 23-25.
502. Viehmeyer, L. Allen, tr. *The Tumultuous Years, Schwenkfelder Chronicles, 1580-1750: The Reports of Martin John, Jr. and Balthazar Hoffmann*. Pennsylvania: Schwenkfelder Library, 1980. Rev. Steven M. Benjamin, NSGAS 3:1 (1982), 10-11.
503. Viereck, Wolfgang. "The Influence of the English Language on German." *Amst* 27 (1982), 203-15.
504. Vitz, Robert C. "Supporting the Arts: The Cincinnati Musical Prizes of 1880 and 1881." *Old Northwest* 7 (1982), 95-109.
505. Vrooman, Nickolas C., et al. *Iron Spirits*. Fargo, ND: Knight Printing Co., 1982. 116 pp. [German-Russians.]
506. Wagner, Maria. "A German Writer and Feminist in 19th Century America." In *Beyond the Eternal Feminine: Critical Essays on Women and German Literature*. Ed. Susan L. Cocalis and Kay Goodman. Stuttgart: H. D. Heinz, 1982. pp. 159-75.
507. Walters, George J. *Wir wollen Deutsche bleiben*. Kansas City, MO: Halcyon House, 1982. 448 pp. [Volga-Germans.] Rev. La Vern J. Rippley, NSGAS 3:4 (1982), 11-12.
508. Wandel, Joseph. *The German Dimension of American History*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1978. Rev. William T. Parsons, NSGAS 3:3 (1982), 35-36.
509. Washington, Ida H. "America in the Poetic Development of Detlev von Liliencron." *YGAS* 17 (1982), 21-27.
510. Weaver, Oscar C., and Harriet M. Weaver. "The Terre Hill Weavers." *PMH* 5:4 (1982), 24-29.
511. Weigel, Lawrence A. "A Story of Faith and Courage." *JAHSGR* 5:4 (1982), 30-31.
512. ———. "Volga German Children's Folklore." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 53-57.
513. Weiselberger, Carl. *Carl Weiselberger: Eine Auswahl seiner Schriften*. Ed. Peter G. Liddell and Walter E. Riedel. Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Assoc., 1981. Rev. CG 33 (1982), 43.
514. ———. *Zum Olymp, wenn ich bitten darf!: Zwölf Dichter kamen*. Ed. Walter E. Riedel. Vancouver: Canadian Assoc. of Univ. Teachers of German, 1982. 92 pp.
515. Weiser, Frederick S. *Fraktur: Pennsylvania German Folk Art*. Ephrata, PA: Science Pr., 1973. Rev. Judith E. Fryer, NSGAS 3:3 (1982), 36.
516. ———, and Howell J. Heaney. *The Pennsylvania German Fraktur of the Free Library of Philadelphia: An Illustrated Catalogue*. 2 vols. Breinigsville, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1976. Rev. Judith E. Fryer, NSGAS 3:3 (1982), 37.
517. Werner, Catrina. *Kanada einfach: Die Bauern verlassen die Schweiz*. Zurich: Orell Füssli, 1981. Rev. R. C. Zimmermann, *Canadian Geographer* 26 (1982), 285-87.
518. Wersich, Rüdiger. *Carl Schurz: Revolutionary and Statesman; His Life in Personal and Official Documents with Illustrations*. 2nd ed. Munich: Moos, 1982. 172 pp.
519. Wiebe, Gerhard. *Causes and History of the Emigration of the Mennonites from Russia to America*. Tr. Helen Janzen. Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1981. Rev. David A. Haurly, *ML* 37:2 (1982), 30-31.
520. Wiebe, Katie F., ed. *Women among the Brethren: Stories of Fifteen Krimmer Mennonite Brethren Women*. Hillsboro, KS: Board of Christian Literature, General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church, 1979. Rev. Margaret L. Reimer, *MQR* 56 (1982), 216-17.
521. ———. "The Style of Low German Folklore." *JAHSGR* 5:3 (1982), 45-52.
522. Wilbert, Hulda C. *Kernels of Korn: Pioneers, Indian Fighters and Cowboys on the Texas Frontier*. Burnett, TX: Nortex Pr., 1982. Rev. Hanna B. Lewis, *German Texan Heritage Society Newsletter* 4:3 (1982), 18-19.

523. Wilhelm, Hubert G. *The Origin and Distribution of Settlement Groups: Ohio 1850*. Athens, OH: Cutler Services, Ohio Univ., 1982.
524. Williamson, Robert C. "The Survival of Pennsylvania German: A Survey of Berks and Lehigh Counties." *PF* 32 (1982-83), 64-71.
525. Willoughby, William C. *Counting the Cost: The Life of Alexander Mack, 1679-1735*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Pr., 1979. Rev. Richard K. MacMaster, *MQR* 56 (1982), 220-21.
526. Winkler, Michael. "Hermann Broch in America: His Later Social and Political Thought." In Spalek & Bell, 1982, pp. 141-56.
527. Wittke, Carl. "The Germans of Cincinnati." *BHPSO* 20:1 (1962), 3-14. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 2-9.
528. Wokeck, Marianne S. "A Tide of Alien Tongues: The Flow and Ebb of the German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1776." Diss. Temple Univ. 1982.
529. Wolf, Edward C. "The Wheeling 'Saengerfest' of 1906." *Upper Ohio Valley Historical Review* 11:2 (1982), 18-29.
530. Wust, Klaus, and Heinz Moos, eds. *300 Years of Germans in America*. Munich: Heinz Moos, 1982. 208 pp.
531. Yoder, Paton. *Eine Wurzel: Tennessee John Stoltzfus*. Lititz, PA: Sutter House, 1979. Rev. Gerald C. Studer, *MHB* 48:2 (1982), 7-8.
532. Young, Jacqueline. *Germans in the Colonial Southeast*. Bad Godesberg: Inter Nationes, 1977. Rev. Diane V. White, *NSGAS* 3:3 (1982), 29-30.
533. Zeydel, Edwin. "The Teaching of German in Cincinnati." *BHPSO* 20:1 (1962), 29-37. Rpt. in Tolzmann, 1982, pp. 80-91.

Topical Index

- Acculturation & Ethnicity*: 3, 7, 17, 42, 68, 79, 96, 129, 134, 157, 180, 183, 198, 210-11, 223-26, 254, 257, 268, 283, 286, 306, 314, 335-37, 339-40, 351, 365, 368-69, 380, 385, 389-90, 398, 407-09, 417-18, 422, 437, 440, 444, 446, 471, 473, 475, 488, 490, 492, 505, 507-08, 527, 530, 532.
- Agriculture*: 14, 16, 26, 195, 321.
- Alabama*: 451.
- America in German Literature*: 19, 69, 151, 197, 217, 246, 248, 259, 278, 341-42, 345, 372, 419, 447, 456, 467, 509.
- American Literature in German-Speaking Lands*: 11, 44, 110, 119, 288, 374, 443.
- American Revolution*: 187, 189, 270, 497.
- Amish*: 16, 32-33, 66, 97-98, 102, 104-05, 118, 129, 137, 144, 164, 174, 176, 177, 194, 226-67, 269, 336-37, 364, 413, 433, 466, 496.
- Architecture*: 26, 50, 75, 88, 201, 376, 414, 421, 426, 501.
- Bibliographic Materials*: 43, 65, 81, 87, 94, 111, 123, 148, 179, 204, 233-34, 248, 283, 287, 324-25, 355, 369, 377, 381, 412, 431, 434, 442, 469, 484.
- Biographical Information*: 4, 22-23, 25, 40-41, 47-48, 54, 56, 62, 71, 113, 117, 131, 133, 149, 175, 181, 186, 196, 203, 228, 239, 291, 298, 304, 319, 323, 330-31, 346, 378, 415, 424, 427, 432, 445, 449, 453, 476, 483, 495, 497, 502, 518, 520, 522, 525, 531.
- California*: 93, 277.
- Canada*: 8-9, 15, 35, 42, 57, 59-60, 63, 67-68, 76, 80-81, 90-91, 112-14, 120, 128, 138, 152-54, 162, 183, 206-07, 218, 220, 229, 233, 255, 257, 268, 280-82, 284, 293, 323, 325, 332, 339, 381, 393-94, 417-18, 420-22, 438, 440, 443, 452-53, 459, 494, 513-14, 517, 519.
- Commercial, Diplomatic & Intellectual Relations*: 34, 37, 45, 49, 61, 74, 95, 101, 103, 139, 150, 162, 180, 185, 202, 222, 235-36, 238, 240, 249-51, 262, 264, 275, 303, 305, 326, 328, 357, 373, 375, 392, 401, 411, 425, 430, 461, 463, 474, 478-79, 499-500.
- Comparative Literary Studies*: 12, 39, 84, 170, 265, 312, 361, 371.
- Customs*: 78, 142, 161, 367, 439, 466, 477.
- Education*: 96, 119, 150, 177, 184, 269, 319, 452, 533.
- Emigré Authors*: 156, 168, 360, 379, 383, 423, 428, 464, 481, 485, 487, 526.
- Emigration, Immigration & Settlement*: 5-6, 30, 66, 71-74, 79, 82, 90, 106, 115, 124, 132, 135, 138, 145, 148, 155, 169, 171, 179, 184, 213-14, 216, 219, 221, 225, 229, 247, 252-53, 268, 283, 286, 292, 297, 309, 315, 321-22, 333, 335-36, 344, 348, 352-53, 369, 380, 392,

- 397-98, 403-06, 408, 413, 444, 449, 451, 455, 460-62, 465, 471, 473, 484, 486, 489, 494, 505, 508, 517, 519, 523, 528, 530, 532.
- Florida*: 209.
- Folk Arts & Crafts*: 99, 118, 127, 147, 167, 218, 227, 289, 393, 396, 420, 422, 472, 496, 501, 510, 515-16.
- Folklore*: 512, 521.
- Food*: 55, 67, 85, 97, 105, 161, 166, 176.
- Georgia*: 10, 71, 174, 346.
- German Descriptions of America*: 64, 258, 316, 338, 493.
- German Language*: 8, 14, 18, 20, 77, 113, 116, 144, 164, 172, 212, 231-32, 266-67, 279, 313, 362-64, 433, 457-58, 524.
- German Literature in America*: 24, 83, 87, 107, 111, 130, 136, 143, 146, 165, 173, 209, 370, 386, 448, 478.
- German-American Events & Organizations*: 157, 282, 290-91, 347, 354, 429, 459.
- German-American Literature*: 36, 116, 126, 188, 190-93, 208, 220, 260, 271-72, 299-302, 311, 356, 377, 468, 513-14.
- German-American Writers*: 9, 62-63, 76, 112, 154, 163, 395, 506.
- German-Americans & Politics*: 121, 157, 276, 293, 322, 340, 415, 495, 498, 518.
- German-English Language Contact*: 27-29, 122, 158-59, 237, 358-59, 458, 503.
- Germans from Russia*: 15, 25-26, 57-58, 68, 81, 85, 91, 93-94, 113-14, 120, 128, 135, 138, 195, 206-07, 212, 231-32, 245, 256, 263, 268, 274, 290-92, 297, 315, 317, 329, 340, 344, 351, 362-63, 367-68, 432, 438, 444, 450, 483, 505, 507, 511-12, 519-21.
- Germany in American Literature*: 125, 160.
- Graphic Arts*: 52-53, 149, 388, 454.
- Hawaii*: 465.
- Hutterites*: 68, 100, 152-53, 314, 327, 332, 335.
- Illinois*: 99, 104, 144, 149, 276, 343, 365.
- Indiana*: 5, 17, 227, 242-44.
- Iowa*: 415.
- Judaica*: 13, 36, 40, 121, 146, 155, 211, 215, 252-53, 277, 321-22, 354-55, 389-90, 410, 412, 418, 434, 482, 484, 490.
- Kansas*: 54, 85, 129, 181, 231-32, 256, 285, 351, 362-63, 399-400.
- Louisiana*: 143, 470.
- Massachusetts*: 178.
- Mennonites*: 15, 21, 32, 35, 54-55, 58, 60, 67-68, 80-81, 85-86, 91-93, 102, 113-14, 120, 128, 137, 140, 174, 182, 194, 203, 206-07, 230-32, 241-44, 257, 261, 268-69, 280, 293, 296, 306, 310, 324, 334, 351, 364, 382, 387, 391, 399-400, 416, 420-22, 424, 427, 433, 435-36, 438, 462, 466, 473, 496, 519-20, 525, 531.
- Michigan*: 241-42.
- Minnesota*: 123, 205, 295.
- Missouri*: 309, 501.
- Montana*: 273.
- Moravians*: 1, 31, 109, 488.
- Music*: 98, 100, 140, 206-07, 236, 329, 429, 504, 529.
- Nebraska*: 25, 195, 232, 444.
- Nevada*: 482.
- New Mexico*: 40.
- New York*: 36, 96, 198, 211, 223-24.
- North Carolina*: 31, 230, 488.
- North Dakota*: 26, 317, 340.
- Ohio*: 1, 7, 21, 52, 97, 102, 137, 171, 201, 262, 318, 320, 347, 413, 477, 480, 419-92, 504, 523, 533.
- Oklahoma*: 165, 315, 527.
- Oregon*: 490.
- Pennsylvania*: 2, 14, 18, 20, 22, 32, 38, 41, 46-48, 50, 56, 59, 66, 70, 75, 77-79, 86, 88, 105, 108-09, 115-16, 118, 127, 131, 133, 141-42, 147, 161, 163, 166-67, 172-73, 175-76, 177, 219, 228, 269, 279, 287, 289, 300-02, 306-08, 313, 333-34, 366, 378, 384, 391, 396, 402, 433, 439, 445, 455-56, 462, 493, 496, 502, 510, 515-16, 524, 528.
- Press & Journalism*: 65, 125, 146, 294, 345, 384, 423.
- Religion*: 10, 21, 41, 47-48, 57-58, 91, 131, 133, 140-41, 172, 182, 194, 263, 266, 334, 416, 425, 441, 445, 502.
- South Carolina*: 230, 398.
- South Dakota*: 483.
- Swiss-Americans*: 132, 169, 388, 398, 420, 422, 517.
- Tennessee*: 30, 55, 247.
- Texas*: 82, 89, 150, 294, 298, 304, 348-50, 380, 437, 454, 468, 486, 522.
- Virginia*: 319, 364.
- Washington, D.C.*: 429.
- West Virginia*: 529.
- Wisconsin*: 4, 23, 210, 221, 426.
- World War II*: 13, 51, 80, 199, 255, 345, 394, 470.



ENGEL GERMAN LIBRARY
Dept. of Germanic Langs. & Lite.
The University of Kansas

