YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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 German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their progeny from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe. Members of the Society include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *YEARBOOK* is published annually in December. The editors welcome contributions from *members of the Society* in English or German in all areas of German-Americana. The manuscript should be prepared so that it can be read anonymously by the members of the Editorial Board, with the author's name appearing on a separate sheet only. For submission, *three* copies of the manuscript are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to the Editors, The University of Kansas, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 2080 Wescoe Hall, 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.

Membership applications to the Society for German-American Studies should be made to the Secretary/Membership Chairman of the Society, Dr. Robert E. Coley (Millersville University), 330 E. Charlotte Street, Millersville, Pennsylvania 17551.

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

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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FROM THE EDITORS

We were saddened by the untimely death of Carroll Reed, an esteemed member of the Editorial Board, on 7 May 1985. His constructive criticism by which he helped both authors and the *Yearbook* will be sorely missed.

In this volume we are expanding our work into the area of German-American music. We received valuable assistance in musicology from ad hoc Editorial Board members, Theodore Albrecht, Park College, Missouri; Carl N. Shull, Elizabethtown College, Pennsylvania; Edward C. Wolf, West Liberty State College, West Virginia; and in the area of political science from Ronald Francisco, University of Kansas.

Keith O. Anderson, Vice-President of Saint Olaf College, has kindly agreed to join the Editorial Board in the area of linguistics.

The 1985 issue of the *Yearbook* also inaugurates a new section entitled "Reports" to allow for the discussion of projects, collections, and similar matters of interest to those working in the German-American field.

Also included this year is an "Index" of the articles contained in volumes sixteen to twenty of the *Yearbook*. The "Index" is to be published every five years as a regular supplement to the *Yearbook*. We hope that in this way the work in our field can be brought to the attention of a larger audience and that the goals of our Society will become even better known among the people interested in German-Americana.

FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

This volume is the last volume of the *Yearbook* for which I will sign as Editor-in-Chief. May I take this opportunity to thank my colleagues and friends, Helmut Huelsbergen and William Keel, for their indefatigable work as associate editors, and extend my heartfelt thanks to all members of the Editorial Board and the Executive Committee who supported my efforts towards achieving the quality of the *Yearbook*. These thanks are extended also to all members of the Society for German-American Studies who assisted us in promoting the work in German-Americana.

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

December 1985

IN MEMORIAM

Carroll E. Reed

It is always a sad task to announce the death of a respected and valued colleague, but the task is doubly sad when that colleague was also a dear and long-time friend such as Carroll E. Reed was to me for forty-six years, ever since we met as graduate students at Brown University.

He was born in Portland, Oregon, on 8 November 1914. In his youth, the family moved to Seattle, Washington, where he finished high school in 1932 and then attended the University of Washington, receiving a bachelor's degree in German in 1936 and a master's degree in German and Linguistics in 1937. In the fall of 1938 he went to Brown University in order to study with the eminent Germanist, linguist and dialectologist Hans Kurath, under whose guidance he and I wrote joint dissertations on *The Pennsylvania-German Dialect of Berks and Lehigh Counties, Pennsylvania.* The doctorate was awarded in June 1941 and he remained at Brown for another year as an instructor.

In the summer of 1941, Carroll went to Washington, D.C., as a civilian cryptanalyst in the United States Military Intelligence Service. With the end of World War II, he decided to return to the academic life and in January 1946 he began an assistant professorship in German at the University of Georgia, a position which he relinquished after one semester in order to return to the University of Washington. He was promoted to associate professor in 1952 and to full professor in 1959. From 1961 to 1966 he also served as associate dean of the Graduate School. In the year 1953-54, he held a Fulbright research professorship at the University of Marburg, Federal Republic of Germany.

In the summer of 1966, Carroll accepted the challenge of the chairmanship of the Department of German at the University of California–Riverside. He resigned this position in 1971 to become Distinguished Commonwealth Professor and chairman of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst. He served in the latter position for five years, then continued the professorship until he retired in 1983.

In November 1984, Carroll began to have trouble seeing. When his ability to read began to deteriorate, he underwent a full medical examination that disclosed an inoperable tumor in the brain. The disease ran its course with shocking speed. He sank into a coma on 5 May and died on 7 May 1985. He is survived by his wife, seven children and numerous grandchildren.

The death of Carroll E. Reed is a great loss to our profession as a whole and to the field of German-American studies in particular. He was an exceptional teacher at all levels and a good number of doctorates were obtained under his tutelage.

He was a productive scholar and the quality of his work cannot be called into question. Ever since he and I began our fieldwork in southeastern Pennsylvania during the summers of 1940 and 1941, he was known as an outstanding authority on Pennsylvania-German language, literature and general culture. His grammatical analysis of the Pennsylvania German spoken in Berks and Lehigh Counties, based on his part of our joint doctoral dissertations, is still the most extensive, most reliable and most readily useable treatise on this subject. He was the first to investigate thoroughly the reciprocal influences of the German and the English spoken in southeastern Pennsylvania; he coined the term "double dialect geography" for his method of investigating such phenomena.

Carroll still had so many plans, he still had so much to offer that we must deeply regret his death. The span of seventy years seems lamentably short for him. We need teachers and scholars with his commitment to truth and loyalty—we need them badly. One of the bulwarks against mediocrity has fallen. Yes, whether we knew him personally or not, we must mourn his loss. It is as yet impossible to express what the death of Carroll E. Reed has meant to me.

Lester W. J. Seifert
University of Wisconsin–Madison
Madison, Wisconsin

David Luebke

German Exodus: Historical Perspectives on the Nineteenth-Century Emigration

In the century that has elapsed since the crest tide of mass emigration from Germany, historians on both shores of the Atlantic have struggled to understand the causes and patterns of that exodus. Early on their work was motivated by concerns of public policy, which led them, unconsciously perhaps, to overlook the fundamentally international nature of migration. These national perspectives outlived the topicality of their subject, and continued to define migration scholarship until well into the 1950s. Since then, however, the interpretations of German and American historians have converged. National perspectives have given way to structural analyses of the trans-Atlantic migration as a social process unto itself. For German historians, this trend has coincided with a return of emigration scholarship to the service of policy discussions. With an eye to clarifying the problem of foreign guest workers in the Federal Republic, they have helped their fellow citizens to recognize that theirs is less a country of emigration than their national myths suppose.

Already in 1912 Wilhelm Mönckmeier observed that the "various forms of migration have much in common and therefore would best be investigated . . . in terms of their common characteristics," as if to suggest that migration should be treated as an international process, rather than to deal with its constituent categories—emigration, immigration, internal migration, and so forth—in isolation from each other.[1] But he was unwilling to do so. Instead, Mönckmeier chose to examine overseas emigration alone, and to weigh its implications for German colonial policy.[2]

Mönckmeier's volume showed two related historiographical trends that dominated migration research for the ensuing forty years. First, he drew sharp distinctions between emigration, immigration and internal migration. Second, he limited his study to German conditions—he was only mildly interested in Germans once they had left the homeland, and with emigrants of other countries not at all. The scope and content of migration research crystalized around the nation-state, not around

migrants themselves, or around the social and economic changes that propelled their movements. European scholars operating from national perspectives tended to evaluate emigration negatively, as a drain on the life blood of their fatherlands. Their colleagues in America tended to consider immigration in a positive light, as central to their country's national heritage and character.

In succeeding decades several studies challenged the validity of American and European national perspectives. Not until 1960, however, was Mönckmeier's declared preference for a comprehensive view of European migration made an open demand on the academic community. In that year the British historian Frank Thistlethwaite suggested that migration scholars should approach their subject

> . . . as a whole, from a different point of view; from neither the continent of origin nor from the principal country of reception; [they] should try to think neither of emigrants nor immigrants, but of migrants, and to treat the process of migration as a complete sequence of experiences whereby the individual moves from one social identity to another.[3]

He called for a reworking of migration historiography in which the focus would shift to small groups of migrants and to non-normative analysis of the causes, occasions, patterns and consequences of their movements. This effort would lift the "salt-water curtain" separating European from American historians and would constitute "an achievement of the highest order; no less than a study of liberty in the modern setting."[4]

Since 1960 historians have struggled to answer Thistlethwaite's challenge, but this "study of liberty" has proceeded unevenly. Scandinavian historians have led the effort. In Germany, however, where migration research lay in near dormancy since Mönckmeier's day, the "salt-water curtain" has, in one observer's estimation, hardly been rent.[5] Still, some progress has been made. Several historians (American and German alike) have freed themselves from older limitations and have come to interpret the *Auswanderung* in a broader context involving social, economic and demographic developments in both the Old and New Worlds. Moreover, their work has provided the basis for a more refined understanding of German emigration than even Thistlethwaite's, and for a more educated discussion of problems now confronting the Federal Republic of Germany.

Positivist idealization of the state was already coming into question as a leitmotiv of German historiographical traditions when in the 1890s emigration emerged to attract the attention of German scholars.[6] The national perspective took immediate hold on them nonetheless. The state in abstraction guided research, defining its content and arranging its goals in the initial period of emigration scholarship.

Because the *Auswanderung* necessarily involved transit across national frontiers, it drew attention to the German state, its policies and prestige. Thus the international character of emigration prevented discussion of it in any but narrowly national terms. Moreover, it caused emigration to receive more attention than regional migrations within the

empire, even though these involved far more people, at least in the second half of the nineteenth century.[7] In the initial phase, then, concern revolved around questions of policy and administrative history. Only one work from the nineteenth century can be considered a comprehensive, historical overview of German emigration: *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland* (1892), edited by Eugen von Philippovich.[8]

Even so, *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik* was designed to advocate a unified imperial code on emigration that might restrain the human flow across German frontiers. Philippovich maintained that, although strains in Germany's system of rural land tenure lay at the root of emigration, any attempt to rectify inequalities in land distribution would be illusory. Rather, the government should try to divert emigration by improving employment opportunities in Germany's industrial areas.[9] Emigration was thus of interest to Philippovich and his colleagues as an object of policy, not as a social process.

By the time Mönckmeier published *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* in 1912 the last great wave of German emigration lay twenty years in the past, and questions of emigration policy were no longer of burning interest. This waning topicality might have stimulated a broader interpretive vision, but Mönckmeier, like his predecessors, stuck to rigid distinctions among the varieties of migration. His aims perhaps best illustrate the stranglehold of nationalism on emigration scholarship. In contrast to his contemporaries, Mönckmeier saw in emigration a great potential benefit for the fatherland. With the help of colonial policy, emigrants could become a positive force and establish for Germany a worldwide economic empire. ''Then,'' he wrote:

> one will have in Germany fewer and fewer occasions to look upon the . . . overseas emigration as a pure loss, and [we] will be able to obtain from it benefits in the interest of strengthening and enlarging our native political economy and the economic and national vitality of our people.[10]

Although he came to an uncommon evaluation of emigration, Mönckmeier's primary concerns remained tethered to national interest.

It would be unfair to discount the contributions these books made toward greater understanding of the mechanics of migration.[11] Philippovich's book has considerable value in the geographical comprehensiveness of its view, albeit within Germany, and despite the varying quality of the articles in it. F. C. Huber's monograph on Württemberg, for example, overemphasized the attractive pull of the United States, while overlooking the pressures of rural overpopulation caused by Württemberg's system of land inheritance. Still, Huber observed that economic hardship of artisans in Württemberg compounded emigration from that kingdom, a point lost on most later historians.[12] By contrast Lindig's interpretations of emigration from Mecklenburg as a function of pressures in rural society associated with the system of *Gutsherrschaft* have stood ever since.[13]

Mönckmeier, to his credit, emphasized causal factors that more recent historians have accepted *prima facie*. Discounting the attractive

power of America and the effects of emigration agents and propagandists, he chose instead to seek the determinants of emigration in demographic relationships. He found them in overpopulation, which he defined as relative to agrarian productivity and subjective variables.[14] This definition transcended regional distinctions of rural social order and inheritance law, and could account for crises in handworker trades confronting industrialization.[15] Furthermore, Mönckmeier provided a statistical basis for his arguments that became an invaluable source for later historians.

Mönckmeier's volume ended the first phase of German historical interest in the *Auswanderung*, and no book since has attempted to offer so complete a picture.[16] The topic of emigration went into a forty-year historiographical hiatus in Germany. The sole significant exception was Friedrich Burgdörfer's statistical essay, "Migration across the Frontiers of Germany," first published in 1930.[17] Although he refined and expanded some of Mönckmeier's analyses, Burgdörfer offered few new interpretations. Even more than his forebears, he saw emigration "with nationalist blinders,"[18] and even tried to assess the human loss it posed to Germany in capital value, arriving at a figure (with interest compounded to 1927) of 182 billion marks for the period 1820-1926.[19] On the whole, emigration remained for Germans "an embarrassing subject, best ignored."[20] Advances in migration research were made elsewhere during these decades, but in Britain and the United States, not in Germany.[21]

National perspectives also influenced American scholars, though with different consequences. North America had dominated among nations receiving European immigrants throughout the nineteenth century—after 1830 better than half of all German overseas emigrants went to the United States.[22] Immigration was central to the American national experience and American historians preferred to view the migration process from the standpoint of immigrant assimilation. They tended to argue the causes of migration from its effects, and many American-made myths about European emigration resulted, such as the notion that, because many German immigrants settled in urban areas, they had come from German cities, or that their economic success in the United States indicated middle-income backgrounds in the fatherland. Neither of these observations were accurate.[23] On a higher interpretive plane, Americans emphasized fluctuations of the American economy and the availability of cheap, frontier farmland as primary determinants of the course of immigration. American "pull-factors," in their view, outweighed factors of "push."[24]

No scholar represented the "American-centered" interpretation better than the economist Harry Jerome. In *Migration and Business Cycles* (1926), he compared fluctuations in the American economy with rates of immigration from Europe.[25] He identified a close correlation in the cyclical oscillations of both trends, with a one-year lag between them. He also found that correlations between European business cycles and emigration were weaker. This led him to a two-fold conclusion: first, that employment opportunity fueled immigration from Europe and

second, that the American market trend governed its rate.[26] Jerome's findings were confirmed by Dorothy Swaine Thomas' study of Swedish-American migration.[27] Pull, in their opinion, was more powerful than push.

While espousing determinants of the American marketplace, Jerome neglected the European emigrant. Argument from effects led him to see in trans-Atlantic migration a rather amorphous search for jobs, which assumed detailed knowledge of conditions in the American labor market on the part of individual Europeans, and the sufficiency of that knowledge to motivate emigration. Moreover, he failed to examine emigrants' backgrounds. A look at data in Mönckmeier's volume would have revealed to him that most German emigrants were of rural origins, and that they emigrated with their families, intending to farm.[28] Moreover, his analyses did not account for emigration to countries other than the United States. Finally, he did not account for the effects of changes in the industrializing European labor market.[29] Still, his linking of Old and New World economies encouraged an international perspective on migration.

Two scholars, one British and one American, challenged the American national perspective. In 1954 Brinley Thomas expanded on Jerome's thesis, refuting much of it in the process.[30] Thomas compared long cycles in the flow of American and British capital investment with migrations both inside Britain and across the Atlantic. He discovered that surges of British emigration preceded bursts of economic activity in the United States, at least in the second half of the nineteenth century; the opposite, in other words, of Jerome's correlation. This relationship was tied to the impact of British capital investment trends: when investments were heavy in Britain, migrations tended to be directed toward native centers of production. When they shifted to the United States, migration followed capital. Once the American investment and labor markets were saturated, migration shifted back to British foci, and the cycle began anew.[31]

In effect, Thomas had replaced Jerome's static, monocausal hypothesis with a dynamic, interactive model that better accounted for the periodic oscillations in business activity and investment. Also, he phrased his conclusions in terms of an "Atlantic economy" that so closely tied the American and British markets as to render them virtually indistinguishable. He revealed the inadequacies of the old push-pull concept[32] and, as Thistlethwaite observed, "demonstrated that the mechanism [of migration] is at least a two-way process" that "can only be understood by taking into account conditions in both the country of origin and the country of destination."[33] Inevitably the distinction between internal and overseas migrations waned, since both were expressions of international currents in industrialization, urbanization, and capital-flow. Though limited to only two countries, Thomas' "Atlantic economy" was heavy-laden with implications for other nations, including Germany.

While Thomas examined migration in relation to international economic development, Marcus Lee Hansen concentrated on the human

element in European emigration as an important facet of the American experience.[34] Hansen sought to discover how conditions in Europe caused the attractive power of America to vary. Like Thomas, he imagined an interactive mechanism governing trans-Atlantic migration, in which "American conditions determined the duration and height of the waves; European the particular source."[35] His posthumously published *Atlantic Migration* (1940) was an effort to chronicle how these variations were perceived in the minds of individual Europeans and how they were translated into action.

Hansen's work demanded a shift of focus from immigrant to emigrant, it required seeing "the exodus to America" as "one aspect of the growth and spread of the population of Atlantic Europe."[36] His view thus constituted a break with "American-centeredness." But not too great a break: Hansen's interest in trans-Atlantic migration lay in its implications for American history. Greatly impressed with the frontier thesis of his mentor at Harvard, Frederick Jackson Turner, he expanded it to hemispheric proportions. Just as Turner's frontier regulated his understanding of American history, so now an "American magnet" governed trans-oceanic migration.[37] His history "was American, not universal," his departure one of practice, not one of design.[38]

Still, Hansen's work marked an important step toward an understanding of the social and psychological processes by which Europeans transferred their "allegiance to an alien land."[39] He was aware that migration required much of the migrant, materially and mentally, and that conditions at home molded his ability and will to move. By describing these processes Hansen introduced a sociological element to migration history that was alien to the "American-centered" tradition.

In demonstrating the obsolescence of the American national perspective, however, the theoretical achievement of Thomas and Hansen was negative. It remained for Frank Thistlethwaite to translate their refutation into a positive statement of conceptual reorientation. In an address to the Eleventh Congress of Historical Sciences in Stockholm (1960), he suggested two guidelines, one conceptual, the other methodological, by which the full complexity of nineteenth-century migrations might be appreciated. Study of migration should be denationalized (especially de-Americanized), he advised, and should center on the process itself, "supranational in manifestation."[40] Furthermore, historians should view migrants "through a magnifying glass" to discover the mechanics of migration at large. They should, "like good ornithologists," ring individual "birds of passage" to discover migratory patterns.[41] Within a global conceptual construct research should proceed at a microscopic level.

Thistlethwaite offered several new insights and debunked some old ones. First, he suggested that rates of re-emigration might reveal a significant proportion of "repeaters."[42] Second, the effects of immigration should be measured in proportion to host populations. Argentina, for example, received far heavier proportional immigration than the United States.[43] Moreover, he wanted to dispel the "peasant-mass" stereotype of European emigration. Most migrants sought jobs, he

thought, and therefore following technical skill as a "radioactive tracer" through the bloodstream of migration would be more revealing than study of migrants as an "inchoate ethnic mass."[44] These suggestions were designed for a double purpose: first, that the ebbs and flows of migration be understood in the broadest social and economic context and second, that they be interpreted (in accordance with his belief that migrations were motivated primarily by employment needs) in their relation to the industrial and demographic revolutions of the nineteenth century. "The great overseas migration," he wrote, "is in a very broad sense to be treated as a major, but subordinate aspect of European population growth and European industrialization."[45]

Though some of Thistlethwaite's conclusions were proven inaccurate by later research, he succeeded in revolutionizing migration historiography. The stimulus he delivered finally discredited national perspectives, animated a new wave of interest in migration history, and awakened German scholarship from the dormancy it had experienced since Mönckmeier's day.

Two diverse bodies of work since Thistlethwaite's address have also enlivened German emigration scholarship by refining notions of psychological factors in the migration process. In design and content, Mack Walker's book, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885,* is somewhat apart from the mainstream of migration historiography. Walker openly disavows connections to either American or "Atlantic" history. He follows Hansen's impressionistic, narrative style, in contrast to the social science writing of Thistlethwaite's Scandinavian devotees. His book is not about the causes and structures of the *Auswanderung* as such, although its larger point is concerned with them. Nor is it intended for comparative value. Rather, Walker is interested in "the relation between what the emigration was on the one hand and what people thought and did about it on the other."[46] His is a history of ideas on two levels, administrative and popular.

As an intellectual history of emigration policies, *Germany and the Emigration* is of limited value to the study of emigration as an element of international social or economic processes, though as a whole it has been acknowledged as the best recent treatment of nineteenth-century German emigration.[47] Possibly this is because, in analyzing the popular level of perception, Walker offers excellent descriptions of psychological forces at work that only his lively narrative style permits. While charting the wax and wane of the 1816-1817 emigration hysteria in Baden, for example, he illustrates vividly how popular fever could exaggerate highs and lows on long-term emigration trends, an accomplishment that most economic and sociological models cannot equal.[48] Walker's contribution has been to add life and color to otherwise dry, quantitative approaches.

The research project "Sweden and America after 1860: Emigration, Remigration, Social and Political Debate" at Uppsala University has elaborated on Thistlethwaite's ideas using Swedish data.[49] Its members have advocated quantitative social science methods and attempted to shift focus "from studies dealing predominantly with external migrations to internal and seasonal migrations and finally to social and

demographic structures in general, especially the history of the family."[50] In the area of theory, project leader Sune Akerman has warned against reliance on models of economic determinism in favor of interpretive schemes that emphasize the "behavioral aspects of migration."[51] These, he claims, are elastic enough to account for often erratic, short-term fluctuations in emigration rates. While the Uppsala Group has had little direct impact on German scholars, their research has followed similar patterns of emphasis. Scandinavian and German historians together have endorsed a structural analysis of emigration.[52]

In Germany, research of the *Auswanderung* since Walker has emphasized connections between industrialization and social mobility in the broadest sense, meant to include urbanization, emigration and what has been described as long-distance internal migration.[53] Underlying these efforts is a fundamental concern with the evolving structures of production that has directed attention to the late nineteenth century, when Germany changed from "an agrarian state with strong industry" to an "industrial state with strong agrarian basis."[54] Accordingly, German scholars have focused on the third wave of emigration, between 1880 and 1893. True to Thistlethwaite's demands, they have interpreted industrialization and migration as intertwined events, with international causes, mechanisms and patterns. Also, new insights have been applied to the current problem of foreign guest-workers in the Federal Republic.

Several years elapsed after Thistlethwaite's speech and the appearance of Walker's book before scholarly interest in German emigration revived. The first to address the topic were two sociologists, Wolfgang Köllmann and Peter Marschalck, whose collaboratory article "German Emigration to the United States" is still the best concise overview of modern scholarship available in English.[55] Partly in reaction to the vague universality of general behavioral theories and typologies of migration,[56] they devised a tripartite theory to explain the causes, motivations and structures of nineteenth-century German emigration that is bound to the "spatio-temporal" particularities of that process.[57] Central to their understanding of causes is demographic pressure produced by the crisis of agrarian society and industrialization and, intentionally or not, closely resembles Mönckmeier's emphasis on the causal role of overpopulation.[58] To illustrate the social mechanism by which these pressures (themselves capable only of producing "latent" readiness for emigration) are transformed into actual migration, Köllmann offers a behavioral typology of migrations that includes religious, political and economic motivations, to various immediate stimuli of migration and its structures and goals.[59]

Their most influential contribution is a structural characterization of the *Auswanderung*. On the basis of secondary occupational and familial data Marschalck devised a three-stage periodization of structural transformation in the emigration.[60] During the first period to 1865 the *Auswanderung* consisted predominantly of small, independent farmers, artisans and their families, intending to settle rural areas overseas. The majority of these were refugees from overpopulation in Swabia and the Palatinate, where extreme land parcelization had robbed many peasants

of the means to subsistence. To illustrate the severity of these pressures, Marschalck compares the proportion of emigrants to overall populations in the regions affected by *Auswanderung;* in these relative terms the first wave (ca. 1846-1853) was heaviest, even if the most localized.[61] The second period (1865-1895) was dominated by urban and rural proletariats, the latter fleeing the social consequences of rationalized cereal production and seasonalized agricultural labor in East-Elbia. These groups still emigrated in family units with dreams of rural settlement. This is not true of the third phase (1895-1914) when individual emigrants seeking industrial employment overseas predominated.

Marschalck sees an overarching structural change from emigration for settlement *(Siedlungswanderung)* to one for industrial employment *(Arbeitswanderung).*[62] Many historians since have adopted this characterization, but not without qualification, for the causal mechanism used to explain the change suffers from two faults. First, the end of *Siedlungswanderung* is explained away by the so-called "German Frontier Thesis."[63] In it the diminishing availability of cheap farmland on the American plains redirected German emigration to American industrial centers. This explanation, however, assumes that frontier "closure" occurred with sufficient rapidity and finality to cause an abrupt structural change, when in fact it was a slower process spanning several decades.[64] It also does not account for the consequences of retarded industrialization in East Elbia, or for emigrants' unfulfilled intentions.[65] A large proportion of the *Arbeitswanderung* may have been little more than frustrated *Siedlungswanderung.* Second, the scheme relies on proportional rather than absolute statistics. Certainly a higher percentage of German emigrants took industrial jobs in America after 1895; it is also true that in 1895 the volume of emigration had dropped to a third of its level in 1891, a mere sixth of the 1882 crest tide.[66] Thus the structural change corresponded with an absolute reduction in emigration so sharp as to cast doubt on the meaningfulness of Marschalck's characterization. Its faults notwithstanding, the model recognizes and successfully describes a feature of the *Auswanderung* that stands out in the statistics of Mönckmeier and Burgdörfer, namely, that the dominant proportion of Germany's emigrants had rural, agrarian origins, that they were indeed a "peasant mass."[67]

Klaus J. Bade, the first historian consciously to apply Thistlethwaite's ideas to German material, expands on Marschalck's notions of emigration for work and settlement.[68] By emphasizing the ebbs and flows in the international labor market as it responded to industrialization, he overcomes the old, historian's distinction between emigration, immigration and internal migration. These various forms are an interdependent system of human movements inextricably linked to the industrial and demographic revolutions.[69]

Bade extrapolates from the example of East-Elbian Germany in the 1880s and 1890s. Here industrialization and international competition for grain sales shattered the status quo of agrarian society and production.[70] This collapse created an unemployable rural proletariat that, lacking opportunities for permanent jobs elsewhere in Germany, was

compelled to emigrate—and did so overwhelmingly to the United States. In Prussia, demand for seasonal labor caused a continental immigration, mostly from Poland and the Danube Monarchy.[71] Once industrialization in Germany had acquired enough momentum to sustain its own growth, the domestic labor market expanded and emigration was transformed into "long-distance internal migration" to the Rhineland and the Ruhr.[72] Bade's emphasis on industrialization and international labor markets brings with it perils and benefits. On the one hand, it shifts attention to the later stages of German industrialization and, by extention, to the third wave of *Auswanderung*. Earlier waves tend to be neglected. On the other hand, it places German emigration squarely within economic changes of international dimensions.

Bade's work is closer to Thistlethwaite's concepts than his methodological recommendations. He defines a three-fold obligation of social historians to migration studies. First, they should always keep the total migration process in mind as the appropriate field of investigation, second, their analysis should proceed from overarching determinants of "latent migratory readiness" to, third, investigation of specifiable, social and regional variables that transformed "latent" into actual emigration.[73] By study on a grand scale, Bade maintains Thistlethwaite's conceptual holism but departs from his endorsement of the "ornithological" method.[74] This adjustment has the advantage of filling the gap between microscopic investigation and macroscopic context and allows analysis of trends on an intermediate regional or national scale. Thus may the German be filtered from the multitude of nineteenth-century migrations as one, partly unique element of international developments.

More consistent with Thistlethwaite's practical recommendation is the work of Walter D. Kamphoefner. In *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt,* he applies the "ornithological" approach to a group of one hundred families from the Westphalian villages of Tecklenburg and Melle, analyzing local causes of their emigration, following their movements overseas and examining their progress in America. This case study produces some surprising discoveries. First, the effects of inheritance laws were less important as determinants of Westphalian emigration than a critical recession in rural cottage manufacture, or "proto-industry," during the 1840s and 1850s.[75] Next, his findings indicate that the revolutionary events of 1848 aggravated class tensions and provided occasion, if not cause, for the departure of many Westphalian peasants, which suggests that historians ought to reconsider the long-neglected role of political upheaval in the *Auswanderung*.[76] Finally, his comparison of data from Tecklenburg and St. Charles, Missouri, reveals a spectacular increase in prosperity among the migrants, a low rate of return migration, and strong evidence of chain migration, involving temporary residence in American cities en route to farmsteads on the plains.[77] Ironically, these findings refute several of Thistlethwaite's ideas: Westphalian emigrants did not, as a rule, return to Germany, and the ultimate goal of their movements was rural settlement.[78]

Not all research, of course, has been influenced by Thistlethwaite. The work of the research project "German-American Migration during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" at the University of Hamburg led by Günter Moltmann has continued to generate studies that eschew social science methods in favor of more traditional political histories and biographies.[79] The overall impact of the Hamburg project, however, has been limited by a reluctance to transcend description and apply conclusions to larger trends or theoretical refinements, although Kamphoefner sees in its more recent work an effort to correct such shortcomings.[80]

In light of the trend away from national perspectives, it is perhaps ironic that recent work in German emigration should once again be employed by historians in service of policy debate. In numerous publications Klaus Bade has sought to dispel popular myths about place of migration in Germany's past, and to place public discussion of Germany's guest-worker problem in an appropriate historical dimension.[81] Because Prussia successfully enforced a defensive immigration policy against seasonal laborers from Poland and elsewhere during the period of 1880 to 1914, Germany never experienced large-scale immigration like the United States.[82] These actions reinforced the perception of Germany as a "land of emigration," not immigration. The consequences of this notion have not been happy. German governments of all sorts have filled their labor needs by exploiting foreign laborers, while denying them access to citizenship, a practice that Bade believes carries strong racist overtones.[83] Since the 1960s a disparity has arisen between the status and social reality of Germany's guest workers. The social needs of second- and third-generation resident foreign laborers can no longer be met by a "guest worker" policy so-conceived. In Bade's view, Germans must discard their myths, and re-address the problems of foreign laborers in terms of immigration and assimilation.[84]

Bade envisions a more active role for historians in society and politics. In this way he shows the influence of the Frankfurt School and critical social theory. But unlike many of his fellow historians, who advocate the use of history-writing to promote a reformed social order,[85] Bade wants merely to contextualize public debate, to "build a bridge between past and present," not to "offer patent political recipes."[86]

Nonetheless, his present concern brings one aspect of emigration historiography full-circle. In the 1890s and early twentieth century histories of the German emigration were written to answer policy questions raised by the *Auswanderung* itself. History-writing served the clarification of current social problems. After the first years of this century emigration ceased to be a grave concern, but continued to be an embarrassment to Germany's ever-touchy national self-image. Accordingly, interest in emigration history lapsed. Today problems of migration again confront Germany and, building on conceptual advances made in America and Britain, German historians are again applying their energies to clarify an immediate policy issue. Of course, current emigration historians analyze problems that are separate from those underlying the debate they wish to inform. In this sense their mission is more didactic than one of advocacy, at least in Bade's case. A larger

historiographic cycle is nonetheless evident. In his hands, historical scholarship has returned to the service of public debate.

Histories of the *Auswanderung* have changed greatly in one hundred years. They have moved away from the nation-state as a touchstone of interpretation and toward a global view of migration that incorporates business cycles, revolutions both industrial and demographic, social mobility and the oscillations of international labor markets. National perspectives have given way to holistic, thematic approaches to emigration. States and institutions have receded from view as economies, societies and cultures have come to dominate the imagination of historians. Now scholars strive to write a social history of the *Auswanderung,* its total history. This task has barely begun.

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Notes

[1] Wilhelm Mönckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912), p. 1.

[2] Ibid., pp. 1-3.

[3] Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in Stanley Katz and Stanley Kutler, eds., *New Perspectives on the American Past* (Boston, 1972), pp. 48, 51.

[4] Ibid., pp. 48, 70. Perhaps Thistlethwaite was thinking of Forty-eighter Carl Schurz's motto, "ubi libertas, ibi patria" (quoted in Mönckmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung,* p. 49.) Thistlethwaite himself contributed little to this grand endeavor after initiating it.

[5] Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt* (Münster, 1982), p. 1.

[6] Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History* (Middletown, Conn., 1983), pp. 174-95, 229-38. Certainly there had been many scholars interested in emigration before the 1890s. They include, among others, Alexander von Bülow (*Über Organisation der Auswanderung und Colonisation,* [Berlin, 1852]), C. F. W. Dieterici (*Über Auswanderungen und Einwanderungen,* [Berlin, 1847]), Julius Fröbel (*Die deutsche Auswanderung und ihre culturhistorische Bedeutung,* [Leipzig, 1858]), Emil Lehmann (*Die deutsche Auswanderung* [Berlin, 1861]), and Friedrich List ("Die Ackerverfassung, die Zwergwirtschaft und die Auswanderung, [1842]" in *Friedrich List: Schriften, Reden, Briefe* [Berlin, 1928], V, 418-547.) Still, the decade of the 1890s serves as a useful starting point for this paper because only then did the topic of emigration make the transition from its earlier status as a social problem to its new role as an object of historical analysis, a change directly tied to the abrupt end of mass emigrations overseas after ca. 1892. See Peter Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1973), p. 27, and "Zur Entwicklung der historischen Wanderungsforschung in Deutschland," in Willi Paul Adams, ed., *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung in die Vereinigten Staaten. Berichte über Forschungsstand und Quellenbestände* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 1-9.

[7] Wolfgang Köllmann, "Bevölkerungsgeschichte 1800-1970" in Hermann Aubin and Wolfgang Zorn, eds., *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1976), II, 20. Köllmann describes Germany's late nineteenth-century internal migrations as the greatest mass movement of population in its history—from 1860 to 1914 between fifteen and sixteen million crossed provincial boundaries to settle permanently elsewhere in Germany, while roughly 3.7 million emigrated during the same period. Wolfgang Köllmann and Peter Marschalck, "German Emigration to the United States," in Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn, eds., *Perspectives in American History* (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), VII, 518, table 2.

[8] Eugen von Philippovich, ed., *Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1892). Philippovich's volume can be considered historical because, though it dealt with emigration as a social problem requiring governmental response, its editor

perceived that after 1880 the emigration had undergone a fundamental transformation. From then on Germans left their country in sharply decreasing numbers. Philippovich phrased this change in racial terms: from 1890 on what had previously been a "teutonic" immigration acquired a new "romance" and "slavic" character. That the *Auswanderung* was ebbing did not miss his attention. (See his "Einleitung: Die Auswanderung als Gegenstand der Reichspolitik," pp. vii-ix).

[9] Ibid., p. xxiv. An imperial emigration law was promulgated in 1897, well after the emigration had diminished.

[10] Mönckmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung*, p. 269. Mönckmeier's desire to coordinate emigration with colonial policy relates to intellectual trends that, according to Mack Walker, drew conclusions from the emigration experience to propel notions of Germany's colonial mission and destiny. Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 195-246, passim. Further Klaus J. Bade, *Friedrich Fabri und der Imperialismus der Bismarckzeit* (Freiburg, 1975), pp. 54-68, passim.

[11] It is a failing of German historiographical writing on emigration that little attention has been devoted to the historians of this initial phase. Exceptions to this disinterest are the work of Peter Marschalck (see chapter entitled "Die deutsche Auswanderung in der öffentlichen Meinung und wissenschaftlichen Ausdeutung des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts" in his book *Deutsche Überseewanderung*, pp. 16-29, and "Zur Entwicklung der historischen Wanderungsforschung") and Günter Moltmann (see his "Die Deutsche Auswanderung in überseeische Gebiete: Forschungsstand und Forschungsprobleme," in Willi Paul Adams, ed., *Die deutschsprachige Auswanderung*, pp. 10-27).

[12] F. C. Huber, "Auswanderung und Auswanderungspolitik im Königreich Württemberg," in Philippovich, ed., *Auswanderungspolitik*, pp. 252-58. Walter Kamphoefner later incorporated these notions under the rubric of a "protoindustrial crisis" constituting the primary "push-factor" of German nineteenth-century emigration. See Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, pp. 22-56.

[13] Lindig, "Entwicklung und gegenwärtiger Zustand des Auswanderungswesens in Mecklenburg" in Philippovich, ed., *Auswanderungspolitik*, pp. 306-17. Mönckmeier relied on his findings (see *Überseeische Auswanderung*, pp. 77, 80, 120, passim) as has Mack Walker (*Germany and the Emigration*, pp. 166-67, passim).

[14] Mönckmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung*, p. 27.

[15] Ibid., pp. 27-38, 45.

[16] To be sure, lesser works addressed the same questions as Mönckmeier and Philippovich, such as Fritz Joseephy (*Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung seit 1871* [Berlin, 1912]) and August Sartorius von Waltershausen ("Auswanderung" in *Handbuch der Staatswissenschaften*, 4th ed. [Jena, 1924], II, 60-115). None of these approached the same thoroughness of content.

[17] Friedrich Burgdörfer, "Migration across the Frontiers of Germany" in Walter F. Wilcox, ed., *Interpretations*, Vol. II of *International Migrations* (New York, 1931), pp. 313-89. The original German version appeared in the *Allgemeines Statistisches Archiv*, 20 (1930), 161-96, 383-419, 536-51.

[18] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe," p. 49.

[19] Burgdörfer, "Migration across the Frontiers," p. 370.

[20] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe," p. 50.

[21] Under the Third Reich emigration history received renewed attention, now polluted by official Nazi racial doctrines. The only lasting contribution from this period came from Joseph Scheben, "Die Frage nach der Geschichte der deutschen Auswanderung," *Rheinische Vierteljahresblätter*, 5 (1935), 175-82 and *Untersuchung zur Methode und Technik der deutschamerikanischen Wanderungsforschung* (Bonn, 1939), who elaborated a genealogical method for emigration research. See Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, p. 10, and Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung*, p. 26, notes 41-46.

[22] Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration," p. 519.

[23] Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, pp. 16, 55-56. Thistlethwaite also erred in this way. "Migration from Europe," p. 57.

[24] A related trend developed among scholars of ethnic European backgrounds: filiopietist literature tended to emphasize aspects of immigrant culture most in contrast to the American. For a mild example see Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi* (St. Louis, 1953), a thorough study of the tiny group of Saxon Old Lutherans who established the

Missouri Synod and their experiences on both sides of the Atlantic. See also Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, pp. 2, 14-15.

[25] Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York, 1926). "American-centeredness" is a notion of Thistlethwaite's invention. "Migration from Europe," p. 52, passim.

[26] Ibid., pp. 239-44.

[27] Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933* (New York, 1941).

[28] Möncкmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung*, pp. 133-73.

[29] Dorothy Thomas, while refining Jerome's pull-thesis, acknowledged that industrial booms in Sweden lessened emigration, redirecting it to growing centers of industrial production. See her *Swedish Population Movements*, pp. 166-69.

[30] Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth. A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (2d. ed., Cambridge, 1973, first published in 1954). A revision of his conclusions may be found in his *Migration and Urban Development. A Reappraisal of British and American Long Cycles* (London, 1972).

[31] B. Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth*. See especially part 3, chapters 7 and 11, pp. 83-122, 175-89.

[32] Kristian Hvidt, *Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975), p. 75.

[33] Thistlethwaite, "Migrations from Europe," p. 61.

[34] Marcus Lee Hansen, "The History of Immigration as a Field for Research," *American Historical Review*, 32 (1927), 500-18 and *The Atlantic Migration* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940). Brinley Thomas also warned against overlooking the human element in the causes of migration. While he agreed with Jerome that most trans-Atlantic migration could be explained as a search for employment, he stressed that other factors could play a role, such as flight from hunger in the case of Ireland's Malthusian potato famine of 1846. See his *Migration and Economic Growth*, pp. 72-82.

[35] Hansen, "Immigration as a Field for Research," p. 501.

[36] Hansen, *Atlantic Migration*, p. 17.

[37] Hansen, "Immigration as a Field for Research," p. 501. He writes that during the nineteenth century "America was a huge magnet of varying intensity, drawing to itself people of Europe from those regions where conditions made them mobile and from which transportation provided a path" (p. 501). For a protracted discussion of the theoretical implications and off-shoots of Turner's frontier for the study of nineteenth-century German emigration see Günter Moltmann, "Nordamerikanische 'Frontier' und deutsche Auswanderung—soziale 'Sicherheitsventile' im 19. Jahrhundert?," in Dirk Stegmann et al., eds., *Industrielle Gesellschaft und politisches System. Beiträge zur politischen Sozialgeschichte* (Bonn, 1978), pp. 279-96.

[38] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe," p. 49. Thistlethwaite adds that "even in so fine a mind as Hansen's there is always the presumption that the ultimate objective of overseas migration from Europe is North America and even . . . the United States" (p. 49).

[39] Hansen, *Atlantic Migration*, p. 272.

[40] Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe," p. 49.

[41] Ibid., pp. 54, 56.

[42] Ibid., pp. 52, 53-55. He cites the example of so-called Italian *golondrina* (swallows) who regularly migrated from their homes to Argentina, thence to the Piedmont and then back, following seasonal agricultural employment (p. 54).

[43] Ibid., pp. 52, 54.

[44] Ibid., 57-59.

[45] Ibid., pp. 57, 64-66. He elaborates further that "the overseas migration was one . . . result of a revolutionary increase in social mobility which had the effect of creating large numbers prepared to travel in search of jobs" (pp. 65-66).

[46] Walker, *Germany and the Emigration*, p. vii.

[47] Klaus J. Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt im deutschen Nordosten von 1880 bis zum ersten Weltkrieg," *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte*, 20 (1980), 267, n. 3.

[48] Walker, *Germany and the Emigration*, pp. 1-41. See Akerman, "Theories and Models," p. 72. Akerman notes that most models do not account for socio-psychological overreaction to the social and economic pressures that are the larger causes of migration.

[49] A collection of the Uppsala Group's work may be found in Harald Runblom and Hans Norman, eds., *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration* (Minneapolis and

Uppsala, 1976). Sune Akerman provides a synopsis of historiographical developments since Thistlethwaite and the Group's contribution to them in "From Stockholm to San Francisco: the Development of Historical Studies of External Migrations," *Annales Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis,* 19 (1975), 5-46.

[50] Harald Runblom, "A Brief History of the Research Project" in Runblom and Norman, eds., *From Sweden to America,* p. 17.

[51] Sune Akerman, "Theories and Models of Migration Research," in Runblom and Norman, eds., *From Sweden to America,* pp. 20, 71-75.

[52] Above all Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* pp. 96-99 and Wolfgang Köllmann, "Versuch des Entwurfs einer historisch-soziologischen Wanderungstheorie," in Ulrich Engelhardt et al., eds., *Soziale Bewegung und politische Verfassung* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 260-69.

[53] Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," pp. 265-323.

[54] Klaus J. Bade, "Die 'Gastarbeiter des Kaiserreichs—oder: Vom Auswanderungsland des 19. Jahrhunderts zum 'Einwanderungsland Bundesrepublik'?," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht,* 33 (1982), 79.

[55] Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration." Parts 1, 2 and 5 (pp. 499-516, 547-54) are by Köllmann, parts 3 and 4 (pp. 516-47) by Marschalck.

[56] For example Werner Langenherder, *Ansatz zu einer allgemeinen Verhaltungstheorie in den Sozialwissenschaften* (Stuttgart, 1970). For a review and attempted synthesis of universal behavioral models of migration see Hans-Joachim Hoffmann-Nowotny, *Migration. Ein Beitrag zu einer soziologischen Erklärung* (Stuttgart, 1970), and Takenori Inoki, *Aspects of German Peasant Emigration to the United States, 1815-1914* (New York, 1981), for a critical analysis of them on the basis of economic and demographic data.

[57] Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* p. 98.

[58] Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration," pp. 500-01, and Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* p. 60.

[59] Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration," p. 503.

[60] Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* pp. 72-83, chart p. 84 and Köllmann and Marschalck, "German Emigration," pp. 542-47.

[61] Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* p. 40 and Köllmann, "Bevölkerungsgeschichte," p. 29.

[62] Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* p. 83.

[63] Ibid., p. 82. "German Frontier Thesis" was coined by Kamphoefner, *Westfalen,* p. 12.

[64] Kamphoefner, *Westfalen,* p. 12.

[65] Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," pp. 281-83. This objection is substantiated by new evidence of chain migration of coherent family and even village units from Germany to American cities, thence to rural areas after a brief period of financial recuperation. See Kamphoefner, *Westfalen,* pp. 86-122, 156-71.

[66] Mönckmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung,* chart p. 21.

[67] Marschalck, *Deutsche Überseewanderung,* p. 80. As much as 80% of Mecklenburg's emigrants from 1867 to 1874 were rural day-laborers (see Lindig, "Zustand des Auswanderungswesens in Mecklenburg," p. 293, cit. Marschalck, p. 78). See also chart in Mönckmeier, *Überseeische Auswanderung,* p. 164. This conclusion contrasts to Thistlethwaite's "Migration from Europe," pp. 57-59.

[68] Klaus J. Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany, 1879-1929," *Central European History (CEH),* 13 (1980), 348-77 and "Transnationale Migration und Arbeitsmarkt im Kaiserreich" in Toni Pierenkemper and Richard Tilly, eds., *Historische Arbeitsmarktforschung* (Göttingen, 1982), pp. 182-211.

[69] Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," pp. 267-68. His work provides an interesting parallel to the interactive "Atlantic Economy" Thomas postulated for Anglo-American migrations. The greatest difference is Bade's stress on multinational flow patterns of labor rather than on the determining importance of a particular pair of national economies.

[70] Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," p. 305.

[71] Ibid., p. 322.

[72] Ibid., pp. 277, 281-86, passim. This shift Bade associates with Marschalck's scheme of *Siedlungswanderung* and *Arbeitswanderung.* Internal migration carried many characteristics

of overseas emigration. Masurian migrants to the Rhineland, for example, tended to maintain internal group cohesion and identity, at least for a short period, a fact that prompts Bade to refer to Gelsenkirchen as the "New York of the East Prussians" ("Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," pp. 278-80). The idea of long-distance internal migration as an element of industrialization and urbanization is further developed by Walter D. Kamphoefner in "Soziale und Demographische Strukturen der Zuwanderung in deutsche Großstädte des späten 19. Jahrhunderts" in Hans-Jürgen Teuteberg, ed., *Urbanisierung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1983), 95-116, and Wolfgang Köllmann, "Industrialisierung, Binnenwanderung, und 'Soziale Frage,'" *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte (VSWG)*, 46 (1959). According to Dieter Langewiesche rural-urban migration was a two-way process and therefore, even though cities experienced net growth, internal migration is better understood as an aspect of the nineteenth-century revolution of social mobility, a conclusion to which Thistlethwaite would surely concur; "Wanderungsbewegungen in der Hochindustrialisierungsperiode. Regionale, interstädtische und innerstädtische Mobilität in Deutschland 1880-1914," *VSWG*, 64 (1977), 1-40.

[73] Bade, "Massenwanderung und Arbeitsmarkt," p. 269.

[74] See above, p. 6.

[75] Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, pp. 22-56. Kamphoefner suggests that protoindustrial crisis may explain other regional emigrations as well, such as those of Württemberg and even Ireland. Though his major work has been published in German, Kamphoefner is an American by birth and training.

[76] Ibid., pp. 75-85.

[77] Ibid., pp. 123-71 and "Transplanted Villages: Regional Distribution and Patterns of Settlement of Germans in America to 1870," paper delivered to the Social Science History Association, Annual Meeting, Cambridge, Mass., November 1-4, 1979.

[78] Thistlethwaite believed that during the nineteenth century as many as 30% of European emigrants returned home. Kamphoefner points out that this estimate is based on a questionable backward projection of return migration rates in 1907 (*Westfalen*, p. 4). To the problem of return migration see J. G. Gould, "European Intercontinental Emigration. The Road Home: Return Migration from the U.S.A.," *Journal of European Economic History*, 9 (1980), 41-112, Alfred Vagts, *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung* (Heidelberg, 1960), which offers a biographical account of prominent remigrating elites, and Günter Moltmann, "American-German Return Migration in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *CEH*, 13 (1980), 378-92. Moltmann estimates that return migration of Germans reached a maximum of about 20% during the 1870s, a period when overall emigration was at low ebb.

[79] Günter Moltmann, ed., *Deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert: Sozialgeschichtliche Beiträge* (Stuttgart, 1976), and ed., *Germans to America. 300 Years of Immigration, 1683-1983* (Stuttgart, 1982).

[80] Kamphoefner, *Westfalen*, p. 13. He cites Moltmann's "German Emigration to the United States during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century as a Social Protest Movement" in Hans L. Trefousse, ed., *Germany to America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York, 1980), pp. 103-10, and "Nordamerikanische Frontier und deutsche Auswanderung—soziale 'Sicherheitsventile' im 19. Jahrhundert?" in Dirk Stegmann et al., eds., *Industrielle Gesellschaft und politisches System*, pp. 279-96. See also the recent book of Moltmann's student Hartmut Bickelmann, *Deutsche Überseewanderung in der Weimarer Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1980), and Moltmann's own "American-German Return Migration."

[81] Klaus J. Bade, " 'Gastarbeiter' des Kaiserreichs," and *Gastarbeiter zwischen Arbeitswanderung und Einwanderung* (Tutzing, 1983), *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland? Deutschland 1880-1970* (Bonn, 1983). Further Klaus J. Bade, ed., *Auswanderer—Wanderarbeiter—Gastarbeiter: Bevölkerung, Arbeitsmarkt und Wanderung in Deutschland seit der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Ostfildern, 1983), and Siegfried Bethlehem, *Heimatvertreibung, DDR-Flucht, Gastarbeiterwanderung. Wanderungsströme und Wanderungspolitik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Stuttgart, 1982).

[82] Klaus J. Bade, "Politik und Ökonomie der Ausländerbeschäftigung im preußischen Osten, 1885-1914" in Hans-Jürgen Puhle and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, eds., *Preußen im Rückblick* (Göttingen, 1980), pp. 273-99, and " 'Kulturkampf' auf dem Arbeitsmarkt:

Bismarck's 'Polenpolitik' 1885-1890'' in Otto Pflanze, ed., *Innenpolitische Probleme des Bismarck-Reiches* (Munich, 1983), pp. 121-42.

[83] Bade, '' 'Gastarbeiter' des Kaiserreichs,'' pp. 88-92, and *Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland,* pp. 96-124.

[84] Bade, *Gastarbeiter zwischen Arbeitswanderung und Einwanderung,* pp. 52-55, and '' 'Gastarbeiter' des Kaiserreichs,'' pp. 88-92.

[85] For example Dieter Groh, *Kritische Geschichtswissenschaft in emanzipatorischer Absicht. Überlegungen zur Geschichtswissenschaft als Sozialwissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 19, 29, 53, passim. Further Iggers, *German Conception of History,* p. 270, passim.

[86] Bade, *Vom Auswanderungsland zum Einwanderungsland,* pp. 9-10.

Hubert Heinen

German-Texan Attitudes toward the Civil War

Texans and others have long scrutinized the attitudes of German Texans toward the American Civil War and the issues, such as slavery and states' rights, which led up to it. Attitudes of those Germans who lived in Texas from the mid-1800s to 1865 deserve the most attention, but the recollections of these participants as influenced by subsequent developments and the views of later generations of Texas Germans both about the Civil War and its issues and about their ancestors' attitudes are also significant. Despite repeated discussions of the topic, scholars differ about these attitudes. They have typically examined German-Texan attitudes toward the war and conduct during it as part of their own partisan condemnation of or apology for specific actions; some have attacked the German-Texans as traitors to the South or lauded them as true patriots loyal to the Union or, conversely, praised them as having been, for the most part, good Southerners.

This lack of consensus is not surprising, since commentators have tended to focus on one period, often transferring the attitudes found during that period to the whole third quarter of the nineteenth century, and to concentrate on one of the several groups of German Texans, without taking the diversity within the German-Texan community fully into account. The most extensive investigations have been of the antebellum era, with special attention paid to German-Texan attitudes toward slavery and toward secession (Biesele, *History;* Hall; Jordan; Fornell; Buenger, *Secession*). The period of the war itself has also received a fair amount of attention, though much of the scholarship remains unpublished and inaccessible (Lafrentz; Andrews; Hall; Ellsworth; Heintzen; Jones; Tausch). The decade following the end of the war, the period of Reconstruction, is the least well studied, and deserves a thorough, independent treatment (the best general study of the period mentions the German Texans only in passing (Moneyhon; cf. also Heintzen; Jones; Tausch).

In addition to there being three distinct periods, each of which had a profound effect on subsequent perceptions, there are also geographical

and social factors in the composition of the German-Texan community which need to be considered. Especially strong and influential German-Texan communities flourished in Galveston and San Antonio before, during, and immediately after the Civil War. Since the war history of Galveston, which was briefly occupied by Union troops, was far different than that of any other Texas community, the activities and attitudes of its residents were atypical; San Antonio, however, though it had a strong pro-Union faction at the beginning of the war as did Galveston, quickly became a center for the Confederate war effort. The bulk of the German Texans of the period lived in smaller communities such as New Braunfels and Fredericksburg and/or on farms. Here one must differentiate between the older settlements in the "plantation" counties of eastern central Texas (e.g., Washington, Austin, Fayette, and DeWitt) and the frontier Hill Country counties of central (at the time, "west") Texas (e.g., Gillespie, Mason, Kendall), since slaveholders were an important economic and social factor in the former, whereas slaveholding was rare and economically impractical in the latter—and the incidence of both German and American abolitionist sentiment was far higher (Elliott; Jordan). In addition, the frontier counties felt dependent on federal troops to protect the settlers from Indian depredations; it has been repeatedly noted that these counties, whether or not they had appreciable German populations, resisted secession (Elliott; Smyrl; Buenger, *Secession*). However, the settlers in Comal County and its most prominent town, New Braunfels, though they had arrived at much the same time as the frontier settlers, both voted for secession and avidly volunteered for Confederate service (Tausch). An examination of evidence about attitudes reveals that the pattern a summary suggests is actually quite complex.[1]

In the middle of the 1850s an effort by German intellectuals to use a singing festival in San Antonio as a forum to mobilize the sentiments of German settlers in support of abolition not only failed to attract much support, but in fact awakened the "Grays" to voice their support of slavery and disdain for the "Greens" (Biesele, "Convention"; Sass, 89-92; Rippley, 51-54). Despite these vociferous attacks on the abolitionists, from that time onwards Anglo-American Texans tended to regard all German settlers as opposing slavery. In 1857 Frederick Law Olmsted published a report of his trip through Texas, in which he stressed the anti-slavery sentiments of the Germans and thus helped establish an abolitionist reputation for them in the North. The editor of the *Neu Braunfelser Zeitung,* Ferdinand Lindheimer, was one of the most outspoken opponents of the abolitionists, which scholars have quite properly considered an important reason for the somewhat anomalous attitudes of the settlers in New Braunfels (Buenger, "Lindheimer vs. Flake"). These settlers generally had arrived with and often had close familial ties to the settlers in the Hill Country, many of whom were opposed to slavery and subsequently to secession.

General accounts of the German Texans tend to treat them as being predominately Unionist and anti-slavery; however, most scholars specifically concerned with German Texans and the Civil War have looked

at Comal and Austin counties and stressed the prevalence of Confederate sympathies among the German Texans. The ideological bias of the investigators and the spirit of the times in which they wrote have flavored their views strongly; since most of those who write about German Texans and the Civil War are, in fact, German Texans, I frequently cite their comments verbatim, so that the extent to which their attitudes affect the substance of their remarks can be better appreciated.

For an investigation of sympathies subjective sources are quite useful. Letters, memoirs, and family traditions can provide an impression of German-Texan attitudes towards the Civil War, as can works of fiction. I emphasize two fictional narratives. The first of these, a *Novelle*, takes place for the most part in the Hill Country and concentrates on the early stages of the war; the second, a novel, takes place in Austin County, with an emphasis on the later stages of the war. This has influenced my decision to discuss the Hill Country, then "German" San Antonio, then "Confederate" New Braunfels which lies north of San Antonio between the Hill Country and the prairies and river bottoms of the plantation counties such as Austin County, and finally Austin County itself.

Initially the opposition to the Southern cause in the Hill Country was political and organized, and the response to it was to send Confederate troops to make arrests and to increase conscription. Duff's Partisan Rangers harried the Germans as well as the handful of non-German Unionists in the area, arresting members of the Union Loyal League, at least once bringing suspected Unionists to Fredericksburg and shooting them (*Pioneers* 2:47). When some sixty to seventy Union supporters tried to leave for Mexico, Duff's troops hunted them down and, at the Nueces Massacre, killed those who defended themselves, those who surrendered, and as many as they could find of those who tried to escape (Williams, 229-53; Ransleben, 78-126; Shook). Egon Tausch argues, on the other hand, that the Germans were generally good Confederates and supports his argument in part by observing:

> Activated during the height of the disorder in the western counties and lasting through the time of the "Nueces Massacre," the Military Court considered the cases of the prominent German and American Unionists of this period. During its existence, the Court tried seventeen Anglo-Americans for various degrees of disloyalty and found two-thirds of them guilty. Of the many Germans arrested by Duff's Rangers and others, only twelve were prosecuted, and of these, five, less than half, were found guilty, and one case was dismissed as having been "set on foot for malice." Almost all the defendants were from Gillespie County, and prominent Confederate Germans from that county served as witnesses for both the defense and the prosecution. (65; cf. Barr)

Though Tausch is probably correct that anti-Unionist actions harmed the Anglo-Americans more than the Germans, he ignores the tendency of Duff's men to take the law into their own hands, perhaps because they found it hard to get a conviction. In the later years of the war their place was taken by J. P. Waldrip's gang of vigilantes, who sought out,

plundered, and hanged Union sympathizers and anyone else worth robbing (Biggers, 66-79). It was, quite simply, dangerous to be a German in the Hill Country. Ottilie Goeth remarks in her memoirs:

> The so-called Fire Eaters of the South were almost worse than the Indians. Secretly they murdered anyone who was not for the South and who expressed this view too openly. Fanatically they looked upon their actions as heroic deeds. A few miles from Marble Falls, on the road to Johnson City, one can see a place where men favoring the North were killed and thrown into a cavern after a trial of sorts was held there. Many of the best men of this area lost their lives at this spot. . . . After the war, sacks full of human bones were removed from the so-called "devil's hole" [deadman's hole] to be ceremoniously buried in Burnet. (77; cf. Frantz, 195)

To be sure, the vigilance committees were responding to actual cases of harboring conscription dodgers and deserters. "Although he was a Union sympathizer, Julius Ransleben was forced into hauling food and other material from coastal ports to the Texas hinterlands for Confederate forces during the Civil War. These trips separated him from home for long intervals at times. In the meantime, Mrs. Ransleben was providing refuge for two of her family, her brother William Klier and a brother-in-law Julius Schlickum who had escaped the Nueces massacre" (*Pioneers* 1: 170; see the account of Schlickum's trial, as well as those of his close friends Philipp Braubach and Ferdinand W. Doebbler, in Barr, 71: 253-58 and 260-72, 73: 83-90). Becoming a teamster, as Ransleben had done, was a popular way to avoid fighting for a cause one rejected.

This is the ambiance of August Siemering's tale, "A Wasted Life."[2] Though Siemering asserts twice that he has based his work on actual people and events (4, 64), its melodramatic incidents and sentimental plot mark it as a typical newspaper *Novelle* of the time. Clearly we have to take Siemering's protestations that the main characters and events are historical with a grain of salt, but the political opinions and the background actions of the tale are in all probability authentic reflections of local history; the unnamed valley is certainly Sisterdale. It is interesting that a major character, Jackson, an American planter and a dedicated, though humane slaveholder, who at one point contemplates escaping to Mexico with his slaves, is an outspoken supporter of the Union. The son of another American planter, Richard Bradley, on the other hand, represents the stereotypical dissolute and cruel slaveholder who supports the Confederacy.

Siemering shifts the motivation for the explicit misdeeds of the Confederate troops to personal revenge, rather than ideology. His depiction of the Germans' opposition to secession and to slavery suggests that such opposition was complete among the Hill Country Germans. When he established *Die Freie Presse für Texas* as a Republican paper in 1865, as Tausch observes, "the first few issues of his paper set about revising the role the Germans had played during the war, announcing that they had formed a solid Unionist phalanx, except for a few that were 'weak or corrupt,' or 'misinformed'" (72).

Siemering may have considered such avowed supporters of the Confederacy as Charles Nimitz, the enrolling officer for Gillespie County, to be acting to shelter Unionist sympathizers, as they doubtless did to a degree by forming home guard units, for which there was a demonstrable need in the face of increased Indian depredations—Siemering himself was for a time a lieutenant in such a unit.[3] But he also knew German Texans such as Ernst Altgelt, the surveyor of Comfort, and his wife Emma, who were outspoken in their pro-Confederate and pro-slavery sentiments, although, to be sure, as Guido Ransleben points out, Altgelt left his smokehouse door unlatched so that Unionist fugitives could take refuge there. When he testified in military court he mentioned arguing the Southern cause while visiting Sisterdale, and his testimony can be believed (Altgelt, 27-30; Ransleben, 125-26; Barr, 73: 254-55). However, though opinions such as theirs were not the only ones even in Sisterdale, the two figures of Dr. Freiberg and the professor are probably drawn from life and do seem to provide two opinions Siemering heard expressed.

These two figures clearly correspond to the type of forty-eighters by which Sisterdale was founded.[4] Dr. Freiberg argues, in the autumn of 1861, that the more than three to one superiority in population of the North will insure its victory, and that the Germans should let the Americans carry out their *Kulturkampf* and look forward to a future free Texas (47). The professor, however, foresees conscription of the Germans and the ultimate destruction of a South destroyed in the ruins of its own corrupt institutions, having battled in vain against its enemies, namely the entire civilized world (48). Siemering then has Dr. Freiberg flee to Mexico and the professor remain behind and help those who could not leave cope with the situation (93-94). The formation of the Union Loyal League is briefly described, but in the midst of this discussion of German actions an authorial remark about the reaction of the Southern planters to the situation in 1862 shifts the emphasis briefly: "the conscription and confiscation laws were onerous to the haughty planter; it was not part of the plan promulgated by the demagogues and fire eaters the previous year that he should sacrifice his sons, his Negroes, and his draft animals for his country" (59—my translation). The figure of the slaveholder Jackson lends balance to this authorial condemnation of the planter, but in reality the most prominent non-German Unionists in the area were not planters.[5]

The atrocities that Siemering's tale essentially trivializes are too well documented to be ignored; in light of them it is quite natural that subsequent generations of Hill Country Germans have thought of their ancestors, for the most part, as active or passive opponents of the Confederacy. Charles W. Ramsdell cites a district clerk's declaration that Blanco County could not be termed lawless, since the grand jury indictments for murder in the three years after the war were by "loyal" juries for the killing of seven "bushwhackers" during the war (191).[6] Ramsdell (whose account of Reconstruction in Texas scourges the Republicans for fomenting lawlessness and exonerates the Southerners who tried to turn back the clock) apparently fails to recognize that lines were being drawn that have persisted to this day.

Toward the end of Siemering's tale San Antonio is portrayed in a manner that suggests it was a Unionist stronghold, or at least a city with many Union sympathizers, and his portrayal is doubtless generally accurate. Ferdinand Peter Herff, a grandson of one of the most distinguished forty-eighters, also portrays it as such in his family memoir.

> In the city [San Antonio] itself a curious pot pourri of national and ethnic groups, composed of relatively few property owners, created an environment in which sympathy for the Confederacy was noticeably absent. . . . The majority of Dr. Herff's counterparts, German immigrants and their descendants, stood with him in passive or active opposition to the Southern cause. Some demurred to the exigencies of survival in a hostile climate by attempting to carry out their lives in a normal way, maintaining at the same time an attitude of neutrality. Many did what seemed to be the most expedient thing. They openly endorsed the Confederate movement while privately remaining loyal to the federal government. (55-56)

Herff notes that his other grandfather, Frederick Kalteyer, was an avid supporter of slavery, but despite their differences, Kalteyer and Dr. Herff remained good friends (60-62). Anthony M. Dignowitz, who had fled to the North and petitioned Congress to send German troops to Texas, where he was sure they would be aided by the Germans in Texas in overthrowing the Confederate government, was quite comfortable upon his return to San Antonio after the war (Tausch, 59). On the other hand, John Henry Brown notes that J. A. Bonnet, a German who had immigrated in 1845 and who had enlisted in the Confederate Army in 1861, "returned to San Antonio in 1868 . . . [and] states that he found it 'uphill business' to get employment, and was virtually ostracized because of his having been a 'rebel' soldier" (616-17). Charles Nagel, who was given refuge in San Antonio for a time when his father and he were trying to escape to Mexico, recounts that a younger son of Edward Degener told him "how the boys played war in the open streets" and remarks that "San Antonio must have been fairly divided in opinion for a long period just as the State of Texas was." While the two boys were chatting, their fathers were discussing the Nueces Massacre, in which two of Degener's sons had been killed, almost a year and a half earlier, and Nagel remembers seeing "in the next room the mother in black, lying on a bed, utterly crushed by the tragedy" (249; for an account of Degener's trial for sedition, see Barr, 73: 247-68).[7]

The letters of the Coreth family, now available in a careful edition with commentary, give a vivid picture of the complexities of the New Braunfels "Confederate" stance (Goyne). The two most prominent correspondents are Rudolph, who enlisted in the Confederate Army in October 1861, and his father, Ernst, Count Coreth zu Coredo, an Austrian who had migrated with his family to New Braunfels in 1846. Rudolph enlisted, as did two of his brothers (both of whom fell ill and died while serving), and seems at first to have done so from a sense of obligation to help defend his southern home; his enthusiasm for the Confederate cause tends to wax and wane with the situation. A close companion who shared many of his war experiences, Adolph Mün-

zenberger, finally got himself detailed to war work in San Antonio and fled to Mexico before the war was over, something Rudolph may have also contemplated doing (242)—Mexico was an ever-present potential refuge for those opposed to or tired of the war, and not just for German Texans, though these might have had less reluctance to leave the lands where English was spoken.[8] In general, however, Rudolph definitely hoped for, and in the early stages expected, a speedy victory for the South. His father's attitude was more ambivalent, but he, too, seems to have originally accepted secession and supported the Confederacy. As late as 27 November 1864, when he well knew the war was lost, Ernst Coreth was pleased that another son, "the only one of several boys who had grown a year older during the last year," the others having stayed seventeen, reported for enlistment: "I hate falsehood, and I am glad that he too considers it unworthy of us" (151). The letters of both men become more and more devoted to relating a general breakdown of enthusiasm and with this doubtless provide an accurate picture of the times.

Desertion, absence without leave, and draft evasion were conistent problems mentioned in the Coreth letters, and not just among the Germans. Draft evasion, which was not the problem in Comal County it was elsewhere, was not unknown there. According to one account, a New Braunfelser had the duty of watching "the San Antonio road for the approach of soldiers sent out to round up slackers," and to warn the Germans staying at his father's house. "Whenever some one hove into sight who might have been a conscription officer, the men fled up the ravine and hid in the dense brush and among the boulders" (Andrews, 36). Thus not even "Confederate" New Braunfels supported the Southern cause unanimously.

What was the situation like in the "plantation" counties? Nagel's vivid account of life in Austin County in the early years of the war is told from the perspective of a young boy who apparently only imperfectly understood what was going on (206-55). For instance, though he stresses the fact that his father, a physician, was an outspoken Union sympathizer who could withstand attacks from Southerners in the first two years of the war because his services were needed, he fails to understand the relevance of the family's subscription to the *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal,* an abolitionist periodical edited by a forty-eighter, a German intellectual (Wittke, 221), about which he remarks "[i]t must have had much that did not pertain to crime or it would not have been admitted into our home" (92). In a broad retrospective accounting, Nagel states, at times surely guided more by wishful thinking than by certain knowledge, that

> our misison was to find security and comfort and freedom. Even the attitude of the German immigrants to the institution of slavery was not given any particular attention then. . . . All would probably have gone well . . . but for the controversy about slavery and union, which became more and more keen, and at last penetrated even our remote haven of peace. Sentiment and opinion were well divided; and until the issue pressed for decision, the German element, although it could not escape

> attention and criticism, found satisfaction and protection in the fact that its sentiments had powerful and aggressive champions in some of the popular leaders of Texas. But after the decision was made, that picture was changed. . . . On both great issues the German element was completely committed to the unpopular side. . . . In our section fealty to the State determined the course of the young men of German ancestry. . . . We did our duty; but we did it regretfully. Our heart was on the other side. (234-35)

Nagel, of course, did not "do his duty," but rather left the state, and no one can fault him for that. He must have known, however, that his generalization that all Germans opposed slavery and secession was false, just as his implication that all Germans were obedient to civil authority, to the "State," was not universally true.

Adalbert Regenbrecht recalls, and his account can be considered typical for Austin County, that the "Germans of Millheim were Democrats, but, as the Democratic Party in the Southern States was for slavery, many Germans did not join said party." When a vote was cast whether or not Texas should secede from the Union, "[n]inety-nine votes were cast against secession, eight for secession at the Millheim-Catspring [sic] box." He adds that "[m]any Union men of our neighborhood enlisted in the Confederate Army because they believed it to be their duty" (30). Many of the Germans in Austin County had come to Texas early and were in greater sympathy with the Southerners than were the Germans of the Hill Country. Nevertheless, as Regenbrecht's account reminds us, there was no unanimity about the matter (see also Trenckmann, *Austin County,* 18-19; von Roeder, 76, 119-22, 156-57, 201, 205-06, 258-59). As long as the conscription laws allowed numerous exemptions, the settlers accepted them. To an extent, they seemed to have used the home guard, as did the Hill Country Germans, as a way to avoid being conscripted into regular army units. Only when the laws were made more rigorous did they rebel. In the fall of 1862 conscription efforts were increased, and in January 1863 a rebellion broke out in the plantation counties, largely, though not exclusively, supported by the Europeans (Germans and Czechs), that was not quelled until martial law was declared (Elliott, 470-75; Smyrl, 133-35; Hall, 93-100). C. W. Schmidt, though he was not an eyewitness, having been born in 1869, probably reports sentiments and actions among the Austin County Germans accurately when he writes that

> The whole county was in a tumult and starvation seemed inevitable to the settlers and their scantily clad and poorly fed families. Some of the settlers shouldered their guns and marched off in defense of their beloved South, while others were employed by the government in Houston, and still others went out hiding to escape the conscript chasers and then returning to their families after nightfall and helping them till the soil by the light of the moon, in hopes of making a crop to sustain them. . . . Conscript chasers were the most despised individuals in the state. These scouts . . . spent much of their time hunting for those out hiding to escape service in the army. They would sometimes visit the farmhouses and turn everything topsy-turvey. On one occasion, the

> scouts accosted mother and her little brood in an effort to obtaining [sic] information as to the whereabouts of her husband and neighbors. Mother calmly answered, speaking in German: "In den Krieg," meaning . . . [gone to] war whereupon the scouts requested she repeat the words which she had said, and she did putting stress and emphasis upon the word "Krieg." "Do you mean to say they are hiding in the creek?" asked the one nearest her. She nodded in the affirmative. "Thank you." shouted the scouts, galloping away towards the creek in search of men they never found. (22-23)

This, then, is the situation in Austin County to which William Andreas Trenckmann refers in his serialized novel, *The Latin Farmers on Possum Creek*. Possum Creek is apparently Millheim, Trenckmann's home town, though there are a few anomalies: For example, according to Nagel, who lived during the early years of the war in Millheim, the most prominent American in the neighborhood was Sam Swearingen, who was a rabid Unionist (45-46, 214-15)—no such figure appears in Trenckmann's novel, which suggests we should take care not to consider it an exact reflection of historical events. To be sure, the author makes no such claim, in contrast to Siemering. The novel clearly reflects a local historian's notions, some forty years after the fact, about what people's attitudes were during the Civil War; the author had been a young boy some five to ten years old during the time he portrays.

The action begins in the late autumn of 1864; the Southern cause has lost its appeal for all but the most devoted. Trenckmann presents two families headed by patriarchs with opposing views who have agreed to remain friends, Sartorius and Lüttenhoff. The latter is first seen scouring a newspaper to see whether his son, who enlisted in the Confederate Army despite his father's express prohibition, has fallen in the siege of Richmond. He remarks to himself:

> every sensible person must know that the last prospect of victory has vanished for a Confederacy torn into three pieces. And yet they fight on, further hecatombs are sacrificed, and the poor country is being sucked dry, because the slave barons in their stubborn blindness do not want to give in. And now even Kuno is supposed to enlist and perhaps sacrifice his young life to the accursed cause. I have spent the night worrying whether it was right to take his oath, as he requested, on the American flag he found hidden in my desk, that he not fight against the Union. But surely I have done the right thing and maybe even saved his life. (12/25/07—my translation here and subsequently)

However, Kuno's father, Sartorius, "since he had lived much longer in Texas, had come to the conviction that slavery was a necessary institution for the South and he had voted with but a few of the other German citizens of Possum Creek for secession although he must have long since told himself that the South had little chance for success in a battle with the superior force of the North" (12/25/07). Although he knows nothing of the oath, he is somewhat disturbed that Lüttenhoff, his son's teacher, has been filling Kuno's mind with anti-Confederate thoughts. We have already learned from a conversation between Lüttenhoff's young daughter, Hedwig, and Kuno that the latter plans to escape to the bush

rather than let himself be conscripted; Hedwig had remonstrated, "My father means well, I'm sure, but he's an old man and has other reasons than you do to hate the Confederacy. But you've grown up here, and I think every real man should fight for his homeland. . . . Even if the South must lose, I can't conceive of your hiding when others go to war and shed their blood for their country" (12/25/07). The first episode of the novel, then, sets the stage for a tale of divided loyalties, and our expectations are not disappointed, though the question becomes more tangled than we might have thought.

Before anything remarkable happens another pair of opposites is introduced: Großenberg, a fiery supporter of secession, and Dr. Winzig, an idealistic abolitionist; the two are inseparable friends. The four men, Sartorius, Lüttenhoff, Großenberg, and Winzig, sit down with some squabbling about divergent ideals to a game of whist, but the game is soon interrupted by the discovery that Kuno had played a practical joke on Hedwig, sending her on a wild goose chase, and now she is obviously lost and being subjected to the full force of a norther. Kuno then, after he and she experience some hair-raising adventures, rescues her, in the process meeting a German adventurer, a dying man, living in a hide-away deep in the forest, who urges him not to desert his country, no matter how much he may condemn secession: "Our homeland may have a bad government, or that may be our opinion, but it still remains our homeland nonetheless. It is better to join our fellow countrymen in a wrongful battle than to become a man without a country as I have done" (1/23/08).

Kuno decides to enlist rather than dodge the draft, which pleases his father but alienates his teacher, Lüttenhoff, who views his decision as a breach of promise. Rather than follow the vagaries of a complicated plot, I will just mention an interlude and its consequences: A draft dodger who was hiding in the bush, Joseph Herwisch, is hunted down and pressed into service by conscript chasers when he comes to the deathbed of his daughter (after the war we meet Herwisch again and discover that he is driven out of his mind by hate and suspicion). His seizure at his daughter's deathbed occasions a conspiracy among many of the Germans to attack the American conscript chasers, a conspiracy that Lüttenhoff has to use all his powers of persuasion to stave off.[9]

The further war-time adventures of Kuno, who serves in the Louisiana campaign, bring us no more than half way through the novel, and though much of what follows is devoted to Kuno's wooing and winning Hedwig Lüttenhoff and, what is far more difficult, being reconciled to her father, a significant portion of the novel protrays the social upheavals in the aftermath of the war.

Trenckmann's fictional account makes something vividly clear that the other accounts, even the memoirs, tend to obscure: the division of opinion about the war among the Germans, as among the Americans, cut through generations and even through individuals; it separated, but did not necessary alienate, friends.[10] Although, of course, the figures are imaginary—even where they may have been based on actual figures Trenckmann knew—the multiplicity of their motivations and the vary-

ing moral quality of their convictions are more convincingly portrayed than those of Siemering's artificial and essentially two-dimensional protagonists and antagonists. That may, of course, be due to a shift in literary models; Trenckmann was following a more realistic tradition. It may also be significant that he felt no necessity to justify his own role in the times he depicts (as Siemering apparently had) and only a slightly greater necessity to justify German Texans becoming Confederate soldiers, as his older brothers had done. In any case, Trenckmann's portrayal of slightly ridiculous but nevertheless honorable supporters of both the Union and the Confederacy among the Germans, of Confederate heroes and Confederate villains, of weak men and women and strong ones, is a significant and neglected historical document of the German Texans' understanding of their role in the Civil War.

All these accounts, of course, with the exception of the one in those of the Coreth letters I have mentioned, really reflect the aftermath of the Civil War as much as they do the war itself, since all of them are influenced by experiences subsequent to the war. This is most obviously the case in *The Latin Farmers on Possum Creek,* to be sure, where the plight of the Austin County residents immediately after the war is depicted directly and where the excesses of Reconstruction are sketched in from the rural perspective. However, the German Texans' attitudes toward the aftermath of the war remain to be chronicled; they appear to be even more complex than their views of the war itself.

In summary, the prevalent notions among historians about German-Texan attitudes toward the Civil War need correction. Almost no attention has been paid to how subsequent generations of German Texans have understood and interpreted their ancestors' role in and attitudes toward the Civil War; this sketch can only begin to correct that lack. The assumptions about Hill Country abolitionists/Unionists and plantation county secessionists are basically correct, but they fail to account for the great diversity of opinion within each region. Most of all, the historical accounts have failed to portray the internal divisions caused by the Civil War within the German-Texan community, within families, and even as a crisis of conscience within individuals.

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Notes

[1] For maps of the eastern and western counties, including settlement patterns before (and after) the Civil War, see Jordan, 41 and 46.

[2] Siemering's father-in-law, Louis Schuetze, was one of those murdered because of his Unionist sympathies, cf. Ragsdale, 186, n. 13 and 16. For more information on Siemering see Lich, "Goethe" 63-69, and Cade. Siemering's tale has been adapted in English, but the adaptation (Francis) distorts the plot so grotesquely that it gives a completely false picture of Siemering's ideas. For example, Jackson joins the Confederate army.

[3] Cf. *Pioneers* 1: 149; 2: 2; for a fuller picture of Nimitz, see Toepperwein, *Rebel:* this historical novel was clearly carefully researched and seems to be based in part on family traditions—Toepperwein was a descendant of Charles Henry Nimitz; Nimitz's testimony against Braubach (Barr, 71: 262-64) suggests that he was a ruthless enemy of the Unionists.

[4] Biesele, *History* 171-72; Lich, "Goethe" 51-69; Gustav Schleicher, one of the 'Forty' Lich describes so well, actively supported the Confederacy: Schott, 62-63; cf. Lich, "Goethe" 53-54.

[5] Several of the Unionists involved in the Nueces Massacre were not Germans (cf. Ransleben, Shook); J. R. Radcliff from Fredericksburg was a Northerner banished from the Confederacy as a "Black Republican" (Barr, 73: 272-77). A. J. Hamilton, a prominent Texan Unionist who was forced to hide out in the hills west of Austin and then flee to Mexico, may have been conspiring with the Germans (Lich, *Texas Germans* 97; Waller, 35-36); though he was neither a slaveholder nor a planter, Siemering certainly knew him well and may have used him as a partial model for Jackson.

[6] The word *bushwhacker* in current usage denotes "certain Confederate guerrillas in the Civil War" *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* (Springfield, Mass.: Merriam 1961)—as used by Ramsdell's source, however, it apparently refers to the Germans hiding from the Confederates; that is the meaning of the term in the records Barr has published (73: 262).

[7] Nagel became a United States Senator from Missouri and served as Secretary of State and Commerce under President Taft.

[8] For a brief general account of the importance of Mexico for the Civil War see Crook, 155-84; McGuire describes the importance of Mexico as an escape route for German Texans, and also provides a vivid description of the lives of some Unionists in the Hill Country and San Antonio, 22-29.

[9] For a fuller summary of *The Latin Farmers* see Heinen, 35-36.

[10] For a brief note on the divided loyalties of Austin County residents Arnold Matthaei and his fiancée Clara Schlecht (who subsequently, under the pseudonym of Gertrud Hoff, became one of the most important German-Texan poets and was a close friend of Trenckmann) see Bartscht, 40-41.

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Philip V. Bohlman

Prolegomena to the Classification of German-American Music*

Whether viewed from the broad vantage point of American music history or within the more prescribed borders encompassing the diverse ethnic folk musics in the United States, German-American music and musicians have been among the most influential shaping forces of American music. Magnifying this influence has been the highly emblematic role of music in German-American society, inseparable from a symbolic role accorded German culture in the nineteenth century. One need only examine the censuses of the earliest American symphony orchestras to realize that their mid- and late-nineteenth-century propagation in the New World would have been impossible without the virtual transplantation of trained musicians from Central Europe.[1] In several cases, such as the Germania Musical Society, entire musical ensembles emigrated from Germany, influencing profoundly the standards of musical performance in the United States.[2] That bastion of German folk song, the singing society, arose also in North America as a ubiquitous *Vereinswesen* that could muster German-Americans from village and city to reinforce ethnicity with song. Concepts of German music education, too, were inculcated in America by the legions of American students who studied in German music academies.[3] Even German-American religious music acquired special significance for the ethnic church because of the Reformation musical traditions spawned and absorbed by Protestantism.[4]

Despite this complex and pervasive role in German-American cultural history, music receives scant analytical attention from historian and musicologist alike, beyond the admission of its dramatic import and the enumeration of famous musicians bringing this about. When examined, German-American music seems manifest in only two forms: first, as a curiosity preserved by somewhat less representative groups, such as the Amish; and second, as a wholesale product somehow dished up to the mainstream society for more proper disposition therein. German-American music seems thus to lack a vital individuality, existing instead as

mere historical artifact or losing all identity at the moment of contact with other music. The vast area of musical change lying between these poles of preservation and abandonment remains perplexing and unexplored. It is, however, exactly in this area that music identifiable as German-American still thrives; here it is interwoven with and supportive of other aspects of German-American culture and ethnicity. Lacking is the necessary analytical framework to place these genres of music in their proper perspective and to illustrate the ways whereby music is in many senses central to German-American concepts of culture.

In the present article I shall endeavor to identify some of the reasons why the functions of German-American music for that group and for mainstream American society remain shrouded in misunderstanding. I submit that this misunderstanding derives from the special problems of acculturation and assimilation attending German-American culture. These patterns of cultural change, moreover, are directly paralleled by the patterns of musical change specific to music in that culture. Accordingly, the usual interpretive modes of the folk-music specialist or musicologist might well be insufficient or inappropriate in the case of German-American music. I shall propose, therefore, the outline of an approach to interpreting and classifying German-American musical activity based largely on the social and institutional structures of German-American culture. This approach addresses musical change as an inevitable product and reflection of acculturative patterns particular to the ethnic group and thus may serve also as a means of better understanding such patterns of change.

Concepts of Music and Musical Life in German-American Ethnicity

Basic to problems of understanding German-American music is its seeming inseparability from the musics in the mainstream of American society. This problem of identification is evident at both a broader structural level of German-American culture and within the nature of German music itself. It is this broader level that Kathleen Neils Conzen has called the "paradox of German-American assimilation."[5] According to Conzen's persuasively argued interpretation, German-American ethnicity is distinct from that of other ethnic groups not only because of differences in background and history, but also—and more significantly—because of quite different patterns of assimilation and acculturation. Conzen asserts that particular cultural values, rather than the formation of ethnic communities enclosed within cultural boundaries, are central to German-American ethnicity.[6] These cultural values are seldom dramatically overt expressions of ethnic behavior that set German-Americans apart from other ethnic groups. Instead, the cultural values assume more subtle forms that strengthen internal cohesion and patterns of expression. Rather than altering interaction with other groups, such values have a meaning only clearly perceived by the group itself. German-Americans may thus be rendered "invisible" as a group,[7] despite their predominance in sheer numbers among ethnic

groups in the United States. Separability and inseparability from a mainstream society are, therefore, less related to change within the ethnic group. Whereas assimilation may well have progressed farther than with certain other ethnic groups, acculturation has lagged considerably behind. Any attempts to identify and investigate cultural values must take place at a more subliminal level rather than at the peripheral interface with other groups and mainstream society.

This paradox is even more evident when musical concerns are taken into consideration. Stated simply, German-American music of all genres is more American than the American. Some genres were readily accepted as prototypes for developing styles of American music; nineteenth-century orchestral music perhaps best exemplifies this phenomenon. At a more technical level, German music acquired those traits recognized as ''Euro-American'' or ''Western'' before the music of other national and ethnic groups.[8] German folk songs in the United States usually tend toward full seven-note scales without gaps, thus making the occurrence of modes other than major and minor very rare. In contrast, many folk songs of British origin in the United States, which have historically been the primary object of folk-music collectors, frequently possess only five-note, or pentatonic, scales.[9] The gaps inherent in such scales make it very difficult to harmonize with the chordal patterns usually applicable to melodies in major and minor modes. The appearance of triadic melodies with implied harmonic function (i.e., the melody itself outlines specific chords) can be identified at a historically earlier stage of development in German folk song.

German music also bears witness at an early stage to the impact of urbanization, such as the impingement of writing upon oral tradition. Urbanization further effected a breakdown in the differences between art, religious, and folk musics. The musical genres in each of these levels were distributed with much wider currency throughout German society than was the case for other national and cultural groups. Perhaps the most important characteristic of German music was the relatively high rate of musical literacy, even associated with the performance of folk music.[10] Musical literacy, moreover, ascribed an even higher cultural value to the music, thereby rendering its meaning to German-American society more complex.

German-American music, too, is clearly plagued by a paradox. Much of it seems ''invisible'' when viewed from outside the group; and yet its complex development bespeaks a special cultural value for the ethnic group. This paradox imputes to the study of German-American music the potential to reveal not only some of the group's essential cultural values but also the ways whereby these values determine ethnicity. Because of its complex nature the practice of music *ipso facto* comprises central ethnic values. For example, folk music acts as a means of preserving language. The practice and performance of music is often carried out by organizations, whose myriad functions for an ethnic group also shape it from within. Music is both fragile and resilient when subjected to the pressures of acculturation, suffering from neglect over

time but lending itself also to revival at moments of resurgent interest in ethnicity.

Examination restricted to German-American music itself does illumine some reasons that assimilation might have been facilitated. In its shortcomings such examination also points to the need for a more social scientific interpretation of German-American music. With such an approach, change, rather than preservation or stability, becomes the focus of investigation. How does music function in German-American society, and what are the concepts associated with music in that society? What patterns of behavior are associated with the performance of German-American music, and what do these reveal about concomitant social structure? It is the answers to these questions, not simply collections and descriptions of musical artifacts, that will allow us to unravel the distinctive role of German-American music.

When approaching music for the answers to questions like these, it is necessary also to broaden the concept of music and to probe for a broader set of cultural meanings. In the present article this will be achieved by employing Alan P. Merriam's tripartite model of music's primary functions in culture: "conceptualization about music, behavior in relation to music, and music sound itself."[11] According to this model the sound of music is only one order of evidence for the study of music in culture. More important and more sweeping in the interpretation that they afford are musical concepts and behavior. Thus, the concepts associated with a folk-music repertory prior to immigration usually differ radically from the concepts several generations thereafter. Through examining the behavior associated with German-American religious music, a more fundamental approach to the interpretation of religion as an aspect of ethnicity may be engendered. Musical sound, behavior, and concept, of course, interact and influence one another. The determinants of the paradoxes of German-American music, however, lie embedded in the conceptualization of ethnic cultural values. The examination of music and musical behavior in German-American society should, therefore, take place with the explicit goal of discovering musical concepts and the deeper level of cultural meaning they embody.[12]

The Continuum of Musical Change in German-American Music

In order to arrive at a system of interpretation that more fully embraces all aspects of musical activity in German-American culture, I am proposing a series of descriptive categories that define processes of musical change rather than discrete musical repertories, that is musical sound itself. These processes (Figure 1) occupy a continuum of cultural change and often overlap and intersect. Their application to particular repertories or genres depends on both historical moment and geographic setting. Thus, a single folk song might be described by any or all of the processes, depending on where and by whom it was sung and on what sorts of musical behavior were associated with it.[13]

Figure 1

Processes of Musical Change in German-American Culture

Continuum Poles	Predominant Processes	Related Processes	Occasional or Special Processes
Complete Abandonment			
	Impoverishment		
	Classicization	Museumization	Satire
	Consolidation	Synthesis	Diversification
	Modernization	Revival	Urbanization
		Westernization (Americanization)	
	Marginal Survival		
Complete Preservation			

At the poles of the continuum stand two processes that, I believe, rarely occur, namely complete preservation and complete abandonment. In earlier studies of cultural and musical change, preservation was generally presented as an ideal. Any erosion of the original repertory of an immigrant group meant also the loss of an imagined pristine quality in the musical culture. In such studies the structure of folk cultures was measured only as it resembled communities, usually rural, in the old country, thus transforming any kind of change into an immediate enemy.[14] Abandonment, on the other hand, was the accomplice of assimilation, a weather-worn cloak to be tossed aside when more comfortable surroundings were acquired. Change always preceded abandonment, but could proceed in only a single, inexorable direction before folk music was no longer present. Still, a survey of ethnic groups throughout the world turns up no group that has successfully preserved—or even sought to preserve—its complete musical culture when displaced because of immigration. The considerable diminution of human and institutional resources would make this impossible. To preserve under such conditions would mean stultification, and stultification would quickly lead to decay. Abandonment, too, seems not to have transpired, even though a few cultural groups, such as some aboriginal Australians, imagine that it has.

My concern here, then, is with the processes intermediary along the continuum. The five predominant processes that I observe along the continuum are ones I have identified in the German-American musical cultures of Wisconsin and in the musical activities of German groups elsewhere in the United States and the world. Dominant among these processes are those protective of values in different ways central to the German-American's concepts of music. These I have included on Figure 1 under four larger categories: classicization, consolidation, modernization, and marginal survival. All of these recognize and accept musical

change as inevitable, but do not find its path ineluctably leading toward disappearance of the distinctiveness of German-American music. In contrast, the fifth major category, impoverishment, results when the cultural values inherent in ethnic music are exchanged for those with different meaning. This exchange of values also leads to new functions for music within the ethnic group and new musical activities of the group elsewhere in the larger society. Accordingly, ethnic music may not be completely abandoned, but it has only limited importance and symbolic values when compared with other types of music.

That new meaning for cultural values is not always the harbinger of impoverishment is borne out by classicization, a process with relatively more significance for German-Americans than for many other ethnic groups. Through classicization traditional change is altered so that a cultural value or the repertory encapsulating that value remains fixed. The ethnic group thus accords special meaning to the value and consciously transfigures it as a symbol. One common means of achieving classicization is transforming oral into written tradition. German and German-American composers often isolated those values they deemed central and then reworked them into different forms. The plethora of nineteenth-century "folk songs" with texts by Goethe and Schiller is probably the best example of this process. In the realm of Protestant religious music, attempts to retrieve Reformation hymns by nineteenth-century German-American Lutheran synods stemmed also from a desire to classicize a period of religious and liturgical history.[15]

Classicization can lead to other processes, especially those in which the delegated cultural values become dysfunctional (museumization) or even parodies of themselves (satire). Museumized repertory has been identified as potentially bearing special symbolism and is to that end preserved. Lacking is suitable musical behavior within a given social structure, the result being the eventual enervation of the repertory. Satire is hardly absent in German-American music, especially those genres that would project the German-American as a beer-drinking polka fanatic; here, the false sense of ethnicity belies the reality of German social gatherings in the New World.

The most widespread process of change for an ethnic group is consolidation. Diverse types and styles of music are often combined into a single repertory, yielding the form of consolidation that transpired rapidly during the early history of the German-American singing society. The diverse functions of music may also be subject to consolidation, especially when a few types of musical behavior come to predominate. In rural Wisconsin a major manifestation of consolidation was the breakdown of functional differences between religious and secular music. Traditions of hymnody entered the home, just as secular music entered the various religious institutions in a community.[16] Music and musical behavior that are consolidated tend also to play a more central role in the entire musical culture and thus represent a distillation of concepts relative to ethnic music. The consolidation of religious and secular musics in rural Wisconsin resulted in a new tradition in which new cultural values were at work. Such values were no longer strictly

those of the Old World, but were instead concomitant with the ingathering of diverse regional and occupational groups.

To the extent that new cultural values resulting from consolidation become central to the ethnic group, one may observe synthesis. Synthesis of musical behavior in some German communities of the Midwest occurred at the locus of performance organizations. Choral performance achieved a special role, both for secular and for religious music, hence facilitating the sharing of repertory and members by both organizations. In many areas of rural Wisconsin, the German-American singing society was, in essence, the same as the German Protestant church choir. In the same communities, the German "church band" also performed for a wide range of musical activities, serving both within the church and in the manner of a community social orchestra.[17]

Extremely tenacious retention of central values is evident in marginal survival. This process tends to result in the preservation of music by a particular group, but usually of only a limited repertory. That repertory, in turn, must be protected against musical change encroaching from the outside by musical behavior differing sharply with that of the mainstream society. So extreme is this process among the Amish that their music is often cited as the textbook example of marginal survival.[18] The application of marginal survival to Amish culture in America may, in fact, have caused the process to become too closely associated with that single subsociety, rendering it thereby genre- and repertory-bound. The approach may also lend itself to a less dramatic application, such as the association of chamber music with nineteenth-century Romanticism and the educated German *Musikliebhaber.*[19] Yet another example would be the survival of specific venues for a few, symbol-laden songs.

Modernization is the best acculturative parry to assimilation. It allows the context of musical performance to change—usually reflecting contexts in the mainstream society—but does so in order to solidify the cultural values represented by the music. Revival is the most widely known example of modernization. It relies often on the emergence of new musical concepts and behavior in order to repackage an older, often vanishing, repertory. Revival may depend on other aspects of modernization, such as dissemination by recordings. Westernization, the usual counterpart to modernization in the interpretation of ethnic music, is not appropriate in the case of German-American music because of that music's extreme manifestation of Western musical traits. If, however, we supplant Westernization with the term, Americanization, we might better describe the social transformation that occurs when German-American dance bands adopt neutral trappings to present their music to an audience that is not representative of any single ethnic group.

Cultural Change and the Music Itself

I shall now turn briefly to the application of a few processes described in the previous section to songs collected from German-American communities in Wisconsin. The examples are intended to represent songs and performances that usually receive too little attention from the scholar because the music is deemed commonplace or the

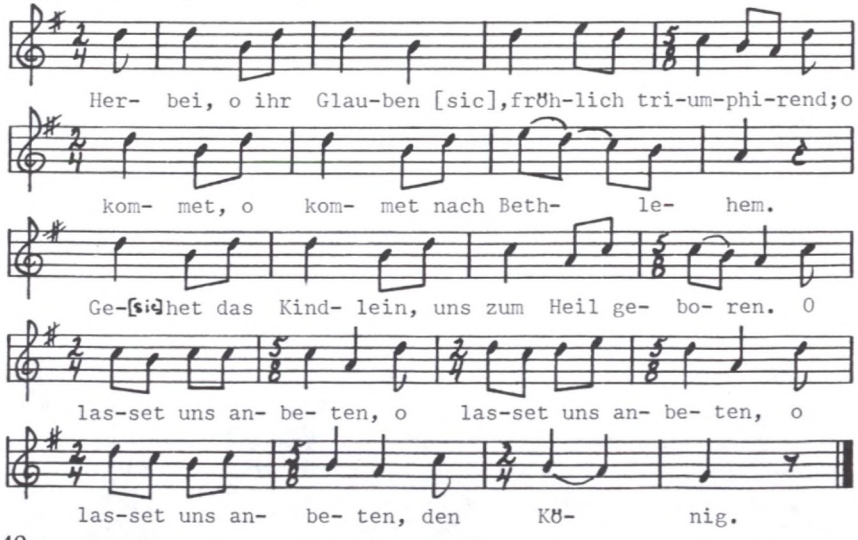
performances unsuitable for recorded anthology. Others receive too much attention because they are the vestiges of a tradition that has actually subsided. Such songs as the following usually challenge the researcher's expectations, effecting bewilderment and relegation to the back of the archival drawer. Yet interpreted in light of the preceding continuum, they reveal the persistence of a dynamic and changing tradition.

The first example was collected in 1977 during fieldwork in northern Wisconsin. The version of "Herbei, o ihr Gläub'gen" that appears as Figure 2 is not simply a variant of that well-known Christmas song. It is, instead, an example of the rather extreme consolidation of an earlier diversified repertory in this region. The singer combines two melodies, the usual and that for "Ihr Kinderlein kommet," thus reshaping and partially preserving both. The melody of "Ihr Kinderlein kommet" is most clearly discernible in the first three lines, whereas "Herbei, o ihr Gläub'gen" finds its clearest statement in the refrain that begins with line four. Such a combination is really not so very unlikely and is no doubt encouraged by the essentially dactylic meter underlying the opening of both songs. Most important, this process of consolidation has succeeded in removing "Herbei, o ihr Gläub'gen" from strict association with the fixed traditions of the church, nudging it instead into the oral traditions of folk music, where it may well even absorb other melodies.

Figure 2

Herbei, o ihr Gläub'gen

Singer: Olga Goeke — August 18, 1977
♪ = 138 mm. — Antigo, Wisconsin
Originally sung in D Major



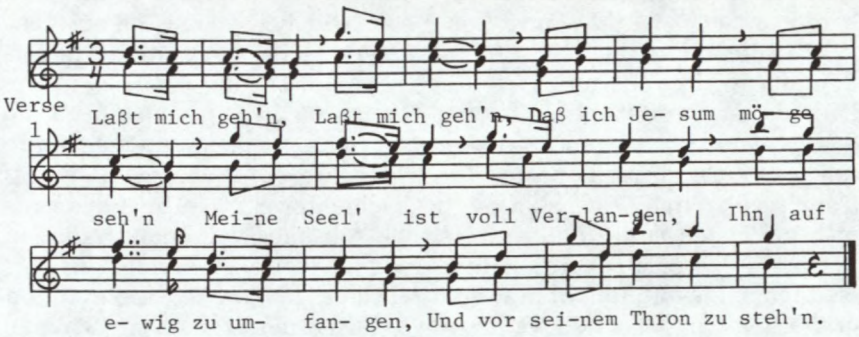
One of the most interesting transformations in the rural German-American community of the Upper Midwest is the secularization of religious musical traditions, a process that exhibits various patterns of consolidation. Figure 3 is extracted from the repertory of two singers living in Bonduel, Wisconsin. The two singers always perform together and utilize harmonized versions. Though sung without reference to music, the versions are almost exactly the same as those printed in songbooks found in the community.[20] The performances of these singers mark a wide variety of social functions observable throughout the community. Some of these may be still related to the church, but most are now devoid of specific religious function. Although the music itself has not changed, the behavior and concepts associated with it have.

Figure 3

Laßt mich geh'n

Music by Karl Voigtländer
Text by G.F.L. Knat
(*Unser Liederbuch* 1893?:239)
♩ = 50 mm.

Meta Brusewitz, Soprano
Clara Stuewer, Alto
January 11, 1978
Bonduel, Wisconsin

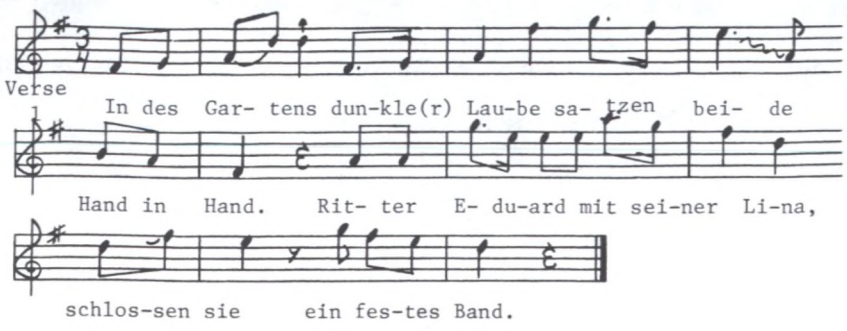


The next example should be a ballad collector's jewel, turning his eyes back to Europe, where the relations among different ballad repertories are still the subject of considerable investigation. "In des Gartens dunkler Laube" is a German variant of the Child Ballad, "Lord Lovell," number 75, and one of the most common ballads from Francis James Child's corpus of primarily Anglo-Scottish song.[21] This German variant, recorded in 1946 by Helene Stratman-Thomas,[22] exemplifies marginal survival. But the performance tradition that survives is not so much a remnant from Europe, to which one would be hard-pressed to trace it from Wisconsin, but from the Schlitz Palm-Garten in Milwaukee, where the singer performed it as a young woman in the social context of an immigrant community.

Figure 4

In des Gartens dunkler Laube

Singer: Ella Mittelstadt Fischer — August 27, 1946 (Stratman-Thomas)
♩ = 88 mm. — Mayville, Wisconsin



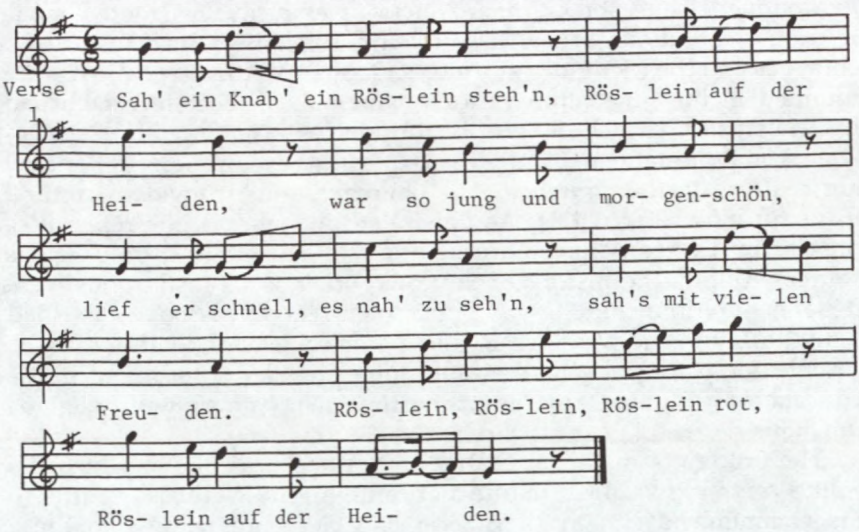
The final example is a type of revival. Performed by the Merrill German Club of northern Wisconsin, this common version of "Heidenröslein" represents the transformation of a regional repertory through the appearance of new performers, who emigrated from Germany just before and after World War II. Songbooks widely used in rural northern Wisconsin prior to the 1940s do not contain "Heidenröslein," despite its ubiquity in the repertories of urban German singing societies in the United States and Central Europe. The reason for this stems from the basic orientation of nineteenth-century immigrants in the region to religious musical traditions and the relatively gradual entrance of songs from secular traditions. Although "Heidenröslein" is by no means unusual in the larger body of German folk music, its appearance in northern Wisconsin along with a specific group of immigrants has resulted in the injection of new cultural values into the musical tradition of that region. These new values have, furthermore, signaled a change in the basic conceptualization of German-American music, stimulating its continued practice in the region because of the ability of the tradition to countenance change.

Figure 5

Heidenröslein

Text: Wolfgang von Goethe
Music: Heinrich Werner
♪ = 138 mm.

Singers: Merrill German Club
Wausau, Wisconsin
January 15, 1978



Cultural Change and Musical Behavior

Practices of German-American music are most difficult to distinguish and define in those venues where one might presume its repository to be the most expansive: a small, rural town settled almost entirely by Germans. There one would expect to find elderly residents with extensive repertories of German folk songs and to discover social gatherings accompanied with music long ago abandoned by assimilated groups. Such dreams of pristine German folk culture, however, are rarely fulfilled.

If one broadens the interpretation of German-American music to include musical behavior and to elucidate the local conceptualization of music, the musical activity within the rural community emerges. Such was the case in Bonduel, Wisconsin, a small town of approximately 1,000 northwest of Green Bay, in which I conducted fieldwork four times from 1977 to 1979 and again in 1985. A town whose residents have been almost completely German in background since its inception in the mid-nineteenth century, Bonduel is furthermore surrounded by other largely German towns. Because of this continuous contact with German-American culture for over a century, my original intent was to collect folk songs and, further, to examine the degree to which relatively isolated musical genres might survive in such a setting. But folk songs

were not to be found in abundance, nor were there social institutions, such as singing societies, that maintained the more classicized versions of German folk songs. Rather than through a diverse repertory of folk songs, Bonduel's German musical heritage found its primary expression through religion and religious organizations. Within these organizations, moreover, there was remarkable diversity, which in turn yielded new functions to the genres of religious music.

Bonduel's sense of German-American ethnicity lies rooted in its religious institutions. The Missouri and Wisconsin Synod Lutheran churches and the Methodist (formerly German Methodist) church were founded in the nineteenth century, and only a recently established fundamentalist church is not historically associated with German-American Protestantism. The primary musical organizations in Bonduel are centered in the churches. The churches, thus, provide a cultural focus for musical activities. As illustrated by Figure 3, the repertories present in diverse performance settings derive largely from religious sources. During the history of the town other social institutions were dependent on the churches. A public high school was not established until 1939, and the Missouri Synod parochial school continues to be strong. The parochial school system long provided a means of music education for Bonduel, undergirding the town's music with religious functions.

The process of historical change in Bonduel was one in which the values central to local German-American ethnicity were also central to the community's churches. Musical behavior bore witness to these cultural values and had become one of the primary means for their expression. Examined only in terms of the music itself, the German repertories of Bonduel were clearly derived from the hymnals and religious *Gesangbücher* in many homes. The performance of the songs, however, had diversified. By the mid-twentieth century local performance transcended both home and church and pervaded community activities as a reminder of a history in which ethnic values were consolidated within a few, limited musical repertories.

Cultural Change and the Conceptualization of Music

Study of musical behavior often leads to a more complete understanding of the cultural history of a particular region or community. Conversely, it may be the closer observation and recounting of history that lead toward the understanding of changing patterns in an ethnic group's conceptualization of music. As musical behavior responds to different social settings, concepts of music change accordingly. When an ethnic group alters its concepts of music, one of the processes of change in Figure 1 usually ensues.

The music of German-Americans lends itself quite well to historical examination because of its frequent development within particular organizations, themselves serving as institutional responses to changing cultural values. It is for this reason that I shall offer a brief historical overview of the German-American singing society as an illustration of

changing concepts of music within a relatively fixed musical institution. The overview and the historical periods determined here are intended as general descriptions, rather than accounts of individual singing societies. As such, they may speak to somewhat broader musical values and concepts, as well as broader cultural values for German-American society.[23]

The development of German singing societies in the United States falls roughly into four periods, each of which is characterized by distinct concepts of appropriate music and musical activity. These concepts have changed because of the need to respond to historical pressures both inside and outside the ethnic group. During the earliest historical period (ca. 1835-1885) musical programs varied greatly and contained a relatively small percentage of works drawn from the German folk-song literature.[24] Interlacing *Männerchor* standards were arias from operettas, works for social orchestra or band, solo performances, and sundry other genres; the exact ordering of such programs depended largely on the specific chorus, the region in which it was active, and the occasion for the performance. Most members of singing societies during this period were first-generation immigrants and had no special need to assert their ethnicity through song. Many singing-society activities were intended only for other German-speaking Americans, but the mere perpetuation of the organization itself symbolized the values intrinsic to it. Between 1885 and 1920, singing societies diversified their programs and activities, undergoing in the process a period of classicization. Two basic types of music are generally to be found on programs from this period: standard German *Volkslieder* arranged for chorus (usually mammoth and male) and works from the standard orchestral literature of Central Europe (usually with an emphasis on virtuosic playing and concerti). Classicization of ethnicity, thus, assumed two forms, one of them rising from German folk music, the other emphasizing the place of German culture in the history of Western art music. For various reasons, not the least of which was the impact of two world wars with Germany, the third period of development (1920-1950) was characterized by consolidation. The mammoth concerts of the second period, intended as they were to draw external attention to the musical offerings of the German singing societies, were reshaped and refined for the group itself. Repertories were greatly reduced, but retained an emphasis on classicized works. Classicization thus achieved even more distilled form. During the final period (1950 to the present) consolidation has become manifest as revival.[25] The repertory of many present-day singing societies is completely classicized and purely symbolic. Within the larger context of German-American music, museumization can be observed, for preservation of certain symbol-laden songs from the past dominates the preparation of concert programs.

The gradually changing concepts of music reflected in the history of the singing society reveal also changing patterns of ethnicity. Just as the singing society had to respond to social pressures and a constantly shifting balance of membership from different immigrant generations, so too were the cultural values central to German-American society in

constant flux. Because of their responsiveness to change, the concepts of music emerging from the history of German-American singing societies possess the potential to reveal certain cultural values that were presumed invisible or even absent. Like other aspects of ethnic expression, changing concepts of German-American music are engendered by those consciously aware of unremitting values essential to their own vision of German-American ethnicity.

The approaches to the interpretation and classification of German-American music and musical activity that I have introduced in this article offer the advantage of cutting across the boundaries established by standard methodologies for the study of ethnic groups in the United States. Thus, they do not require that the researcher stuff German-Americans into ghettos or determine those levels of the subsociety at which structural assimilation has or has not occurred. On the contrary, these approaches accept a broad spectrum of change that cannot easily be packaged in the usual wrappers for the ethnic-group model.

The ultimate aim and value of these approaches would be that of contributing to a more comprehensive history of German-American music. This in turn would yield new perspective to the cultural history of the ethnic group and contribute multifariously to the diverse areas integrated by the interdisciplinary focus emphasized by the field of German-American studies. Collaboration among historian, musicologist, folklorist, and linguist would not only be encouraged, but facilitated because such an interpretive framework demands broadly inclusive, rather than narrowly technical, data. If indeed we begin to accept the history of German-American culture as one in which a more profound adherence to distinctive cultural values belies the appearance of assimilation, our study must plumb the values central to that distinctiveness. Subscribing to the premise that German-American music is one of the most salient and fundamental of such values, the approaches introduced here are intended as steps in that direction.

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Notes

* The present article is an expanded version of a paper presented at the Eighth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, April 27, 1984. The folk and religious songs from northern Wisconsin, as well as the related ethnographic data, were collected while I was undertaking fieldwork on various occasions from 1977 until 1979 and again in the spring of 1985. I gratefully acknowledge the University of Chicago Center for Continuing Education for enabling my study of German-American singing societies in Chicago with a Midwest Faculty Seminar Occasional Fellowship during 1983-1984. Fieldwork in Pittsburgh was made possible by an Andrew W. Mellon Postdoctoral Fellowship at the University of Pittsburgh during 1984-1985.

[1] The census cited most frequently in studies of German-American cultural history is that for the New York Philharmonic in 1890, at which time 89 of the orchestra's 94

members were German. See Frédéric Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1890), p. 356; Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States,* Vol. II: *The Influence of the German Element in the United States* (New York: Arno Press, 1969 [1927]), p. 261; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* ed. by Stephan Thernstrom et al. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), p. 425.

The influence of German music and musicians on art music in America decreased significantly after World War I, when France supplanted Germany as a more important center for musical study abroad, at least until World War II; see Alan Howard Levy, *Musical Nationalism: American Composers' Search for Identity* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983). Since World War II, the Federal Republic of Germany has again assumed an important role in the training of American musicians, especially in areas such as opera and musicology.

[2] H. Earle Johnson, "The Germania Musical Society," *The Musical Quarterly,* 34, No. 1 (January 1953), 75-93. Of the five "immigrant orchestras" arriving in the United States during the 1840s, Johnson observes that four were constituted primarily of German members (pp. 77-78).

[3] Levy, pp. 8-9.

[4] See Philip V. Bohlman, "Hymnody in the Rural German-American Community of the Upper Midwest," *The Hymn,* 35, No. 3 (July 1984), 158-64.

[5] Kathleen Neils Conzen, "The Paradox of German-American Assimilation," *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* 16 (1981), 153-60.

[6] The most influential theory of ethnic-group boundaries is that of Fredrik Barth, which is most fully stated in Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Ethnic Groups* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969); building upon Barth, Anya Peterson Royce expands the model of boundaries in her *Ethnic Identity: Strategies of Diversity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

[7] Andrew M. Greeley, *Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaisance* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974), p. 112. Though describing German-Americans as an "invisible ethnic group," Greeley shows that internal ethnic mechanisms are unquestionably present and often override other social demands on the group (pp. 111-20).

[8] Admittedly fraught with problems, the distinction between Western and non-Western music has come to form a canon for modern musical scholarship. Regardless of the particular allegiance chosen for the more subtle issues of this distinction, few would question the central role of German music in the nineteenth century, when the "common-practice period"—the central stream in the development of Western tonal-harmonic complexity—culminated before the onset of modernism.

[9] The most common pentatonic scale may be produced by playing only the five black notes of the piano.

[10] Fairly widespread musical literacy undergirded the singing-society movements among Germans in both Central Europe and the United States in the nineteenth century; see, for example, Theodore J. Albrecht, "The Music Libraries of the German Singing Societies in Texas, 1850-1855," *Notes,* 31, No. 3 (March 1975), 517-29.

[11] Alan P. Merriam, *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), p. 32.

[12] Merriam, p. 33.

[13] The approaches here are derived from several recent theories of musical response to culture contact. The continuum introduced here is intended as an application of these theories, rather than modification of them. See Margaret J. Kartomi, "The Processes and Results of Musical Culture Contact: A Discussion of Terminology and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology,* 25, No. 2 (May 1981), 227-49; Bruno Nettl, "Some Aspects of the History of World Music in the Twentieth Century: Questions, Problems, and Concepts," *Ethnomusicology,* 22, No. 1 (January 1978), 123-36, and *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), pp. 349-54; Amnon Shiloah and Erik Cohen, "The Dynamics of Change in Jewish Oriental Ethnic Music in Israel," *Ethnomusicology,* 27, No. 2 (May 1983), 227-52.

[14] Attempts to collect Anglo-Scottish ballads in the Appalachians earlier this century proceeded in exactly this way. Only those versions reflecting no change qualified as authentic folk music, and all other types of music were ignored. See, for example, Cecil J. Sharp, *Folk Songs from the Southern Appalachians* (London: Oxford University Press, 1917).

[15] Bohlman, "Hymnody," and Carl Schalk, *The Roots of Hymnody in the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965).

[16] Bohlman, "Hymnody."

[17] Musical repertory often followed the same path of organizational synthesis. Songbooks published by the Protestant German-American church presses, such as the ubiquitous *Lieder-Perlen* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House) and *Unser Liederbuch* (Reading: Pilger Buchhandlung), were interspersed with secular folk songs. The Antigo (Wisconsin) Publishing House specialized in the printing of music for the German church band.

[18] John A. Hostetler, *Amish Society,* 3rd ed., revised (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980), pp. 224-30; Bruno Nettl, "The Hymns of the Amish: An Example of Marginal Survival," *Journal of American Folklore,* 70 (1957), 323-28; John Umble, "The Old Order Amish, Their Hymns and Hymn-Tunes," *Journal of American Folklore,* 52 (1939), 82-95.

[19] For a study of the special role of chamber music in the musical culture of the German-Jewish ethnic community in contemporary Israel, see Philip V. Bohlman, "Central European Jews in Israel: The Reurbanization of Musical Life in an Immigrant Culture," *Yearbook for Traditional Music,* 16 (1984), 67-83.

[20] *Unser Liederbuch* (Reading: Pilger Buchhandlung, 1893), p. 239.

[21] See "Lord Lovell" in Bertrand Harris Bronson, *The Traditional Tunes of the Child Ballads,* Vol. III (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 189-217, for different versions of the ballad from the Anglo-Scottish tradition.

[22] Tapes of the Stratman-Thomas Collection are held in the Mills Music Library at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

[23] The following overview is based largely on my study in 1983-1984 of German singing societies in Chicago, descriptions, records, and documents of which are held in the Chicago Historical Society and the Special Collections of the Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. Summary of the most recent period of development is based largely on fieldwork with singing societies in Pittsburgh during 1984-1985.

[24] The dates assigned to such periods are necessarily approximate and may not take into account all local and regional differences. This is especially true during the first period, when singing societies in the Eastern United States took root before those elsewhere in the country. It is notable, however, that developments in the subsequent periods were relatively more coeval throughout the United States, thus allowing one to speak with more accuracy of national patterns of change.

[25] In the recently published history of the Washington Sängerbund, this contemporary period is called the "Second Rebirth," a denotation I take as equivalent in this context to revival. See Frank H. Pierce III, *The Washington Saengerbund: A History of German Song and German Culture in the Nation's Capital* (Washington, DC: The Washington Saengerbund, 1981), pp. 129-82.

Rainer Sell

Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati, Heinrich Armin Rattermann, and *Der Deutsche Pionier:* A Nucleus of Nineteenth-Century German-America

Der Deutsche Pionier-Verein von Cincinnati (DPVC) was founded in 1868 and existed for ninety-three years until March 1961.[1] According to its bylaws, its purpose was to renew and deepen old friendships and to record the experiences and history of the German pioneers in Cincinnati and environs by collecting relevant materials. Members had to be German immigrants, male, at least forty years of age, and residents of Cincinnati and environs for at least twenty-five years (*DDP* 1 [1869-70]: 27-28).[2] By 1930, the minimum residence requirement had been dropped completely and replaced by United States citizenship and command of the German language (*Vorstands-Bericht des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins* 62 [1929-30]: 17). The national and historic importance of the DPVC is primarily based on its publication *Der Deutsche Pionier,* in existence from March 1869 to 1887, when it was replaced by the considerably less ambitious annual *Vorstands-Bericht* (Proceedings). *Der Deutsche Pionier* is generally considered an indispensable source for the history of Germans in the United States.[3] It owes its quality and high reputation particularly to Heinrich Armin Rattermann, editor of the journal from 1874 to 1885, self-taught historian, archivist, poet, journalist, co-founder and secretary of the German Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Cincinnati, one of the spiritual founding fathers of the DPVC and a central figure in Cincinnati's German-American cultural life.

The combination of a vigorous ethnic society (which documented its activities minutely), a journal of national, historic renown, and a dedicated, at times controversial editor resulted in one of the most productive, successful, and representative attempts at establishing a viable German-America in nineteenth-century America. The study of the symbiosis of the three elements allows insight into mutually supportive relationships, the questions that concerned the three, and the causes of the relatively short life of the journal in its original form.

Nativism, especially the Know-Nothing movement of the 1850s with its political planks for temperance legislation, increased residence requirements for voting, and the reading of the Protestant Bible in public schools had rallied Cincinnati's German-Americans to protect their political interests and traditional way of life.[4] The forty-eighters, refugees from the abortive 1848 Revolution in Germany—among them many intellectuals—had bolstered the numbers of Cincinnati's German-Americans, stimulated their cultural and political activity, and awakened a greater sense of pride in their German heritage. Against this background of an increased German-American self-respect, the foundation of the DPVC is an expression of a growing awareness among German-Americans of previous German contributions to the development of Cincinnati and the United States in general. The society's motto "Willenskraft—Wege schafft" (where there's a will, there's a way) is a concise outline of its philosophy: an ethnic minority expressing pride in its heritage and demanding recognition of its achievements and way of life within a predominantly Anglo-American environment. The very name of the society seems to rival that of the American Pioneer Society of Cincinnati which was founded in 1856 (*DDP* 18 [1886-87]: 296). At a time when the idea of America as a melting pot of foreign nationalities appeared to be the unchallenged official doctrine, the philosophy and the program of the DPVC suggested an alternative whose boldness and novelty can only be compared to the demands of minorities in the United States for bilingual education and preservation of their cultural identities in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. Inherent in the DPVC's program is a demand for a German-American social and cultural existence distinct from the mainstream of American life and thus the potential for conflicts with American society. World War I was to highlight this problem for the DPVC in the most tragic way.[5]

Among the founding fathers of the DPVC were Dr. Joseph Pulte, Christian von Seggern, and Joseph Siefert. The committee to draft a constitution consisted of Jos. A. Hemann, Nic. Höffer, Michael Pfau, Joseph A. Pulte, Friedrich Heinrich Röwekamp, and Joseph Siefert. The first president of the DPVC was "Squire" Hanselmann (*DDP* 1 [1869-70]: 26). The year 1877 shows 977 regular and twelve honorary members. In 1876, the society authorized the foundation of *Zweigvereine* which soon came into existence in neighboring Newport and Covington, Kentucky (1877), as well as in Dayton and Toledo, Ohio (1878). There was some social exchange between these pioneer societies, and the *Zweigvereine* had their events and proceedings published in *Der Deutsche Pionier.* By 1890 membership in the DPVC had dropped to 343. One of the major reasons for this decline must be seen in the dissension within the DPVC over the publication of *Der Deutsche Pionier.* As early as 1872-73 Karl Rümelin, at that time editor of the journal, had to remind the members of the DPVC to support the good public cause of *Der Deutsche Pionier* by subscribing to the journal (*DDP* 4 [1872-73]: 428-29). Karl Knortz, editor of the journal from 1873-74, was dismissed, because he did not edit the journal "den Prinzipien und dem angesetzten Zwecke des Vereins gemäß" (*DDP* 6 [1874-75]: 40). The question of

continuing the journal was raised again and again. In June 1884 the secretary of the DPVC, F. W. Gerstle, complained about the deficit the journal had accrued again and about some 400 members (more than half of the DPVC's membership at that time) not having paid their dues (*DDP* 16 [1884-85]: 167). Gerstle also voiced criticism of Rattermann, the editor: his lack of communication with the *Vorstand*, his tardiness and incomplete reporting of minutes (*DDP* 16 [1884-85]: 530). The change from a monthly to a quarterly publication of *Der Deutsche Pionier* in 1885 and to the modest annual *Vorstands-Bericht* in 1887 was a financially sound measure, but affected the harmony within the society.[6] It took away the initiative and enthusiasm of those who considered the journal an integral part of the DPVC's program which distinguished it from other German societies. In 1900 membership was up again to 667 and in 1910 up to 865. World War I with its strong anti-German sentiment in the United States made it difficult for the DPVC to continue its traditional activities. The fifty-ninth anniversary celebration took place under police surveillance, and the traditional German speech planned for the event had been forbidden by authorities. But austerity also helped to bring Cincinnati's German-Americans closer together. Membership increased during the war years and reached 1015 in 1918. Even prohibition, although a serious threat to German *Gemütlichkeit*, did not interrupt the DPVC's activities, although membership decreased: 707 members in 1931, 307 members in 1938. According to Christian Weishaupt, president of the DPVC during its last years, the society had sixty members when it dissolved for lack of membership and participation in 1961.

The main regularly scheduled activities of the DPVC were the monthly meeting (for business and social purposes), the annual business meeting to elect officers, the inauguration of the officers, the celebration of Washington's Birthday (beginning in 1876 and gaining in importance with the years), and the *Stiftungsfest* (the anniversary of the DPVC, usually celebrated in May or June). The latter was by far the most festive and conspicuous. It was an expression of traditional German *Gemütlichkeit* and conviviality worthwhile preserving and demonstrating to an American public. It united old and young, the whole family, friends, and guests. A German band would lead the festive train of pioneers on their way from the *Vereinshalle* to pleasant locales such as Inwood Park, Bellevue House, Eichler's Garten in Corryville, or the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens. On arrival, the pioneers would join their families and friends for picnicking, bowling, shooting at targets, conversation, singing, drinking, and dancing. At the center of each *Stiftungsfest* was a speech by a German-American Cincinnatian of some standing such as Brühl, Rattermann, Rümelin, Hassaurek, Emil Rothe or Gustav Tafel (to name a few outstanding personalities from the halcyon days of the DPVC). Occasionally, a speaker from outside was invited such as Gustav Körner, Lieutenant-Governor of Illinois, who addressed the DPVC on May 27, 1873. The speech would invariably elucidate and praise the achievement of Germans in America. Often the mayor of Cincinnati or the secretary of the American Pioneer Society of Cincinnati

would find words of admiration and gratitude for the German contribution to life in Cincinnati and the United States. The harmony of the anniversaries seemed to come close to the vision of a German-American ideal: the fusion of the desirable economic and political conditions in America with a cultural, social, and emotional life deeply rooted in Germany.

By 1875, a choir had constituted itself within the DPVC which was to provide the musical background for joyful and solemn occasions in the society throughout its history. Trips to Germany were organized, the first of which took place in 1882. In 1883, the DPVC initiated festivities to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of German immigration to the United States, festivities which united all German-American societies of Cincinnati and environs. Among the charitable activities were donations for victims of yellow fever in the South, victims of floods, contributions to the Red Cross, and homes for the aged. The DPVC always played an active part whenever the teaching of German in Cincinnati's schools became an issue.

In order to make the monthly meetings more attractive and to live up to the society's goals, talks were scheduled in which members would relate their life story as German-American pioneers. Later on the range of the talks was extended to cover travelogues, humoristic presentations, literary topics, educational issues, and German civilization in general. Soon it was felt that an effective preservation of German pioneer history for future generations would require some form of written documentation. On March 3, 1869, the publication of a monthly with the title of *Der Deutsche Pionier* was resolved, and the first issue appeared at the end of March 1869. During its eighteen-year history, the journal was edited by a committee of the DPVC, 1869-1870; by G. Brühl, 1870-1871; by E. H. Makk, 1871-1872; by Karl Rümelin, 1872-1873; by Karl Knortz, 1873-1874; by Heinrich A. Rattermann, 1874-1885; by Hermann Hensel, 1885-1887. Although the concept of the journal changed slightly over the years with different editors, each issue usually included poems on pioneers, pioneer experiences, and memories of the fatherland; biographies of famous German-Americans; historical essays and sketches of German life, language, and settlements in the United States; the proceedings of the DPVC and its *Zweigvereine* in Covington, Newport, Dayton, and Toledo; usually excerpted or complete speeches given during the *Stiftungsfest* and the celebration of Washington's Birthday; statistics on German immigration to the United States; short biographies of deceased members of the DPVC under "In Memoriam" and famous German-Americans elsewhere under "German-American Necrology"; and book reviews of literature pertaining to German-America. Under Rattermann's editorship from 1874 to 1885, the journal was run in a most scholarly and professional way. It clearly focused on its task. More detailed headings provided an informative table of contents for each annual volume. Authors were identified consistently in the table of contents as well as in the text. Footnotes indicated greater attention given to the sources and the accuracy of information. There were poems by Cincinnati's own German-American poets such as Brühl

(pseudonym Kara Giorg), Rattermann (Hugo Reimmund), and Fick as well as poems by other nationally known poets such as Theodor Kirchhoff, Konrad Krez, Caspar Butz, Ernst Anton Zuendt, Franz Lieber, Friedrich Albert Schmitt, Otto Körting, Friedrich Münch, and Mathilda Franziska Anneke. Although the literary quality of much of the poetry is mediocre by strict standards, it is invaluable as a mirror of German sentiment at that time. The poetry is often retrospective and nostalgic, romantic in its melancholy and preoccupation with nature and feelings, portraying American reality with eyes that seem to envision German rivers, forests, and towns. The poetry leaves no doubt about where German-America's spiritual homeland was.

The most valuable contributions to the journal are essays on the history of Germans in the United States and in the Midwest in particular. With their attention to detail and inclusion of oral history, these articles have preserved information that cannot be found anywhere else. What may strike today's reader as an occasionally overzealous tone by some writers to vindicate German achievements in America, has to be understood in the context of the times that produced the journal. Rattermann's history of the German element in Maine, his history of the German pioneers in Ohio, and his history of the first German *Sängerbund* of North America, Seidensticker's history of the monastic settlement in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and Friedrich Schnake's essay on the beginnings of the Civil War in Missouri are among the best contributions to *Der Deutsche Pionier.*[7] Because of their length, quite a few of the historical essays had to be presented in serial form.

The biographies of deceased members of the DPVC come closest to the original intention of collecting documents about German pioneers of Cincinnati and environs for future generations. Since in most cases they portray average lives, they often illustrate what history books usually fail to capture: the fate of the common man during a certain period of history.

One of the focal issues in *Der Deutsche Pionier* was the use and teaching of German in the United States. Since the flow of immigrants from Germany could not be expected to go on forever, German-Americans saw the survival of German culture and civilization in the United States closely linked with the German language. The language issue became one of the most central and propagandistic in *Der Deutsche Pionier.* Leading German-American educators and other public figures such as Hermann Schuricht, Karl-Ludwig Bernays, Adolph Douai, Felix Adler, Heinrich A. Rattermann, and Konstantin Grebner wrote about the need for bilingual education in public schools with high concentrations of German-American children and supported the foundation of German-American teachers' seminaries.[8] They speculated about the superiority of the German language over English in areas such as philosophy and the sciences and proudly reported favorable developments on the language front. At times, the enthusiasm and wishful thinking of the contributors went far beyond what could reasonably be expected under the most favorable circumstances. But the intensity of

their involvement remains a testimony to the depth of their convictions and cultural roots in Germany.

Although not part of the DPVC's goals as stated in its constitution, the idea of going beyond Cincinnati with the collection and publication of documents on German pioneers was realized with the very first issue of *Der Deutsche Pionier* and continued to its last issue. There is no doubt that this decision accounts for the richness of information and the reputation that *Der Deutsche Pionier* has earned in history. One may speculate whether a better, more business-oriented distribution system would have assured a national audience and provided a sound financial basis. The quality of the journal at that time would have justified such success. As it turned out, the gulf between the reality of the DPVC as a local Cincinnati society and the far-reaching goals of some of the journal's editors was too wide to be bridged. When *Der Deutsche Pionier* was changed into an annual *Vorstands-Bericht* beginning 1887-1888, its scope was reduced drastically. Officers, financial statements, and other proceedings were given a prominent place, followed by a brief summary of activities during the past year, usually the complete speech given on Washington's Birthday, with the *Stiftungsfest* activities given much less attention. The most important part was now the "In Memoriam" of pioneers deceased during the year.

Throughout its history, the DPVC united German-Americans from all walks of life. Labor and the trades were represented as well as business and the professions. Some of its more prominent members are singled out here to show the quality of the DPVC's membership and their contribution to life in Cincinnati, Ohio, and the United States:[9]

Dr. Gustav Brühl (1826-1903): honorary member, successful Cincinnati physician, editor of *Der Deutsche Pionier* 1869-1870, frequent contributor of poems to the journal under the pseudonym of Kara Giorg, author of poetry and novels as well as scientific and anthropological essays (particularly on Central and South American civilizations). Max Burgheim (1844-1918): owner of the *Cincinnati Freie Presse* and *Tägliche Abend-Presse,* active in civic affairs, member of the Cincinnati *Turngemeinde,* member of the electoral college in 1890, author of *Cincinnati in Wort und Bild* (Cincinnati, 1890) and other guides. Dr. H. H. Fick (1849-1935): honorary member, prominent educator in the Cincinnati school system (German, art); designed the Cincinnati Plan of bilingual education used in many other American communities, editor of *Jung Amerika,* a children's magazine, and *Erziehungsblätter,* the official organ of the German-American Teachers' Association. Heinrich Haacke (1832-1903): journalist with the *Charlestoner Deutsche Zeitung, Montreal Herald,* and the Toronto *Globe,* owner of the Cincinnati *Volksfreund.* Friedrich Hassaurek (1832-1885): a forty-eighter from Vienna, belligerent freethinker, editor of Cincinnati's anti-clerical *Hochwächter* and the *Volksfreund,* delegate to the 1860 Republican convention that nominated Lincoln; American consul in Ecuador, author of poetry, a novel, and a book on his years in Ecuador. John Hauck (1829-1896): president of the John Hauck Brewing Company and the German National Bank, financial savior of the Cincinnati Zoological Gardens. Christian Moerlein

(1818-1897): owner of the Moerlein Brewing Company. Karl Louis Nippert (1852-1904): lawyer, probate judge, Republican State Senator, Lieutenant-Governor of Ohio, a central figure in Cincinnati's civic life. Emil Rothe (1826-1895): a forty-eighter, leader of the German student movement involved in the 1848 Revolution, prominent Cincinnati lawyer, founder of the Democrat newspaper *Weltbürger* in Watertown, Wisconsin, member of the Wisconsin legislature, editor of the Cincinnati *Volksfreund*. Karl Gustav Rümelin (1814-1896): wealthy Cincinnati businessman, a voice of reason and moderation in the DPVC during difficult times, editor of *Der Deutsche Pionier* 1872-1873, co-founder of the Democratic paper *Volksblatt*, member of the Ohio House of Representatives and the Ohio Senate, contributor to journals with articles on climatology, economics, and travel; author of two books on viniculture. Charles G. Schmidt (1851-1930): honorary member; his name is synonymous with German song in America; very active in Cincinnati's singing societies and other cultural and civic activities, president of the Nordamerikanischer Sängerbund for many years. Carl Schurz (1829-1906): honorary member, the central figure of German-America in the second half of the nineteenth century, Lincoln's friend and supporter, minister to the court of Madrid, major general in the Civil War, U.S. Senator, Secretary of the Interior, journalist, orator, statesman. Jakob Seasongood (1814-1884): the patriarch of Cincinnati's famous Seasongood family, wealthy businessman and banker, very active in Jewish civic and charity organizations. Friedrich S. Spiegel (1855-1925): journalist for the *Volksblatt*, member of Cincinnati's school board and city council, judge, mayor of Cincinnati. Gustav Tafel (1830-1908): a forty-eighter, journalist, lawyer, co-founder of Cincinnati's Turngemeinde and Nord Cincinnati Turnverein, colonel of the 106th Regiment in the Civil War, mayor of Cincinnati. Dr. Isaac M. Wise (1819-1900): founder and president of Hebrew Union College 1875-1900; editor of *The American Israelite* and its German supplement *Die Deborah;* he is considered the father of the Jewish reform movement in America. Dr. E. G. Zinke (1816-1922): professor of obstetrics and gynecology at Ohio Medical College, a nationally known authority in his field, founder of the Ohio Maternity Hospital.

If one man has to be singled out especially for his service to the journal *Der Deutsche Pionier,* it is Heinrich Arminius Rattermann (1832-1923).[10] Without him, the journal would never have achieved its reputation as an indispensable source for the history of Germans in America. Pride in his German heritage and an indomitable drive to vindicate the largely ignored German contribution to the development of America characterize his life and work. It is this spirit that helped found the DPVC and made it flourish during its early period, and was strong enough to sustain it through the repercussions of two world wars until 1961. Rattermann was among the spiritual founding fathers of the DPVC, and only the age and residence requirements of its constitution prevented him from becoming a founding father with membership in 1868.

In many respects, Rattermann is the exemplary German pioneer. His success as a self-made man of property is only surpassed by his achievements as a self-taught man of the mind. Born into a poor family in Ankum (Westphalia) in 1832, he came to Cincinnati in 1846 and soon had to help support his family by working in brickyards, slaughterhouses and also as a carpenter, painter, waiter, clerk, and grocer. With a degree in bookkeeping and some business experience in the lumberyard of his uncle, he initiated the foundation of the German Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Cincinnati (later known as the Hamilton County Mutual Fire Insurance Company). The position of secretary of this company, which he held from 1858 to his death in 1923, provided him with moderate wealth to support his large family and to cover substantial expenses for his library, historical research, and publishing ventures. A limited, but solid education in a German village school had left the fourteen-year-old emigrant with a thirst for knowledge, education, and a keen interest in literature and the arts. He soon began publishing poetry in Cincinnati's German newspapers under the pseudonym of Hugo Reimmund. Five of the twelve published volumes of his collected works contain poetry. A talent for music refined by self-taught lessons in composition found expression in various forms: Rattermann was an active member and co-founder of the singing societies Sängerbund (1850), Männerchor (1857), and Orpheus (1868). He directed the choir of the St. Johannes Kirche. In 1870, he initiated and directed a centennial celebration in honor of Beethoven's birthday. He was involved in opera productions, composed, and had some of his own compositions performed. Later on he was to write a history of the first German *Sängerbund* of North America. Rattermann, like many other German-Americans, considered music the cornerstone of German cultural life in America and one of Germany's main contributions to American civilization.

Toward the mid-1870s Rattermann began to dedicate more and more time to historical research. His scholarly interest in history had been stimulated and nurtured by his life-long German-American friend John Bernhard Stallo, prominent lawyer and judge in Cincinnati, Hegelian philosopher, and minister to Italy, and Oswald Seidensticker, respected colonial historian and professor of German at the University of Pennsylvania. Rattermann also had great admiration for Justus Möser, an eighteenth-century German historian who had tried to rekindle in his fellow-countrymen an appreciation for their own culture at a time of political and cultural domination by France.[11] Rattermann felt a similar concern for German culture within Anglo-America. The decisive impetus was provided by his own initial research efforts that seemed to indicate that German contributions to the development of America had been neglected by American historians. With a thoroughness and persistence proven in so many other fields, Rattermann now began to review American history for German traces. German participation and achievements in the Revolutionary War became the subject of a long serial article published in *Der Deutsche Pionier.* For instance, Rattermann believed he found proof that Washington's bodyguard was predomi-

nantly German.[12] By editing a Hessian soldier's diary, Rattermann tried to correct the negative image of the Hessian soldiers in American public opinion. Of course, he searched Cincinnati's as well as Ohio's history for German contributions. He soon extended his research to other areas of the Midwest and the United States and published a *Geschichte des großen amerikanischen Westens* in 1876-77. He contributed biographies to Gustav Körner's *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten 1818-1848* and provided other writers with biographical material (often without being given due credit). Most of his articles were published in *Der Deutsche Pionier,* in fact, so many that people could get the impression that Rattermann had appropriated the journal to fulfill his personal ambitions as a historian. The crisis of 1885, which meant the end of Rattermann's eleven-year editorship and serious conflicts with leading members of the DPVC, is symptomatic for the discrepancy between the ambitious goals of Rattermann and the reality of DPVC; after all, it was a society with primarily social interests and functions in Cincinnati. It was willing to support the sublime goal of tracing and recording German pioneer history as long as it did not cost the members additional money (by March 1885, *Der Deutsche Pionier* had run up a deficit of $4,071). The DPVC was not and apparently did not want to become a historical society publishing a journal of national scope and reputation. That Rattermann perceived the journal and the society's goals as such can be considered a misunderstanding which benefited the history of German-America. For a year Rattermann continued his efforts by publishing his own *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* in 1886. After considerable sacrifices he had to realize that he had neither the means nor the audience to sustain such an ambitious professional enterprise, and the magazine ceased publication in 1887. This failure was a serious blow to a man who had always looked upon his editorship and historical research as the most important activities in his life and who had been recognized for his achievements with honorary life memberships in the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, the New York Historical Society, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Illinois Historical Society (which issued a commemorative coin on the occasion of Rattermann's seventy-fifth birthday), the renowned Cincinnati Literary Club, and the German Literary Club of Cincinnati, of which he was the founder. Although Rattermann now found it more rewarding to write poetry again, he continued presenting historical lectures in various Cincinnati societies as well as contributing articles to historical journals such as *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter,* edited at that time by Julius Goebel at the University of Illinois.

Throughout his life, Rattermann strongly supported efforts to maintain and improve the teaching of German in the United States. He was involved in the struggle for bilingual education in Cincinnati's schools, and supported the Nationales Deutsch-Amerikanisches Lehrerseminar in Milwaukee as a board member from 1886 to 1889 and as a speaker at teachers' conventions. Rattermann held the progressive and original view that German-American schoolbooks should reflect the reality of German-American life rather than that of Prussia.[13]

From 1887 to 1914 Rattermann was primarily occupied with preparing his *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke* for publication. Unable to find a publisher, he and his daughter Katherine finally set and printed twelve of the projected sixteen volumes themselves. Of special value are the *Biographikon* and the *Dichter-Album,* which fill a gap in German-American historical research at that time and comprise volumes X-XII of his collected works. They contain concise biographies of some 125 prominent German-Americans between 1800 and 1850; the poets are introduced with short biographical sketches and a few representative poems. In 1915, Rattermann's valuable library and private papers were purchased by the University of Illinois Library, accessible today as the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, an important source for research in German-Americana. Totally blind and deaf for the last ten years of his life, Rattermann continued dictating unfinished parts of his work. He died in 1923.

The seeds for the decline of the DPVC and disruption of the supportive harmony between the DPVC, its publication *Der Deutsche Pionier,* and its ambitious editor were planted early. Demanding age and residence requirements (forty and twenty-five years respectively) excluded Cincinnati's young German-Americans (until 1929) from active participation, the very element that would most likely carry on the tradition of cherishing and preserving the German heritage. The need for dealing with the present of German-America in order to preserve its past was expressed by *Der Deutsche Pionier.* Its very first volume contains an article on the German language issue in contemporary Pennsylvania schools and the study of German dialects in Pennsylvania along with strictly historical articles.[14] By giving up on its journal in its original, ambitious and demanding form, the DPVC also gave up an instrument for critical documentation of the past and vital discussion of German-America's present. By settling into the financially (and intellectually) comfortable format of the *Vorstands-Berichte* with their emphasis on eulogies for the deceased, the DPVC expressed a predominantly retrospective attitude and forfeited the chance to reach out beyond Cincinnati.

As for Rattermann, his role as editor of *Der Deutsche Pionier* is not without irony. Rattermann, who owed so much to America's egalitarian attitude toward education and advancement in general, had maneuvered himself into the ivory tower of a self-taught archivist and scholar who looked down upon the majority of uneducated members of the DPVC.[15] He incorporates, *in nuce,* the dangers of a German-America apart from the mainstream of American life; a German-America as a "mental reservation," an "attractive but dangerous corral" as John A. Hawgood would characterize such an existence in his book *The Tragedy of German-America* in 1940.[16] Such isolation and limitation made Rattermann, for instance, overestimate the value of his poetry and fail to understand and appreciate achievements in contemporary German literature, accounted for a reversed prejudice toward Anglo-America, and led to unrealistic expectations concerning the future of German-America.

In retrospect, Cincinnati's German-American community, the DPVC, its activities, the journal *Der Deutsche Pionier* and its ambitious editor over many years represent one of the most organic and vigorous manifestations of German-American life in the United States. They are an exemplary chapter in the annals of German-America, representing its shortcomings as well as its triumphs.

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Notes

[1] *Der Deutsche Pionier* 1 (1969-70): 27. The information concerning the end of the German Pioneer Society's existence was supplied to this author by Christian Weishaupt, president of the DPVC over the last years, in a letter of December 11, 1981. The primary sources for studying the history of the DPVC are the eighteen volumes of *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1869-87) and the *Vorstands-Bericht* (called *Jahresbericht* for 1887-88) which replaced *Der Deutsche Pionier* beginning with No. 20. The *Vorstands-Bericht* was apparently published until the end of the DPVC in 1961, although only volumes 20-70 (1887-1938) are accessible to the public as a complete set in the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County in Cincinnati. *Der Deutsche Pionier* hereafter: *DDP.*

[2] The limitation of membership to residents of Cincinnati and environs must have been cumbersome for the DPVC from the very beginning. By 1875 this part of the constitution had been changed to "Jeder eingewanderte Deutsche, welcher 25 Jahre in Amerika gewohnt . . . hat" (*DDP* 7 [1875-76]: 294).

[3] Cf. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals 1732-1955; History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1961) 441. Cf. also Don Heinrich Tolzmann, *German-Americana: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J.: The Scarecrow Press, 1975) 69.

[4] For Cincinnati Germans, the Know-Nothing movement is epitomized by the events of May 12, 1856, the day of violent confrontations between the *Turngemeinden* of Cincinnati, Covington, and Newport on the one hand and a nativist crowd on the other. For a vivid description of the event and the subsequent trial see "Gedächtnissfeier in der Central Turnhalle: Die Knownothing Bewegung im Jahre 1856" (*DDP* 18 [1886-87]: 368-73).

[5] Cf. G. A. Dobbert, "The Cincinnati Germans, 1870-1920; Disintegration of an Immigrant Community," *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society* 23.4 (1965): 229-42. Dobbert shows how uncritical allegiance to the homeland before and during World War I blurred the political judgment of many Cincinnati Germans and alienated them from their Anglo-American environment. Dobbert blames Cincinnati's German-language press for having "abysmally failed to guide the community through its troubled times" (ibid., 239).

[6] Rattermann complains about what he calls a witch-hunt against the journal in a letter to Ottendorfer, 15 Dec. 1884 (letter press copybook R.2.3v, p. 448 in the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts at the University of Illinois Library in Urbana-Champaign). The publication of the *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts* by Donna-Christine Sell and Dennis Francis Walle, Robert B. Downs Publication Fund No. 4 (Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library, 1979) has made accessible, among other valuable documents, Rattermann's correspondence which sheds new light on his biography and the history of the DPVC. Karl Rümelin, chairman of the committee to reevaluate the feasibility of *DDP* expressed the necessity to realize, "daß die Zeitschrift nicht der alleinige Zweck des Pionier-Vereins ist" (*DDP* 17 [1885-86]: 91). There is the bitter controversy between Rattermann and Karl Rümelin recorded in "Erwiderung Karl Rümelin's auf H. A. Rattermann's Artikel, der am 2. Januar 1887 in den 'Westlichen Blättern' erschien und eine Schrift im 'Deutschen Pionier' vom Jahrgang 1869, angriff, welche die Aufschrift führte: 'Geschichte der Gründung des Volksblatts' " (*DDP* 18 [1886-87]: 273-82). Rattermann accuses Rümelin of

historical inaccuracies, Rümelin accuses Rattermann of falsifying history and being motivated by "Bosheit über seine Entlassung von der Redaktion des 'Deutschen Pioniers'" (ibid., 273).

[7] Cf. Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Zur Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine," *DDP* 14 (1882-83), *DDP* 15 (1883-84), *DDP* 16 (1884-85); Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Geschichte des Ersten Deutschen Sängerbundes von Nordamerika," *DDP* 11 (1879-80), *DDP* 12 (1880-81), *DDP* 13 (1881-82); Oswald Seidensticker, "Ephrata, eine amerikanische Klostergeschichte," *DDP* 14-16 (1882-85); Friedrich Schnake, "Der Ausbruch des Bürgerkrieges in Missouri," *DDP* 11 and 12 (1879-81).

[8] For some representative examples cf. C. L. Bernays, "Der Kampf der deutschen Sprache um ihr Dasein in den Vereinigten Staaten," *DDP* 9 (1877-78): 408-10; Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Die deutsche Sprache in der amerikanischen Schule," *DDP* 13 (1881-82): 170-79, 257-66; F. H. Röwekamp, "Geschichte der deutsch-englischen Schulen in Cincinnati," *DDP* 13 (1881-82): 217-26; Hermann Schuricht, "Zur Geschichte des deutsch-amerkanischen Lehrerbundes," *DDP* 15 (1883-84): 69-74; Karl E. Wolffradt, "Die Statistik des deutsch-amerikanischen Schulwesens," *DDP* 18 (1886-87): 50-55.

[9] Short biographies of the personalities mentioned can be found in the necrology section of the *Vorstands-Berichte*. In fact, this is the main merit of the *Vorstands-Berichte* vols. 20-70 (1887-1938). They read like a "Who Was Who" in Cincinnati's German-American society.

[10] The primary sources for the facts about Rattermann's life are: 1. an autobiographical account (written in English in the mid-1870s), letter press copybook #1 in the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts at the University of Illinois Library in Urbana-Champaign; 2. a series of letters by Rattermann written to his friend Klemens Möllenbrock in Ankum, Germany (Rattermann's birthplace), between 1907-1908. The letters were published by Julius Goebel under the title of "Aus H. A. Rattermanns Leben" in *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 18-19 (1918-19); 3. Rattermann's correspondence in the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts. My description and evaluation of Rattermann's activities is indebted to the most recent critical account of Rattermann's life by Donna-Christine Sell in *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts*, pp. 1-18. Among the secondary sources one should mention Sister Edmund Spanheimer, *Heinrich Armin Rattermann: German-American Author, Poet and Historian, 1832-1923*, The Catholic University of America Studies in German 9 (Washington, 1937). This first comprehensive study of Rattermann's life and work has the great merit of using the (at that time uncatalogued) Rattermann collection of German-Americana and emphasizing its importance. In addition, the information given to Spanheimer by Rattermann's daughter Katherine provides valuable opinions and data not available anywhere else. It seems that in her attempt to draw attention to Rattermann's important role in German-America Spanheimer occasionally loses critical distance, especially when it comes to evaluating Rattermann's poetry. In this respect Henry Willen, *Henry Armin Rattermann's Life and Poetical Work* (Philadelphia, 1939) appears to be closer to the truth. By applying strict poetic standards, Willen comes to the conclusion that Rattermann was no poet, or a very mediocre poet at best. Fred Karl Scheibe, "Heinrich A. Rattermann: German-American Poet, 1832-1923," *German-American Studies* 1.1 (1969): 3-7, criticizes Willen for applying modernist standards to Rattermann's poetry.

[11] Cf. Spanheimer 104.

[12] Cf. "Die Leibgarde Washington's," *DDP* 7 (1875-76): 215-21, and "Die Leibgarde Washington's II," *DDP* 7 (1875-76): 469-85.

[13] "Die deutsche Sprache in der amerikanischen Schule," *DDP* 13 (1881-82): 78.

[14] "Die deutsche Sprache in Pennsylvanien," *DDP* 1 (1869-70): 208-12.

[15] Cf. Rattermann's letter to Ottendorfer, 15 Dec. 1884 (letter press copybook R.2.3v, p. 448 in the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts).

[16] (New York, 1940) 267.

Linda Schelbitzki Pickle

German and Swiss Nuns in Nineteenth-Century Missouri and Southern Illinois: Some Comparisons with Secular Women*

In the mid- and late nineteenth century, German and Swiss nuns made several foundations in Missouri and southern Illinois. Their archives contain particularly rich material in the way of both personal and historical documents. While doing research on other immigrant women of this period, I began to wonder if these religious women had experienced the American frontier in ways similar to other immigrant women.[1] Other questions presented themselves readily. Could any seeming differences be attributed to their living within a community of women? Did they emigrate for the same reasons as secular women? Did they experience cultural alienation? Did their position within the body of the Catholic Church either cushion them from or expose them to pressure toward rapid assimilation? What changes did immigration make on their outer and inner lives? The present study can only partially answer these and related questions. Because of limits of time and geography, only readily available printed material and archival sources from motherhouses in the St. Louis area were consulted. Any conclusions must therefore be tentative. But perhaps they will also be provocative to other scholars who may be able to examine this topic more thoroughly.

There were two primary reasons for Catholic nuns to emigrate from German-speaking lands in the nineteenth century. The first was their traditional missionary role within the Church. The second was political pressure, stemming from developments in Europe, particularly within the newly-formed German *Reich* in the early 1870s, that made emigration a matter of expediency as well as choice in many cases. Both reasons were at work for nuns who emigrated to Missouri and southern Illinois.[2] Let us look first at the more traditional instances of missionary emigration.

Because of heavy German settlement, St. Louis, southern Illinois, and Missouri in general were areas that particularly concerned German

Catholic prelates interested in keeping immigrants in the Church by recruiting priests and nuns for German-language parishes and schools.[3] Vicars General Joseph Melcher and (after 1868) Henry Muehlsiepen were in charge of the German elements of the St. Louis archdiocese under Archbishop Peter Kenrick from the 1840s until the early twentieth century. They brought several groups of German nuns to this diocese, most notably the Ursuline Sisters of St. Louis (later Crystal City) in 1848 and the Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood of O'Fallon in 1875. But they were also concerned with helping other groups, like the Sisters of St. Mary, establish themselves in the diocese, and with providing German-speaking nuns from various orders as teachers in German parishes. Missionary priests in Illinois and Missouri were also instrumental in calling congregations of nuns to their part of the frontier. The initial establishment of the Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration in Nodaway County, Missouri, was due to the missionary zeal of a monastic community: the Benedictine fathers from Engelberg Monastery in Switzerland. Sometimes enterprising parish priests succeeded in bringing German nuns to their parochial schools.[4] It was due to both a recruiting trip of Bishop Peter Juncker of Alton, Illinois, in 1869 and the wishes of second-generation German parishioners at Piopolis, Illinois, that the Adorers of the Blood of Christ emigrated in 1870.[5] Some missionary sisters also expressed an interest in such work before male clergy approached them. Two examples are Mother Magdalen Stehlin of Oedenburg Cloister in Hungary and Mother Gertrude Leupi of Maria Rickenbach Convent in Switzerland. We will examine the significance of these two exceptional women later.

The second reason for going to the United States, which caused a particularly large number of German and Swiss nuns to emigrate in the 1870s, was political exigency. The *Kulturkampf* of the Bismarck regime sought to end what it regarded as foreign interference in the form of church influence in public education. The so-called May Laws of 1872 and 1873 prohibited members of religious communities from teaching in state schools and then ordered the closing of all parochial schools and even the dissolution of entire religious communities. No congregations were to accept new members. Many German nuns had to choose between leaving their monastic life or leaving the *Reich*. A similar mood of anti-clericalism was also prevalent in Switzerland in the same period. It was largely to prepare for the possible dissolution of Engelberg Monastery that Abbot Anselm Villiger sent two young priests to do missionary work and establish their Benedictine order in the American West (Coff 9). The Benedictine sisters of Maria Rickenbach, whose community Abbot Anselm had helped found and whose spiritual advisor he long remained, also wanted to establish in America a convent devoted to perpetual adoration of the eucharist to which members of their community might emigrate.

These, then, were the wider reasons behind the immigration of German and Swiss religious women to nineteenth-century Missouri and Illinois: missionary work and political pressure. But knowing that nuns made vows of obedience upon entering a convent, it is appropriate to

ask to what extent they, as individuals, could choose to emigrate. When one examines convent annals and community histories on this, it seems that in theory, at least, these religious women had a range of choice in the question of emigration that was wider than that of secular women who came (perhaps even unwillingly) as part of a family group and had no existing structure in Europe to which they could return if they became discouraged or homesick. Nuns could and did return to Europe. An example in Missouri was Sister Marianne Herker, one of the five nuns in Mother Odilia Berger's small group of Sister Servers of the Sacred Heart who came to Missouri in 1872. She returned to Germany in the spring of 1875, "finding the language barrier and the American customs too much of a burden because of her advanced age" (Henninger 12).

In order to ensure as much as possible that only the truly dedicated were sent, it was common practice for nuns to be asked to volunteer for missionary work in America. The response to such requests could be more than adequate. Thus the entire Maria Rickenbach Convent, with some sixty nuns, initially volunteered to go to America (Coff 9). There are indications, however, that such enthusiasm was sometimes influenced by hierarchical pressure. After the little colony of Benedictine nuns had been established in Maryville, Missouri, in late 1874, Mother Anselma Felber wrote letter after letter to Maria Rickenbach, pleading for sisters to be sent to help in the mission, with almost no results. This was, it seems, partly due to a change in the Swiss sisters' attitudes. On February 21, 1876, Father Adelhelm Odermatt of Maryville wrote to Mother Gertrude Leupi: "Was mich gänzlichst erstaunt hat, war die in Ihrem letzten Brief enthaltene Nachricht, es kommen . . . keine Europäer-Töchter."[6] But there evidently were other reasons as well. Sending sisters to America meant a sacrifice to the mother convent, and so a dragging of feet, or even preferential arbitrariness, was sometimes evident. There is an example of this in the Benedictine sisters' history. Within weeks of her arrival in Missouri, Mother Anselma began asking Mother Gertrude to send her a certain Sister Ottilia, who already knew some English and was an experienced teacher. Intermittently during the next few years she asked for this sister to be sent, even after Mother Gertrude wrote that Sister Ottilia was not a suitable candidate for missionary work (letter of Father Adelhelm, 13 Feb. 1875). Yet when Mother Gertrude herself came to Missouri in 1880, Sister Ottilia was among the seven nuns who came with her (Conception Convent daybook entry, 11 Oct. 1880). With such manipulations of power and influence, one wonders how much choice Sister Ottilia was really allowed to exercise in this matter.

Regardless of how free the initial decision to do missionary work in America was, most indications are that it was considered immutable. Mother Anselma was profoundly unhappy in Missouri because of the discord in her little group, the immense workload she and her sisters struggled with, and her own inability to learn English. After six years of missionary work, she wrote poignantly to the new mother superior in Maria Rickenbach after learning that Mother Gertrude was coming to Maryville:

> Es träumt mir viel von Maria Rickenbach, oft muß ich nach Europa zurückkehren, aber immer senden Sie mich wieder nach Amerika. Es ist nur ein Traum, daß es erfüllt wird gewiß nicht, denn ich bin nicht des Reisegeldes wert. Bin hier in Amerika ganz zufrieden und habe keinen anderen Wunsch als erkennen und erfüllen den Willen Gottes, denn sein Wille ist meine Heiligung. (13 Oct. 1880)

This passage reveals the conflict between a desire to return to the homeland and a sense of duty to the wishes of the community and to God's will, as that community had determined it. Mother Anselma also touched here on another reason why religious communities might not readily have sent sisters back to their mother convent after a sojourn in America. It was a costly business to send missionaries abroad, and usually the trip was financed by the dowries of the sisters sent. Once those had been spent for the trip and for initial expenses of the new community, there was little left. In this respect, religious women were in much the same position as other immigrant women: that is, they were subject to financial imperatives. Although in theory they may have been able to return to Europe, for all practical purposes they probably were not.

Financial considerations may have been one of the main reasons that none of the Missouri Benedictine nuns returned to Switzerland, even when their difficulty in adjusting was quite obvious. One of the original five, Sister Agnes Dalie, had problems wherever she was in America. She first moved between Conception and Maryville, then went to the daughter foundations in Yankton, South Dakota, Gervais, Oregon, and Jonesboro, Arkansas. Abbot Frowin Conrad of the Conception Monastery, the spiritual advisor of the American sisters, wrote on April 20, 1887, with an almost audible sigh: "Sister Agnes seems out of place everywhere" (*Early Chron. Hist.: Relationship* 141). But were there perhaps other more personal reasons as well that Sister Agnes was not sent back to Switzerland? Might she not have been welcome there? Indeed, had she (and other "problematic" immigrant nuns) been chosen for an American mission in order to rid the mother convent of a liability? We will probably never know. Mother Anselma Felber evidently suspected something of the sort to have happened in the case of the group she led, for Father Adelhelm of Maryville wrote on August 10, 1875, that she had expressed such concerns to him.

Against a background of political tension, religious women no doubt had fewer choices about either emigrating from or returning to Europe. Thus the first group of Adorers of the Blood of Christ came to Piopolis, Illinois, voluntarily in 1870, but the remaining sisters in the Gurtweil, Baden, convent had much less choice in the matter after the state dissolved their congregation in May of 1873.[7] The American superior Augusta Volk "faßte den Entschluß, nach Deutschland zu reisen und den Schwestern Muth einzuflößen, nach Amerika zu kommen, da sie ihnen volle Sicherheit des Bestehens und ein weites Arbeitsfeld garantieren konnte" ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 39-40). Forty-eight of them came with Mother Augusta in the summer of that year. The dual impetus behind this group emigration is clear in the chronicler's

explanation: political safety and missionary labor. With such motivations, religious orders of women sometimes showed unusual initiative in the decision to emigrate. One example was the small group of Sister Servers of the Sacred Heart, who came to be known as the Sisters of St. Mary in St. Louis. The difficult situation in their homeland moved these women to initiate contact with American acquaintances in the hope of finding a new sphere for their work (Henninger 6).

The reasons for emigration and for remaining in America discussed thus far are not much different from those that motivated other German immigrants of the same time period: a desire for betterment of the group, often combined with a need to escape from difficult situations in the homeland. For most immigrants, the financial good of the family was foremost. For these religious women, the propagation of the faith and, in some instances, the very continuation of their community were at stake. Although there is little extant personal information about the individual motivations for emigrating of any German or Swiss women, there were no doubt many shadings of reasons for them and for members of religious communities to volunteer to leave their homeland. We gain a few hints of these motives from the essentially impersonal chronicles and histories they left. A wish to serve the needs of Catholic German immigrants was commonly the outward motivation. The nuns did not openly acknowledge that such altruistic motivation could also be individually fulfilling, but this may have played a role in some women's decision to emigrate. The letters of the Landshut Ursuline sisters to their mother superior Augustina Weinzierl during the first fourteen months after their arrival in St. Louis in 1849 offer insights into such personal aspects. Most of their thoughts about self-fulfillment are, to be sure, couched in terms of submission and self-sacrifice. On July 26, 1849, for example, Sister Franziska Magold wrote: "Ich kann Ihnen nur kindlich danken, daß Sie mich nach Amerika sandten, denn hier ist wirklich der Ort, wo man sich etwas für den Himmel verdienen kann" ("Letters to Landshut" 61). Such self-effacement was the accepted mode of expression of religious women, but it did not preclude the desire for spiritual self-fulfillment within prescribed boundaries of activity.

In the case of two of the Missouri founding mothers, however, it seems that missionary work also afforded an opportunity to fulfill more purely individualistic ambitions. Magdalen Stehlin of the Ursulines and Gertrude Leupi of the Benedictines had both evinced an enthusiasm for missionary work before male clergy approached them to take part in such ("Souvenir" 5; Dirig). Once they were in America, they demonstrated a great deal of enterprise in the founding of new communities. Another Missouri founder, Mother Odilia Berger of the Sisters of St. Mary, was active in many philanthropic endeavors in the few years given her to work in America. The needs of the growing St. Louis community caused her to expand the work and the size of her group at a rate which probably would have been impossible in the Old World. The American careers of these three women warrant a closer look, for they illustrate what ambitious immigrant women might attain in "the land of opportunity."

Very few of Mother Magdalen Stehlin's personal documents are extant, but her actions speak fairly clearly. It is not known how close her ties remained to her mother convent in Oedenburg, Hungary, as records there have been lost.[8] But she seems to have been very good at exploiting the relationship she established to the Ursuline convent in Landshut, Bavaria, which she and her small group visited during their departure trip from Europe in 1848. A postulant from that convent joined the four Oedenburg nuns at that time, and the following year the first of several groups of Landshut missionary sisters also made the trip to St. Louis. Indeed, the St. Louis Ursulines were, except for Mother Magdalen and her three Austro-Hungarian companions, a Landshut foundation. Mother Magdalen filled her letters to Landshut with requests for more sisters, for supplies for the group's embroidery work, and for direct financial aid ("Letters to Landshut" 65-66). She got all of them, even though the Bavarian court chaplain Ferdinand Mueller, director of King Ludwig's missionary foundation, had warned the Landshut nuns: "Man wolle auf der Hut sein vor ungarischen Klosterfrauen" ("Chronik"). She also remained firmly in control of the St. Louis foundation, no matter how the Landshut nuns outnumbered her, even after she had left the area. In 1854 Mother Magdalen received a letter from a Father Metzel of East Morrisania, New York, requesting that her group make a foundation there to take charge of German children orphaned during emigration. The St. Louis community agreed to this, and in 1855 Mother Magdalen left St. Louis with three sisters and, the Landshut chronicle records, with the best of the things that had been sent from Landshut. In the course of that summer she sent for eight more of the St. Louis congregation: "jene Schwestern, die ihr am tauglichsten schienen" ("Chronik"). In the meantime, she had left Mother Aloisia Winkler, who had headed the first group of Landshut immigrants in 1849, as nominal superior of the halved group in St. Louis. However, Mother Aloisia had no authority of her own, but had to send Mother Magdalen a daily report and carry out the latter's written commands. This was all done without the permission of Bishop Kenrick, but he soon caught wind of it from the New York bishop, investigated, and forbade Mother Magdalen from returning to St. Louis ("Chronik"; Miller 84-85). This did not stop her from continuing to make new foundations in Providence, Rhode Island, and Ontonogan, Michigan, and it was not until the latter convent came to the attention of church authorities for its "disorderly" nature that the bishop of New York reported all of this to the apostolic chair. The Michigan convent was dissolved by Pope Pius X, who also ordered Mother Magdalen to return to Oedenburg, Hungary, in 1862. She died there in 1868. Mother Magdalen must have been a troublesome person to the church hierarchy, for she evidently set little store by proper procedure. And she must have been a very strong and perhaps not always a very pleasant individual, more intent on asserting her will within her immediate community than in gaining affection. Ursuline histories from St. Louis and New York are notably lacking in expressions of loving remembrance of her, which is unusual in publications of this type. Nevertheless, the

few years of her work in America resulted in Ursuline convents on the East Coast as well as in the St. Louis area that have survived until the present day (Miller 85).

Mother Gertrude Leupi seems to have had the same sort of drive to make foundations as Mother Magdalen. As mother superior of the Maria Rickenbach Convent, she sent out a delegation headed by her assistant, Mother Anselma Felber. This woman, as almost *de facto* next in line to succeed Mother Gertrude as superior, would seem to have been a natural choice for this important mission. But as events soon made clear, she was quite unfitted for the role of strong, independent, adaptable thinker and organizer that was needed in the young American community. Surely Mother Gertrude knew this about her. Why then was she sent to America? In view of subsequent events, one might suspect that Mother Gertrude, being indeed well aware of Mother Anselma's weakness as an administrator, chose her first as her next-in-command at Maria Rickenbach and then to head the American mission in order to avoid having to deal with a strong-minded subordinate and thus to stay firmly in control herself, even across the ocean.[9] An indication of Mother Gertrude's strong-willed character is that she and the Maria Rickenbach chaplain were at loggerheads for several years. By the late 1870s the resulting divisiveness had gotten to such a point that Abbot Anselm convinced her it was in the best interests of the convent if she were to resign her position as superior for a few years (*Early Chron. Hist.: Biogr. Notes* 105-106, 109). Almost three years before stepping down as superior, she began to inquire about the possibility of making a new foundation in the Milwaukee archdiocese (letter of January 23, 1878, from Father Adelhelm). As soon as she had officially resigned in the fall of 1880, she left for Maryville with seven other Maria Rickenbach sisters and set herself up there as superior and rival to Mother Anselma at Conception. On January 19, 1881, she wrote to Abbot Anselm in Switzerland, saying that she had been contacted by Bishop Marty in Yankton to establish a mission school for Indian children there. She urged him to come to America also: ''. . . dann hätten Sie ein *großes* Feld der Arbeit vor Ihnen.'' Her own enthusiasm for this new wide-open field of activities is clear here, as also when she wrote the new mother superior in Maria Rickenbach on June 1, 1881, and exclaimed: ''Hier ist das Land der Zukunft . . . Ach, könnten Sie einmal das herrliche Amerika sehen! So prächtiges Land, so fruchtbar, so lieblich, so schön! . . . dieser große Weinberg des Herrn!'' However, a tinge of personal proprietorship, rather than simple service in God's work, colors her declaration to the same correspondent that: ''Wenn es in der Schweiz so schlimm zugeht, so hoffe ich nach und nach all meine lieben vorigen Schäflein nachzuziehen'' (24 Jan. 1881). This was not to be. Rather, for reasons that are not entirely clear (Mother Gertrude was often moved by mystical experiences to take various actions), she left Yankton in 1891 and returned to Switzerland, but not to Maria Rickenbach. Instead, she bought her ancestral home in Wikon and founded Marienburg, an institute for girls which eventually developed into a convent that was amalgamated with Maria Rickenbach twenty-three years after her death

in 1904. In Switzerland she remained committed to working for the American mission in Yankton. Even before returning to Europe she had established a recruiting house in Einsiedeln to solicit and train candidates for the American mission (Dirig).

An active missionary life less tinged with self-aggrandizement is that of Mother Odilia Berger, the founder of the Sisters of St. Mary.[10] At the age of thirty-two she had joined the poor order of the Sisters of St. Francis. Her particular interests, stemming in large part from her own background, soon became evident when she and another sister went to Paris to help run a home for German working girls there (ca. 1866-70). In 1867 she participated in the foundation of the Sister Servers of the Sacred Heart, a small group dedicated to an active life of service in society. During the Franco-Prussian War the sisters had to return to Germany, where they nursed soldiers and poor families in Elberfeld (1870-72). In America, in addition to the nursing duties they took upon themselves immediately, Mother Odilia founded Lowell in North St. Louis, a refuge home for unwed mothers, which the group ran for three years (1874-77). From 1876 until 1882, they also operated St. Joseph's Orphanage. And in 1877 they opened St. Mary's Infirmary. By the time of her premature death in October 1880 of peritonitis, Mother Odilia had certainly left her mark in the field of social welfare in St. Louis. She also left a thriving community, the Congregation of the Sisters of St. Mary (founded 1879), that has continued her heritage of public service. These three Missouri pioneers, Mother Odilia, Mother Gertrude and Mother Magdalen, are examples of those women, whether religious or secular, to whom the American frontier afforded opportunities for activity that fulfilled their desire for individual self-realization while promoting the good of the community with which they were associated.

Certainly the desire to serve the church, and thus also fulfill oneself spiritually, was foremost among the reasons for emigration for most religious. But as with other immigrants, ties within the community could also be important, both for the decision to emigrate and for success in making an American foundation. Great affection is evident in the letters written to Mother Odilia Berger by the Sisters of St. Mary she sent to Memphis, Tennessee, and Canton, Mississippi, in 1878, during the yellow fever epidemic in those cities. Sister Josepha in Canton signed her letters "Greeting and kissing you in the Sacred Heart of Jesus," and Sister Stanislaus in Memphis, believing she was on her deathbed, gained great consolation in being permitted to write her Reverend Mother a note.[11] The bonds that developed among pioneer sisters who had shared so much could become particularly strong. The chronicles of the St. Louis Ursulines offer an example. We are told that the death of Mother Isabella Weinzierl in July 1850, followed by the sudden illness of Sister Marianna von Pann in early September, proved such a shock to the "already nerve-racked frame" of Sister Augustina Schragl that after an illness of only a week, she succumbed to death on September 17 (Duffy 20). The latter two nuns had been among the original group of four who came to St. Louis in 1848. Both had taken their vows at Oedenburg Cloister in Hungary. The chronicler seems to

believe that there was an emotional connection between Sister Augustina's affection for Sister Marianna and the former's death. The importance of female friendships to women on the American frontier has been well-documented, and examples like the above indicate that much the same sort of relationships probably existed among Catholic immigrant nuns in Missouri and elsewhere.

There may have been a difference, however, between attitudes toward female friendship in secular and in religious groups. In the latter, individual friendships could become a potential danger to the cohesion of the entire community, especially during the difficult early stages of adjustment. The correspondence of the Benedictine sisters in Nodaway County to their Swiss convent documents how divisive such affections, and the antipathies which easily developed parallel to them, could be. After only a year and a half in Maryville, the little group of five separated into two, with the preeminence of the motherhouse at Conception contested by the nuns in Maryville. The ensuing realignments of allegiance were very damaging to the peace of all concerned for years to come. Mother Anselma wrote on August 10, 1876, that Sister Adela Eugster was too much "geneigt zu besonderen Freundschaften" and "läßt sich nichts sagen." The Benedictine Abbot Frowin Conrad in Conception summarized monastic expectations of communal behavior when he commented on the problems among the sisters: "If a community is to prosper, all have to be of one heart and soul with the leader. The smallest disharmony, if nourished, engenders factions which generally lead to the death of all spiritual life" (9 June 1880, *Early Chron. Hist.: Biogr. Notes* 109).

There was no doubt a good deal of pressure on all missionary religious to remain loyal members of the community with which they had emigrated and with which they shared common goals. A sense of betrayal speaks in the following excerpt from the annals of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ in Ruma, Illinois, in reference to a sister who had accompanied Mother Clementine Zerr on a recruiting trip in the spring of 1876: "Schwester Charlotte Zeller war so unedel in Deutschland zurückzubleiben, nachdem ihr Ehrw[ürdige] Mutter wegen Familienangelegenheiten noch einen längeren Aufenthalt dort gestattet hatte" ("Entstehung" 55). But there is also no question that personal, individual likes and dislikes played a role in the lives of these immigrants. The manner in which the members of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ split between the groups in Ruma, Illinois, and O'Fallon, Missouri, in 1875 probably had as much to do with personal alliances between individuals as with opinions about the foundation's affiliation with Rome ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 55-57; "Entstehung" 47-54).[12] As late as 1880 Mother Clementine Zerr's diary records that Sister Mary Stoer had returned to Ruma from O'Fallon, "da sie in O'Fallon wegen Verfolgung nicht sein könne" (entry of April 22). Whether or not Sister Mary had truly been "persecuted" in O'Fallon, she evidently felt she had been. The fact that Mother Clementine recorded this opinion may also be an indication of her own willingness to lend credence to such personal interpretations.

Such evidence of conflict and changing allegiance within communities of German and Swiss nuns shows that bonds of nationality and culture, and a shared sense of purpose and of cohesion vis-à-vis the outer world, did not necessarily guarantee peaceful or even lasting relationships in the New World. (Of course, this was true of other groups in America as well, as the often virulent contents of the nineteenth-century German press testify.) Nevertheless, these communities of women usually tried to maintain and even enhance their national heritage and with it their group identity. They did this not only by continuing to use German in both their spiritual and personal lives, but also by encouraging and even actively recruiting new members for their groups in Europe. For some of them, like the Ursulines from Landshut and the Benedictines from Maria Rickenbach, it was a matter of course to appeal to the European convents from which they had come. Groups that no longer had a mother convent in Europe, like the Adorers of the Blood of Christ in Ruma and the Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood in O'Fallon, or the Sisters of St. Mary in St. Louis, also did active recruiting in Europe, often at the same time that they were on tours to solicit funds for their missionary work. Indeed, all of the communities discussed here did general recruiting of this sort, some of them well into the twentieth century. The Sisters of St. Mary made five such trips between 1893 and 1905 that added 138 members to the community (Stueber, March 1978). The ''German connection'' persisted strongly enough among the Benedictine sisters at Conception that in 1922 and 1923 Sister M. Bernard Willmann was successful in bringing back over forty candidates, most of whom professed vows with her order. This was a variation of the well-known phenomenon of chain immigration. Here, members of a family-like community of women drew other members after them, or were successful in appealing to women of shared beliefs and purpose, as well as of shared cultural heritage, to join them.

There were also more traditional instances of chain immigration, as an example from the Ruma foundation shows. In 1877, Wilhelm Franz Meier, the brother of Sister Anna, came to work as a hired hand for the sisters (he worked free for the first two years). In 1891 he became the tenant of a farm they bought adjoining their convent. Six years before this, in 1885, his widowed mother, Mrs. Anton Meier, and youngest sister, who subsequently became Sister Frances, had joined him and Sister Anna in Illinois. Mrs. Meier managed the house and farm that the congregation bought in the fall of 1885. In the same year that her mother and sister joined her in Illinois, Sister Anna Meier made a four-week trip to Germany, returning in November with two postulants and a younger brother, Otto, who five years later celebrated his first mass in the convent chapel (''Entstehung'' 96, 104, 106). Family as well as religious ties elicited this particular example of chain immigration.

Much of what has been discussed thus far indicates that the history and experiences of immigrant religious women and secular women in nineteenth-century America were similar. In one area, however, their experiences were probably almost identical. Many nuns faced the same

physical hardships of an untamed frontier as did other women of the same time and geographic areas. Religious communities who went to remote rural areas were particularly vulnerable to this sort of hardship. Sizeable portions of the chronicles of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ and Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood record the primitive conditions with which the sisters had to contend, and the hard labor necessary to keep starvation from the convent door in the early years at Piopolis ("Entstehung" 55-92; "Chronicles, O'Fallon" 10-16). As women without men, they did all of the heavy labor themselves, from clearing and leveling land for a garden to cutting wood for the winter ("Entstehung" 73-79). Even after they had bought more land for income and had hired help, some of the sisters evidently still worked outside; it was recorded that in October 1906 Sister Regine Muehlhaupt died of a stroke while working in the fields ("Entstehung" 130). The letters of the Benedictines in Nodaway County also bear witness to the simple physical hardness of life in those early years. Sister Scholastica von Matt wrote on July 17, 1876, a month after her arrival in Maryville: "Ich bin am Abend so müde, daß ich zum Beten weder stehen noch knien mag." Father Adelhelm reported on March 5, 1877, that Sister Augustina Kuendig, a teacher with household duties in the rectory who was also in charge of the church choir and the priests' two horses, was "hart geprüft—Versuchungen zum Selbstmord, zum Davonlaufen, so daß sie es kaum aushalten mag." Mother Anselma described on February 15, 1875, how the snow blew into the rectory attic in which she and the first sisters lived: ". . . and last time the whole hall was full of snow." She added: "In America that means nothing" (*Early Chron. Hist.: Biog. Notes* 21).

In the cities, too, the early immigrant sisters did not have an easy time of it. Mother Odilia Berger and her nuns had to beg for food for themselves and their patients; sisters left to nurse poor people sometimes suffered greatly from hunger themselves, even to the point, in one case, at least, of hallucinating about Mother Odilia appearing with a basket of food (Henninger 7-8). One of the Landshut Ursuline immigrants, Mother Angela Oberndorfer, wrote to her parents in October 1849 of the poor condition of the house Bishop Kenrick had placed them in; when it rained, they had to move the furniture from the walls and put containers to catch the water that poured in at the corners of the building ("Letters to Landshut" 79). The letters of these sisters contain many references to the poor living conditions in their first dwelling and requests for all sorts of equipment from the Landshut motherhouse, ranging from proper kitchen pots to fancy embroidery supplies.

There was an emotional as well as a physical cost to emigration that religious women experienced as other women did. This began with the wrenching farewell from the homeland. Even if nuns were dedicated to their missionary purpose, it cost them a great deal to say good-by to loved ones and familiar surroundings. The O'Fallon Chronicle states, for example: "Schwer war der Abschied wohl, da die Stunde der Trennung herannahte, der Trennung von der geliebten Oberin und Mitschwestern, dem trauten, stillen Kloster, von Eltern und dem

schönen Vaterlande, um alles gegen eine Zukunft zu vertauschen, die das Gegenteil verhieß'' (1-2). The Ruma chronicler recorded the touching scene at the railway station in Lörrach when the teaching sisters left. A great throng of children and parents saw them off; children threw flowers through the windows and kept the train from departing for a time by hanging on to the sides of the coaches (''Entstehung'' 39-41).

It seems to have been common practice for emigrating nuns to make a final visit home to bid family members farewell. But in the records of these Missouri and Illinois communities, at least, there are very few references to painful leave-taking from blood relatives, which is a very common motif in the writings of other immigrants. Religious women had left the world behind, and with it, their families, when they entered the convent, and so it was probably considered inappropriate, if not sinful, to allow family ties to interfere with what was considered primarily a spiritual decision to emigrate. Yet there are a few hints that such ties could play a role in both emigration and one's adaptation to America. The above-mentioned Sister Charlotte Zeller of the Adorers of the Blood of Christ, who remained in Germany after having been granted an extended stay ''because of family needs,'' is an example. On December 31, 1876, Benedictine Sister Bernardine Wachter wrote Mother Gertrude Leupi that her mother was well again, having reconciled herself to her daughter's going to America. Mother Aloisia Winkler wrote to Mother Augustina in Landshut, telling her to have candidate Theresa Hubauer buy with her dowry things that were unobtainable in St. Louis, if the latter got permission from her parents and decided to come to America (''Letters to Landshut'' 128). Several of the Landshut Ursuline sisters asked Mother Augustina to inform their parents of their safe arrival (27, 58), and Sister Angela Oberndorfer wrote herself to reassure them: ''Haben Sie keine Sorge für mich, liebe Eltern! Es reut mich noch kein [sic] Schritt. Ich bin innerlich erquikt [sic] und erfreut'' (81). In the sources used for this study, missionary women did not give voice to the pain of separation from family members to any great extent. Family correspondence might reveal more of this, if it could be found.[13]

Instead, the primary stated cause of pain at separation was that from the mother convent. The archives of the Benedictine sisters of Maria Rickenbach contain a detailed account of the departure of their emigrating group.[14] The five sisters selected to leave on August 17, 1874, were allowed to make a final visit to their families, with the stipulation that they had to be back ''daheim'' by July 29 ''und sich nachher ruhig im Gebet und Sammlung auf die Reise vorbereiten.'' On that day Abbot Anselm arrived to supervise what was packed for them (four sets of good clothing, ample underwear, and teaching material). He also announced that Mother Anselma Felber had been designated superior of the group and that she and the four others ''[waren bestimmt] als Missionärinnen, d.h. einstweilen zur Übernahme und Leitung von Mädchen-Schulen, und sodann, wenn möglich, zur Gründung eines Klosters der ewigen Anbetung in Nord-Amerika.'' In the intervening days many tears were shed: ''Wohl verursachte den Scheidenden der Abschied von der geliebten Heimat großen Schmerz.'' Sister Adela

Eugster in particular wept at every opportunity, although she proclaimed: "Ich überfließe von innerem Trost und Wonne, jedes Opfer für Jesus zu bringen!" After breakfast on the morning of August 17, the five departing sisters knelt and with tears asked pardon of all their sisters and begged for their prayers: "Ganz ergriffen knieten auch alle andern Schwestern ebenfalls nieder und baten unter Schluchzen ihrerseits um dasselbe." Then all went to mass, and afterwards the five missionaries visited the convent cemetery for the last time. At noon, all the sisters and the girls in the boarding school assembled in the chapel for a final blessing on the travelers. As the five began to walk away from the convent, almost all were weeping. Mother Anselma turned one last time and embraced Mother Gertrude, exclaiming: "O, meine liebe Mutter!" Sister Adela somehow was left behind in the midst of the other sisters: "Alle stürzten nochmals auf diese einzige zu, bis sie sich mit wahrer Kraftanstrengung den Armen ihrer geliebten Mitschwestern entwand." Those departing and those left behind waved their handkerchiefs to each other until the travelers disappeared from view. The loving detail with which this account was written indicates the pain which such departures brought to those left behind as well as to those who emigrated.

Emotional and psychological stress continued for those who went to the new land. German and Swiss nuns expressed much the same sort of cultural alienation as other immigrants in regard to adjustments to their new surroundings. New York, where most of the groups under discussion here disembarked, was the first shock. The Landshut Ursulines commented on it in particular. Mother Isabella Weinzierl wrote on January 4, 1849: ". . . alles dünkte uns Lächerlich und Närrisch" ("Letters to Landshut" 7). Mother Angela Oberndorfer described the dirty streets, the brightly colored omnibuses ("wie Ostereier"), and the strangely painted houses ("meistens blutrot, und blau mit grünen Läden") that were covered with all sorts of signs and posters. She went on to write that the priest who escorted them in the city "versicherte uns zu unserm größten Schauer, daß es keine Sünde auf der Welt gibt, die nicht hier des Tages mehrmals begangen wurde." This led her to call New York "ein zweites Sodoma und Gomohra [sic], ja viel ärger" (17-18). Sister Franziska Magold commented on the propensity of New Yorkers to set fire to their property in order to collect insurance (26-27). Here this sister sounded a theme that reverberates throughout the comments about America of these religious women, and indeed of many nineteenth-century German immigrants: the materialism of American society. Mother Isabella also commented in her reaction to New York: "So ist der Mensch ohne Religion. Hier strebt alles nur auf eines, das ist Gewinn" (18). Such impressions of American society persisted after religious women left New York. In St. Louis in 1849, Ursuline Mother Angela explained the lack of holidays in comparison to Germany with the American desire not to interrupt business (81). Benedictine Mother Anselma wrote twenty-six years later, on May 30, 1875: "Der recht [sic] Amerikaner lebt nur einmal, sein Gott ist das Geld." Mother Anselma also found American goods and housing far below German standards.

On October 12, 1874, she wrote: "Arm sind die Strümpfe; es scheint, sie sind aus Baumwolle und Papier," and on January 17, 1875: "Mir scheint Amerika aus Flitter zu bestehen." She even went so far as to connect such slipshod workmanship with immorality, and wrote on May 30, 1875: "Das ist aber hier ganz gebräuchlich, in den Kleidern und im Essen der größte Luxus, hingegen im Haus und in den Hausgeräthen die größte Armut. In der Sittlichkeit, glaube ich, gleicht es viel Südamerika. Etwas besser wird es sein." Mother Isabella, commenting on the absence of railway signal-men, asserted: ". . . überhaupt ist die Sorglosigkeit daheim bei den Amerikanern" ("Letters to Landshut" 123-124). Such reactions to American culture and society could have been expressed by either German religious or secular women of similar backgrounds.

The same could be said of other contrasts between America and Europe that the nuns in Missouri and southern Illinois noted. Differences in the landscape were a source of homesickness and alienation. The chronicles of the Sisters of the Most Precious Blood and Adorers of the Blood of Christ state:

> Die neue Welt hatte schon von vorn herein keinen angenehmen Eindruck auf [die Schwestern] gemacht in ihrem winterlichen Zustande: sie schaute kalt, schmutzig, kahl [aus]. Hütten mit Löchern statt der Fenster sahen sie auch auf dieser Tour, wo überhaupt die ersten unangenehmen Eindrücke immer wieder geweckt wurden, denn man kam immer tiefer in Busch und kahle Prairie hinein. . . . Zur Zeit der Ankunft [in Illinois] sah die Umgebung kahl und unfruchtbar aus; der Wald, der in geringer Entfernung sich zeigte, gab dem Ganzen ein fast wildes, primitives Aussehen. ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 7, 10) . . . die ersten Eindrucke sind gewöhnlich die tiefsten, und das verlassene Vaterland Baden deuchte uns, im Vergleich mit den unkultivierten Gegenden—ein blühender Garten. ("Entstehung" 43)

The Swiss Benedictine sisters in Maryville missed the mountainous landscape of their homeland. Mother Anselma wrote on September 12, 1874, of the newly-arrived group's homesickness: "Am Abend täte es gut, auf den lieben Bergen zu weilen!" In another letter she thanked Mother Gertrude for sending them a picture of the longed-for mountains at home (12 July 1876). Although another of the Benedictines, Sister Beatrice Renggli, wrote in praise of the rolling hill country around Maryville, she also blamed the winds that plagued the sisters on the openness of the countryside (Renggli 266). Mother Anselma mentioned that the shabby rectory they shared at first with the parish priests was rocked by the wind (29 May 1875), on one occasion to the extent that they had to move to a neighbor's house for the night.

Adjusting to other aspects of their Missouri environment was also a problem for these immigrants. Missouri summers were the same burden to them as to many other newly-arrived North Europeans. Mother Isabella Weinzierl wrote that in the intense heat of July 1849 she changed her perspiration-drenched habit three times a day, and easily could change twice that often ("Letters to Landshut" 54). The Landshut letters contain several references to a miserable heat rash that also

afflicted the sisters in that first summer of 1849. Mother Isabella wrote jokingly that Mother Aloisia was "zinoberrot [sic] gefärbt" and looked "ganz amerikanisch" (70-71). The earliest pioneer Adorers of the Blood of Christ became ill the first summer in Illinois:

> Hätten sie selbst besser gewußt und eingesehen, Vorsicht zu gebrauchen bei der Aclimatisierung, so möchte es wohl nicht schlimm geworden sein; aber sie glaubten, trotz Abmahnen der Leute, fähig zu sein, so wie in der alten Heimath das Feld bebauen und in der Hitze Roggen schneiden zu können, thaten es und bald hatten fast alle Fieber, die stärkeren Schwestern so heftig, daß sie für Zeiten von Sinnen kamen und fast nicht ruhig zu halten waren. ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 14-15)

The lack of shade around their house, or even of curtains at the windows, caused the building to heat up so much during the day that the sisters sometimes had to spend the night on the porch ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 15). The climatic extremes were also hard to get used to, as Sister Beatrice noted in Maryville (Renggli 266) and Mother Isabella in St. Louis ("Letters to Landshut" 108). The Landshut Ursulines also wrote about the violent thunderstorms in St. Louis, one of them, according to Mother Isabella, lasting three days ("Letters to Landshut" 80, 109).

Aside from the climate, there were other bothersome aspects of life in America. The letters of the Ursuline sisters are quite informative about this. Mother Angela wrote in October 1849 that mosquitoes were a plague in St. Louis and added that although she had seen some birds, she had not heard any of them singing and missed this ("Letters to Landshut," 80). Since we know that the Ursulines lived in what was still a very rural section of the city (they even let their cow run free with others in the neighborhood [61]), it is unlikely that birds were not singing around the convent. Yet it seemed that way to this cloistered immigrant woman. Both Mother Angela and Mother Ottilia also wrote that they missed the sound of church bells in those early years (63, 80). The Ursulines did hear something else: the sound of fire bells and fire wagons. The number of fires in America had astonished them from the time of their stay in New York. Sister Isabella took to counting them: on February 22, 1850, there had been forty since November 1, and at the end of the month she wrote that there had been twenty-one of them in February alone (94, 109). The racial make-up of American society could also be a cause for concern to immigrating sisters. The first group of Adorers of the Blood of Christ were told by a German priest in whose Indiana parish they sought lodging that Piopolis was such an insignificant place that it was not in the church register of parishes. This he took as an indication that "gewiß gehörten viele von den dortigen Ansiedlern zur schwarzen Rasse" ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 5). The account makes evident the sisters' relief on seeing no blacks among the farmers who came in their wagons to Shawneetown to take them on the last leg of the trip (6).[15]

A specific problem that German and Swiss religious women also shared with other immigrant women was adjusting to American

foodstuffs and cooking conditions. The Adorers of the Blood of Christ "hatten mit Nahrungssorgen weniger zu kämpfen, doch waren sie noch zu deutsch und wußten mit diesen Sachen nicht nach erprobtem Landesgebrauche umzugehen, so daß ihnen manches schlecht wurde" ("Chronicles, O'Fallon" 10-11). The chronicles of the Ruma Adorers list a typical day's diet in the early, hard times, which included a morning snack of parched corn for teachers and pupils:

> Mit Lust wurden die harten Körner von den jungen Amerikanerinnen zerkaut-allein den Deutschen wollte es, trotz sie nicht weniger als Feinschmecker waren, nicht munden. Nur der Gehorsam konnte die eine, vielleicht auch andere bewegen, einige Körnchen zu nehmen. ("Entstehung" 20)

The Ursulines managed to cook German dishes that reminded Vicar General Melcher of his mother's, but Sister Franziska Magold, in charge of the kitchen, had to learn how to deal with American stoves and to do without many familiar cooking utensils to accomplish this ("Letters to Landshut" 60, 105). What made such adjustments even more difficult for the Maryville Benedictine sisters was that none of the first five sent were experienced cooks. So the lack of familiarity with American culinary conditions intensified the frustration of learning to cook. Their letters often referred to the problems and resentments that resulted. Until just before the second small contingent left Switzerland Mother Anselma begged Mother Gertrude to send a sister already accomplished in culinary skills, writing on April 5, 1876: "Hoffe noch, daß statt Scholastika Ida kommen wird. Glaube nicht, daß Erstere für die Küche ist und in die Schule paßt sie ebenfalls nicht."

In an attempt to diminish the cultural shock that awaited them, religious immigrant women, like other women, sometimes brought along items from the Old World which were dear to them. These were not so much personal items, for that sort of "self-indulgence" was not encouraged in nineteenth-century convent life in Europe or America. Instead, there were things like the picture of the mountains around Maria Rickenbach that Mother Gertrude sent the Maryville Benedictines. The 1849 Ursuline immigrants brought along a piano (to enable the sisters to give the very popular music lessons that helped them make ends meet and pay their debts) and a monstrance and other chapel furnishings from the Landshut convent (Miller 81). Perhaps the most impressive example of this kind of "cultural cushion" in Missouri is the convent chapel altar from Gurtweil that the Adorers of the Most Precious Blood brought to St. Louis in 1875. It may still be seen in a side chapel of the O'Fallon convent church.

The most important area of difference between the immigrant experience of these nuns and that of other women pertains to their religious life. Frontier conditions caused hardships in this regard that secular women largely did not share. The Adorers in Piopolis saw four priests come and go in the first months of residence and sometimes had to go for weeks without the spiritual sustenance of the sacraments. Most European nuns were used to having resident priests to minister to them

and convent chapels to worship in. Indeed, the contemporary church definition of *bona fide* female religious orders included strict rules of enclosure, whereby nuns were forbidden to leave the confines of their convent except with the permission of the local bishop (for nuns with simple vows) or the pope (for nuns with solemn vows). Such orders typically had their own chapels or had direct access to the church from their convent. Except in the exercising of their professional duties, they also could communicate with persons outside the community only through a grill. In America, communities with strict rules of enclosure rejoiced when they finally were able to keep the eucharist in their own convent, no matter how primitive the chapel (Miller 82; 19 Nov. 1877 letter of Mother Anselma). The simple lack of enough priests in the new land and of appropriate physical accommodations in keeping with the rules of their order were difficult adjustments for the pioneer nuns.

The demands that the American church put on these women also caused conflicts within their spiritual lives. Orders whose prime purpose had been contemplative were now forced by the needs of a frontier church and the lack of financial support to lead active and financially remunerative lives. Mother Anselma wrote that she was resisting attempts on the part of the local bishop and the missionary priests to take on more schools, as the work itself and studying in preparation took too much time from what she thought of as the primary work of her Benedictine community, the perpetual adoration of the eucharist (May 1877). Inclined to a contemplative rather than to an active life (she had excelled in needlework, not teaching, at Maria Rickenbach), Mother Anselma was unable to reconcile the needs of the missionary church to those of the order whose rule she sought to maintain in the New World. She was not like Mother Clementine of the Ruma Adorers, who accommodated her own attraction for the interior life and contemplative prayer by occupying herself with spinning whenever possible (''Entstehung'' 88).

These cloistered, yet professionally active women had to make many such accommodations to American needs.[16] They often were pressured to change the sections of their rules prohibiting them from teaching boys, ''weil jedoch dies für Amerika unerläßlich ist,'' as the Piopolis Adorers discovered (''Chronicles, O'Fallon'' 11). Rules of enclosure had to be modified in areas where there was no separate convent, or where the convent was not close to the church or school. The Ursulines in St. Louis and the Benedictines in Maryville both experienced this. In 1872 Vicar General Muehlsiepen and Bishop Kenrick requested the Ursulines to change their strict enclosure rules in order to allow small groups of sisters to take over remote parochial schools during the school year (Miller 19). The Sisters of St. Mary began nursing victims of the current smallpox epidemic the day after their arrival in St. Louis on November 16, 1872, and at first refused remuneration in keeping with their vows of poverty. But they soon had to change their practices in this regard, for there was no framework of public charity into which they could integrate their work (Henninger 7-8). Teaching sisters had to modify

their curriculum and even learn new subjects: Mother Isabella worked on her musical skills in the Ursuline convent, for example. They also had to consider the expectations of their American pupils and the latters' parents, as when Mother Aloisia wrote on June 21, 1850, that the new Ursuline convent and school had to have a big lot, "weil die amerikanischen Kinder nicht eingesperrt werden wollen" ("Letters to Landshut" 130).

The most immediate difficulty for these women, most of whom came in constant contact with the American public through their work, was learning English. This was probably more of a problem for nuns than for many nineteenth-century German-speaking immigrant women who had little contact with Americans that might have required a firm mastery of English. Nuns shared the tendency of German speakers to retain language as part of their cultural heritage, and indeed saw this as part of their goal as missionaries. In 1850 the Ludwig-Missionsverein had given the Ursulines money for their new convent with the express purpose, penned at the end of the granting document by King Ludwig himself, that they were to accept only German-born postulants and give instruction only in German (*Souvenir* 12). But such restrictions were impractical, if not impossible, as everyone soon realized, and concessions to American realities had to be made. The Missouri Benedictines and the Sisters of St. Mary and of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood managed to retain the use of German within the community, even for liturgical use, until World War I.[17] For example, although fifty-two percent of the Sisters of St. Mary were American-born in 1917, community prayers were said in German until that time (Stueber, July 1978). Teaching sisters sometimes split their schools into groups of German-speakers and English-speakers, as did the Ursulines (Miller 157). Some groups, like the Benedictines, had to give up the idea of founding German schools and instead could teach German only as a foreign language (Renggli 268). The sisters employed various means to learn English themselves. The Ursulines first sent two sisters to live with the Visitation nuns in St. Louis for six months and in 1852 sent two more to the Ursulines in New Orleans (Miller 81-83). The Maryville Benedictines had Sister Rose Castel from St. Ferdinand's Convent in Indiana with them from October 1874 until August 1876. The letters of Mother Anselma and others in this group testify to the burden the language problem could be for adult, professional immigrant women like them. But it is perhaps a measure of the tenacity with which such women clung to their heritage in spite of the outside pressure on them to assimilate that many did not become American citizens for a very long time.[18] The archives of the Sisters of St. Mary contain a clipping from the October 10, 1921, *St. Louis Star,* reporting that fifty-five nuns of that order were to be naturalized at a mass ceremony the next day. Similarly, Mother Beate Neukum in O'Fallon, who had immigrated in 1872, wrote her sister on January 25, 1928, that she now had her citizenship papers.

The immediately preceding comments indicate that German and Swiss religious women in Missouri and southern Illinois were both

cushioned from and exposed to rapid assimilation into American society and culture. Their role as missionaries necessitated their familiarity with and some accommodation to the language and cultural expectations of their new surroundings, but life within an enclosed community enabled them to preserve their mother tongue and native heritage for a very long time. Because of their professional commitments and public role, such women probably experienced more pressure toward assimilation in the early years than most other female immigrants, who were active primarily in the home. The material examined in this study indicates that the histories of immigrant religious and secular women in this part of nineteenth-century America show many similarities in regard to reasons for immigration, reactions to the American environment, and physical hardships encountered on the frontier.[19] The differences between the two groups primarily had to do with the communal spiritual life led by the nuns. Missionary work in America meant serious disruptions in the religious practice and regulations of many orders, whereas other immigrant women could continue their domestic and community lives in much the same manner as formerly. The demands of missionary work put great pressure on the relationships among the individuals in religious communities, and separation from mother convents sometimes contributed to a breakdown in the ties that bound groups, as the histories of the Maryville Benedictines, the Adorers of the Blood of Christ, and the Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood illustrate. Similar strife or dissolution of the ties within immigrant families and communities no doubt occurred as well under the pressure of frontier change, but women's lives and roles were probably not altered so drastically by them.

By tradition and in fact, religious life in earlier centuries offered women a degree of independence and self-fulfillment that was difficult for secular women to attain. The accomplishments of women like Mother Magdalen Stehlin, Mother Odilia Berger, and Mother Gertrude Leupi show that the American missionary frontier offered opportunities for individual and group attainments that Europe (especially in the anti-clerical era of the late nineteenth century) no longer had. These religious women, and others of less prominence, fulfilled the promise of opportunity of the American frontier. Perhaps they were more successful in this than other immigrant women generally were. To be sure, this impression may be fostered by the essentially private nature of the accomplishments of most nineteenth-century immigrant women and by the paucity of personal documents by and historical sources about them. The relative richness of the sources having to do with German and Swiss religious women in Missouri and southern Illinois also aids in this impression. More work on such women in other areas of the United States is needed to either confirm or contradict the tentative conclusions of the present study.

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Notes

* The following archivists and historians were especially helpful in the research for this study: Sister Mary Domitilla Dirig, Benedictine Sisters of Perpetual Adoration of Pontifical Jurisdiction, St. Louis, MO; Sisters Mary Pauline Grady and Mary Joan Weissler, Adorers of the Blood of Christ, Ruma, IL; Harvey Johnson, Catholic Central Union, St. Louis, MO; Sister Ignatius Miller, Ursuline Provincialate, Crystal City, MO; Sister Marylu Stueber, Sisters of St. Mary, St. Louis, MO; Sister Virginia Volkerding, Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood, O'Fallon, MO.

[1] See Linda S. Pickle, "Stereotypes and Reality: Nineteenth Century German Women in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 79 (1985): 291-312.

[2] In this, as in many other respects, the history of nuns in Missouri and southern Illinois follows the patterns which Mary Ewens, OP, delineates in her wide-ranging and important dissertation on nineteenth-century nuns in America.

[3] St. Louis, with Milwaukee and Cincinnati, formed the so-called German triangle within Catholic jurisdiction in the West (Barry 44-85).

[4] The Sisters of Christian Charity first came to St. Louis in 1880 as the result of such a request (Wagener 24-25, 36).

[5] Piopolis, between McLeansboro and Dahlgren in Hamilton County, no longer exists. The original settlement the Adorers came to was called Belle Prairie until 1878, when the post office name was changed. Throughout this study, it is referred to as Piopolis.

[6] Xerox copies of all but a few of the original Benedictine historical documents cited here are in the convent archives. In those few cases, references are given to the three English translations published by the congregation and listed among the works and sources cited.

[7] I wish to thank Sister M. Pauline Grady, ASC, for allowing me to consult the final draft of her excellent history *Ruma: Home and Heritage* (Ruma, IL: Adorers of the Blood of Christ, 1984) while it was in the last stages of publication.

[8] Although the Oedenburg convent was in what is now Hungary, it seems to have been a very German community within the Austrian empire of that day.

[9] Mother Gertrude's large, bold script would seem to affirm the theory that handwriting is often a key to personality, while the small, regular style of Mother Anselma mirrors her character as her letters reveal it.

[10] Unfortunately, ecclesiastical authorities recommended that a recent biography of Mother Odilia by Sister Agnita Clare Day, SSM, not be circulated at this time. The above biographical information is found in Henninger.

[11] The originals of these "yellow fever letters" are no longer extant.

[12] The Ruma Adorers remained part of the Roman Union, and the O'Fallon sisters decided against joining it. The bishops in the respective dioceses also played a role in this that cannot be detailed here.

[13] The extant letters of Mother Beate Neukum to her mother and sister begin in 1891, nineteen years after her immigration. In response to her mother's expressed wish to see her, she wrote only that her vacation time was too short to allow it (Neukum, 22 August 1891).

[14] The following citations are from the "Aufzeichnungen über wohlehrwürden Frau Mutter Maria Anselma Felber . . ." This ts. contains excerpts from the Maria Rickenbach Convent chronicles. An English translation is found in *Letters from M. Anselma* (2-3).

[15] The history of the relationship of Germans in general and of Catholic sisters and other members of the Church hierarchy to blacks in Missouri and Illinois is worthy of a more detailed study than can be provided here.

[16] The extent to which a religious community was able or willing to make such accommodations was one of the most important factors in its success and longevity in America, as Ewens makes clear throughout her study.

[17] Ewens mentions this as being typical of German-language foundations in America (136).

[18] This may also have been because of personal and communal ties to the European motherhouse. Yet the O'Fallon Sisters of the Adoration of the Most Precious Blood and the Sisters of St. Mary were not associated with German motherhouses.

[19] The interaction of nuns with the male hierarchy of the church is similar in some ways, I think, to that of other women with the men in their lives. But this question is so complex that it merits a special study that would take into account Catholic church policy and practice of the time.

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Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich

Michael Schlatter (1716-1790): A Man-In-Between*

Michael Schlatter's career in Pennsylvania is remarkable because of his involvement in three areas.[1] As an organizer of the German Reformed Church in the Middle Colonies he defended orthodox teachings in conformity with the stance taken by his employers, the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities. He opposed therefore not only such Pietist German-speaking groups as the Moravians, but also trends within the German Reformed Church towards organizational and doctrinal independence from Holland. Despite the resulting internal struggles, Schlatter's unwavering commitment to his principles resulted in a durable organizational structure for his denomination that became independent from the Dutch Church in 1792.[2]

Schlatter also became involved in the Charity School Movement, an educational project of the 1750s that had as its aim the anglicization of German-speaking immigrants who seemed to the movement's proponents too stubbornly attached to their inherited language and customs.[3] The undertaking was funded by the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God Among the Germans and was controlled by prominent colonial trustees of English origin. The promoters considered Schlatter an ideal mediator between English-Pennsylvanian interests and those of the German-speaking immigrant communities and chose him to be superintendent of the schools when they opened after February 1755. Yet most German-speaking immigrants rejected the schools' political and culturally assimilationist goals. Hence Schlatter met with deep-seated mistrust and failed in his mission.

After 1757 the immigrant pastor participated in several campaigns against American Indians as chaplain of the Royal American Regiment.[4] On the eve of the Revolution he joined General Howe's army, but refused further cooperation with the British in September 1777. He was imprisoned and lost a considerable part of his property.[5] After his release, he retired to Chestnut Hill where he died in 1790.[6]

Schlatter was a controversial figure during his lifetime and has remained so also in the assessment of historians. He failed in his most

important assignments, was dismissed from his ecclesiastical post, and earned the scorn of German-speaking Pennsylvanians for his role in the Charity School Movement. On the basis of incomplete information or by conscious suppression of fact, historians such as Henry Harbaugh, James I. Good, William J. Hinke, Sidney Ahlstrom, and Charles H. Glatfelter have interpreted those failures as resulting from intractable immigrant behavior. Based on a study of primary sources in Switzerland, Holland, Great Britain, and the United States, this essay presents a different view and also hopes to correct some widely repeated errors of fact.[7]

Youthful Years

Michael Schlatter was born on July 14, 1716, in St. Gall in eastern Switzerland. His family was fairly prominent and its origin reached back to the late fifteenth century.[8] His paternal grandfather had served as dean, that is chief ecclesiastic, of the Reformed churches in St. Gall, and one of his uncles finished his ministerial career as headmaster of the city's grammar school. Michael Schlatter's father was a bookkeeper, and on both sides of his parents familial relations reached beyond Switzerland into Germany and Holland. This may in part account for young Schlatter's open-minded disposition and his knowledge of foreign languages.

His education was typical for a member of a family of such station. He had decided early to enter the ministry of the Reformed Church. After completion of his schooling in St. Gall, Michael Schlatter went abroad in 1739 without the knowledge of his parents to visit universities in Germany and Holland. He returned home briefly, only to leave again since opportunities seemed too limited in his native city and ministerial candidates had to be prepared to spend long years in subordinate positions. It was also a time when emigration to British North America had become quite common.

In mid-1744 the young theologian returned home and accepted a position as assistant pastor in Wigoltingen, Canton Thurgau. He fulfilled his duties to everyone's satisfaction, although a certain worldliness became apparent quite early. The curate liked to smoke tobacco in public and delighted in arguing against public control of social behavior. He also got to know Anna Bürkli-Beyel, the married daughter of the pastor he served and the mother of eight children.

In the summer of 1745 Schlatter accepted the position of Sunday evening preacher in the city of St. Gall. Soon after, Anna Bürkli informed him that she was with child. Thus the young curate faced prosecution and, possibly, the end of his ministerial career. Although in serious difficulties, Schlatter did not inform his family of his precarious situation, but prepared instead his secret escape. In the first days of 1746, shortly after the birth of his illegitimate son (who was to die the following year), Schlatter disappeared.[9]

His behavior in this crisis provides some insight into his character, an important element for understanding later events when Schlatter had

entered the service of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church. Three traits stand out. First, he seems to have been prone to deception and cowardice in dealing with people. It appears proven, for instance, that he advised Anna Bürkli to explain her pregnancy by testifying under oath that she had been attacked and abused by three soldiers she had encountered while working in the fields. Later he claimed that he had not been informed about her pregnancy. Second, he seems to have been high-handed and irresponsible in dealing with money. In 1746 his parents complained to the authorities that their son had already spent a good part of his inheritance on travels and books. Shortly after his ordination on August 25, 1739, he had reportedly requested immediate payment of a scholarship awarded to him. On December 4, 1745, when preparing his secret escape, he demanded early payment of his salary; both requests were however denied by the authorities.[10] Third, the independence with which he had undertaken his travels as a student of theology and the daring with which he executed his flight are remarkable and reveal a resourceful personality. Positive and negative traits were apparently closely intertwined in his character.

Between Free and Organized Church

In the 1730s the South Holland Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church assumed responsibility for the spiritual welfare of the German-speaking Reformed settlers in Pennsylvania, in part because of the growing importance of Rotterdam as a port of embarkation. At the very time when Schlatter was in search of a new career, the synod was in great need of ministers willing to assume pastoral duties in Penn's province. By presenting testimonials of good conduct and expressing sincere concern for Pennsylvania's infant Reformed Church, Schlatter was able to secure an influential position that would have certainly been denied him, had the truth about his past been known.[11]

Although only thirty years old and without experience as pastor of a congregation, Schlatter was now entrusted not only with taking a census of Pennsylvania's Reformed communities, but also with establishing an ecclesiastical organization that was to conform to that of the Reformed Church of Holland. A written instruction detailed his authority as *visitator ecclesiae,* a function that was assumed in the Dutch tradition in rotation and only by senior ministers. He was also provided with sufficient funds for carrying out his initial tasks until he could draw an income from taking charge of a congregation.[12]

Schlatter left the Netherlands on June 1, 1746, and arrived in Philadelphia three months later. Because of the urgent need for ministers his arrival was welcome, yet distrust emerged as soon as it was realized that the newcomer derived his authority from the Reformed Church of Holland; many Pennsylvania Germans greatly valued their independence, and above all, their congregational independence. Schlatter went to work with much energy. By 1750 he had undertaken twenty-six journeys on horseback, ten of them in his first year, that took him also into New Jersey and Virginia. He organized some fifty Reformed congregations which he grouped into sixteen parishes.[13]

In his report to the Synod of South Holland Schlatter estimated that there were some 90,000 German-speaking people in Pennsylvania, a third of them of the Reformed persuasion. He described them as often quite ignorant and in danger of losing their accustomed faith. This view which he disseminated in Switzerland, Holland, and England was deeply resented by Pennsylvania Germans who considered it as pure slander. It was also noted with some bitterness that Schlatter catered to those in leading political or ecclesiastical positions to the detriment of the common people.[14]

In 1746 Schlatter succeeded in uniting the German Reformed congregations of Philadelphia and Germantown into one parish although many had defended their respective independence for years. He hoped to assume permanently the pastorate of that parish himself, but his dependence on the Synod of South Holland as well as his personality dashed this plan. He did, however, achieve another goal, the creation of a viable organization for Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church. At the end of September 1747, the Reformed "coetus" of Pennsylvania held its first synod in Philadelphia, the main port of entry of German-speaking immigrants. In addition to Schlatter the participants included the ministers John Philip Boehm, George Michael Weiss, and John Bartholomew Rieger, representing ten of Pennsylvania's thirty-eight congregations; the clergymen were joined by twenty-eight church elders from eighteen communities.[15] Conflicts arose from the beginning. Schlatter was a recent arrival, quite young, elitist, and in control of ample funds. Boehm, in contrast, had labored in Pennsylvania since 1720, was thirty-three years older, and had remained a man of only modest means.[16] The lay elders were farmers, artisans, or petty merchants with less formal schooling, but often critical of Schlatter's approach to church affairs. In their view he represented a foreign authority in whose name he often took unilateral action.

Anger and dissatisfaction resulted from the way Schlatter handled the so-called Reiff case.[17] Since 1730 the church elder Reiff, a merchant, had retained funds that had been collected in the Netherlands for Pennsylvania's Reformed parishes. Although Schlatter finally succeeded in persuading Reiff to relinquish at least part of the funds, he failed to turn them over to the parish, but took them into his own custody until 1756. He also praised Reiff in a German-language newspaper as "an honest man and friend." Boehm further criticized the Dutch emissary for overstepping his authority, for introducing catholicizing ceremonies into the Reformed liturgy, for keeping inadequate records, and for boasting about his privileged position because of his special relationship with the leaders of the Reformed Church of Holland, and his control of church funds. Boehm also lamented Schlatter's efforts to expand his powers since the coetus of 1747 and his plans to construct a splendid stone church in Philadelphia that would plunge the congregation into debt.[18]

The elders of the Philadelphia-Germantown congregation were also quite unhappy with their pastor. They complained about his arrogant manner, his preference for dealing with "English gentlemen," his

persistent dissatisfaction with the allotted salary, and his empty promises as to financial support expected from Europe. They reproached him for neglecting his duties towards the sick, the poor, and the young whom he taught in a boring and ridiculous manner. Also his affair with Anna Bürkli had become known and he was accused of having tried to seduce the wife of one of his hosts and of having commented that adultery was not really sinful, a statement also attributed to him in St. Gall when the Bürkli matter was being investigated by the authorities. But most important was the quarrel over church property. The elders refused to relinquish their title to the church grounds, for which the parish had paid, and to sign them over to Schlatter as the representative of the Dutch authorities. They refused, furthermore, to grant him an indefinite appointment and insisted on their right to install and remove ministers as they saw fit; nor would they commit themselves to a foreign power. These views, although not inconsistent with European as well as Pennsylvanian traditions, were interpreted by Schlatter in his reports to Holland as sheer insubordination. The Synod of South Holland accepted that interpretation and dismissed all the other complaints against their representative as unfounded and slanderous attacks by arrogant and ungrateful parishioners.[19]

In 1749 the Philadelphia-Germantown parish split into two factions. Schlatter's opponents rallied around John Conrad Steiner, also a Swiss immigrant, who had consistently challenged Schlatter's claim of special authority and of the parishes' subjection to Dutch jurisdiction. In the ensuing near-violent confrontations influential Philadelphians sided with the embattled Schlatter. In March 1750 a special investigating committee, composed of prominent Philadelphians of English descent, cleared him of all wrongdoing. The Dutch ecclesiastical authorities also dismissed all complaints that had reached them in May of 1750. On the occasion of Schlatter's first return visit to Europe in 1751-52 they attested to his "snow-white" innocence. Once again he had been able to obtain letters of good conduct with extraordinary cleverness, even from members of the opposition after he had promised to relinquish his claim to the permanent pastorate of the Philadelphia-Germantown parish. This made him unemployed, a fact he never mentioned on his European tour.[20]

He was able to collect funds and books, especially in Holland, whereas in Switzerland he was received much more coolly. The Bürkli matter, however, was officially laid to rest there since his family and that of Beyel had come to an amicable settlement some years earlier. Schlatter's greatest success was the selection of six young ministers willing to enter the service of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Church.[21] In addition, the Presbyterian minister of Amsterdam had been so impressed by Schlatter's description of the supposed plight of Pennsylvania's German Reformed Protestants that he volunteered to collect funds in Great Britain.

In August 1752 Schlatter arrived in Philadelphia with reinforced authority, new funds, and the six ministers. He immediately reclaimed the Philadelphia-Germantown congregation which, however, was also

claimed by Rubel, one of the new arrivals, who had become alienated from him during the voyage. When the coetus convened in October, a schism occurred: The three ministers Weiss, Leydich, and Wissler as well as the elders of the congregations left the gathering declaring that "the parishes do not agree with the subordination of our coetus and rules under the Dutch church." They challenged Schlatter's authority as illegitimate and held a separate coetus in 1753. When news of these developments reached Holland, both coeti were declared invalid. Although Schlatter was without the support of church elders, his position remained strong, not the least because he controlled most of the funds. The schism, however induced the members of the Synod of South Holland to take the accusations that continued to reach them more seriously, to inquire in St. Gall about the rumored Bürkli affair, and to criticize the behavior of their representative. Schlatter resigned, therefore, from the coetus on October 11, 1753, and prepared to return to Europe, again armed with testimonials of good conduct.[22]

When he met with the Dutch ecclesiastical authorities in April 1754, the situation had changed drastically. He was confronted with the Bürkli affair and his subsequent concealment of the matter. Yet the Dutch authorities decided to grant him an honorable discharge, not in the least because Schlatter had already accepted the superintendency of a planned system of free schools for German-speaking Pennsylvanians. According to the minutes of the deputies of both synods, dated June 19, 1754, a general cover-up was decided upon. Official and everlasting silence was to be kept about the Bürkli affair and its subsequent concealment, and Schlatter was to receive a strong recommendation for his new post.[23]

When Schlatter returned to Pennsylvania in the fall of 1754, peace had been restored. He was invited to rejoin the coetus in a show of unity and reconciliation. On that occasion also a declaration of loyalty was sent to the governor of Pennsylvania since armed conflict with the French seemed unavoidable and Pennsylvania's Germans had met with distrust from the Anglo-American elite.[24] When news reached Holland about these events, the church authorities remained firm. They insisted on his complete withdrawal from all official affiliation with the German Reformed Church. In November 1755 his name appeared for the last time in the minutes of the deputies of both synods in The Hague when his permanent and full dismissal was insisted upon. Thus Schlatter was deprived of reaping the fruits of his efforts at the very moment when his full acceptance seemed to have been achieved.

Between Religion and Reason of State

In his diary of 1746, in a letter to Thomas Penn of June 1751, in the *Warhafte Erzehlung* of 1752, as well as in other documents Schlatter had described the supposedly desperate educational level of his countrymen and fellow believers in dramatic terms, as a situation potentially damaging both to the Protestant faith as well as to British interests. The lack of ministers, teachers, books, churches, and schools, the supposed

ignorance of the German-speaking settlers, their alleged inclination to adopt Indian ways and thus to lapse into paganism, were themes that he had repeated on his European journey in order to collect funds and other assistance. The Presbyterian minister Thompson, a Scot who resided in Amsterdam, had been so deeply moved by Schlatter's descriptions that he decided to carry his message to England.[25] Out of his efforts grew the so-called Charity School Movement under the patronage of prominent politicians and clergymen. In 1753 they founded in London the "Society for the Propagation of the Knowledge of God Among the Germans." In 1754 six Pennsylvanian trustees were chosen to supervise the work: Governor James Hamilton, Chief Justice William Allen, Secretary of State Richard Peters, Postmaster Benjamin Franklin, the Reverend William Smith, and Conrad Weiser, himself a Pennsylvania German. Schlatter was entrusted with the founding and management of the planned schools. His experience, and knowledge of the German language, seemed to make him an excellent choice in helping to anglicize the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch.[26] The traditional denominational school became thus transformed into an institution in the service of the state, that is of Great Britain just then engaged in a serious struggle with France over supremacy in North America.[27]

These plans, however, met with the stiff resistance of the Pennsylvania Germans, led in part by Christopher Sauer, a Pietist and pacifist who published the *Hoch-Deutsche Pennsylvanische Berichte oder: Sammlung wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich*.[28] He claimed that the German-speaking settlers did not need English charity, that English influence would merely spoil the children of plain German folk, and that those of poorer parents could not attend the free schools anyway because they lacked the necessary means to defray the costs of transportation and for room and board. German and Swiss settlers were also incensed about Schlatter's negative reports and claimed that he had failed to work for the establishment of a German Reformed grammar school. All the previous criticisms as to his conduct were revived. Schlatter was also opposed by the Anglican William Smith who fully shared Franklin's negative view of the Pennsylvania Germans and hoped to intensify the anglicizing effort of the schools by the elimination of any involvement of Schlatter or the German Reformed coetus.[29]

Between February and July 1755 Superintendent Schlatter opened nevertheless eight of the planned twenty-five schools; some of them attracted over a hundred children. In April 1756 he started on his second visitation of the schools in the company of trustee William Smith, but soon after withdrew from the enterprise, at the very time when he was forced also to leave the coetus and to relinquish any official pastoral position. It turned out that his choice had been ill-advised in the light of the deep distrust many Pennsylvania Germans harbored against him because of his previous conduct and his bad reports on their situation. But most also rejected any anglicizing effort, especially the demand that instruction be given in English.

Between Loyalty and Revolution

In March 1756 the English government had decided to establish an infantry regiment that was to be composed of German, Dutch, and Swiss Protestants and to be named The Royal American Regiment. On March 25, 1757, Reverend Schlatter accepted an appointment from General Loudon, to serve as "His Majesty's Chaplain" in the regiment's 4th Battalion.[30] He was now forty years of age and had already failed three times in his career. Although he had just purchased a home near Philadelphia he decided to leave his wife, aged twenty-six, and his six children in order to partake in the northern campaign of the French and Indian War from 1757 to 1759. On his return he made his living as an independent minister. In 1764 he returned to the Royal American Regiment to serve as chaplain in the 2nd Battalion that was commanded by his fellow-countryman Henry Bouquet who was to rout the Indian forces at Bushy Run near present-day Pittsburgh.[31] After that campaign Schlatter returned to Philadelphia.

In political matters Schlatter supported the policy of military defense, the proprietary party, and full loyalty to the British crown. His allegiance remained unchanged despite the fact that many Pennsylvania Germans of pacifist leanings allied themselves with the militantly anti-British Scotch-Irish.[32] He kept aloof from the various controversies engendered by British policies, and his name was absent from an address of support sent by leading Lutheran and Reformed clergymen to the Second Continental Congress. In contrast, the leading Lutheran minister, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, as well as many German Reformed ministers, cautiously or actively sided with the cause of the independence party.[33] In 1777 Schlatter left secretly for New York to join Howe's army whereas two of his sons joined the ranks of the German American Regiment that had been established by an act of the Continental Congress in May 1776. When, in September 1777, Howe's army approached Philadelphia and faced the Continentals at Brandywine Creek, Schlatter deserted the British forces for unexplained reasons, perhaps because he could not bear fighting against his own sons. He was captured by the British and imprisoned, and his house was plundered. These experiences somewhat rehabilitated him in the eyes of those who were fighting for independence.[34]

Years in Retirement

A list of his losses, published by Schlatter in the *Pennsylvania Packett* on January 2, 1779, as well as documents relating to his purchase of a new home in September 1780, give some insight into the circumstances of his last years. He was clearly a book lover; he had lost over eight hundred of them in 1777, and an inventory of his belongings of November 27, 1790, lists many works written in various languages as well as maps and bibles. Their value was equivalent to that of his horse "Imprimus."[35]

In the last decade of his life Schlatter lived with three of his unmarried daughters in Chestnut Hill not far from his first residence.

Two other daughters were married; Maria lived with her husband Adam Schneider nearby; Susannah, the wife of Daniel Hughes, an ironmaster, lived at Mont Alto near the Maryland border. Schlatter performed occasional ceremonies such as marriages and kept in contact with members of Philadelphia's elite. When he died on October 31, 1790, aged 74, he had survived three of his four sons. Schlatter's estate was valued at about 730 pounds.[36]

In 1900 Henry S. Dotterer praised James I. Good for his *History of the Reformed Church* as follows: "He extracts these facts which help to illustrate our history and lets rest in obscurity the mischievous stuff to which misguided men gave utterance."[37] Thus Dotterer, like historians before and after him, concentrated on Schlatter's successful efforts to give the German Reformed denomination in Pennsylvania a durable organizational structure. It seems important, however, not to neglect "the mischievous stuff" because it not only reveals aspects of Schlatter's personality, but also explains attitudes and actions by his opponents who all too often have been described as simple- and narrow-minded troublemakers. Their fight for congregational autonomy, for title to church properties, and for administrative independence from Holland had been greatly complicated by Michael Schlatter's high-handedness and his morally not untroubled past. Three aspects of his career stand out:

(1) Schlatter always seems to have been a man-in-between: He seems to have been suspended between the expectations of the Dutch authorities and the aspirations of the Reformed Pennsylvania Germans; between the assimilationist efforts of the Anglo-American elite and the stubborn Pennsylvania-German defense of their inherited language and traditions; between the demands of loyalty towards the crown and those of the ultimately victorious independence party. His character made him ill-suited for the task of mediator, and his difficulties seemed at times exacerbated by genuine moral weakness.

(2) Although Schlatter was ambitious and enjoyed positions of power and influence, his life was beset by crises and failures which brought him much suffering. His yearning for social prestige and organizational power was never fully satisfied. Even his family brought him no joy: Whereas his friend, the Lutheran leader Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, had gained much prestige from the success of his sons in the formative years of the American republic, Schlatter lost three of them before his own death.[38]

(3) Although Schlatter had clearly alienated many Pennsylvania Germans because of his elitist and assimilationist posture, his activities and contacts during his later years remained impressive. A certain charismatic charm and magnetism had secured him enduring sympathies not only among the Anglo-Pennsylvanian elite, but also among German-speaking plain folk.[39]

Schlatter's life was marked by genuine achievement as well as serious failure, by energetic devotion to the tasks at hand as well as high-handed arrogance, by moral failure as well as virtuous perseverance. His life highlights not only the peculiar condition of an

immigrant who was caught between competing forces, but also the general human condition in which the low and the sublime seem hopelessly intertwined.

Brugg, Switzerland

Notes

* American adaptation by Leo Schelbert; for an earlier version see *SAHS Newsletter* 19 (June 1983): 3-25.

[1] This essay summarizes the main findings of Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Michael Schlatter von St. Gallen (1716–1790), eine biographische Untersuchung zur schweizerischen Amerika-Auswanderung des 18. Jahrhunderts,* Diss. Zürich 1981 (Zürich: ADAG, 1981). Two biographies are basic: Henry Harbaugh, *The Life of the Reverend Michael Schlatter . . . 1716–1790* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1857); James I. Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1725–1792* (Reading, PA: D. Miller, 1899), pp. 294-472. More recent biographical sketches are: William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and in other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century,* ed. George W. Richards (Lancaster, PA: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951), pp. 37-47; Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1972), pp. 248-49; Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and Congregations,* Vol. I of *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717–1793* (Breinigsville, PA: The Pennsylvania German Society, 1980), pp. 117-19; Vol. II: *The History* (1981), pp. 217-21; cf. also pp. 112-26. For the general context of Swiss emigration in the eighteenth century see Leo Schelbert, *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Zürich: Leemann, 1976), pp. 231-34.

As to basic printed sources see William J. Hinke, ed., "Diary of the Reverend Michael Schlatter: June 1–December 15, 1746," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society,* 3 (September 1905), 105-21; (December 1905), 158-76; Michael Schlatter, *Warhafte Erzehlung von dem wahren Zustand der meist hirtenlosen Gemeinden in Pensilvanien und denen angrenzenden Provinzen . . .* (Frankfurt a.M: Philip Wilhelm Eichenberg d. J., 1752); William J. Hinke and James I. Good, eds., *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1742–1792. Together with Three Preliminary Reports of Reverend Philip Boehm 1734–1744* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publishing Board, 1903); William J. Hinke, ed., *Life and Letters of the Reverend John Philip Boehm, Founder of the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, 1683–1749* (Philadelphia: Publication and Sunday School Board of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1916; rpt. Salem, NH: Ayer Co., 1972).

[2] Basic primary sources are: Archives of the Dutch Reformed Church in The Hague, Netherlands, "Acta Deputatorum Utriusque Synodi," Vols. IX–XI (September 8, 1738–June 26, 1756), No. 32, hereafter cited as "Acta Deputatorum"; also ibid., "Pennsylvanica," No. 74, I and II; Hugh Hastings, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York,* Vols. IV–VI (Albany, NY: J.B. Lyon, State Printer, 1902 and 1905). The archives of the [German] Reformed Church in the United States are located in Lancaster, PA, and St. Louis, MO; those of the [Dutch] Reformed Church in America in New Brunswick, NJ. In 1934 the Reformed Church in the U.S. joined with the Evangelical Church to form the Evangelical and Reformed Church, which in 1957 merged with the Congregational Christian Churches to form the present United Church of Christ.

[3] See Whitfield J. Bell, Jr., "Benjamin Franklin and the German Charity Schools," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society,* 99 (December 1955), 381-87; Glenn Weaver, "Benjamin Franklin and the Pennsylvania Germans," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 14 (October 1957), 536-59. Schlatter's role is discussed by Arthur D. Graeff, *The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750–1776)* (Norristown, PA: Pennsylvania German Society, 1939, Vol. 47, Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses, Part Three), pp. 33-49; Dietmar Rothermund, *The Layman's Progress. Religion and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania 1740–1770* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), pp, 88-94; Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 258-310; Good, *History,* pp. 435-59; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 180-208.

[4] See Graeff, *Relations,* pp. 150-54; Robert L. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania 1682–1756* (New York: Published for Temple Univ. Publications by Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), pp. 184-85; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* VII (Harrisburg, PA: Theo Fenn, 1851), 234-35. On French Swiss Officers who played a major role in the regiment see Arnold Lätt, *Schweizer Offiziere als Indianerkrieger und Instruktoren der englischen leichten Infanterie,* 125. Neujahrsblatt der Feuerwerkergesellschaft (Artillerie-Kollegium) in Zürich auf das Jahr 1933 (Zürich: Beer, 1933). See also Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 325-26; Good, *History,* p. 468; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 213-14.

[5] See Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 336-41; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 209-10, 220-29; for the broader context see Graeff, *Relations,* pp. 246-52; William T. Parsons, *Another Rung up the Ladder: German Reformed People in American Struggles 1754–1783* (Collegeville, PA: Ursinus College, 1976).

[6] See City Archives of Philadelphia, "Register of Grantees and Grantors 1683–1851," Vol. S, "Schlatter"; also Register of Wills, Philadelphia, "Last Will and Testament No. 18, 1790, in the Matter of the Estate of Michael Schlatter."

[7] Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* offers a highly idealized and patriotic view; Good, *History,* omitted negative aspects; for this he was praised by Henry S. Dotterer, *Historical Notes Relating to the Pennsylvania Reformed Church* (Philadelphia: Perkiomen Publishing Co., 1900), p. 101; Glatfelter, *Pastors and Congregations,* pp. 117-19, also blames the parishioners for Schlatter's difficulties; cf. Marthi Pritzker-Ehrlich, "Glatfelter's Schlatter: A Review Note," *SAHS Newsletter,* 19 (June 1983), 18-19.—A major error found in most secondary sources is to make Schlatter an employee of the Classis of Amsterdam; his main bond was to the Synod of South Holland, with eventual involvement also of the Synod of North Holland and of the Classis of Amsterdam; for the complex jurisdictional structure see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 47-48.

[8] City Archives of St. Gall, Vadiana, "Stemmatologia Sangallensis," Tomus P, Family CIX, Nos. 4 ss; No. 74: "Michael Schlatter"; much detail in Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 17-23, esp. pp. 22-23, where several errors of Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 27-32, are addressed.

[9] City Archives of St. Gall, "Biographia omnium ministrorum Sangallensium"; on Schlatter there are two biographical sketches, a first in Vadiana, Kirchenarchiv I, Vol. 196/D, No. 179; a second in Vol. 193, No. 180, which is of later origin and contemptuously hostile.—Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* p. 31, mistakenly dates Schlatter's candidacy as preacher to 1730 instead of 1739: see Vadiana, Ratsregister, Vol. III, p. 784; also Ratsprotokoll, 26 March 1739, p. 93.—Schlatter received a certificate of good conduct from Dean Beyel on 21 June 1745, before the Anna Bürkli-Beyel matter had become known. He made extensive use of this document in Holland as well as in Philadelphia; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* p. 258, for details as to sources and errors in Harbaugh.

[10] As to money matters see Vadiana, Verordnetenbuch 4 Dec. 1745, p. 126; also Ratsprotokoll 25 Aug. 1739, p. 252; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 101-05, for details relating to Philadelphia.

[11] Besides Dean Beyel's certificate of good conduct Schlatter also received a recommendation from a Mr. Cruciger of Heidelberg according to the protocol of 14-18 March 1746, of the Deputies of South Holland; some days later he was interviewed by the deputies of both synods and impressed them by his pious comportment, but was asked to submit a letter of honorable discharge from his post in St. Gall; Schlatter did submit such a document from the Reverend Joachim Scherer; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 49-52.

[12] "Acta Deputatorum," IX (23 and 27 May 1746), 622-32.

[13] For the diary in Dutch see ibid., No. 74, I, 45; English translation by Hinke, "Diary"; the years 1746 to 1750 in Michael Schlatter, *Getrouw Verhaal . . .* (Amsterdam 1751), in German as *Warhafte Erzehlung . . .* (Frankfurt a. M., 1752).

[14] Boehm's letter, critical of Schlatter, to an official of the Classis of Amsterdam is printed in Hinke, ed., *Boehm,* pp. 442-63; a possibly abridged version of a document with eight charges in "Acta Deputatorum," No. 74, II, 10, No. 27, 99-101. Schlatter shared the misgivings of the Anglo-American elite as to the German-speaking Pennsylvanians; see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter,* pp. 181-92.

[15] Hinke and Good, eds., *Minutes,* pp. 32-38; Hinke, ed., "Diary," p. 116; Schlatter, *Erzehlung,* pp. 50-51.

[16] Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* labels him as "founder," a title Hinke, ed., *Boehm,* reserves for the latter.

[17] William J. Hinke, "History of the Reiff Case," in *Notes*, ed. Dotterer, pp. 133-37, 150-57, 164-66, 187-97; Joseph H. Dubbs, ed., "Papers in the Reiff Case, 1730–1749," *The Reformed Quarterly Review*, 40 (1893), 55-70; for a summary view see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 85-86.

[18] Hinke, ed., *Boehm*, pp. 442-63; his fully credible reports went unheeded in part because of the involvement of three different bodies which met at different times.

[19] See "Pennsylvanica," No. 74, II, 10, 63-106, for some thirty documents which were not taken seriously until after 1753.

[20] Favorable testimonials from high-ranking people which Schlatter had received for his 1751-52 trip to Europe effectively neutralized the complaints sent by obscure parishioners.

[21] For biographical sketches see Hinke, *Ministers*. In July 1752 the Reformed Cantons of the Swiss Confederacy decided against any support of Schlatter, partly inspired by anti-emigration mercantilist views.

[22] Congregational independence and the role of lay elders as trustees of church property were main issues of contention; see "Pennsylvanica," No. 74, I, 473-75; also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (June 1753), 52. For testimonials from Richard Peters, Secretary of State, and the Presbyterian ministers Gilbert Tennent and Samuel Davis see "Pennsylvanica," No. 74, I, 84-86; "Acta Deputatorum," XI (March 1754), 136-38.

[23] Dutch inquiries about Schlatter's past were answered by Antistes Wirz, the chief ecclesiastic of the Zurich church, on April 9, 1754; see Staatsarchiv Zürich, E II, 434, No. 20, verso; also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (April 22-23, 1754), 155-57. "Holy silence" was decided upon by the deputies of both synods, "Acta Deputatorum," XI (June 19, 1754), 165, for five reasons: Nobody would gain from the promulgation of the facts; the reputation of the Schlatter family would be damaged and Schlatter's service in Pennsylvania annihilated ('zunichte gemacht'); the interests of the Pennsylvania parishes would be harmed; charitable contributions from Dutch parishes would diminish and, finally, one could claim that the deputies had failed properly to examine Schlatter's credentials in 1746; for additional details see Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 163-70.

[24] Latin version of memorial to Governor Morris (1754), in *Pennsylvania Archives*, II (Philadelphia: Joseph Severns, 1853), 185-86; trans. in Hinke and Good, eds., *Minutes*, pp. 120-21.

[25] See Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 161-63, for Schlatter's letter to Thomas Penn, 12 June 1751; cf. also "Acta Deputatorum," XI (March 13-15, 1753), 43; (June 4-8), 54-55; (June 19), 162-65.

[26] William Smith supported the school project, but rejected any involvement by the German Reformed Coetus; see Bell, "Franklin," p. 383.

[27] Graeff, *Relations*, p. 33, comments: "The so-called Charity School movement among the Germans of Pennsylvania was not so much a charitable as a political undertaking."

[28] See, e.g., Sauer's letter to Conrad Weiser, in Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 171-73; pp. 91-93 for the context.

[29] See Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 46-49; also Hermann Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik in Pennsylvania 1681–1776. Die Wandlungen der Obrigkeitsdoktrin und des Peace Testimony der Quäker* (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1972), pp. 270-73.

[30] See above, note 4.

[31] On Bouquet see E. Douglas Branch, "Henry Bouquet: Professional Soldier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 62 (1938), 41-51; Louis M. Waddell, "The American Career of Henry Bouquet, 1755–1765," *SAHS Newsletter*, 17 (February 1981), 13-38. Basic is: S. K. Stevens et al., eds., *The Papers of Henry Bouquet*, Vol. I: *1756-1758* (Harrisburg, PA: Historical and Museum Commission, 1972); Vol. II: *Forbes Expedition* (1951); Vol. IV: *September 1-August 31, 1760* (1978).

[32] See Wellenreuther, *Glaube und Politik*, pp. 402-21, for context.

[33] Graeff, *Relations*, pp. 239-52; Rothermund, *Layman's Progress*, pp. 134-38; also Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans and the American Revolution," *Pennsylvania Folklife*, 25 (Spring 1976), 2-17; he offers an incisive general analysis as to clergy and laity.

[34] Harbaugh, *Schlatter*, pp. 336-37; Pritzker-Ehrlich, *Schlatter*, pp. 220-29.

[35] Schlatter's notice of missing items appeared in *The Pennsylvania Packett or The General Advertiser*, 2 Jan. 1779, front page, middle column; rpt. *SAHS Newsletter*, 19 (June 1983), p. 17; see also above, note 6.

[36] See "Will Index 1682–1859," M-Z. S: Book U, No. 18, 1790, p. 41, for Schlatter's will (22 October) and inventory of property (27 November); account and payment of debts (1 September 1794); final statement of condition (2 May 1795).

[37] Dotterer, ed., *Notes,* p. 101.

[38] The Schlatter and Muhlenberg families were well acquainted; see Hinke, ed., "Diary," pp. 151-59. Two sons of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg were witnesses to Schlatter's will; see Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 342-48.

[39] Harbaugh, *Schlatter,* pp. 351-52, notes that people he interviewed remembered Schlatter with affection.

Edith Robbins

Friedrich Hedde: Grand Island's Forty-Eighter, Pioneer and Leader

In the Grand Island, Nebraska, cemetery stands a large, imposing grave marker inscribed with the words, "Friedrich Hedde, Pioneer and Leader." This inscription is not an example of exaggerated familial pride. It is a fitting epitaph for a German immigrant, a "forty-eighter," who played a major role in the development of Grand Island.

Friedrich August Peter Hedde was born September 11, 1818, in the town of Rendsburg, Holstein, the son of First Lieutenant Nicolaus Hedde, who had fought as a volunteer against Napoleon, and Charlotte Hedde (née Scherneckau), the daughter of a prosperous building contractor. His upbringing was typical for his parents' social class. He attended both public and private schools until the age of ten when he entered the local gymnasium. Graduation from this institution led to the study of jurisprudence at the Christian Albrecht University of Kiel where he finished "mit sehr rühmlichen Auszeichnungen" in the fall of 1841. With his formal education behind him, he immediately set himself up in Kiel as a lawyer (Andersen 102).

Hedde quickly made his mark in this famous seaport town. The Kieler Turnverein, the first society of its type in Holstein and Schleswig, was founded in 1844 and consisted mainly of students from Kiel University. There was some opposition from the government toward the organization of this group; for example, only after several attempts did the *Turnverein* secure a hall where classes in physical culture could be held. Hedde was the main driving force behind the formation of the *Turnverein.* All of the club's official documents and letters from this period are in Hedde's handwriting, and it is thought that he drafted the constitution of the organization. Hedde was also a member of the original board of directors (Struve 14).

In 1848 during the uprising in Schleswig-Holstein against the Danish government and crown (a movement which started in Kiel), this *Turnverein* converted itself into a military organization and went to war. Fifty years after the founding of the *Turnverein,* Hedde, who was then

living in Grand Island, Nebraska, received a cablegram from this Kiel organization asking him as "the only living organizer of that famous society" to come to Germany in order to participate in its semi-centennial celebration (*Grand Island Daily Independent*, 29 June 1894).

Since there were no military academies in Schleswig-Holstein at that time, most high ranking officers in the army were Danish. With the advent of hostilities men of the upper class had to be recruited and trained for military service. For this reason "Bürgerwehren" were established in all major cities in Holstein and Schleswig. In the spring of 1848 the Kieler Bürgerwehr was set up and Hedde was probably the organizer of this town militia. During this time Hedde was also co-editor, with the famous Theodor Olshausen, of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt*. He wrote several articles critical of Danish rule in which he urged the residents of Schleswig-Holstein to press for their rights and liberties. In July 1848, just after an armistice agreement between Prussia and Denmark had been reached (Fock 133)—before the Malmö Treaty was signed in August of that year—Hedde published a sharply worded leaflet with the title, *Kein schimpflicher Vertrag mit Dänemark*, denouncing both the cease-fire and its consequences for Schleswig-Holstein. He pointed out:

> In der That, man muß das Äußerste befürchten; denn eine Bestimmung des Waffenstillstandes soll ja die Einsetzungen einer neuen provisorischen Regierung an die Stelle der jetzigen sein.
>
> Könnte es eine unverschämtere Verletzung des deutschen Volks und des schleswig-holsteinischen Volks geben? Dem deutschen Volk steht es zu, die deutsche Gesammtverfassung und die wesentlichen Rechte des deutschen Volks, die in jedem Einzelstaat gelten müssen, zu begründen; dem schleswig-holsteinischen Volk, sich seine besondere Staatsform zu geben und Schutz für dieselbe vom ganzen Deutschland zu fordern.
>
> Aus dem einstimmigen Willen unseres Volks, aus dem größten Vertrauen desselben ist unsere provisorische Regierung hervorgegangen. Sie stützt sich nicht auf formelles historisches Recht, sondern auf das Recht der Revolution, welches ein bis Innerstes gekränktes Volk stets geltend gemacht hat und stets geltend machen wird. (Hedde 6, 7)

On the night of March 23-24, 1848, the proclamation forming the provisional government was read to the burghers of Kiel who had assembled *en masse* at the city hall. It was received with cool silence. At this point Friedrich Hedde stepped forward and declared that the proclamation was unsatisfactory to the people of Holstein and Schleswig. After a long debate, however, the conservatives prevailed and the original document was accepted (Fock 75). On the fiftieth anniversary of this special night Hedde received a letter from the editor of the newspaper, the *Kieler Gazette*, which said in part, "Today you are mentioned often and with great respect" (*Grand Island Independent*, 4 April 1898).

After the failure of the Revolution of 1848 in Holstein, Hedde found it more and more difficult to work in his chosen field. Restrictions imposed on newspapers in Holstein by the Danish authorities made it impossible for him to express his views freely. In the early 1850s Hedde

successfully defended the leader of the Holstein agricultural labor movement, Marcus Mester, who had been brought to trial. A member of the Schleswig-Holstein Landesversammlung, Mester was an outspoken advocate of the rights of the agricultural laborers. In fact Mester had been accused of "democratisch-communistische Aufwiegelung" among these workers (Schlechte 322). This trial and Hedde's connection with the Holstein labor movement may have prompted the government to revoke his license, a license which he needed in order to practice law. He was not exiled by the Danish king as were so many of his friends and associates who had similar ideals and views. In 1854, however, he decided to emigrate.

Hedde's arrival in America was noted by the *New Yorker Criminal-Zeitung:*

> Wir wurden in diesen Tagen durch den Besuch des Herrn Friedrich Hedde aus Kiel überrascht. Vielen unserer Leser wird der Name desselben bekannt sein. Viele werden ihm ein Andenken der innigsten Freundschaft bewahrt haben. Ein energischer Gegner des engherzigen schleswig-holsteinischen Particularismus, gehörte er zu den besten Kräften Schleswig-Holsteins, und wir nehmen keinen Anstandt, zu behaupten, daß in ihm der kräftigste und tüchtigste Patriot, welcher jenem unglücklichen Lande noch geblieben, dasselbe verlassen hat. Einst an der Seite Theodor Olshausen, später allein Redakteur des Kieler Correspondenzblattes, gehörte er zu den Neu-Holsteinern, zu der Partei, welche den nördlichsten Theil Deutschlands frei, nicht einer Augustenburgischen Dynastie übergeben wissen wollte, welcher nicht das Pergament von 1450, sondern der Volkswille die Basis ihres Strebens war. In der constituirenden, wie in der gesetzgebenden Landesversammlung, stand er auf Seiten der entschiedensten Linken, bekannte sich offen zur Republik, stimmte noch im letzten Moment für die energische Durchführung der Revolution and ergriff selbst die Muskete, als die Österreicher und Preußen sich den Grenzen näherten. Seine durchdringende Intelligenz lenkte in mehr als einer Frage den Sieg auf Seiten des Volkes, und in den politischen Processen, welche von der Statthalterschaft anhängig gemacht wurden, war er ein energischer und siegreicher Vertheidiger der Verfolgten. Durch die Reaction ist er seiner Stellung in der Heimath beraubt worden. Wir bedauern, daß er dem Vaterlande für's Erste verloren gegangen, freuen uns aber zugleich, ihn in unserer Mitte zu sehen, und sind überzeugt, daß er dem deutschen Elemente der Union zur Zierde gereichen wird. Herr Hedde verdient das wärmste Entgegenkommen. Möge es ihm werden.

From New York he went to Davenport, Iowa, where he found a town with a large German population, many of whom came from Schleswig and Holstein. He must have been reunited with many friends and acquaintances, among whom was Theodor Olshausen, who in Holstein had been co-editor with Hedde of the *Kieler Correspondenzblatt.* Olshausen was now the publisher of Davenport's weekly German newspaper *Der Demokrat.* Hedde was also involved with the Sozialistischer Turnverein in Davenport. He is listed as a speaker in the society's educational program (Binder-Johnson 3).

According to the *Davenport City Directory* for 1856-57 Fred Hedde and W. Schirach operated a real estate business. (In 1844 members of the Kieler Turnverein had petitioned the city authorities for a larger place for their exercise sessions. W. Schirach was one of those who signed the petition.) Hedde as a lawyer drew up contracts and other legal documents and signed papers as a notary public. It may have been through this business that Hedde came in contact with Davenport businessmen who wanted to start a town in central Nebraska along the Platte River. This speculative scheme was based on discussions in Congress before the Civil War concerning the construction of a transcontinental railroad through the Platte River valley. It was expected that branch railroads would join the main road somewhere west of the Missouri River. And at this location a major city was certain to develop (*Grand Island Independent*, 1 January 1898).

The Davenport businessmen formed a town company with the clear intention of building a town at that site and to make money. The Germans and Americans who in early 1857 had signed up to settle in Nebraska agreed to assign one half of their claims to the town company. In return the town company agreed to supply the settlers with the necessities for the first year (repayable in one year) and to pay for the land as soon as it came on the market (Manley 17). In 1882 Hedde still had the account books in which he recorded the distribution of supplies during these first months.

Hedde must have been convinced of the great opportunity this very interesting adventure offered. The Stuhr Museum possesses a contract drawn up between the town company and a prospective settler, in this case Heinrich Egge, an immigrant from Holstein. Heinrich Egge made this entry in his diary, April 23, 1857: ". . . und ging deshalb später nach dem Advokaten Hedde, der unser Anführer werden sollte, wo ich auch Stolley traf. Dort besprach ich noch einmal alles mit ihnen und ging den Kontrakt ein. Noch am selbigen Abend hatten wir eine Zusammenkunft bei Hedde, um der Kompanie unsere Bedingungen zu stellen. . . ."

Hedde's legal education, his knowledge of the English language, his understanding of American land laws and his age—Hedde was almost forty years, older than any other member of the group—made him a natural leader and ideal for acting as a go-between for the Americans and the Germans. At the end of May 1857 Hedde left for the Platte River valley with five American surveyors. The main group consisting of thirty Germans followed a few days later. After entering Nebraska Territory, Hedde became the leader of the main party. During the 1857 depression the town company went under and the support for the settlers was withdrawn. They had to give up the idea of building a town but they retained their courage and their land claims. Census data show that out of the thirty-one German settlers who came in 1857 with the first group twenty-five were still living in Hall County in 1860 (Robbins 49). They spread out along the river on the Military Road, each taking up a claim. The gold rush to Colorado helped the settlers to survive during the first years. Hedde, for example, who had set up a road ranche on his claim traded with the travelers. One traveler, passing along the trail in 1862, described the colony:

> At Grand Island we found a small settlement, mostly of Germans. Koenig and Wiebe, from Omaha, had established a general outfitting post and store. There was also a blacksmith shop, a cobbler shop, and a small home bakery, all prepared to care for the travelers. Mr. Fred Hedde, who in after years was so well and favorably known throughout Nebraska as a successful farmer, politician and newspaper man, was located on a homestead contiguous to this small village. During fifty years Mr. Hedde was closely identified with the upbuilding of Grand Island and Hall county. (Anderson 193)

In 1858 Hedde was appointed by the governor of the Nebraska Territory to the position of county commissioner. He later held elected posts of county judge, representative in the Nebraska Territorial Legislature and councilman after the organization of the government of the city of Grand Island.

In 1866 the Nebraska Legislature established the State Board of Immigration. But the board was not very active until after its reorganization in 1870. This state board selected four agents who were to promote immigration into Nebraska from other parts of the United States and from Europe.

An article appeared in the *Omaha Republican,* entitled "The German Immigrant Agent," which endorsed the idea of appointing Fred Hedde to this position (*Platte Valley Independent,* 4 March 1871). The essay suggested that the German emigration movement would recommence soon after the conclusion of the Franco-Prussian War and that, with the aid of an immigrant agent, a sizeable number of the immigrants could be induced to settle in Nebraska. Since the aristocracy and authorities in much of Germany were at that time opposed to emigration—they were expecting a labor shortage to develop—the article went on to point out that the situation demanded a learned and tactful agent whose essays and pamphlets would be well received by German readers. Happily, the newspaper concluded, Nebraska had just the person, Fred Hedde, who possessed these qualifications. Hedde was appointed to the post on March 15, 1871.

The Nebraska State Board of Immigration asked counties to set up their own immigration boards. These boards were to give aid to immigrants arriving in Nebraska. Fred Hedde was actively involved in establishing the Hall County Immigration Board in Grand Island, the first of these local groups to begin operation in the state.

Official German records give us information concerning his arrival in Europe on June 23, 1871. His profession is given as "Literat und Einwanderungs-Comissär des Staates Nebraska" (Letter from Staatsarchiv Hamburg). A good summary of his work in Germany is found in his report made to the state immigration board on his return (*Omaha Republican,* 4 February 1873). In this report he pointed out that certain classes in Germany were opposed to emigration. It was difficult to overcome this opposition, Hedde said, especially since most newspapers did not want to print articles favorable to the American cause. One had to look long and hard to find "liberal minded" editors willing to print articles about Nebraska.

Hedde did discover, however, one effective way to reach the German people. The German steamer companies had a net of agents in all parts of Germany which reached into the small villages. Since it was in the interest of these agents to convince the population to emigrate to the United States, one could easily approach them with informative material about Nebraska. The agents then distributed this information to a great number of Germans. Hedde very soon after his arrival recognized this opportunity and set about using this network of agents. Since all promotional materials were printed in Nebraska they were delayed in reaching Hamburg. This certainly was a disadvantage for Nebraska. Hedde urged the board to have these materials printed in Germany as the immigration boards of other states were doing in order to avoid high U.S. printing costs as well as shipping charges.

Hedde complained also about the fact that the advertising material often did not answer the questions which the prospective German immigrant had. Again and again he pointed out that there was a great need for an accurate description of the United States land laws, especially the homestead law, which German readers could easily understand. Another technique of advertising that was open to Hedde was suggested by the Nebraska state board. Letters written by farmers and businessmen who had made this state their new home could be distributed by the agent in Germany in the area of the writers' former homes. It was thought that if such letters were written in an informative but plain and spontaneous style, they might induce emigration from Germany to the plains of Nebraska (*Platte Valley Independent,* 27 January 1872).

M. N. Spencer in his dissertation said that Hedde functioned as a land agent for the Union Pacific Railroad and the Burlington Missouri Railroad in 1873 in Germany and that his salary and expenses were covered by these railroads (Spencer 206). However, Hedde's work as an agent and his involvement with the railroads is not clear. There is no evidence in the Union Pacific Railroad records that Hedde was connected with that railroad. According to the records in Hamburg Hedde returned to the United States in fall of 1872 and he was back in Grand Island in spring of 1874 to start his business career.

In May 1874 Hedde opened a general store in Grand Island. *The Platte Valley Independent,* 2 May 1874, printed the following charming note:

> Elsewhere in this issue observe the advertisement of Fred Hedde, who has just opened up a large and complete stock of general merchandise comprising dry goods, clothing, hats, caps, boots, shoes, notions, groceries, provisions, and in fact almost every article that you can call for, or that human heart can desire. Mr. Hedde having been one of the very first settlers of this country and having been well known here as a good, active honorable business man, cannot fail to receive a liberal share of the public patronage. Go and see his stock and examine his prices before making purchases elsewhere. Corner of Third and Spruce streets.

This business grew over the years to a large concern. Hedde operated several lumberyards, a farm implement store and a grain business.

During those early years freight rates, which could help to determine the growth or decline of a town, were set by railroad owners insensitive to the economic needs of new towns. Business men in Grand Island formed an association which attempted to secure lower freight rates. Hedde, who was very active in organizing this local merchant club, became its first president.

In 1882 he started the newspaper, *The Anti-Monopolist,* which gave him an opportunity to publicize his ideas. A short time later he bought the *Platte Valley Independent.* Under Hedde's direction the newspaper endorsed a liberal republican, anti-monopolist program. In 1884 he published the first daily newspaper in this town and remained its owner until 1900. His editorials supported political and economic reforms and promoted the economic development of Grand Island.

All of Hedde's achievements in Germany and America which have been briefly sketched above portray a man with a strong and lasting desire for influence within the community in which he lived. Indeed, the fact that he died without a large estate and that he used the money from his business successes to subsidize his newspapers suggests that, at least in the Nebraska context, money was for him simply a means for gaining the kind of benign social influence usually associated with liberal German thinkers in the period surrounding the 1848 Revolution. If this is true, it would also seem that Hedde was quite flexible in developing a strategy to achieve his goal. In Kiel, he was a lawyer, an educated man, and a liberal politician; in Nebraska, except for a short time as an elected probate judge during the territorial period, he avoided the law in favor of a more business-oriented approach to achievement and influence, the business career coupled with the ownership of a newspaper. It would be interesting to know how many of the forty-eighters from Germany successfully made this switch and how many simply tried to live the old German model of the educated man without business ties after their arrival in America.

Stuhr Museum of the Prairie Pioneer
Grand Island, Nebraska

Note

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Andrew Yox

Ethnic Loyalties of the Alsatians in Buffalo, 1829-1855

Historians agree that we know little about the principalities of central Europe in the early nineteenth century. But they disagree over whether an awareness of these distinctions should matter to the history of the United States. Though hundreds of thousands of immigrants came to America as subjects from lands such as Bavaria, Mecklenburg, and Württemberg, most historians stretch the term "German" to represent the central Europeans as a group. They assume that neighbors and co-workers from these provinces mixed freely in the New World, that regional loyalties were ephemeral.[1] But other authors contend that it is anachronistic to group the immigrants as "Germans"—especially before Germany became a nation in 1871. The immigrants of the early nineteenth century spoke regional dialects, and in many cases maintained the distinctive religious views and customs of their ancestral lands.[2]

Whether one sees Hessians and Hanoverians or Germans and even a German-American community before the Civil War hinges on assumptions about the character of provincial loyalties. This survey of the Alsatians in Buffalo from 1829 to 1855 provides a look at a group that had many incentives and precedents to retain a sense of clannishness, or at least maintain their independence from other Germans. Unlike the other immigrants from the provinces of central Europe, the Alsatians already were citizens of a nation-state, France, and several were familiar with the French language. These immigrants from the western bank of the Rhine were wealthier than their counterparts from the eastern lands. Conscious of their ties with France, their achievements in business, and a history which stretched back to Roman times, the Alsatians, it seems, easily could have maintained the distinctiveness of their own group, or have merged with the French-speakers and Americans. When nativists stereotyped the Germans as "Dutchmen" in the 1840s and 1850s, such an independent course could have been advantageous. But the Alsatians, rather than attaining recognition in the Americanized quarters of the city, achieved status as a group among newer immigrants. The wealthy Rhinelanders of early Buffalo counted themselves both as

"Germans" and "Alsatians." The two loyalties were complementary as the sense of belonging to one group encouraged participation in the other.

The Alsatians began to arrive in western New York after the completion of the Erie Canal in 1825. Like their French-speaking compatriots, the Franco-Germans tended to seize the opportunities along the American frontier soon after they appeared. Buffalo in the 1830s had the possibilities of Alsace's Strasbourg: The canal was its Rhine, and as Strasbourg straddled France and Germany so did Buffalo lie near the boundary between Canada and the United States. Buffalo was the largest inland port along the New York waterway during the age of Jackson, an auspicious investment for the industrious sons of New England who settled there. Its grain elevators, transshipping wheat, corn, flour, and oats from the west, served as granaries for the east. As a halfway house between the canal barges and the ships on the Great Lakes, Buffalo provided lodging for the immigrants moving further west.

Buffalo was a lure for an adventurous craftsman, but the voyage from Europe to America was still hazardous enough in the early nineteenth century to discourage the weak of heart. Alsace, described by Erasmus during the Reformation as a bulwark of tolerance, and by Goethe later as nature's jewel in Europe, had its own advantages. But like other principalities of the Rhine in the early nineteenth century, restrictions had begun to outstrip opportunities. Strasbourg's merchants complained that France's Bourbon regime tended to overlook the economic interests of the eastern provinces. The textile industry of Great Britain and the Low Countries to the north had outmodernized the Alsatian businesses, and the fragmentation of central Europe limited the economic horizon to the east. German Rhinelanders already had exploited the promises of emigration to the New World in the eighteenth century, and it was a relatively simple matter to travel in the mode of textiles out to the sea. When friends could present a convincing case for the commercial benefits of the New World, the most stolid of burghers were willing to accept the odds. According to one story, two letters from Buffalo convinced an Alsatian businessman to sell his shop immediately and bundle his family for the long Atlantic passage. The Americans reported that the wood in Buffalo was not merely inexpensive but free. As a shoemaker of the Dutch school, the newcomer could have all the wood he wanted as well as a substantial group of Alsatian countrymen for a market.[3]

The size of that market is difficult to determine. The United States censuses of the nineteenth century cast a shadow over the Alsatian population, never identifying these immigrants as a group. Though one can determine the number of citizens from France with German surnames, it is impossible to pinpoint the Alsatians. The Franco-German exodus also included many Lorrainians from a region west of Alsace, who spoke a quite different German dialect. Lorraine had persisted longer under the veil of French hegemony than Alsace, but its traditions

as a great medieval Duchy still lingered. In 1552, Henry II of France had seized the proud bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. The incorporation of Alsace came later, most notably in 1679 when the ten largest cities of Alsace were forced to swear allegiance to the French king. Both Alsace and Lorraine had persisted on to the nineteenth century as a Switzerland without Alps, a meeting place between the explosive French empire, and the unstable principalities of central Europe.[4]

Even as one speaks about Alsatian influence in Buffalo, it is necessary to take count of the Lorrainians. The two groups cannot be classed together as their dialects and traditions were distinctive enough to spark antagonism when they mixed in America. But in the case of this study, the Alsatians appear to have outnumbered the Lorrainians by a wide margin. The Lorrainians tended to settle on farms north of the city and were rarely cited by contemporaries as a group. In one book on Buffalo's Germans which included extensive biographies on the city's more established Germans, fourteen had come from Alsace and two from Lorraine.[5] The Alsatian presence in Buffalo, furthermore, received an institutional expression which cannot be said for the Lorrainians. The statistics on the French natives with German surnames in the census thus provides an outline, but not an exact configuration of the Alsatian population in Buffalo.

The Franco-German element deserves this consideration because it was an influential group that is systematically underrated in studies on the Germans in America. Alsace and Lorraine were the chief bases of emigration from France in the early nineteenth century, and in Buffalo there were two Franco-Germans for every French-surnamed compatriot in the 1855 census. The German-surnamed element from France also was larger than all the other groups listing provincial nativities except the Prussians and Bavarians. Because many of the immigrants from central Europe, however, were listed vaguely as "German" in origin, the extent of Württemberg or Bavarian influence is underrated. The Franco-German element similarly is underrated because many immigrants from "France" carried surnames which were Anglicized and vulgarized. When the bloc of uncertain surnames is divided evenly between the French-surnamed and the Alsace-Lorrainians, the Franco-German household total increases from 433 to 549. Meanwhile, if the "German" category is divided proportionately among the various provincial groups from central Europe, the number of families from Württemberg in Buffalo in 1855 jumps from 265 to 530 and the Bavarian count from 1,209 to 2,418. With this new enumeration, the Franco-German count remains significant with more families than the Württembergers, Mecklenburgers, Saxons, Hanoverians, and Swiss. But the number of Hessians and Badenese in Buffalo now appears greater than the Franco-German influx. The Prussians, also more numerous, do not qualify as a provincial group as they could have come from any one of the several lands held by the Prussian king in the middle of the nineteenth century (Table 1).

Table 1
Leading Nativity Groups in Buffalo's Population: 1855

Groups	Household Heads	
	Appearance in Census	Adjusted Frequency[a]
American-born	3,588	3,300
Irish	2,723	3,000
Bavarian	1,209	2,418
English-born	1,093	1,093
Prussian	522	1,044
Badenese	352	704
Hessian	348	696
FRANCO-GERMAN	433	549
Württemberg	265	530
Mecklenburg	147	294
French-surnamed	167	283
Scottish	263	263
Saxon	117	234
Hanoverian	112	224
Swiss	129	129

[a] The raw enumerations were deficient on many levels and thus the "Adjusted Frequency" attempts to provide an informed estimate of the actual population sizes. The problems of the census involve: the failure to delineate in all cases between the German province and "Germany," the appearance of Irish surnames and German surnames in the "American-born" category, and the lack of distinction between the French and Franco-Germans.

Source: 1855 New York State manuscript census schedules.

The civic prominence of the Alsatians advanced as the group became more established. Though the earliest settlers of the city traced their past to New England, the average Franco-German householder in 1855 had resided in the city almost fifteen years, an impressive figure for a young city like Buffalo. The Franco-Germans had a higher rate of persistence than their French-surnamed compatriots (13.2), the American-born (12.5), the rest of the Germans (8.0), and the Irish-born (7.0). As an established clique, the Alsatians were also older and more rooted to the land by 1855. The average age of the Franco-German householder in Buffalo was 41, compared with 38 for the American-born, 37 for the rest of the Germans, and 36 for the Irish. Like the bulk of the German-born twenty years later, the Franco-Germans were also distinguished as homeowners. The Alsatians and Lorrainians had a much higher propensity to own homes than the American-born in 1855. Compared to other

German households, 38 percent of which owned land, 54 percent of the Franco-German household heads held real estate (Table 2).

Table 2
Age, Persistence in Buffalo, and Land Ownership: Alsatians, French, Germans, Irish, Americans

Group	(N of Households)	Average Age	Persistence in Buffalo: Average Number of Years	Percent Owning Land
1855				
FRANCO-GERMAN	(433)	41.4	14.9	54
French-surnamed	(135)	41.1	13.2	50
American-born	(3,588)	38.5	12.5	43
German-born	(5,945)	37.3	8.0	38
Irish-born	(2,723)	36.2	7.0	23
1875				
German-born	(514)[a]	42.0	[b]	54

[a] A Sample
[b] Not Coded
Source: 1855 and 1875 New York State manuscript census schedules.

As long-term residents, the Alsatians counted a few entrepreneurs and professionals among them. But most of their young men, as with the Germans from other provinces, tended to enter the skilled trades. Over half of the Franco-German household heads in 1855 worked in the artisanal occupations such as shoe-making and carpentry (Table 3). The Germans from France generally worked in less prestigious positions than the American-born, but they had a higher rate of employment. In distinction with other immigrant groups such as the Irish, the Alsatians had relatively few laborers and unskilled workingmen among them. Once again, a comparison with Buffalo's German community twenty years later is instructive. The Franco-Germans by 1855 already had attained what the bulk of the German immigrants would by 1875. In each case, as the degree of economic dislocation and unemployment dropped over time, there was a corresponding tendency for the group to concentrate in the skilled trades (Table 3).

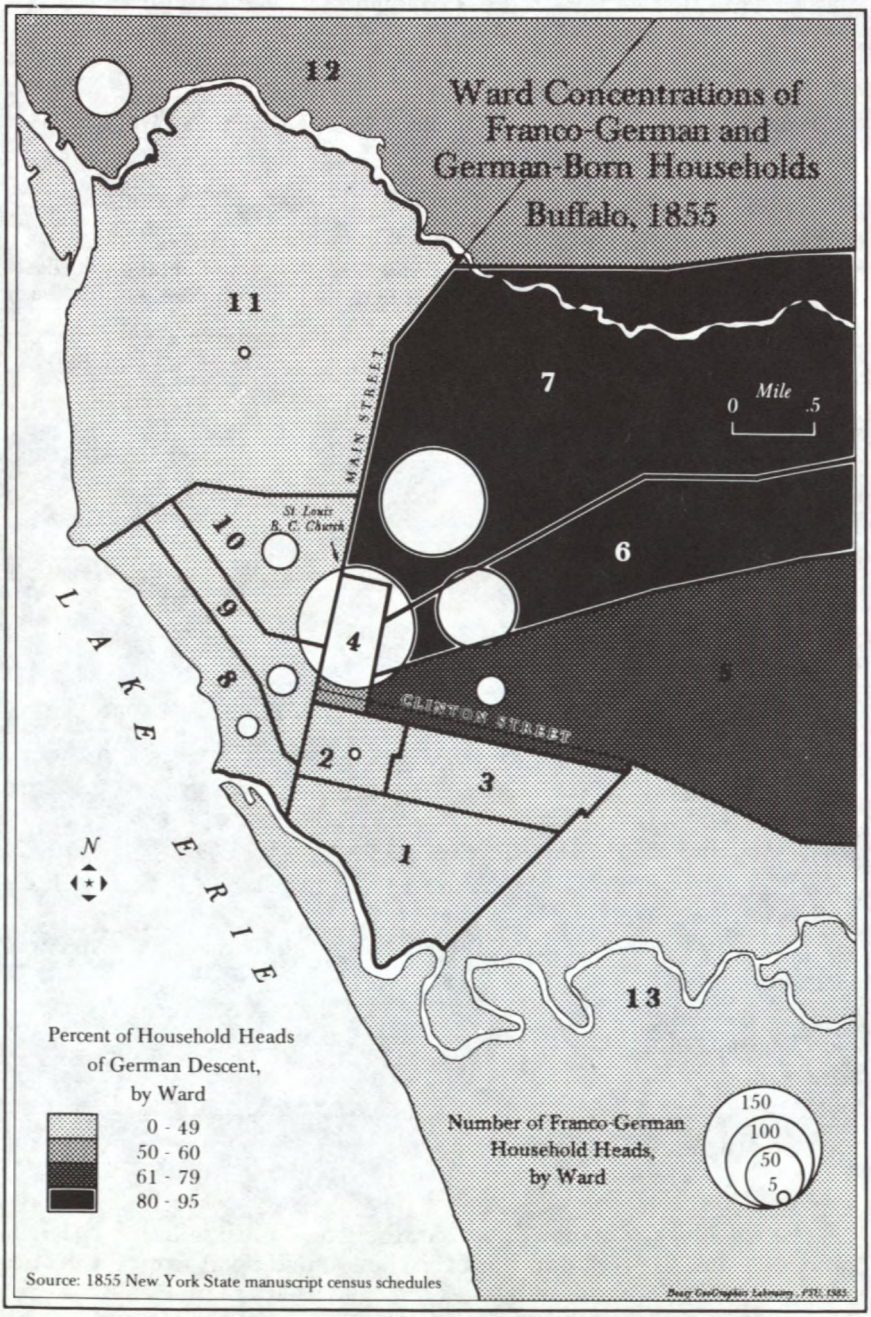
Table 3
Occupational Distributions: Alsatian, American, German, and Irish Family Heads

Prestige Level	Percent of Group in Category				
	FRANCO-GERMAN	American	German	Irish	German
	1855	1855	1855	1855	1875
I. Entrepreneurs, Owners and Professionals	2	6	1	1	1
II. Low White Collar: Clerks, Grocers . . .	19	27	8	6	17
III. Skilled Workers	52	22	37	16	42
IV. Semiskilled	9	9	7	9	6
V. Laborers	9	3	23	45	24
VI. No Occupation Listed	9	33	25	23	11
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100
Sample Size	100	100	100	100	100

Note: Differences are significant at the .05 level of confidence.
Source: 1855 and 1875 ms. census schedules.

The Alsatians, more settled than the other immigrants in 1855, anticipated the German pattern of home ownership and the tendency to seek skilled work. They also lived within the bounds of Buffalo's eastside German community. Like 78 percent of the "German-born" households which resided east of Main Street and north of Clinton Street, 80 percent of the Franco-German element resided in wards four, five, six, and seven on the eastside (Figure 1). One might predict that the pioneer Alsatians would have settled alongside the Anglo-Americans to a greater extent than other Germans, but the index of dissimilarity scores shown in Table 4 illustrates that the Alsatians had little affinity for the Yankee neighborhoods. The dissimilarity index shows the extent of divergence in the residential selections made by two contrasting groups. A score of 0.0 would indicate complete integration between two groups, and a figure of 1.0, complete segregation. Because the dissimilarity score for the Franco-Germans and American-born is .70, and the score for the American-born and German-born is .57, it can be stated that the distribution of the Americans in the city by wards more closely resembled the German pattern than the Alsatian one. Meanwhile, because the dissimilarity score for the Franco-Germans and other Germans is

Figure 1


Ward Concentrations of
Franco-German and
German-Born Households
Buffalo, 1855
12
11
7
6
5
4
3
2
1
10
9
8
13
MAIN STREET
CLINTON STREET
St. Louis
R. C. Church
Mile
0
.5
LAKE ERIE
N
Percent of Household Heads
of German Descent,
by Ward
0 - 49
50 - 60
61 - 79
80 - 95
Number of Franco-German
Household Heads,
by Ward
150
100
50
5
Source: 1855 New York State manuscript census schedules

only .29, one can conclude that the Alsatians had much more contact with fellow Germans than with the American-born as a bloc (.70), the more established subset of Yankee families (.74), and the Irish (.77).

Table 4
Residential Concentrations of Buffalo's Nativity Groups by Wards: 1855

Wards	Percent of all:				
	FRANCO-GERMAN	German-born	American-born	New England-born (Yankee)	Irish-born
1	0	2	7	7	36
2	1	1	16	19	6
3	0	4	9	6	9
4	34	14	11	8	3
5	3	19	6	0	4
6	18	23	3	1	6
7	25	22	3	2	1
8	2	2	4	3	21
9	3	1	15	22	6
10	4	2	14	19	6
11	1	2	6	7	5
12	9	6	4	4	3
13	0	1	1	2	1
Total Percent	100	100	100	100	100
Total N of Families	433	5,945	3,588	976	2,723

Indices of Dissimilarity:	FRANCO-GERMAN	German	American
German-born	.29		
American-born	.70	.57	
New England-born	.74	.70	.17
Irish-born	.77	.74	.45

Source: 1855 ms. census schedules.

The wealthiest Alsatians had the resources to reside in the spacious homes west of Main Street, but even they settled apart from the estates of the Yankees in wards nine and ten. Successful families such as the Georgers, Haberstros, Beyers, and Ottenots concentrated in and around the fourth ward, one of the more cosmopolitan areas in the city. This

rectangular area, east of Main Street, housed the city's wealthiest Germans and was living proof that money rather than the mere concentration of Germans spurred the impulse to create the German community. With many American, Irish, and English households, the fourth ward was the center of the German clubs and societies. The less prosperous Alsatian households, by contrast, tended to reside in wards six and seven, which were over 80 percent German and less developed. The reluctance of the Franco-German element to settle impoverished areas in wards one, three, and five accounts for the high dissimilarity scores between the Franco-Germans and other groups (Table 4 and Figure 1).

These statistics compiled from the 1855 New York State Census show that despite the economic discrepancies between the Alsatians and other Germans, there were still many cultural similarities between the two groups. The Alsatians carried more prestige in the 1850s, but the predilection towards land ownership, segregation, and skilled work was apparent in both groups. Economically superior but culturally sympathetic, it is not surprising therefore that the Alsatians would serve a pivotal role as founders of the German-American community. Primarily Catholic in religion,[6] the Alsatians, nevertheless, financed the secular German clubs. As the leaders of the first Catholic church in Buffalo, the Alsatians became the vanguard of German Catholicism in the city.

There were few incorporated German organizations in the city by 1855 that were not in some way nursed along by the well-placed Rhinelanders. The German Young Men's Society, the most prestigious association of Germans in Buffalo flourished as a central meeting place for the Alsatian elite. Suggested by the Alsatian businessman, F. A. Georger, and launched by five Alsatians, one Lorrainian, and two Swabians in 1841, the society pledged to uphold the German language.[7] The German Young Men's Society attained recognition in the city's newspapers as it became the forum for the German-American elite in Buffalo. The association sponsored lectures, debates, community-wide picnics, and concerts. Its members included the owners of the German press such as Francis Brunck of the *Demokrat* and Henry Bender of the *Telegraph*. Influential businessmen such as the grocer Phillip Becker, the tanning magnate Jacob Schoellkopf, and Jacob Beyer, an Alsatian who served twice as the society's president, also supported the association.[8]

The imprint of Franco-German influence was both deep and patterned along the lines of German nationalism. The *Thalia,* an exclusive German theater troupe on the eastside in the 1850s, counted the French-born Karl Becker and Anton Hofrichter among its founding members. German soldiers looked to Michael Wiedrich, an Alsatian commander who would later organize the only unit from Buffalo to begin and conclude the Civil War as a group. Two of the most recent and nationalistic of organizations, the *Turnverein,* and *Sängerbund,* also relied on Alsatian sponsors. Gustav Bachman, a wealthy fourth-ward Alsatian was one of the leading contributors of the fledgling *Turnverein* in 1853 even though the organization had begun in Prussia fifty years before as a front for military activity against the French. Another rock of Ger-

manism, the *Sängerbund,* relied on the services of August Datt, one of the club's first officers. Datt was a forty-seven year old singer of "French birth."[9]

One of the most notable boosters of the early German associations in Buffalo was Franz A. Georger, the first president of the German Society and a native of Lauterbach, Alsace. The future spokesman of *Deutschtum* arrived in the city alone as a seventeen-year-old in 1839. Georger at first befriended American youths, and he enrolled in a Yankee organization, the Young Men's Apprentice Society. But as he was unable to win friends or make an impression, the young apprentice skipped meetings and instead worked to create his own community. He introduced himself to newcomers and helped to model the infant German Society after the Yankee organization he had shunned. He opened a dry goods store and helped to finance the immigration of his brothers, Frank and Karl, as well as his parents, Johann and Mariana. With the support of his family, Georger became a pivotal leader in the German Society during the 1840s. He appeared during the evenings to organize the Society's library. He was instrumental in the formation of the German lodge, "Concordia," and a German singing society, "Orpheus." In 1864 along with August Paul, Georger drew up plans for the city's first German bank which opened in 1871. To the end, he persevered with Germandom on his shoulders. As a seventy-year-old, the Alsatian served his final term as president of the German Young Men's Society in 1891.[10]

Many Alsatians such as F. A. Georger and Jacob Beyer shunned the church, but others played important roles in the formation of the Protestant and Catholic congregations on the eastside. Jacob Reser and Charles Dreher were counted as two of the charter members of St. Paul's Evangelical Church, the first major pietist congregation in the city. George Vogt, an Alsatian, served as the pastor for the second major Evangelical church, St. Peter's in the seventh ward. Alsatians also were represented both in the conservative Lutheran parishes of the Buffalo Synod, and in the more Americanized Lutheran congregations of the New York Ministerium during the 1850s. They were also found in every major German Catholic parish in the city in 1855: St. Louis, St. Mary's, St. Michael's, St. Boniface's, and St. Francis Xavier.[11]

Many Alsatians did not belong to formal organizations, and the secular clubs that existed before 1860 failed to organize along provincial lines. There was one institution, however, St. Louis Roman Catholic Church, that served as a material focus of Alsatian culture in Buffalo. The towering Main Street church included over one-fourth of the Alsatians in the city as members by 1855.[12] The parish had begun in 1829 when a visiting German priest had noted the poverty of the Catholic community in Buffalo and had persuaded an aristocratic émigré from the French Revolution, Louis LeCouteulx, to donate the land for a church. Blessed by another French refugee, the Bishop Jean Dubois, an Alsatian minority joined with the French-speaking, American, Irish, and other Rhineland Catholics to form a parish. The Alsatian church thus began not as a provincial stronghold, but as the sole Catholic church in Buffalo, a frontier bastion for the faith.

It was within the bounds of this trans-ethnic parish that the story of the Alsatians in Buffalo reached a climax. The Germans from France helped to solve a problem which plagued St. Louis parish in its early years—a problem that suggested an amoral solution. American, French, and German speakers each wanted their own language to become the official tongue of the parish. The Irish wanted an Irish priest, and the French-speakers winked at Bishop Dubois for attention. The Alsatian-led Germans, however, were the largest group. In 1831, the parish received its first priest, Johannes Nicholas Mertz. Though the Germans treated the new father as a saint, to the Irish and the French, the priest was a distant star placed between themselves and God. It was said that though the reverend father had spent twenty years in America, he hardly could speak English. When Mertz attempted to give the Irish short sermons in English, the effort would "tax his mind greatly" and leave the strong priest weak and unsure.[13]

An apostle to the Alsatians, Mertz was a native of the eastern side of the Rhine. His accent, manner, and clothing were familiar symbols to Catholics from most of the German states. The priest wore a long black frock and a three-cornered hat in the manner of the Rhineland priests. His disposition was appropriate: "earnest, grave, and solemn." Mertz's presence favored German participation in the parish, and as early as 1833, several Rhinelanders cornered Bishop Dubois to ask whether they could serve as trustees for the church. Dubois refused, and Mertz's church stayed relatively small, without the consolation of a heating system, an organ, or stained glass windows. But the Alsatians continued to crowd around Mertz. Several families who would later shine as a wealthy sub-society in Buffalo—the Diebolds, Gitteres, Haberstros, Mesmers, and Ottenots—grew up with the church in wealth and prestige in the 1830s.[14]

The years 1837 and 1838 proved a turning point for the St. Louis congregation. For a reason never made clear to the Alsatian vanguard, Mertz was removed from the parish. A new priest from Lorraine, John Pax, was installed. Meek and superstitious, Pax proved unable to impress the Germans as the proper successor to Mertz. The businessmen called him the "crying priest" as he proved unable to discipline the men of the church. The relationship was crucial because Pax had placed himself in charge of the effort to replace Mertz's church with a much larger brick structure. With Pax as the resident expert on architecture, the Germans met behind his back and incorporated the church. This initiative left the control of the financial administration of the church to a board of trustees rather than the priest or bishop. The Franco-German influence in this maneuver was seen in the formation of the board of trustees in that year. Of the seven, at least four were Germans from France: Michael Wehrle, Joseph Berst, George Bangasser, and Francis Haendel.[15]

The 1838 incorporation served as a declaration of independence for the church's Rhinelanders. They now could exploit their numerical predominance and direct affairs formally. The trustees could tap the wealth of the Alsatians with the assurance that the church would remain

theirs. The new arrangement transformed the church from a timid brick dream to one of the largest Catholic churches in the United States. The completed structure, colonial in design, rose above the grain elevators on the city's skyline. In 1843 it was consecrated as "St. Louis" after King Louis IX of France.

The exalted structure, the pride of the Alsatians, became a symbol of insubordination for the new bishop of the New York diocese, John Hughes. The Irish prelate saw American trusteeism as a weed that would infect the whole church if not thwarted at an early stage and isolated. In an open letter to his parishes in 1841, Hughes contrasted true Catholic piety with the wanton materialism of trusteeism and warned that lay control was bound to be temporary. Across New York State, church trustees sacrificed their sovereignty over the churches rather than face the inferred consequences of interdiction, the removal of priests, and excommunication. But the German fathers at St. Louis decided to cross the bishop. A stone flew through Pax's window, and an undiplomatic letter made its way to Hughes. Pax responded by leaving for Europe. In New York, Bishop Hughes read the letter "with surprise."[16]

The congregation no longer could expect favors from the bishop. Hughes withheld Pax's replacement, and in a series of promotional efforts, tried to lure the members of St. Louis into other frontier parishes of Buffalo. The Irish, claiming the Germans had "forced them out," had already set a precedent for moving away in 1841 when they opened St. Patrick's Church. The absence of priests at St. Louis created incentives for other pious Catholics to leave, and an emerging south German element provided the nucleus for the new St. Mary's Church in 1843, run by the Redemptorist order. The bishop's tactics thus funneled Catholics away from St. Louis parish, but the crisis helped to purify the ethnic character of the church. Henceforth the resistance was more fortified and more Alsatian than before. In an 1843 congregational vote, the one candidate who urged an end to lay control received only four votes while his opponents divided the remaining 284. Soon the congregation had compiled an anti-Hughes petition for the Vatican carrying the signatures of the congregation's laymen.[17]

St. Louis parish was becoming a seedbed of anticlericalism. But unwilling to risk New York in order to save Buffalo, Hughes claimed that the trustees had misunderstood his intentions. He gave the parish a new priest and waited patiently for a successor to reopen the dialogue with the trustees. The diocese had become too unwieldy for one bishop, and in 1847, John Timon inherited Hughes' problem. The American-born Timon, the first bishop of the Buffalo diocese, attempted to flatter the Alsatians and gradually turn the grand edifice into his cathedral. But when rooming with the church's new pastor, Francis Guth, upon his arrival in 1848, the local bishop was told flatly that the trustees did not value his presence. The Germans saw diocesan control as a threat to their autonomy, but for a pioneer bishop like Timon, the rebuff from St. Louis was treason. The other churches in the diocese were frame dwellings in the first stages of growth. Could a bishop run a diocese

from a barn rather than from a cathedral? The Irish church was dilapidated, and St. Mary's was known as the "bowling alley" because of its long and monotonous rectangular nave.[18] After his evacuation, Timon's exasperation with St. Louis burned like the unquenchable flames on the makeshift altar at St. Patrick's.

Of all the nationality groups besides the Germans in the St. Louis parish, only the French remained by 1848. As the trustees kept their distance from Timon, they also began to meet behind the backs of both Father Guth and the French-speaking element. At this time, the French feared any further expansion of St. Louis as the German influx of the 1840s threatened to engulf them. Alphonse LeCouteulx, the son of the deceased founder, expressed indignation that the Germans in Buffalo had taken over the church so successfully. The Alsatians, who also might have feared German designs, instead played the German card. Above French protests, the Alsatian trustees voted unanimously for expansion in 1848. Against the intentions and threats of Bishop Timon, the trustees added two expensive towers to their church. When their priest, Guth, began to support the bishop, he only alienated the Alsatians. Unable to serve as the shepherd of the larger flock, Guth led the French dissidents to the still waters of a new parish, St. Pierre's. Thus, the Rhinelanders were left with all of the property.[19]

By 1849, St. Louis was being financed with Alsatian money so that secular priests could reach German immigrants without interference from the Irish bishop. The Alsatians, rather than adopt their own church, aspired to have the grandest German parish in the United States. Their hopes were fortified by the increases in German immigration to Buffalo which by the late 1840s had reached unimagined heights. The "little German village" of the 1830s would grow to include 43 percent of the city's population by 1855. A bright European choir would enhance the celebration of the mass and a booming organ would replace the grinding silence of the old meeting house. At the same time, by ridding themselves of the oldtime French, the Alsatians had solidified their status as the founding fathers of the church, the money and brains behind the operation. Their leading fathers—Joseph Haberstro, Nicholas Ottenot, and Michael Mesmer—ruled the board without raising their voices. These same elders stood up to the bishop as the most determined opponents of clerical control.[20]

A number of misunderstandings, served to widen the gap between the trustees and Timon. The bishop wanted to use the St. Louis Cemetery for all Catholics, but the trustees refused. The bishop proceeded to threaten the gravedigger, an old Alsatian named Andre Kehl. The trustees told Kehl not to heed the bishop. To suppress the spirit of rebellion, Timon had strict religious orders such as the Jesuits and Redemptorists visit St. Louis. The trustees countered that Timon was engaged in a conspiracy to take over the church. St. Louis parochial school became a source of contention. Timon wanted the "Sisters of Charity" to run the school, but the trustees wanted a male taskmaster responsible to the congregation. Timon forwarded temporary priests. The members of St. Louis complained about the substitutes, and importuned for a priest of Mertz's stature to run the parish.[21]

Timon knew one suitable pastor—himself. In a special address to the congregation in August of 1850, he called for a vote to censure the trustees. The proposal was greeted with shouts of *"nein"* from the back of the nave and confusion in the pews. The bishop stormed out of the service rather than give the sign of peace. The unblessed trustees, pressed for an explanation, played on the fears of the congregation. They claimed that Timon intended to pry away St. Louis from the Germans in order to give the church to the Irish. In a letter of resolutions sent to the bishop on 27 April 1851, the trustees made their story public:

> . . . the society of the St. Louis [Church] . . . refuse to give over to the Right Reverend Bishop Timon . . . their beautiful new church . . . so that he might, as the rumor has gone abroad, appropriate the same for the use of an Irish congregation.[22]

The rumor was dynamite. If the ecclesiastical struggle over the future of the church in America was to be reduced to an Irish conspiracy, the trustees could win eastside German support and rip the diocese in two. Timon responded mightily:

> May God have mercy on such deluded and deluding men who dare to say that I even thought of taking St. Louis Church from you to give to the Irish![23]

In response more to gossip and intrigue than to any specific act of insurgency, Timon interdicted the church in 1851. He helped the Jesuits begin the rival church of St. Michael's in the middle of the fourth ward, to draw the St. Louis faithful. When the trustees carried their campaign to the local newspapers, the New York state legislature, and finally to the Vatican, Timon responded with a cardinal insult of his own. He called them "Protestants" and excommunicated the trustees in 1854. The bishop called on the Alsatian insurgents to form their own church, but the trustees became even noisier. They picketed down Main Street and around diocesan headquarters with signs: "Down with Timon." They gossiped freely to tolerant ears about the bishop's lies and indiscretions.[24]

During the years of insurgency from 1851 to 1855, the Alsatians reached the peak of their influence in the parish. About half of the parish members were Alsatian as several Palatines, Hessians, and Bavarians had left to join St. Michael's. The most powerful men of the interdicted church were Alsatians. Francis Kraft, a furniture magnate from Wangen, Alsace, though never a trustee, was regarded as the great financier of St. Louis. Of the eleven trustees who held office more than three years between 1848 and 1856 and whose nativities could be identified, seven were French-born Germans. Besides Haberstro, Ottenot, and Mesmer, there was Alois Allenbrandt, George Fischer, George Zimmerman, and Francis Haendel. Of the seven, Haendel succumbed to Timon's "hypnosis," but the others were championed by the secular German press for their intransigence. Michael Mesmer, a thirty-eight-year-old flour dealer, and Nicholas Ottenot, a thirty-five-year-old dry goods merchant, earned the greatest portion of Timon's

wrath for their insolence. Haberstro, the veteran, like Mesmer was accused by Timon of harboring memberships with secret societies.[25]

These Alsatian leaders could have predominated simply due to their early arrival and eminence, but contemporaries reported a definite Alsatian stamp to the parish. Timon called it "pride"—the Alsatian clique scorned the poorer Germans who joined diocesan churches as "woodchoppers." But the German parishioners could pick out the Alsatian dialects which were employed freely at church picnics and gatherings. The Alsatians maintained a respected in-group identity within the parish which revolved around their status as upper-class merchants and artisans. Entrenched in the dry goods business, the Alsatian men and women dressed as gentlemen and ladies: the men in "fancy coats" and ribbon ties, the women in cashmere shawls, bonnets, and satin dresses. The young Alsatian girls, when receiving their first communions did not merely don family heirlooms, but wore new calico dresses. And woe to the Irishman, who upon seeing these young maidens, desired a conversation.[26]

Though the élan of the Alsatians gave the congregation a degree of inner tensility in its confrontation with the bishop, these dry goods merchants and grocers appeared to the world as Americans and Germans, and only implicitly as Alsatians. The identification with America and Germany conferred power: It lured new members to the church and customers to their shops. The parish was outwardly "German" in language and culture, "American" in style and administration. In the realm of architecture, St. Louis resembled Buffalo's First Presbyterian Church and had none of the Gothic ornaments that marked the famous Alsatian cathedral in Strasbourg or the churches in Hagenau and Zabern. Though the system of trustee control resembled the communal system of parish management found in the urban areas of Alsace, the trustees readily confused the issue. As politicians, they linked trusteeism both to the traditions of the "fatherland" and to American institutions. The provincial designation also was avoided when the members of St. Louis identified each other. Rather than imply that provincial designations conferred character, they used hometowns as nicknames. Thus Johann Schumacker and Henry Weber became "Werther" Schumacker and "Wasseler" Weber.[27]

In order to have meaning, the Alsatian identity depended on the existence of the larger German-American community. Left alone, Alsace was a restrictive and uncertain variable. But within the context of Buffalo's eastside community, "Alsace" denoted not only a special dialect but a proud people living in brick houses with their stores and church on Main Street. To be an Alsatian on the eastside in the 1850s meant that one had shared the immigration experience with other Germans and could communicate freely with them. It also meant that one had a private tradition of special significance to other Germans. The Alsatians were wealthy in the world of the eastside community, but not in the high society of Buffalo. They were pioneers, but only in relation to the Germans and not to the New Englanders. They also were the founding fathers of the holy Christian religion in Buffalo, not to the American Protestants nor Irish, but to the mass of eastside Catholics

who knew that every one of their parishes had stemmed from the same Alsatian root.

Thus the Alsatian identity flourished for a brief period in Buffalo not on the might of its own intrinsic distinctiveness, but because the Franco-German stamp meant something in relation to other Germans. The name conferred an identity within the community. Its meaning, by contrast, to the outside world was flimsy. When Alsatians eventually let their daughters go to the best suitor, or their sons to the best-dressed woman, they sought status, not cultural continuity. Marriages within the German community were legion—over 95 percent of the German spouses married other Germans—but the marriage records of St. Louis and the other eastside churches indicate that only a minority of second-generation Alsatians married other Alsatians. Joseph Haberstro's son went so far as to marry a Bavarian Lutheran, and a protected Sarah Goetz, a native of Brumath, Alsace, obtained the hand of Phillip Becker from Bavaria. Becker, who became the first of the two German-born mayors of Buffalo—Soloman Scheu, Lambert Haberstro's father-in-law, was the other—eventually would unseat opposing Alsatian Republicans such as Phillip Beyer and Franz A. Georger.

By 1855, the Alsatians of St. Louis parish counted the two secular German newspapers, the *Telegraph* and the *Demokrat*, on their side in the struggle with the bishop as well as most of the German community. Though orthodox German Catholics like the Lorrainian Stephen Bettinger, and even some Alsatians such as Lorenz Gebhard and Martin Zinns opposed the trustees, the St. Louis parishioners continued to press their German allies in the contest with Timon. When the Vatican Nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, visited the congregation, he reversed the hopes of the insurgents and compared St. Louis Germans unfavorably with atheists. Impressed and saddened by the Buffalo tangle which he failed to resolve, the nuncio wrote:

> The German is too zealously nationalistic. He tries unfortunately to develop this national feeling as much as possible in a land where there are more Irishmen than Germans.[29]

With the Alsatians poised as the founding fathers of the eastside community, Timon risked the unity of the diocese with every ill-tempered remark. But in 1854, the sudden victory of nativism in the politics of New York State inspired zealous Catholics to stand up for Timon and the one Roman church. Orthodox German Catholics, formerly impressed with the tenacity of the St. Louis Germans, became appalled when the anti-Catholic nativists in the city began to side with the Alsatian trustees. When the bishop could advertise the link between nativism and trusteeism, his hand was free. Timon proceeded to discourage orthodox Catholics from patronizing the Alsatian businesses. To bring the trustees to their knees, he persuaded Francis Weninger, the leading Jesuit revivalist of the day, to give a mission at St. Louis Church. The outreach of St. Louis parish to orthodox Germans, once a source of strength, now became a source of vulnerability.

The revivalist priest combined a counter-reformation mentality with flashy rhetoric and a genuine sympathy for German Catholics. Though

an Austrian by birth, Weninger captured the hearts of immigrants from all the German provinces during his crusades in the 1850s. The Jesuit firebrand knew how to use the transcendental overtones of the German language to pierce and disarm. When he gave his missions at St. Louis in 1855, ''tears of repentance'' began to flow from the eyes of orthodox Germans.[30] With a huge wooden cross placed in the chancel behind him, Weninger implored the trustees to submit to the bishop on all trivial matters. Only when the interdict was lifted could the trustees return to the saving embrace of Jesus Christ.[31]

A few trustees saw Weninger as an arm of Timon, but the loudest voices talked of a reunion. Weninger's mission lifted the congregation above the worldly conflicts to the spiritual terrain of the Church. The trustees, aware of the ''spiritual sufferings'' in a parish that had gone four years without a priest, agreed to meet Timon.[31] The bishop, more interested in ending the conflict than administering a debt-ridden church, agreed to a compromise. The trustees gave the bishop the power to regulate the budget, and they signed a few documents to stiffen the requirements for becoming a trustee. But the Alsatians, shaken as they were by the conflict with its endless routine of meetings and missions, still controlled the church's property.

The controversy between Timon and the trustees had threatened to split the Alsatians from the more devout Catholics on the eastside, but the leaders of St. Louis attended the board meetings as before. The bonds of dependence between the Alsatians and other Germans persisted. Haberstro, Ottenot, and Mesmer returned to fill additional terms as trustees after 1855. As the Germans continued to support the former trustees, so did the more recent immigrants patronize their stores and work in their shops. The prestige, wealth, and experience of the Alsatians, in turn, made them attractive models for the mass of eastside Germans. As popular spokesmen, the Georgers, Beyers, and Haberstros were elected by German voters both to lead the German organizations, and represent the eastside wards in the city council.

Though the Alsatians were not singled out by the Americans for these attainments, the provincial identity remained implicit. Unannounced, the Alsatians at St. Louis had stuck together in extreme stands against both the Irish and French parishioners, and the Roman hierarchy. They signaled their unity in indirect fashion by the clothes they wore, the soft dialect they spoke, and by the nicknames they employed on social occasions. Outwardly, however, the Alsatians appeared as prominent, English-speaking Germans who were in a position to befriend other eastside immigrants. The loyalty to Germans of other provincial backgrounds extended into a whole network of instrumental transactions from the agreement to preserve German culture in the Young Men's Society to the impulse to look after a neighbor's house or propose to the sister of a friend. Able to relate to other Germans in these endeavors, and proud of their Alsatian heritage, the Rhinelanders from France flourished as the pioneers of the eastside community.

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Notes

[1] In a significant article on the relation between immigrant neighborhoods and ethnicity, Kathleen Conzen has attributed the emergence of German-American ethnicity to the formation of pan-German enclaves. See: "Immigrants, Immigrant Neighborhoods and Ethnic Identity: Historical Issues," *Journal of American History,* 66 (1979), 603-14. For the major historical surveys on the German-Americans, it has been especially convenient to ignore provincial distinctions. See: La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), pp. 46-53; John A. Hawgood, *The Tragedy of German-America* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1950), p. xv.

[2] David A. Gerber, "Language Maintenance, Ethnic Group Formation, and Public Schools: Changing Patterns of German Concern, Buffalo, 1837-1874," *Journal of American Ethnic History,* 4 (Fall 1984), 34-35; Lesley Ann Kawaguchi, "The Making of Philadelphia's German-America: Ethnic Group and Community Development, 1830-1883," Diss. University of California at Los Angeles 1983, p. 23; Stanley Nadel, "Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880," Diss. Columbia University 1981, p. 260; Walter D. Kamphoefner, "Transplanted Westphalians: Persistence and Transformation of Socioeconomic Patterns in the Northwest German Migration to Missouri," Diss. University of Missouri at Columbia 1978, pp. 128-45.

[3] Ruth Putnam, *Alsace and Lorraine: From Caesar to Kaiser* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), pp. 43, 83; Daniel P. Silverman, *Reluctant Union: Alsace-Lorraine and Imperial Germany 1871-1918* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State Univ. Pr., 1972), p. 14; *St. Louis Bazar,* 24 October 1888.

[4] Putnam, *Alsace and Lorraine,* pp. 67-72, 163-75; Frederick C. Luebke, "Alsatians," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1980), pp. 29-30.

[5] "Biographischer Theil," *Geschichte der Deutschen in Buffalo und Erie County* (Buffalo: Reinecke und Zesch, 1898), pp. 2-120.

[6] A census of Alsace in 1904 classified three-fourths of the population as Roman Catholics. Coleman Phillipson, *Alsace-Lorraine* (London: T. Fisher, 1918), p. 40.

[7] Ismar S. Ellison, "The Germans of Buffalo," *Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society* (Buffalo: Bigelow Bros., 1880), II, 134.

[8] "Biographischer Theil," *Geschichte der Deutschen,* pp. 92-108.

[9] Ibid., pp. 146-56, 159; 1855 New York State manuscript census schedules.

[10] Ibid., p. 36; Die Deutsche Jungmaenner Gesellschaft, *Festschrift zur Feier ihres fuenfzigjaehrigen Stiftungsfestes* (Buffalo: n.p., 1891), pp. 9-12.

[11] St. Paul's United Evangelical Church, *Seventy-fifth Anniversary* (Buffalo: n.p., 1918), pp. 32-39; *Buffalo Demokrat,* 4 February 1878; 31 January 1885; Edgar W. Krauch, *One Century for Christ: The History of Evangelical St. John's Church* (Buffalo: n.p., 1933), pp. 2-15; Parish records at First Trinity Lutheran, and Trinity Old Lutheran Churches, Tonawanda, New York; Records of St. Mary's, St. Michael's, and St. Boniface Roman Catholic Churches, Buffalo and Erie County Public Library; Records at St. Francis Xavier R.C. Church, Buffalo; Glen R. Atwell and Ronald E. Batt, *The Chapel* (Buffalo: The Holling Press, 1979), pp. 3-18; 1855 ms. census schedules.

[12] The 1855 New York State manuscript census schedules list St. Louis Church with 800 members. In a recent article, David Gerber has estimated that about 42 percent of the members were Alsatians. As Table 1 indicates that there were about 550 Franco-German families in Buffalo in 1855, it can be assumed that over one-fourth of the Alsatians were members of St. Louis. A few intervening variables such as the average number of Alsatian family members who attended St. Louis, and the number of Lorrainians compared with Alsatians, remain unknown. See David Gerber, "Modernity in the Service of Tradition: Catholic Lay Trustees at Buffalo's St. Louis Church," unpublished paper presented at the Organization of American Historians Conference, Detroit, May 1981.

[13] *St. Louis Bazar,* 23, 31 October 1888.

[14] Ibid., Thomas Donohue, *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York* (Buffalo: Buffalo Catholic Publication Co., 1904), p. 141.

[15] *St. Louis Bazar,* 1 November 1888; "Copy of the Act of Incorporation of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Louis in the City of Buffalo," 2 December 1838, Diocesan Archives of Buffalo; St. Louis Dramatic Circle, "A Brief History of the Four Churches of St. Louis," Diocesan Archives. Many recent works have focused on the struggles between the lay-

trustees and the Catholic hierarchy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some accounts have viewed the trustees as operating from an ideological context which stressed the American ideals of democracy and voluntarism. See: Patrick Carey, "The Laity's Understanding of the Trustee System 1785-1855," *Catholic Historical Review,* 64 (July 1978), 357-76; Daniel Callahan, *The Mind of the Catholic Laymen* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1963), pp. 17-23. For opposing views which emphasize the weight of traditions or ethnicity as a force behind trusteeism see: David A. Gerber, "Modernity in the Service of Tradition: Catholic Lay Trustees at Buffalo's St. Louis Church and the Transformation of European Communal Traditions, 1829-1855," *Journal of Social History,* 15 (Summer 1982): 655-85; Peter Guilday, "Trusteeism," *Catholic Historical Records and Studies,* 18 (1928), 7-13.

[16] Donohue, *Catholic Church in Western New York,* pp. 142-43; *Buffalo Gazette,* 27 March 1843; Robert F. McNamara, *The Diocese of Rochester 1868-1968* (Rochester: Christopher Press, 1968), pp. 72-73.

[17] *Gazette,* 19 October 1843; Donohue, *Catholic Church in Western New York,* pp. 245-60.

[18] *The Centenary of St. Mary's Church* (Buffalo: n.p., 1944), p. 17; "Documents Concerning St. Michael's Church," Diocesan Archives, p. 6.

[19] "Documents and History of the Affairs of St. Louis Church," Diocesan Archives, p. 3; Donohue, *Catholic Church in Western New York,* p. 166.

[20] "Biographischer Theil," *Geschichte der Deutschen,* p. 15; Bishop Timon to Propaganda Fide, 22 September 1853, Microfilm Collection of Letters to Propaganda Fide, Archives of Christ the King Seminary, East Aurora, New York; Andrew Yox, "Decline of the German-American Community in Buffalo, 1855-1925," Diss. University of Chicago 1983, p. 384.

[21] "Documents of St. Louis Church," p. 3.

[22] Donohue, *Catholic Church of Western New York,* pp. 159-60; *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser,* 20 September 1850.

[23] Donhue, *Catholic Church of Western New York,* pp. 160-61.

[24] *Buffalo Courier,* 27 August 1853; Charles G. Deuther, *The Life and Times of the Rt. Rev. John Timon* (Buffalo: n.p., 1870), p. 211; *Commercial,* 26 May 1855.

[25] Gerber, "Transformation of European Communal Traditions," p. 666; "Biographischer Theil," *Geschichte der Deutschen,* p. 22; *Commercial Advertiser Directory for the City of Buffalo* (Buffalo: Jewett, Thomas and Co., 1848-1856); Timon to Propaganda Fide, 22 September 1853, 19 March 1854, Microfilm Collection of Letters to Propaganda Fide.

[26] *St. Louis Bazar,* 30 October 1888.

[27] *St. Louis Bazar,* 25 October 1888.

[28] "Biographischer Theil" *Geschichte der Deutschen,* pp. 15, 108; Marriage Records of St. Louis Church, Buffalo Historical Society; Yox, "Decline of the German-American Community," p. 36.

[29] James F. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America* (Rome: Liberia Editrice Dell Universita Gregoriana, 1960), p. 241.

[30] *Aurora,* 1 June 1855.

[31] *Aurora,* 1 June 1855; "Father Francis Xavier Weninger: A Sketch of His Life and Labors," Diocesan Archives.

Karla Lydia Schultz

At Home in the Language: The Cases of an Exile and an Immigrant

"Hier kommt man sich vor wie franz von assisi im aquarium, lenin im prater (oder oktoberfest), eine chrysantheme im bergwerk oder eine wurst im treibhaus,"[1] a German writer noted about America, accentuating through witty hyperbole the sense of displacement that characterizes the exile. The immigrant, by contrast, is someone who will find a place, provided he adapts and uses his resources accordingly: "Man wird es ihm [dem Ankömmling] nicht leicht machen; Härten, Hürden und Hindernisse erwarten ihn. . . . Aber man gibt ihm die Chance, sie zu überwinden, und wenn er sie in seiner Weise zu ergreifen versteht, dann kann er einen Platz finden."[2] Not surprisingly though, both the pain of the exile and the hardships of the immigrant are usually articulated from a male perspective,[3] including the invisible separation from the new environment that each—the exile as well as the immigrant—experiences through the language. The exile, however, especially if he is a highly educated male, will continue to suffer from this separation until he returns, while the immigrant, especially the working-class female, will accept and transmute it.

The following two cases are deliberately polarized to illustrate the point. They exemplify two widely divergent ways in which America has been encountered, two ways in which its language has been confronted due to the socio-sexual differences involved. In their juxtaposition, they will also illuminate an implication of the word *Muttersprache* that is usually overlooked: In addition to being one's native language, the language the child learns from the mother, it can also be the language that the mother learns through the child.[4]

The cases in point concern an exile and an immigrant, two Germans who came to this country under different conditions, who were separated by generation, class, and sex, and who responded to their new life with the resources that are part of such differences. One was a financially secure intellectual, the other a poor wife and mother; one lived in Newark and Los Angeles, the other in rural Utah; one stayed

from 1938 to 1949, the other, arriving at the turn of the century, stayed for life. One, though fluent in English, eventually left because of the language; the other, laboriously acquiring it, stayed in spite of it. Yet both, in their differing ways, contributed lastingly to American life: the scholar by introducing a new dimension to the language of cultural criticism, the mother by raising children who would work as Americans and sing—in English.

In a radio speech addressing the question "Was ist deutsch?" the social theorist and former exile Theodor W. Adorno warns his listeners not to accept the false antithesis of *Kultur* and culture: "So verblendet das nützlichkeitsgebundene Lebensgefühl sein mag, das . . . wähnt, alles sei zum besten bestellt, sofern es nur funktioniert, so verblendet ist auch der Glaube an eine Geisteskultur, die . . . die Realität der Macht und ihrer Blindheit preisgibt."[5] Aware that his own difficult idiom and criticism of America's culture industry could be construed as yet another example of *Kulturhochmut,* Adorno gives a moving defense of his decision to leave the United States, citing homesickness and language as two distinct yet related reasons. He also has harsh words for the adherents of a certain German tradition who believe themselves superior to a culture that has produced refrigerators and cars, while their own culture, supposedly, has produced finer and better, that is, *spiritual* goods. This tradition, he concludes, tends to be anti-social and anti-human. It closes off avenues toward real progress for the sake of an a-historical ideal. At least there is energy and action in America, curbed, to be sure, by the constraints of its capitalist system:

> Der energische Wille, eine freie Gesellschaft einzurichten, anstatt Freiheit ängstlich nur zu denken und selbst im Gedanken zu freiwilliger Unterordnung zu erniedrigen, büßt sein Gutes nicht darum ein, weil seiner Realisierung durchs gesellschaftliche System Schranken gesetzt sind. Hochmut gegen Amerika in Deutschland ist unbillig.[6]

In a related essay, published originally in English, Adorno enumerates some of the lessons he has learned during his eleven years of American exile: a healthy suspicion of what is considered "natural," taken for granted; a view of his own culture from the outside; a distrust of the European's deference to spirit (a reflex not just limited to the so-called educated class); an understanding of democracy not only as form but as part and parcel of daily life, and, while recognizing the weight of empirical evidence to the contrary, the experience of the feeling "that all might be possible."[7]

Still, the reason for his return to Germany is the language. Despite his fluency in English, first acquired in Oxford, then practiced in numerous American publications, he feels handicapped without a German-speaking audience, without the living context of his native language—a language for which he claims a special, elective affinity to speculative philosophy. His trust in this language is vast, at times close to the hypostasis of what he considers its peculiar qualities. German is philosophy's most eminent representative. "Das Deutsche ist nicht bloß Signifikation fixierter Bedeutungen, sondern hat von der Kraft zum

Ausdruck mehr festgehalten jedenfalls, als an den westlichen Sprachen der gewahrt, welcher nicht in ihnen aufwuchs.'' Although he takes his ''natural'' distance into account, Adorno's careful formulation cannot hide his belief about where the philosopher is at home: ''Wer aber dessen versichert sich hält, daß der Philosophie, im Gegensatz zu den Einzelwissenschaften, die Darstellung wesentlich sei . . . , der wird auf das Deutsche verwiesen.''[8]

However, his trust in German and its philosophic expressiveness is not simply based on the intimate knowledge of an intellectual tradition; it stems equally from a loving abandonment to the language that mediated his earliest impressions, ''wodurch mein Spezifisches bis ins Innerste vermittelt war.''[9] In recognition of this fact, Adorno reflects on the intimate connection between expression and communication in one's native language as compared to what he calls ''mere communication'' in the foreign language, English in this case. Under the pressure of a foreign language, one easily slips into the communicative mode, wanting to make sure that the others understand and having to compromise on the linguistic stringency of the thought in turn. And Adorno's concern is not so much doing a favor to the audience as it is doing justice to the thing being expressed. Ultimately, the guarantor for intelligibility is the language, not the relation between writer and reader. Only a shared *native* language promises understanding: ''In der eigenen Sprache jedoch darf man, wenn man nur die Sache so genau und kompromißlos sagt wie möglich, auch darauf hoffen, durch solche unnachgiebige Anstrengung verständlich zu werden. Für die Mitmenschen steht im Bereich der eigenen Sprache diese selbst ein.''[10]

Throughout his career, reinforced by his years in America—where the ''techniques of adaptation and integration'' rule supreme—Adorno shows his own unyielding effort to say the thing *(die Sache)* as uncompromisingly as possible. He insists that the medium is the message, unruffled by whether his readers—American *or* German—will understand. Trusting in the language and his passion for saying it right, for giving concepts and insights together with their socio-historical implications the force of expression, he equates communication with compromise. This position, at odds with that of most writers, cost him many potential readers. As his early collaborator on the Princeton Radio Research Project, Paul Lazarsfeld, angrily wrote to him in 1939:

> I implored you repeatedly to use more responsible language and you evidently were psychologically unable to follow my advice . . . you think because you are basically right somewhere you are right everywhere. Whereas I think that because you are right somewhere you overlook the fact that you are terrible in other respects, and the final reader will think that because you are outrageous in some part of your work . . . , you are impossible altogether.[11]

Although Adorno did make concessions to his American readers with his widely known empirical study, *The Authoritarian Personality* (1950), he did not really change his ways. The central point of his theory of culture is that language itself is increasingly streamlined into the tool

of an instrumental reason that ultimately is interested only in perpetuating social power positions. The practical thrust of criticism, therefore, must come from the inside, must be inscribed in the very language and form of such criticism. Not many readers could, or were willing, to follow him. Adorno recognized that, yet was nonetheless hurt when an American publisher, who had read the German manuscript of his *Philosophy of New Music* (1949), found the English translation "badly organized." Insulted, Adorno concluded that in Germany, in spite of everything that had happened, he would have been spared at least *that*. Fortunately, this myopic reaction stands corrected by his view on the task faced by the returning exile vis-à-vis his language:

> Der Zurückkehrende, der die Naivität zum Eigenen verloren hat, muß die innigste Beziehung zur eigenen Sprache vereinen mit unermüdlicher Wachsamkeit gegen allen Schwindel, den sie befördert; gegen den Glauben, das, was ich den metaphysischen Überschuß der deutschen Sprache nennen möchte, garantiere bereits die Wahrheit.[12]

Both in Germany and in America, Adorno was intransigently watchful of cultural and especially linguistic fraud, as works such as *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) and *Jargon of Authenticity* (1964) prove. While in the United States, he wrote many of his studies in English, though not his most important ones. His major critique of American mass culture, for example, the chapter on the culture industry in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, was written in German—true to the premises of immanent criticism, in very difficult German. While the essay indicts the economic mechanisms that make "popular" culture, it equally indicts the forms (the "language") of these cultural products.

The culture industry advocates the consumption of so-called pleasure. It offers organized fun to those who are producers by day and targeted as consumers at night. When they try to escape from their mechanized work into "recreation" (to be renewed for the same work the next day), they find pre-packaged, ready-to-swallow culture that merely duplicates the work process. The industry's entertainment does not provide distraction, it pushes the after-images of already familiar associations instead. The pleasure offered does not liberate alienated, emotionally and experientially starved "individuals"; it does not give nourishment, only "the stone of the stereotype," repetition of the same. The industry's products are designed to increase consumption (hence production and profits), and to reinforce the economic exchange system psychologically. By consuming instead of actively making culture, the individual's consciousness adapts to what Marx called the commodity structure. That is, we buy a thing that is made to sell, whose value lies solely in its exchange.

The critique of the culture industry aims equally at a slick, easily digestible style. As Adorno writes in a work from the same period, *Minima Moralia*, the flow of familiar speech is tempting to both writer and reader—not only because it is easy, but because it is based on an exchange that produces profit, not knowledge:

> Der vage Ausdruck erlaubt dem, der ihn vernimmt, das ungefähr sich vorzustellen, was ihm genehm ist und was er ohnehin meint. Der

> strenge erzwingt Eindeutigkeit der Auffassung, die Anstrengung des Begriffs, deren die Menschen bewußt entwöhnt werden. . . . Nur, was sie nicht erst zu verstehen brauchen, gilt ihnen für verständlich; nur das in Wahrheit Entfremdete, das vom Kommerz geprägte Wort berührt sie als vertraut.[13]

The culture industry thus trains people to accept as valid what is meant to elucidate their world and their relations to each other—language. Adorno saw in the ever more refined technology of his host country a psycho-social danger against which he as a native German could not adequately warn. America and English were not home, and for someone without a home, that is, the living context of the language, writing becomes the only place to live—which in the end, Adorno muses in *Minima Moralia,* will become flat and stale. "The writer is not even allowed to live in his writing."[14]

But Adorno was not free of a certain, self-indulgent pathos, despite his resistance to sentimentality. While his rigorous style has much to teach writers who are content to "communicate" by processing information, this style also exhibits the stance of the isolationist. Adorno was an exile at heart. For him, form was morality; criticism, first of all, form. When he writes that rigorous formulation imposes on readers "in advance of any content a suspension of all received opinions, and thus an isolation, that they violently resist,"[15] he is right, yet terribly so. One is afraid that he attributes a power to language that it does not have. In a telling image, Adorno compares the properly written text to a spider web: tight, concentric, transparent, well-spun and firm. Here the writer sets up house.[16] Here he also may spin himself in to the point of silence.

Unmoved by intellectual passion, though agitated by her sense of dignity, the immigrant and housewife Katharina Heunsaker resolves not to speak: "Better they think I am dumb than foolish."[17] While we know of Theodor W. Adorno from his own words, we know of Katharina Heunsaker through the words of another. She is the main figure in a novel by Hope Williams Sykes, *The Joppa Door* (1937), based on the life story of an elderly German as told by her to Sykes.

The wife of a Russian-German farmer and the mother of nine, Katharina belongs to the large group of nameless immigrant women who contributed to their new country by laboring both on the farm and in childbirth. Their labor and love provided the matrix for future generations of Americans, in whose aspirations, accomplishments and failures the untold stories of their mothers live on. Katharina Heunsaker's story, of course, has been given language and shape.

It is the story of a working woman. "I look on my hands. Short and wide they are and coarsened from much work. . . . Sure, all my hands know is to glean in the field, to knit, to keep a house, and to cook for my husband and my children" (p. 147). It is also the story of a poor, uneducated immigrant's relationship to the new language: "I can understand this English language, and I know many words in my mind, but I am afraid to speak. I am not sure when I speak them right" (p. 147). One incident in particular confirms her fear. It leads to several years of self-imposed silence, not toward her family, but toward her

neighbors and any visitor or stranger. An English-speaking neighbor comes to borrow a "pick" from her, whereupon Katharina leads him to her pig pen. The neighbor goes away laughing, but Katharina feels humiliated and hurt: "After this when anyone comes to my door talking American, I shake my head and make no answer. Better they think I am dumb than a foolish. But a loneliness fills me. . . . In my heart it is barren" (p. 49).

As a working-class newcomer, she does not have the literacy or "high" culture of her old country to fall back on. A literate scholar like Adorno, even if he had not known English well, could always retreat to the cultural tradition that was his by class and education. He might feel alone in another culture but not lonely. However, Katharina has recourse to something else: the ingenuity that has shaped the material life of her past. During the war years when food is scarce, she gleans the fields with her children, just as she had been taught as a child. She keeps her head high as she passes the pitying glances of her neighbors, teaching her children that poverty is not a shame. When her husband comes home with extra potatoes, more than they can use, she knows what to do. "I am turning in my bed, thinking of these potatoes, when all at once I think of my mother. I remember how times are hard in Germany and how once my mother is without starch and she grinds the potatoes and pours cold water over and the starch comes out" (p. 92).

Katharina's daily hardships and joys, her pride in her children and her sorrow over the death of her youngest, are not the stuff of which widely known novels or the documents of history are made. Her life story is that of many. Significantly, the novel is not found on many library shelves. We know little of the history that made literary culture possible in the first place. Yet Katharina Heunsaker's story, though not unique, is special and exemplary at the same time. As her children grow, she becomes increasingly aware that her lack of language not only isolates her from her larger environment, but from her family as well:

> My familié is growing up, and, as I sit in my chair knitting, a desolate feeling is in my heart. Around the table they are gathered; their heads bent low over their books. Herr Heunsaker sits with them. They show him the things they read. He laughs. He argues. He is one of them. Sure, he is a smart man. He has the good mind. The children have the good heads. So much they all study. In the lamplight their faces are quiet with thoughts that I know not. Sure, I am on the outside, and I can do nothing about it. (p. 146)

Her isolation is that of the first-generation, female immigrant; it stems from the traditional, reclusive role of the mother in patriarchal society. Once the mothering is completed, women like Katharina felt (and feel) useless and lonely. When her last child, Peter, enters school, Katharina decides to learn to read English with him. She senses that this is her last chance to learn with someone she loves. Her husband objects, finding that her German Bible and the German magazine he orders for her each year suffice for her literacy. But, although used to deferring to her husband, she persists. "'I learn with Peter,' I say. I cannot tell him I

have to learn English. Sure, I cannot stay outside my familié. Somehow I have to stay with them'' (p. 148).

Katharina learns to read—slowly, with difficulty. Her sense of self, inseparable from her sense of family, grows. While the children are in school and her husband away, she does her work and tries to read their books. The written words are a discovery, a connecting link. ''Such happiness is in me when I find a word that I know. Soon I shall be reading these books that my husband and children read'' (p. 148). Her energies are tied to the family. When her children leave, she thinks of them constantly, just as she constantly used to care and work for them. In contrast to the man and exile Adorno, who cites homesickness as the subjective reason for his return—the objective being language—Katharina will remain in the new country. In contrast to him, she does not have a choice: neither a position to return to, nor, as Adorno says of himself, a childhood to recuperate. For her, homesickness means being homesick for her children.

But in a curious way the two homesicknesses converge. Both, the one prompted by childhood and the one prompted by children, are intimately tied to a language, an ''old'' and a ''new'' one, German and English. Each is a *Muttersprache.* We could put it this way: the child *inside the man,* the exile Adorno, speaks German; the children *outside the woman,* the immigrant Katharina, speak English. The exile returns; the immigrant stays.

Adorno has the language of childhood to return to, a language he was taught in an economically secure, cultivated environment. He learns through this language not only his intellectual tradition, he also learns to criticize it. His inheritance, experienced both cerebrally and emotionally, is large enough to feed his passions, to enrich his host culture, and to draw him home. It is also strong enough to support a professorial position here and abroad. Katharina has no such inheritance, but she generates one. She will speak through her children. Her children are her home, thus the language they speak is a native tongue to her. In her position, language is not an endowment or a weapon (or even a trap), it is a means to stay close to others and survive. One of her daughters becomes a singer. As Katharina listens, she says through the voice of her chronicler: ''Near taking my heart out of me, she does. So sweet. So high. . . . Like I could never sing, she sings. In her I live in song'' (p. 151). It is perhaps poignant to note that the one thing Adorno loved more than his language was music.

The juxtaposition of these two—the exile and the immigrant—may appear exaggerated because of the two extremes involved, though neither Adorno nor Katharina are constructs but historical figures. To be sure, the spectrum of their respective groups extends from the male scholar who became an immigrant (witness Erich Fromm or Herbert Marcuse) to the female exile who did not stay (for example, Elisabeth Bergner and Käthe Kollwitz). Yet to illuminate an idea such as the language of home, or *Muttersprache,* we must drive our thoughts against the poles of dialectics and perceive the idea within a new constellation. Or, as Adorno understood from a friend who never reached America,

Walter Benjamin, "jene Elemente, deren Auslösung aus den Phänomenen Aufgabe des Begriffes ist, [liegen] in den Extremen am genauesten zutage. Als Gestaltung des Zusammenhanges, in dem das Einmalig-Extreme mit seinesgleichen steht, ist die Idee umschrieben."[18]

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Notes

[1] Bertolt Brecht, *Arbeitsjournal 1938-1955* (Berlin und Weimar, 1977), p. 243.

[2] Carl Zuckmayer, "Amerika ist anders," in Alfred Gong, ed., *Interview mit Amerika* (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1962), p. 386.

[3] While this tendency is evident especially in German-American literature, I do not wish to overlook important immigrant novels such as Willa Cather's *My Antonia* or Mela Meissner Lindsay's *Shukar Balan: The White Lamb.*

[4] My play on the word *Muttersprache* carries a feminist intention, as the essay demonstrates. Whereas the traditional definition refers to the native language of the child, the new point to be made is that an immigrant woman may well learn English solely because she is a mother. To stay in touch with her children's development, she may learn to speak a language other than *her* native language, thus showing that *Muttersprache* may also be understood as the language the mother learns from (or for) her children. The traditional definition thus is enlarged from being the language *originally* spoken by the mother to include the language newly *learned* by her for the sake of those whom she loves most.

[5] Theodor W. Adorno, "Auf die Frage: 'Was ist deutsch?'" in Theodor W. Adorno, *Stichworte. Kritische Modelle 2* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1969), p. 108.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Theodor W. Adorno, "Scientific Experiences of a European Scholar in America," in *Perspectives in American History,* vol. 2 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

[8] Adorno, "Auf die Frage: 'Was ist deutsch?'" p. 111.

[9] Ibid., p. 107.

[10] Ibid., p. 111.

[11] Quoted in Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination. A History of the Frankfurt School and the Institute of Social Research, 1923-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), p. 223.

[12] Adorno, "Auf die Frage: 'Was ist deutsch?'" p. 111.

[13] Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia. Reflexionen aus dem beschädigten Leben* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1980), p. 112.

[14] Ibid., p. 96.

[15] Ibid., p. 112.

[16] Ibid., p. 95.

[17] Hope Williams Sykes, *The Joppa Door* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1937), excerpts reprinted in Maxine Schwartz Seller, *Immigrant Women* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), p. 147. Hereafter cited in text.

[18] Walter Benjamin, *Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1978), p. 17.

Carroll E. Reed

Pennsylvania German: A Test of Semantic Survival*

Pennsylvania German is a fairly homogeneous dialect spoken in southeastern Pennsylvania and in small enclaves elsewhere, e.g., Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, and Ontario. It originated in southwestern Germany during the eighteenth century when many people there, particularly in the Rhenish Palatinate, left their homes to settle in America. Most of the emigrants were farmers, largely illiterate or unsophisticated in the use of cultivated German, contact with which was often limited to the Lutheran Bible and the words of its religious proponents.

After their settlement in America there seems to have been considerable levelling in whatever divergences their dialects represented, although patterns of variation and adjustment are still clearly evident in the distribution of certain regional differences in grammar and vocabulary. Relations with the mother country were never very strong, and the influence of standard German remained minimal. Cultural innovations manifested themselves in the dialect, as time went on, in the form of borrowings, translations, or calques, based upon local forms of American English. Briefly then, it can be said that this dialect represents a linguistic island perpetuating speech forms that were locally current in southwestern Germany during the latter part of the seventeenth century or the early part of the eighteenth century.

In various studies during the last fifty years[1] it has been determined that Pennsylvania German most closely resembles the dialects of the southeastern Palatinate. Criteria for comparison are based on data from the *Deutscher Sprachatlas,* a dialect archive established in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, many small monographs and dissertations of somewhat uneven quality and completeness, personal contacts in the Palatinate, peripheral dialect dictionaries, and the archives of the *Pfälzische Wörterbuchkanzlei* in Kaiserslautern. Systematic field work in Pennsylvania has supplied the ultimate dimension.

In the last thirty years, three other research sources have become available: (1) twenty-two volumes of the *Deutscher Wortatlas* (edited by

W. Mitzka and L. E. Schmitt), a work devoted to the geographical illustration of dialect vocabulary variants, (2) *Phonai* (originated by E. Zwirner), a collection of tape-recordings and monographs, and (3) since 1977, two volumes of J. Eichhoff's *Wortatlas der deutschen Umgangssprachen,* an atlas of variable colloquial vocabulary usage in present-day Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. A similar survey of regional usage was first published in 1917 by Paul Kretschmer *(Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache),* who indicated in 1938 that a new survey was then needed because of changes in population distribution since the time of his original research. Kretschmer's book was a simple lexical compilation, without maps, that covered the German-speaking areas sparsely and unevenly. The concern with *Umgangssprachen,* rather than being confined to dialect, focuses chiefly on the language of urban dwellers in their local rendition of educated speech.

These relatively recent records, made several centuries after the principal Palatine migrations to America, offer an enlightening picture of semantic and structural survival when compared with the long-isolated speech of the Pennsylvania Germans. Three levels of vocabulary are then posited for the Rhenish Palatinate: dialect, colloquial standard, and educated standard. Various mixtures of these levels are used by different speakers, as the situation demands, although some speakers lack familiarity with one or another level.[2] Since gaps between such levels are relatively slight in this area, compared, for example, with those of Low German or Swiss speakers, it often appears that features of the colloquial standard agree with those of the dialects as tokens of the same term. Semantic structures tend to maintain themselves, for the most part, constrained by social mores, particularly when the linguistic types themselves can become critically ambiguous or confusing.

The following sets of examples will serve to illustrate the significance and depth of structured semantic survival through examination and comparison of data available from the more recent vocabulary studies mentioned above, as they apply to southwestern Germany, especially the Palatinate, with the corresponding forms of Pennsylvania German, a fossil dialect so to speak, dislodged from its roots more than two hundred and fifty years ago.[3]

A. Terms common to Middle and Upper German. Except for the last three examples, these correspond in type to the literary standard.

PaG *bu:* 'boy/Bube' WDU 1, DWA 4, PfWb
paifə 'whistle/pfeifen' WDU 9, DWA 19, PfWb
kæ:re 'sweep/kehren' WDU 16, DWA 3, PfWb
búdsfrɔ: 'cleaning woman/Putzfrau' WDU 18
ʃrainər 'carpenter/Schreiner' WDU 20, DWA 9, PfWb
búdslùmbə 'mop/Putzlumpen' WDU 80
ʃú:bèndəl 'shoestring/Schuhbändel' WDU 87, DWA 18
gé:lrì:b 'carrot/gelbe Rübe' WDU 89, DWA 11
(wais)graud 'cabbage/Weißkraut' WDU 92
ge:s 'goat/Geiß' WDU 100, DWA 5, PfWb

míddɔ:gèsə 'midday meal/Mittagessen' WDUu
ʃafə 'work/schaffen' WDUu
siç dumələ 'hurry/sich tummeln' WDUu, DWA 2
parə 'pastor/Pfarrer' WDUu
he:m '(go)home/heim' WDU 28
bágədsɔ̀: 'molar/Backenzahn' WDUu
ro:m 'cream/Rahm' WDUu, DWA 5
wádɔ̀:g, wárigdɔ̀:g 'weekday/Werktag' WDUu, DWA 16
óidòdər 'egg yolk/Eidotter' WDUu, DWA 19
nimi[4] 'never/nimmer' WDU 105
ned[4] 'not/nicht' WDU 116
gel[4] 'isn't it true/nicht wahr?' WDU 104

B. Terms more restricted in western and Upper German. Most of these are considered strictly dialectal.

PaG *siç fərkéldə* 'catch cold/sich erkälten' WDU 6, DWA 20, PfWb
ʃlegə 'lick/lecken' WDUu
míliçhàfə 'milk jug/Milchtopf' WDUu
nóxdèsə 'evening meal/Abendessen' WDUu
es hod 'there is, are/es gibt' WDU 106
als, as[5] 'always/immer' WDUu
fərdsé:lə 'narrate/erzählen' WDUu
es ʃeld 'the bell is ringing/es klingelt' WDU 27
grúmbì:r 'potato/Kartoffel' WDUu, DWA 1
pedsə 'pinch/kneifen' WDU 10, DWA 19, PfWb
budsə 'core/Butzen' WDU 97
(*grudsə* 'cob/Krotze')[6]
ʃligsər 'hiccup/Schluckauf' WDU 5

C. Grammatical or phonetic features of vocabulary common to Middle and Upper German. Most of these are considered dialectal.

PaG 1. apocope of final *-e* of standard German:
laid 'people/Leute' WDU 118
2. syncope of *-e-* in standard German *ge-* prefix before fricatives:
gfalə 'fallen/gefallen' WDUu[7]
3. lack of umlaut in 2./3. pers. indic. of strong verbs:
ʃlofd 'sleeps/schläft' WDU 123
4. ʃ for standard German [s] after *r*: *erʃd* 'first/erst' WDU 113;
anərʃ 'otherwise/anders' WDUu
5. ʃ for standard German [s] before consonants:[8]
ledʃdə 'last/letzte' WDU 114; also in *samʃdɔ:g* 'Saturday/Samstag' WDU 41, DWA 5
6. umlaut in the plural of certain strong nouns:
we:jə 'wagons/Wagen' WDU 119
7. *mir* 'we/wir' WDU 120

8. auxiliary verb *sai* with *sidsə* 'to sit/sitzen':[9]
   iç bin gsodsə 'I have sat/ich habe gesessen' WDU 125
   Common throughout southern Germany: *ich bin gesessen.*
9. replacement of the genitive case by the possessive dative:
   sel is der ru:d i:r gle:d 'that is Ruth's dress/das ist Ruths Kleid' WDUu
10. diminutives in *-əl, -li,* or *-əlçə:*[10] e.g., *haisəl, haisli, haisəlçə* 'litte house/Häuschen' WDU 121

D. Terms indicating a special semantic structure (''field'') or a change of such in Pennsylvania German.

PaG 1. *der erʃd ʃdog* 'the first story/Erdgeschoß' WDUu in the southeastern Palatinate, southern Baden, and parts of Switzerland. (Possible English influence also.)
   der dswed ʃdog 'the second story/erster Stock' WDUu
2. *ʃwedsə* 'talk/sprechen'
   redə 'speak/reden' WDUu, DSA 55, in the Mosel Valley, the Palatinate, and Swabian areas.
3. *der belsnigəl* 'Santa Claus/Christkind/Weihnachtsmann' WDU 46 According to the PfWb, the term *Pelznickel* is now no longer used, whereas formerly this applied to the person who accompanied the ''Christchild'' and distributed the presents according to merit. The *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* (37) found *Pelznickel* limited to occasional use in the Palatinate, Baden, and part of Hesse-Darmstadt.
4. *di ʃib* '(blade) shovel/Schüppe' WDU 14,15 *(Schaufel/ Schneeschaufel)* DWA 18. PaG *ʃib* varies with *ʃaufəl,* which is more often a fork. The Palatinate has *Schipp/Schneeschippen.*
5. *gaundʃ* 'swing/Schaukel' WDUu. PaG has the type *Schaukel* only in *ʃogəlʃdu:l* 'rocking chair' and occasionally *ʃogəl* as 'cradle/Wiege.' Terms like *gaundʃ* are evidently archaic in northern Baden and in Württemberg (Kretschmer).
6. *gaul* 'horse/Pferd' WDU 99, DSA 8. Usage in (West Middle) German is definitely rural and dialectal, since *Gaul* 'nag' is opposed to *Pferd* in standard German. The PaG children's rhyme *''raidə, raidə, gaili''* is no longer current in the Palatinate, but has been replaced there with the Alemannic type *reite, reite Rößli* 'ride-a-ride a horsey/hopp, hopp, galopp.' (Corr. E. Christmann.)
7. *baidʃ* 'riding whip/Peitsche'
   ge:ʃəl 'lash/Fuhrgeißel' WDUu. DWA 12 indicates *Beitsch* in the eastern and southern Palatinate, and *Gäschel* in the western Palatinate—both for *Peitsche.*
8. *mug, mig* 'fly/Fliege'
   ʃno:g 'gnat, mosquito/Mücke, Schnake' WDU 101
   ʃɔ:b 'moth/Motte' WDUu, DWA 1.
   The mutual relation of these terms agrees generally with that of the Palatinate and is reflected in slightly different sets of terms in

neighboring areas of Upper and Middle German. (Cf. Theo Schumacher, *Zeitschrift für Mundartforschung*, 23, 1 [1955], 59-64.)

9. *ʃnubdu:x, sagdu:x* 'handkerchief/Taschentuch' WDU 77
The item itself is of modern origin, *Schnupftuch* ca. sixteenth century, *Taschentuch* not until the eighteenth century, perhaps too late for PaG, which does not use the term *Tasche* for pocket anyway, but *Sack* (see below under taboo items).

E. Terms for which PaG either preserves certain archaisms or has developed innovations.

PaG 1. *márijèsə* 'breakfast/Frühstück' WDUu. Evidently modeled after *mídɔ:gèsə* 'midday meal/Mittagessen' and *nóxdèsə* 'evening meal/Abendessen.'

2. *nainú:rʃdɪ̀g* 'second breakfast/zweites Frühstück' WDU 35.
The term is rare in the Palatinate, which has *zweites Frühstück, Brotzeit,* and (rarely) *Vesper.* The PaG term reflects the common Swiss dialect form *Z'nüni.*

3. *fi:rú:rʃdɪ̀g* 'four o'clock lunch/vier Uhr Stück'. WDU 36.
The term has been replaced by *Vesper(brot)* in the Palatinate and is reflected by the Swiss dialect form *Z'vieri.*

4. *ʃmí:rkè:s* 'cottage cheese/Quark'. WDUu shows *weißer Käse* in the Palatinate. PfWb indicates occasional use of *Schmierkäse* there, evidently archaic.

5. *dés jo:r* 'this year/dies(es) Jahr'. WDU 42 notes this form in southwestern Germany with the common form *dies Jahr.* DWA 16 gives *des Jahr* for the dialects (also *Dt. Spracharchiv* tape 1602 et al.).

6. *də márijə* 'this morning/heute morgen'. WDU 34 indicates this term for Switzerland, not for the Palatinate, which has *heut morgen.*

7. *adjé* 'goodbye/Servus, Tschüs'. This term is nearly extinct in PaG. WDU 48 shows rare traces of it along the west German border. PfWb lists some occurrences of *adjé* and the earlier form *adé,* both from French. *Adjé* and *adjéle* attested for Württemberg. WDU gives both *Servus* and *Tschüs* for the Palatinate; these are unknown in PaG.

8. *wádshàus* 'tavern/Kneipe'. WDU 32 has *Kneipe* for the Palatinate, less commonly *Beiz(e),* while *Wirtshaus* is rare. PaG *gnaib* is attested (Lambert), but apparently no longer used.

9. *ʃlídəbɔ̀:* 'sliding strip/Rutschbahn'. WDU53: very rare in the Palatinate, which has *Glenner* and, also rarely, *Schleife* or *Schleimer.*

10. *moʃdərd* 'mustard/Senf'. WDU 71 gives *Senf* for the Palatinate, with *Mostert* along the west German border.

11. *dígmìliç, dígmìliç* 'sour milk/Sauermilch'. WDU 72 shows *Dickmilch* only in the western and northern Palatinate, otherwise the term *Sauermilch* prevails.

12. *juʃd* 'just/eben, halt'. WDU 103 shows *halt* in the Palatinate.
13. *ʃbeŋlər, bleçʃmid* 'tinsmith, blacksmith/Spengler'. WDU 21 notes *Spengler* or *Klempner* for the southeastern Palatinate, *Spengler* in Württemberg, occasionally *Blechner* in Baden. Scattered instances of *Blechschmied* in Baden and Alsace were noted by Kretschmer.
14. *dradʃə/redʃə* 'gossip, chat/tratschen, schwätzen'. WDUu has *schwätzen* for the eastern Palatinate, rarely *tratschen,* and *ratschen* in the western Palatinate. PaG *ʃwedsə* means simply 'to talk', which is the case for *schwätzen* throughout southwestern Germany (DSA 55).
15. *faʃdə* 'heel/Ferse', with epenthetic *d/t,* is indicated in WDU 3 only for the western Palatinate.
16. *dú:wàg* 'tobacco/Tabak', with accent on the initial syllable (WDU 109 *Tábak* in the Palatinate) and the normal raising of an earlier [o:] to [u:] before the labial (*o* from a Spanish/Carib loan).

F. Terms subject to taboos affecting usage and survival. These chiefly involve metaphorical references to the genitals. All have analogs in German as well as in vulgar English.

Pag 1. *deʃ* 'vulva/Tasche' shows the earlier palatal umlaut for *Tasche.* The PaG word for 'pocket' is *sag,* which occurs widely in southern Germany, but which is also a metaphor for 'scrotum.' *Tasche* (WDUu) is used for 'pocket' in the Palatinate; it does not occur as such in PaG.
2. *dsod* 'fem. pudendum/Zotte'. WDU 76 has *Schnaube* (occas. *Schnauz(e), Zutt(e)* or *Zott(e)* in the Palatinate for the 'spout' on the coffeepot.
3. *gligər* 'marble(s)/Murmel(n)', also meaning 'testicles', likewise in the Palatinate. WDU 50 gives *Klicker* for the Palatinate.
4. *baidəl* 'scrotum/Beutel' (seldom 'purse'). WDUu has *Geldbeutel* 'purse' for the Palatinate.

G. Terms with innovations from, or based on English.

PaG 1. *di nɔ:s blo:sə/budsə* 'blow the nose/die Nase putzen'. WDU 7 indicates *putzen* for the Palatinate. PaG *blo:sə* translates 'blow'.
2. *der mumbs* 'mumps/Ziegenpeter'. WDUu shows *die Mumps* and *der Mumps* for the Palatinate. The term was borrowed from English in both areas during the nineteenth century.
3. *mädʃ* 'match/Streichholz' originated in English also during the nineteenth century. WDU 75 and DWA 3 both show *Streichholz* for the Palatinate.
4. *kosən(d)* 'cousin/Vetter-Kusine'. WDUu gives *Kusine* (female) for the Palatinate. The French loan *cousine/cousin* (seventeenth century) provided a single term for English, likewise for PaG, possibly through English.

5. *budʃər* 'butcher/Fleischer'. Both WDU 19 and DWA 9 give *Metzger* for the Palatinate, rarely *Metzler.* PaG has the verb *medslə* 'to butcher,' but no corresponding noun.
6. *garəd/ʃbaiçər* 'attic/Dachboden'. In PaG the two terms coexist. WDU 24 and PfWb both give *Speicher* for the Palatinate.
7. *gemäʃdə grumbi:rə* 'mashed potatoes/Kartoffelbrei'. The term is patterned after English. WDU 67 shows *Kartoffelbrei, Stampes,* or the more homey *Grumbierbrei* for the Palatinate.
8. *hógəlbì:r* 'huckleberry/Heidelbeere'. WDU 96 shows *Heidelbeere* for the Palatinate.
9. *pe:mənd/fú:swè:g* 'sidewalk/Bürgersteig' PaG *pe:mənd* is the Pennsylvania English dialect word for 'sidewalk' ('pavement'). WDU 30 shows *Trottoir* for the Palatinate, with *Fußweg* reported as rural (possibly with a semantic distinction).
10. *dí:rənàb* 'doorknob/Türklinke'. Here the cultural difference in door handles is reflected. WDUu has *Türklinke* for the Palatinate.

From the various categories of terms thus cited, it may be concluded that, for West Middle German at least, relationships between sign and meaning tend to be preserved as types based upon the most prominent dialect tokens. A fossil stage of regional usage, i.e., Pennsylvania German, preserved in isolated, but living speech forms, indicates attrition or accretion due to cultural innovation or bilingual association. It is especially remarkable, in this respect, that basic regional vocabulary persists with so little change over such long periods, regardless of whether the speech phylum is isolated at a given level or subject to the effects of education and urbanization. Dialect tokens are canonized as standard types in educated usage, both colloquial and literary. Kretschmer's concern with the obsolescence of his work over a scant twenty-five years is then vitiated by this evidence of semantic survival in regional usage over more than ten times that time span.

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Notes

* Due to his untimely death Professor Reed was unable to prepare a final copy.

[1] Buffington, A. F. and P. A. Barba. *A Pennsylvania German Grammar.* Allentown, Pa., 1965 (esp. pp. 137-45); Reed, C. E. *The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks.* Seattle, 1949 (esp. pp. 42, 62).

[2] An older woman in the southeastern Palatinate commented on the difficulty she had trying to learn "Hochdeutsch" (Tape 1602, *Lautbibliothek der deutschen Mundarten*).

[3] Pennsylvania German terms are given in phonetic transcription; the principal accent, unless otherwise marked with an acute (´), is on the first syllable. Secondary accent, if relevant, is indicated by a grave (`). Note that *b, d, g* are voiceless lenes. See "Works Cited" for abbreviations.

[4] Strictly dialectal forms, though widely used.

[5] E.g., "Er redet *als* viel." ('he always talks a lot')

[6] PaG *ábəlbùdsə* 'apple core,' but *wélʃkansgrùdsə* 'corn cob.'

[7] WDU shows *ge-* in the eastern Palatinate and *g-* in the west; the dialects have *g-* throughout the Palatinate.

[8] Except where an underlying vowel has been deleted in the surface structure in modern German, e.g., PaG *losd* 'lets/läßt.'

[9] PaG more often uses *hogə*, rather than *sidsə*.

[10] PaG *me:dəl* 'girl/Mädchen' (WDU 2, DWA 4) has the plural *me:d;* this combination is largely restricted to the southeastern Palatinate.

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German Language Shift in the Nebraska District of the Missouri Synod from 1918 to 1950

The issue of whether to maintain German or to shift to English is hardly a point of debate today within the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod generally or in the Nebraska District specifically. The outcome of the language question is no longer in doubt and has not been for nearly forty years. English has replaced German as the language of the parish schools, Sunday schools, and worship services except for those attempts to have a German worship service on special occasions such as Christmas or Easter.

There was a time, however, when the language issue caused a great deal of concern for congregational as well as district and synod leaders of the Lutheran Church. One could cite the problems of language transition in the Pennsylvania Ministerium in the eighteenth century and among Lutherans in Ohio from 1836-1858 as the earliest instances of language shift in the Lutheran Church in the United States (Weis 5). In the latter case, an English synod had organized as early as 1836 and was tied to the Joint Synod of Ohio until 1855, when it withdrew from the Joint Synod after a disagreement about membership in the Masonic Order. The Joint Synod itself seemed willing to function bilingually with both German and English except for a brief period in 1844-1845 (Weis 15).

The Missouri Synod, unlike the Joint Synod of Ohio, had closer ties to its German heritage and was, for that reason, known as the "German Lutheran" Church. Its roots go back to the more than six hundred Saxons who immigrated as a colony from Germany to Missouri in 1839. Having suffered religious persecution because of their refusal to be merged with Reformed congregations in the state church of Saxony, they created a new Lutheran synod known as the German Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, in Chicago in 1847 (Luebke 21-22).

One of the new synod's goals was to preserve doctrinal purity in the new environment and avoid the contamination of faith, which they had

seen happen in other synods. One means of preventing Americanization of its members was to maintain the German language (Luebke 22-23). It is interesting to note that the continued use of German was not viewed by the Missouri Synod as a link with the country of origin, but rather as an insulator against the American way of life and the rationalism and materialism that it represented (Dietz 97). English made few inroads in the Missouri Synod until the beginning of the twentieth century, although there is evidence that some English was already being encouraged by that time. At the constituting convention in Nebraska in 1882, for example, a resolution was adopted which urged German Lutherans to subscribe to the newly established English publication, *Lutheran Witness*. It was advertised as a soundly Lutheran voice which could also be heard by those Lutherans who spoke no German (Janzow 48). Approximately twenty years later, the minutes of the 1903 convention indicate that regular services in English had already been held in several communities in Nebraska by that time, e.g., Imperial, North Omaha, and Scottsbluff (Janzow 49). In other congregations English and German had reportedly begun to alternate with more congregations adding English services every year.

In 1905 the *Lutheran*, the official organ of an eastern synod, criticized the Missouri Synod as a whole for not doing more to solve the language question. Franz Pieper, the then president of the Missouri Synod, took exception to the criticism and pointed out that nearly all of the younger generation had already become bilingual and that the Missouri Synod was fully prepared for a transition to English whenever necessary. He added, however, that he did not wish to force the issue of transition from German to English since he saw advantages for children, teachers, and pastors who were bilingual (qtd. in Stellhorn 311). This attitude seems to have been a prevailing one within the synod toward the language issue. One finds little evidence of the synod prescribing a course of action regarding the language question. On May 15, 1911, the English Synod was taken as a body into the membership of the Missouri Synod as a district, which is further indication that the synod was receptive to English as one of the languages of the synod. Some districts apparently attempted to have English made the official language of the synod as early as 1923, but the synod refused saying that both languages were to be used (Dietz 103-04).

For the Missouri Synod the entire language question was brought to a head with the American involvement in World War I in 1917. Having been known as the German Lutheran Church since its creation, it now faced much anti-German sentiment since it was believed that there was a natural affiliation between the Missouri Synod and the Kaiser in Germany (Nohl 60). Ironically, as Theodore Graebner mentioned in a pamphlet explaining the synod's attitude toward the war, the founders of the Missouri Synod had themselves fled from persecution in Germany to America in 1838 (qtd. in Manley 6). In addition, the Missouri Synod had been established in the United States for nearly a century, and there was no longer a close association between the synod and the Lutheran Church in Germany. All these arguments meant little to those

superpatriots who insisted that the use of German was an indication of loyalty and support for the Kaiser. State councils of defense were established with the expressed purpose of discouraging the teaching of German in parochial schools. Once they were successful there, they then directed their attention toward the religious services in churches. Although the actual enforcement of the ban on German varied greatly at the local levels, the councils were generally successful in suppressing the use of German, except where the older members of the congregation had an insufficient knowledge to be able to participate in regular worship services. In those cases, an extra service was permitted in German as long as there was no advertising of it in advance.

The situation in the Nebraska District changed rapidly in 1918 as the Nebraska legislature, at the behest of Governor Keith Neville, repealed the Mockett Law, which had made the teaching of a modern foreign language in any school mandatory as long as the parents of fifty children attending the school asked for it (Johnston 119). In addition, on April 9, 1919, the Nebraska legislature passed the Siman Act which prohibited the use of any foreign language in all public and private schools up to and through eighth grade. It did permit the teaching of a foreign language outside of regular school hours and also permitted church services in a language other than English as long as those services were not regular services. Perceiving the Siman Act as a threat to the Fourteenth Amendment rights of due process, the Nebraska District challenged it in court and lost the appeal in the Nebraska Supreme Court (Johnston 120). On May 25, 1920, Robert T. Meyer, a teacher in rural Hamilton County, taught a Bible lesson in German during an extended lunch hour to a boy who had not yet passed the eighth grade. This became the well-known legal battle and test case between Meyer, supported by the synod, and the state of Nebraska, which finally ended in June 1923, when the United States Supreme Court ruled the Siman Act and two others like it unconstitutional. In the meantime, the Nebraska legislature passed an even tougher piece of legislation, the Reed-Norval Act of April 1921, which required that all subjects in elementary school be taught in English and that all teachers must have a Nebraska certificate in order to be able to teach in any Nebraska school (Suelflow 117). Shortly after the repeal of the Siman Act, the Nebraska Supreme Court deemed that the Reed-Norval Act was also unconstitutional.

With the above information serving as a general introduction and frame of reference, this article will examine the process of language shift from German to English in the Nebraska District between the years 1918 and 1950. Using data provided by the *Statistical Yearbook*, this study will attempt to determine when and under what conditions the greatest amount of language shift occurred. In addition, a comparison of data between the Nebraska District and the synod will be undertaken in an attempt to determine whether Nebraska, with such famous anti-German legislation as the Siman and the Reed-Norval Acts, experienced a more rapid shift from German to English than the rest of the synod.

The dates 1918 to 1950 were selected for several reasons: First, the *Statistical Yearbook* provides fairly detailed reports of the language condition for those years. Second, it is commonly agreed that the shift from German to English occurred in most congregations between those two dates. Language shift will be understood to mean the "replacement of one language (L 1) by another (L 2) in all domains of usage, resulting in the loss of function of L 1" (Kipp 52). Domains will be understood as those classes of situations which may require one or more varieties of language (Fishman 6). It will be assumed that the situation in the Nebraska District was already bilingual or nearly so by 1918 and that the shift was from the bilingual situation to English monolingualism. Third, the years following World War I provide the best evidence for the effect of the anti-German sentiment and legislation on language shift. The Nebraska District was also divided into the Northern and Southern Districts from 1922 to 1970 and thus allows for further breakdown into smaller geographical units. Fourth, the synod asked the language question in various formats from 1918 until 1969, but the final nineteen years account for only a small percentage of the shift and for that reason, were omitted from consideration here. Finally, there are few statistical data available for the period prior to 1918. It is known from the 1910 census of Nebraska that almost 17% of all Nebraskans were of German descent and still using the language actively. 12,000 children were attending parish schools where German was taught as a subject or used in teaching (Suelflow 117). Although the amount of German taught varied, it nevertheless was considered an important part of the curriculum of the parish schools and a necessary preparation for participation in the worship services of the congregation. There is some indication of the effect of World War I if one compares the number of services offered in 1910 with that of 1919. In 1910, for example, it is known that 471 stations (congregations) were using English in religious worship. By 1919 that number had increased to 2,492 stations for an increase of 429% (Dietz 102).

Table 1 presents an overview of the use of German and English in the Nebraska District and the Missouri Synod for the years 1920 to 1940. Language use is broken down into five categories ranging from "All German" to "All English." The data are classified according to two criteria: 1. membership—the percentage of the membership attending church services where German and English were used; 2. stations—the percentage of stations or congregations offering services in each language.

On the basis of the data reported in Table 1, the following observations can be made concerning language use in the Nebraska District and the synod from 1920 to 1940:

1. The "All German" and "More German than English" categories decreased steadily between 1920 and 1940 in the district and the synod while the "All English" and "More English than German" categories increased in percentage. Basically, this is a statistical confirmation of a shift from German to English which is known to have occurred between 1920 and 1940.

Table 1

Language Used in Service According to Membership and Stations in the Nebraska District and Total Synod

Amount of German Used		Nebraska District						Total Synod					
		Year 1920 %	Year 1930 %	Year 1940 %	Diff. 1920-30	Diff. 1930-40	Diff. 1920-40	Year 1920 %	Year 1930 %	Year 1940 %	Diff. 1920-30	Diff. 1930-40	Diff. 1920-40
All German	Membership	15	3	0	(−12)	(− 3)	(−15)	14	4	1	(−10)	(− 3)	(−13)
	Station	17	2	0	(−15)	(− 2)	(−17)	21	7	2	(−14)	(− 5)	(−19)
More German than English	Membership	49	12	1	(−37)	(−11)	(−48)	38	14	3	(−24)	(−11)	(−35)
	Station	37	12	1	(−25)	(−11)	(−36)	28	11	3	(−17)	(− 8)	(−25)
Half and Half	Membership	27	51	38	(+24)	(−13)	(+11)	30	45	42	(+15)	(− 3)	(+12)
	Station	30	41	24	(+11)	(−17)	(− 6)	27	32	24	(+ 5)	(− 8)	(− 3)
More English than German	Membership	6	24	33	(+18)	(+ 9)	(+27)	9	20	20	(+11)	(0)	(+11)
	Station	6	24	29	(+18)	(+ 5)	(+23)	8	18	18	(+10)	(0)	(+10)
All English	Membership	3	10	28	(+ 7)	(+18)	(+25)	9	17	34	(+ 8)	(+17)	(+25)
	Station	10	21	46	(+11)	(+25)	(+36)	16	32	53	(+16)	(+21)	(+37)

Sources: *Statistical Yearbook* (1920): 121; (1930): 152; (1940): 183.

In order to find the percentage of German for a particular year, e.g., membership 1920, find the appropriate percentage of German in each column and add the figures (*Statistical Yearbook* [1920]: 122).

All German	15%
More German than English	36.75% (¾ of 49)
Half and Half	13.5% (½ of 27)
More English than German	1.5% (¼ of 6)
	66.75 = 67% German

2. The "Half and Half" category increased from 1920 to 1930, but then decreased from 1930 to 1940. This category shows clearly the tendency toward bilingualism and the subsequent turn to English monolingualism.

3. Except for the membership criterion in 1920, the Nebraska District showed less use of "All German" and "All English" than the synod during the years 1920 to 1940. This means that the Nebraska District, compared to the total synod, showed less of the two extremes and was more likely to be represented in the three middle categories.

4. In both the membership and station criteria, the greatest decreases tended to occur in the "More German than English" category. The greatest amount of increase between 1920 and 1940 was, on the other hand, in the "All English" category for both the district and the synod.

Table 2

Composite of Language Use in Services 1920-40 with Respect to Membership and Stations in the Nebraska District and Total Synod

		Nebraska		Total Synod	
		German%	English%	German%	English%
1920	Membership	67	33	60	40
	Stations	61	39	58	42
1930	Membership	44	56	42	58
	Stations	38	62	36	64
1940	Membership	28	72	29	71
	Stations	20	80	21	79

Source: *Statistical Yearbook* (1920): 75-80; (1930): 101-03, 126-30; (1940): 119-22, 149-52, 183.

Table 2 is a composite of the five subcategories of Table 1 for the years 1920, 1930, and 1940. It shows clearly in terms of percentage the shift from German to English in the Nebraska District as well as the synod for those years. By comparison, the Nebraska District shows greater use of German than the synod for the first two decades, but by 1940 the synod has a one point advantage for both membership and stations. If the amount of decrease is considered, however, then the Nebraska District gives evidence of greater decline than the synod, especially during the decade 1920-30. It can also be noted that the membership criterion consistently shows greater strength in German than do the stations. In 1940, for example, there is a difference of eight percentage points between the stations and the membership for both the Nebraska District and the total synod. This suggests that the impression of the strength of German could depend on the criterion chosen as an indicator of language maintenance or shift.

Table 3

Summary of Language Use in Services 1920-30 with Respect to Membership in the Nebraska District and Total Synod

	Nebraska		Total Synod	
	German%	English%	German%	English%
1920	67	33	60	40
1922	62	38	56	44
1924	57	43	51	49
1926	50	50	46	54
1928	46	54	44	56
1930	44	56	42	58

Source: *Statistical Yearbook* (1930): 152.

Table 3 is a summary of language use in the Nebraska District and the synod for two-year intervals between 1920 and 1930, the decade of greatest decline for German in the Nebraska District and the synod. From the data given, it can be noted that the Nebraska District was consistently more retentive in German than the total synod, although by 1930 the difference between them had decreased to a margin of two percentage points. The period of greatest decline for the Nebraska District was between 1920 and 1928 (−21 points), while the synod declined a total of sixteen percentage points for the same period. The greatest decline for any two-year period was seven percentage points in Nebraska between the years 1924 and 1926. The synod experienced a five percentage point decline during the periods 1922-24 and 1924-26.

Several explanations can be offered for the faster pace of language shift during the 1920s: First, the effect of the anti-German sentiment and legislation during and after World War I is evident. The fact that the Siman and Reed-Norval Acts were not repealed until June 1923 meant that German could not be reintroduced into the schools and services until that time. Second, it is clear from various sources within the synod, that the membership desired bilingual meetings and publications already during the 1920s. In the Northern Nebraska District, for example, the *Business Report* was published in German and English in 1924. In the same year, the Southern Nebraska District decided to publish an English summary of the German essay and in the following year the entire *Proceedings* were to be printed in English. Third, comments such as those given by Theodore Graebner that a change of language expands immeasurably the missionary opportunity of the church suggest that some synod leaders were already receptive to the idea of language shift as early as 1921 (qtd. in Dietz 119).

Table 4 is a summary of language use within the two Nebraska districts between 1922 and 1940. From 1922 to 1970 the Nebraska District was divided into the Northern and Southern Districts. The Northern

Table 4

Summary of Language Use in Services According to Membership in the Northern and Southern Nebraska Districts

	Northern District		Southern District	
	German%	English%	German%	English%
1920	67	33	—	—
1922	62	38	63	37
1924	58	42	56	44
1926	51	49	50	50
1928	49	51	44	56
1929	46	54	45	55
1930	45	55	43	57
1932	42	58	41	59
1934	36	64	36	64
1936	34	66	34	66
1939	30	70	30	70
1940	28	72	28	72

Source: *Statistical Yearbook* (1940): 183.

District was made up of congregations in the Omaha area as well as those north of a line from Omaha to Columbus to Wyoming. The Southern District was composed of those congregations south of this line and included parts of southern Wyoming as well. The figures in Table 4 indicate only a small amount of variance in terms of language use and retention between the two districts. The Northern District shows a slightly better maintenance of German between the years 1924 and 1932, but then has an identical record with the Southern District between 1934 and 1940.

Hofman and Dietz report similar findings for the 1920s but differ concerning the retention record of 1940 and beyond. Hofman maintains that the Northern Nebraska District was among the "more retentive" districts of the Missouri Synod, while he classifies the Southern District as "less retentive" (144). The "more retentive" districts were, according to Hofman, about 5% to 10% less anglified in 1920 and 1940 than the "less retentive" districts, which is not supported by the data from the membership criterion in Table 4 (143). During the first year of reporting as separate districts, the Southern District actually indicated a one percentage point more retentiveness in German than did the Northern District.

Dietz, on the other hand, reports similar findings to those in Table 4 for 1930 but agrees more closely with Hofman with his results for 1946. He claims that the Northern District increased in the use of English from 54% in 1930 to 85% in 1946, while the Southern District increased from

57% English in 1930 to 89% in 1946 (Dietz 122-23). For the year 1930, Dietz agrees within one percentage point of the figures cited for the membership criterion in Table 4. In the case of 1946, there are unfortunately no comparable data available in the same format as in the previous years. The only data available for the years 1947 and 1950 come from using the criterion of language choice at church services. According to this criterion, the entire Nebraska District was using English in 79% of the cases in 1947 and 83% in 1950 (*Statistical Yearbook* 1950: 96-98; 131-34).

There are various explanations which can be suggested for the shift from German to English in the Nebraska District. World War I was one important agent of change. The data from the 1920s indicate, as is also popularly believed, that the anti-German sentiment did much to stifle the teaching of German in schools and the use of it for worship services. The interruption of German instruction from 1917 until 1923 made it very difficult to start up the programs again. Since German was used mainly in the public domains of schools and churches, it was a simple matter to enforce the ban on the language by intimidating the teachers and ministers.

A second factor related to the language shift in the Nebraska District was the change of generations. After the passing of the first generation, there was less need for German worship services, since the second and third generations were already bilingual. The latter also felt less compelled to speak out for the maintenance of German, especially after the experiences with the superpatriots of World War I. It was evident that the Missouri Synod, because of the identification as the Kaiser's religion, was subjected to close scrutiny in Nebraska.

A third factor favoring language shift is urbanization. It has been well documented by Fishman and others that rural dwellers are less likely to shift than urban dwellers (97). Cooper has also shown that urbanization is characteristic of the spread of a language such as Amharic in Ethiopia (465). Dietz also gives urbanization as one of the reasons for the change from German to English in the Missouri Synod, although he is not specific about the relationship of the two variables (101). In 1947 the *Statistical Yearbook* does mention that on the basis of location, 58% were rural and 43% were urban (111). According to the occupation of its members in the same year, however, the synod was 32% rural and 68% urban (111). This suggests that states like Nebraska, although predominantly rural and agricultural, experienced urbanization mainly as an occupational change of its residents, and this change apparently disrupted the traditional patterns of living and produced more contact with people outside of the immediate community who were not German speakers. As research has shown, language shift is very likely to occur under those circumstances.

Another factor to be considered is the pastor's knowledge of German. Although the Missouri Synod was known for its training in the German language in its colleges and seminaries, the pastors nevertheless had difficulty acquiring good language skills and maintaining those skills during the 1930s and 1940s. Hofman found in his study of

Minnesota congregations that twice as many pastors in retentive as in non-retentive parishes were reported to have a good knowledge of German (154). In an interview with a Lutheran pastor in a rural Nebraska parish in the early 1980s, the lack of adequate training and refresher courses was mentioned as a factor in his own eventual shift from German to English. By the 1940s the majority of the Lutheran pastors were learning German as a foreign language and their training and experience in the language simply did not permit them to preach about complex issues. It can be noted that the communion service, which is more ritualistic, was one of the last services to be held in German. The Mennonites of south-central Kansas also recognized this problem of inadequate training in German as a detriment for continued maintenance of German in worship services (*Mennonite Encyclopedia* 292). For that and other reasons, educated Mennonites urged their church leaders to shift from German to English.

The other half of the problem of proficiency lay with the membership. A major concern of Missouri Synod church leaders, as was the case also for the Mennonites in Kansas, was for the second and third generations. As the schools discontinued the teaching of German, the children and young adults became unable to understand and participate in the worship services held in German. This eventually led to what Hofman calls "an ideology of non-retention" among the Missouri Synod congregations (154). It became apparent that the retention of German would hinder the growth and expansion of the synod and also prevent it from being in the mainstream of American theology. Haugen observed a similar situation among Norwegian and Swedish Lutheran congregations as he said, "To stay alive and carry out its spiritual message, the church had to yield and become first bilingual, then increasingly English" (qtd. in Hofman 154).

Finally, a factor which has been deemed important in the maintenance of language is ethnic residential segregation (Lieberson; Li 117-18). Li found a high correlation between ethnic residential segregation and the ability to resist language shift among Chinese-Americans (117-18). A similar situation seems to exist with the Amish, the Hutterites, and to a certain extent, the Mennonites of south-central Kansas. Heinz Kloss uses the term "religio-societal insulation" to describe this phenomenon from yet another perspective and regards it as one of the most powerful factors for language maintenance (206). Within the Nebraska District there is little evidence to suggest such insulation or segregation. While some communities such as Seward, York, and Pierce may have been isolated from their neighboring communities, they certainly were not to the same extent as the Amish, Hutterites, and Chinese-Americans. The statistical data indicate that some congregations of the Nebraska District were as retentive or nearly so as the Mennonites in Kansas (Buchheit 119), but not so as an entire district.

From the data presented here, the following tentative conclusions can be drawn about language shift within the Nebraska District. First, it is evident from the data presented in the various tables that the greatest absolute shift occurred during the 1920s in the Nebraska District. The

peak period of shift was during the years 1924-26, just after the repeal of the Siman and Reed-Norval Acts. This differs slightly from Hofman's assessment that there was generally a steep decline of German during the 1930s, but he based his conclusion on the use of ethnic- and English-language publications and not on church services conducted in each language (140).

Second, the Nebraska District, in spite of the anti-German legislation and the active Council of Defense, appears to have had less shift from 1922 to 1934 than the total synod. Either the anti-German legislation did not have as much effect on language shift as is generally assumed, or there were other factors, e.g., the time of settlement or the number of first generation still living at the time, which were resisting language shift and which have not yet been identified.

Third, at least some of the evidence suggests that language spread was occurring as early as 1905 and 1910 in Nebraska. A number of congregations were already bilingual at that time, and others were introducing English into their services. With the ban of German instruction in the parochial schools during and immediately after World War I, language spread quickly became language shift during the 1920s and 1930s despite efforts to reintroduce German in the schools and worship services after the war. Once the domains for German were lost, it was very difficult to regain them, given the already bilingual situation and the absence of German instruction during the war.

Fourth, Hofman's claim that the Missouri Synod assumed an ideology of non-retention finds some support from the evidence gathered about the Nebraska District. The fact that quite a number of congregations in Nebraska were bilingual by 1905 and 1910 seems to indicate that some decisions concerning language choice had already been made prior to World War I. A second wave of English influence appears after World War I during the early 1920s when the Nebraska Districts officially shifted to English in their meetings and publications. From personal interviews with members of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod in Nebraska, it is evident that more German was used in the homes than in the churches during the final stages of the shift to English.

Finally, it appears that the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod responded to the language question in a very similar fashion as did other denominations which represented sizable ethnic groups. Once the majority of church leaders agreed that one could worship in English as well as German, it was simply a matter of waiting until the older folks and recent immigrants were in the minority. The argument that language saves faith gave way to the counter-argument that the synod needed to be concerned about the second- and third-generation Lutherans. This basic pattern was the same for other denominations and synods as well, e.g., the Norwegian Lutherans, the Swedish Lutherans, and the Mennonites on the Great Plains. They differ only in the pace with which they shifted to English. The Swedish and Norwegian Lutherans tended to shift earlier than the Missouri Synod, while the Mennonites appear to have shifted at about the same time or possibly a little later than the synod. It does appear, however, that the Nebraska

District does not deviate significantly from the three-generational pattern of language shift found among other ethnic and religious groups. By 1950 the majority of congregations were using English in all their services.

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Karl J. R. Arndt

In Commemoration: The Bicentennial of the First Treaty between the United States and Prussia

September 10, 1985, marked the two hundredth anniversary of the day on which Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin concluded an epoch-making treaty with Frederick the Great of Prussia. Frederick the Great was a friend of the American Revolution who had not sold any of his citizens to King George to fight our young nation in its battle for independence. Baron von Steuben, who had been an officer in Frederick's service, helped to organize the colonists' army into a disciplined fighting force. George Washington was one of the many outstanding men of that time who celebrated this Treaty of Amity and Commerce between the two nations as one of the most important products of an enlightened age. The original copy of this great treaty formerly was framed and hung above the fireplace of the American Secretary of State. Of interest to us today because of Senator Hatch's bill to make English the official language of the United States is the fact that while Frederick was content to have his copy of the treaty written in French, the founding fathers Jefferson, Adams and Franklin insisted on having their copy of the treaty written in the *American* language! There was no German translation of this treaty until the author of these lines made it in 1977. The definitive trilingual edition of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce was published in Munich by the Heinz Moos Verlag in 1977.

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Original

Traité d'Amitié et de Commerce entre sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse et les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique.

Original

A Treaty of Amity & Commerce between his Majesty the King of Prussia & the United States of America.

Sa Majesté le Roi de Prusse &c. &c. et les Etats Unis de l'Amerique désirant de fixer d'une maniére permanente et equitable les regles qui

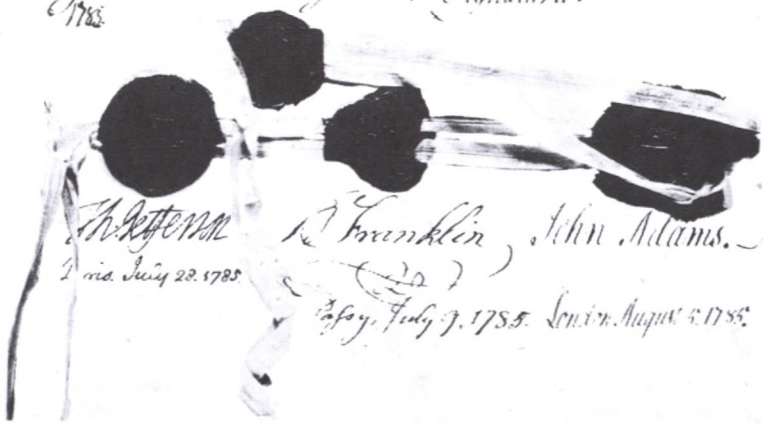
His Majesty the King of Prussia & the United States of america desiring to fix in a permanent & equitable manner the rules to be observed in their intercourse & commerce they

The opening and concluding lines of the original treaty

le Sachet de leurs armes, aux lieux de leur Domicile respectif ainsi qu'ils seront apposés ci dessous.

their Seals at the places of their respective residences and at the Latter sign'd with their several signatures.

Fait à la Haye le 10. September 1785.



Th. Jefferson 2 avis. July 22. 1785.

B. Franklin

John Adams.

Confd 9. July 9. 1785. Sent 6. August 6. 1785.

Cora Lee Nollendorfs

Alexander R. Hohlfeld and the Wisconsin Project on Anglo-German Literary Relations: Defining the Role of a German Department in America

As the field of German-American studies grows and develops, questions about its definition and boundaries arise both among its practitioners and those outside. Such questions are inevitable, especially because German-American studies is attempting to integrate materials and methodologies from a variety of disciplines. In a search for answers, it seems both natural and useful to investigate bases and forerunners of the field. Alexander R. Hohlfeld is such a forerunner. His Wisconsin Project on Anglo-German Literary Relations is an early attempt to expand the horizons of literary study; and his work suggests directions for research in our field which are still applicable today.

Not long ago, it would have been unnecessary to explain just who Hohlfeld was. A member of the German Department at the University of Wisconsin from 1901 to 1936, he was a leader not only of a major department but of the entire German-teaching profession. Even after his retirement, he remained active in scholarly and professional affairs until his death twenty years later. But in addition his associates and students, among whom B. Q. Morgan, Lawrence M. Price, Friedrich Bruns, Henry Nordmeyer, Heinz Bluhm, and Harold Jantz are familiar names, had spread out to all parts of the country and assumed leading positions in German departments and professional organizations and undertakings. Hohlfeld is in a real sense the father of German studies in America.

The Wisconsin Project on Anglo-German Literary Relations is even less widely known today than Hohlfeld. The project was, in fact, a group of doctoral dissertations done in the German Department at the University of Wisconsin between 1904 and 1939—a total of twenty-four, to which Hohlfeld adds one major M.A. thesis—all of which deal with the "interrelations between German literature and the literature of the English-speaking world" (Hohlfeld, "Wisconsin Project" 3). These dissertations were undertaken and completed under the supervision of

Hohlfeld. Representing roughly one-third of the total number of dissertations which Hohlfeld supervised, this group, the Wisconsin Project, is thus only part, but a major part, of the research work which was carried on by Wisconsin doctoral candidates in the field of German literature during Hohlfeld's time.

A native German with a degree from the University of Leipzig, Hohlfeld had been at Vanderbilt University before going to Madison, first teaching in Romance Languages, then as Professor of Germanic languages in a one-man German department, and finally in the capacity of Dean of the Academic Department. It was undoubtedly during his years at Vanderbilt that Hohlfeld first began to ask himself fundamental questions concerning his place and function within the American educational system and concerning the role of a German department in the United States.

His thinking was influenced—according to his own account—by two early experiences. The first was his acquaintance with the work of Max Koch in Anglo-German literary relations and comparative literature and the work of M. D. Learned in American-German literary and cultural relations.[1] The second was a passage from Goethe which states that a nation can really know itself only if it adds a survey of what foreign writers have to say to all the information available from within its own borders.[2] Goethe was referring specifically to the importance of the reception and criticism of German literature in foreign journals.

Hohlfeld quickly made these ideas and approaches his own. In 1902, during his first year in Madison, he published a two-part article in the *Pädagogische Monatshefte,* with the typically German title of "Der Litteraturbetrieb in der Schule, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die gegenseitigen Beziehungen der englischen und deutschen Litteratur." Here he urges that in German literature courses at the introductory level reference should be made wherever possible to relationships and similarities to the literature of the English-speaking world (74-75). He suggests a historical treatment of the interrelation of English and German literature as a suitable and intriguing project (73). He deplores the lack of bibliographical works which would facilitate the study of literary relations (82). And he mentions specific points of contact between English and German literature which need to be included in an intermediate text for the American student of German literature (79-81). Hohlfeld's students later recognized in this work a major document in the historical development of the field of Anglo-German literary influences.[3]

Hohlfeld quickly added one more item to his agenda for an American German department. In 1905, he published an article in the *PMLA*—again with an ungainly title: "The Teaching of the History of a Foreign Literature. With a Long Introduction Justifying the Choice of the Subject." In this article he stresses the importance of literature in translation for international literary relations:

> . . . even in books expressly prepared for English and American students or readers . . . the subject [of literature in translation] is slighted or

> entirely omitted, as if it were of no great practical importance or as if, at any rate, we professional guardians of the study of foreign literatures had nothing to do with it. . . . But I do believe that we should encourage, direct, criticize, collect or edit such work wherever it is of high grade and high aim. (xlvii)

With this, Hohlfeld had outlined a number of directions which scholarship in the field of Anglo-German literary relations could take. These include: the creation of bibliographical tools to assist in the study of these relations, the study of the reception of English and American literature in Germany and of German literature in the English-speaking world, and the study of literature in translation. These are the directions we find represented in the dissertations which constitute the Wisconsin Project on Anglo-German Literary Relations.

The cornerstone of the Wisconsin Project was a group of six dissertations, bibliographical works with historical commentary, two on "German Literature in American Magazines," covering the period from the beginning to 1880, and four on "German Literature in British Periodicals," covering the period from 1750 to 1860. The bibliographies based on American magazines were undertaken first and resulted in dissertations from the years 1905 and 1906 by Scott H. Goodnight and Martin H. Haertel, which were published in the years 1907 and 1908, respectively.[4] The bibliographies of German literature in British periodicals, though also begun early—the first dissertation on this topic was completed in 1908—went along at a slower pace, because of the larger scope of this undertaking, the death of one of the doctoral candidates, the withdrawal of another from the publication project, and the interruption caused by the First World War. About the time of Hohlfeld's retirement, however, Martha Nicolai's dissertation completed the basic work, and finally in 1949 *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860* was published, a compilation of the dissertations of Walter Roloff (1912), Morton E. Mix (1920), and Martha Nicolai (1937), edited by B. Q. Morgan.[5] This work not only represents a monumental amount of effort on the part of all who contributed to it, but also stands as a fitting memorial to Hohlfeld. Hohlfeld's "Foreword" to the volume is itself a major document, in which he presents his philosophy of German studies in America and puts his own career into historical perspective. To this collection of bibliographical dissertations, an important part of the Wisconsin Project, must be added one more of similar nature, John P. von Grueningen's "Goethe in American Periodicals 1860-1900" (1931).[6]

Another part of the Wisconsin Project, a companion group to the bibliographical studies, is a series on the attitude of the English-speaking world to German literature. One of these is Mariele R. Schirmer's unpublished dissertation, "American Criticism of German Naturalistic Drama" (1929). To this group belong also Lillie V. Hathaway's dissertation, "The Attitude of England and America toward German Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (1926), which was published nine years later, and Heinz S. Bluhm's study on "The Reception of Goethe's 'Faust' in England in the Second Half of the

Nineteenth Century'' (1932), the findings of which were published in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* in 1935.[7] Another from this group is Bertha Mueller's dissertation ''American Criticism of Recent German Literature,'' which was completed in 1935 and is interesting in retrospect because of its date and its unique historical perspective.

An even larger group of dissertations deals with the reverse side of the same coin, namely the question of the reception of English literature in Germany. Apparently Hohlfeld was not bothered at all by the question of where to draw the line with his ''Anglo-German Literary Relations.'' Indeed, as early as 1902 he had argued in favor of studying the influence of the literature of both England and Germany upon that of the other nation (Hohlfeld, ''Litteraturbetrieb'' 78), and he continued to see all facets of the literary relationship between the English-speaking world and the German-speaking world as appropriate subject matter for the Wisconsin Project. Included here are Lawrence M. Price's dissertation on ''The Attitude of the 'Grenzboten' toward English Literature,'' from 1911, and John Whyte's ''Young Germany in its Relations to Britain,'' from 1915, both of which were published in full.[8] Another such dissertation was Charles P. Giessing's study entitled ''The Attitude of German Periodicals of the Eighteenth Century toward English Literature (1732-1780),'' completed in 1917, part of which was published in *Modern Philology* in 1918.[9] Hohlfeld speaks of Price and Giessing in the same breath—and with the same respect—and bemoans the fact that Giessing's career was cut short by ''a soldier's death'' toward the end of the First World War.[10] The other two dissertations which belong to this group remained unpublished: Albert P. Martin's work on ''Herder's Attitude toward English Literature,'' of 1917, and a very respectable study by Joseph E. Hawkins, ''The Attitude of Two of the Leading German Periodicals of the Eighteenth Century toward England and Things English,'' which deals with *Teutscher Merkur* and *Deutsches Museum*, 1773-1810, and was completed in the year 1922.

Another group of dissertations from the Wisconsin Project studies translations of major authors from the English language to German or vice versa. The first of these was also the first dissertation which Hohlfeld supervised, Frederick W. Meisnest's work on ''Wieland und Eschenburg als Shakespeare-Übersetzer,'' from 1904, the Wieland part of which was published in the *Modern Language Review*.[11] There followed two dissertations on ''Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation,'' one covering the period up to 1860, and the other the period after 1860, by Lucretia Simmons and Stella M. Hinz. Both of these were published.[12] Another dissertation on matters related to translation remained unpublished, although it is a solid piece of work and one based on an intriguing idea. This is Paula M. Kittel's investigation entitled ''English Translations as Commentaries on Debated Passages in Goethe's 'Faust','' which was completed in 1931. The last dissertation from this series, also unpublished, is Helen Emerson's work ''The English Metrical Translations of Gerhart Hauptmann's Verse Dramas'' (1937).

Finally, a miscellaneous group includes three unpublished dissertations: Rudolf Rieder's study of a German-American literary figure and

his publication, "Ein Bild Robert Reitzels und des 'Armen Teufels' aus seinem Verhältnis zur Literatur" (1918); Mary M. Bausch's "America in German Fiction, 1880-1914" (1921), a topic of interest for that period because of its implications for German immigration to this country; and Margaret Wright's dissertation entitled "A Comparative Study of the Historical Prose Fiction of Sir Walter Scott and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer" (1939), a topic which may properly belong to the field of comparative literature. Lastly, there is the one M.A. thesis, J. C. Andressohn's study, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeer deutschen Bühnenwesens, 1850-1911," completed in 1912 and published the same year in the *German-American Annals.*[13] This topic is one which was of special interest to Hohlfeld, who collected materials for many years and hoped someday to work on the topic of "German Theater in America."

This then was the Wisconsin Project. Of the twenty-five contributions to it, eleven were published and four more were published in part. All are interesting in concept and scope, and some are indispensable as bibliographical tools. This large group of dissertations established a Wisconsin German Department tradition of research and scholarly contribution in the field of cross-cultural literary relations. The Wisconsin Project and the effort which it represented did not go unnoticed. John A. Walz, himself one of the leading figures in German-American studies, spoke in 1936 of the influence of German literature in educational and scholarly fields, adding that in other fields "there has been more influence than is generally assumed. A number of studies have appeared in recent years, especially at the University of Wisconsin, that show . . . a wide interest in German literature" (56).

The Wisconsin Project was meant to be an ongoing effort. Topics dealing with recent literature were not shunned, and extensions of the time limits of earlier studies were planned and begun. However, after Hohlfeld's retirement, no systematic continuation of his work along these lines was undertaken. Indeed, surprising though it may seem, members of the Madison German Department are not even familiar with the Wisconsin Project. There are other studies related to the Wisconsin Project, mainly postdoctoral work of Hohlfeld's students and associates. Foremost among these are B. Q. Morgan's *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1935* and Lawrence M. Price's *The Reception of English Literature in Germany,* both of which appeared in two editions.[14] It should also be pointed out that recent dissertations from New York University done under the supervision of Volkmar Sander, which deal with the reception of German literature in American periodicals, bear striking resemblance to the type of research completed as part of the Wisconsin Project.[15] As a matter of fact, they fill a gap which Hohlfeld himself had pointed out years earlier (Hohlfeld, "Wisconsin Project" 31). The work of Sander's students, however, does not appear to be a direct descendant.

The above report on Alexander R. Hohlfeld's Wisconsin Project on Anglo-German Literary Relations is intended to provoke discussion on the questions of "What is German-American studies?" and "What is

the proper role of a German department in America?'' The Wisconsin Project owes it genesis and conception to Hohlfeld's persistent efforts to answer these questions. Hohlfeld viewed a German department at an American university as a transmitter of culture—above all literary culture—and set out to investigate all aspects of these cross-cultural literary relationships.

It is appropriate to close this survey with a statement by Hohlfeld which he identified as a ''sort of professional credo.'' He states:

> A department of German at an American university, or for that matter in any non-German institution of learning, should not pattern itself too closely, whether in its teaching or its research, on German procedures in either substance or method. Language and literature, like history and philosophy, and indeed all humanistic disciplines, are bound to assume different aspects when transferred from the national sphere of which they form a part, to become integrated in the culture of a foreign people. (''Wisconsin Project'' 11)

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Notes

[1] Hohlfeld mentions specifically Max Koch's monograph, *Über die Beziehungen der englischen Literatur zur deutschen im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883) and his work with the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte;* also M. D. Learned's publication *Americana Germanica* and a seminar and a group of Ph.D. theses done under his supervision at the University of Pennsylvania (Hohlfeld, ''Wisconsin Project'' 10).

[2] From Goethe's essay ''Ferneres über Weltliteratur.'' *Goethes Werke,* Weimarer Ausgabe, IV, vol. 46 (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1908), p. 145. (Hohlfeld, ''Wisconsin Project'' 10).

[3] Lawrence M. Price, *English-German Literary Influences: Bibliography and Survey,* University of California Publications in Modern Philology, 9 (Berkeley, 1919-1920). Price lists this article under ''General Surveys,'' as serial number 8, p. 10.

[4] Scott H. Goodnight, *German Literature in American Magazines Prior to 1846,* rpt. from *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin,* Philology and Literature Series 4 (Madison, 1907): 1-264; Martin H. Haertel, *German Literature in American Magazines 1846 to 1880,* rpt. from *Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin,* Philology and Literature Series 4 (Madison, 1908): 265-452.

[5] Walter Roloff, Morton E. Mix, and Martha Nicolai, *German Literature in British Magazines 1750-1860,* ed. B. Q. Morgan and A. R. Hohlfeld (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1949). Not only Roloff, Mix, and Nicolai, but also J. L. Ruff and Frederick W. Oswald had a hand in this work. Ruff died before completing his dissertation, and Oswald withdrew from the project without ''completing the necessary revision of his section'' (Morgan 35). Morgan admits that the editorial task he faced in putting it all together was enormous (33).

[6] Printed, in part, under the same title, in *PMLA* 50 (1935): 1155-64.

[7] Lillie V. Hathaway, *German Literature of the Mid-Nineteenth Century in England and America, as Reflected in the Journals, 1840-1914* (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1935); Heinz S. Bluhm, ''The Reception of Goethe's Faust in England after the Middle of the Nineteenth Century,'' *JEGP* 34 (1935): 201-12.

[8] Lawrence M. Price's dissertation was published as *The Attitude of Gustav Freytag and Julian Schmidt toward English Literature (1848-1862)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1915). John Whyte's was published with unchanged title in the Ottendorfer Memorial Series of Germanic Monographs, 8 (Menasha, WI: George Banta, 1917).

[9] Under the title "The Plagiarized Book Reviews of C. F. Weisse in the *Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften*," *Modern Philology* 16 (1918): 77-88.

[10] Hohlfeld, "Wisconsin Project" 31. According to records in the German Department at the University of Wisconsin, Giessing died at Camp Dix in October of 1918.

[11] "Wieland's Translation of Shakespeare," *Modern Language Review* 9 (1914): 12-40.

[12] Lucretia v. T. Simmons, *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation Prior to 1860*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 6 (Madison, 1919); Stella M. Hinz, *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation after 1860*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 26 (Madison, 1928). The dissertations were completed in 1913 and 1925, respectively.

[13] *German-American Annals* 10 (1912): 65-88 and 150-70.

[14] B. Q. Morgan, *A Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, 16 (Madison, 1922). Rev. and expanded 2nd ed. published as *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481-1935* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1938). For the 1st ed. of Lawrence M. Price's work, see note 3. The rev. 2nd ed. published as *The Reception of English Literature in Germany* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1932).

[15] Wolfgang Heinsohn, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *New York Times*. Part I: 1870-1918," Diss. New York U 1973; Alice Carse, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *New York Times*. Part II: 1919-1944," Diss. New York U 1973; Eva Schlesinger, "The Reception of German Literature in America as Exemplified by the *Atlantic Monthly* 1919-1944," Diss. New York U 1976.

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C. Richard Beam

The Thomas Royce Brendle Collection of Pennsylvania German Folklore: An Introduction

Thomas Royce Brendle was born on September 15, 1889, on a farm at Schaefferstown in Heidelberg Township, Lebanon County, Pennsylvania. He died in Allentown, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, on September 1, 1966. Brendle attended the public schools of his native village, was tutored by his uncle, the lawyer A. S. Brendle, and completed the first three years of college at Albright College, then located in the neighboring town of Myerstown. He completed his undergraduate work at Franklin and Marshall College and was graduated in 1911 from the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church (Brendle, T., *Herald* 3.2: 1). Both institutions are located in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. His fifty-year pastorate in the Reformed Church in the United States (later the Evangelical and Reformed Church, currently the United Church of Christ) placed him in daily contact with the language and lore of the Pennsylvania Germans. Thomas Royce Brendle was frequently called "the dean of the Pennsylvania German folklorists" by those contemporaries well acquainted with his work (Korson 287).

It was natural for young "Roy," as he was known in Schaefferstown, to prepare himself for the Christian ministry. His grandfather, Daniel D. Brendle, had served as the superintendent of the Reformed Sunday School in Schaefferstown for forty-four years (*The History of St. Paul's Church* 141). It was Grandfather Brendle who awakened the interest of his grandson in the flora and fauna of the countryside. T. R. Brendle's notes tell us that he frequently accompanied his grandfather on excursions to the neighboring hills. This early exposure to the plant names and plant lore of the Pennsylvania Germans later developed into a lifelong preoccupation with the Pennsylvania German dialect and folklore (Brendle, T., *Perkiomen* 1.4: 61; Milbury 53-54). During the long years in the ministry Thomas Royce Brendle's workshop was the study in his village parsonage, the homes of his parishioners and the social centers of the community.

T. Royce Brendle, as he wrote his name until his father's death, began his ministry in a mission church in Abilene, Kansas, where he served for only two years—he was paid barely enough to support his wife and first child. In 1913 he responded to a call from the Old Goshenhoppen Charge of the Reformed Church, which is located in the Upper Perkiomen Valley of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania (Brendle, T., *Herald* 5.5: 1). During this thirteen-year pastorate (1913-1926) the young minister had the time to botanize in the region, interrogate his parishioners and establish productive relationships with others interested in local history (Brendle, T., *Perkiomen* 1.1: 1). From 1926 to the year of his retirement (1961) Brendle ministered to the Egypt Charge of the Reformed Church, which is located in northern Lehigh County, Pennsylvania.

As we view in retrospect the unique career of Thomas Royce Brendle, German-American folklorist, we should not lose sight of the fact that he was not unique among the Pennsylvania German clergymen of his day in his ability to speak the Pennsylvania German dialect fluently—hence his excellent rapport with his parishioners. There were other clergymen in southeastern Pennsylvania fluent in the dialect who conducted High German worship services on a regular basis, just as *Parre* Brendle had in the first decade of his ministry (Brendle, T., *Herald* 1.1: 2). Brendle's colleagues had the same daily contacts with their Pennsylvania German parishioners and neighbors. The central and most significant fact is that Brendle alone observed, listened, remembered, questioned *and then* recorded (initially on any piece of paper handy, later in his notebooks) Pennsylvania German words, idioms, expressions, proverbs, riddles, folk beliefs, folk cures, etc. This he did week after week, year after year, for more than a quarter of a century (ca. 1925-1960) (Brendle, T., *Herald* 2.5: 4; Lambert xxvii).

During the second quarter of the twentieth century ''Tom'' Brendle—after his father's death, who had been known as ''Tom'' Brendle all his life, Thomas Royce Brendle referred to himself as ''Tom'' and began to write his name as ''Thomas R. Brendle'' and no longer as ''T. Royce Brendle''—filled approximately ninety loose-leaf notebooks with his numbered observations and recollections, and subsequently other related data. Eventually Brendle typed many of his previously handwritten notes, so that today part of the collection, which is now in the possession of Historic Schaefferstown, Inc., is in Brendle's hand, part is in typescript.

Tom Brendle would collect his information on his daily rounds. For example, at Bible class meetings; on personal visits in the homes of his parishioners; on fishing trips; at a performance of a dialect play in the local high school; from members of his church consistories; from the caretaker of the Egypt cemetery, which was located behind the parsonage in Egypt; frequently from a neighbor, Mary Koch; from recollections of things said by his father and grandfather Brendle; at a funeral; at the Laurys Sunday School picnic (on July 11, 1942); from his old friend and collaborator ''Pumbernickle Bill'' (William S. Troxell), who wrote a regular dialect column from 1926 to 1957 in the Allentown *Morning Call*,

a daily newspaper; and from notes made from the manuscripts of radio broadcasts in the dialect by "Pumbernickle Bill" on radio station WSAN in Allentown ("Funeral Rites"; Korson 357).

An Overview of the Contents of the Brendle Collection

The Brendle Collection proper consists of ninety-three loose-leaf notebooks. The items numbered in a notebook may be as low as 236 or as high as 2,792. For instance, volume one contains 1,804 numbered items recorded on 249 pages. (Brendle did not number his pages.) The entire collection contains approximately 55,000 numbered entries, even though Brendle's last numbered entry bears the number "57,124." Brendle's hand-written and typed notes are spread over approximately 24,000 pages.

All these figures will have to remain approximations, for Brendle's numbering system was never exact. In some sections of the collection he renumbered items. As a result there were duplications and omissions of numbers. During the years of his retirement when the collection was with him in Hamburg, New York, he continued to work with his collection by making additions and corrections. Some of these additions were added to the numbered items or placed in the margins. These additions often spilled over onto blank pages and were not necessarily related to the neighboring entries. We must assume, therefore, that those additions and "corrections"—which are somewhat erratic and occasionally barely legible—must have been made between 1961, the year of his retirement from the active ministry, and 1966, the year he entered a nursing home in Allentown, where he died on September 1, 1966.

Since Brendle usually numbered each item as he recorded it, there was no need for him to number his pages. Sometimes he wrote on both sides of a sheet. When he typed his notes, he used only one side of the sheet. Brendle was fairly faithful to his original numbering system in the first sixty-one volumes. These volumes contain material recorded between May of 1936, the month volume one was begun, and February of 1961. (We have reason to believe that Brendle began making scattered notes at least ten years earlier, that is about the time he took up the pastorate in Egypt in Lehigh County.)

The final thirty volumes of the Brendle Collection contain few numbered entries. It is clear that in his retirement in Hamburg, New York, Brendle was no longer rooted in the fertile Dutch soil of southeastern Pennsylvania. Hence, it is the first two-thirds of the collection which interests us the most, for in those sixty volumes Brendle accomplished what he set out to do. We quote in its entirety the foreword Brendle wrote for the first volume of his collected notes:

> In my associations with my people, I had heard many traditions, proverbs, expressions, etc. As the years passed I found that I was forgetting much that I had heard and was having only a faint memory of many things that at one time I knew well. Also such notes as I had made were not assembled.

So in the year 1936 I began to make notes on all the lore that I heard. Day after day, I would make notes, as I heard matter which I felt would be worthwhile in making a study of the Pennsylvania Germans.

I wrote down daily what I heard and as I heard it. Often I noted the name of the informant; also my recollections which came back to my remembrance. There are frequent duplications. This is due to the circumstance that I did not trust to a memory of what I had written. I feel now that I should have noted more duplications for a study of frequency of occurrence and for variations and current interpretations of the original.

I have loosely followed Lambert in spelling the dialectal words.

When this collection was approaching 10,000 items, I felt that I should type the notes, for many of them had been written with pencil, and the numbering, especially in the first volume, was not consecutive. In recopying the notes I was careful to make a faithful copy, adding little that was not in the original. Sometimes, where my notes were not clear to me, I have added a question mark.

If I should not be able to use this collected material, I feel that the work has not been in vain, for I know that sometime someone will find it an ample source for study of the Pennsylvania Germans.

Everything unless otherwise noted was heard by me. I have used no printed matter, unless so indicated. All the material is what I personally heard. That should be remembered. Others may have heard things differently. This is what *I* heard and saw.

Recopied 1941. Am keeping the originals.

The final third of the collection appears to have been assembled during Brendle's retirement in Hamburg, New York. He was no longer in daily contact with other dialect speakers other than Mrs. Brendle. He was experiencing the infirmities of advancing age. Thus there is a marked difference in the contents of the later volumes. Here we will find Brendle's copy of Marcus Bachman Lambert's Pennsylvania German dictionary, which was first published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1924 (Lambert). In this copy are many additional dialect words which Lambert had not recorded. Since Brendle had assisted Lambert in the compilation of his dictionary, it is not surprising that Brendle made copious notes on lexical items as he heard them or as they occurred to him (Lambert xxvii). In our revision of Lambert's dictionary we are leaning heavily on Brendle's notes. The later volumes of the Brendle Collection are especially valuable for the inserted material. Here one finds letters, some to Brendle, some to "Pumbernickle Bill" (William S. Troxell), who died almost ten years before Brendle ("Funeral Rites"). After Troxell's death in 1957 Mrs. Troxell turned over to Brendle lists of important information in the dialect which had been sent to Troxell by those who listened to his radio broadcasts.

One of the Brendle notebooks contains what appears to be an English translation of the famous powwowing book, Hohmann's *Long Lost Friend* (Yoder 1976). In these volumes we find genealogical information on the Brendles and related families. Volume seventy-one contains a copy of Brendle's dialect play, *Die Mutter,* as performed on October 19, 1934, in Hershey, Pennsylvania (Buffington 194-222). A wheelwright's

account book of the years 1768-97, which was copied in 1941, has been preserved here. A number of these later volumes contain the notes Brendle had made for a powwow book he was compiling prior to his final illness. Of especial interest are the folktales submitted by radio listeners in 1942 to the regular radio broadcasts by "Pumbernickle Bill" (Brendle and Troxell, 1944).

One of the most valuable documents which was copied verbatim by Brendle (in September and October of 1953) and preserved in his collection is Edna Hurst's diary of the year 1900. The seventeen-year-old Edna Hurst was the youngest daughter of the only physician in Talmage, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. After she had taught in Arizona, Edna returned to Lancaster County and completed the teacher training program at Millersville State Normal School in 1911. Edna's son was unaware of the existence of the diary until a copy was presented to him recently. The 1900 diary of Edna Hurst Wenger with annotations will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Journal of the Historical Society of Lancaster County.*

Illustrations of Some of the Categories Represented in the Brendle Collection

The very first entry in volume one reads as follows:

> A child, visiting in a friend's or in a neighbor's house should not accept the first invitation to eat at the table with the family; it should wait for a second or third invitation. (This belief Brendle encountered in his home, Lebanon County, and in Montgomery County, where he lived for thirteen years.)

This entry is expanded upon with the following explanation:

> Lest the child give the impression that it does not get enough to eat at home; to show no greediness. This also was the way of many grown-ups. Aunt Jane, my wife's aunt, 83 years old, almost always waits for a second request at the table for a second helping.

At this point Brendle quotes the remark of the host who has already invited the guest to the table:

> "Ich hab en eemol gheese esse; sell waar genunk. Er is ken Kind, as mer en meh wie eemol heese muss." (I invited him once; that was enough. He is no child that one has to invite him more than once.)
>
> There is also the feeling that the first invitation is due to courtesy, the second comes from real desire. "Do waard mer net fer's zwettmol gheese sei." (One doesn't wait to be invited the second time.) (Brendle indicates that he has heard this expression frequently.)

Entry number one concludes with two anecdotes, typical of stories which floated around of persons arriving for a visit at mealtime:

> (A) One person came as the family was gathering around the table: "Hock dich hie un ess mit," (Sit down and eat.) said the man of the house. "Nee, ich will net; bin net hungrich," (No, I don't want to; I'm not hungry.) answered the person. "Ach, kumm aan; ess mit," (Oh, come on; eat with us.) said the householder. "Nee, nee!" answered the

visitor. "Ya, *well,* dann!" said the householder and the family took to eating.—The visitor, who really was hungry, watched them, and after a bit, said, "Esse is awwer aa gut." (Eating is good too.) Or in another version: "Es Esse schmackt awwer gut." (My, but the food smells good.)

(B) A little boy came to a home at dinnertime when the family was gathered around the table. A conversation similar to the one above took place. The hunger of the boy increased as the dinner progressed. As the pie was being passed around, he could restrain himself no longer and he cried out: "Seller Pei muss awwer gut sei!" (That pie must really be good!)

In both instances the visitor was given something to eat.

As is frequently the case in Brendle's notes, one piece of information seems to remind either Brendle or the informant of a related bit of information. Item number one is followed by several table prayers and a favorite bedtime prayer. This of course provokes a parody:

Now I lay me down to sleep,
Upon my little trundle bed,
If I should die before I wake,
How would I know I am dead?

Or: If I should die before I wake,
Good-bye to mother's buckwheat cake.

One parody, of course, reminds one of another. This one is on "Nearer, my God, to Thee":

Nero, my dog, has fleas,
Nero has fleas.
No matter what soap I use,
Nero has fleas.

Item number fifteen recommends: "When leaving a team of horses alone in a field, turn them away from the buildings and they will remain at the spot and not run away." This bit of lore reminds Brendle of the dialect expression: "der Blug verisse" meaning "to wreck a plow" (by the ploughshare catching under a stump or under a large stone). Related is the expression: "die Mehmaschien verrisse" meaning "to wreck the mowing machine, when the cutting bar hits a stump, a post, etc. and the horses have run away or are pulling too fast."

Much weather lore has found its way into the Brendle Collection. This item is the very first bit of weather lore in the collection: "Wann die Hund odder Katze Graas fresse, gebt's Rege." (When the dogs or the cats eat grass, there will be rain.)

The Brendle Collection is a storehouse of proverbs and proverbial expressions. They begin to appear very early in the first volume. For instance, "Was sich zwett, dritt sich." (That which occurs twice, will occur a third time.) "Two funerals in short succession in a congregation portend a third one."

Here is a tale recorded in the first volume which Brendle heard from the lips of his father as well as from his grandfather:

In the "bottom field" of the old Scheetz farm on the edge of Schaefferstown, where the sensational Scheetz murder took place, a man by the name of Houser of "Kannadaa" (Canada), the southern part of Schaefferstown, "hot Schtecheise gfischt ee Nacht." (was gig fishing one night) ("The Tragedy of old Schaefferstown"). Around midnight he heard what he took to be the horses of the murderers galloping around the field. The riders called out, "Whoa! Whoa!" Frightened he started for home and going through the woods he heard a voice calling, "Wuh-hie! Wuh-hie!" In his fright he answered, "Wuh-hie!" and thereupon a weight as of a two-bushel bag of wheat fell upon his back. The weight lay upon him all the way home, until unable to walk upright, he staggered against the door, where he collapsed.

Another tale from Schaefferstown:

Dawson Hetrick, a schoolmate of mine in Schaefferstown, told me that one night his father and others went to a crossroad to mould magic bullets. While engaged in their work, one happened to look up and there suspended over them hung a millstone. In fright they rushed from under the stone and ran pell-mell all the way home. "If they had not been scared and had kept on with their work, they would have succeeded in moulding the bullets," said Dawson Hetrick.

"Der Eewich Yaeger" (the eternal hunter) has been at least heard of by every Pennsylvania Dutchman in the past. One night Tom Brendle's grandfather and Tom's uncle were out hunting. They were on the ridge that led back to "Walniss Brunne" (Walnut Spring) near Schaefferstown. As they went along the ridge, they heard "der Eewich Yaeger" on the slope across the "Haschdaal" (Deer Valley). They immediately turned back and went home, for it was dangerous to be out at night when "der Eewich Yaeger" was abroad. This could mean death or disappearance.

Let us skip ahead to volume twelve, which contains almost 3,000 numbered items. The information in this volume was gathered in or near the town of Egypt in Lehigh County from March 6 to August 13, 1942, a five-month period during World War II, when travel was restricted. The folklore assembled and recorded in this volume represents a good cross section of the various categories of folkloristic and linguistic information which Brendle recorded in the early volumes of the collection. These were notes made when Pastor Brendle was in his most productive years and at a time when the generation born during the last quarter of the nineteenth century—a period when the Pennsylvania German culture was the dominant one in many of the rural sections of southeastern Pennsylvania—was well represented amongst Brendle's informants. In this fact lies the uniqueness of the Brendle Collection. Brendle assembled his collection from a generation which knew the dialect and the older ways well. As was already pointed out, Brendle grew up in a community (Schaefferstown), which was thoroughly Pennsylvania German during the period of his childhood and youth (A. S. Brendle). He lived for almost half a century in two areas, which were at the time he served them as pastor, 1913-1961, thoroughly Pennsylvania Dutch. Whatever reservations one may harbor concerning

Brendle's technique or manner of organizing or recording his material, the salient fact to bear in mind is that he took a lively interest in the ethnology of his own people, the Pennsylvania Germans, and listened, observed, recalled and recorded! (For example, Brendle and Troxell with the help of Paul Wieand were the first to go into the field and mechanically record the folksongs of the Pennsylvania Dutch) (Brendle and Troxell, "Pennsylvania German Songs"). This act of filling notebook after notebook, year after year, constitutes a special kind of *Kulturtat*, which has yet to be fully appreciated by the scholarly world (Botkin 807; Dorson, "Pennsylvania Dutchmen" 110).

Here are a few more examples of some of the categories to be found in volume twelve:

1. **Proverbs and proverbial expressions:** "Sie sin aa Mensche." (They are also human.) "Ich hab aa mei Menscherecht." (I too have my human rights.) "Ich bin aa en Mensch." (I'm a human being also.)

2. **Riddles:** "Was is des? Sex Zoll lang mit me Kopp un die ganz Welt eschdimiert's."—"En Daaler." (What is six inches long with a head and revered by the entire world?—A dollar bill.) (from Mrs. Mertz in Orefield)

3. **Weather lore:** "When snow falls, it is said, 'Sie robbe die Gens in Deitschland un schicke die Feddre rei.' " (They're plucking the geese in Germany and sending us the feathers.)

4. **Counting out rime:** "Eene beene dunke funke / Raabi schnabbi dibbi dabbe / Ulla bulla Ros / Ib ab aus / Du bischt aus." (from Mrs. Moyer, Egypt)

5. **Folk cure:** "For whooping cough: 'Aus me blohe Glass drinke.'—'Mei Mammi hot immer en bloh Glaas ghat fer die Kinner raus drinke, wann die Blohhuuschde ghadde hen.' " (My mom always had a blue glass for the children to drink out of whenever they had whooping cough.) (from Mrs. Charles Fries, Kreidersville)

6. **Seasonal lore:** "At New Year one should eat pork and not chicken, 'wann mer vorkumme will in die Welt.' (if one wishes to get ahead in the world.) When a chicken scratches, it works backward, but when a hog roots, it works forward. So if you would go forward in the world, eat pork, particularly at New Year; also at Christmas." (Mrs. Fries)

7. **Star lore:** " 'Wann mer die Schtanne seht falle, schtarbt ebber in die Freindschaft.' (When one sees the stars fall, someone will die in the family.) As a protective action, close your eyes or look away." (Fries)

8. **Anecdote about a clergyman:** "A 'Parre' was driving along when he came to a little boy playing with a 'Kiehdreck.' 'Was hoscht du?'—"Wees net!'—'Weescht net was sell is?'—'Nee!'—'Sell is en Kiehdreck!'—'Guck, do kann mer sehne was die Lanning dutt. Ich hab net gwisst eb's en Bulledreck odder en Kiehdreck is!' " (What've you got there?—Don't know!—You don't know what that is?—No!—That's a cow flop!—Well, one can surely see what education does for one. I didn't know whether it was a bull flop or a cow flop!) (Oscar Laub)

9. **Ascension Day lore:** "There was made for an old woman a nightcap, 'en Schlofkapp.' This happened to have been made on 'Himmelfaahrdaag.' (Ascension Day) One day storms came 'un sin yuscht iwwer em Haus gschtanne un sin net weckgezoge. Es hot arig gedunnert un gegracht.' (and remained over the house and did not move on. There was terrible thundering and cracking.) The persons in the

house became frightened. Finally, they remembered the old belief and that the cap had been made on 'Himmelfaahrdaag.' So they took the cap and hung it on the washline out in the yard. Then there was an awful clap of thunder. The cap was torn to shreds—and the storm moved on." (Brendle, 1951)

If space permitted it would be possible to retell a tall tale or one of the folktales about *Jenneveefaa, Die drei Brieder* or of *Der Buh und der Schwatzkinschdler* (Yoder, 1971b). Our last example of typical lore from the Brendle Collection is a tale involving Eulenspiegel and a preacher. This account was copied by Brendle from the manuscript for the February 18, 1942, radio broadcast of "Pumbernickle Bill." The story was submitted by James Stuber of Cherryville, Pennsylvania. We quote "Pumbernickle Bill":

> Der James secht, der Ira Bickel hett sich mohl verdingt zu me Parre als Gnecht. Sunndaags maryets hett der Parre der Ira nausgschickt fer sei Weggel schmiere fer noch der Karich geh. Der Ira hett gsaat, er deet, un waer naus un hett der Wagge all eigschmiert mit Waggeschmier vun eem End bis ans anner. Wie der Parre nauskumme waer fer fattgeh, hett er der Ira gfrogt, was er geduh. Noh hett der Ira gsaat: "Ei, der Wagge gschmiert, wie du gsaat hoscht as ich sott."—"Ya," hett der Parre gsaat, "awwer du hoscht en dadde schmiere solle!" un gewisse noch der Ex vum Weggel. "Schur," hett der Ira gsaat, "ich hett aa, awwer ich hab net dadde draakumme kenne!" (Beam 11-14)
>
> (James said that Eulenspiegel had hired himself out to a preacher. Sunday morning the preacher sent Till out to grease his buggy before he went to church. Till said he would and went out and greased the buggy all over—from end to end. When the preacher was ready to leave, he asked Till what he had done. Till replied, "Why, greased the buggy as you said I should."—"Yes," said the preacher, "but you should have greased it there!" and pointed to the axles of the buggy.—"Sure," said Till, "I would have, too, but I couldn't reach in there!")

The Thomas Royce Brendle Collection of Pennsylvania German Folklore stands alone as a record of German-American folklife (Dorson 1959; Klees 450; Yoder 1971a). In the last quarter of the twentieth century the ranks of those who know the dialect well and recall the old ways are thinning rapidly. It would not be possible this late in the century—even with a large staff of trained field workers and unlimited financial resources—to duplicate Brendle's solitary achievement. His folklore collection is his monument. He truly was "the dean of the Pennsylvania German folklorists"!

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Abbreviations:

AAAPSS	=	*Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
Amst	=	*Amerikastudien*
CG	=	*Canadiana Germanica*
CHIQ	=	*Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*
IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
JLCHS	=	*Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*
MA	=	*Magazin für Amerikanistik*
MHB	=	*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NCHR	=	*North Carolina Historical Review*

NGTHS	=	*Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter of the Society for German-American Studies*
PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PGM	=	*Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
PPHR	=	*Plains-Panhandle Historical Review*
QCH	=	*Queen City Heritage*
UHQ	=	*Utah Historical Quarterly*
WT	=	*Wisconsin Trails*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*
ZGKS	=	*Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Kanada-Studien*

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THE YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES 1980—1985: AN INDEX

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The Society of German-American Studies decided at its meeting on April 27/29, 1985 at Lincoln, Nebraska, to publish an *INDEX* of the contents of the *Yearbook* every five years similar to the index published in 1980 by Dr. Don Heinrich Tolzmann when the *Yearbook* became the successor to the *Journal of German-American Studies* edited by Dr. Robert E. Ward since 1968.

The Index of the *Yearbook* is arranged in three parts:

Part A is an index of the contents of the articles in the *Yearbook*

Part B is an authors' index

Part C is a topical index.

With this index we hope to provide scholars and students of German-Americana with an easily accessible summary of work done in various fields of German-American studies.

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