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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 descendents 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. 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 prepared in accordance with the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style* are requested. All manuscripts and correspondence concerning the *Yearbook* should be addressed to the Editors, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, 2080 Wescoe Hall, University of Kansas, 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.

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YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITORS

We are happy to present the 1986 volume of the *Yearbook*. We appreciate the confidence of the Executive Committee which enables us to continue the tradition of editing the *Yearbook* begun by our colleague and friend, J. Anthony Burzle, in 1981.

As you can see from the articles published in this and previous volumes, we receive contributions from a wide variety of disciplines. The interdisciplinary nature of our field has prompted us to adopt a stylistic format which enjoys broad acceptance. Beginning with volume 22 (1987) all submissions for publication in the *Yearbook* must be prepared according to the University of Chicago Press *Manual of Style*.

We are continuing the policy of publishing articles in either English or German. We also encourage authors to present quoted matter in the original language. Translation of quoted matter is not necessary for English and German.

Our sincere appreciation goes to the members of the Editorial Board and to Steven Benjamin and the Bibliographic Committee. The increasing number of submissions to the *Yearbook* has placed greater demands than ever on the time of our reviewers. The Annual Bibliography continues to be an indispensable research tool in our field. Without the help of all these colleagues the scope and quality of the *Yearbook* could not be maintained.

Max Kade German-American
Document and Research Center
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
December 1986

Ehrhard Bahr

Paul Tillich and the Problem of a German Exile Government in the United States*

During the Second World War two organizations occasionally approached the status of a German exile government and were erroneously designated as such, although they never received international recognition. The first organization was the National Committee for a Free Germany (Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland) in the Soviet Union,[1] the second the Council for a Democratic Germany in the United States. We are sufficiently informed about the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland through the monograph by Bodo Scheurig, published in German as well as in English.[2] But no monograph exists about the Council for a Democratic Germany; only two articles by former members of the Council are available as well as a short chapter in Joachim Radkau's study of German emigration to the United States and its influence on American foreign policy in Europe between 1933 and 1945.[3] Radkau dealt in a general way with the problem of exile politics in two further essays in which the Council is also mentioned.[4] In the pertinent handbooks and introductions to exile literature and exile in the United States, the Council is treated on only a few pages.[5] This is all the more surprising when one considers that the collected works of Paul Tillich, the chairman of the Council, consist of more than twenty volumes with comprehensive biographical material.[6] However, in these works barely fifteen pages have been set aside for the printing of Council documents.[7] In a biographical sketch Tillich mentioned the Council in only two sentences.[8] In the American Tillich biography by Willhelm and Marion Pauck the Council episode comprises four pages, in the Rowohlt monograph by Gerhard Wehr barely one.[9] That Tillich sought to suppress this experience because of the failure of the Council is psychologically understandable. There is no reason, however, for historians to neglect this organization and the investigation of its function and meaning. In spite of the proven ineffectiveness of the Council, it serves as a model for the study of the Allies' policies towards Germany and of the legitimation of a German government in exile.

The Council represented a Western alternative to the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland, which had been founded in July 1943 by German exiles as well as German prisoners of war in the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership appears to have used the Nationalkomitee as, among other things, a political tool to bring about an early end to the war if possible, even at the cost of a compromise peace with a German government. In July 1943 the opening of the second front by the Western Allies was still far in the future. In spite of the military successes since the reconquest of Stalingrad, the fascist enemy still stood in the heart of the country, and the Soviets still had to reckon with heavy losses of troops and civilians before the war would end. On the other hand, after the defeat of Stalingrad numerous German prisoners of war had come to realize that Germany could no longer win the war. Therefore, they had formed an organization with the explicit intention to preserve Germany's national existence by overthrowing the Hitler regime. Their determination was reconfirmed by Stalin's famous words of 23 February 1942 that "the Hitlers come and go, but the German people, the German state remains."[10] Since the Soviet Union had not yet won the war and Germany had not yet lost it, the Soviet and German interests could possibly be adjusted to a common denominator.

The Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland was not conceived as a government in exile but as a representation of German interests recognized by the Soviet Union. This representation offered itself as an interim solution for the formation of a German countergovernment which was capable of negotiating with the Soviet Union. In case the Nationalkomitee were to succeed in convincing the German generals to cease hostilities and to withdraw the army in an orderly fashion to the German borders, a cease fire was assured by the Soviets in return. Germany could achieve a favorable peace if the negotiations were based on the successful overthrow of Hitler. The Soviet Union would then be prepared to conclude a separate peace which would guarantee the German nation its 1937 borders. A prerequisite for this would simply be a civil democratic government which would be allied with the Soviet Union by means of friendship treaties.[11] The conclusion of the manifesto to the army and the German people expressed the program clearly: "For the people and the homeland! Against Hitler and his criminal war! For immediate peace! For the salvation of the German people! For a free and independent Germany!"[12]

In answer to its manifesto the Nationalkomitee received numerous sympathetic declarations from the United States, among others from Reinhold Niebuhr and from Germans in exile like Lion Feuchtwanger, Oskar Maria Graf, and Prince Hubertus of Loewenstein. Thomas Mann gave a statement to the Soviet News Agency Tass that termed the manifesto "a legitimate counterpart to the challenge by the western powers to the Italian people to rid themselves of the fascist regime."[13]

At first the Western Allies were completely surprised by the founding of the Nationalkomitee and took a negative stand. In the *New York Times* of 23 July 1943, for example, the founding was evaluated as a clever "chess" move by Stalin to accomplish the second front and

considered this movement dangerous to the anti-Hitler coalition of the Allies.[14] *Der Aufbau,* the leading newspaper of German-Jewish immigrants in New York, took up the phrase of "Stalin's chess move" in its edition of 30 July 1943; on 13 August the *Neue Volkszeitung,* organ of the right wing of the Social Democratic Party in exile, also decisively rejected the Nationalkomitee because of its cooperation with the German generals. Antimilitarism was too strong in both exile groups to allow the Soviet alternative of a military coup. In addition, the SPD in exile refused to cooperate in any way with the Communists.[15]

Among the exiled writers on the West Coast the reaction was similar. At the often mentioned meeting of 1 August 1943 held in the home of Berthold Viertel in Santa Monica, they were initially able to agree on an expression of sympathy with the Nationalkomitee. "The proclamation of the German prisoners of war and emigrants in the Soviet Union" was welcome, and the writers acknowledged the necessary distinction "between the Hitler regime . . . on the one hand, and the German people on the other." But already on 2 August 1943 Thomas Mann retracted his signature, because the proclamation was too "patriotic" and would therefore "attack the Allies from the rear." The famous controversy between Thomas Mann and Bertolt Brecht in exile was initiated by the failure of this declaration. Its roots lay deeper, however. While Brecht held fast to the belief that the first people whom Hitler "oppressed" were "the Germans," Thomas Mann turned against the creation of the purposefully optimistic legend of an oppressed nation. Although he acknowledged the internal German resistance movement in his radio messages to Germany, he pointed on the other hand to the support of the regime by the German people who stood "behind the regime" and fought "its battles." Thomas Mann insisted, therefore, that the German people prove themselves morally by freeing themselves of Hitler. Only in the rejection of collective guilt were Brecht and Mann in agreement, although they refused to admit it. Brecht accused the novelist in a poem, unpublished at the time, of advocating a ten-year punishment of the German people.[16]

In August and September 1943, a steering committee for the formation of a "Free-Germany-Movement" was founded in New York in order to produce an alternative to the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland in the United States. Those involved wanted undoubtedly to forestall a purely Communist initiative through the creation of an organization that stood above party differences. It was to be an independent body and composed of "people who were [closely connected with] different political persuasions, of liberals and the Catholic Center, of Social Democrats and independent Socialists all the way to the Communists."[17]

The founders hoped to entice Thomas Mann to take the chairmanship of this organization since his name was politically attractive in the United States and assured that among the bourgeois and Social Democratic exile groups party differences would be overcome. On 27 or 28 October when Thomas Mann was lecturing in New York, "leadership" *(führende Beteiligung)* was offered to Thomas Mann by represen-

tatives of the "Free-Germany-Movement," but he had already decided to become an American citizen and to forgo a political role in post-war Germany.[18] On 2 November 1943, he sarcastically noted in his diary: "In the course of the evening much about my future as *Führer (meine Führer-Zukunft)* in Germany, from which may God protect me."[19] On 4 November, Thomas Mann conferred with Paul Tillich, Carl Zuckmayer, Paul Hagen, Siegfried Aufhäuser (SPD), Paul Hertz (SPD) and some others in New York concerning the planned organization. The driving force behind the project was Paul Hagen, actually Karl B. Frank, who could not be considered for the chairmanship because of his membership in the leftist-socialist group "New Beginning." Thomas Mann turned down the leadership offer, but declared his willingness to intervene with the State Department to gain recognition for the Free-Germany-Movement.

Meanwhile, however, military and political developments made it doubtful that exile representative bodies could function in the Soviet Union and Western countries. The collapse of the German summer offensive at Kursk in July 1943 and the failure of the mysterious Soviet peace feelers in Stockholm in September 1943 led to a revision of Soviet policy towards Germany that now aimed at crushing the German army and the *Reich*.[20] The agreement of the Western Allies to demand unconditional surrender was decisive for the adoption of this policy.

At the Conference of Casablanca from 14-26 January 1943, the Western Allies had set down the formula for unconditional surrender. At the Moscow Foreign Ministers' Conference, held on 19-20 October 1943, the formula was also accepted by the Soviet Union. This rendered peace negotiations with a German government without Hitler meaningless. The danger of a separate Soviet peace, feared by the Western Allies, was banished. At the same time the significance of German exile organizations in the Soviet Union and in Western countries as well as of the German resistance movement was reduced. Their hope of attaining favorable conditions of peace for Germany through an early end to the war vanished. The demand of unconditional surrender meant that the Allies no longer differentiated between the German people and the Nazi regime and insisted upon the continuation of the war until the final defeat of the German *Reich*.[21]

The Conference of Teheran, at which Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin met from 28 November to 1 December, led to a further coordination of the Allied war goals. The formation of the second front was decided upon and the Soviet Union's western border of late autumn 1939 as well as the territorial compensation of Poland with East Prussia and areas of Pomerania and Silesia were conditionally recognized. The new Soviet policy towards Germany also changed the function of the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland; it was no longer used to establish contacts with German generals in command of troops on Soviet territory, but only for front-line propaganda in order to persuade German soldiers to defect. The guarantee of an ordered retreat onto German territory and the promise of a negotiated peace were replaced by the formula of "rescue through defection."[22]

In the context of these military and diplomatic decisions, which radically changed the meaning and function of the German exile groups in the Soviet Union and in Western countries, Thomas Mann's intervention with the State Department on behalf of the "Free-Germany-Movement" took place. In a letter dated 18 November 1943 to Adolf A. Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, Thomas Mann outlined the goals of the intended organization. The movement could "influence the people in Germany to support the political war being waged" and could, because of its "knowledge of the German mentality prove useful in advising American administrators."[23] Thomas Mann considered the recognition of the movement by the American government absolutely necessary. The discussion with Berle on 25 November 1943 in Washington, D.C., proceeded to Thomas Mann's relief "with a fortunately negative conclusion," as he noted in his diary. In the development of American foreign policy—the talks took place between the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow and the Three Power Meeting in Teheran—it was not surprising that the State Department took a wait-and-see, if not a negative attitude toward the "Free-Germany-Movement."

On 26 November Thomas Mann reported in New York to Paul Tillich and the advocates of the "Free-Germany-Movement" about his conference with Adolf A. Berle. The diary entry reveals a clearly detached tone: "Gathering of the 'gentlemen' in my room. A fiery affair to inform them of the refusal and to comfort them." On 29 November Thomas Mann defended himself in a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* against rumors concerning his alleged participation in a "Free-Germany-Committee" at the suggestion of the State Department, and he designated the time as unsuitable for the formation of such a committee. His posture prompted the famous letter of Bertolt Brecht, dated 1 December, which Thomas Mann answered by return mail on 10 December 1943 repeating his reservations. Brecht held dogmatically to the two-Germany thesis, as his essay "The Other Germany" from 1943 shows, whereas Thomas Mann developed the view of the final identity of the "one" and of the "other" Germany in his subsequent political speeches as well as in his novel *Doktor Faustus*.[24]

In May 1944 the founding committee of the Council for a Democratic Germany met without the hoped-for participation of Thomas Mann. Also the former Chancellor Heinrich Brüning, who belonged to the Catholic Center Party, had refused the chairmanship as long as there was no specific request by the American government. But Paul Tillich, whose name was similarly morally attractive as that of Mann in the United States, accepted the position. His political past as a religious socialist had shown Tillich as being above party politics. As a former SPD member he had proven himself as being neither on the extreme left or right, and his opposition to the Nazi regime was well known. The Protestant theologian had been relieved of his professorial duties at the University of Frankfurt in 1933 and had emigrated in the same year to the United States. At the invitation of the American theologian Reinhold Niebuhr, he taught at Union Theological Seminary and at Columbia

University in New York. Since 1936 Tillich had emerged in numerous public speeches on German emigration as the spokesman of political exiles in the United States. From 1942 to 1944 he had written more than a hundred radio speeches directed at Germany for the Office of War Information.[25] Tillich possessed valuable contacts to American intellectuals and to the White House, so that he seemed nearly as suited for the office of chairman as Thomas Mann.

On 15 May 1944 the Council for a Democratic Germany turned to the American public with a founding manifesto which was signed not only by German exiles, but also by a group of American citizens who supported the program of the Council. To the first group belonged Elizabeth Bergner, Bertolt Brecht, Oskar Homolka, Peter Lorre and Erwin Piscator, to the second Reinhold Niebuhr and Dorothy Thompson. The American group called itself "American Friends of German Freedom" and consisted of fifty-seven signatories.[26] Thomas Mann refused to sign, but never took an official position against the Council, even when challenged to do so by American journalists.[27]

The first public meeting of the Council was held on 17 July 1944 in New York. Paul Tillich pointed to three problems: the composition of the Council, its organization, and the reaction of the public. He emphasized the "balanced front" of the Council:

> We have taken great pain to insure that members of the so-called middle class, personalities who embraced the Center, Social Democracy, the New Beginning Group or Communism, as well as those who belong to no party are represented in suitable proportions on the Council.

The Council was not supposed to represent a "mirror image" of the German exile groups in America, but rather "the forces expected to accomplish a democratic rebuilding in Germany."[28] In contrast to the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland, active membership in the Council was by invitation only and was under no circumstances to endanger the "balance structure" of the political alignments represented there. The Council's composition was to resemble the distribution of seats in the last parliament of the Weimar Republic.[29] Its organizational form implies that at least some of the Council members strove towards the creation of a government in exile.[30]

Also the Council's bylaws were intended for international legitimation. Whereas the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland as a plenum could make decisions with a simple majority, the "balance structure" of the Council demanded the consensus of all parties. No group could exert its will against the opposition of a minority group by means of a vote; every party, however, had veto power and could block the work of the Council; this occurred in the fall of 1945, when Communist opposition prevented the Council from functioning.

Tillich also emphasized public relations. Between September 1944 and May 1945 the Council published in English five issues of its *Bulletin of the Council for a Democratic Germany;* already in the first issue Tillich felt the need to defend the new organization against the charge of nationalism. Members had become refugees because they had fought

against this nationalism, Tillich argued. He tried to bridge the gap between German immigrants who planned to become American citizens and the German exiles who intended to return to Germany after the war. Tillich spoke out clearly for "a quick and complete victory of the Allied armies." The Council was not concerned with "the question of a harsh or soft peace for Germany," but rather with "the question of a peace that is creative and which will give to all European people those human rights and those opportunities for the defense of which this war has been fought."[31]

In September 1944 President Roosevelt submitted the so-called Morgenthau-Plan which envisioned the division of the new Germany into two autonomous states, the dismantling of the Ruhr industry, reparations, and the control of economic development for two decades. The main goal of the Morgenthau-Plan was the elimination of the industrial potential necessary for a future war. Due to the opposition of the State Department, which considered German heavy industry necessary for the rebuilding of Europe, Roosevelt withdrew his approval of the Morgenthau-Plan at the end of September 1944.[32] The next month the Council opposed the Morgenthau-Plan in a press release that appeared in the second issue of the *Bulletin*. It labeled the suggested change in the structure of Germany as "only Hitler's plan in reverse."[33]

The first crisis in the Council was occasioned by the Yalta Conference held from 3-11 February 1945 at which Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin decided on the occupation, control and reparations of conquered Germany without settling details. Poland was granted territorial gains in the west; however, the final determination of the Polish western border was tabled for a future peace conference. The Crimean Conference, as it was called in the United States, split the Council; Tillich tried to conciliate with the publishing of six different opinion statements. In the fourth issue of the *Bulletin* elements of agreement between the official press releases about the Crimean Conference and the Council were worked out by a majority of the members. With the exception of Paul Hagen, who protested against the projected "semi-colonial status for Germany for an indefinite period, including territorial and industrial dismemberment," the decisions of the conference were considered to be largely in the interest of a future democratic Germany. The different opinions demonstrated a clear majority. They found, for example, the text of the Crimean declaration about "the eradication of the institutions and the spirit of Nazism and militarism . . . surprisingly similar to the wording of [their] own declaration." That no unified declaration could be achieved was termed "catastrophic" in terms of public relations;[34] however, the Council weathered the crisis. In the fifth issue of the *Bulletin* of May 1945 the atrocities committed in the German concentration camps were unanimously condemned and emergency measures for the elimination of Nazism and militarism and for democratic reconstruction were developed.

The Council existed until the fall of 1945, when it failed because of a protest against the agreements reached at the Potsdam Conference which had been convened from 17 July to 2 August 1945 to implement

the Crimean Declaration. New points were added: the Oder-Neiße line as western border of Poland until its regulation by a peace treaty, the allocation of the city of Königsberg and the bordering areas to the Soviet Union as well as the forced transfer of Germans from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary to Germany. Paul Tillich considered the Potsdam Accords to be the end of Germany as *Reich,* and in a private letter to Friedrich Baerwald, the representative of the Center Party in the Council, used the phrase "the liquidation of Germany." For Tillich the economic and territorial regulations of Potsdam represented a "radical acceptance of the Morgenthau-Plan."[35] In a draft resolution Tillich opposed, above all, the economic decisions, which he considered intolerable. In his opinion they meant "either the extinction of a considerable portion of the German people or the necessity of nourishing it from outside for an unlimited period of time." He saw thus the creation of a "viable democratic Germany" endangered. Tillich further sought to lodge a protest against "the methods of evacuation, of deportation and of forced labor" as well as against the "often quite favorable attitude of the occupation authorities toward former Nazis and their political allies."[36] The Communists and some of the neutral members of the Council, however, refused to agree to a public criticism of the Potsdam Accords. They exploited the "balance structure" of the Council to prevent further critical declarations. The same "balance structure" made it also impossible, however, to bypass Communist objections by means of a vote. As a result withdrawals from the Council were announced from both sides of the aisle. Both Paul Hagen as representative of the left-socialist group "New Beginning" and Friedrich Baerwald as the main representative of the Catholic Center Party refused further cooperation under protest. Thus the fate of the Council was sealed. Its last meeting took place on 15 October 1945.[37]

At the war's end, Tillich had defined the mission of the Council as forming a "bridge" between the democratic forces in Germany and "those circles in America which were in sympathy with the rebuilding of a democratic Germany." It was to prove that there were inside as well as outside the fatherland representatives of "another Germany" who could initiate its democratic rebuilding.[38] That the Communist and neutral members of the Council denied their consent to the draft resolution formulated by Tillich was not caused by the implicit concept of "another Germany"—this view was also held by the Communists—but rather by the anti-Potsdam declaration. The criticism seemed directed first and foremost against the Soviet Union. Although Tillich was also against "the control by the stewards of the atomic bomb . . . for the maintaining of monopoly capitalism," his reservations against the Oder-Neiße border were by far weightier. A private letter to Friedrich Baerwald reveals that Tillich considered the Oder-Neiße line the annulment of "the thousand year history of German eastern settlement" and a concomitant extermination of German Protestantism "with all the cultural forces which it had produced."[39] This private statement was in total contradiction to the Council's declaration of September 1944 and was an indication of vestiges of imperialist thinking among German exiles. It is improbable that Tillich was able to hide his private opinion

completely, and it was therefore predictable that the Communist members would deny their assent to an anti-Potsdam declaration of the Council. The continued cooperation in the Council could only be bought at the price of agreement to the Potsdam Accords. Since there were already improvements projected in the discussions of the Allies, it was, as Paul Hagen put it, "simply perverse" to adhere to the current apparently transitional status.[40]

At no time did the Council for a Democratic Germany declare itself a government in exile. Its first public statement of 15 May 1944 declared that its members could not claim "a formal mandate from people now inside Germany." They believed, however, that they typified "some of the forces and tendencies which [would] be vitally needed in the creation of a new Germany within the framework of a free world." They therefore felt that it was their "duty in the interest of the United States and the United Nations to express [their] conviction about the future of Germany at a time when the German people [could not] speak for themselves."[41] In the organization of the Council, options for a designation as an exile government had been left open. The minimum goal of the Council was participation in the formation of the United States' policy towards Germany which was never realized. Although President Roosevelt, members of Congress and of the American press were sympathetic to prominent exiles, and some of them were employed by the Office of Strategic Services (OSS) or the Office of War Information (OWI), the Council failed to influence American policy towards Germany,[42] although contemporaries as well as historians had perceived the possibility to do so. Historians attributed this failure to the division among German exiles or to the "deficits of political culture."[43] The main reason lies, however, in the Allied demand for unconditional surrender, which excluded negotiations with representatives of "another Germany" from the outset. From 1943 on, the State Department opposed, therefore, the formation of a German government in exile. The Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland in the Soviet Union was similarly used merely for defection propaganda. After the unconditional surrender in May 1945 there was neither a *de jure* nor a *de facto* German representative body with which the Allies could have negotiated.

Another, though minor reason for the failure of the Council was the personality of its chairman. Born in a small village east of the Oder-Neiße line and raised in a Lutheran pastor's family for a career in the ministry, Tillich could not suppress his heritage, when confronted with the results of World War II, as manifested in the Potsdam Accords. Some members of the right wing of the Social Democratic Party in exile showed similar tendencies, when they became aware of the dissolution of Germany as a *Reich*. There prevailed a strong German *Reich* ideology among German political exiles of all factions. They were never able to solve the dilemma of their fight, on the one hand, against Hitler and, on the other, for the preservation of Germany as a *Reich*. The division of Germany was not only repugnant to them, but also incompatible with the reconstruction of a new democratic Germany.[44]

The international legal consequences of the unconditional surrender

were never clearly understood either by the exiles or by modern historians. Until October 1945 Tillich still thought that he could speak "from the standpoint of Germany," a position that lacked any international legitimation after May 1945. Thus the Council was properly dissolved. When Tillich placed the blame on the East-West division, that was only superficially accurate.[45] Subconsciously he was aware, as the letter to Baerwald shows, that it made no more political sense to speak "from the standpoint of Germany," at most to speak only "in a humanitarian way for fifty million Germans and their minimal life necessities."[46]

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Notes

* This is an authorized translation by Arnold Krammer, Texas A & M University, revised and enlarged by the author.

[1] There were actually two organizations founded in the Soviet Union in 1943, the Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland and the League of German Officers (Bund Deutscher Offiziere); the latter, however, soon merged with the Nationalkomitee. There were also other important exile organizations beyond the Nationalkomitee and the Council for a Democratic Germany in the United States. In the Soviet Union, the Communist Party (KPD) in exile was represented by Wilhelm Pieck and Walter Ulbricht. In Prague and then in London, the Social Democratic Party (SPD) in exile maintained an active organization in the 1930s and 1940s. But these were party organizations, not semi-representative bodies, as the Nationalkomitee and the Council, striving for the kind of legitimation and influence usually accorded to governments in exile. This article is to dispel, among other things, the common notion that the Council in the United States was run principally by artists, and not by politicians, and that its lack of legitimacy was due to the absence of politicians on the Council. There were about ten politicians of the various Weimar parties on the Council, including Horst W. Bärensprung, Kurt Glaser, Albert C. Grzesinski, Paul Hertz and Hans I. Hirschfeld of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Friedrich Baerwald of the Center Party (Zentrum), and Albert H. Schreiner of the Communist Party (KPD). In addition, there was Jakob Walcher of the Socialist Workers' Party (SAP), and Paul Hagen of the leftist-socialist group "New Beginning" (Neu Beginnen).

[2] Bodo Scheurig, *Freies Deutschland: Das Nationalkomitee und der Bund deutscher Offiziere in der Sowjetunion 1943-1945*, 2nd rev. & enl. ed. (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1961), Engl. transl. Herbert Arnold (Middletown: Wesleyan Univ. Pr., 1969). See also Walther von Seydlitz, *Stalingrad—Konflikt und Konsequenz: Erinnerungen* (Oldenburg: Stalling, 1977); Erich Weinert, *Das Nationalkomitee Freies Deutschland 1943-1945: Bericht über seine Tätigkeit und seine Auswirkung* (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1957); Willy Wolff, *An der Seite der Roten Armee: Zum Wirken des Nationalkomitees Freies Deutschland an der sowjetischen Front 1943-1945* (Berlin: Militärverlag, 1973).

[3] Karl O. Paetel, "Zum Problem einer deutschen Exilregierung," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 4 (1956): 286-301; Friedrich Baerwald, "Zur politischen Tätigkeit deutscher Emigranten im Council for a Democratic Germany," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* 28 (1980): 372-83; Joachim Radkau, *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluß auf die amerikanische Europapolitik 1933-1945*, Studien zur modernen Geschichte 2 (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1971) 193-204.

[4] Joachim Radkau, "Die Exil-Ideologie vom 'anderen Deutschland' und die Vansittartisten," *Das Parlament* 10 Jan. 1970, Supplement (B 2, 70): 31-48; Joachim Radkau, "Das Elend deutscher Exilpolitik 1933 bis 1945 als Spiegel von Defiziten der politischen Kultur,"

Im Gegenstrom: Für Helmut Hirsch zum Siebzigsten, ed. Horst Schallenberger and Helmut Schrey (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1977) 105-46.

[5] Eike Middell, *Exil in den USA mit einem Bericht: Schanghai—Eine Emigration am Rande* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1978) 189-94; Alexander Stephan, *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945: Eine Einführung* (München: Beck, 1979) 220-21.

[6] *Gesammelte Werke,* 14 vols. (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1959-73); *Ergänzungs- und Nachlaßbände,* ed. Renate Albrecht, 6 vols. (Frankfurt/Main: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1971-83). In addition, there are 3 vols. of *Systematische Theologie* (Stuttgart: Evangelisches Verlagswerk, 1966).

[7] Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 13: 312-23.

[8] Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 12: 75.

[9] Wilhelm and Marion Pauck, *Paul Tillich: His Life and Thought* (New York, London: Harper & Row, 1976) 201-04; Gerhard Wehr, *Paul Tillich* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 1979) 90-91. See also Ronald H. Stone, *Paul Tillich's Radical Social Thought* (Atlanta: John Knox Pr., 1980) 107-08.

[10] Scheurig 51-70; Stephan 223.

[11] Scheurig 57-58.

[12] *Freies Deutschland* (Mexico), No. 9 (Aug. 1943).

[13] *Freies Deutschland* (Mexico), No. 12 (Nov. 1943): 16.

[14] Scheurig 71-72.

[15] Hans-Albert Walter, *Deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1950* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978) 4: 647-48; Joachim Radkau, *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA* 157-63.

[16] See Herbert Lehnert, "Bert Brecht und Thomas Mann im Streit über Deutschland," *Deutsche Exilliteratur seit 1933,* ed. John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka (Bern/München: Francke, 1976) 1: 62-88; Ehrhard Bahr, "Der Schriftstellerkongreß 1943 an der Universität von Kalifornien," Spalek and Strelka 40-61.

[17] "An die Redaktion der Neuen Volkszeitung," 18 Jan. 1945, mimeographed manuscript of the American Association for a Democratic Germany, quoted from Karl O. Paetel 289.

[18] See Lehnert 64-66; Bahr 44-51.

[19] Thomas Mann, *Tagebücher 1940-1943,* ed. Peter de Mendelssohn (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1982) 645.

[20] See Wolfgang Leonhard, *Die Revolution entläßt ihre Kinder* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1955) 293-95; Scheurig 122-36; Horst Duhnke, *Die KPD von 1933 bis 1945* (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1972) 383-85; Alexander Fischer, *Sowjetische Deutschlandpolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg 1941-1945* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1975) 38-45; Stephan 223-24; Heinrich Graf von Einsiedel, "Bridge mit Madame Kollontaj: Suchte Stalin 1943 einen Sonderfrieden mit Hitler: Fragen zu den Stockholmer Gesprächen," *Die Zeit,* Overseas Edition, No. 40 (7 Oct. 1983): 15; Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Die Chance des Sonderfriedens: Deutsch-sowjetische Geheimgespräche 1941–1945* (Berlin: Siedler, 1986).

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[22] Scheurig 117-23.

[23] *Die Briefe Thomas Manns: Regesten und Register,* ed. Hans Bürgin and Hans-Otto Mayer (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer, 1980) 2: 745.

[24] Bahr 50-57.

[25] Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 13: 185-281.

[26] "A Program for a Democratic Germany," *Christianity and Crisis* 4, No. 8 (15 May 1944). German transl. in Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 13: 313-18.

[27] Lehnert 80-81.

[28] Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 13: 318-22.

[29] Paetel 300.

[30] Paetel 287.

[31] "A Statement," *Bulletin of the Council for a Democratic Germany* 1, No. 1 (1 Sept. 1944): 1, 4. German transl. in Tillich, *Gesammelte Werke* 13: 322-23.

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[34] "The Crimea Concept and the Council," *Bulletin of the Council for a Democratic Germany* 1, No. 4 (Feb. 1945). See Paetel 296.

[35] Letter to Friedrich Baerwald without date, quoted from Baerwald 378-79.

[36] "Entwurf einer Erklärung von Professor Tillich für die Mitglieder des Geschäftsführenden Ausschusses," quoted from Baerwald 381-82.

[37] Baerwald 377.

[38] Baerwald 382.

[39] Letter to Friedrich Baerwald without date, quoted from Baerwald 378-79.

[40] Paetel 299.

[41] "A Program for a Democratic Germany," *Christianity and Crisis* 4, No. 8 (15 May 1944).

[42] Anthony J. Nicholls, "American Views of Germany's Future during World War II," *Das Andere Deutschland im Zweiten Weltkrieg: Emigration und Widerstand in internationaler Perspektive,* Veröffentlichungen des Deutschen Historischen Instituts London 2, ed. Lothar Kettenacker (Stuttgart: Klett, 1977) 77-87, 218-47, esp. 86. Cf. Ulrich Borsdorf and Lutz Niethammer, eds., *Zwischen Befreiung und Besatzung: Analysen des US-Geheimdienstes und Strukturen deutscher Politik,* transl. Franz Bruggemeier (Wuppertal: Hammer, 1976) 10-17; Alfons Söllner, ed., *Zur Archäologie der Demokratie in Deutschland: Analysen politischer Emigranten im amerikanischen Geheimdienst* (Frankfurt/Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt, 1982) 1: 7-37.

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Rodney Symington

Eine deutsch-amerikanische literarische Freundschaft: Else Seel und Ezra Pound

Im Dezember 1946 las die deutsch-kanadische Dichterin Else Seel in ihrer kleinen Blockhütte am Ufer vom Ootsa Lake in der winzigen Siedlung von Wistaria in Britisch Kolumbien einen Zeitungsbericht über den eingesperrten amerikanischen Dichter Ezra Pound. Pound war auf Grund seiner im Zweiten Weltkrieg von Rom übertragenen Rundfunkreden des Hochverrats angeklagt worden und war seit dem 21. Dezember 1945 in St. Elizabeths Hospital for the Criminally Insane in Washington, D.C., in Haft.[1]

Seit der am 26. Januar 1943 gegen Pound und sieben andere Amerikaner erhobenen Anklage und vor allem seit seiner Ankunft in Washington am 18. November 1945 hatte in der Weltpresse eine heftige Debatte darüber getobt, ob er zurechnungsfähig sei oder nicht, und wenn ja, ob er zum elektrischen Stuhl verurteilt werden sollte.[2] Diese Debatte wurde gerade in den Wochen vor dem Beginn des Gerichtsprozesses besonders hitzig. Der in der amerikanischen Emigration lebende deutsche Schriftsteller Lion Feuchtwanger zum Beispiel verkündete knapp vier Tage nach Ezra Pounds Einlieferung ins Spital in der Zeitschrift *New Masses* (25. Dezember 1945) unter der provokativen Überschrift "Should Ezra Pound Be Shot?": "He who regards the aim of justice to be not to avenge but to deter cannot draw a distinction between the talented or untalented wrecker."[3] Immerhin wurde Pound am 13. Februar 1946 vor Gericht als nicht zurechnungsfähig erklärt. Der Hochverratsprozeß wurde daher vertagt und Pound weiterhin der Obhut des St. Elizabeths Hospital übergeben, wo er die nächsten zwölf Jahre verbrachte.

Ezra Pound war schon ein Jahr im Spital, als Else Seel beschloß, ihm zu schreiben. Das traurige Schicksal des weltberühmten Dichters ließ sie einfach nicht schlafen; mitten in der Nacht stand sie auf und schrieb dem Unglücklichen ein paar Worte des Trostes und der Ermunterung. Zusammen mit einer kleinen Handarbeit ging der Brief am nächsten Tag nach Washington ab.[4]

Dieser einfache Ausdruck der Teilnahme führte zu einem höchst ungewöhnlichen Briefwechsel, der über zehn Jahre dauerte. Ezra Pound, der mit vielen der führenden Literaten seiner Zeit korrespondierte, beantwortete jeden Brief, den er von dieser ihm gänzlich unbekannten deutschen Immigrantin aus dem kanadischen Urwald empfing, wenn auch seine Briefe an sie meistens nur aus ein paar hastig gekritzelten Bleistiftzeilen bestanden. In dieser Hinsicht ging es Else Seel nicht besser als Pounds anderen Korrespondenten. Er verfaßte vom Spital aus mehr als tausend Briefe im Jahr auf ähnliche Weise.[5] Dieser Briefwechsel wurde für Pound sehr wertvoll, nicht nur in persönlicher, sondern auch in literarischer Hinsicht. In diesem Artikel verfolgen wir die Entwicklung des brieflichen Verhältnisses zwischen dem eingesperrten amerikanischen Dichter und der deutsch-kanadischen Frau in der Blockhütte, vor allem im Hinblick auf den gegenseitigen Austausch von literarischen und kulturellen Einflüssen.

Else Seel wurde 1894 als Else Lübcke in Schivelbein in Pommern geboren. In den zwanziger Jahren lebte sie in Berlin, wo sie in literarischen Kreisen verkehrte, viele der führenden literarischen Persönlichkeiten kennenlernte und selbst schon einen gewissen Ruf als Schriftstellerin errang. Doch bald schien das Berliner Leben sie nicht mehr zu befriedigen, und als ein Verhältnis mit dem dänischen Schriftsteller Martin Andersen-Nexö zu einem unglücklichen Ende kam, entschloß sie sich, nach Kanada auszuwandern. Sie kam nach Vancouver in Britisch Kolumbien, wo sie am Tage nach ihrer Ankunft den Pelzjäger und Prospektor Georg Seel, einen ausgewanderten Bayern, heiratete. Sie hatte vorher kurz mit ihm korrespondiert. Er brachte sie zu seiner einsamen Blockhütte am Ufer vom Ootsa-See, mitten in der kanadischen Wildnis, wo sie in den nächsten zwanzig Jahren oft wochen- und gar monatelang allein hauste, wenn nämlich ihr Mann auf Pelz- und Goldjagd war.[6] Neben der mühseligen Arbeit auf ihrem Land führte sie ein Tagebuch, schrieb Gedichte und Erzählungen und brachte zwei Kinder zur Welt. Von dieser ungewöhnlichen Frau also hatte Ezra Pound gerade den ersten Brief bekommen.

Schon am 22. Dezember 1946 antwortete ihr Pound mit einem knappen Neujahrsgruß. Als sie ihn dann zu Anfang des neuen Jahres fragte, ob er Bücher oder Zeitschriften brauche, schrieb er am 31. Januar neun kurze Zeilen: Er bat sie vor allem um mehr Briefe, um seine neue Korrespondentin besser kennenzulernen. Er wollte auch Näheres über ihre Blockhütte wissen; außerdem fragte er, ob sie etwas von Leo Frobenius gelesen habe. Else Seel war eine Weile verreist und schrieb ihm erst am 20. Februar 1947 zurück: "A week ago in Vancouver I asked a bookseller for Ezra Pound. His eyes widened—big, short-sighted eyes in a round, kind face. He stammered: 'The war—there is nothing.' I smiled and he smiled back. We understood each other perfectly. But I gave not up." Der letzte Satz mit seinem deutlichen Germanismus weist darauf hin, daß Else Seel, vielleicht zum Teil wegen ihres jahrelangen Lebens in der Wildnis, die englische Sprache nie ganz beherrschte. Ihr Leben lang sprach sie auch Englisch mit einem starken Akzent. Sie gestand Ezra Pound später: "To speak with Santayana: The roots of the

English language do not quite reach my centre'' (10. September 1947). Pounds eigenartiges Englisch muß ihr manche Schwierigkeit bereitet haben, obwohl sie versicherte, daß sie seine Briefe gut verstanden habe.

Im gleichen Brief vom 20. Februar 1947 teilte sie Pound mit, daß sie keine Bücher von Frobenius finden könne. Daß Pound den Namen Frobenius schon in seinem zweiten Brief erwähnte, ist nicht weiter erstaunlich. Für Pound war Frobenius einer der größten Geister, nicht nur des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts, sondern aller Zeiten. In Pounds Hauptwerk, den *Cantos*, spielt Frobenius eine wichtige Rolle.[7] Pound behauptete (27. Februar 1947), er habe das Studium der deutschen Sprache, die er nur mit Schwierigkeit lese, im Jahre 1927 nur deswegen ''wieder'' aufgenommen, um Frobenius auf deutsch lesen zu können; denn bis jetzt habe sich keiner mit genug Grütze (''gumption'') gefunden, Frobenius' Werke ins Englische zu übersetzen. Pound hatte 1928 während eines Aufenthalts in Frankfurt Frobenius in dessen Institut für Kulturmorphologie besucht,[8] und er nannte in seinem 1938 erschienen Buch *Guide to Kulchur* Frobenius' großes Werk *Erlebte Erdteile* eines der sieben bedeutendsten Bücher der Weltkultur und stellte es auf die gleiche Ebene mit Homers *Odyssee* und Dantes *Göttliche Komödie*.[9]

Solches Lob muß wohl verdient sein. Leo Frobenius (1873-1938), deutscher Archäologe und Anthropologe, galt als einer der größten Afrikaforscher aller Zeiten.[10] Zwischen 1904 und 1935 machte er insgesamt zwölf Entdeckungsreisen auf diesem Erdteil. In einer Reihe von erfolgreichen Büchern berichtete er von seinen Entdeckungen und wurde somit zum ersten großen Interpreten der afrikanischen Kulturen für Europäer. Er veröffentlichte über achtzig Bücher über Afrika: nicht nur Reiseberichte, sondern auch Bücher über afrikanische Kunst sowie Anthologien afrikanischer Erzählungen und Volksmärchen. Ihm ging es vor allem darum, den Europäern Afrika näherzubringen, ihre falschen Vorstellungen und ihre Vorurteile auszurotten und so zum Verständnis der afrikanischen Kultur als einer reifen, selbständigen Entwicklung beizutragen. Seine Forschungen führten zu Theorien, nicht nur über die afrikanische im besonderen, sondern auch über die menschliche Kultur im allgemeinen. Gerade diese Theorien gefielen Ezra Pound, vor allem Frobenius' Definition der Kultur als eine Summe von geographischen, gesellschaftlichen, geschichtlichen und kulturellen Phänomenen.

Für Frobenius hatte die Kultur gleichsam einen eigenen Willen: sie entsteht, gedeiht und verdirbt nach eigenen, geheimen Gesetzen. Der Mensch, so meinte er, habe im Grunde genommen wenig Einfluß auf den Fortlauf der Kultur, ja er sei eigentlich nichts mehr als ein Werkzeug, wodurch sich die Kultur zum Ausdruck bringe. Jede Kultur hat eine eigene Seele, von Frobenius ''Paideuma'' genannt, etwas Wesentliches, das nie stirbt. Ezra Pound übernahm vieles von Frobenius, vor allem seine Definition der Kultur und den Begriff ''Paideuma'', aber er erweiterte diese Ideen dadurch, daß er die Künstler als die wahren Träger der Kulturseele erklärte.[11] Wie wichtig dieser Begriff ''Paideuma'' für Pounds Werk war, zeigt sich an der Tatsache, daß heute die internationale Zeitschrift für die Pound-Forschung *Paideuma* heißt. Andere Züge in Frobenius' Wesen und in seinen

Werken haben Pound wohl auch zugesagt: wie zum Beispiel Frobenius' Verpönung der Akademiker, seine Neigung zum Faschismus, sein Verlaß auf persönliches intuitives Einfühlungsvermögen im kulturellen Bereich und sein selbstbewußter Stil. (In seinen Werken nach 1924 schrieb Frobenius immer in der dritten Person über sich selbst.) Angeblich hat Pound auch die Theorie geäußert, daß er und Frobenius zur gleichen "Katzenfamilie" gehörten.[12] Es muß auch vermerkt werden, daß Pound oft gerade das bei Frobenius zu finden glaubte, was er zur Unterstützung seiner eigenen Vorurteile brauchte. Im Jahr 1954 zum Beispiel, als das Oberste Gericht der USA die Segregation in den amerikanischen Schulen für verfassungswidrig erklärte, berief sich Pound in seinem Protest dagegen auf Frobenius: "Ha! There're twenty-seven different types of nigger. Can you imagine that? Twenty-seven different types in Africa. You'd have to have a segregation law for each type!"[13]

In ihrem zweiten Brief an Ezra Pound (20. Februar 1947) empfahl ihm Else Seel *Die Welt auf der Waage,* ein Buch von dem österreichischen Schriftsteller Colin Roß (1885-1945), und bot sich an, es ihm zu schicken. Sie war sich offensichtlich nicht sicher, ob für Pound Bücher von Roß erlaubt waren, also fragte sie klipp und klar: "Verboten?" Die Frage deutet wahrscheinlich darauf hin, daß sie sich nicht nur über den Inhalt des Buches, sondern auch über die Vergangenheit von Roß im klaren war: er stand den Nationalsozialisten nahe, und Else Seel glaubte wohl, daß Pound Bücher von einem solchen Autor nicht empfangen dürfe. Pound nahm das Angebot an und bat sie, ihm das Buch zuzuschicken, "if you don't want it back" (27. Februar 1947). Roß erweckte Pounds Interesse ("he seems to write very clearly")—er fand Roß vermutlich leichter zu lesen als Frobenius—und er erkundigte sich am 24. März 1947, wieso es komme, daß ein Mann mit einem anscheinend englischen Namen auf deutsch schreibe. Else teilte ihm am 12. April 1947 das Folgende mit:

> He was a wanderer, wandering all his life, crossing the continents, sailing the Oceans, looking at people, talking to them, finding out their impulses, heartbeats and loves; touching old cultures, putting together Anfang (beginning) and end, the achievements, the greatness and the decay. Putting the world on scales and alas, down went the white man, saturated with greed, ambition and lust. . . . Colin Roß stood there lecturing in Berlin, lank and fair, with a smile he told of old empires going to pieces and new ones coming up, the lost magic of the whites, the technic [sic] destroying, creation dying in cities and slums. The hall filled with people who clapped politely after the lecture.
>
> We went through the streets, over bridges and canals, the light glaring up from the water. Our hearts heavy and filled with doom of this city we loved, feeling so close, belonging together, before each wandering off. We danced under a painting, Christ on the cross, a gas mask covering the beautiful face. Christ killed in a war just finished and killed again in the next one. I trembled and pleaded:

"Can nothing be done?"
"Nothing," said Colin Roß.
This was the last time I saw him.

Mankind swallowed again in fear, hate and slaughter. The canals of Berlin flowed with blood, the water was stale and stinking with corpses piled high. The peasants with clumsy feet trampling to Colin Roß. Before they arrived he shot his wife and then himself. Christ on the cross looked on through a gas mask.

Dieser Brief weist—trotz seines pathetischen Tones und einer gewissen dichterischen Freiheit—in der Tat auf das Wesentliche in Colin Roß' Leben und Charakter hin. Er wurde 1885 in Wien geboren, war im Ersten Weltkrieg Kriegsberichterstatter und begann danach, die Welt zu bereisen. In einer Reihe von sehr erfolgreichen Büchern, die immer wieder aufgelegt wurden, berichtete er von seinen Reisen in den für Europäer damals fast unbekannten Weltteilen—Afrika, Südamerika, Australien und der Arktis. Die Verbindung von einer scharfen Beobachtungsgabe, einem lebendigen Stil und alliterierenden Titeln sicherten ihm einen Bestseller-Erfolg, zum Beispiel *Mit Kamera, Kind und Kegel durch Afrika* (Leipzig, 1928; 17. Aufl. 1936), ein Buch, das Pound später las, und *Mit Kind und Kegel in die Arktis* (Leipzig, 1934; 10. Aufl. 1942). Einige seiner Bücher wurden später sogar in Sonderausgaben für die Wehrmacht gedruckt. Eines seiner erfolgreichsten Bücher, *Zwischen USA und dem Pol: Durch Kanada, Neufundland, Labrador und die Arktis* (Leipzig, 1.-3. Aufl. 1934; 4. Aufl. 1935; 9. Aufl. 1942), berichtete von seiner Reise durch Kanada; über die USA hat er zwei Bücher geschrieben: *Amerikas Schicksalsstunde: die Vereinigten Staaten zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1936) und *Unser Amerika: der deutsche Anteil an den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1936).

Das erste dieser beiden Bücher—mit dem vielversprechenden Titel—ist eine Art Bestandsaufnahme der geschichtlichen Rolle der Vereinigten Staaten und ihrer Stellung in der Welt, das Ergebnis seiner eigenen Reiseerlebnisse in den USA. Es entsprach dem Geist der damaligen Zeit, als Roß behauptete: "Erdteile haben ihre Schicksale, und die Menschen, die auf ihnen leben, müssen sie erfüllen."[14] Für Roß befand sich Amerika Mitte der dreißiger Jahre auf dem Scheidewege: das Jahrhundert der Entwicklung ging gerade zu Ende, und das Jahrhundert des Fortschrittes wollte beginnen.[15] Aber Amerika brauchte unbedingt eine neue "Idee", denn die alte Idee, daß nämlich der Fortschritt den allgemeinen Wohlstand mit sich bringen werde, sei tot. (Man erinnere sich, daß Roß sein Buch Mitte der dreißiger Jahre, also zur Zeit der großen wirtschaftlichen Krise, verfaßte.) Diese neue Idee werde nicht mehr auf dem angelsächsischen Amerikanertum basieren, denn durch die vielen Einwanderer sei Amerika ein Vielvölkerstaat geworden. Amerika müsse seine Zukunft also *übernational* gestalten, und das hieß für Roß—der das in diesem Buch immer wieder betont—mit dem Schwergewicht auf dem deutschen Einfluß und dem deutschen Blut in amerikanischen Adern. Die Vereinigten Staaten müssen sich von der angelsächsischen Vergangenheit lossagen: "erst wenn das erreicht ist,

wenn niemand mehr daran denkt, von den Vereinigten Staaten als einem angelsächsischen Land zu reden, dann erst beginnt Amerika''.[16] Um die vielen verschiedenen Völker im amerikanischen Staat zusammenzuschmieden, brauchte man einen Führer, denn das parlamentarische System war einfach nicht dazu geeignet, eine solche Umwandlung durchzusetzen. Aus dem Volkswillen sollte nun eine amerikanische Diktatur entspringen, die genau wie die aus dem Volkswillen entsprungenen Diktaturen Europas das Land zu einer neuen, übernationalen Idee führen werde, zur ''Geburt eines wahren Amerikanertums aus allen den Volksströmen, die den neuen Boden befruchteten''.[17] Roß sah auch voraus, daß sich dieses neue Land eines Tages ''vom Pol bis Panama'' erstrecken werde, da die gegenwärtigen Grenzen nur Linien auf einer Karte waren.[18]

Die beiden Bücher, die Roß über die Vereinigten Staaten schrieb, sind eng miteinander verbunden, denn das zweite Buch: *Unser Amerika: der deutsche Anteil an den Vereinigten Staaten* ist ein Plädoyer für die Anerkennung der großen deutschen Leistungen in der Geschichte der Vereinigten Staaten. Das ganze Buch ist eine Darstellung der amerikanischen Geschichte aus deutscher Perspektive, von der Namensgebung des Kontinents (Martin Waldseemüller, 1507) über den Unabhängigkeitskrieg (General Steuben usw.) bis zur Gegenwart. Fazit: ''Wie ein Vater von seinem zu Ruf und Ruhm gelangten Kind stolz als 'mein Sohn' spricht, ohne mit diesen Worten Besitzansprüche an dessen Reichtum zu stellen, so mögen wir dann zu der von uns mit geschaffenen Neuen Welt jenseits des Atlant, mit Recht, und ohne daß es uns jemand verargen kann, sagen: 'Unser Amerika'.''[19]

Aber den weitaus besten schriftstellerischen Erfolg gewann Roß durch das Buch, das Else Seel zuerst an Ezra Pound geschickt hatte: *Die Welt auf der Waage: der Querschnitt von 20 Jahren Weltreise* (Leipzig, 1929; 34. Aufl. 1941. Engl. Übers. 1930.) Das Buch wurde zunächst im Juni 1929 aufgelegt, und es hatte so schnell einen großen Erfolg, daß in den folgenden sechzehn Monaten weitere sechzehn Auflagen erschienen.

Roß war vom Spenglerschen Kulturpessimismus stark beeinflußt, und er versuchte, die seines Erachtens gefährdete Lage der westlichen Zivilisation darzustellen und einen Ausweg anzudeuten. ''Es handelt sich darum, daß das gesamte Weltbild, das die westliche Zivilisation und Kultur in den vergangenen Jahrhunderten aufgebaut hat, zusammenstürzt und damit die europäische Welt selbst, wenn sie nicht rechtzeitig durch ein neues gültiges Weltbild gestützt wird, das als solches geglaubt und akzeptiert werden kann.''[20] Es ist viel von der weißen, ja der ''europäischen'' Rasse die Rede, und sogar auch von einer beginnenden ''Vernegerung, Indisierung und Verchinesierung der weißen Menschen''.[21] Die ''innerliche Dekadenz'' der europäischen Zivilisation könnte ja zum ''Untergang des Abendlandes'' führen, aber Roß glaubt trotzdem, ''daß die abendländische Seele noch so viel Kraft hat, eine neue Welthypothese zu schaffen, die stark genug ist, zusammen mit einer dann auch rein äußerlich und technisch unvergleichlich höherwertigen Zivilisation das Bild der Erde entscheidend zu beeinflussen''.[22]

Diese neue "Welthypothese", die Roß "die europäische Hypothese" nannte, sollte die weiße Rasse zu einem gemeinsamen Band zusammenschmieden. Italien verkörpere schon den Erfolg einer solchen einigenden Idee. "Was ist der italienische Faschismus anders als eine Hypothese, die dem italienischen Volke im geeigneten Augenblick von einer überragenden Persönlichkeit eingegeben wurde!"[23] (Kein Wunder, daß der Mussolini-Verehrer Ezra Pound dieses Buch mit großem Interesse las.) In Deutschland aber gebe es nur ein Vakuum. "Ich glaube, schuld ist lediglich, daß keine Partei, kein Staatsmann es verstanden haben, dem Volk die seelenerfüllende Idee einzuimpfen."[24] Roß glaubte, daß in Zukunft die Technik unser Leben immer mehr beeinflussen werde. Auch die anderen Kontinente—Asien und Afrika—würden allmählich von der Technisierung dominiert und dabei ihre "magische Seele" verlieren. Die führende Stelle der Weißen in der Welt könne nur durch eine Verbindung von Technik und Geist gesichert werden. Er kam zu dem Schluß, "daß die Zukunft unserer Zivilisation und damit die der weißen Rasse nur dann gewährleistet ist, wenn sie auf dem technischen Wege den Anschluß an die magische Kraft nicht verliert, die der eine große Motor ist, der letzten Endes auch unsere Technik speist".[25]

Wie vage dieses Rezept für die weitere Herrschaft der weißen Rasse in der Welt auch blieb, besaß es doch—wie die Geschichte erwies—eine gewisse politische, wenn auch nicht demagogische Anziehungskraft. Inwiefern sich Ezra Pound von Colin Roß' Gedanken beeinflussen ließ, ist allerdings schwer zu sagen. Offensichtlich befürwortete Pound die rassenbewußte, elitäre Einstellung von Roß, und wie aus dem Briefwechsel mit Else Seel klar wird, hat ihn Roß derart beeindruckt, daß er später einen Mann vom Schlage eines Colin Roß suchte, um eine Analyse der europäischen Situation nach dem Kriege zu schreiben. Sofort—das heißt, noch bevor er *Die Welt auf der Waage* zu Ende gelesen hatte—wollte Pound noch mehr über Roß wissen und mehr Bücher von ihm lesen; am 21. April 1947 bat er um weitere Informationen über Roß und schrieb dann gleich am folgenden Tag noch über Colin Roß in einem Brief an Else Seel, was als ein deutliches Zeichen des regen Interesses aufzufassen ist. Er las *Die Welt auf der Waage* zu Ende und hatte sofort weitere Fragen über Roß: was er nach 1929 gemacht habe und ob er irgendetwas vom zeitgenössischen Denken gekannt habe. Offensichtlich wurde Roß für Pound eine Art philosophischer Weggefährte. Beide zogen aus den politischen und kulturellen Entwicklungen der zwanziger Jahre pessimistische Konsequenzen und hofften auf eine Führerfigur, die dem kulturellen Verfall ein Ende setzen würde. Else Seel bot Pound sofort noch zwei Bücher von Roß an—*Der Wille der Welt* und das oben besprochene Buch: *Amerikas Schicksalsstunde: die Vereinigten Staaten zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur*—und Pound nahm ihr Angebot sofort an (Ende Mai 1947).

Im gleichen Brief fragte er, ob sie eines von Frobenius' Büchern übersetzen wollte, da er gerade den sechsten und siebten Band von *Erlebte Erdteile* gefunden habe. Dazu wollte er mehr Details über ihr Leben im Urwald wissen, sah aber ein: "'spose you can't elevate 2

offspring, O'er come primeval forest And elongate communications." Den Auftrag, Frobenius zu übersetzen, wies Else Seel am 8. Juni 1947 höflich zurück: "Leo Frobenius would be impossible, there is just not the time for it. What a boyish fancy you have for him." Die beiden letzten Sätze charakterisieren Else Seels selbstsichere und unabhängige Denkart. Trotz ihrer Ablehnung des Auftrags fand sie neben der Erziehung der zwei Kinder und der Arbeit am Grundstück doch Zeit, einige von Pounds Gedichten aus den beiden frühen Sammlungen *Personae* (1909) und *Exultations* (1909) zu übersetzen.

Diese schickte sie ihm, aber die Bücher von Roß, die Pound gefordert hatte, könne sie leider nicht bekommen: "Ross is forbidden to Privatpersonen." Was kann das bedeuten? Else Seel ließ sich oft Bücher durch den Provinzfernverleihdienst kommen, aber warum die Bücher von Colin Roß in Kanada nicht frei erhältlich waren (und das zwei Jahre nach dem Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges), ist nicht zu erklären. Der Inhalt seiner Bücher ließ freilich keinen Zweifel daran, daß er nationalsozialistische Vorurteile (vor allem über die weiße Rasse) vertrat, und das könnte die Erklärung dafür sein, daß seine Bücher von einer öffentlichen Bibliothek in Kanada nicht ausgeliehen werden durften. Die meisten Bibliotheken hatten eine Liste von Büchern, die nicht für jeden zugänglich waren. Colin Roß befand sich wohl auch auf dieser Liste. Else Seel gab aber nicht leicht auf: sie versprach, es noch einmal zu versuchen, aber diesmal schriebe sie nicht als Privatperson, sondern als Sekretärin des Ortsvereins!

Nach Empfang ihrer Übersetzungen und ihrer Bemerkungen über Frobenius behauptete Pound, Frobenius sei der beste Geist seiner Zeit in Europa gewesen, aber Else wäre mit dem Übersetzen seiner eigenen Gedichte besser beschäftigt! Er lobte ihre Übersetzungen, machte einige detaillierte Vorschläge und ermahnte sie, Worte, die im Original nicht "funktionieren", wegzulassen: "cut useless words—that is translator's duty, or at least privilege." Weiter: "don't mind improving my juvenile efforts." Er fühlte sich sogar geschmeichelt, daß seine vor fast vierzig Jahren verfaßten Gedichte ihm wieder in den Sinn kamen, obwohl er glaubte, daß das später Gedichtete natürlich besser sei. Er schlug ihr im gleichen Brief (16. Juni 1947) vor, die Übersetzungen an seine in Bruneck (Südtirol) lebende Tochter Mary Baratti zu schicken, die einige von Pounds *Cantos* ins Italienische übersetzt hatte. Er meinte sogar, daß Mary eine gute Korrespondentin für Else Seel wäre. (Solche Vorschläge machte Pound immer in seiner reichen Korrespondenz.)

Else Seel fühlte sich ihrerseits auch geschmeichelt, zweifelte aber gleichzeitig an ihrer Zuständigkeit, vor allem wenn sie in gebrochenem Englisch ihre Versuche mit Pounds Übersetzungen von Heine (in der Sammlung *Personae*) verglich: "When I read your translations from Heine I just folding up" (1. Juli 1947). Andererseits bereiteten ihr Pounds lakonischer Stil und seine anscheinende Barschheit Angst und Hemmungen ("At first it seemed like a blast, somebody shouting at me"—10. September 1947). Sie habe den Eindruck bekommen, er müsse einen Spitzbart tragen, denn in der Schule hatte sie einen Lehrer mit Spitzbart, der sie immer herumbefahl. "I have a terrible feeling you

must be a man with a Spitzbart as this was the only teacher who told me to do something and I did it'' (16. August 1947). Das hatte sie gut geraten, denn Pound trug tatsächlich einen Spitzbart, wie Else anhand einer Aufnahme vermuten konnte, die eine Skulptur von Pounds Kopf darstellte und die er ihr—aber ohne jeden Kommentar—zuschickte: ''In the middle of the little foto you was [sic] sending me there is a sculpture, the face of a man with a Spitzbart—this must be you'' (16. August 1947). Es handelte sich hier um eine bekannte Skulptur von Pounds Kopf, die 1914 von seinem Freund, dem Bildhauer Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, angefertigt worden war. Nach dem Zeugnis des Bildhauers sollte diese Skulptur Pound gar nicht gleichen, sondern viel eher Pounds Kopf als Phallus darstellen. Pound nannte die Büste seinen ''hieratischen Kopf'' und behielt sie sein Leben lang wenn möglich bei sich, obwohl sie überlebensgroß und also sehr schwer war.[26] Auch wenn Else Seel die Bedeutung der Skulptur erkannte, verschwieg sie doch taktvoll ihre Meinung über diese eigenartige Abbildung des Dichters. Ihre fünfzehnjährige Tochter Gloria riet ihr, ihm nicht mehr zu schreiben: ''Oh, he is grouchy, I would not write him. . . .'' Doch Else hatte sich inzwischen an seinen eigenartigen Stil gewöhnt und nahm ihn jetzt einfach an (''now I am used to your abruptness, I do not mind it any more''—10. September 1947).

Nicht nur der Ton von Pounds Briefen, sondern auch ihr Inhalt stellte sie wohl vor nicht leicht zu überwindende Probleme. Pound liebte es, mit der englischen Sprache zu spielen; vor allem pflegte er Wörter so zu schreiben, wie sie entweder schlampig ausgesprochen wurden oder wie sie durch wortspielerische Andeutungen geschrieben werden könnten. So wurde zum Beispiel aus ''literature'' ''licherchorr,'' aus ''documents'' ''doggymints,'' aus ''Europe'' ''Your Up,'' aus ''American'' ''Murk'n,'' aus ''ignorance'' ''iggurunce,'' und aus ''Germany'' ''Choimonny.'' Dazu kamen viele Abkürzungen, die zwar die ungeheure Last der täglichen Korrespondenz leichter machten, die er aber auch wegen seiner Neigung zu sprachlichen Spielereien pflegte, denn einige der in den Briefen vorkommenden Abkürzungen erscheinen sogar in seinen Gedichten.

Ein weiteres Hindernis, das sich glücklicherweise nicht oft einstellte, war die Tatsache, daß seine sämtlichen Briefe der Zensur unterzogen wurden, einer Zensur jedoch, die nicht auf vernünftiger Grundlage und nach rationalen Kriterien betrieben wurde. Im Gegenteil, die Zensur konnte von jedem beliebigen Assistenzarzt ausgeführt werden. So wurden manchmal entweder Ausdrücke oder gar ganze Sätze in Pounds Briefen mit schwarzer Tinte verschmiert, oder ganze Teile wurden einfach abgerissen. Am 4. Oktober 1948 schrieb Ezra Pound einen Brief an Else Seel, der von der Zensur so verstümmelt war, daß sie verblüfft zurückschrieb: ''I got your letter of October 4th. and stare in amazement. More than half the letter is torn off and only the last line and your signature are there. What does it mean? I know that your letters are censored and you must have written something they did not like.'' Pound reagierte auf diese Nachricht mit der völlig falschen Behauptung, daß er sich nie daran erinnere, was er geschrieben habe

(25. Oktober 1948). Es wird sich zeigen, daß er den Inhalt zumindest von Else Seels Briefen lange im Kopf behielt. Dieses Ereignis deutet auch darauf hin, daß Pounds Lage im Spital immer noch bedrückend war. Angeblich war er nicht ganz zurechnungsfähig; er nützte diese Situation so aus, daß er nun—ohne die Last völliger Verantwortung—vielleicht kreativer arbeitete als je zuvor in seinem Leben. Außer der riesigen Korrespondenz arbeitete er an seinen *Cantos* weiter, machte Übersetzungen (hauptsächlich aus dem Chinesischen), bekam täglich von den angesehensten Größen der amerikanischen Kulturwelt Besuch und hatte noch Zeit zum Lesen.[27] Wenn die Öffentlichkeit von seiner vielseitigen Tätigkeit während seines Aufenthaltes in St. Elizabeths gewußt hätte, hätte sie gewiß für die Wiederaufnahme seines Prozesses gestimmt.

Unter diesen Umständen nimmt es nicht Wunder, daß Else Seels Briefe ein ganz besonderer Trost für Ezra Pound waren. Immer wieder bat er sie darum, mehr zu schreiben und öfter. "I like to get typed letters (more in 'em)," schrieb er am 3. Mai 1949, und das wurde zu einem oft wiederholten Thema: "I like to GET letters" (26. Dezember 1951). Seine Frau fügte seiner Bitte auch ihre eigene hinzu: "he is so glad of your letters—and your translations. Please write when you find time" (22. September 1947). Frau Dorothy Pound spielte zu dieser Zeit eine besondere Rolle in Pounds Leben. Wegen seiner legalen Unzurechnungsfähigkeit war er nicht imstande, seine eigenen Angelegenheiten zu besorgen. In einem getippten Brief des Jahres 1946 (das genaue Datum des Briefes läßt sich nicht ermitteln) schrieb er die kryptischen Zeilen: "Ez being 'committed' to bugHouse, equiv to legally dead, has a committee vide undersigned, to sign legal, illegal and other doggymints fer him." Unter diesem Brief steht handgeschrieben die Erklärung seiner Frau: "Please do not worry for one moment re 'committee.' It's me." Seit seiner Einlieferung ins St. Elizabeths Spital war Dorothy Pound für die legalen Angelegenheiten ihres Mannes allein zuständig. Das dauerte sogar noch nach seiner Freilassung bis zu seinem Tode an.

Es kann nicht verwundern, daß der berühmteste deutsche Dichter—Goethe—auch zu einem Thema des Briefwechsels wurde. Pound äußerte schon früh im Briefwechsel (Juli 1947) die Meinung, daß alle englischen Kritiker Goethe zu einem langweiligen Menschen machten: "'s far as I know All crit/ of Goethe in english makes him out a bore—a Gladstone of licherchorr." Pound hielt offensichtlich nicht sehr viel von William Ewart Gladstone (1809-1898), dem englischen Premierminister, obwohl er während seiner Amtszeit viele liberale Gesetzesänderungen durchgesetzt hatte. Pound fuhr mit seinen Bemerkungen über Goethe fort: "as to lyrics—don't think he ever beats Vogelweide, von Morungen, or even the Stammbuch—but a job of work." Hier wiederholt Pound eine Meinung, die er schon in seinem Bändchen *ABC of Reading* (1934) geäußert hatte. In einer kurzen Besprechung der mittelalterlichen Dichtung, für die er sein Leben lang eine besondere Vorliebe hatte, bemerkte er: "Germans claim that German poetry has developed since the middle ages. My own belief is that Goethe and Stefan George at

their lyric best are doing nothing that hadn't already been done better or was well.''[28]

Else Seel reagierte auf diese kritischen, wenn nicht ketzerischen Äußerungen damit, daß sie Pound einige Proben von Goethes Dichtung zuschickte. Unklar bleibt, ob sie sie auch übersetzt hatte. Unter den Texten befand sich ''Wandrers Nachtlied I'', das bestimmt auf deutsch geschickt wurde, da Pound überrascht war, daß das Gedicht nicht mit den Worten ''Über allen Gipfeln'' anfing. Er erriet aber von selbst die Erklärung: ''I spose there are two'' (19. August 1947). In diesem Brief erläuterte Pound auch seinen Vergleich von Goethe mit Gladstone. Er habe gemeint, daß ein ganzes Jahrhundert der englischen Kritik Goethe zu einer Gladstone-ähnlichen Erscheinung gemacht habe: ''false impression created by century of trypeagogy—to be combatted.'' (Das eigenartige Wort ''trypeagogy'' ist wohl eine Erfindung Pounds, vielleicht ein Wortspiel mit dem englischen Wort ''tripe'' [Quatsch]). Pound behauptete weiter, er warte auf einen Essay über den Satiriker Goethe (''I am waitin' for essay on Goethe [the] debunker''). Es ist nicht weiter erstaunlich, daß Ezra Pound, der im kulturellen Bereich sein Leben lang als großer Revolutionär und Bilderstürmer galt, auch über Goethe unkonventionelle Meinungen vertrat.

Außer den Goethe-Texten verschaffte ihm Else Seel auch noch ein Buch von Colin Roß *(Mit Kamera, Kind und Kegel durch Afrika)*. Pound seinerseits ließ durch seinen Verleger ein Exemplar von seinem Gedichtband *Personae* an Else Seel schicken. Die Ankunft des Buches kommentierte sie ihm gegenüber mit der Bemerkung: ''*Personae* must have been liked by one of the Zoellners as I found some of his thumbtracks in the book'' (10. September 1947).

Pounds langjähriger Freund, der Schriftsteller Wyndham Lewis, beschrieb einmal Pounds Briefe als ''pädagogischen Vulkan'',[29] und die Briefe an Else Seel beweisen diese Ansicht. Mit vollkommener Selbstlosigkeit erteilte Pound Ratschläge für die Arbeit, schlug Adressen von weiteren Korrespondenten vor, empfahl Bücher und schrieb ganze Listen von Leuten, die man besuchen oder um Hilfe bitten sollte. Nachdem er zum Beispiel *Mit Kamera, Kind und Kegel durch Afrika* gelesen hatte, schrieb er an Else Seel, daß er ein Bild von Colin Roß und seiner Familie im Buch gesehen habe. Roß selber konnte er natürlich nicht mehr helfen, aber doch der Tochter und dem Sohn, der ungefähr im gleichen Alter war wie Pounds Tochter Mary und ihr Mann Boris. Er wollte wissen, ob die beiden Roß-Kinder eine Unterkunft brauchten und bot ihnen, obwohl er sie nicht kannte, sein Schloß in Bruneck an—''always a roof at least for people like that'' (26. Dezember 1947). Ein weiteres Beispiel: Als Else Seel 1948 eine Reise nach Europa plante, schickte er ihr eine Liste von Leuten im Verlagswesen und am Rundfunk (damit sie über Frobenius lese oder einfach zur Gesellschaft).

Inzwischen übersetzte Else Seel weitere Gedichte von Pound. Seine Reaktion war sehr positiv: ''I think they must be well done—it makes them another life'' (10. Februar 1948). Auf seine Anregung hin wurden Verhandlungen mit seinem deutschen Übersetzer Otto Schütte unternommen. Geplant war ein Band von Pounds Gedichten auf deutsch mit

Übersetzungen sowohl von Else Seel als auch von Schütte. Aus diesem Plan wurde nichts, weil der deutsche Verleger weder Lizenz noch Papier bekommen konnte. Pounds Gedichte erschienen schließlich in einer von Hermann Hesses Tochter Eva betreuten Ausgabe mit einem Vorwort von T. S. Eliot.[30] Auch spätere Verhandlungen Else Seels mit deutschen Verlegern schlugen fehl. Einmal schickte sie ihre Übersetzungen an einen deutschen Verleger (Limes Verlag, Wiesbaden), der die Übersetzungen eines anderen schon angenommen hatte. Sie war enttäuscht darüber, daß ihre Übersetzungen nicht allein auf Qualität hin untersucht und dann entweder akzeptiert oder abgelehnt wurden. Sie scheint angenommen zu haben, daß Pound die Entscheidung getroffen hätte, und sie gab ihrer Enttäuschung Ausdruck: "I must have been under the false impression that you ever choose the best quality. For your sake I will hope so" (16. Oktober 1950).

Zu Weihnachten 1947 schenkte Else Seel Ezra Pound ein Paar Mokassins, die sie bei einem Besuch in Prince George (190 Meilen entfernt) gekauft hatte. Da sie seine Schuhgröße nicht wußte, nahm sie beim Einkauf eine Technik zu Hilfe, die sie Pound später gestand: "There was a friendly girl in the store and I showed her a foto of T. S. Eliot and took it that you would have the same foot size as him" (12. März 1948). Daß die beiden Dichter die gleiche Schuhgröße hatten, ist nicht belegt, aber diese Mokassins haben Ezra Pound nicht nur gepaßt, sondern sie wurden auch anscheinend seine Lieblingsschuhe. Er trug sie acht Jahre lang und bat dann Else Seel, ihm noch ein Paar zu besorgen (11. August 1956).

Der Briefwechsel setzte sich zwar im Verlauf des Jahres 1948 fort, wurde aber nicht so eifrig betrieben wie im vergangenen Jahr. Pound lieferte Else Seel immer noch die Titel von Büchern—vor allem seinen eigenen—die sie unbedingt lesen sollte. Insbesondere empfahl er ihr sein *Guide to Kulchur,* wobei er sich beklagte, daß die von ihm erwünschte spielerische Schreibweise "Kulcher" von den "gebildeten Verlegern" vor dem Druck (und gegen den Vertrag mit Pound) geändert worden war ("In contract verbatim—but the refined pubrs. printed it other"—20. Mai 1948). Ein anderes von ihm empfohlenes Buch war seine Übersetzung von *The Unwobbling Pivot and the Great Digest* von Konfuzius beziehungsweise Menzius (im Spital entstanden und 1947 veröffentlicht), das seiner Meinung nach für die Deutschen ein Muß sei ("Germany needs it, possibly more than any other country, and possibly all that G needs"—8. Juni 1948). Auch der Name Frobenius kommt immer wieder vor. Else Seel las schließlich etwas von ihm: *Das sterbende Afrika* und *Paideuma*—eine von Frobenius zusammengestellte Anthologie von afrikanischen Geschichten. "I am wrapped up by Leo Frobenius. He is good. A wholesome personality, and humor too—so rare. . . . Thank you, Ezra, that you gave me Leo" (18. November 1948). Sie übersetzte sogar vier Geschichten aus *Paideuma* und dachte sich einen Plan aus: ein Dutzend von solchen Geschichten, eine Einleitung von Ezra Pound, und einige Zeichnungen—so käme ein Bestseller zustande. In seiner Antwort vom 26. November aber bestand Pound darauf, daß alle sieben Bände von Frobenius' *Erlebte Erdteile* übersetzt

werden müßten (''must have the whole 7 vols. Erl. Erdtaile [sic]''). Dieses Buch müsse man zuerst gelesen haben, um andere Bücher von Frobenius verstehen zu können. Frobenius sei ''ein großer Dichter'' gewesen und sein Werk *Der Weg stirbt* ''ganz und gar unvergeßlich''. Es sei unverzeihlich, daß sein größtes Werk bis jetzt nicht übersetzt worden sei, zumal eines seiner Bücher *(Die Kindheit der Menschheit)* schon 1910 von einem berühmten englischen Archäologen (''some brit. archaeologic big pot'') übersetzt worden sei.[31]

Auf solche Vorschläge zu längeren Übersetzungsarbeiten reagierte Else Seel nicht, aber dafür belieferte sie Pound mit allerlei Material, das sie für ihn auf eigene Faust aus dem deutschsprachigen Bereich übersetzt hatte: zum Beispiel Artikel über ihn aus deutschen Zeitschriften, Auszüge aus Eckermanns *Gespräche mit Goethe* und die vier afrikanischen Erzählungen aus Frobenius' Sammlung *Paideuma*. Kurz vor Weihnachten (10. Dezember 1948) schickte sie ein Weihnachtsgeschenk, einen selbstgemachten Schal, mit einem Zettel an Pound ab, obwohl sie so krank war, daß sie früh am nächsten Morgen ins Spital mußte: ''nearly went to the happy hunting grounds—leaving six o'clock in the morning for Vanderhoof Hospital'' (10. Dezember 1948). (Das Spital war ungefähr 125 Meilen entfernt.) Der letzte Satz dieses Briefes scheint darauf hinzudeuten, daß Else Seels Gesundheit gefährdet war, denn ihre Worte klingen wie ein Lebewohl: ''Bye, bye and thank you for everything.'' Noch vor Weihnachten bedankte sich Pound für das prächtige Geschenk (''How you produce a Byzantium in the wilderness, I dun' kno' ''), versprach ihr, den Schal zu tragen, und drückte ihr auf seine Art sein Mitleid aus: ''don't leave too many innards behind you fer anatomical specimens'' (23. Dezember 1948). Er vergaß aber, seinen Brief mit einer Luftpostbriefmarke zu bekleben, schrieb ihr also gleich am nächsten Tag wieder, daß sie den Brief vorläufig (''till spring floods'') wahrscheinlich nicht erhalten werde (24. Dezember 1948). Daß sowohl Pound als auch seine Frau den Ernst der Lage unterschätzt hatten, zeigt sich in einem Brief von Dorothy Pound an Else Seel vom 21. Januar 1949, worin sie sich entschuldigt, daß sie den zu Weihnachten geschriebenen Zettel nicht richtig verstanden habe. So schlecht war Else Seels Zustand aber doch anscheinend nicht, denn sie war schon vor Weihnachten wieder zu Hause, obwohl sie kurz danach wieder zur weiteren Behandlung ins Spital mußte.

Im Verlauf des Jahres 1948 suchten verschiedene Freunde und Bekannte von Pound nach einer Möglichkeit, wie sie auf die amerikanische Regierung Druck ausüben könnten, damit der Prozeß gegen Pound fallengelassen und er freigelassen werde. Man schuf einen neuen literarischen Preis für den besten Gedichtband des Jahres, der in Amerika von einem Amerikaner veröffentlicht werden sollte. Der Preis war eine Prämie von tausend Dollar und wurde von der Bollingen Foundation durch ein Komitee von angesehenen Literaten und anderen bekannten Persönlichkeiten verwaltet.

Man brachte in Eile Pounds bisher unveröffentlichte *Pisan Cantos* heraus, und das vierzehn Mann starke Komitee (in dem sich T. S. Eliot und einige andere enge Freunde von Pound befanden) ernannte Ezra

Pound zum ersten Bollingen-Preisträger. Die Reaktion darauf war gerade das Gegenteil von dem, was sich Pounds Freunde erhofft hatten. Die Öffentlichkeit fragte sich, wieso es möglich wäre, daß ein Verräter, der darüber hinaus Hitler und Mussolini gelobt hatte und antisemitische Bemerkungen in seine Gedichte aufnahm, mit einem so wichtigen Nationalpreis bedacht werden könnte.[32] Else Seel war aber ekstatisch, als sie die Nachricht bekam (obwohl sie gar nicht wußte, was für ein Preis es war): "I would kiss all the fellows in American letters who voted for you" (4. März 1949). Pound muß den Eindruck bekommen haben, daß sie die Mitglieder des Komitees als "alt" bezeichnet hat, denn in seiner Antwort hieß es: "they ain't so 'old'—not even parson Eliot's got whiskers—if they'd been older they mightn't hv done it" (21. März 1949). In einem späteren Brief (am 20. April 1949) meinte Else Seel, T. S. Eliots Stimme im Preiskollegium müßte wohl ausschlaggebend gewesen sein. Pound schien ihr in seiner Antwort (28. April 1949) zuzustimmen: "Because of the O'Possum which s'times appears to be dead when is not" ("Opossum" war ein Spitzname für Eliot). An diesen und ähnlichen Bemerkungen sieht man, wie schwer es Pounds Freunde manchmal hatten, ihm irgendwie zu helfen. Abgesehen von seiner leicht abschätzigen Meinung über seinen literarischen Kollegen Eliot—seinen anderen Freunden und Kollegen widerfuhren ähnliche Bemerkungen—machte es Pound seinen Wohltätern nicht leicht, wenn sie seinetwegen Schritte unternahmen, die zu seiner Freilassung führen sollten. Auch Else Seel—die er aber stets mit gleichbleibender Höflichkeit behandelte—setzte sich für ihn ein in der Hoffnung, ihm helfen zu können.[33]

Im Frühjahr 1949 besuchte der Generalgouverneur von Kanada, Lord Tweedsmuir, als Vertreter der Königin die Siedlung von Wistaria, um den riesigen Wildpark, der nach ihm benannt ist (Tweedsmuir Provincial Park), zu eröffnen. Lord Tweedsmuir—bekannt unter dem Namen des erfolgreichen Romanschriftstellers John Buchan—bestieg das Flußboot von Georg Seel und wurde von ihm als einem der besten Kenner der Gegend geführt. Else Seel erstattete Ezra Pound über alle diese Ereignisse Bericht. Dieser antwortete auf typisch lakonische Art: "Exchanged a few letters with Buchan—but he wearied of the serious" (28. April 1949).

Inzwischen hatte Else Seel noch Weiteres für Ezra Pound unternommen. Seine Beschäftigung mit Frobenius, von der er fast besessen war, hatte so weit geführt, daß seine Frau Dorothy an Leo Frobenius' Witwe Editha mit der Bitte herantrat, ihm eine vollständige Ausgabe von *Erlebte Erdteile* zu verschaffen. Das Werk war wegen der Zustände nach dem Krieg schwer zu erhalten. Pound hatte zunächst mit der für ihn typischen Hilfsbereitschaft ein Care-Paket an Editha Frobenius geschickt, und sie dankte ihm dafür mit dem einzigen sich noch in ihrem Besitz befindenden Buch von ihrem Mann, "das ich nach Verlust meiner Bibliothek von einer Schülerin meines Mannes erhielt" (Editha Frobenius an Else Seel, 30. Juli 1949). Darauf schickte Pound an Editha Frobenius das Geld für die Anschaffung der Bücher, und er stellte auch eine Reihe von Fragen, um deren Beantwortung er bat. Diese Fragen

leitete Editha Frobenius an das von Frobenius gegründete Institut für Kulturmorphologie der Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität in Frankfurt weiter. Die Antworten von Editha Frobenius auf Pounds Bitten und Fragen waren verständlicherweise auf deutsch, und Dorothy Pound leitete sie zur Übersetzung an Else Seel weiter. So kam auch Else Seel mit Editha Frobenius in Verbindung—zunächst nur brieflich, aber dann später auch persönlich bei einem Besuch von Else Seel in Europa. Editha Frobenius hat sich auch wegen Ezra Pound große Mühe gegeben. Obwohl sie im Weltkrieg bei einem Bombenangriff fast alles verloren hatte (sie besaß zum Beispiel nicht einmal mehr eine Fotografie von ihrem Mann) und infolgedessen danach in bescheidenen Verhältnissen lebte,[34] verschaffte sie Ezra Pound die sieben Bände von *Erlebte Erdteile.* Wie sie Else Seel berichtete, hatte sie es schwer, das Werk überhaupt zu finden, denn unter den Nationalsozialisten durfte es nicht einmal wieder aufgelegt werden: "weil sie [die Werke] nicht auf Rasse basierten, sondern auf Kultur und Geist, so ist fast nichts mehr zu haben, wenn man nicht sehr danach fahndet" (30. Juli 1949).

Ezra Pound hatte Else Seel dazu ermutigt, den brieflichen Kontakt mit Editha Frobenius aufzunehmen. So haben sich die beiden Frauen kennengelernt. Die sehr dürftige Korrespondenz—in Else Seels Nachlaß befinden sich nur sieben Briefe von Editha Frobenius an sie—zeigt aber einiges Interessante über die Beziehungen des Ehepaares Frobenius zu Thomas Mann, Gerhart Hauptmann, Kaiser Wilhelm II. und anderen. Das Ehepaar Frobenius kannte den Kaiser ziemlich gut und feierte jedes Jahr seinen Geburtstag, auch nach seiner Abdankung. Thomas Mann war oft zu Gast bei den Frobenius, und Gerhart Hauptmann hat in seiner Alterserzählung *Mignon* eine Person nach Leo Frobenius gestaltet. Daß der Briefwechsel mit Else Seel Editha Frobenius viel bedeutete, bezeugt ihr Brief an Dorothy Pound vom 8. August 1949: "Nun habe ich noch selbst einen Dank an ihren Mann, daß er mir eine Beziehung zu Mrs. Else Seel in Kanada verschafft hat". (Auch dieser Brief wurde zur Übersetzung an Else Seel weitergeleitet!) Für ihren Teil hat Else Seel ihrer Freundschaft mit Editha Frobenius im Gedicht "An Editha Frobenius" (1950) ein dichterisches Denkmal gesetzt.[35]

Da sogar solche Briefe wie die von Editha Frobenius über Pounds Deutschkenntnisse hinausgingen, kann man annehmen, daß Pound trotz des immer wiederholten Lobes sehr wenig von Frobenius auf deutsch gelesen hatte. (Deshalb wohl also der stets wiederholte Wunsch, man möge Frobenius ins Englische übersetzen.) Von einem Bekannten, Michael Reck, wird bestätigt, daß Pound Frobenius' Werke am besten aus den französischen Übersetzungen kannte und daß er von den deutschen Originalbänden nur die ersten paar Kapitel durchblättert habe.[36] Else Seels Nachlaß bestätigt diese Annahme. Wir finden zum Beispiel eine handgeschriebene Bemerkung von Dorothy Pound zu einem Brief von Ezra Pound an Else Seel vom 5. Juni 1950: "Paris has provided two books of Frobenius in french (translated into french)." Einen weiteren und besseren Beleg finden wir in der Korrespondenz zwischen Else Seel und Editha Frobenius. Am 28. Dezember 1955 teilte Editha Frobenius Else Seel mit, die *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* von ihrem

Mann sei gerade im Phaidon Verlag in London erschienen. Sie habe Ezra Pound ein Exemplar geschickt, aber nicht im deutschen Text, sondern in ''der französischen Übersetzung in wenig gutem Druck, was er aber nach Anfrage besser lesen kann''.

Im Verlauf des Herbstes 1949 las Else Seel unter anderem Pounds *Imaginary Letters* und fand darin die von Maximilian Harden herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Die Zukunft* erwähnt. Am 14. November 1949 schrieb sie an Pound, daß sie Harden gekannt habe:

> I knew him after he made a speech in the Philharmonie in Berlin after the abdication of Wilhelm II. I was for it and he not so much. I still see us walking up and down Potsdamer Platz, talking, talking. He was tall, carefully dressed, wavy hair, beautiful voice. Next day I found a long letter from him—only remember the first words: 'Ihre Stimme, die in meinen dunklen Abend tönt'. He must have been a poet and lonesome too. He wrote again and invited me to his Grunewald villa and mentioned that his married daughter would be there. My cousin, Dr. Carl Chambeau, one of my mother's line, was French, found Harden's letter and pounced on it. 'What—this Jew?' I was aghast. Carl said: 'Maximilian Harden nothing—it's Isidor Witkowski.'[37] 'No,' I cried, 'no.' 'Yes, and you phone him right away—no invitation from Isidor.' What I sobbed into the phone I do not remember, but I lost the best brain in Germany.

Ezra Pound teilte ihr seine Reaktion auf diese Episode nicht mit, aber er muß diesen Brief noch lange im Gedächtnis behalten haben, denn über drei Jahre später (im Frühjahr 1953) kam er darauf wieder zu sprechen.

Else Seel und Ezra Pound fuhren fort, einander Bücher und Zeitschriften zuzuschicken. Pound tat Ähnliches auch für andere Leute, aber manchmal fragte er sich, ob er ihr nicht alle die alten Zeitschriften hätte zuschicken sollen, statt den ''Unbesonnenen'', die sie bis jetzt erhalten hatten (''instead of the feather-headeds who hv. been getting 'em''—16. Februar 1950). Sein Interesse für die deutsche Literatur ließ auch nicht nach. Er fragte sie, ob es überhaupt noch irgendwelche guten Dichter in Deutschland gebe: ''are there any poets in Germany now. who can *write?*'' (21. Februar 1950). Am gleichen Tag schrieb er ihr einen zweiten Brief—das Thema hatte ihn an jenem Tag offensichtlich etwas länger beschäftigt—mit der Feststellung, daß noch niemand die Gedichte von Ludwig Börne (''seems to be charming writer'') ins Englische übersetzt habe. Jedenfalls habe er keine englische Übersetzung in der Library of Congress finden können. Nach 125 Jahren wäre es doch höchste Zeit: ''Know anybody to overset?'' Im nächsten Brief (3. März 1950) bat er mittels eines anderen Wortspiels um einen ''Who Zoo'' (who's who) von Wistaria.

Ironischerweise erreichte diese Bitte Else Seel gerade, als die Siedlung Wistaria am Ootsa Lake verschwinden sollte. Um das größte Aluminium-Werk der Welt in Kitimat-Kemano mit der nötigen Elektrizität zu versorgen, wollte man einen Staudamm am Nechako-Fluß bauen. Alle Gewässer hinter dem Damm—einschließlich des Ootsa-

Sees—würden dann ansteigen, und manche Siedlungen, zum Beispiel Wistaria, würden überflutet. Georg Seel, der die Gegend besser als die meisten anderen kannte, führte die für die Hochspannungsleitung verantwortlichen Ingenieure durch die Berge. Bei der Arbeit überanstrengte er sich und starb nach seiner Rückkehr innerhalb eines Tages am 1. April 1950.[38] Elses Tochter Gloria berichtete Pound von diesem traurigen Ereignis. Am 17. April 1950 schrieb er einen Beileidsbrief—bezeichnenderweise in nüchternem Englisch und ohne Wortspiele: "My dear Gloria, I am very sorry to hear of your father's sudden death—people work too hard. & that's all that you can say. Thank you for writing. EP." Auch Dorothy Pound hat Gloria am gleichen Tag einen ähnlichen Brief geschrieben.

Der Tod ihres Mannes bedeutete für Else Seel einen Wendepunkt in ihrem Leben; auch im Briefwechsel mit Ezra Pound kann man das feststellen. Nach der Beerdigung unternahm Else Seel eine Reise nach Alaska, und erst am 6. Juli (von einer aus Alaska abgeschickten Postkarte abgesehen) schrieb sie wieder einen Brief an Ezra Pound. Sie hatte vor, von Wistaria wegzuziehen—wegen der bevorstehenden Überflutung des Landes, wegen des Todes ihres Mannes und nicht zuletzt, weil ihre Tochter für ihre Ausbildung als Lehrerin nach Victoria ziehen wollte. Den ganzen Sommer lang also war sie mit dem Zusammenpacken von dem, was sich in 25 Jahren ihres Lebens angesammelt hatte, beschäftigt. Obwohl sich Ezra Pound wiederholt beschwerte, daß er es sehr schwer finde, Briefe zu schreiben, und daß er Briefe lieber erhalte als schreibe, versuchte er doch immer wieder, Else Seel zu erneuter Arbeit anzuregen. Seine Briefe aus dieser Zeit sind oft getippt und enthalten sowohl persönliche Mitteilungen, die direkt an Else Seel gerichtet sind, wie auch Memoranden, die er anscheinend für sich selbst schrieb. Einmal zum Beispiel fing der "Brief" so an: "enc bit of wrapping, might interest E.L.S." ("enc" bedeutet hier "enclose"). Dann folgte eine Darlegung seiner Gedanken über die Nachkriegssituation in Deutschland. Deutschland sei das einzige Land, wo die Eingeborenen sich nicht mehr umbrächten. Die Sieger hingegen hätten keine großmütige Tat ausgeführt. Ob das schon einmal wieder vorgekommen wäre seit den Völkermorden der Mongolen oder der Spanier in Südamerika. (An solchen Überlegungen sieht man die Eigenartigkeit von Pounds politischem und historischem Denken.) Da er selber mit dem Zeitgeschehen allzusehr verbunden war, suchte er jemanden, der die Ereignisse von außen, das heißt aus "philosophischer" Perspektive (mit Pounds eigenartigen Worten "Goethesquely: Knecht gegen Knecht"—ein Ausdruck, der auch im Canto LXXVI vorkommt) analysieren könnte. Er dachte sofort an Colin Roß, dessen Namen er aber vergessen hatte ("Name gone out of my head . . . yr wandering friend who wrote travel books, some one like that"—13. Juni 1950). War ihm entfallen, daß Colin Roß 1945 Selbstmord begangen hatte? Wahrscheinlich nicht, denn sein vorläufig letzter Brief nach Wistaria (im Herbst 1950) erhielt die überraschende Nachricht (für die er aber keinen Beleg angibt), daß Colin Roß noch in Argentinien lebte: "Wasn't Colin Ross the guy you wrote me about and sent book of (sad

end, etc.) reported safe in the argentine, so dry your tears.'' In ihrer Antwort auf diese Nachricht bemühte sich Else Seel, Ezra Pounds Annahme eines näheren Verhältnisses mit Colin Roß zurückzuweisen. ''No, I did not shed any tears for him; we only knew each other one evening, doch die Sterne tanzten und ich erinnere mich an alles'' (16. Oktober 1950). Dies war Else Seels erster Brief aus Victoria, wo sie ein Jahr lang wohnte.

Im Frühling 1951 kehrte Else Seel nach Wistaria zurück, um noch mehr zu packen. Die Verhandlungen über den Wert ihres Landes dauerten den ganzen Sommer, den Herbst hindurch und in den Winter hinein. Nach Weihnachten 1951 befand sich Else Seel in Vancouver; Pound vertraute aber der angegeben Adresse nicht (''Kingsway looks like a flimsy address'') und schrieb ihr deswegen nach Wistaria (Mitte April 1952), wo sie den Brief erst in der zweiten Maiwoche abholte. In diesem Brief beklagte sich Pound noch einmal, daß so viel zu tun sei und daß nur wenige die wichtige Arbeit verrichten wollten: ''few will work at anything, apart from cutting down trees.'' Else sollte sich doch eine Aufgabe aussuchen und die bis zu Ende durchführen: zum Beispiel hätte sich einer gemeldet, der *Erlebte Erdteile* übersetzen wollte, aber er sei leider wieder verschwunden. Auf diesen Wink reagierte sie aber nicht, zumal sie den endgültigen Umzug von Wistaria vorbereitete. Im Sommer 1952 war es so weit: die Blockhütte, die sie 25 Jahre lang bewohnt hatte, sollte niedergebrannt werden, die Schule war längst an einen anderen Ort transportiert worden, das ''Postamt'', das sich im Wohnzimmer einer Blockhütte befand, schloß Anfang August für immer seine Tür. Elses Kinder waren jetzt erwachsen und zogen auch fort. Offensichtlich sehr deprimiert, ja fast verzweifelt, schrieb sie an Pound:

> All at once everything falls away, everything is gone—no husband, no children, no nothing. . . . What shall I do? Blow myself to the winds, vanish, vamoose? I cannot take a map of the world again like 25 years ago and go to another continent. There is only the intellectual life to fall back on. I learned a lot, have strong impulses, many emotions, and my roots are in the soil and not in hollow, shallow words. I have to come to an end here soon, very soon. Put a match to the house and wished I could burn myself with it like the phoenix—but nix, nix (13. Juni 1952).

Sie lebte aber weiter und zog nach Vancouver, wo sie sich ein Haus kaufte. Sie behielt eine kleine Hütte am Ootsa-See, die auf ein höher gelegenes Grundstück versetzt wurde. In dem verzweifelten Brief vom 13. Juni 1952 deutete sie außerdem an, daß auch der Briefwechsel mit Pound wohl nach fünf Jahren zu Ende kommen werde. Tatsächlich wurde er nach dem Umzug nach Vancouver höchst sporadisch. Nach einem letzten Brief aus Wistaria (September 1952) schrieb sie ihm nur noch einmal in diesem Jahr, und danach bloß dreimal im Jahre 1953.

Wie dürftig der Briefwechsel während dieser Zeit auch gewesen sein mag, er enthielt doch einiges Interessante und Wichtige. In einem ungewöhnlich langen Brief (ganze drei Seiten) teilte ihr Pound am 2. März 1953 mit, er lese die Erinnerungen von Bernhard von Bülow—auf deutsch, mit Hilfe eines kleinen Wörterbuches—um nämlich die Ereig-

nisse um das Datum vom 19. November 1908 besser zu verstehen, weil er (wie er sich auf deutsch ausdrückte) "mit der Schuldenwirtschaft brächen" [sic] wollte. Mit der Erwähnung des 19. November 1908 bezog sich Pound auf eine von Bülow im Reichstag gehaltene Rede über die Notwendigkeit der Finanzreform. Wieviel Pound von den vier dicken Bänden der Erinnerungen eigentlich gelesen hat, kann man nicht sagen, aber anscheinend genug, um einen guten Eindruck von Bülows Stil zu bekommen.[39] Pound suchte nach den Ursachen des Ersten Weltkrieges und glaubte, die Finanzreform sowohl in Deutschland als auch in den Vereinigten Staaten hatte dazu geführt, daß die Hochfinanz an die Macht gekommen sei und den Weltkrieg daraufhin zu ihrem eigenen Vorteil gleichsam in Gang gebracht habe. Während der Lektüre stieß er immer wieder auf den Namen von Maximilian Harden, und er erinnerte sich noch daran, daß Else Seel vor über drei Jahren es erwähnt hatte, daß sie Harden gekannt habe. Er fragte sich jetzt, ob sie überhaupt etwas von ihm gelernt oder ob sie sich bloß mädchenhaft aufgeregt habe über seinen regen Geist ("or just get girlishly excited over active mind"). Er wollte nämlich wissen, ob Harden für die "Schuldenschwein" [sic—aber er meinte den Plural] wäre. (Man erinnere sich, daß Pound sich für ein Finanzsystem einsetzte, in dem Zinsen verboten waren.)

Am 14. März 1953 antwortete Else Seel in der für sie typischen zweisprachigen Prosa:

> Harden was absolute 'ein Einzelgaenger'. As he wrote *Die Zukunft* allein fuer ein Viertel Jahrhundert, there was nobody I suppose who reached up to him. . . . Girlishly excited over Harden's active mind? More than that perhaps. What I remember from all our conversations? Distinctly two things: he was not so much against Kaiser Wilhelm—as he lamented his abdication what seemed rather silly to me as I had not much left for all the princelings—as against the Hof-Kamarilla, siehe his process against Graf zu Eulenburg.[40] And he was very much for Wilson which I could not fathom either as Wilson was just a bookish Professor, American at that, who could not have a feeling for Europe, hence his bookish divides like Danzig Corridor and carving out countries who had no roots anymore, etc.

Der Name Wilson wirkte auf Pound immer wie ein rotes Tuch auf einen Stier. Sozusagen mit umgehender Post reagierte er auf Elses Mitteilung über Hardens Unterstützung von Wilson mit zornigen Worten: "IF Harden was for Wilson he was either an idiot or a damned scoundrel. . . . Wilson was a cod-faced cockroach/ loathed him by instinct. but data now justify." Diese Auszüge aus dem Briefwechsel des Jahres 1953 deuten auf Pounds unablässige Versuche, die geschichtlichen Gründe des kapitalistischen Systems—und vor allem der sogenannten "Schuldenwirtschaft"—zu erforschen. Er hielt Präsident Wilson ohnehin für schuldig wegen seiner Wirtschaftspolitik der "New Freedom," die er zur Förderung der amerikanischen Wirtschaft einführte, und vor allem wegen seiner Reorganisierung des amerikanischen Bankwesens durch das Gesetz vom 23. Dezember 1913. Diese

Politik führte Pound zu der extremen Feststellung, Wilson habe damals das amerikanische Volk verraten (23. März 1953).

Außer den Bemerkungen über Harden und von Bülow machte Pound in diesen Briefen einen letzten Versuch, Else Seel zur Übersetzung von *Erlebte Erdteile* zu bewegen: ''everybody sittin round 30 years and the job NOT getting done'' (2. März 1953). Er machte gleichzeitig seinem Ärger darüber Luft: ''the stinkers must hv/ sensed LIFE in F/ and being crucifiers wanted to extinguish it. SOME SKUNK HAD TOLD Eliot Frob/ wasn't quite the thing. Damn christers/ etc.'' Pound war offensichtlich der Meinung, man hätte Frobenius schon längst ins Englische übersetzt, wenn sich nur T. S. Eliot, der ja wegen seiner Stellung beim Verlag Faber and Faber in London im Verlagswesen einen gewissen Einfluß hatte, für das Projekt eingesetzt hätte. Aber jemand habe Eliot gesagt, Frobenius sei nicht salonfähig, was für Pound bedeutete, daß die Christen Frobenius deswegen gleichsam gekreuzigt hatten. Ein letztes Mal aber wies Else Seel seine Bitte zurück, und sie teilte ihm mit, daß ihre Tochter mit ihrem Mann nach England ziehe. Pound antwortete am 27. Oktober 1953 auf das ihm zugeschickte Foto, Gloria sehe reizend aus und ihr Mann gleiche Senator McCarthy, auf den Pound große Stücke hielt: ''Gloria looking chaRRming, and judging from foto has married Senator McCarthy/ who is the best thing south of the border.'' Wie bei ihm üblich unterließ er es nicht, ein paar Adressen in England beizulegen, um den Aufenthalt des jungen Ehepaars in England angenehmer zu machen. Er fragte auch, ob sie wohl zum ''contNONG'' (Wortspiel auf die französische Aussprache von ''continent'') führen.

Pound bestellte in seinem letzten Brief im Jahre 1953 (29. Dezember) an Else Seel einen ''anonymen'' Gruß zum, Jahreswechsel. Anonym mußte der Brief sein, weil Pound fürchten mußte, es könnte für ihn erneut Schwierigkeiten geben, nachdem der kanadische Dichter Louis Dudek in der vierten Ausgabe seiner Zeitschrift *CIV/n* durch den Druck verschiedener Arbeiten über Pound versucht hatte, positiv die Aufmerksamkeit der Öffentlichkeit auf dessen Lage zu richten. Dieser Versuch schlug fehl, ja er hatte eine ähnlich nachteilige Wirkung wie früher die Verleihung des Bollingen-Preises. Dudek hatte nämlich hervorgehoben, wie fleißig Pound während seiner Inhaftierung seiner literarischen Tätigkeit nachgegangen sei. Da Pound den Hochverratsprozeß nur dadurch vermieden hatte, daß er für verrückt gehalten wurde, mußten diese Behauptungen die Vermutung aufkommen lassen, daß Pound seit seiner Verhaftung sich nur so gestellt habe, als ob er verrückt sei. Pounds Wut über diesen wohlgemeinten, aber mißratenen Hilfeversuch äußerte sich in einem schon in seiner Form ungezähmten Brief an Dudek: ''God bloody DAMN it and save one from ones friends. SHUT UP. You are NOT supposed to receive ANY letters from E.P. They are UNSIGNED/ and if one cannot trust one's to keep quiet re/ the supposed source/ whom can one trust? . . . Who the HELL told YOU that E.P. carried on correspondence?'' (Empfangen am 11. Dezember 1953).[41] Eine solche Beschwerde wollte er aber gegen Else Seel nicht erheben, wie er sich zu betonen beeilte: ''I cannot get it into

people's head that they are NOT supposed to get letters from me. UNLESS they are signed. Well meaning idots keep quoting letters as being FROM me/ instead of using the ideas WHEN they are able to comprehend them. this doesn't apply to you.'' Aus diesem Brief dürfte man den Schluß ziehen, daß sich Pound im klaren darüber war, daß seine Lage im St.-Elizabeths-Spital gewisse Vorteile mit sich brachte, solange er seiner Arbeit in Ruhe und ohne aufzufallen nachging.

Dieser Brief war sozusagen der letzte in der Pound-Seel Korrespondenz. Erst über zwei Jahre später (21. Februar 1956) finden wir einen kleinen Zettel mit Pounds Mitteilung: ''The Else come to life again,'' was darauf hindeutet, daß sie ihm vorher noch einmal geschrieben hatte. Ihr Brief an ihn ist aber leider nicht in ihrem Nachlaß. Am 11. August des gleichen Jahres schrieb er wieder: ''The Seal (Elsaa), The impression is that you didn't answer my last letter/ But I may be the unanswerin'.'' Aber diesmal schrieb er ihr eigentlich aus einem ganz anderen Grunde: Er wollte wissen, wo die Mokassins herkamen, die sie ihm vor acht Jahren geschickt hatte. Ob sie ihm gegen Entgelt noch ein Paar—und zwar ein noch strapazierfähigeres (!)—verschaffen könnte. Sie hätten ihm gut gepaßt, ''tho I don't know how you guessed.'' (Offensichtlich hatte er inzwischen vergessen, daß sie ihm damals geschrieben hatte, sie habe der Verkäuferin eine Aufnahme von T. S. Eliot gezeigt.) Else Seel beantwortete diesen Brief sofort. Sie war ganz erstaunt darüber, daß er die vor acht (sie meinte neun) Jahren geschenkten Mokassins noch trage. In diesem Brief finden wir einen bedeutenden Hinweis auf die vernachlässigte Korrespondenz. Sie habe neulich von ihm geträumt, habe ihn in ihrem Zimmer sitzen sehen. Mürrisch habe sie ihn gefragt, was er denn dort wolle, denn sie habe sich vor Jahren über seinen Einfluß auf sie geärgert und habe daher versucht, sich von ihm loszulösen: ''Resenting your influence, had been growing up and away'' (16. August 1956).

Schon nach zwei Wochen erhielt Pound die neuen Mokassins—echte Indianerarbeit—(''recd/ one pair of moCASSins, heavier than the preceding. fer which my thanks''), und Else Seel bekam dafür auf Wunsch kein Geld, sondern Exemplare seiner Schriften, die sie bezeichnenderweise seit ihrem Umzug nicht mehr gelesen hatte. Pound versprach ihr auch, nach Möglichkeit mehr zu schreiben, aber sein nächster Brief—offensichtlich die Antwort auf einen auch nicht mehr vorhandenen Brief von ihr—ist erst vom 6. Februar 1957. In diesem Jahr plante Else Seel eine Reise nach England, um ihre Tochter zu besuchen. Pound gab ihr nicht nur eine Liste von nützlichen Namen und Adressen, sondern er versuchte sie auch noch einmal (eigentlich dreimal auf einer Seite des Briefes!) zu veranlassen, die Botschaft von Frobenius in England zu verbreiten: ''Plenty for you to DO and they don't yet know enough re Frobenius . . . Do you want to broadcast re Frobenius?'' Einen Monat später schrieb er einen letzten Brief nach England, und damit hörte der Briefwechsel auf. Ein Jahr später, am 18. April 1958, wurde Ezra Pound nach dreizehn Jahren endlich aus der Haft entlassen. Er kehrte sofort nach Italien zurück. Am 24. März 1959 schickte er Else Seel eine Postkarte aus Rapallo: ''Forgot when I last had energy to write. Various

bibliographic items. Do you keep in touch with anyone? Or read? what? yrs E.P." Diese Fragen hat sie anscheinend nicht beantwortet. Einmal später—so hat sie mir erzählt—sei sie in Rapallo gewesen und habe sogar vor Pounds Haustor gestanden, aber zu klingeln habe sie sich nicht getraut. Ezra Pound starb am 1. November 1972, ohne daß sie ihn je gesehen hatte.

Else Seel verlebte ihre letzten Jahre in Vancouver. Im Jahr 1955 erschien ein Bändchen mit Gedichten *(Haus im Urwald)*, und 1964 veröffentlichte der Horst Erdmann Verlag (Tübingen) ihr Hauptwerk, *Kanadisches Tagebuch*, die Darstellung ihres Lebens am Ootsa-See. Außerdem erschienen Gedichte und Erzählungen von ihr in verschiedenen deutschsprachigen Zeitungen und Zeitschriften, und 1979 wurden *Ausgewählte Werke: Lyrik und Prosa* herausgegeben.[42] Sie starb am 26. Februar 1974.

Der briefliche Gedankenaustausch zwischen Ezra Pound und Else Seel ist in mancher Hinsicht erstaunlich und bemerkenswert. Allein die Tatsache, daß ein so angesehener Dichter wie Ezra Pound den brieflichen Kontakt mit einer ihm unbekannten Frau so sehr schätzte, daß er jeden Brief von ihr beantwortete, ist bemerkenswert. Angesichts der Tatsache, daß er eine so umfangreiche Korrespondenz führte—seine Freunde scherzten darüber, daß er nach seiner Freilassung aus dem Spital mehr Geld für Briefmarken ausgeben würde als für alles andere—muß man sein außergewöhnliches Gedächtnis für den Inhalt von Else Seels Briefen bewundern. Offensichtlich bedeutete ihm die Korrespondenz mit ihr viel, zumal sie ihn mit allerlei Material aus dem von ihm hochgeschätzten deutschsprachigen Bereich lieferte. In dieser Hinsicht spielte Else Seel für Pounds literarische Tätigkeit in seinen letzten Jahren eine nicht zu unterschätzende Rolle. Es wurden zum Beispiel Themen angeschlagen, die in seinen *Cantos* wieder auftauchen. Man findet sogar manchmal Ansichten, die in den *Cantos* fast wortwörtlich wiedergegeben werden. "For 100 years france betrayed Talleyrand/ and Germany betrayed Bismark," hieß es zum Beispiel im Brief vom 21. März 1953 und dann ein Jahr später im hundertfünften *Canto*.

Weiterhin deutet der Briefwechsel auf das hervorstechendste Merkmal von Pounds geistigem Leben und schöpferischer Arbeit hin, nämlich auf eine Art Besessenheit, die hinterlassenen Spuren der Weltkulturen im Gehirn eines Einzelnen zu sehen (nämlich in seinem eigenen!). Diese Spuren werden dann vom Dichter neu geformt, und sie erscheinen in seiner Dichtung in einem neuen Verhältnis zueinander.[43] Seine Briefe an Else Seel—genau wie seine Gedichte—sind oft eine Reihe von Stichwörtern, von zusammenhanglosen Gedanken und Notizen, die der Leser durch sorgfältiges Nachdenken zu entziffern versuchen muß.

Else Seels Beitrag zu Pounds "Kulturgedächtnis" war bescheiden, doch wertvoll. Außer den Beschreibungen ihres eigenen Pionierdaseins im kanadischen Urwald, die Pound anscheinend außerordentlich interessant fand, trug sie wesentlich zu seinen Kenntnissen der deutschen Literatur bei. Sie machte ihn mit den Werken von Colin Roß bekannt, einem Schriftsteller, dessen Reflexionen über Geschichte und Kultur in

Pounds eigene Weltanschauung hineinpaßten. Viele andere deutsche Schriftsteller wurden im Verlauf der Korrespondenz erwähnt und kommentiert: Goethe, Heine, Börne, Harden, Hölderlin, Thomas Mann, Theodor Mommsen, Rilke und andere. Zweifellos war Else Seel in den fünf wichtigsten Jahren des Briefwechsels (von 1947 bis 1952) Pounds Hauptquelle für Informationen über deutsches Kulturgut.

Für Else Seel selbst bedeutete der Briefwechsel mit einem der führenden literarischen Persönlichkeiten des Jahrhunderts eine Befriedigung. Sie erhielt daraus manchen Ansporn für ihre eigene literarische Tätigkeit, die sie seit ihrer Ankunft in Kanada nur noch sporadisch betrieben hatte. Sie lernte durch Pounds beharrliche Hinweise die Werke von Leo Frobenius kennen, und ihre eigene Arbeit wurde durch die Übersetzung von beinahe fünfzig von Pounds Gedichten weitgehend beeinflußt und gefördert. Nach dem Tode ihres Mannes vernachlässigte sie den Briefwechsel mit Pound, und zwar nicht in erster Linie wegen der Trauer um ihren Mann oder der nötigen Veränderungen in ihrem Leben, sondern hauptsächlich deswegen, weil sie sich von Pounds Einfluß befreien wollte. Nach ihren eigenen Worten wollte sie "aufwachsen" und von ihm "wegwachsen". Das ist verständlich. Denn obwohl sie sich nicht oft schrieben—selbst im ersten Jahr, als der Briefwechsel eifrig betrieben wurde, schrieben sie sich kaum öfter als einmal im Monat—empfand sie auch aus der großen Entfernung, daß er sie geistig dominierte. Von ihr aus gesehen, dauerte die Korrespondenz nur fünf Jahre. Das machte sie in dem Titel ihres Gedichtes "Fünf Jahre" klar, welches als eine Reaktion auf den Briefwechsel anzusehen ist. In diesem Werk finden wir auch eine klare Darstellung ihrer Meinung über das briefliche Verhältnis. Sie vergleicht sich mit Scheherezade, und Pound wird zum Sultan:

> Scheherezade hier am Ootsa Lake,
> Vertrieb ich, Sultan Ezra, Dir die Zeit?
> Mehr forderst Du, Du Nimmersatt,
> tausendundeine Nacht, sie sind vergangen,
> Traum kann nicht Wirklichkeit erlangen.

Seinen Einfluß auf sie beschreibt sie mit folgenden Zeilen:

> Wie viele Jahre las ich Deine Worte,
> Sog wie die trockne Erde Regen in mich ein?
> und lernte langsam Dich erkennen.
> Was Du getan im langen Leben,
> Was Du geschrieben und gedacht,
> in meinem Herzen tat es beben
> und es belebte meine Nacht.

Das Gedicht endet mit Zeilen, die ihre Angst vor seinem Einfluß unterstreichen:

> Ein Geist war mein Gefährte,
> Ein Geist ersetzte Fleisch und Bein,
> Das Netz erstarrte und beschwerte,
> Und schloß mich als Gefangne ein.[44]

Die Worte in diesem Gedicht lassen keinen Zweifel darüber, wie sich ihre Haltung zu ihrem Briefverhältnis mit Pound entwickelte. Der anfängliche Schwung und das Gefühl von einer gegenseitigen Anregung wandelten sich allmählich in eine Art Angst, daß sie durch Pounds Einfluß ihre schöpferische Unabhängigkeit verlieren könnte. Mit der Zeit fühlte sie sich von ihm nicht nur dominiert, sondern gleichsam gefangen, lediglich als Zeitvertreib des literarischen "Sultans". Unter solchen Umständen nimmt es nicht wunder, daß sie eines Tages den Beschluß faßte, den brieflichen Kontakt abzubrechen und ihren eigenen Weg ohne ihn zu gehen.

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Anmerkugen

[1] E. Fuller Torrey, *The Roots of Treason: Ezra Pound and the Secret of St. Elizabeths* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1984) bringt den Fall Pound auf den neuesten Stand.

[2] Torrey 199 ff.

[3] Torrey 200.

[4] Die Korrespondenz zwischen Else Seel und Ezra Pound befindet sich in der Special Collections Division der University of Victoria McPherson Library in Victoria, BC, Canada. Von Ezra Pound sind 89 Originalbriefe vorhanden. Was Else Seels Briefe an ihn betrifft, behielt sie Kopien der abgeschickten Briefe, wovon sie später maschinenschriftliche Abschriften anfertigte. Aus diesen Abschriften wird hier zitiert.

Der Verfasser hat Else Seel während der letzten Jahre ihres Lebens persönlich gekannt. Nach ihrem Tode vermittelte er die Übergabe ihres literarischen Nachlasses an die University of Victoria.

[5] Torrey 223, Anm. 1.

[6] Ootsa Lake befindet sich über 600 Meilen nördlich von Vancouver am oberen Ende vom riesigen Tweedsmuir Provincial Park (2 Millionen Morgen) und 40 Meilen südlich von Burns Lake. Die Gegend war damals sehr dünn besiedelt.

[7] Vgl. James J. Wilhelm, *The Later Cantos of Ezra Pound* (New York: Walker and Company, 1977) xvi.

[8] Torrey 138, Anm. 1.

[9] Ezra Pound, *Guide to Kulchur* (New York: New Directions, 1948) 352. Die ersten vier Titel auf Pounds Liste lauteten: "Die vier Bücher" (Konfuzius und Menzius), *Die Odyssee*, die griechischen Tragödien, und *Die Göttliche Komödie*. Danach stand *Erlebte Erdteile*, i.e. *Erlebte Erdteile: Ergebnisse eines deutschen Forscherlebens*, 7 Bde. (Frankfurt, 1925-29).

[10] Über Frobenius siehe Janheinz Jahn, *Leo Frobenius: The Demonic Child* (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas African and Afro-American Studies and Research Center, 1974).

[11] Vgl. Torrey 138, Anm. 1. In einem Brief an die Zeitschrift *Poetry* schrieb Pound 1915: "My problem is to keep alive a certain group of advancing poets, to set the arts in their rightful place as the acknowledged lamp and guide of civilisation." Zitiert nach Louis Dudek, *Dk/: Some Letters of Ezra Pound* (Montreal: DC Books, 1974) 119.

[12] Massimo Bacigalupo, *The Formèd Trace: The Later Poetry of Ezra Pound* (New York: Columbia UP, 1980) 129.

[13] Dan Pinck, "A Visit with Ezra Pound," *The Reporter* 2 Feb. 1954: 42-43.

[14] Colin Roß, *Amerikas Schicksalsstunde: die Vereinigten Staaten zwischen Demokratie und Diktatur* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1936) 270.

[15] Roß, *Schicksalsstunde* 61.

[16] Roß, *Schicksalsstunde* 305.

[17] Roß, *Schicksalsstunde* 311.

[18] Roß, *Schicksalsstunde* 27.

[19] Colin Roß, *Unser Amerika: der deutsche Anteil an den Vereinigten Staaten* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1936) 301.

[20] Colin Roß, *Die Welt auf der Waage: der Querschnitt von 20 Jahren Weltreise* (Leipzig, 1929) 13.

[21] Roß, *Die Welt* 19.

[22] Roß, *Die Welt* 89.

[23] Roß, *Die Welt* 160.

[24] Roß, *Die Welt* 160.

[25] Roß, *Die Welt* 187.

[26] Torrey 74, Anm. 1.

[27] Torrey 219.

[28] Pound, *ABC of Reading* (New York: New Directions, 1934) 55.

[29] Harry M. Meacham, *The Caged Panther: Ezra Pound at St. Elizabeths* (New York: Twayne, 1967) 168.

[30] Das Buch erschien 1953, und schon am 4. März konnte Frau Frobenius Else Seel mitteilen, Pounds Gedichte "stehen seit längerem überall aus".

[31] Pound bezieht sich hier wahrscheinlich auf *The Childhood of Man* (London, 1909), übersetzt von A. H. Keane, einem bekannten englischen Archäologen ("some brit. archaeologic big pot").

[32] Torrey 234-35, Anm. 1.

[33] In ihrem Nachlaß befindet sich zum Beispiel ein Brief von Peter Russell, Herausgeber der literarischen Zeitschrift *Nine*. Russell schrieb eine ziemlich pessimistische Antwort auf einen Brief Else Seels, in dem sie ihn nach Möglichkeiten gefragt hatte, Pound zu helfen.

[34] "Es ist doch sehr schwer, im Alter nicht einmal ein eigenes Bett zu haben." (Editha Frobenius an Else Seel, 30. Juli 1949.)

[35] Else Seel, *Ausgewählte Werke: Lyrik und Prosa*, hg. Rodney Symington (Toronto: German-Canadian Historical Association, 1979) 54.

[36] Michael Reck, *Ezra Pound: A Close-Up* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967) 118.

[37] Hardens eigentlicher Name war Maximilian Felix Ernst Witkowski.

[38] Vgl. Else Seel, *Kanadisches Tagebuch* (Tübingen: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1964) 241-43.

[39] Bernhard Fürst von Bülow, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 4 Bde. (Berlin: Ullstein, 1930). Über seine Rede am 19. November 1908 im Reichstag siehe 3: 381 ff.

[40] Else Seel bezieht sich hier auf den großen Hofskandal der Jahre 1906-1907. Harden hatte in seiner Zeitschrift *Die Zukunft* einige Mitglieder des kaiserlichen Hofes (u.a. die Grafen Eulenburg und Moltke) sittlicher Vergehen angeklagt. Infolge des Skandals mußte Eulenburg für immer den Hof verlassen.

[41] Dudek, *Some Letters* 105, Anm. 9.

[42] Siehe Anm. 35.

[43] Vgl. Bacigalupo, der dieses Thema ausführlich behandelt, ix: ". . . the poet's obsession with the (previously) written."

[44] Seel, *Ausgewählte Werke* 36, Anm. 35.

Linda Kraus Worley

Through Others' Eyes: Narratives of German Women Travelling in Nineteenth-Century America

. . . eben nur die schlichten
Mittheilungen einer Frau . . .[1]

Scholarly inquiry into travel narratives written by women has been stimulated by renewed interest in travel literature in general as well as by women's studies. Since the late 1970s, increased attention has been given travel narratives, narratives based on real, not fictional, journeys wherein the author mixes personal experience with information regarding the cultural, economic, social, and political life of the country visited.[2] The underlying structure of such accounts, a structure which contrasts "us-here-*Heimat*" with "them-there-*die Fremde*," suggests that a travel narrative can be utilized to reveal the culturally determined subjectivity of the traveller as well as to gain information about the land and people visited. The historically determined subject-object relationship, the double focus inherent in travel narratives, makes them ideal sources for cross-cultural studies and for research in *Mentalitätsgeschichte,* the history of subjectivity. This new emphasis in scholarship on travel literature parallels trends in women's studies, socio-historical approaches to literature, and the revived interest in "low" genres. These lines of inquiry converge to not only allow, but demand, study of the ways women described their own travels.[3] Such studies of women as travellers are indeed beginning to emerge.[4]

The field of women's studies has provided scholars with the background needed to delineate the different historically determined conditions under which men and women lived and wrote in the nineteenth century. The ideology of *Geschlechtscharakter,* the ideological construct of separate spheres and complementary gender-specific character traits, formed to a great extent the subjectivity of both men and women.[5] Since men were assumed to possess such characteristics as activity, energy, independence, and intellectual prowess to be used in public life and the

wide world, their travels and any writing based on these travels were fully in harmony with society's expectations. The situation was quite different for women for whom travel meant leaving the postulated "female" sphere, a sphere limited to the interior realm and domestic life. Women travellers would thus most likely have felt conflict between their need to fulfill cultural expectations which viewed them as the weak, passive "other" and their deliberate entrance, perhaps even escape, into a world of danger and difficulty, a world of travel to faraway places. Women's travel narratives reflect these tensions, tensions missing in men's narratives. Yet another aspect of the complex subject-object relationship underlying women's travel narratives is related to the prevalent ideology which assigned to women the role of passive mirrors of their men and of the world. Since women were presumed to be the passive/receptive mirrors of the world, then these travellers should logically have been seen (and perhaps even saw themselves) as ideal observers of foreign lands. One may postulate that a different subjectivity is at work in women's travel narratives than in men's accounts.

Very few women broke out of the domestic circle in the nineteenth century to venture into the wider world as self-acknowledged travellers. Clara von Gerstner *(Beschreibung einer Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika in den Jahren 1838 bis 1840),* Ida Pfeiffer *(A Lady's Second Journey Round the World),* Catharina Migerka *(Briefe aus Philadelphia),* Louise Weil *(Aus dem schwäbischen Pfarrhaus nach Amerika),* and Fredrika Bremer *(Homes of the New World)* were among the few who undertook a trip to America and published an account of their adventure.[6] Women emigrated from Europe, to be sure, in ever-increasing numbers, but they did not have or assume the status of a worldly sophisticate who had the leisure and experience to write down impressions of the trip. It would be of value to compare the attitudes of the German women travellers with the attitudes and values of German-born pioneer women. One might speculate that there will be noticeable differences: Since the travellers were only temporary visitors, they still identified with the dominant code of their native land and judged the United States within the structures of this code, whereas the pioneers, the immigrants, had most likely identified with America and American practices to some extent and thus would be prone to judge differently. Some of the women who did undertake the adventure that a trip to America entailed may well have been prevented from writing about their adventure or publishing their account due to a feeling something akin to the "anxiety of authorship" Gilbert and Gubar discuss in *Madwoman in the Attic,* "an anxiety built from complex and often barely conscious fears of that authority which seems to the female artist to be by definition inappropriate to her sex."[7] A woman attempting to write an account of her travels would sense that her activities were diametrically opposed to those of the nineteenth-century feminine ideal, the selfless "angel of the house," for not only had she ventured out of the domestic circle into the wide world, but the very act of writing—especially a travel narrative with its strong autobiographical element—might reveal an unwomanly preoccupation with the self. Thus, the women authors of travel nar-

ratives would have experienced a double anxiety; they would be uncomfortable with their "male" role as traveller to unknown realms and with their "male" role as author.

The anxiety of these women travellers to America is most noticeable in their compulsion to justify to the reader both the autobiographical elements of their book and the journey itself, an anxiety not shared by German male travellers. German male authors, of course, also often supplied the motives for their journey and for writing about America. Spahn ironically writes that these men

> wished to make available to their readers, hitherto misled by various distorted accounts of America, their first opportunity to learn, from completely impartial observers, the true facts about life in the new country. They warned prospective emigrants against the accounts of unreliable persons—including, of course, all previous writers—who, motivated solely by self-interest had grossly misinterpreted the new country. (477)

In "The Great Visitation to American Democracy," Clark agrees that the main purpose of most of the travel books was to refute the accounts of earlier travellers.[8] The tone of the introductory remarks made by the women is substantially different from that voice of authority found in men's travel books, exhibiting as it does an apologetic and almost formulaic tone of self-denigration.[9]

Clara von Gerstner begs the reader's indulgence in the foreword to her book, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika in den Jahren 1838 bis 1840: In Gesellschaft des Ritters Franz Anton von Gerstner.* She is in essence excusing the publication of her book when she writes: "Da ich nie für den Druck geschrieben habe, so würde ich es auch nie gewagt haben, dieses Werkchen der Öffentlichkeit zu übergeben, wenn mich nicht so viele meiner Freunde und Bekannten wiederholt und ernsthaft dazu aufgefordert hätten . . ." (vii). She adds that she has attempted to report "treu und ungeschmückt das Gesehene und Erfahrene" (vii). Gerstner emphasizes that she was accompanying her new husband, the well-known railroad specialist, on his inspection tour of the American railways. By referring repeatedly to her husband's untimely death at the end of their journey, Gerstner gives the sense that her narrative is meant to somehow carry on his work; and, in many ways, Gerstner did assume the viewpont of an engineer as her narrative is replete with facts and figures.

As part of her second voyage alone around the world, the Austrian Ida Pfeiffer travelled through the United States from 1853 to 1854 and published an account of her journey in *A Lady's Second Voyage Around the World.* Halfway through the second volume, the middle-aged Pfeiffer justifies her journey to the reader in a footnote:

> Perhaps it may be objected to me that, in leaving my home and travelling about the world as I have done, I have in some measure emancipated myself from the duties of my sex; but I beg it may be borne in mind, that I have only done so when my children were grown up and settled, and

had no longer the slightest need of my care; and when I had really no longer any household duties to perform. (2: 370)

Pfeiffer emphasizes that she is "a most simple and unpretending person, and can claim as a writer no merit whatever beyond that of describing truly and without exaggeration what I have seen and experienced" (2: 423).

Catharina Migerka, another Austrian, attended the 1876 World's Fair with her husband and published an account of her travels in *Briefe aus Philadelphia: An eine Freundin.* Migerka begins her "Mittheilungen über Amerika" by telling the girlfriend to whom the letters are ostensibly addressed that she is writing her chronicle because "ich es Dir versprochen, thue es aber zagend und mit dem Vorbehalte, daß das, was ich hier niederschreibe, leicht die Berichtigung eines schärferen, klareren Geistes erfahren kann, thue es aber auch mit der Versicherung, daß ich wissentlich nichts Falsches, nichts Übertriebenes aufnehme . . ." (2). She further excuses her narrative, stating that it contains "nur die schlichten Mittheilungen einer Frau," and, although it is not scientific or deep, she has tried to write "mit ehrlichem und parteilosem Sinne" (Foreword). Since Migerka's repeated apostrophes to her girlfriend seem to be only a stylistic device and since her narrative, organized thematically into chapters, is by no means a simple series of letters recording daily activities or observations, it is doubtful that the book is really a collection of letters. It is more likely that the fiction of writing promised letters was used both as an organizing principle and as justification for the book.

Louise Weil offers several reasons for her journey in *Aus dem schwäbischen Pfarrhaus nach Amerika.* She writes that she travelled to America in 1854 as a sixteen-year-old because she wanted to visit her brothers, to find a position as a governess, and to visit the country to which she was so magnetically drawn, as had been so many others after 1848. Weil's experience is different from that of the other women in that she came to America not solely as a visitor, but as a potential immigrant. Since she was not as successful in America as she would have liked, consequently returning to Germany four and a half years later, it is perhaps not surprising that her comments about America are the most negative of the group.[10] Indeed, Weil specifically conceives of her book as a warning, written "im Interesse der Töchter meines Vaterlandes, die so häufig in Amerika ein Eldorado erwarten" (2).

A fifth narrative, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America,* written by the well-known Swedish novelist Fredrika Bremer, details Bremer's visit to the United States from 1849 to 1851. Bremer fears that her book suffers from egotism, the "offense of all autobiography" (1: iii). She offers one justification after another for this supposed fault: the letters which compose the book were originally meant only for her sister, to whom one can reveal all (1: iii-iv); her recurrent illnesses in America had made her weak and thus susceptible to egotism (1: iv); the letters, written "heart to heart," may for that very reason provide a warm, intimate picture of American life (1: vii); and perhaps it is her duty to share her experiences (1: viii). Bremer denigrates her abilities,

writing that the "great matter" reflected in her book is mirrored "without any merit of mine" (1: iv). Bremer puts her whole undertaking into a socially acceptable light by stating that she hopes to lead the reader "into a more familiar and cordial intimacy with that great country beyond the Atlantic, with its people, its homes, and its inner life, than might otherwise have been the case" (1: v); that is, Bremer, the woman, will lead the reader into the domestic sphere, woman's sphere. Although Bremer is Swedish and, unlike the other women, already an established author of international repute when she was invited by American admirers to visit the United States, her lucid narrative fits in well with the narratives of the German-speaking women. In light of the differences in age, social class, marital status, occupation, and nationality, it is all the more remarkable that these women would share the pronounced need to justify, even excuse, their publications.

Some of the critical response to the work of the women indicates that their fears were by no means unfounded. The account of Louise Weil's adventures and misadventures in America prompted the *Morgenblatt* to publish a lengthy, anonymous article entitled "Über weibliche Bestimmung,"[11] which attacked modern, unmarried, overeducated women who have let themselves be blinded by Satan (516) and who therefore no longer possess "das richtige Gefühl, lieber in der Dunkelheit zu bleiben, sich den gewöhnlichsten Haushaltungsgeschäften in verwandten Familien, der Pflege alter Anverwandten oder der Erziehung der Kinder als Glieder des Hauses zu widmen" (495). Criticism was also voiced in America. In *America and Her Commentators: Travel in the United States*,[12] Tuckerman ridicules women travellers, especially Fredrika Bremer, whom Tuckerman had personally met during her stay in America. He writes:

> There are few situations in modern life more suggestive of the ludicrous, than that of a woman "of a certain age," professedly visiting a country for the purpose of critically examining and reporting it and its people. Every American of lively imagination who has been thrown into society with one of these female philosophers on such a voyage of discovery, must have caught ideas for a comedy of real life from the phenomena thus created. "Asking everybody everything," the self-appointed inspector is propitiated by one, quizzed by another, feared by this class and contemned by that, all the time with an unconscious air, looking, listening, noting down, and, from the most evanescent and unreliable data, "giving an opinion," or drawing a portrait, not of a well-known place or familiar person, but of an unknown country and a strange nation! (298)

Tuckerman condemns Bremer's detailed reports of the "fabrics of the ladies' dresses, the modes of dancing, the style of the meals, the trees, furniture, books, schools, and private history of all persons of note, and even those unknown to fame" as a "breach of good faith and good taste" (299). It is, I may add, exactly these details and intimate portrayals which make Bremer's book, as well as the narratives of the other women, so reliable, interesting, and valuable.

In light of the possibility of such vicious attacks, it is not surprising that these women would repeatedly reaffirm the accuracy of their accounts or would tend to limit—to a greater or lesser extent—the content of their narratives as well as any subjective commentary to those aspects of American life felt to be most in keeping with what was deeply accepted as woman's role in society. The authors' own internalized self-censors, rigorously formed by the prevalent ideology, guided them in this task. Thus, when not reporting factual details concerning the stations and mode of their journey,[13] they reported extensively, although not exclusively, on the relationships of certain social groups to one another. These travellers commented on the domestic habits of Americans; child-rearing practices; religious life; public institutions for the social welfare such as prisons, orphanages, insane asylums; social experiments such as Rapp's colonies, the Shakers, the Quakers, the Phalanstery; and the lot of the American Indian and the slaves. The role of women and the relationship between the sexes in American society was often the avowed object of their scrutiny. Bremer writes that she wanted to "observe the popular life, institutions, and circumstances of a new country . . . in particular, to study the women and the homes of the New World" (1: 53). Migerka devotes her first chapter to American women, since, she reasons, if one wants to get to know a country, then one must study the "Frauen in erster Linie" (3). Although these topics are also treated in the travel books written by men[14] and although there is no absolute dichotomy with respect to content, style, or analysis between the male and female accounts, there is nevertheless the clear sense that the women realize they are not writing a factual travel guide or a semi-scientific treatise, projects which might indeed be more suitably left to men. Weil writes that she will not attempt to describe Cincinnati, an undertaking better "einer geschicktern Feder und—Männern überlassen" (122). Migerka will not attempt to portray the 1876 World's Fair since others with more knowledge should undertake the task; at most, she might write of the "Frauenpavillon" (30). Alongside these similarities, there is, of course, variation among the women's books, with Gerstner's account the most factual, filled with data concerning such subjects as means of transportation and interior decoration, while Bremer's book contains the most personal and anecdotal material.

Americans eat too fast; they are interested only in business and money; they succumb to the national obsession with, as Pfeiffer states, "going ahead" and "keeping moving" (2: 287)—these are some of the prevalent observations on the domestic manners of the Americans. Many of these observations echo those found in Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* and Charles Dickens' *American Notes*, both immensely popular books and books with which most—if not all—of the women travellers were acquainted. Their narratives do not repeat the very negative portrayal of the American as the boorish, tobacco-juice-spitting bumpkin sketched so vividly by Trollope. Indeed, most of these women excuse any unseemly behavior Americans may exhibit as reflecting the energy of a growing nation.

Education is a subject of concern to all the women and is closely linked by them to the question of woman's role and female emancipation. Weil, who had come to America with the hope of becoming a governess and who eventually taught school in America, criticizes Americans for spoiling their children and treating them too much like adults (162). Migerka, echoing this view, notes that girls are not made to help at home and are allowed to become women too soon, thereby losing "jene liebliche Schüchternheit, jenes holde Bangen und Schweben zwischen Kind und Jungfrau" (9-10). The authors agree that American girls are provided with a broader education than are German girls, but the writers' praise is tempered by concern that this extensive education largely ignores the domestic sphere and thus may be detrimental to the girls' future duties as wives and mothers. Weil speculates: "In wie weit dieser Umstand auf die künftige Führung einer Haushaltung Einfluß hat, wage ich nicht zu bestimmen. Man kann eben auch in Amerika nicht zwei Herren dienen" (116). Pfeiffer contrasts the American system of female education, "this one-sided education, in which all that is most peculiarly feminine is entirely neglected" (2: 367), with education in Austria, commenting that "the girls in my own country also study foreign languages, music, history, and so forth; but they find time to make themselves acquainted with womanly duties" (2: 368). Admitting that the "male" sphere should be open to women, Pfeiffer warns that if a woman chooses a career, then she cannot be a wife, since one cannot perform the duties of a man and a woman (2: 369). Gerstner criticizes American educators for filling the heads of girls with facts not needed by wives and mothers (51); Migerka feels that women should be primarily interested in the "Erziehung der Kinder" and the "Culturzustand" and not in politics or the public sphere (3).

These women, however, all concern themselves at length in their books with American politics and the public sphere. At this point the discrepancies and contradictions engendered by the clash between the internalized concepts of the feminine ideal and their own activities emerge. Pfeiffer, for example, laments the fact that in America "the timid modesty, the bloom and freshness of youth, is soon lost among the girls, and that the women are sadly deficient in the tender feminine grace which is the truest ornament of our sex" (2: 280), and sadly notes the "uneasy longing for what they call emancipation that characterizes American women" (2: 367). Yet Pfeiffer herself was embarked on her *second* journey around the world during which time she travelled alone and unprotected into, to cite just one adventure, the depths of the Amazon jungle, visiting places no European woman (and few European men) had previously seen. Pfeiffer's own vehement, total identification with the male world and complete disdain for the domestic sphere as a young girl have been recently examined.[15] Only at the end of Clara von Gerstner's narrative can the reader infer from a detail relating the baptism of her daughter that Gerstner must have been pregnant during most of her journey, a journey which entailed the rigors of almost daily travel either by stagecoach or train, certainly a most strenuous activity in 1839. Despite her "delicate condition," Gerstner continuously visited

American jails, orphanages, and insane asylums, with and without her husband. One might indeed propose that these women so vehemently upheld the "feminine ideal" because on some level of their consciousness they feared that they themselves did not conform to the internalized ideal and thus would be considered unwomanly, even unnatural.

All the authors speak more or less approvingly of the activities of American women in the public sphere, noting their work in philanthropic societies and in temperance societies, their public speeches against social evils, and their campaigns to aid runaway slaves by collecting money and clothing. The activities of the women belonging to the Midnight-Association of Philadelphia are chronicled by Migerka. She writes:

> In der Nacht wandern sie hinaus, um verlorne Seelen zu suchen; sie scheuen sich nicht, verrufene Häuser zu betreten, um Verirrte zu ermahnen, umzukehren von dem Pfade der Schande, und, mehr noch, sie sind bemüht, ihnen ein freundliches Heim zu bieten und für ihre Zukunft zu sorgen. Die Frauen . . . handeln begeistert durch ihren Glauben, sie gehören streng kirchlichen Secten an und die Bibel ist die Waffe, mit der sie streiten. (12-13)

Judgment on such activities varies; Weil hypothesizes that the burning issue of slavery has given American women the mandate to act in the public sphere (172). Migerka speculates that this charitable work arises out of the "heimische Eitelkeit" of American women, their religious faith, and their American sense that "Gleichberechtigung" should reach all members of society (14). Bremer is more unambiguously positive in her responses to these endeavors than her German counterparts, allowing women a full range of possibilities as mother, wife, and citizen.

While tending to agree that German women are better wives—"der Amerikaner findet in seinem Hause nicht das trauliche Heim, die liebreiche Fürsorge, die das deutsche Weib ihrem Manne bereitet" (Migerka 6)—these women underscore the fact that American men treat women with respect and chivalry. Pfeiffer rather naively observes that "the Americans treat their women far too tenderly to allow them to undertake any such severe labors [as working in the fields]" (2: 295). She implicitly contrasts these tender American men with European men who tend to be courteous only to women possessing "youth, beauty and fine clothes" (1: 67). The source of the courteous behavior of American men is located by Bremer:

> Of a certainty, that chivalric sentiment and love which generally prevail in America for the female sex had their origin in the dignity and the noble conduct of those early women [the Puritans]; of a certainty, from that early equality, that equality in rule and in rights which prevails here in domestic and social life, although not as yet politically. (1: 171-72)

Migerka predicates this special respect on the feats of the pioneer women who stood by their men "tröstend, helfend, rathend" (9).

Despite the fact that these European women admire the courteous treatment American men afford women—one might ask to what extent these reports are broad hints to European men—the sight of an American husband going shopping for his wife with a market basket in hand is so foreign to the *Vorstellungswelt* of Migerka that she comments on it:

> Geradezu komisch wirkt es auf uns Fremde, Herren . . . mit glänzendem Zylinder, mit gefüllten Körbchen oder Körben vom Markte kommen sehen. Was würden unsere deutschen Ehemänner zu einer solchen Zumuthung sagen, bei uns, wo selbst der Gymnasiast sich schämt, mit einem Korbe über die Straße zu gehen! Ich meine, Männer hätten überall einen ganz berechtigten Grund, Widerwillen gegen Körbe zu hegen, und seien die Hände, die sie ihnen bieten, auch noch so zart. (8)

Two similar passages recounting conversations reflect most interesting cross-cultural perceptions. Louise Weil reports that she was attacked by Americans for her abolitionist views: "Miss W., in dieser Frage haben Sie keine Stimme! Wie ich erfahren habe, sind Sie eine Deutsche; die Deutschen aber sind von Haus aus Sklaven, und zwar sind die Frauen die Sklavinnen ihrer Männer, und ihre Männer die Sklaven ihrer Fürsten." Weil writes that she remained silent, although she would have liked to retort that in the United States "die Männer die Sklaven ihrer Frauen seien" (172). Over twenty years later, Migerka relates that "die amerikanischen Frauen haben oft, im Vollbewußtsein ihrer socialen Stellung und Würde, für uns arme vermeintlich unterdrückte, deutsche Frauen ein Gefühl des Mitleides. 'O, in Deutschland ist die Frau die Sclavin ihres Mannes!'" (7). Migerka, too, feels that the reverse could be said of the American man, who is "der gehorsame Diener . . . der willig alle Wünsche und Launen seiner Gebieterin erfüllt, der es nicht wagen möchte, die Luft, die sie athmet, durch Cigarrendampf zu trüben . . ." (8).

All visitors to the United States are forced to confront their expectations with the realities of American life. The realities in turn tend to modify and correct the original expectations.[16] These nineteenth-century women were no exception. Many of the women had anticipated a land of "edle Einfachheit," a spotless page, a land where the spirit of the great George Washington still ruled (Weil 161; Migerka 39). Gerstner's shipboard dream of Indians, slaves, wild animals, and primordial forests (48) reflects the image of America as the great exotic wilderness. Most of these dreams were destined to be disappointed. The American emphasis on wealth and luxury, the indulgence of judges towards crimes committed by whites, and the strict, sterile observance of Sunday rest were features of American life noted by these women which were most at odds with their expectations.

The issue of slavery in the self-proclaimed land of equality was dealt with at length by the women visiting America before the Civil War and, among all the social issues discussed, deserves to be singled out. Here the clash between expectation and firsthand observation, between European and American (more precisely, Southern) views is thrown into stark relief. Here, too, the individual differences among the women

are most noticeable. The women came to America firmly opposed to slavery, having read and been influenced by such books as *American Slavery as It Is* (from which Ida Pfeiffer quotes liberally) and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. After Clara von Gerstner stayed at a Kentucky farm and observed what she perceived as an idyllic treatment of the slaves, she muses: ''. . . ganz verschieden war das Bild des Lebens und der Behandlung der Sclaven, wie ich es hier erblickte, von demjenigen, welches sich meine Phantasie in früheren Jahren entworfen hatte'' (373). Gerstner was apparently so convinced by the pro-slavery arguments advanced by her various Southern hosts that although she concedes that slavery goes against the American ideal of freedom, she acknowledges it as a necessary evil whose abolition would mean the total ruin of the South. Indeed, Gerstner seems to be parroting Southern views when she affirms one stereotype after another concerning the lack of intellectual prowess and culture found in Negroes (325-29). Ida Pfeiffer portrays her visit to a public slave auction in New Orleans as a painful experience (2: 249), commenting that ''I am, of course, like every person with the ordinary feelings of humanity not warped by early prejudice, an enemy to slavery . . .'' (2: 251). However, after visiting several plantations, she admits, ''I am bound in truth and candor to state, that on those I visited the slaves appeared to be by no means in the unhappy position I had imagined'' (2: 252). Despite this modification, Pfeiffer remained firmly against slavery as well as the shameful treatment freed slaves received. A visit to the South changed the views of neither Louise Weil nor Fredrika Bremer as to the evils of slavery. While acknowledging that there are some good masters, Bremer insisted that slavery was destroying the moral fabric of the South. After visiting the South, Bremer became even more vehemently opposed to slavery, siding wholeheartedly with her abolitionist friends in the North. In this respect, the reactions of the women to slavery do not seem to differ substantially from those of German men, who are said to have been ''honestly objective in dealing with the South, and most of them . . . even able to look at slavery analytically. . . .''[17] It was, in fact, not unusual for some travellers who had enjoyed being pampered by black slaves to become ''confused as to their moral reactions'' (Clark 13).

In summary, let me emphasize that these narratives are valuable documents in terms of women's history both by reflecting the complex subjectivity of the German women travellers and by providing a female traveller's perspective of American women and domestic relations. As such, these accounts complement other available sources such as diaries and letters. In addition, the narratives are truly indispensable to any comprehensive investigation of nineteenth-century German attitudes towards America and American institutions since the writings do not present merely another view of nineteenth-century America, but present, at least in part, the ''other's'' view, woman's view.

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Notes

[1] Catharina Migerka, *Briefe aus Philadelphia (1876): An eine Freundin* (Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1877), Foreword. This article is a revised version of a paper first presented at the symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, April 24-26, 1986. I wish to thank Jerry Glenn and Jeannine Blackwell for their useful comments.

[2] See, for example, Thomas Bleicher, et al., eds., *Reiseliteratur* (Bayreuth: Univ. Bayreuth, 1981); Wolfgang Griep and Hans-Wolf Jäger, eds., *Reise und soziale Realität am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1983); Götz Großklaus, "Reisen in die fremde Natur: Zur Fremdwahrnehmung im Kontext der bürgerlichen Aufstiegsgeschichte," *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (1982): 72-85; Michael Harbsmeier, "Reisebeschreibungen als mentalitätsgeschichtliche Quellen: Überlegungen zu einer historisch-anthropologischen Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher deutscher Reisebeschreibungen," *Reiseberichte als Quellen europäischer Kulturgeschichte,* eds. Antoni Maczak and Hans Jürgen Teuteberg (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 1982), 1-31; Boris I. Krasnobaev, Gert Robel, and Herbert Zeman, eds., *Reisen und Reisebeschreibungen im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert als Quellen der Kulturbeziehungsforschung* (Berlin: Camen, 1980); Wulf Wülfing, "Reiseliteratur," *Deutsche Literatur: Eine Sozialgeschichte,* Horst Albert Glaser, ed. (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1980).

[3] Women's travel narratives have been largely ignored in scholarship dealing with German travel to America. The relative paucity of published narratives written by women is certainly one reason for this neglect. A less tangible reason for this neglect may well be the very categories used to classify travel literature and travel authors. Raymond Jürgen Spahn, for example, examining the roughly two hundred known travel books about America published in German from 1820 to 1850, finds that the authors were either professional authors of fiction, men of means who wrote semi-scientific books, individuals commissioned by European governments to describe conditions for potential emigrants, or "persons urging settlement of a particular place, usually because of vested interests" ("German Accounts of Early Nineteenth-Century Life in Illinois," *Papers on Language and Literature* 14 [Fall 1978]: 476-77). These categories may seem to arise logically from the body of literature, but once these categories are in place, their parameters make it easy to overlook women authors.

[4] See, for example, Elke Frederiksen and Tamara Archibald, "Der Blick in die Ferne," *Frauenliteraturgeschichte: Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart,* eds. Hiltrud Gnüg and Renate Möhrmann (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1985) 104-22; Leo Hamalian, ed., *Ladies on the Loose: Women Travellers of the 18th and 19th Centuries* (New York: Dodd, 1981); Dorothy Middleton, *Victorian Lady Travellers* (Chicago: Academy Chicago Pr., 1982); Annegret Pelz, "Außenseiterinnen und Weltreisende," *Schreiben* 16 (December 1981); Wulf Wülfing, "On Travel Literature by Women in the 19th Century: Malwida von Meysenbug," *German Women in the 18th and 19th Centuries: A Social and Literary History,* eds. Ruth-Ellen B. Joeres and Mary Jo Maynes (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Pr., 1986) 289-304.

[5] Silvia Bovenschen, *Die imaginierte Weiblichkeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1979); Susan L. Cocalis and Kay Goodman, eds., *Beyond the Eternal Feminine* (Stuttgart: Heinz, 1982); Viola Klein, *The Feminine Character: History of an Ideology,* 2nd ed. (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois, 1971); Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Die deutsche Familie: Versuch einer Sozialgeschichte* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1974); Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, *Frauenleben im 19. Jahrhundert* (München: Beck, 1983).

[6] Clara von Gerstner, *Beschreibung einer Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika in den Jahren 1838 bis 1840: In Gesellschaft des Ritters Franz Anton von Gerstner* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1842); Ida Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Second Journey Round the World,* 2 vols. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1855); Ida Pfeiffer, *Meine zweite Weltreise* (Wien: C. Gerold's Sohn, 1856); Louise Weil, *Aus dem schwäbischen Pfarrhaus nach Amerika: Reiseschilderungen* (Stuttgart: Franckh, 1860); Fredrika Bremer, *Homes of the New World: Impressions of America,* trans. Mary Howitt, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1853). It appears that comparatively more travel books were published by British and French women than by German women, a discrepancy perhaps linked to the differing patterns of immigration or perhaps simply linked to the fact that an annotated bibliography of all German-language travel books concerning America is lacking. A cross-cultural comparison of women's travel books would be a profitable scholarly undertaking.

[7] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Pr., 1979) 51.

[8] Thomas D. Clark, "The Great Visitation to American Democracy," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 44 (June 1957): 3.

[9] In *A Literature of Their Own* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1977), Elaine Showalter discusses the self-denigration often displayed by nineteenth-century British women authors. Feminist critics have hypothesized that apology and self-denigration are feminine language strategies used to make potentially shocking content "harmless."

[10] In this respect Weil resembles to some extent Frances Trollope, who, after her family's unsuccessful attempt at establishing itself in America, returned to England and wrote the quite negative *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832).

[11] "Über weibliche Bestimmung," *Morgenblatt* 21-22 (1860): 492+.

[12] Henry Theodore Tuckerman, *America and Her Commentators: With a Critical Sketch of Travel in the United States* (New York: C. Scribner, 1864).

[13] The "Grand Tour" of America which these women followed included the important cities of the Mid-Atlantic states, Niagara Falls (which Weil did not visit), and a trip through the South to New Orleans. Pfeiffer also journeyed to California.

[14] The remarks of the ethnographer Edwin Ardener are revealing in this respect. Asking "if the models of a society made by most ethnographers tend to be models derived from the male portion of that society, how does the symbolic weight of that other mass of persons—half or more of a normal human population, as we have accepted—express itself," he notes that "no one could come back from an ethnographic study of 'the X,' having talked only *to* women, and *about* men, without professional comment and some self-doubt. The reverse can and does happen constantly" ("Belief and the Problem of Women," *Perceiving Women*, ed. Shirley Ardener [New York: Wiley and Sons, 1975] 3).

[15] Pfeiffer's book *Reise nach Madagaskar* (1861) is prefaced by a "Biographische Skizze, nach ihren eigenen Aufzeichnungen." Here we are told that Pfeiffer "lernte alles, was ihr für Knaben passend schien, mit Fleiß und Eifer, betrachtete dagegen jede weibliche Arbeit mit der tiefsten Verachtung, und da sie beispielsweise Klavierspielen mehr als weibliche Art betrachtete, so schnitt sie sich häufig in die Finger oder brannte letztere mit Siegellack, um nur den verhaßten Übungen zu entgehen" (qtd. in Pelz 6, see n. 4). Pelz notes that Pfeiffer's first love precipitated the inner changes whereby she distanced herself "von ihren bisherigen Feiheitsvorstellungen" (8). I wish to thank Tamara Felden for bringing Pelz's article to my attention.

[16] Cf. Joseph Strelka: "Denn nicht nur führt die vorgegebene Wesensart und Perspektive des Beschreibenden zu einem entsprechenden Auswählen, Unterstreichen, Übersehen bestimmter Elemente des Beschriebenen, sondern das Beschriebene kann umgekehrt gleichzeitig die Einstellung und Blickweite des Beschreibenden beeinflussen" ("Der literarische Reisebericht," *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 1.3 [1971]: 65).

[17] Lawrence S. Thompson, "German Travellers in the South from the Colonial Period Through 1865," *South Atlantic Bulletin* 37.2 (1972): 64.

Eva-Maria Carne

America, the Other World: A Comparison of Three Travelogues by East and West Germans

In his work, *Das Amerikabild in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur,* Manfred Durzak points out that German chauvinism, already present in the portrayal of America during the last century, is even more blatant in some of the literature today. Favorite generalizations about the United States appear to have been passed on from one generation to the next: America as the country of materialism and of puritanism, where a lack of good taste, a lack of culture predominate; where the humanities are underrated and technology is overrated; where an underlying tendency to violence is ever present; where feelings and friendships remain superficial; where hypocrisy and dishonesty are prevalent. All too often, these critics tend to interpret "their preconceived notions later as travel experience."[1] At the conclusion of their visit, the United States appears to them "as foreign as ever and more disturbing than at the beginning."[2] East German portrayals of America, in addition, generally seek to justify the communist system by what they record; they tend to become tools of propaganda and to be based on half-truths, comparing the Soviet "brother" with the corrupt American racist and "imperialistic aggressor."[3] In this study, three travelogues will be compared: two, revealing all or many of the characteristics just described; the other, showing a surprisingly objective approach.

Walter Dietze, professor of the history of German literature at the University of Leipzig (German Democratic Republic), 1963-75, is the author of *Hier und da: Unterwegs in zwei Welten.*[4] Official trips and lecture tours took him both to the Soviet Union and the United States, to which country he paid several visits between 1967-72. For scenes or episodes recorded about one culture, a contrast can usually be found dealing with the other. The writer's intention soon becomes quite obvious: Where the United States is concerned, he appears to have set out with a catalogue of prejudices, all the traditional clichés listed above, and the intention to find facts and experiences to support his stereotyped generalizations,

determined, at the same time, to ignore whatever does not match his preconceived views.

Dietze's first introduction to the United States (and the capitalist system, of which crime, violence and social injustice are to be shown an integral part), is the experience of a holdup in New York (105-09). As a citizen of a communist country, he is treated like a dangerous suspect by government officials (142-49). He experiences the wretched living conditions of the Blacks and the racial prejudice against them, and explains their frustration and anger (64-69).

Then, by singling out the miserable fate of two German immigrants, he succeeds in making these appear characteristic: the working man who dies sick and uncared for (10-28) and the ex-whore who scorns not her past but her present bourgeois existence (40-48).

In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, the visitor feels welcome and at home (400). He finds real concern for the individual in place of what Americans call "individualism"—so frequently harmful, he stresses, to society as a whole. Both ordinary folk as well as Soviet officials are depicted as genuine, human, compassionate; able to accept rebuke and practice self-criticism, if need be; or to celebrate in true spirit. The conversation at a meaningless American cocktail party, on the other hand, can be found to illustrate the American counter-scene. Dietze finds American college faculty revealing their prejudice, superficiality and lack of real culture; and indifference takes the place of the cordiality and warmth demonstrated by the Russians (299-302).

He depicts the commencement exercises at Princeton University as an example of empty ritual and the hypocrisy and cant characteristic of American capitalist society (119-22). Untranslatable terms such as "cant," "underdog," "racketeering" reveal, he believes, much about the culture that coined them; and they are examined to show that American self-assurance masks a fear of failure (217-33); that not only social and political justice, but also individuality itself is sacrificed where competition, the ruthless pursuit of independence and success count as prime values from childhood on (193-98). Where true individuality is lost, however, clichés take the place of feelings and opinions. "The American way of life" and "gracious living" (representing, as it were, a minimum of culture) are given as examples of such clichés (240).[5]

Attitudes to work and play are also portrayed to bring out the difference between the two worlds. According to Dietze, work for Americans equals making money; and pleasure, spending it. The average American's idea of real delight, apparently, is a visit to Las Vegas, seen by the author as a slough of pleasure and sin that can appeal only to empty lives and minds (162). In contrast, the author records the dedication and enthusiasm for work and culture at Pushkin House, Institute of the History of Russian Literature in Leningrad, where literature and life are inseparable (168-81).

If the muddy Russian village street or the cold village fountain as the only washing facility do not measure up to American standards, the people themselves prove warmhearted and honest, lacking any pretense (33 ff., 128 ff.); whereas, according to the author, Americans tend

to respond with cliché expressions and a superficial, hypocritical friendliness, often just part of a business transaction (123-24). Speed, motion, efficiency are noted as further examples of a way of life that leaves little room for compassion. One refreshing exception to this otherwise bleak picture of the United States is the idealism demonstrated by an amateur group composed mainly of students in Seattle (1969), rehearsing for a show against war in general, but particularly in Vietnam (356-69).

Dietze admits in his conclusion that he has singled out only certain aspects (401). Some of his scenes, indeed, strike the reader as somewhat unconvincing. He describes a seventeen-year-old student, for instance, who appears for what looks like an *oral* examination in German *literature*—one of *eight* college courses she apparently has been taking (136-37).

Even the landscape in this author's eyes reveals expected characteristics. The background in Palo Alto, California, is described as "backdrop," nature arranged, soothing, mild, muffled; where any profound feelings seem inappropriate (42-43).

How different the dramatic adjectives, verbs, and nouns chosen to depict a "magic, unforgettable" fishing expedition on the river Don—a picture with a flashing array of colors (32); or the impressive portrayal of a power plant, "a marvel" near Alma-Ata, Kazakhstan, its white, flashing pipelines magnificently adapted to the beautiful surroundings:

> . . . uniqueness of nature is controlled and transformed by the human creative spirit. Above, the light blue of the sky and the rocky ridge. Below, the gloom of the valley floor. Dividing and linking them: the bold, white, powerful arch. The beauty of revolution spanning the mountains. (186)

Peter Schütt, a West German socialist-realist poet, married to an Afro-American, also visited both the United States and the Soviet Union. The latter, however, he describes in two separate books: *Ab nach Sibirien*[6] and *Let's Go East.*[7] His travelogue dealing with the United States is entitled *Die Muttermilchpumpe: Bilder aus dem anderen Amerika,*[8] and it soon becomes clear who the representatives of the "other America" are: all minorities, in particular the Blacks; civil rights activists; his fellow Communists; the poor and underprivileged. He does not claim to give a fully comprehensive picture; in fact, his travels are restricted to the eastern half of the United States; the big industrial centers of the North, New York, Washington, D.C., and the South. Schütt insists, however, that he has sought to portray not only the misery he encounters (107); not to draw a picture of America as a "chamber of horrors," as the "quintessence of all evil and all lack of culture," and to avoid the usual anti-American clichés (259-60).

At the same time, the work is intended to be an accusation against the capitalist system, and the "witness" supports his evidence with statistics. In the first half of the travelogue he concentrates on the slums and ghettos of the big cities from New York to Chicago, where the elegant streets, the white middle-class areas are seen as a mere façade to reality: tumble-down shacks for homes, constructed from remnant

products of the throw-away society (157); houses, where doors and stairs have been burnt to provide heat (89); the stench both of neighboring industrial works and of garbage piled in the streets—including human excrement (156); frequent fires, sometimes deliberately left unattended (159); school integration practiced only pro forma (20, 88, 216); child labor (30); insufficient medical care (84); victims of alcoholism and drug abuse (90); the shopping bag ladies (91); unemployment lines (96 ff.); the wretched condition of those seeking entry to a shelter for the homeless, with baton-swinging police standing by (124); the pent-up anger and hatred against the whites that the author, having ventured alone into the slums of Chicago, comes to experience himself (162-63).

The picture of the South, given in the second half of the book, is even more depressing: the sharp contrast between the wretched shacks of the Blacks and the villas of the landowners—white residences of white slave-owners similar to the White House in Washington in Schütt's eyes (165). But those squatting listlessly in front of their dilapidated homes display an apathy reminiscent of refugee camps (169). In Taladega, Alabama, Schütt finds the symbol for the exploitation of the Blacks in the attic of the house of his wife's aunt: the pump that was to be used as the title of his book, an instrument employed to stimulate the breast glands of the black nanny, so that the whites might feed upon the Blacks (236).

In this, the richest country of the world, he finds the most primitive forms of agriculture still in use, serfdom (sharecropping) still practiced, and extensive undernourishment (237, 253). Enormous power remains in the hands of a few, the large corporations that are able to determine the social structure (180); and both acceptance and achievement of the labor unions in America lag far behind that, for instance, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Yet, although Americans are amazed at the better working conditions in Germany, the author discovers that they frequently show fear or suspicion of communism (106-07).

An extremely uneven distribution of wealth is likely to result in a high rate of crime and violence. Like other visitors, the author is taken aback by the number of locks, the spy-hole in the door, and the barred windows of his hotel room. He is shocked by conditions in the New York "schools of terror," where teachers, apparently, have to fear for their lives (88).[9] He witnesses a stabbing and robbery in the street, ignored by passers-by, and is himself shortly thereafter relieved of the money he carries by his Italian cabby: "Everyday life in New York" (15-16). The police, all too visible during strike demonstrations (190) or when the author is distributing *The Daily World* (American communist newspaper) (102-03), all too ready to arrest illegal immigrants at the New York Greyhound station (39), or to disrupt a Grey Panther rally in Harrisburg (56), seem unable to curb the rising rate of crime or appear deliberately to ignore certain gangster activities when directed against the unwanted (86-87).

The views of Angela Davis, given to Schütt in an interview (61-67), examples of the prejudiced sentencing of civil rights activists (195, 217-18), and acts of violence committed by the Ku Klux Klan that go

unpunished (227-28) are all used to demonstrate the prevalence of racial injustice and discrimination in America.

The author paints hardly more positive a picture of another group of whites: the German immigrants he meets. Here he finds political prejudice and racism even amongst the Jews who show more concern for the rise of neo-Nazism in the Federal Republic of Germany than around them (18-19, 51, 118-19). He visits his uncle, an escapist intellectual with no understanding for his nephew's values (35-38). But the majority of ex-Germans Schütt meets, except for those who share his convictions, are petty bourgeois, narrow and concerned with trivialities (117-18); and they demonstrate "an American picture-book optimism" (52).

References to the white middle class tend, in general, to be negative or sarcastic.[10] Thus, for no visible reason, a library in central Chicago is referred to as "an alphabet temple," running "a cultural nonstop program"—apparently only for whites, while Blacks and other minorities act as attendants and cleaners (155); or he discovers Pittsburgh housewives in the library, devoutly studying pornographic magazines, while pretending to undertake research (20).

The lack of culture, the fascination by pornography combined with a puritan attitude toward a healthy expression of sexuality belong to the clichés so frequently found in descriptions of America which Schütt had hoped to avoid but which he cannot resist.[11] He discovers pornographic tapes, movies, peepshows (43, 72, 155, 194); but has to admit that what he finds, at least in Manhattan, is no worse—only more extensive—than in other countries (70). He discusses the apparently widespread practice of prostitution, including that of children, in the United States (73-74).

Yet, in spite of these observations, Schütt claims to love America; to have affection for land and people, many of whom, he stresses, are victims of the system themselves (259-60). He has not, however, succeeded in remaining objective, in avoiding generalizations or exaggerations. The reader is told, for instance, that, for Americans, the concepts of freedom and individuality are reduced to little more than car ownership and its possibilities (175). The Statue of Liberty is compared to an angel towering over a tomb (93). The white prostitutes he sees in Atlanta are all uglier than the black ones (213), while the white sales girls at a shopping center remind him of dolls with an "inbuilt tear and pee-pee mechanism" (230). He is convinced that Americans per day frequent the bank as often as the toilet (19). The air in an old church seems as stuffy to him as he presumes its upper middle-class congregation must be (172). He makes the unfounded allegation that the assassination of Martin Luther King was both planned and celebrated in the director's rooms of bank buildings near the civil rights leader's grave in Atlanta; and he cannot resist painting the moon in the background behind this scene "urine yellow" (212).

The beauty of the American landscape is not entirely ignored. Schütt is impressed, as any European must be, by the vastness, the expanse of land and sky (175-76, 260-61).[12] Such observations, however, strike the reader as an afterthought, added because "even a book about the

United States'' should include some of the lovely aspects (259). These, in fact, tend to bring back memories of experiences in Russia to the author, such as the atmosphere of familiarity and closeness on a Greyhound bus, or the friendliness of people in general (41, 260).

Although the major purpose of this book is not, as it is for Dietze's, to offer such comparisons, they do occur, even more frequently so in the travelogues on the Soviet Union; generally to the detriment of the United States. The Ford motor works in Detroit, for example, represent ''smell, . . . noise, . . . stress, . . . unemployment,'' and there is no escape during working hours from the conveyor belt (130-33). Where American efficiency operates at the expense of the individual, working conditions in Russia, as Schütt presents them, seem much more pleasant. In *Let's Go East*, he describes a plant in Siberia: ''Compared to the technical perfection'' of the Ford plant in Detroit, the farming equipment factory in Frunse appears ''charmingly chaotic.'' It shows nothing of the inhuman ''assembly line regime,'' the ''cold automatism'' of the Ford works. The entire site, in fact, strikes the visitor more like ''a park run wild.'' There is none of the hectic rush to which workers are driven, but, instead, more of an atmosphere of dawdling, muddling on.[13] The workers can determine the pace, take a break, switch off, need not fear dismissal and come to experience ''a feeling of solidarity simply unimaginable under capitalist conditions'' (199). A general cheerfulness appears to pervade the work atmosphere everywhere, because good effort finds recognition and workers are able to identify with the projects and are involved in determining their own future (33, 115, 126). Overtime or voluntary work is, Schütt remarks, readily undertaken (47, 128); and in the cotton or tobacco collectives, the hard work is not left to the old folk or the children, as in Virginia (212). Strikes, he is told, are prohibited, but found quite unnecessary; and neither prostitution nor pornography exist in the Soviet Union.[14] Living conditions everywhere appear very adequate, and do not show the vast difference between rich and poor as seen in America (e.g., 191-93).[15]

The title *Let's Go East* signifies that Russia, for Peter Schütt, has come to replace the American dream. He quotes reports and discussions that reflect the Soviet Union as a country of religious freedom (125, 180), its inhabitants as a happy blend of nations and races—a German ex-prisoner of war included (64-66)—sharing an enthusiasm for culture and education.

Any criticism of the Soviet Union is clothed in mild terms or given only marginal reference. Clouds of polluting smoke in Russia are ''not made of pure cotton'' (84). Inefficiency is termed ''organization not yet functioning satisfactorily'' (114). At a collective farm, someone confesses that, originally, his participation was ''not entirely voluntary''—indeed, he admits that his father committed suicide when expropriated from his farm (187). The slower pace, which Schütt finds so healthy, enables people even in Moscow to accept the need to line up ''with amazing composure'' (37).

It may be that the author was influenced by this composure, this absence of the Western rat race, when writing his two books about the

Soviet Union. He seems more at leisure himself, pauses over lengthy descriptions of scenes, records more conversations in detail and describes many more visits to people's homes in Russia than in the United States. Everywhere he experiences a feeling of closeness to the people he meets in spite of his constant need of the interpreter who must accompany him everywhere he goes. In America, on the other hand, he is the critical observer. Here he gives no detailed account of the "limitless hospitality of the great majority of people" which, he declares, he experienced in both countries and of which, in his travelogues on the Soviet Union, descriptions abound (*Let's Go East* 20). It should also be noted again that in *Die Muttermilchpumpe,* Schütt's visit is, in the main, limited to the problem centers in the eastern third of the United States.[16]

It seems that this author, like Dietze, succeeded in finding in each country what he set out to find. The reader is again left with the impression that the work contains not so much the summary of conclusions derived from experience, but that it offers all too many preconceived ideas supported by a special selection of people, places and conditions. However, where Dietze's at times shows a sarcastic note (see, for example, his chapter heading: "Depth Psychology, Haw-Haw," 136), Schütt's book about the United States is written with genuine compassion and concern for those in need. He also admits that a good part of the romanticism of Western man in our era is still rooted in America, and he shows the anger of a disillusioned man who has lost the dream of his youth (45, 260).

The third travelogue, *Der andere Planet: Ansichten von Amerika,* was written by the East German poet Günter Kunert, who served as visiting professor at the University of Texas, Austin, from September 1972 to January 1973.[17] In 1979, four years after this work was published, he came to live in West Germany, finding the situation in the East intolerable for a writer. *Der andere Planet* consists of forty-four "travel pictures" in which the author has captured impressions, reflections and atmosphere. He admits in his foreword that remembering and writing are a "questionable process of selection, repression, assessment, judgment," that tends to alter facts "at times, until they are unrecognizable" (7). Nonetheless, to be objective (which he considers impossible in spite of every effort) remains Kunert's aim throughout. He is aware of his limitations, including his lack of fluency in the English language; aware that a visitor comes with questionable expectations (12), "correct, yet false, concepts" (14); and that to capture the varied, ever-changing image is beyond his ability (32).

No doubt in defense of his approach, less critical than that of other East Germans, Kunert explains that his familiarity with poets like Masters, Sandburg and Whitman allowed him to feel his visit as a homecoming (15), that the attraction for him of America, this "other planet," this "strange entity beyond the Atlantic Ocean," might perhaps be due to the fact that his great-grandfather had lived here; and had the family not returned to Germany, the author might actually have been born an American (204-08).

One critic, Nancy A. Lauckner, believes that America appeared to Kunert as "the other planet" not because of its positive, but because of its negative aspects; that he wrongly represents the latter as unique to the United States, and that his gently chiding, often ironic tone masks the criticism which far outweighs his positive observations.[18] Lauckner, I feel, misunderstands this writer's method and intention. Although there is only marginal reference to East Germany (23, 63, 155), the title of the book immediately invites comparison, and criticism is by no means directed solely against the United States. In chapter 22, the central chapter, containing Kunert's surrealistic, science-fiction-like description of desert and rocket ranges at White Sands, New Mexico, the "other star" is clearly associated with man's ability—but not just American man's ability—to destroy himself. Kunert's willingness to think in terms of "we all" instead of simply "they," is characteristic of him and makes him stand out amongst his fellow compatriot writers.

Kunert's discussion of violence in the United States does not, I feel, reveal his communist sentiments, as Nancy Lauckner suggests.[19] He stresses that crime in American history seems to have been granted a major place in the museums he visits (44-46, 79); but one of the gruesome scenes immediately reminds him of a similar one from the German—no doubt recent—past; and this German crime, he surmises, may well be presented in a wax museum of the future (46). Like the other travelogue writers, Kunert notes the daily threat of crime in New York, the extra locks on the doors, the number of police patrols, the risk of walking through downtown Manhattan. But, as the other writers neglect to do, he reports that, in other locations, people apparently need not even bother to lock their doors (129).

The crime he experiences takes place in a dilapidated Baptist church, where he is taken by a white lady, a professor's wife, who befriends some of the black members. After the service, he is, fortunately, only bruised when a black youth shoots at him through the windowpane. The motivation? "Probably because he was black and I was white" (65). He, too, takes note of the poor living quarters of the Blacks (84), and he is struck by the paradox that many of the writers of the Declaration of Independence—symbol of liberty—themselves kept slaves, for whom America proved the most oppressive police-state ever thought of (88). But Kunert later reminds his readers of the recent Fascist/National Socialist era, where law, order and crime were also intimately connected (178, 208).

The German tourist, while in New York, naturally seeks out the "German Quarter," East 86th Street, nicknamed "Sauerkraut-Boulevard," with its cafés and stores carrying some of the traditional goods (154). There is a suggestion of kitsch here, as in his description of the lower Broadway, which reminds him of sections of Berlin where the petty bourgeoisie, "wholesale businesses selling worthless stuff, criminality . . . social decline" can all be found together (175). This is another example of Kunert's repeated attempt to balance any criticism with the reflection that conditions are not, and have not always been perfect at home either.

The East German is overwhelmed by the affluence he encounters, finding "a world in which there are more things" than you ever dreamt of with "your socialist book learning"—if one can afford them (23). But, unlike his fellow writers, he tries to discover cause and origin of American commercialism and the high priority given to money. He finds them in the utilitarianism and puritanism of the pilgrim fathers, "whose prime values were work and economy" and for whom wealth represented "the visible proof of God's grace" (182). When Kunert sees these convictions also as the source of modern American sexual problems, however, it becomes clear that he, too, has not entirely escaped the influence of traditional cliché concepts (181-83).[20]

Kunert discovers an apparent preference in the United States for what is temporary, makeshift, synthetic (50). Mass-production and mass-society threaten uniqueness and individuality; but he fears that this "interchangeability" has also "long since infected [us] like a disease . . ." (128).

Of the three writers, Kunert is the only one to admit that he is impressed by the freedom of expression permitted to the public; be it for a Nazi rally or a demonstration against the war in Vietnam (155-56; 197). He is even more impressed by the number of individuals encountered showing a true sense of democracy and justice, such as the elegant lady collecting signatures against the Vietnam War; a spirit found particularly among certain American women, which is unrelated to social position and which he clearly admires (197-98).

Where Dietze sets out with his list of prejudices that he intends to substantiate, Kunert, drawn to the United States by what he calls a perhaps inherited inclination, comes with a much more open mind and is awed by its vastness, technical achievement and the variety of impressions. He also draws attention to materialism, puritanism, crime, the frustration of the Blacks, the philistinism among some German immigrants, but his criticism is expressed in the form of puzzled queries; he seeks to analyze the cause for social pattern and human behavior; or he recalls a similar situation at home; and the dark side for him is only one part of the entire picture.

Dietze and Schütt seek to give examples from American life where freedom is curtailed or has lost its meaning. Yet the right to oppose the government is taken for granted; and they ignore the fact that the protest and civil rights rallies they attend are part of the "American way of life," of the system they reject. Dietze, the literary historian and critic, accepts the official view of America presented by his government and writes from this perspective. Schütt's observations are guided by his political conviction that socialism alone will solve problems of injustice and discrimination, creating a world of joyful cooperation.

Kunert writes as a poet. His work is briefer than the others. What he gives are general impressions to capture the fleeting image, a feeling, an atmosphere, the nuance of a scene in language that is frequently close to poetry. His book is dedicated to his friends in America and, undoubtedly, written with the hope that his German readers will take a new and less prejudiced look at that country. Kunert considers the United States

a great nation which has not reached the end of its course of development (10). Where Dietze's travelogue only helps to widen the chasm between the two worlds to which its title refers, Kunert's metaphor, "the other planet," implies (as Osterle puts it) that there are two planets, together circling and forming one system; sharing one world order, of which each is only a part.[21]

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Notes

[1] (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1979) 192. All translations in this essay are my own.

[2] Durzak 81.

[3] Cf. Jack Zipes, "Die Freiheit trägt Handschellen im Land der Freiheit. Das Bild der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in der Literatur der DDR," *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA,* ed. Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler, and Wilfried Malsch (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1975) 329-31.

[4] (Halle/Saale: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1977). Subsequent references to this work will be given parenthetically in the text.

[5] The reader is informed that the source for this analysis of "untranslatables" is a "Hans S.," a former German with twenty-five years of experience of life in the United States (Dietze 191).

[6] Subtitle: *Bericht einer Reise in die Zukunft oder Auf den Spuren von Egon Erwin Kisch* (Dortmund: Weltkreis Verlag, 1977).

[7] (Dortmund: Weltkreis Verlag, 1982).

[8] (Dortmund: Weltkreis Verlag, 1980). Subsequent references to this work will be given parenthetically in the text.

[9] See also Schütt, *Let's Go East* 25.

[10] The one major exception is a woman physician who shows real responsibility and true social concern in spite of her prosperity (Schütt, *Die Muttermilchpumpe* 52-56); and Schütt seems equally surprised by white middle-class participation in a demonstration during his later visit to San Francisco (*Let's Go East* 8-9).

[11] For example: "Saint Puritan was, as everybody knows, a North American" (*Let's Go East* 207); or the detailed description he gives of two masturbatory devices in order to support his views (*Die Muttermilchpumpe* 71).

[12] See also *Let's Go East* 19.

[13] Schütt, *Let's Go East* 196-97. Subsequent references to this work will be given parenthetically in the text.

[14] Schütt, *Ab nach Sibirien* 20, 173.

[15] Adequate—with the exception of one dirty village, Schuschenskoje, where Lenin was exiled and where the shabby homes remind Schütt of the U.S. South (*Let's Go East* 144).

[16] His later visit to San Francisco is described briefly in *Let's Go East,* chap. 1 (see n. 10 above). It was followed by a drive across the country to New York, to which the author dedicates only ten pages.

[17] (München/Wien: Hanser, 1975). Subsequent references to this work will be given parenthetically in the text.

[18] "Günter Kunert's Image of the USA: Another Look at *Der andere Planet,*" *Studies in GDR Culture and Society III: Selected Papers from the Eighth International Symposium on the German Democratic Republic,* ed. Margy Gerber (Lanham, MD: Univ. Pr. of America, 1983) 128-32. See Heinz D. Osterle's analysis of both positive and negative functions of the planet metaphor in "Denkbilder über die USA: Günter Kunerts *Der andere Planet,*" *Basis: Jahrbuch für deutsche Gegenwartsliteratur* 7 (1977): 145-47.

[19] Lauckner 130.

[20] Cf. also Osterle 154 and Lauckner 132. One of the devices referred to in n. 11 above is also mentioned by Kunert 181 to illustrate his point.

[21] Osterle 147.

Alexander Ritter

Das assimilierte Fremde im Balanceakt des Eigenen: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von interkultureller Hermeneutik und Minderheitenliteraturen

I

Mit den Worten: ''Deutsch können wir beide'', zog sich 1970 in Erfurt der DDR-Ministerpräsident Willi Stoph mit seinem Besucher, dem Bundeskanzler Willy Brandt, zu Beratungen zurück.[1]

Das sprachformal durchaus korrekte Urteil erfaßt aber schon in dieser einfachen Kommunikationssituation nicht mehr die gesellschaftspolitisch und kulturell bedingte Varietät von deutscher und deutscher Sprache. Es wird in seinem nur rhetorischen Identitätsanspruch vollends problematisch, wendet man es auf die Literatur aus dem binnendeutschen Raum und die Literatur deutschsprachiger Minderheiten an. Die literarkulturellen Übereinstimmungen in Sprache, poetologischer Tradition, ''Wirklichkeitsperspektivierung'' (Steinmetz) erweisen sich durchaus als graduelle Variablen, geht man ihrer Verwendung im jeweiligen literarischen Werk in seiner Rezeption nach und beachtet dabei sorgfältig die kulturräumlich unterschiedlichen Konditionen.[2]

Mit der Titelformulierung dieser Ausführungen wird das akzentuiert, dem nachzuspüren ist: dem Zusammenhang von kultureller Alterität und Identität im Hinblick auf Minderheiten beispielhaft der deutschen Sprache, dem besonderen Status ihrer relativen Autonomie, unter deren Bedingungen diejenige Literatur entsteht, rezipiert und vermittelt wird, die mit herkömmlicher literaturwissenschaftlicher Fragestellung nicht erreicht werden konnte. Der mit der Sache bisher vermeintlich gekoppelte Kuriositätseffekt und das fachwissenschaftliche Appendixstigma lassen sich vermutlich so als Vorurteile aufheben.[3]

Änderungen der Fragestellung in der erwähnten Richtung sind seit langem absehbar. Begonnen haben sie im Zusammenhang mit einem allgemein sich wandelnden Kulturbewußtsein unter den Leitbegriffen Kulturkammerung/Regionalismus/Heimat, aber auch als Folge einer späten kulturpolitischen Schrecksekunde beim Erkennen eines welt-

weiten Rückgangs der deutschen Sprache, durch die Auswirkungen der linguistischen Sprachkontakt- und Interferenz-Forschung. Die Erweiterung der germanistischen Frageperspektive in sozialgeschichtlicher, soziokultureller, komparatistischer Hinsicht hat das wissenschaftliche Terrain vorbereitet. Hermann Bausingers Vortrag zur gesamtkulturellen Verankerung der Literaturwissenschaft, die Beiträge von Harald Weinrich und Alois Wierlacher aus der interkulturellen Sicht von Deutsch als Fremdsprache, die Arbeiten wiederum von Wierlacher und Bernd Thum zur hermeneutischen Begründung einer interkulturellen Germanistik, die Angebote von Norbert Mecklenburg für eine Verbindung von Fragestellungen interkultureller Germanistik und der "regionalen Dimension der Literaturgeschichte" leisten fachintern diejenigen Voraussetzungen, an denen als auslanddeutsch apostrophierte Literatur und die damit befaßte Literaturwissenschaft ihre Überlegungen von Verstehen, Auslegen und Vermitteln orientieren kann.[4]

II

Die Formel vom "Eigenen und Fremden",[5] in die die Germanistik eine ausdrücklich interkulturelle Literaturbetrachtung faßt, meint sprachlich-literarische, allgemein kulturelle Bedingungen, die für Minderheitenkulturen so konfrontativ gemeint nicht existieren. Bei den durch sie entstehenden Literaturen geht es um die Produktion von Texten unter komplexen Umständen von Mischkulturen, die aus individuell verschieden kompliziert angelegten Interferenz- und Transferenzbedingungen darauf bezogene und so unter Umständen mehrfach gebrochene Alteritäts- und Identitätserfahrungen registrieren.

Die dafür im wesentlichen verantwortlichen Steuerungselemente, welche dem Verstehensvorgang von Minderheitenliteratur nicht entzogen werden können, ergeben sich aus den qualitativ Variablen Assimilation/Identität/Alterität:

1. Der Elsässer André Weckmann (Jg. 1924), Staatsbürger der Republik Frankreich, französisch, deutsch und alemannisch sprechend und schreibend, stellt in Prosaform fest:

> Es handelt sich also nicht darum, das Elsaß in seiner Bodenständigkeit abzukapseln und verspießern zu lassen. . . . Wir wollen endlich unsere sprachliche und kulturelle Bivalenz in völliger Freiheit ausnutzen und genießen. . . . Denn elsässische Zweisprachigkeit soll Verwurzelung und Weltoffenheit zugleich sein.[6]

Weckmanns Forderungen decken sich weitgehend mit den Beobachtungen von Leslie Fiedler, auf die sich auch Berndt Ostendorf beruft:[7] Minderheitenkulturen gewinnen dauerhaft eigenständiges Kulturprofil nicht durch einen konservierenden Ethnozentrismus, sondern durch Spiralevolution. Für die neue "Gebrauchsituation" (Ostendorf) relativieren sie die kulturelle Fremdheitsgrenze durch Sprachmodifikation/Multilingualismus, Mehrsträngigkeit der Literaturtradition, allgemein kulturelle Integrationsbereitschaft, immer im Sinne einer Bewahrung eigener Kultur durch Einbettung in andere Kultur.

Partielles Ent-fremden von eigener Herkunft zugunsten partiellen

An-eignens von anderer Kultur führe erst zur Ausbildung eines spezifisch Eigenen. Gruppengröße, Siedlungsdichte, sozio-kulturelle Qualität, gesellschaftspolitische Bedingungen, Raumferne zum sprachlichen Herkunftsgebiet regulieren Assimilation in diesem evolutionären, damit stabilisierenden oder im konservierenden, damit reduzierenden Sinne einer langfristig kulturellen Selbstauslöschung.

2. Der Rumäniendeutsche, paßamtlich vormalige Rumäne und jetzige Bürger der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, Nikolaus Berwanger (Jg. 1935) schreibt 1985 folgenden lyrischen Text:

LAPIDARE FESTSTELLUNG

die wörter
mit denen man mich betörte
warf ich den fröschen
im dorfteich zu

die träume
an denen ich mich labte
trug ich in ein banater weizenfeld
ohne vogelsang zu grabe

wo werden meine gebeine
der erde übergeben[8]

Der Dichter dokumentiert die Radikalisierung derjenigen Krisenelemente, die einen Minderheitenautor lebenslang beschäftigen. Mit der Entlarvung von trügerischer Semantik der dominanten Staatssprache, welche als integrativer Teil eigener Zweisprachigkeit den kommunikativen Zugang zur nationalen Gesamtöffentlichkeit leistet, reduziert sich die Sprachleistung des Deutschen auf gesellschaftlich und kulturell Partikuläres, das heißt ethnisch Abgegrenztes.

Sprachverlust korrespondiert mit Utopieverlust, denn deutsche Sprache und deutschsprachige Kulturtradition verfallen einer Bedeutungseinschränkung aufs Regionale und ethnisch Marginale von "dorfteich" und "banater weizenfeld". Der gemeinte existentiell entscheidende Identitätsverlust des Künstlers gilt weiterhin trotz Rückkehr in den deutschen Sprachraum, weil Identität im Sinne der skizzierten Assimilation von Herkunftskultur, nationaler Gegenwartskultur, binnendeutscher Gegenwartskultur in Komponenten zerfällt, die für sich Identität nicht tragen können.

Dem Minderheitenautor stellen sich die Probleme künstlerischer Existenz in multipler Vermehrung, die Probleme der Stoffe und Themen, der Sprache und Formen, der kulturellen und gesellschaftlichen Traditionen, der Normen und der verschiedenen Öffentlichkeitsbereiche. Assimiliert sind sie Teile seiner Identität, seines labilen Eigenen; entfällt eine der Konstituenten, dann schlägt die stabilisierende Krise in eine demontierende Krise um und mündet im Identitätsverlust.

3. Undramatisch journalistisch kühl plaziert die *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* am 19. Februar 1986 eine knappe Meldung, die mit dem Satz beginnt:

> Der rumäniendeutsche Schriftsteller Rolf Bossert, der erst im Dezember 1985 nach langer Wartezeit die Genehmigung zur Ausreise aus seiner Heimat erhalten hatte und mit seiner Familie in die Bundesrepublik übersiedelte, hat sich in der Nacht zum Montag in Frankfurt das Leben genommen.

Mit dieser Nachricht wird über den tragischen Lebensabschluß einer Schriftstellerbiographie berichtet, die so symptomatisch nicht mehr die existentielle Krise einer Minderheit, sondern ihre vorsätzliche Liquidierung stellvertretend zu Ende erleidet.

Das kulturell Eigene, das die Produktionsbedingungen für das authentische literarische Werk leistet, ist Assimilationsresultat einer kulturellen Konfrontation, deren Fremdheitsgrenze nur so weit demontiert werden kann, wie es die binnenpolitischen, binnenkulturellen, die zwischennationalen politischen Beziehungen zulassen. "New ethnicity" anstelle von "melting-pot"-Ideologie in den USA, "multikulturalistische" Anstrengungen in Kanada gewähren ethnoorientierte Besinnung; zentralistische französische Kulturkontrolle bremst föderative Neigungen in den Regionen wie im Elsaß; alter toponomastischer Streit und römische Unnachgiebigkeit politisieren zur Zeit wieder einmal ethnische Alterität in Südtirol; Nationalitätenpolitik im Geiste Lenins konserviert und ideologisiert deutschsprachige UdSSR-Literatur in der Tradition von Heimatkunst; ungarndeutsche Literaturentwicklung nutzt nationalitätenpolitischen Freiraum, folgt aber—sozialistischem Gebot gemäß—der literarischen Mentorschaft der DDR; die rumänische Volksrepublik schließlich beharrt in rhetorischer Geste auf kultureller Nationalitätenleistung, schafft jedoch praktisch über innenpolitische Maßnahmen Exodusklima und fördert die allgemeine Rumänisierung.[9]

Alterität im kulturellen Nebeneinander, entstanden durch Grenzveränderungen oder Wanderung, bleibt für den sprachmehrheitlich anders bestimmten Nationalstaat modifizierte Alterität auch dann, wenn Assimilation im definierten Sinne und neue staatsbezogene Identität die Minderheit und ihre Kultur kennzeichnen. Minderheitenkultur und damit auch ihre Literatur bleiben funktional gebundene Varietät der Herkunftskultur, deren Existenz und Profilausbildung vom eigenen Potential und dessen Entfaltung im binnenpolitisch zugestandenen Raum des kulturellen Gewährens gestattet werden.

Zwischen- und mischkulturelle Wirklichkeit, die damit ethnoaffirmative und kulturmissionarische Ziele vermeidet, hebt in einer so verfolgten symbolischen Ethnizität prinzipiell konfrontative kulturelle Alterität auf und relativiert Loyalitätskonflikte. Sprache und Literatur der Minderheit gehen also mit Wirklichkeit um, die Gruppenidentität, Regionalbewußtsein, Heimat bedeutet, gleichzeitig multikulturelle Perspektiven gestattet, Fremdheitsbarrieren absenkt, den "Dialog der Kulturen" (Wierlacher) ermöglicht. Minderheitenliterarische Authentizität findet in diesem Kontext ihre Voraussetzungen, ihre Bewertungsansprüche, aber auch ihre Berechtigung für die kulturwissenschaftliche Fragestellung der Germanistik, anderer Philologien und Disziplinen.

Die Forschung tut sich schwer. Sie operiere—wie der ungarndeutsche Literaturwissenschaftler Janos Szabo süffisant sagt—viel zu häufig

mit "neunmalklugen Hinweisen auf methodologische Prinzipien etc."[10] Überprüfen wir, was tatsächlich an Resultaten vorliegt und was an "versäumten Lektionen" anzumahnen ist.

III

Die beiden bekannten Rückfragen: "Wieviele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?" und: "Warum verweigert sich die Germanistik den deutschsprachigen Minderheitenliteraturen?" haben ihren Erkundigungsanlaß gemeinsam in der Tradition national-konservativer Kulturpolitik, in den einhundert Jahre lang daraus gezogenen Orientierungen eines fachlichen Selbstverständnisses und in dem politisch-territorialen Resultat der deutschen Teilung.[11]

Erscheint die Erkundigung nach den numerischen Verhältnissen deutscher Literaturen müßig, hat sie doch etwas mit der zweiten Frage zu tun, die für unsere Themenstellung die wichtigere ist. Eine Antwort ist in den Ereignissen von 1945 zu suchen, als sich die Germanistik von einem Sprach-, Literatur- und Hermeneutikverständnis löst, dem mehr kulturmissionarische Absichten im fremdkulturellen Raum zugrunde lagen als wissenschaftlich sorgfältige Beschäftigung unter Bedingungen interkultureller Toleranz und Kooperation.[12]

Mit dieser Veränderung aber gibt es seit 1945 keine interessierte Öffentlichkeit für diese Literaturen und damit auch keine wissenschaftliche Rezeption mehr im binnendeutschen Raum, weil die staatlich gesteuerte kulturpolitische Absicht entfallen war. Die Folgen sind unvermeidlich: Rückzug der Germanistik aus diesem Themenbereich in gesuchter politischer Neutralität hier, in gesuchter kultureller Konfrontation dort, freiwillige Auflösung von Institutionen, Sammlungen, Forschungsarbeiten hier, durch innenpolitische Restriktionen (Verbot von Sprache, muttersprachlichem Unterricht, Mediennutzung, kultureller Selbstverwaltung) erzwungene Assimilierung dort. Xenophobie und kulturpolitische Hypochondrie fördern nationalstaatliches Kulturbewußtsein und nationalphilologische Ambitionen. Auf verbindenden zwischenkulturellen Entwicklungen lasten die Hypotheken einer fatalen Ideologie und eines verheerenden Krieges.

Die gegenwärtige Situation weist Symptome auf, die Veränderungen zugunsten des zwischenkulturellen Dialogs signalisieren. Den Minderheiten wird unter qualitativ unterschiedlich gehandhabten ethnopolitischen Rahmenbedingungen nicht nur kulturelle Regeneration in regionaler oder gruppenspezifischer Hinsicht eingeräumt, sondern interkultureller Kontakt gewährt. Entwicklungen zeigen sich im Konflikt um die Definition von ethnischem Selbstverständnis zwischen konservativen, herkunftsorientierten und progressiven, interkulturell verwandelten und damit überlebensfähigen Auffassungen.

Diesem Gewinn gegenüber steht die andauernde weitgehende Abkopplung von binnendeutscher literarischer Öffentlichkeit, von ihrem Kommunikationssystem, der urteilenden Rezeption und ihren orientierenden Rückmeldungen zum Sprachwandel, den poetologischen Neuerungen, dem literarischen Geschmack und seinen Normen. Und weil Sprachbarrieren die jeweilige nationale literarische Öffentlichkeit eben-

falls weitgehend versperren, bleibt vor allem die minderheiteninterne Rezeption Basis für Diskussionen, die die Literatur den Gefährdungen relativistischer Selbstbewertung in Produktion, Rezeption und Vermittlung aussetzen.

Aber die Impulse wirken tatsächlich, fachintern und öffentlich, wie es der internationale Germanistenkongreß in Göttingen 1985 bewiesen hat, trotz einer konsequent nationalphilologischen, binnendeutsch eingerichteten Literaturgeschichtsschreibung und binnenperspektivischen Fachpflege, trotz eines andauernden Ausweichens vor dem eigenen fachgeschichtlichen "Sündenfall".[13] Fragen wir danach, was die Forschung international innerhalb von gut vierzig Jahren nach der zeit- und fachgeschichtlichen Zäsur geleistet hat. Sehen wir dabei auf Tendenzen und besondere Akzente:

1. Warum die nationalen Philologien in Staaten mit deutschsprachigen Minderheiten weithin Enthaltsamkeit zeigen, ist oben angedeutet worden; sicher gibt es noch andere Ursachen, die hier aber nicht zu diskutieren sind. Für die Beiträge von Amerikanistik, Anglistik, Kanadistik sind deutschsprachige Literaturszenen praktisch vernachlässigenswerte marginale Erscheinungen, wie Konrad Groß es betont.[14] Methodisches Vorgehen und wissenschaftliche Resultate in der Auseinandersetzung mit anderen amerikanischen Minderheitenliteraturen (z.B. Berndt Ostendorf u.a. über Gettoliteratur) oder den Commonwealth-Literaturen sind hilfreiche Orientierungsleistungen für die ausstehende intensive Beschäftigung auch mit deutschsprachiger Literatur. Eine zunehmende Neigung zu nationalphilologischer Binnensicht (vgl. die Stichworte "DDR-Literatur", "österreichische Nationalliteratur")[15] kann auch zur Entdeckung von anderssprachiger Minderheitenliteratur führen (vgl. die Arbeiten zur sorbischen Literatur).[16]

2. Die Auslandgermanistik, vornehmlich beschäftigt mit der Vermittlung von deutscher Sprache und Literatur in ihrer binnendeutschen Tradition, hält sich im wesentlichen an diesen Auftrag, zeigt aber zunehmend Interesse an ethnokulturellen und interkulturellen Zusammenhängen. Die Voraussetzungen sind vermutlich wie in den USA und in Kanada und anderswo bei binnenpolitischen Veränderungen hin zu multikulturellen Reflexionen zu suchen. Wichtige Leistungen der Dokumentation und Organisation gehen dort zum Beispiel von der Society for German-American Studies und der Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada aus. Die Tricentennial Conference of German-American History, Politics and Culture (Philadelphia 1983) hat mit ihrem interdisziplinären und interkulturellen Programm diese Tendenzen in der Forschung demonstrativ gebündelt.[17]

Tritt zu den politischen Voraussetzungen wissenschaftliche Tradition innerhalb der Region, dann führt das zu einem germanistisch differenzierten Organisations- und Forschungsfeld. Literarkritische Analysen, Literaturgeschichtsschreibung, didaktisch-methodische Leistungen für den muttersprachlichen Deutschunterricht, Editionsarbeit für Einzeltexte und Anthologien, Tagungsorganisation dienen—darin nicht frei von Loyalitäts- und Zielbestimmungskonflikten—sowohl der wissenschaftlichen Erschließung als auch der kulturregionalen bzw.

minderheitenkulturellen Selbsterhaltung. Das zeigt sich beispielhaft an den Germanistenleistungen von Hartmut Fröschle in Kanada, vor allem aber von Adrien Finck für die elsässische und von Peter Motzan wie Stefan Sienerth für die rumäniendeutsche Literatur.[18] Die Vielfalt der Aktivitäten, denen man nur mit Hochachtung begegnen kann, und das wissenschaftliche Niveau sollten nicht über die Handicaps hinwegtäuschen. Eine dünne Personaldecke und damit alternativarme Personalisierung von Wissenschaftsprozessen, problematisches Insidergebaren und selten relativierbarer eigener Wissenschaftsstand, kulturpolitische Loyalitätsbindung und individuelle Situation bedürfen der orientierenden Einbettung in einen Regionen, Disziplinen, die germanistische Forschung übergreifenden Dialog, wenn auf Dauer wissenschaftliche Gettosituation vermieden werden soll.

3. Die Binnengermanistik hat die Grenzen ihrer Nachfrage bis in die Gegenwart nicht in Relation zur Verbreitung deutscher Sprache und Literatur in dieser Sprache gesehen, sondern in den Grenzen eines sog. binnendeutschen Sprachraums, das heißt in einer Art Rückzugsgebiet der national-territorialen Einfriedung von BRD, DDR, Schweiz und Österreich—die wissenschaftlich glaubwürdige Begründung dafür schuldig bleibend. Wie auch immer argumentiert werden kann, die willkürliche Festlegung eines derart geschnittenen Literaturraums wird deutlich, wenn nämlich so der germanistische Vorhang vor der luxemburgischen, der elsässischen, der südtirolischen Literatur heruntergelassen wird.

Die DDR-Germanistik hält sich aus naheliegenden Gründen in dieser Frage weniger organisatorisch, mehr publizistisch bedeckt: praktische Hilfe in Aus- und Fortbildung wird gewährt, öffentliche Auseinandersetzung mit so widersprüchlichen Minderheitensituationen wie in Rumänien, Ungarn und der UdSSR gibt es, auch aus Personalmangel, bisher nicht.[19] Für das Desinteresse vornehmlich der bundesdeutschen Germanistik gelten bis heute ursächlich die Verdrängung der fachgeschichtlichen Hypothek, die Unterbewertung einer interkulturellen Verflechtung von Sprache und Literatur und eine staatlichkulturpolitische Zurückhaltung. Unter solchen Voraussetzungen einer hermeneutischen Ausklammerung und Aufkündigung des interdisziplinären, interkulturellen wissenschaftlichen Dialogs in dieser Frage entstanden vergleichbare Forschungsverhältnisse, wie sie für das Elsaß und Rumänien geschildert wurden. Sämtliche Bemühungen des Verfassers über Publikationen, Editionen als Dokumentation, Organisation von fachwissenschaftlichem Gedankenaustausch zielen auf Überprüfung für den nur mäßig verlaufenden Disput und auf die Aufnahme des germanistischen Gesprächs in interdisziplinärer, interkultureller und interethnischer Beziehung.[20]

Durch die seit wenigen Jahren zunehmend engagiert diskutierten Vorschläge für eine Neuorientierung germanistischer Fragestellung (Stichwort: interkulturelle und multikulturelle Hermeneutik) und germanistischer Literaturgeschichtsbetrachtung (Stichwort: Regionalität) wird der den wissenschaftlichen Bemühungen um Minderheitenliteratur unterstellte Anspruch zurückgenommen, hier werde die ohnehin

überforderte germanistische Zuwendung für etwas Marginales geworben. Die grundsätzlichen Ausführungen von Alois Wierlacher und Bernd Thum leisten jenen wissenschaftlich sinnvollen fachtheoretischen Rahmen, bei dessen Füllung Minderheitenliteraturen Bestandteil germanistischer Beschäftigung sind, denn "die deutschsprachigen Literaturen und Kulturen [sind] aus einer Vielfalt unterschiedlicher kultureller Perspektiven [und] im Rahmen des eigenen Verstehensvorganges" zu betrachten. "Interkulturelle Germanistik führt also deutsche Texte (im weitesten Sinne verstanden) in kulturell differente Kontexte ein und rezipiert sie von dort."[21] Der Sammelband mit dem programmatischen Titel *Das Fremde und das Eigene* (1985) bietet Theorie zu einer neuen in diesem Sinne modifizierten germanistischen Hermeneutik, weist in den Beiträgen von Norbert Mecklenburg und Jörg Schönert auf notwendige Einbindung auch der literarischen Minderheitenkulturen und wendet exemplarisch interkulturelle Fragestellung auf die Literatur in der DDR und der Schweiz an.

Die Voraussetzungen für eine Erweiterung germanistischen Verständnisses von Literatur um die zwischenkulturellen Bedingungen von Literaturen in sprachmehrheitlich anders bestimmten Staaten und Regionen scheinen gegeben. Die Germanistik erhält die Offerte einer den besonderen Umständen dieser Literaturen adäquaten Hermeneutik, eine monologe Germanistik die Gelegenheit zu einem fachwissenschaftlich angemessenen Dialog, ein eher als sektiererisch apostrophierter Umgang mit den angeblichen literarischen Singularitäten von Minderheitenliteraturen die sachlich sinnvolle Einbindung in den größeren Zusammenhang von der Verbreitung deutscher Sprache und Literatur.

IV

Die unvermeidlichen Schlußfolgerungen nutzen Bekanntes, sollen aber auch Veränderungen akzentuieren und Anregungen vermitteln, die in einer erwünschten Diskussion weitergeführt werden können, um die hermeneutisch adäquate und begründete Auseinandersetzung mit deutschsprachiger Literatur des Auslands zu ermöglichen. Die anzubietenden Konsequenzen gehen von dem hier nur skizzierten Forschungsstand aus, beziehen die hilfreiche Übersicht von Klaus Bohnen (1979) zur "Literaturforschung in sozio-kultureller Sicht" mit ein, berücksichtigen außerdem eigene Überlegungen.[22]

1. Eine unreflektiert und damit notorisch gehandhabte fachwissenschaftliche Binnenperspektive bei der Betrachtung von deutscher Sprache und Literatur hat zwangsläufig zu Aufteilungen von Binnenkultur/Fremdkultur geführt und zum Einrammen von nationalphilologischen Grenzpfählen und Anbringen entsprechender Sichtblenden. Zusammen mit den Rückwirkungen auf die Hermeneutik des Faches führt das zu einer fachwissenschaftlichen Ausklammerung von deutscher Literatur außerhalb dieser Bedingungen, zu deren stereotyper Markierung als anderskulturell vor allem in kommunikationsfunktionaler Hinsicht, als nationalliterarisch verschieden und in der qualitativ variierten Gemeinsamkeit von Sprache und Literatur nach Quantität und Qualität bagatellisierbar.

2. Die Geschichte der Minderheitenliteraturen und ihrer literaturwissenschaftlichen Erfassung, Deutung und Vermittlung ist neu zu schreiben. Orientierungen dafür können sich ergeben aus einer ideologiekritischen Sichtung des fachgeschichtlichen Engagements und seiner Arbeitsresultate seit der wissenschaftlichen Wahrnehmung dieser Literaturen, einer sorgfältigen Analyse von deutschsprachiger Kulturgeschichte unter sprachmehrheitlich anderen Bedingungen (vgl. Stefan Sienerth zur rumäniendeutschen Literatur; Ingeborg Fleischhauer, Meir Buchsweiler zur sowjetdeutschen Kultur),[23] außerdem durch die Vermeidung einer kulturmissionarischen Einstellung, die Überwindung einer die Sprachminderheitenkulturen negierenden Perspektive zugunsten einer kulturvergleichenden Haltung, durch eine aufgeschlossene Auseinandersetzung mit den innerfachlichen, interethnischen, interkulturellen und interdiszplinären Möglichkeiten fachwissenschaftlicher Leistung und Abstimmung, wozu der Blick auf die hermeneutischen und methodischen Bedingungen romanistischer, anglistisch/amerikanistischer Forschung hilfreich sein kann.

3. In der Verbindung von der zwischenkulturellen und mischkulturellen Situation deutschsprachiger Literatur im Ausland mit den Reflexionen über eine interkulturelle Germanistik ließe sich eine sachgerechte Hermeneutik finden. Die bislang eher disparat behandelten Umstände dieser Literaturen, die Mehrsprachigkeit und Übersetzungsleistung ihrer Autoren, die multiperspektive Rezeption von deutscher Literatur im Westen, von deutscher Literatur im Osten, die Verwendung von Deutsch und die Produktion von deutscher Literatur in sprachmehrheitlich anders bestimmter gesellschaftlicher und literarischer Gebrauchssituation—dies alles sind nur wenige, hier vereinfacht aufgeführte Umstände nationaler, ethnischer, kultureller und literarischer Identität. Diese muß von einer interkulturell und dabei regionalistisch ausgerichteten Hermeneutik aufgenommen werden, sie ist von der Wissenschaft zu durchdenken, wenn adäquate Germanistik betrieben werden soll, und von den Autoren zu reflektieren, wenn literarische Authentizität und damit überethnische Gültigkeit angestrebt wird.

4. Bei der Erfassung der besonders komplexen Produktionsbedingungen von Literatur geht es natürlich um die sozialgeschichtlichen, soziokulturellen, kommunikationswirksamen, gesellschaftspolitischen Voraussetzungen. Die davon bestimmten Steuerungsvorgänge sind zu beachten, und zwar in ihrem komplexen Zusammenwirken mit den literarisch mittelbar und unmittelbar wirksamen Komponenten von deutscher Sprache (Erlernen, Erhaltung, semantischer Wandel unter ethnischen Bedingungen, Einfluß des generellen Wandels im binnendeutschen Sprachraum), von Literaturkenntnis (Vermittlungseinrichtungen, vermittelte Literatur deutscher und anderer Sprachen), von der individuellen Disposition, der Haltung gegenüber den Bedingungen zwischenkultureller Erfahrung, von einer durch diese Umstände kompliziert dirigierten literarischen Intention (Marktbegehren, Kritikerwartung) und Normenorientierung.

5. Die Rezeptionsbedingungen sind ihren entsprechend zu differenzierenden minderheiten- und staatlich binnengesellschaftlichen Um-

ständen nach zu bestimmen, deren einzelne Faktoren hier nicht wiederholt zu werden brauchen. Zu diesen treten die Normen, wie sie entsprechend den Wertungskonditionen in den aufnehmenden Literaturräumen rückgemeldet und akzeptiert werden, Reflexe der eigenen literarischen Leistung aus der literarkritischen Öffentlichkeit der deutschsprachigen Staaten, aus der sprachlich anderen des eigenen Heimatstaates, aus der der eigenen ethnischen Gruppe mit ihren intellektuellen, eventuell dialektalen Differenzierungen und aus jener der fremdsprachlichen Nachbarstaaten.

Eine kulturrelativistische Gültigkeitsbestimmung des literarischen Werkes unter ethnointernen Aspekten bei besonderen kulturpolitischen staatlichen Setzungen kann im Hinblick auf eine absolut zu setzende Authentizität in übernational-, überregionalliterarischen Zusammenhängen nur als beschreibbare minderheitenspezifische Begleiterscheinung des literarischen Prozesses begriffen werden.

6. Will man unter diesen Aspekten zu einem auch praktisch funktionierenden und damit effektiven interkulturellen Gespräch gelangen, dann bedarf es vermehrt auch organisatorischer und institutioneller Verbesserungen in den Bereichen der bibliographischen Erfassung, Auswertung und Vermittlung, bedarf es der vor allem zentralen bibliothekarischen Sammlung, Archivierung und Zurverfügungstellung von Dokumenten und Publikationen, besonders der Periodika und Literatur im weitesten Sinne. Interkulturelle Hermeneutik verlangt auch interkulturelle Forschung, einzufordern in Programmen, abzuklären auf Kongressen, weiterzuverfolgen in internationaler, interdisziplinärer Kooperation innerhalb und außerhalb der Universitäten und sonstigen Forschungseinrichtungen.

7. Forschung in diesem Sinne birgt Chancen für die internationale Germanistik und das ethnoliterarische Selbstverständnis. Gesunde Skepsis aber bleibt angebracht, im Hinblick auf die gestartete hermeneutische Diskussion und neue terminologische Felder, aber auch im Hinblick auf Konflikte, die in literargesellschaftlichen Kleingruppen und Sprachminderheitenliteraturen zwar überflüssig, aber dennoch unumgänglich sich verstärken oder erst entwickeln können. Eine so in den Kulturen im Sinne der gegenseitigen Achtung und vermindernden Fremdheit agierende Kulturwissenschaft Germanistik tangiert zwangsläufig staatskulturelle Kontrollansprüche, ethnokulturelle Loyalitätsprobleme, minderheitenexistentielle Tagesnöte, gruppenutopisch ausbalancierte Koexistenz.

V

Das sei ja alles ganz interessant, was man da sage und schreibe über Minderheitenliteraturen, meinte da der Fachkollege, mit süffisantem Unterton die unantastbare Überlegenheit des folgenden Urteils außer Frage stellend. Literarische Randerscheinungen würden hier doch nur terminologisch, rhetorisch, fachgeschichtlich festlich ausstaffiert. Die Staffage werde übrigbleiben, ein unseriöser Rest von dem, was diese Zufallsliteraturen auf Zeit hinterließen.

So sieht es auch der Parfumeur und Handschuhmacher Guiseppe

Baldini, dieser italienische Pariser Bürger, aus Patrick Süßkinds Roman *Das Parfum*. Es "schwindelte ihm", denn wenn er aus seinem Haus auf der Pont du Change "ganz steil nach unten blickte, hart an der Hauswand entlang, dann war es, als söge das strömende Wasser die Fundamente der Brücke davon, . . . alles strömte weg, langsam, breit und unaufhaltsam". Weil er sich nicht danach richtete, was er wußte, man müsse nämlich nur die Perspektive wechseln, "flußaufwärts" schauen, "um wenigstens einmal alles auf sich zuströmen zu sehen", weil er die "Tendenz seines Lebens" nicht umkehrte, gingen er und seine Frau und sein Haus mit der zusammenbrechenden Brücke in die Tiefe des Flusses.[24]

Beobachten wir Baldini von der unbebauten Pont Neuf aus! Es scheint so, als könne man Joachim Dyck und seinen apokalyptischen Visionen vom Zustand der Germanistik auch aus der Sicht der hier interessierenden Frage widersprechen. Die "geistigen Artisten in der Kuppel des literaturwissenschaftlichen Zirkus" sind nie ratlos gewesen, ein losgelassenes Trapez ist wieder ergiffen worden, dem Publikum sind Neuigkeiten anzukündigen. Man kann darum guten Glaubens auch Adolf Muschgs Hoffnungen auf einen eher zureichenden Grund des Faches folgen. Die Germanisten scheinen aus anderen "Territorien" und "Sprachen" zu ihrem Gegenstand zurückzukehren und ungewohnte Blickwinkel auszumessen.[25]

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Anmerkungen

[1] Vgl. Gordon A. Craig, *Die schreckliche deutsche Sprache* (aus: *The Germans*, 1982), Hg. Hessische Landeszentrale für politische Bildung, Serie: zum nachdenken 92 (Wiesbaden, 1983) 28.

[2] Horst Steinmetz, "Literarische Wirklichkeitsperspektivierung und relative Identitäten: Bemerkungen aus der Sicht der Allgemeinen Literaturwissenschaft," *Das Fremde und das Eigene. Prolegomena zu einer interkulturellen Germanistik*, Hg. Alois Wierlacher (München: iudicium, 1985) 65-80.

[3] In der Einführung zu dem unter Anm. 2 aufgeführten Sammelband weist der Herausgeber auf vergleichbare Vorurteilsfelder hin, die im Zusammenhang mit der kulturvermittelnden Arbeit der Fremdsprachenphilologien auf die "Kategorie der Fremde" verwiesen werden, "weil die Einstellung Fremden gegenüber sich hier besonders leicht als kulturelle Arroganz, als vorurteilsvolle Ethnozentrik, als Zwangsmission oder Sperrhaltung der Xenophobie" (usw.) zeige. (Vgl. Alois Wierlacher, "Mit fremden Augen oder: Fremdheit als Ferment: Überlegungen zur Begründung einer interkulturellen Hermeneutik deutscher Literatur," *Das Fremde und das Eigene* 3 f.)

[4] Literaturhinweise in Auswahl: Wilfried von Bredow und Hans-Friedrich Foltin, *Zwiespältige Zufluchten: Zur Renaissance des Heimatgefühls* (Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz, 1981); *Heimat heute*, Hg. Hans-Georg Wehling (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1984); Uriel Weinreich, *Sprachen in Kontakt: Ergebnisse und Probleme der Zweisprachigkeitsforschung* (München, 1977; New York, 1953); *Sprachliche Interferenz*, Festschrift f. Werner Betz, Hg. H. Kolb and H. Lauffer (Tübingen, 1977); *Die Stellung der deutschen Sprache in der Welt*, Bericht der Bundesregierung, Hg. Auswärtiges Amt (Bonn: Bonner Universitätsdruckerei, 1985); Hermann Bausinger, "Germanistik als Kulturwissenschaft," *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 6 (1980) 17-31; Harald Weinrich, *Wege der Sprachkultur* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1985); Alois Wierlacher, vgl. Anm. 3; Bernd Thum, "Auf dem Wege zu

einer interkulturellen Germanistik," *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* 11 (1985) hat als Ms. vorgelegen; Norbert Mecklenburg, "Rettung des Besonderen: Konzepte für die Analyse und Bewertung von regionaler Literatur," *Kolloquium zur literarischen Kultur der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerungsgruppen im Ausland*, Hg. Alexander Ritter (Flensburg: Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information, 1984) 179-204; ders., "Literaturräume: Thesen zur regionalen Dimension deutscher Literaturgeschichte," *Das Fremde und das Eigene* 197-211.

[5] Titel des von Alois Wierlacher herausgegeben Sammelbandes (vgl. Anm. 3).

[6] André Weckmann, "Dichter sein im Elsaß", *Nachrichten aus dem Elsaß: Mundart und Protest*, Hg. Adrien Finck, Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart 3, 2 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1978) 2: 29, 38.

[7] Berndt Ostendorf, "Einleitung," *Amerikanische Gettoliteratur*, Hg. Berndt Ostendorf, Impulse der Forschung 42 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983). Vgl. den sehr kenntnisreichen und anregenden Text.

[8] Nikolaus Berwanger, *Offene Milieuschilderung, lyrische texte anno '85*, Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart 18 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1985) 14.

[9] Vgl. die folgenden ausgewählten Literaturhinweise: *Ethnic Literatures Since 1776: The Many Voices of America*, 2 Bde., Hg. Wolodomyr T. Zyla und Wendell M. Aycock (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech Pr., 1978); vgl. die laufende Berichterstattung dazu im *Deutschkanadischen Jahrbuch* (Toronto, 1976 ff.); Eugène Philipps, *Schicksal Elsaß: Krise einer Kultur und einer Sprache* (Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1980); Reinhard Olt, "Der neue Streit ist der alte," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* 26 Febr. 1986; Herold Belger, *Inmitten des Zeitgeschehens: Literaturkritische Notizen* (Alma-Ata: Kasachstan, 1985); Oskar Metzler, *Gespräche mit ungarndeutschen Schriftstellern* (Budapest: Tankönyvkiado, 1985); zu Rumänien vgl. die laufende Berichterstattung in den deutschen überregionalen Tageszeitungen und in der rumänischen Literaturzeitschrift *Neue Literatur* (Bukarest).

[10] Janos Szabo, "Wie viele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?" *Neue Zeitung*, Nr. 41 (1985).

[11] Vgl.: "Wieviele deutsche Literaturen gibt es?" *europäische ideen* 2, Hg. Andreas W. Mytze (Berlin, 1973); Walter Hinck, *Haben wir heute vier deutsche Literaturen oder eine? Plädoyer in einer Streitfrage*, Hg. Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vorträge G 252 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1981); "Vier deutsche Literaturen? Literatur seit 1945—nur die alten Modelle? Kontroversen, alte und neue," *Akten des VII. Kongresses der Internationalen Vereinigung für germanische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 10, Hg. K. Pestalozzi, A. v. Bormann und Th. Koerner (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1986).

[12] Vgl. zu diesem Komplex der fachgeschichtlichen Probleme: *Literatur und Germanistik nach der 'Machtübernahme'*, Hg. Beda Allemann (Bonn: Bouvier, 1983).

[13] Karl Otto Conrady, "Deutsche Literaturwissenschaft und Drittes Reich," *Germanistik—eine deutsche Wissenschaft*, 5. Aufl. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971) 71-109.

[14] Konrad Groß, "Interdisziplinäre Hinweise, Probleme und Methoden in der Auseinandersetzung mit den Commonwealth-Literaturen," *Kolloquium zur literarischen Kultur* 165-77.

[15] Vgl. Jörg Schönert, "Identität und Alterität zweier literarischer Kulturen in der Bundesrepublik und DDR als Problem einer interkulturellen Germanistik," *Das Fremde und das Eigene* 212-33; Helmut Hanke und Thomas Koch, "Zum Problem der kulturellen Identität," *Weimarer Beiträge* 31 (1985) 1237-64.

[16] Vgl. hierzu den Beitrag über den sorbischen Dichter Jurij Brezan in *Geschichte der Literatur der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik* (Berlin/Ost: Volk und Wissen, 1976) 340 ff., 809.

[17] Vgl. die Dokumentation der Vorträge: *America and the Germans, An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, Hg. Frank Trommler und Joseph McVeigh, 2 Bde. (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Pr., 1985).

[18] Hartmut Fröschle, "Die deutschkanadische Literatur: Umfang und Problemstellungen," *Annalen des 1. Montrealer Symposiums Deutschkanadische Studien*, Hg. K. Guerttler und F. Lach (Montreal: Univ. Montreal, 1977) 18-30; Adrien Finck, "Mundarterhaltung und Regionalliteratur: Das Elsaß und die Tradition deutschsprachiger Literatur," *Deutschsprachige Literatur im Ausland*, Hg. Alexander Ritter, *LiLi*-Beiheft 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985) 87-103; Peter Motzan, *Die rumäniendeutsche Lyrik nach 1944: Problemaufriß und historischer Überblick* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1980); Stefan Sienerth, *Geschichte der siebenbürgisch-deutschen Literatur: Von den Anfängen bis zum Ausgang des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Cluj-Napoca: Dacia, 1984); *Die Literatur der Siebenbürger Sachsen in den Jahren 1849-1918*, Red. Carl Göllner und Joachim Wittstock (Bukarest: Kriterion, 1979).

[19] Der kulturpolitisch verstandene Betreuungsauftrag umfaßt die Schulbuch- und Unterrichtssberatung, die Finanzierung der Gastaufenthalte von Studenten, Dozenten, Schriftstellern in der DDR, die Organisation von Veranstaltungen durch die DDR-Kulturinstitute im Ausland. Nennenswerte literaturwissenschaftliche Leistungen der DDR-Germanistik liegen nicht vor. Es sind aber in den letzten Jahren drei Anthologien deutschsprachiger Minderheitenliteratur erschienen: *Zehn sowjetdeutsche Erzähler,* zusammengestellt v. Lothar Grünewald und Marijke Lanius (Berlin/Ost: Volk und Welt, 1982); *Ein halbes Semester Sommer: Moderne rumäniendeutsche Prosa,* Hg. Peter Motzan (Berlin/Ost: Volk und Welt, 1981); *Der Herbst stöbert in den Blättern: Deutschsprachige Lyrik aus Rumänien,* Hg. Peter Motzan (Berlin/Ost: Volk und Welt, 1984).

[20] *Deutschsprachige Literatur im Ausland,* Hg. Alexander Ritter, *LiLi*-Beiheft 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985); vgl. darin den Beitrag mit der weiterführenden Literaturübersicht: "Germanistik ohne schlechtes Gewissen: Die deutschsprachige Literatur des Auslands und ihre wissenschaftliche Rezeption," 10-34; *Kolloquium zur literarischen Kultur der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerungsgruppen im Ausland,* Hg. Alexander Ritter (Flensburg: Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information, 1984); *Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart,* Hg. Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim: Olms, 1974 ff., Stand 1986: 18 Bde.); "Kolloquien zur Kultur der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung im Ausland," veranstaltet von dem Institut für Regionale Forschung und Information Flensburg und Alexander Ritter. Die Vorträge der bisher durchgeführten Tagungen liegen als Sammelpublikationen vor zu den Themen: deutschsprachige Literatur (1984), Deutsch als Muttersprache (1985), muttersprachlicher Deutschunterricht (1987), Minderheiten und Volkskunde (1987).

[21] Thum, "Auf dem Wege zu einer interkulturellen Germanistik" (vgl. Anm. 4) 5.

[22] Klaus Bohnen, "Literaturforschung in sozio-kultureller Sicht," *Deutsch als Fremdsprachenphilologie in den nordischen Ländern,* DAAD-FORUM 15, Hg. DAAD (Bonn-Bad Godesberg: Bonner Universitätsdruckerei, 1982) 145-47.

[23] Zu Stefan Sienerth vgl. Anm. 18; Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Deutschen in der Sowjetunion,* Schriftenreihe der Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte 46 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1983); Meir Buchsweiler, *Volksdeutsche in der Ukraine am Vorabend und Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges—ein Fall doppelter Loyalität?* Schriftenreihe des Instituts für Deutsche Geschichte Tel Aviv 7 (Gerlingen: Bleicher, 1984).

[24] Patrick Süßkind, *Das Parfum: Die Geschichte eines Mörders* (Zürich: Diogenes, 1985) 76 f.

[25] Joachim Dyck, "Stumm und ohne Hoffnung: Die totale Paralyse der Germanistik in den 80er Jahren," *Die Zeit* 14. Juni 1985; Adolf Muschg, "Der Krieg ist vorbei," *Die Zeit* 19. Apr. 1985.

Gerda Schmidt

Harmonist Poetry Provides Glimpse into Sacred Communal Life

When the Harmonists started their exodus from the Duchy of Württemberg in 1804, they left behind not only an oppressive government, but a rigid form of Lutheranism as well (see Arndt, *George Rapp's Separatists 1700-1803*).[1] Few were the officials who appreciated Georg Rapp, but many the citizens who came to his home to hear the sermons of the "Prophet of Iptingen" (Arndt, *George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847* 30).

Georg Rapp, who lived from 1757 to 1847, was the charismatic but controversial leader of a group of rebellious Lutheran Germans from Iptingen, in the vicinity of Stuttgart, who were encouraged to emigrate because of their divergent religious views in a state where civil and spiritual leadership were one. For about a year, the group looked for a suitable location to live along the Ohio, settling in 1805 near today's Butler, Pennsylvania. From there they moved to New Harmony, Indiana, and finally back to what is today Ambridge, Pennsylvania. Believing that Christ would come a second time during their lifetime, members lived exemplary and fruitful lives until the Society's dissolution in 1906.

Perhaps the question about Rapp's achievements before his emigration is not so easy to answer, but we do know from meticulously kept records what he and his faithful followers achieved after their arrival in the promised land of America. What remains Rapp's secret, however, is how he and his flock came upon a biblical way of life which was uniquely their own, modeled simultaneously on the first Christian community as described in Acts 2 and 4 and Revelation and on the Old Testament community which is addressed in the Book of Psalms, the Song of Songs, and the Prophets. It is quite certain that the Harmonists consulted more than the Luther Bible. The group had strong leanings towards esoteric teachings, especially the theosophy of Jakob Böhme, but also the writings of Johann Arnd(t), a sixteenth-century mystic. Karl Arndt observes that "Frederick [Rapp] was writing in terms of Jakob

Böhme and of the Berleburg Bible'' (*George Rapp's Harmony Society 1785-1847* 101), while Richard Wetzel reports that ''Martin Luther's translation of the Bible was widely used by the Harmonists . . .'' (69). Both seem to be correct. Except for Karl Arndt's extensive and pioneering historical publications not enough research has been done on Harmonist details to answer the question of precisely what their position was with regard to the Bible. The Harmonist Library at Old Economy Village in Ambridge contains close to a hundred Bibles, including several Luther versions, different Berle(n)burg editions, French and English Bibles, and a fascinating *Polyglotten Bibel* which carries the Hebrew original, Septuagint, Vulgate, and Luther translations side by side.

Connected with the need to explore the Harmonist relationship to the Bible is our desire to understand the philosophy which provided the foundation for and which guided the Harmonists in their daily lives. The group was not very public about their way of life nor did they leave us reams which explain theoretically why they did what they did. We only know that their conduct was based directly on the Bible, but there have been many groups throughout history, in both Judaism and Christianity, who based their existence on the Word of God and who differed vastly in their interpretation and application. The only writing which expresses Harmonist philosophy is the anonymous *Thoughts on the Destiny of Man,* a volume of 96 pages, printed on the Harmony Society Press in 1824, and which is traditionally attributed to Georg Rapp.

While there are many eyewitness accounts of the exemplary and efficient practical life of this religious group as well as their hospitality to visitors and their forthright dealings with the outside world, very little is known about the intimate aspects of their communal life. What were their individual sorrows, joys, problems, hopes, not only as a communal body, but as individuals? If the guidelines did not need to be spelled out in detail or, if the Harmonists did not want to spell them out in writing, then what testimony do we find regarding their views? If members of a group do not feel inclined to express themselves in theoretical language, what other ways are there?

One such avenue of articulation, verbally and non-verbally, is art. Indeed, there has been some scholarly interest during recent years in the rich artistic heritage which the Harmonists have left us. Richard Wetzel and Lee Spear investigated the music of the Harmonists, Nancy Bhame Pope shed light on the sacred choral works of John S. Duss, Nancy Kraybill wrote on the pictorial arts of the Harmonists, and Hilda Adam Kring looked at the Society from a folk-cultural perspective.

One area of creativity which has hitherto been touched only incidentally is Harmonist poetry. What better way to express one's feelings about matters in a way both pleasurable and didactic than through measured language? There is ample evidence that Harmonist aesthetic sensibilities were highly developed. Their poetry might therefore provide a suitable entry into the inner world of Harmonist life. Unwilling to voice their individual concerns in a prosaic manner or to tie down their

expectations within a formal framework, the Harmonists chose instead to vent their feelings through poetry. Thus, poetry takes on part of the function traditionally served by philosophy. We might therefore look to Harmonist poetry for the thoughts which are ordinarily expressed in prose form.

The notion that poetic language is intrinsic to the Harmonist way of life has not been previously advanced. Such an assumption makes the study of Harmonist poetry an imperative for the study of the Harmonists. Perhaps it is not accidental that there is only one volume of less than a hundred pages which voices the prosaic thoughts, while hundreds of poems express Harmonist philosophy in the form of odes, hymns, elegies, prose poems, sung and spoken cantatas and folk songs. While the formal structure of the poetry is often simple, the images are indeed complex. The Harmonists created pieces for a mosaic, little pebbles, and it is up to the scholar to piece together the puzzle and form a coherent picture of the community's collective personality.

Only a fraction of the poetry was printed during the existence of the Harmony Society. This makes the task of extricating their thoughts doubly arduous. The *Allentown Gesangbuch* (1820) is the first text which consists of both original and previously existing poems. This *Gesangbuch* was revised in 1827 and reprinted in 1889. In 1826, the Harmonists printed a volume of 361 original works under the title, *Feurige Kohlen*. Two scholars have commented on this work. Karl Arndt writes:

> In 1826 at Economy 361 such pieces *(Stücke)* were printed and bound with the following title page: *Feurige Kohlen der aufsteigenden Liebesflammen im Lustspiel der Weisheit*. . . . Like the *Meistersänger,* the Harmonists encouraged everyone to try his soul at praising God or Harmonie or Sophia in verse, a kind of democratic approach to poetry. (*Harmony on the Wabash 1824-1826* 129)

In an interesting and informative article, "Education in Utopia: The New Harmony Experience," Donald Pitzer explains the evolution of this work in more detail. Pitzer writes that daily classes included

> . . . writing exercises in blank books, spelling bees, handicrafts, choral performances, and physical activities. Competition was encouraged, and the best exercises each week were put on display before the entire congregation during the 9 A.M. Sunday morning service. Father Rapp divided the whole membership into five groups (old men, old women, young men, young women, and children of both sexes) for competition in prose and poetry. This literary effort resulted in the selection of 361 original works which were printed on the Harmonist press in 1826 as *Feurige Kohlen der aufsteigenden Liebesflammen im Lustspiel der Weisheit (Fiery Coals of the Ascending Flames of Love in the Happiness of Wisdom).* This collection, offering *an intimate perspective of the Harmonists' own attitude about religion, devotion, virtue, labor, unselfishness, and daily living,* still awaits an English translation [emphasis mine]. (86)

Not only does this already published collection of poetry await translation, but interpretation. While there has been some scholarly

interest in the legacy of the Harmony Society during the last twenty years in addition to the continuing publications of Karl Arndt, none of these scholars has investigated the poetry of the Harmonists for its own sake. All scholars mention Harmonist texts, and even reprint and translate them (Arndt and Kring), but these scholars' interest in the Harmonist poetry is connected with their specific non-literary areas of inquiry. To date, the poetry of the Harmonists, both printed and unprinted, has not been critically analyzed.

Since the published poetry is easily accessible, I do not wish to linger on it in this study. Rather, I would like to draw attention to the poetry which is at present extant in manuscript form and whose existence is not generally known. It is not the function of this study to provide an in-depth analysis, but rather to interest the scholar in a treasure which waits to be mined.[2]

The unpublished poetry can be found either on loose sheets, sometimes only scraps of paper; or in narrow memorandum books or pieces of paper folded to such a size,[3] or in songbooks the size of a church hymnal. No place is too obscure. While the poetry in Harrisburg is located primarily in MG-185, General File, Box 3, containing poems, aphorisms and proverbs, there are also other files of interest: Box 13 contains school materials and exercise books; Box 11 Gertrud Rapp's mathematics notebook; Box 10 German-English phrases; Box 8 scriptural material; and Box 14 individual songbooks. At Old Economy Village, the loose sheets are gathered in a box marked MG 185.I, Series 19 in the Music Library or in a folder marked "Miscellaneous," but much of the poetry can be found in the form of song lyrics along with the musical scores.

The individualized songbooks, roughly fifty of which exist, contain between 50 and 100 texts (no music). Some of them bear an inscription with the name of the owner, and the frontispiece is often elaborately decorated. No two songbooks are the same. They are personalized. Each seems to contain whatever lyrics were important to a particular individual, sometimes including Lutheran hymns. The books may contain arias from operettas or operas, or folk songs, or texts which cannot be otherwise located. The Jonathan Lenz songbook is by far the most artistic and was perhaps created with an eye to posterity. On display at Old Economy Village, the book contains approximately 100 texts, on light blue paper, ornately decorated with flowers and other small designs. Christoph Müller, physician and musical genius, wrote all the songbooks for Gertrud Rapp, Father Rapp's granddaughter, who was one of the outstanding women of the Society and possessed poetic and musical talent as well as a shrewd business sense. In addition to singing at Sunday services to the accompaniment of Jacob Henrici, she took charge of developing the silk industry of the Harmony Society.

Apparently songbooks were passed on from one owner to another, and some contain one set of lyrics in the front, while another set starts from the back. Several hypotheses about the function of these personal songbooks have been advanced. Spear feels that students, who used the song texts for exercises in penmanship, gathered them into elegant

manuscript volumes (131). While this may be true in some cases, it surely was not true of Jonathan Lenz who was no adolescent when he crafted his outstanding piece of artistry in 1886. Hilda Adam Kring feels that the handwritten hymnals obviously predated the printed ones (111), while Wetzel reports that "the manuscript hymbooks [sic] contain the hymns most often used by the Harmonists from 1811 to 1820" (46). But according to Wetzel, some texts and tunes were omitted from the 1820 *Harmonisches Gesangbuch,* so that the hymnals remained in use (46).[4]

Even German-reading scholars will find these manuscripts a challenge, for the poetry is written in the old German script. This handwriting, sometimes called *Kurrentschrift,* can be traced to the Baroque. Kraybill refers to the "archaic German script" (50); others generally classify the handwriting as *Fraktur,* Spear calls it "nineteenth-century kursiv Fraktur" (VI). Among the loose poetry, there are many versions of some lyrics, often with corrections; or multiple copies of the same version, but there are also single, unduplicated pieces which stand alone, mute as to any information other than the words on the page. Thus, one ends up with very few answers and a great many questions.

If one is able to overcome the mechanical difficulties, the poetry does bear witness to the Harmonist way of life. Wetzel writes: "[The 'Harmonie Geist'] is most apparent . . . in the vocal music, for here texts written by Society members reveal the principles which were at the heart of this peculiar brotherhood" (30). Later he continues: ". . . the 'travel songs' . . . show how deep was the religious fervor which drove them to leave Württemberg. . . . Many of the doctrinal and theological principles upon which the Harmony Society was founded and by which it was governed appear in these hymn texts" (39). And finally, Wetzel concludes, "Rationalist poetry served especially well to express the religious philosophy of a communal society like that of the Harmonists" (44). In discussing their singing, Kring states:

> Expressing themselves in song the Harmonists achieved a dual purpose, a respite from the sameness in their being and a call to worship. Song for them spelled charisma, whether it was a psalm or a song of their own composition. It not only drew them to it, but to each other, creating the unity and brotherhood of which they sang. . . . Nor was singing reserved for formal worship; it was a way of life. . . . (104)

In fact, Kring, following the example of a traveler who experienced the Harmonists firsthand, John Melish, feels that Robert Burns' "The Cotters' Saturday Night" strongly resembles the Harmonist philosophy and language (108). Finally, Wetzel also recognizes the educational value of this mode of communication: "Hymns were an important tool for teaching Harmonist principles. Many . . . emphasized a common goal and the power of faith in overcoming all forms of corruption" (49).

Since poetry had an inclusive function for the Harmonists, there is no aspect of their existence which did not either generate or was infused with personal expression in the form of lyrical poetry—be it in the fields, in the factory, in school, at home, at communal, religious or civic affairs. Kring quotes from the Duke of Saxe-Weimar's report on his travels:

> . . . the girls had especially requested this visit that I might hear them sing. When their work is done, they collect in one of the factory rooms, to the number of 60 or 70, to sing spiritual and other songs. They have a peculiar hymnbook, containing hymns from the old Württemberg collection, and others written by the elder Rapp. . . . (106)

Poetry, though expressing individual attitudes and emotions, likes and dislikes, was put in the service of the community.

Very broadly, there are two general categories, the poetry which seems to have originated with the Harmonists and that which came from previously existing sources. Most of the poems which the Harmonists authored are tied either to their "goddess" Harmonie who is also Sophia and collected in *Feurige Kohlen der aufsteigenden Liebesflammen* or they are tailored to a celebration or personal event, such as a birthday or death. Since the Harmonists did not acknowledge authorship, be it for reasons of modesty or communal solidarity, there are only a handful of poems which can actually be tied to a specific author with some certainty. Different scholars have advanced differing comments on this situation. Wetzel writes:

> By far the greater part of the hymnody of the manuscript books was written by members of the Harmony Society. Except for Christoph Mueller, however, authorship is generally difficult to determine . . . the subject of the texts sometimes gives a clue as to authorship. . . . (45)

This I certainly agree with in the case of occasional poetry. Kring echoes Wetzel, when she writes: "Anonymity shrouds their hymnal . . . since the Harmonist belief in common ownership and self-denial was all-embracing it follows that no personal glory was expected from authorship. They are sacramental acts of private devotion showing much spiritual passion" (108). Lee Spear formed this opinion:

> The Harmonists were often not very concerned that the composers of the works they performed receive credit. . . . Some researchers have suggested that this demonstrates a kind of communal modesty in practice. More likely it simply showed a lack of concern for posterity. . . . (108)

Arndt refers to one poem with the observation that the "original manuscript is not dated or signed but is part of a collection of early Harmony Society poetry . . ." (*1700-1803* 246). Later, referring to the "Klaglied der Kinder Zions," Arndt writes: "This and other important anonymous Separatist poems were found in a beautifully written Harmonist's book of algebra and geometry . . ." (*1700-1803* 301).

We simply do not know what the reasons for the anonymity were. They may have been as simple as those advanced by the previous researchers, or as complex as those which were behind mystical writings throughout history, whose authors hid either behind pseudepigraphy or anonymity for a variety of reasons—from an effort to shield their private thoughts from public exposure to the hope of escaping ridicule or even persecution because of their views, or to gain authority for their views by attaching them to a figure already well-known in history. Except for a

very few, the poems do not even give an indication that they were written by members of the Harmony Society.

Jacob Henrici, a school teacher, gifted musician and all-around creative spirit, dated only certain poems. He never signed any with his name. But his handwriting, which we know from correspondence and numerous music notations, was so distinct that it stands out quite clearly from that of others. I would say that Henrici *wrote* the poems which he dated, and only *adapted* those which he did not mark in any way.[5]

Signatures and dates, when they can be found, are not necessarily reliable. Well-meaning individuals sometimes added a signature or date to a poem in later years, detectable by the different handwriting, and the information needs to be checked carefully.

There are many different categories of poetry. There is poetry in praise of God and as an encouragement to human beings in difficult times. This we might call sacred poetry. "Ode an Gott" (MG 185.I, Series 19) celebrates God's omnipotence:

Alles Leben strömt aus Dir,
Und durchwallt in tausend Bächen
Alle Welten! Alle sprechen:
Deiner Hände Werk sind wir.

Daß ich fühle daß ich bin,
Daß ich Dich, Du Großer, kenne,
Daß ich froh Dich Vater nenne,
O, ich sinke vor Dir hin.

Welch ein Trost und unbegränzt,
Und unnennbar ist die Wonne,
Daß gleich Deiner milden Sonne
Mich Dein Vateraug umglänzt.

Deiner Gegenwart Gefühl,
Sei mein Engel der mich leite;
Daß mein schwacher Fuß nicht gleite,
Nicht sich irre von dem Ziel.

(unattributed)

"Glück eines Christen" (MG 185.I, Series 19) encourages the suffering to persevere and challenges the taunters to leave since they cannot persist where the pious person is comfortable. The first of six verses reads as follows:

Entfernet euch, unsel'ge Spötter.
Ihr zittert, wo der Fromme glaubt:
Mein Herz hat einen Gott zum Retter,
Und eine Hoffnung, die nichts raubt.
Ich sehe meinen Heiland leben;
Ich weiß, daß ich nicht sterben kann.
Weiß, mit verklärtem Leib umgeben
Schau ich ihn einst im Himmel an.

(unattributed, in Henrici handwriting)

Stanza six of a poem which begins, "Mir ist der Heiland heut geboren,/Des Vaters Kind und Davids Sohn" (MG 185.I, Misc.), defiantly celebrates Jesus as a brother who will triumph in saving the author in the battle with evil until the goal is reached:

So ist der Heiland mir geboren,
Trotz Teufel, Sünde, Höll und Tod;
Ich bin in Christo auserkoren;
Mit mir hats ewig keine Noth.
Der Himmel steht mir wieder offen;
Ich hab ein ewigs Reich zu hoffen
Aus meines treuen Bruders Hand;
Er wird mich nimmermehr verlieren,
Durch Dück und Dünne sicher führen,
Bis er mich bringt ins Vaterland.
[Ten more verses] (unattributed, in Henrici handwriting)

Other poems are written for specific occasions. They convey birthday wishes, lament a friend's death, or commemorate a loved one who has passed away. Although the form and language are generally simple, the imagery is not necessarily obvious. One poem, written for Father Rapp's eighty-second birthday on 28 October 1839, celebrates Mother Rahel. This needs explaining, following the text (MG 185.I, Series 19):

Willkomm du Mutter Rahel,
Du Gründer von dem Sonnen Weib,
Heut freut sich hoch dein Beth-El
Daß du gesalbt aus deinem Leib,
Dein hohes Ehren-Alter,
Von zweiundachtzig Jahr,
Sey künftig noch Verwalter,
Biß wir sind aus Gefahr,
Nun wollen wir Gott bitten
Er möcht dein alten Leib,
Mit Jugend Kraft beschütten
Daß er erhalten bleib.

The Harmonists believed that they were like the sun woman from Revelation in the wilderness. They had left behind Babel, the place of sin, by leaving Germany. The individual who led them in this endeavor was Georg Rapp, who then became the founder of the sun woman, namely Harmonie (Harmony), like Jacob became Israel and then gave his name to the entire people. Thus, the founder of Harmony (the Harmony Society) together with all the members is the new beginning which will mother the Son of God like Rachel bore Benjamin, with her last breath. This means that the Harmony Society will bring forth the Kingdom of God on earth, or the second coming of Christ by their efforts to perfect the world. Rapp is the administrator of Beth-El, the sacred place where God revealed Himself to Jacob and where Jacob erected an altar for sacrifice. They all are the body of Mother Rahel (Gen. 35). The corrupt world of Babel is replaced by the new, pure sun woman. Or, the conditions of Babel are reversed, undone.

Not all personal poetry is so powerful. An author with the initials J. H. commemorates a friend's birth as a day of joy. We do not know who the recipient is:

Der Tag, an dem zuerst Dein Aug dem Licht sich öffnete,
Ist uns mit Recht ein Freudentag;
Weil Du, ein Kind des Lichts, Dein ganzes Leben jetzt
Dem Herrn u. seinen Brüdern weihst.
Was könnt ich geben Dir, Du Lieber, heut an Deinem Tage?
Mein Herz sey Dein, und Deiner Lieb und Freundschaft immer werth,
Um mit Dir Gott und seinen Kindern ewig treu zu seyn.
Dies wünscht
Dein Freund und Bruder,
J. H.

(MG 185, General File, Box 3)

Another poem celebrates a friendship which goes back to the two friends' youth. We know that the recipient is Eva Stilz, who celebrates her forty-seventh birthday, but we do not know the author. The four-stanza poem, which was to be sung to the melody, "Harmonie du Bruderstadt," begins this way:

Gute Freunde wurden wir,
Früh in Jugend-Zeiten.
Bis zur Gegenwart allhier,
Soll uns nichts mehr scheiden,
Von der Lieb und Freundschafts-Pflicht,
Süß ist sie im Leiden,
Freund vergeße meiner nicht
Müßten wir noch scheiden.

(MG 185, General File, Box 3)

Not all occasions are happy ones. A poem by Louise Weil tries to give Gertrud Rapp moral support in her grief over the loss of her mother. Entitled, "Der lieben Freundin Gertrud Rapp," the first verse reads:

Wer so wie Du dem Herrn sein ganzes Leben
In treuer Liebe hat dahin gegeben
Dem wird gewiß auch bei dem schwersten Gang
Um wahren Trost u. Frieden niemals bang.
Und doch, auch das gestählte Christenherz
Es ist noch *menschlich* und empfindet Schmerz.

(MG 185.I, Miscellaneous)

John S. Duss, who gained some fame by taking the Harmony Society Band on nationwide concert tours, wrote a poem upon the death of Jonathan Lenz on 24 January 1890. He prefaced it with a lengthy dedication:

Dem geliebten, im Herrn
entschlafenen Bruder
Jonathan Lenz
zum Begräbniß; und den

überbleibenden Brüdern und
Schwestern zum Trost u. zur
gegenseitigen Ermunterung
gewidmet.

1. Ein treugesinnter Christ
Und guter Harmonist
Hat hier vollendet seinen Lauf:
Er hat auf Christus hin
Gerichtet seinen Sinn
Bis er ihn hat genommen auf.

The sixth and last verse reads:

6. Laß uns in dieser Stund
Erneuern unsern Bund
Zu leben wie es dir gefällt,
Bis daß in jenem Land
Von deiner Vaterhand,
Ein jedes seine Kron' erhält.

(MG 185, General File, Box 3)

The anniversary of Romelius Baker's death was 11 January 1869. To the melody "Morgenroth," the following words were sung in church:

Bald ja bald;
wird die schöne Lichts-Gestalt,
Unsers Bräutigams erscheinen,
wohl dem der sich kann vereinen,
Und ihm froh entgegen gehn.

[Four more verses] (unattributed)
(MG 185, General File, Box 3)

It is not surprising that a large group of poems came into existence as part of communal events. The Harmonists had three feasts unique to their Society—the Founder's Feast *(Harmoniefest)* in February, the Love Feast *(Liebesmahl)* in October, and the Harvest Feast *(Erntefest)* in August. It is conceivable that the poetry will eventually help us to acquire a better understanding of the nature of some of the occasions, such as the Love Feast, whose critical definition so far has been lacking. This event seems to have been much more complicated than its traditional definition of "agape" implies.

For the *Liebesmahl* of 1855, we have an eight-stanza poem. The melody, if it was sung, is not indicated. The first and last stanzas read as follows:

1. Was für ein Geist durchdringt das Haus?
Was will der Glanz so vieler Kerzen?
Bricht wohl das inn're Licht heraus?
Findt sich im Grunde Herz zum Herzen?
Sind wir gestimmt, den Bruderbund
In Wahrheit gründlich zu erneuern?
So finden sich zu dieser Stund
Gewiß auch Engel, mitzufeiern.

8. Nehm hin den Kelch u. trinke ihn,
Im Glauben, des Erlösers Wunden,
Der Wein begeistre deinen Sinn,
Weil du in Jesu Gnade funden.
Dein ganzes Wesen bücke sich
Vor Jesu' Majestät und Höhe;
Sein Feur u. Licht durchdringe dich,
Und bring dir seines Geistes Nähe.

(unattributed)
(MG 185.I, Series 19)

The year 1832 turned out to be one which most Harmonists would have preferred to forget, but could not. A man who called himself Count Leon had come into the community, at first warmly welcomed by Rapp. But his ideas were incompatible with those of Georg Rapp and when the dust settled, Rapp had lost over thirty percent of his flock, among them the irreplaceable Johann Christoph Müller. An untitled text in the files nearly slipped by unnoticed, except for the modest notation at the end, "auf das verschobene Harmonie Fest 1832" (MG 185.I, Series 19). It begins like this:

1. Halleluja dem großen König,
Dem Fürsten, Gott u. Bräutigam!
Ihr Völker, seyd Ihm unterthänig,
Verehrt das theure Opfer Lamm!
Auch dieser Tag sey Ihm geweihet,
früh vor dem ersten Morgen Strahl
der Sonne, die die Nacht zerstreuet
vor unserm nahen Liebesmahl.

There are a total of five verses, plus a two-line refrain. The festival piece closes in this way:

Liebe und Freundschaft sey unsre Zier,
Wahrer Gemeinschaft, huldigen wir.

5. So segne heute die Gemeine
Mit Wahrheit Geist und Einigkeit,
Laß prangen Sie vor dir die Eine
In neuem Schmuck u. Feierkleid,
Sie ist der Preis von Millionen,
Sie hat geliebt gelitten hie;
Sie blüth für alle Nationen,
bringt Gunst in Liebes Harmonie.

Ganz unser Leben, sei dir geweiht,
all unser Streben, nur Einigkeit.

(unattributed)

In 1835, the Harmonists had somewhat recovered from their shock, though perhaps not from their loss. Again, we find a poem for the *Harmoniefest*. It consists of five verses, the first and third will be given. (MG 185.I, Series 19):

1. Harmonie du auserkohrne
der Ewgen Einheit Erstgebohrne,
vor aller Creatur und Zeit
bis heut thatst du dich behaupten,
wie alle deine Helden glaubten,
drum sey dir heut dies Fest geweiht
du schöne Sulamith,
in deinem Geistestritt,
kehre wieder,
im Geistes Hauch,
nach deinem Brauch,
und fördre vollends unsern Lauf.

3. Dieses Spiel bei jung und alten,
macht Bruder-Lieb so oft erkalten,
drum weck uns heute Geist und Kraft
daß wir uns heut recht vereinen,
der Sanftmuth Quell uns möcht erscheinen
von innen aus dem Geistes Saft.
Damit die Leiblichkeit,
zu deiner Wonn und Freud,
bald erscheine im Salz der Kraft,
den Geist umfaßt,
daß eines zu dem andern paßt.

(unattributed)

In addition, the Harmonists celebrated various established religious holidays, such as Pentecost, Christmas, Easter and New Year's Day. One Christmas poem, numbered merely "4," progresses from a celebration of the Christmas season as the giver of heavenly joy to a total offering of self in gratitude (MG 185.I, Series 19):

[. . .]
Zu gering
Ist, Herr, jedes Lob und Ding
Das als Dank wir könnten bringen;
Darum nimm von uns Geringen,
Leib, Seel, Geist und Alles hin.

For the New Year, the author prays for a total restoration of body, soul and spirit, "until everything is well and sacred." Strophes six through eight read as follows (MG 185.I, Series 19):

6. Errette uns, Herr Jesu Christ,
Von Bosheit, Falschheit, Trug und List,
Mach uns von allem Übel frei,
im Glauben fest, im Lieben treu!

7. Erfüll mit Wahrheit unsre Brust,
Dein Wort sey unsre höchste Lust,
Dein Wille sey uns Speis und Trank,
Gehorsam unser Herzensdank.

8. So, lieber Heiland, laß uns seyn,
Daß Jung und Alt, daß Groß und Klein
Nur denke, wünsche, red und thu,
Was Du belohnst mit Fried und Ruh!

Pentecost 1835 celebrates the anticipation of God's Kingdom on earth, in whose perfection the Harmonist group has a leading role (MG 185.I, Series 19):

1. Wer schwebt so schön auf Zions Hügel?
Ists nicht die Harmonier Schaar?
Entfalte deine goldnen Flügel,
Enthülle deinen Einfaltsspiegel,
Und stelle deine Reize dar!
[Six more stanzas] (unattributed, in Henrici handwriting)

Not only did the Harmonists draw on the talent of the Society members for the creation of new poetry, but they incorporated already existing poetry and lyrics into their repertory as well. Some poems they adopted directly, other poetry they adapted to their needs, some they translated from other languages, primarily English, Italian and French. In connection with Harmonist music it has been noted by other investigators that in a musical program the Harmonists mixed and matched secular and sacred tunes freely. Lee Spear noted:

> When dealing with a community devoted to achieving the "temporal and eternal felicity" of its members through religious enlightenment, it is not surprising to find an overlap of religious and instructional music with social and concert music. That the Harmonists permitted their musical life to extend far beyond religious functionalism sets them apart from religious utopians. (68)

In reference to Harmonist adaptation, Wetzel explains: "The great German poets Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and Lessing had little sympathy with evangelical religion, but their poetry was adapted by the Harmonists whenever it proved useful" (44).

That is certainly true. In the archives in Harrisburg, there is a sheet listing Württemberg poets (MG 185, General File, Box 3) as well as a sheet headed, "Die aus den Harfen-Klänge [sic] gelernten Lieder sind folgende . . . ." Unfortunately the actual song lyrics are not there.

Richard Wetzel, in discussing Harmonist appropriation, speaks of the Harmonists' "poetic license" which, he says, is sometimes carried to extremes (50). He further comments: "There is more than a slight suggestion that some texts and tunes of the 1820 *Harmonisches Gesangbuch* are traditional items which were so severely altered that the original forms are barely recognizable . . ." (54). It is the task of the literary scholar to determine just exactly how these materials evolved.

Lest we think that all this poetic adaptation is accidental, a note from Georg to Friedrich Rapp of 23 September 1824 might be of interest. Father Rapp writes:

> . . . von wegen den sing stücken kanst Du Dir leicht helfen, überseze Englische Stück ins Deutsche, u. verändre darin nach unserem Sin, was

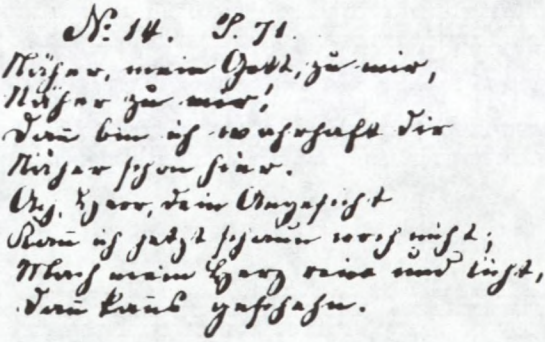
nicht taugt, vielleicht hast solche poisie stücke, die man brauchen kan wan Du daran änderst bis es recht ist . . . . (Arndt, *1824-26* 177)

The Harmony Society Library did indeed contain a wealth of poetry from the most diverse sources, and many of these items have survived to this day. Both Wetzel and Spear treat the sources in the Library in detail. Among the treasures are German Lutheran hymn books, American hymn books, and hymn books from other religious societies, such as Ephrata (see Wetzel 63). Count Zinzendorf's poems can be found, as well as the poetry of leading German poets such as Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Hölty, Kotzebue. Some of these were copied into a notebook which is still in the archives (MG 185.I, Series 19, pM 20). German folk songs retained their popularity, and arias from operas and popular passages from operettas can be found, as well as many of the well-known libretti. In the files there are poems out of magazines, and the Harmonists translated what they wished to make available to the membership at large into German. One sheet in Harrisburg bore the notation, "banner song." In reading the text it became apparent that it was a translation of the "Star-Spangled Banner" (MG 185, General File, Box 3).

Identifying sources and authors of Harmonist texts is most difficult. Simple, direct attributions to a particular author, within the Harmony Society or outside, are extremely rare. One might think that the voluminous handwritten materials would aid in the identification process. This is true only as far as the identity of the handwriting is concerned, not for the texts. Whenever multiple copies of a particular song were needed, people went at the task as a team, each person producing several copies of the song. Thus handwriting can be synonymous with copying, not with authorship. Another way in which multiple copies of a series of texts were handled was by dividing the work according to poem. One person would write the same poem in all the books, and another individual a different one, and so forth, until the job was done. Thus, handwriting tells us nothing about authorship as such. The handwriting mystery is further compounded when one looks at the correspondence. There are letters signed by Frederick Rapp, Father Rapp's influential adopted son. Yet, when one looks closely, it becomes apparent that the handwriting is not that of Frederick Rapp, but that of Romelius Baker, who, as the Society's business manager, was entitled to write and sign for others for whom he transacted business. The same is true of letters attributed to Gertrud Rapp as well as to other Society members, including Georg Rapp.

One gets the sense that those who excelled at calligraphy were asked to do the major part of the writing. This was true of Jonathan Lenz and Christoph Müller. In later years, Jacob Henrici distinguished himself for two reasons: His handwriting was so distinct that he did not need to sign his name. The flow and musicality of his style just float on the page, giving the impression of an extremely cultured individual. But Henrici was also clever, so clever that in time I did not dare assume that anything borrowed from another source had not been tampered with, always looking for the one word which would alter the text's character

from the original intent. The hymn, "Nearer My God to Thee," is only too obvious in its adulterated version, "Näher, mein Gott, zu mir!" (MG 185.I, Series 19, pM 16, 1-15).



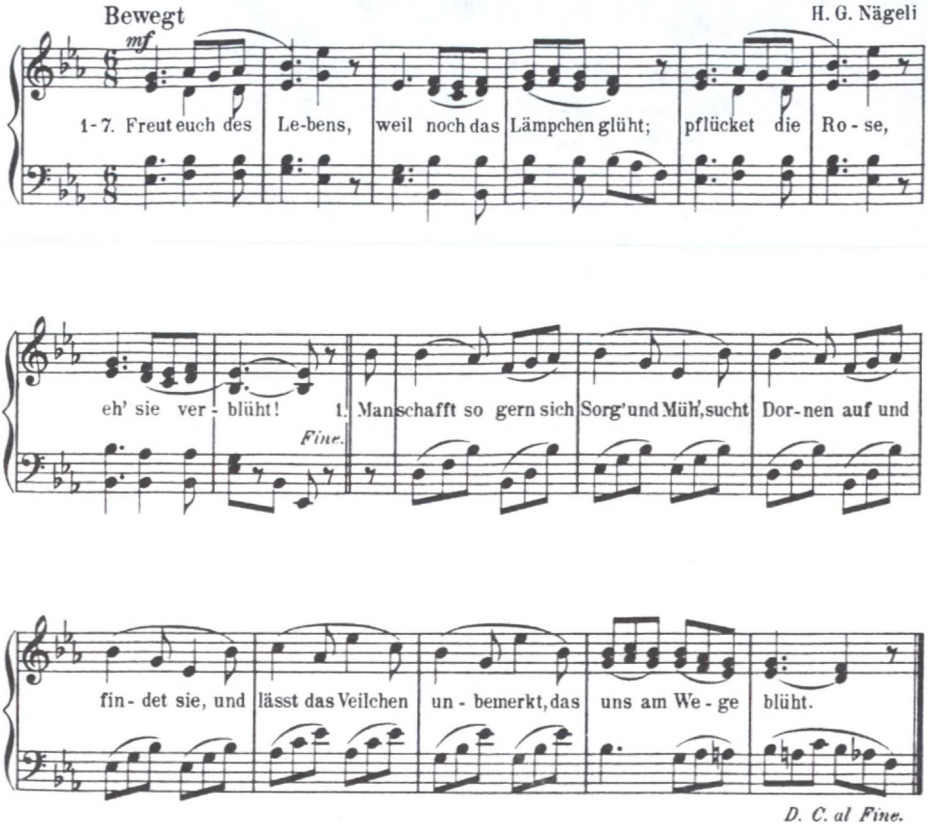
Two adaptations or creations which are good examples of the phenomena discussed follow. Both are in the hand of Henrici, but without a date. The Goethean flavor of song No. 8 in manuscript book No. 2, "Herz, mein Herz," was obvious, but what followed was definitely not Goethe. Goethe's poem, entitled "Neue Liebe, neues Leben," was set to music by Beethoven. Both texts follow:

Goethe	**Henrici**
Herz, mein Herz, was soll das geben,	Herz, mein Herz, warum so traurig?
Was bedränget dich so sehr?	Und was soll das Ach und Weh?
Welch ein fremdes, neues Leben—	'Sist so schön im Heimathlande;
Ich erkenne dich nicht mehr.	Herz, mein Herz, was fehlt dir mehr?
Weg ist alles, was du liebtest,	Warum solches Trauerleben?
Weg, worum du dich betrübtest,	Freue dich der schönen Welt!
Weg dein Fleiß und deine Ruh—	Was du wünschest, kann sie geben:
Ach, wie kamst du nur dazu?	Freunde, Freude, Gut und Geld.
[Two more eight-line verses]	[Eleven more four-line verses]
	(MG 185.I, Series 19, pM 16, 1-15)

The second poem consists of a fusion of the popular German folk song, "Freut euch des Lebens," and an apparently original composition of nine strophes which alternate with the folk song lyrics as a refrain. At first, only two little words in the last line of the refrain are altered, later the entire strophe is adapted to the new need. Hence, when the original text is alternated with the adapted folk song lyrics, the meaning of the folk song is reversed. The text is, in fact, put in the service of a devotional poem which, assuming that the poem was sung to the popular melody (and we do not know that it was) could indeed have been a clever didactic device to remind the Harmonists of their creed. Because it is so striking, the text is given in its entirety, followed by an attempt at interpretation.

Freut euch des Lebens

M. Usteri



2. Wenn scheu die Schöpfung sich verhüllt
Und laut der Donner ob uns brüllt,
So lacht am Abend nach dem Sturm
Die Sonn' uns doppelt schön!

3. Wer Neid und Missgunst sorgsam flieht
Und G'nügsamkeit im Gärtchen zieht,
Dem schiesst sie schnell zum Bäumchen auf,
Das gold'ne Früchte trägt.

4. Wer Redlichkeit und Treue liebt
Und gern dem ärmern Bruder giebt,
Bei dem baut sich Zufriedenheit
So gern ihr Hüttchen auf.

5. Und wenn der Pfad sich furchtbar engt
Und Missgeschick uns plagt und drängt,
So reicht die Freundschaft schwesterlich
Dem Redlichen die Hand.

6. Sie trocknet ihm die Tränen ab
Und streut ihm Blumen bis ans Grab;
Sie wandelt Nacht in Dämmerung
Und Dämmerung in Licht.

7. Sie ist des Lebens schönstes Band.
Schlingt, Brüder, traulich Hand in Hand!
So wallt man froh, so wallt man leicht
In's bessre Vaterland!

Source: *Deutsche Weisen,* Herausgegeben von August Linder (Stuttgart: Lausch & Zweigle) 165

1. Freut euch das Leben
Weil uns die Lüfte blüht,
Pflücket die Rosen,
Die sie verblüht!

1. Das unser Leben meinen wir,
Das Jesus Geistlich mir und dir
Vom Himmel hat herwieder bracht
Als er uns treten kam.
Freut euch das Leben! —

2. Das Lüftlein ist das Heilig Geist,
Das klein und stetig in uns bricht,
Das Fünklein Wort in Herzen kreucht
Und einst zu Flam wird.
Freut euch das Leben! —

3. Die goldne Rose ist genannt,
Die Gott, als wir noch waren Feind,
Durch das Jungfraun Maria Mund
Er gnädig uns verhieß.
Freut euch das Leben! —

4. Die Himmelhof wird uns eröffnet
Als in der heilgen Weihnacht
Ein goldnes Krüglein ist entsprossen
Zu unsrem Muttersegen.
Freut euch das Leben! —

5. Das größer wird die Rosa gross
Als in der heilgen Passionszeit
Zwölf goldne Blüten sie gewinnt
Zu einem goldnen Kranz.
Freut euch das Leben! —

6. Das größer wird die Rosa gross
Als durch das Heilig Geistes Hitze
In tausendfacher Blütenzier
Die goldnen Ros' aufsprießen.
Freut euch das Leben! —

7. Die höchste Freud wird uns entstehn,
Wenn wir den Herrn werden sehn
Mit seinem Chor der Heiligen
Zum goldnen Liebesreih.
Freut euch das Leben,
Das uns der Herr erworben hat,
Als er uns Liebe
Am Kreuze starb.

8. Die wir im Herzen fest sind da,
Wie sie vor heilig Messe tun;
Das Königreich Herrlichkeit
Wird uns zu eigen Lohn.
Freut euch des Lebens,
Das uns der Herr erworben hat! —

9. Wir bitten dich, Herr Jesu Christ,
Mach uns so, wie du selber bist,
Daß du dein heilges Ebenbild
Vollkommen in uns siehst.
Freut euch des Lebens,
Das uns der Herr erworben hat
Als er uns Liebe
Am Kreuze starb!

Transcription

Freut euch des Lebens
Weil noch das Lämpchen glüht,
Pflücket die Rose,
Die nie verblüht.

1. Das neue Leben meinen wir,
Das Jesus Christus mir und dir
Vom Himmel hat herwiederbracht
Als Er auf Erden kam.
Freut euch des Lebens, etc.
2. Das Lämpchen ist des Geistes Licht,
Das klein und schwach in uns anbricht,
Doch durch das Wort in Geisteskraft
Uns einst zur Sonne wird.
Freut euch des Lebens—
3. Die goldne Rose ists gemeint,
Die Gott, als wir noch waren Feind'
Durch des Propheten Micha Mund
So gnädig uns verhieß.
Freut euch des Lebens—
4. Die Himmelsros' ward uns gebracht
Als in der heil'gen Weihenacht
Ein goldnes Knösplein sich erschloß
Im reinen Mutterschooß.
Freut euch des Lebens—
5. Doch größer ward die Rosenpracht
Als in der heil'gen Passahnacht
Zwölf goldne Blätter sich vereint
Zu einem goldnen Kelch.
Freut euch des Lebens—
6. Noch größer war die Rosenpracht
Als durch des Heil'gen Geistes Macht
In tausendfacher Blätterzier,
Die goldne Ros' erschien.
Freut euch des Lebens—
7. Die höchste Pracht wird dann entstehn,
Wann man den Herrn wird kommen sehn
Mit seinem Heer der Heiligen
Zum goldnen Liebereich.
Freut [euch] des Lebens,
Das uns der Herr erwarb
Als er aus Liebe
Am Kreuze starb.
8. Die vor'ge Herrschaft ist dann da,
Wie sie der heil'ge Micha sah;
Das Königreich Jerusalem
Mit Davids ew'gem Thron.
Freut euch des Lebens,
Das uns der Herr erwarb

[Als er aus Liebe
Am Kreuze starb.]
9. Wir bitten Dich, Herr Jesu Christ,
Mach uns so, wie du selber bist,
Daß du dein heilges Ebenbild
Vollkommen in uns siehst.
Freut euch des Lebens,
Das uns der Herr erwarb
Als er aus Liebe
Am Kreuze starb!

(MG 185.I, Series 19, pM 16, 1-15)

It is not very controversial to suggest that the verses depict a biblical evolution from Creation through Redemption. However, the creation which Henrici discusses is the birth of the Christ child (v. 1) who then ignites the Divine Light in us (v. 2). Then he backtracks to the Old Testament and reminds us that God predicted such an event through the Prophet Micah (v. 3). Verse four repeats the "creation story," that is to say the birth of Jesus, and the narrative then proceeds through the Passion (v. 5) to Pentecost when in a thousand-fold brilliant light the golden rose, symbol of the Harmony Society, was first revealed (v. 6). From the past, Henrici looks to the future, when in infinite splendor the Lord will return with his army of saints to his golden kingdom of love (v. 7). Now the refrain changes. After each of the first six verses we were asked to enjoy life while the lamp still glows and to reach and pick the rose, namely the Harmonist way of life, which will exist always, that is to say, until the second coming of the Lord. But now, from verses seven through nine, the refrain admonishes us to enjoy the life—a spiritual life—which the Lord obtained for us by his death on the cross. This attitude assumes that we have made the choice for the Harmonist way of life, otherwise this option is not available! Verse eight glories in the anticipation of the Kingdom of God which will then prevail according to Micah's prophecies. The ninth verse is a prayer to Jesus Christ to make us perfect so that we will be in His image.

The golden rose which Henrici has in mind is the Rose of Sharon from the Song of Songs 2:1 (an asphodel [according to notes: a flower; perhaps a daffodil] in the Oxford Study Edition of *The New English Bible* and a rose in *The Jerusalem Bible*) which for the Harmonists became fused with Micah 4:8, who in the *New English* and *Jerusalem* Bibles says nothing of a flower. Neither do some editions of the Luther Bible (but see Kring 54), yet when we return and look at Luther's translation of the Song of Songs passage, we are astonished to see that the second-line lily of the valley has become a rose in the valley, synonymous to the first-line flower of Sharon. Perhaps this complex symbolism which is characteristic of the Harmonists gives us an idea of what analysis of their poetry involves. One must also understand that the symbol of the rose already played an important part in Ephrata, a society with which the Harmonists were very familiar (Ernst 249-63).

Jacob Henrici, who was able to preserve the mystery of the Harmonists as well as his predecessors also gets the last word where Harmonist scholarship is concerned. In a multiple-verse poem, "Herr Jesu, Freund

der Kinder," which Henrici probably authored, since it is dated 19 February 1875, he added another verse, dated 26 February 1875, a week after completion, with the addition "Ann Arbor." There are numerous copies of the poem in both archives, but there is only one copy which has this verse added in red ink:

Kritik, was willst du flicken
Am Kinderfreundeslied?
Vor dem mußt du dich bücken
Der es so lieb beschied.

(MG 185.I, Series 19, pM 16, 1-15)

What happened in the week between 19 February and 26 February 1875 that prompted Henrici to postscript his poem with this thought? Even today, many of the Harmonists' secrets will remain safe from the prying eyes of the world.

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Notes

[1] A shorter version of this paper was read at the Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, April 25-27, 1985. A sincere note of thanks to all the individuals who have been and are assisting me with this ongoing project, especially to Pat Belich and Ruth Hahn at Old Economy.

[2] During the past year, a colleague has translated all of the poems introduced in this paper as well as others into English. We are in the process of completing the manuscript for a bilingual edition of approximately 50 poems, with introductory essays and short Harmony Society history.

As a first step towards the larger task of piecing together the puzzle of a precise picture of Harmonist philosophy, I undertook, with the financial support of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Center, University Center for International Studies, University of Pittsburgh, a survey study to see what poetry, if any, existed in addition to that published. Both Old Economy Village in Ambridge and the State Archives in Harrisburg served as the bases for this research effort.

[3] The strange size of approximately 3×8 inches puzzled me until I saw a wooden storage box for documents in the Schiller Nationalmuseum in Marbach, dating from the early nineteenth century, for just that size of paper.

[4] For an interesting analysis of Harmonist hymnals, see Wetzel's chapter on "Harmonist Hymnody," 37-70.

[5] One author who did show a concern for attribution was Louise Weil, who wrote several personal poems on the occasion of a birthday or death. Karl Arndt pointed out to me that she was not a member of the Harmony Society.

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George Newtown

James Fenimore Cooper, Frontier Mythology, and the New Ulm Apologists

Within the United States throughout much of the nineteenth century there were simultaneous regional differences in views of the American Indian. Both Easterners and Westerners used the available mythic stereotypes—of noble and ignoble savages, respectively—for propagandistic ends. European immigrants, whose cultural traditions provided them almost exclusively with the myth of the noble savage, adopted the myth of the ignoble savage as they sought to carve out farms and towns on the frontier; their freedom to act as they wished depended on a lack of freedom for the undeserving Indians. The close juxtaposition of these contrary mythologies about native Americans may have left the rhetoric of foreign settlers temporarily confused, but their course of action as frontier pioneers was clear. The German settlement of New Ulm, Minnesota, provides a useful case study of the mythic underpinnings of frontier life for immigrant settlers.

The idealizers of the noble savage in America were primarily writers of the Northeast, where the horrors of border warfare were long forgotten. For them the noble savage embodied ideals of democratic individualism, courtly love, and romantic Christianity; he practiced natural religion, he incarnated the spirit of brotherly love and self-sacrifice, and he furthered pacifism and abolitionism. In other words, behavior which a group of educated Northeasterners esteemed was attributed to the Indian.[1] Before the publication of the *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-1841) of James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), Americans had been largely silent about the noble savage. Although European philosophers in the eighteenth century had found him useful for highlighting what they regarded as the vices of overbred European culture, he had not represented a myth which spoke to America's needs, wishes, or perceptions of reality. Cooper was able to create his own noble savage because Cooperstown was almost as far from the frontier as was Vienna. Cooper admitted that he had had little opportunity to see Indians; apart from meeting with Indian delegations in Washington, D.C., his re-

searches were literary—in particular the accounts of the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder (1743-1823).[2] Largely because of Cooper, during the decade 1824-1834 the decline of the Indian became the most popular theme in American romance;[3] the savage seemed to be the unfortunate victim of inexorable destiny.[4] The cult of the dying Indian arose, with its poetic idealization of life in the wilderness and its mournful protest against the brutality of the white man.[5]

For reasons which must be considered in part self-serving, Western writers who defended the conduct of those appropriating land close to the actual frontier—a term which referred to no particular geographic location but instead designated the unexplored space beyond the next natural barrier, where the original possessors of the continent were to be confronted in their own territory[6]—specifically rejected the myth of the noble savage and described Indians as ignoble savages. The ignoble savage (sometimes a debased half-breed) was impious, lazy, thievish, physically abhorrent, crafty in his awareness of evil and how to exploit it, intimately acquainted with the most devilish methods of torture, and attracted inescapably to liquor and sex.[7] Those in the West insisted that they knew, through personal experience, the "real" (ignoble) character of the savage; however, their contact was so limited that they seldom had a rounded view of Indian character. They saw little of Indian humor, little of Indian systems of justice, and little of major peace-time preoccupations. The very presence of white men on the frontier made it impossible for them to see an Indian in a "natural" state. In these respects their picture of the native American was no more complete than the image accepted by proponents of the noble savage.

As is the case with most stereotypes, elements of the characterization of both the noble and the ignoble savage were drawn from observation. The Caribs had been a beautiful, mild, innocent people when Columbus first glimpsed them.[8] Indians also often appeared lazy, and worse, seemed proud of their laziness; in their own terms, long-standing tribal custom made it impossible for males to engage in some types of work, such as crop-tending. For the most part, however, mythologizing about savages depended on the point of view of the observer, not on the characteristics of actual native Americans. The noble savage was a philosophical idealization of European (and, later, Northeastern) foreigners; the ignoble savage was an economic rationalization of American (frontier) colonists.

From the earliest Colonial days, the Puritans had the contrary urges to ennoble the savage and to debase him. They brought from Europe the urge to ennoble the savage by redeeming him, under the inspiration of the Bible. The urge to debase—founded on practical necessity, although still sanctified in religious terms—was ultimately more powerful: in order to obtain its birthright, New Israel could crush the inhabitants of Canaan. If the Puritans were to see themselves as honest men, rather than as opportunistic hypocrites, the natives had to be irredeemably worthless.[9] For interim periods early in the progress of colonization, the contrary urges of the colonists left their rhetoric uncertain. John Smith's account of Pocahontas (1624) provides an interesting example. Only the

innately noble child of nature could stay Powhatan's cruel arm from bashing John Smith's skull; Smith represents Pocahontas as a noble savage and her father as an ignoble savage. And in his perception even noble Pocahontas is confused by ignoble attributes: Smith could not separate the princess from her lusty aboriginal character, and he assures us that she would "have done what he listed."[10] Inevitably, as the early settlements grew stronger and the colonists needed less aid from the natives in order to survive, any confusion in the perception of Indian characteristics gave way before the practical necessity of taming both the land and the recalcitrant savages.

As the frontier receded and the Indian became less visible in the Eastern United States, he was gradually romanticized into a symbol of American libertarianism and independent patriotism. (In Revolutionary times, for example, the rebels who threw tea into the Boston harbor donned symbolic Indian garb.) The romanticization of the Indian had no effect on frontier policy,[11] but it did contribute to the creation of American frontier mythology. Traditional Indian characteristics, particularly skill in woodcraft and independence from social restraint, were transferred to the frontier hero. For those who were involved in the expansion westward, the Indian became, paradoxically, both a racial antagonist and the symbol of their freedom and defiance of the East.[12] Only with the disappearance of the real Indian from any frontier area was the paradox resolved into a completely favorable mythology of the Indian.

However foolish the sentimentality of Easterners might have appeared to them, Western apologists in the nineteenth century did not usually wish to appear rabid in their opposition to Indians, even when they defended their prosecution of Indian wars or their expropriation of Indian lands. Clearly, for all their apparent eagerness to defy the East, they recognized that their audience and their own cultural roots lay in the East. Thomas Sturgis's pamphlet, *Common Sense View of the Sioux War: With the True Method of Treatment, as Opposed to the Exterminative and the Sentimental Policy* (1877), was written at the height of emotion over the Little Big Horn, but the author admits that he has suppressed invective in order to retain an Eastern audience.[13] Although Sturgis claims to be no extremist,[14] he accepts without question the notion that Indians are racially inferior.[15] From his own experience, he casually recounts the removal of Sioux from a succession of "perpetual" homes and then contends that any treaty is useless, "since it binds *us* alone, who respect its ties."[16] He insists on a historical untruth, to prove the absence of "Yankee" economy among the savages: the Indians, he says, had to be at fault for the disappearance of the buffalo, because they were the only ones who used the animal.[17] In order to win over his Eastern audience, Sturgis stresses the virtues of the Yankee settlers in Cheyenne. He seems unaware that the "self assertion and independence"[18] of the settlers may have derived ultimately not from their Yankee forebears but from the Indian himself, who had suggested to Westerners their independence from social restraint.

In contrast to the simultaneous regional differences in views of the

Indian within the United States, European views of the Indian were rather unified through much of the nineteenth century; Cooper's novels were published almost immediately in both French and German translations,[19] and Europeans accepted Cooper's noble Mohican as the "real" Indian. A German reviewer of Cooper's *The Pathfinder* in the *Magazin für die Literatur des Auslandes,* 16 March 1840, contrasted Cooper's Indians with the "less realistic" presentations of François-René de Châteaubriand (1768-1848), who had previously provided the most-widely accepted literary incarnation of the noble savage: "Die Sitten der Indianer werden darin treu geschildert, während zugleich Liebe und Aufopferung mit den wahrsten Farben, also auch in einer anderen Weise, wie es Châteaubriand in seiner 'Atala' thut, dargestellt werden."[20] Although as early as 1831 Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) observed that real Indians were disappointing in comparison with Cooper's, and although there was inevitable debate later in the century about the verisimilitude of Cooper's Indians,[21] most Europeans, already predisposed from their own tradition to believe in the noble savage, apparently perceived Cooper's Americanness as a source of authority. Traits of Cooper's Indians came to be considered "typical," and Indians deserved particular sympathy because they had been victimized by civilized whites.[22]

Among the European books on Indians which were inspired during the period of Sioux unrest after the Civil War is Joseph Bournichon's *Sitting Bull, le héros du désert: Scènes de la guerre indienne aux Etats-unis* (1879). Bournichon's introduction is instructive about the source of his biases. His enthusiasm for Cooper is unbounded: "Quel dommage que Fenimore Cooper ne soit plus là pour encadrer le portrait de cet homme [Sitting Bull] dans une oeuvre immortelle, telle que *Le dernier des Mohicans, L'Ontario, La Prairie.*" ("What a shame that Fenimore Cooper is no longer here to frame the portrait of this man [Sitting Bull] in an immortal work such as *The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, The Prairie.*")[23] Bournichon dramatizes important moments in the life of "Le Sitting," who, in a message to Custer, proposes a single parley, issued like a challenge to a knight-errant.[24] At the end of the book the French author appends his own abbreviated Indian-novel, which includes *topoi* made popular by Cooper, such as scenes of torture, a burning at the stake, and the rescue of a Pawnee by an Osage who adopts him as a brother. As was proper in "Indian literature," the characters express higher sentiments and noble love. Bournichon remained in Europe, and for him the noble savage was the real Indian. He has a clearly apologetic purpose on behalf of the Indians, and, presumably, responds to contrary reports of horrors which must have circulated from the United States during this time. He specifically refutes the characteristics of the supposedly depraved savage: he denies that Indians are cruel and barbarous,[25] crafty and untrustworthy,[26] and obstinately opposed to all civilization.[27]

Even though Indian visitors were exhibited in much of Europe throughout the nineteenth century, most Europeans knew Indians primarily from literary sources. In fact, more often than not, the

exhibitions served to confirm literary stereotypes. The beautiful sentiments of Cooper's Mohicans gave European immigrants impossible expectations of the flesh-and-blood Indians they met on the frontier. Reality was so disappointing that they largely replaced the rhetoric of the noble savage with that of the ignoble savage. For confirmation of this contention, it is instructive to examine documents relating to the early decades of the German settlement of New Ulm, Minnesota. A group of German intellectuals connected with the *Turnerbund* attempted to establish a semi-utopian, socialistic community in New Ulm, Minnesota, in 1854.[28] Already by 1859 the social experiment had failed, but the German town remained.[29] Since it was built on land which had been ceded to the Sioux by treaty, it is not surprising that New Ulm was besieged fiercely during the Sioux uprising in 1862.

Like Anglo-Saxon settlers, German settlers felt obliged to defend their conduct in their native tongue, so that their countrymen in Europe or in the German communities in Cincinnati or New York would not misunderstand their actions in the Sioux wars. While Thomas Sturgis might have expected that at least some members of his Eastern audience could see the untruth of ascribing noble sentiments to the savages, the contemporaneous German immigrant apologists had the Cooperian preconceptions of almost all Germans to overcome in their accounts. In order to combat the preconceptions of his audience, the New Ulm chronicler Alexander Berghold stresses (1876) that the loyalty, friendship, magnanimity, and other virtues attributed to Indians in novels are hardly to be found among real Indians: "Von einem romantischen Leben, wie man es in Büchern liest, von ihrer Treue und Freundschaft, Charaktergröße und erhabenen Tugenden ist nur wenig zu finden."[30] Captain Jacob Nix, another local historian of New Ulm (1887), and the commander of the defense against the Sioux in 1862, identifies even more closely the source of the sentimental prejudices which he must overcome. The books of James Fenimore Cooper, he says, have spread falsehoods throughout the European imagination. As a boy, Nix himself read Cooper's novels enthusiastically; only after he has met and fought real Indians does he realize how inaccurately those novels display their character:

> Der Verfasser dieses hat in seiner Jugend mit Vorliebe die Cooper'schen Romane gelesen. Hauptsächlich hat ihn "Der Letzte der Mohikaner" zur vollen Begeisterung für die Rothäute hingerissen; doch ist es von jeher das Unglück bei allen Romanen gewesen, daß die Phantasie die Hauptrolle gespielt und von Wahrheit auch keine Silbe daran war, denn hätte Cooper die wahre Natur der Indianer gekannt, er hätte sich vielleicht eher eine Kugel durch den Schädel gejagt, als so hirnverrücktes Zeug über die rothen Bluthunde zu schreiben.[31]

New Ulm was founded at the height of American nativism, when the Know-Nothing Party threatened to drive the Germans, the Irish, and other immigrant groups into ghetto-like enclaves.[32] Although there was a strong strain of anti-clericalism among the *Turner* intellectuals in New Ulm, they were lumped together with Catholics in the minds of "anti-

Roman'' American nativists.[33] The freethinkers among German intellectuals were especially suspect on account of their advanced ideas: They sought to promote drinking on Sunday, cremation, the abolition of slavery, and female emancipation.[34] And their ideas encouraged even more hostility because they were expressed in a language which was incomprehensible to most Americans. Because of the Know-Nothings, the German immigrant community must have felt itself isolated and besieged by white Americans as well as by Indians. If anything, it would have been more important to the German immigrants than it was to transplanted Easterners to defend their conduct in the Sioux wars.

The histories of the German immigrants in New Ulm were written in self-defense, in response to accounts of the Sioux wars by English-speakers who were uncomplimentary toward their German neighbors. As Jacob Nix contends in his foreword, numerous misleading accounts had been published in English: ''Es sind allerdings schon mehrere Abhandlungen über diesen Gegenstand veröffentlicht worden, doch keine derselben liefert ein richtiges und zuverlässiges Bild jener Schreckensscenen; namentlich aber trotzen die in englischer Sprache erschienenen Aufzeichnungen von Unwahrheiten und Entstellungen.''[35] Mary Butler Renville's *A Thrilling Narrative of Indian Captivity* (1863) was probably one of the accounts which Nix considered unsatisfactory. Renville was a teacher in a mission school north of New Ulm. During the uprising she remained under the protection of friendly Sioux, and afterwards she came to the aid of those Indians who were not combatants. She has unkind words for the inhabitants of New Ulm. Their religious aberrations, amoral trading propensities, and even their questionable manhood evoke her comment:

> God may have visited New Ulm in offended wrath, for we have reason to believe they burned the Savior in effigy only last Sabbath (Aug. 17th) and their laws are strictly against selling lots to any person who will aid in supporting the gospel. . . . New Ulm, we are confident, furnished its share [of firewater] heretofore;[36]
>
> Some of the [Indian] women, it is said, can fight as well as the men. Whether they can equal the German women at New Ulm or not, is a question; for they were much more courageous it is said than their husbands during the siege of that place.[37]

Especially in Jacob Nix's German account of the events in New Ulm, foolish English speakers come and go, and demand help without offering any.[38] In addition Nix has to discredit the sympathy of the religious ''bleeding hearts'' for the ''red animals'':

> Wenn er [the Indian] für die Schlechtigkeit Einzelner die Bewohner ganzer Länderstriche büßen läßt, mordend, brennend und sengend den friedlichen weißen Ansiedler überfällt, alles niedermacht, Männer und Weiber, Greise und Kinder, welche ihm vor Flinte, Bogen oder Tomahawk kommen, da rufe man jene fanatischen Pfaffen, welche sich sofort nach der Niederwerfung eines Indianer-Aufstandes der gefangenen rothen Mordbrenner salbungsvoll annehmen, da schleudere

man den heuchlerischen, augenverdrehenden Dienern des Herrn aus ihrer Bibel die inhaltschweren Worte entgegen: Auge um Auge—Zahn um Zahn![39]

In his intemperate rhetoric, Nix clearly dismisses any nobility in Indians, as well as any value in English-speaking divines. His disappointment in both the Indians and his white American neighbors is so great that he risks the rejection of the very audience he addresses, by refusing to maintain any allegiance at all to the culturally significant myth of the noble savage which he formerly shared with his audience.

From his own experience, Alexander Berghold also confirms predictable qualities of the ignoble savage, such as the long-held prejudice that half-breeds combine the worst vices of red and white;[40] nevertheless, Berghold was not able to exorcise Cooper completely from his own rhetoric. For example, after he describes a confrontation between the Sioux and the German surveyors who were laying out New Ulm, Berghold engages in a paean of the ruined noble savage, who had been destroyed by the advent of civilization.[41] It seems ironic that the three contemporaries Alexander Berghold, Joseph Bournichon, and Thomas Sturgis all agreed on one suggestion for bringing civilization to the Indian: Indian affairs should be taken out of the hands of the venal civilian bureaucracy and placed under the efficient, honest, respected Army.[42] Berghold, in particular, could not believe that the natives were innately bad; rather, the innocents had been corrupted by venal agents. Even in America this European immigrant held on to a vestige of the tradition of the innocence of the noble savage; it seems that Berghold's views had been unassailably formed by the Indians of *belles lettres*. Still, although Berghold's European education and his American frontier experiences remained in apparently unresolved conflict, his course of action was never in doubt. He nowhere suggests that the land be returned to its native claimants; as a result of the defeat of the Sioux in their uprising, the settlers have no more qualms even about evicting Indians from the land which had been promised to them: "Aus Minnesota ist der unbändige Sioux für immer hinausgedrängt."[43] Jacob Nix, whose book marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of New Ulm, makes no mention at all that the town had been settled on land ceded "forever" to the Sioux. Apparently it was the destiny of these historical apologists to help win the West, and it was their responsibility to convince their countrymen that they had done the right thing.

As a first step in the process of assimilation, it seems that new immigrant groups on the frontier had to adapt themselves to the latest in the succession of myths which supported the conquest of the continent. The noble savage, a philosophical idealization of foreigners, had to become the ignoble savage through the economic rationalization of colonists. Even when the question was not purely one of self-interest, the national mythology of manifest destiny led frontier Americans to the same conclusion about Indians. Although the earliest European colonists in North America had seen themselves as visitors whose mission it was to convert and civilize the savages, by the nineteenth century Americans had changed their view of their civilizing mission: The

immortal souls of Indians were no longer important; rather, their bodies were an obstacle to the mission of bringing a civilization of yeoman-farmers to the land, in order to make a garden of the wilderness.[44] A classless society of yeoman-farmers was a sufficiently worthy goal to justify turning Indians out of their birthright. As they sought their garden-plot on the frontier, Germans reflected the pervasive utopian expectation of pastoral beatitude. If they had been able to project a longer view, and if they could have anticipated that the country would continue to develop as it had in the Northeast, German immigrants in the upper Midwest might have expected that their grandchildren could idealize the Indian again, once the frontier (and the Indians) had moved safely further west. In the interim, any gap which remained for high-minded philosophy was filled with the belief in manifest destiny and with, at most, only a small residue of ineffectual rhetorical sympathy for the dying Indian. In fact, the cult of the dying Indian may have actually supported the thinking of manifest destiny: However sympathetically Indians were treated in the elegiac novels of Cooper and his successors, the red man in them is, inevitably, the victim of destiny.

If it was necessary for the settlers to salve their consciences in some way other than by believing in manifest destiny or by feeling regret over the decline of the formerly noble savages, they *worked* in order to deserve the natural largess. They were certainly not stealing from the Indian, since he did not own the land; and he had even less claim to enjoy it, because he did not work. In this context, it is noteworthy that Jacob Nix tells a familiar anecdote about an Indian who had been consigned, as punishment for drunkenness at a fort, to carry water all day under the eyes of the squaws; the Indian refused, except at bayonet-point, to compromise his dignity. For Nix, the story showed how difficult it was to civilize the Indian and to get him to work.[45] Despite growing interest in ethnography throughout the nineteenth century, there had not yet been sufficient development of the anthropological notion of cultural relativity to permit Nix any other conclusion (except that Indians were obviously inferior when they were judged by European cultural standards) from his observed evidence. And because of the perceived cultural insufficiencies of Indians—both their uncivilized violence and their unwillingness to work, through which they disqualified themselves from the Lockean right to property by refusing to mix their labor with it—there was no longer the slightest reason to imagine that their land should be returned to them. Even if German immigrants were not in a direct philosophical line from John Locke, they did share a Protestant tradition with Anglo-Saxon Americans and they seemed at least as committed to the work ethic. The work ethic presumed equal opportunity for the industrious; although slaves, Indians, women, and dependent minors did not have an equal chance, a large number of white lower-class and middle-class Americans believed in the vision.[46] In spite of the best efforts of the Know-Nothings to prevent foreigners from sharing in the American richness, German immigrants tenaciously maintained their belief that opportunity existed

on the frontier for the industrious, and that they themselves belonged to the in-group which deserved to partake of the largess.

In a battle of myths, the self-interest of frontier colonists was better served by the myth that they had come to a land of freedom, equality, and opportunity for the industrious than by the myth of savage nobility. Apparently, for German immigrants as much as for other white settlers on the frontier, continued belief in the freedom of the frontier depended on acceptance of the myth of savage ignobility. Through the unwillingness of the ignoble savage to behave in a civilized manner—it might be argued, through the very independence of the native American, which had originally helped create the illusion of unfettered liberty on the frontier—the Indian forfeited, in their minds, his right to respect and property, and, ultimately, his right to freedom.

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Notes

[1] Fred Arthur Crane, "The Noble Savage in America, 1815-1860," diss., Yale Univ., 1952, ii.

[2] Crane 54.

[3] G. Harrison Orians, *The Cult of the Vanishing American: A Century View: 1834-1934*, Bulletin of the Univ. of Toledo 13.3 (Toledo, OH: Univ. of Toledo, 1935) 3.

[4] Orians 5 ff.

[5] Orians 7.

[6] Leslie A. Fiedler, *The Return of the Vanishing American* (New York: Stein and Day, 1968) 26.

[7] George A. Newtown, "Images of the American Indian in French and German Novels of the Nineteenth Century," diss., Yale Univ., 1979, 7.

[8] Hoxie Neale Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1928) 10.

[9] Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: the Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan Univ. Pr., 1973) passim.

[10] Fiedler 71 f.

[11] Slotkin 418.

[12] Slotkin 426.

[13] Thomas Sturgis, *Common Sense View of the Sioux War: With the True Method of Treatment, as Opposed to the Exterminative and the Sentimental Policy* (Cheyenne, WY: Leader Steam Book and Job Printing House, 1877) 5.

[14] Sturgis 38.

[15] See Sturgis, esp. 13, 32 ff.

[16] Sturgis 33.

[17] Sturgis 32.

[18] Sturgis 5.

[19] For lists of the publication dates, see G. C. Bosset, *Fenimore Cooper et le roman d'aventure en France vers 1830* (Paris: Librairie Vrin, 1928?) 8; and Preston A. Barba, *Cooper in Germany*, Indiana Univ. Bulletin 12.5; Indiana University Studies 21 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ., 1914) immediately following Barba's text.

[20] Quoted in Barba, 84 f.

[21] See Barba 86 ff.

[22] Margaret Murray Gibb, *Le Roman de Bas-de-Cuir, Etude sur Fenimore Cooper et son influence en France* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1927) 15.

[23] Joseph Bournichon, *Sitting-Bull, le héros du désert: Scènes de la guerre indienne aux Etats-unis* (Tours: Cattier, 1879) vii.

[24] Bournichon 163 f.

[25] Bournichon 231 ff.

[26] Bournichon 251 ff.

[27] Bournichon 263 ff.

[28] See Noel Iverson, *Germania, U.S.A.: Social Change in New Ulm, Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Pr., 1966) 58.

[29] Iverson 62 ff.

[30] Alexander Berghold, *Indianer-Rache, oder Die Schreckenstage von Neu-Ulm im Jahre 1862* (New Ulm, MN: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1876) 30.

[31] Captain Jacob Nix, *Der Ausbruch der Sioux-Indianer in Minnesota im August 1862* (New Ulm, MN: Verlag des Verfassers, 1887) 18.

[32] Iverson 43, 53.

[33] Iverson 45.

[34] Iverson 44.

[35] Nix 5.

[36] Mrs. Mary Butler Renville, *A Thrilling Narrative of Indian Captivity* (Minneapolis, MN: Atlas Book and Job Printing Office, 1863) 14.

[37] Renville 29.

[38] Nix 28.

[39] Nix 18.

[40] Berghold 38.

[41] Berghold 16.

[42] See Berghold, chaps. 5 and 6; Bournichon 289; and Sturgis's introductory remarks.

[43] Berghold 79.

[44] This is a major thesis in Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Pr., 1973). See esp. his chap. 15.

[45] Nix 57.

[46] Kenneth Keniston, "'Good Children' (Our Own), 'Bad Children' (Other People's), and the Horrible Work Ethic," *Yale Alumni Magazine* 37.7 (1974): 7.

Theodore Gish

"Three Cheers for Germany, Texas and America!": Patriotism Among the German Settlers in Texas and as a Theme in Hermann Seele's *Texas Fahrten*

No region of the United States in the nineteenth century confronted the German immigrant with a more complex political situation than Texas during the middle third of the century. The first German settlers arriving in the 1830s and settling in Stephen F. Austin's colony, were involved very soon, in one way or another, with the Texas War of Independence against Mexico and with the ensuing trials of the short-lived Republic (1836-45). The annexation of Texas to the United States in 1845 coincided with the mass immigration of Germans to Texas under the program of the Adelsverein. With the outbreak of the Mexican-American War itself the next year, many of the recently arrived German males were recruited, literally on the beach at Carlshafen, the Gulf port of arrival for the Adelsverein, to fight in this war. During the 1850s, activities of the Texas forty-eighters (as elsewhere in the United States) caused friction between the German settlers and the dominant Anglo population, especially those with "nativist" and "Know Nothing" leanings. The issues of the Secession and then the Civil War only sharpened this conflict. As in other Southern states, German immigrants in Texas faced agonizing choices during the Civil War period. Although less outspoken than the forty-eighters, many moderates were also against slavery. Yet as newcomers, such moderates also frequently believed that the issues of the war were primarily Anglo issues. They felt, additionally, a loyalty to their adopted state, which often overrode the issue of slavery itself. During the Reconstruction period, finally, Unionist Republican Germans received important political and civil service positions in the state while their Confederate fellow Germans were less fortunate. This understandably sustained the ideological tensions, now among the Germans themselves, occasioned by the war (Benjamin 82-110; Biesele 191-207).

Older accounts of the German settlement of Texas (e.g., Moritz Tiling's, *History of the German Element in Texas from 1820-1850*, written in

1913) make much of the patriotic acts of German immigrants who fought for their adopted country in the War of Independence against Mexico. Such histories also frequently recount as a singular act of patriotic martyrdom the ambush and massacre by Confederates of several dozen young German Unionists from the freethinker settlement of Comfort, as they attempted to flee to the North via Mexico during the Civil War. A plain obelisk erected in Comfort by its citizens after the war bears on one side the inscription "Treue der Union," and on the other, above the list of the victims, the single word, "ermordet." This sole monument to the Northern cause in the entire South is a poignant reminder of the tragedy. Older histories of the German settlement of Texas as well as popular beliefs among Texas-German descendants have, however, occasionally misinterpreted the event itself as a support for the erroneous belief that Texas-German sympathy was universally for the North.

Three accounts of Texas itself, published in Germany during the period of the Republic, particularly influenced German immigration to the Lone Star State by the "patriotic" way in which their authors portrayed Texas. Positive descriptions of Texas from returning travelers so impressed Hoffmann von Fallersleben, the author of Germany's national anthem, that he thought seriously about becoming a settler himself. Hoffmann did not immigrate, but he did write a collection of stirring and patriotic *Texanische Lieder* giving the fictitious place of publication as "San Felipe de Austin," the headquarters of Austin's colony in Texas. Lines such as the following from "Der Stern von Texas":

> Hin nach Texas! Hin nach Texas!
> Wo der Stern im blauen Felde
> Eine neue Welt verkündet,
> Jedes Herz für Recht und Freiheit
> Und für Wahrheit froh entzündet—
> Dahin sehnt mein Herz sich ganz.
> (Hoffmann von Fallersleben 1)

doubtlessly had the same inspirational effect as the traditional vernacular "Auswandererlied" on many immigrants on their trek to Texas. Although Charles Sealsfield (Karl Anton Postl) was a frequent visitor to America, it is not certain that he ever visited Texas itself. Nevertheless, Sealsfield's popular Texas novel, *Das Kajütenbuch oder Schilderungen aus dem Leben in Texas* (1841) with its romantic descriptions of the vast Texas countryside, its idyllic portrait of the homesteader's life and its praise of the democratic social institutions of the Republic also encouraged many Germans to undertake the trip to Texas. Count von Castell, the guiding force of the Adelsverein, in fact, is said to have obtained his ideas for the colonization of Texas while reading the *Kajütenbuch* as a bored officer of the guard in Mainz (Benjamin 26). While Hoffmann and Sealsfield fictionalized patriotic attitudes toward the Republic of Texas, Gustav Ehrenberg based his account of the Republic on firsthand experience. The actual facts of Ehrenberg's life make it easy for him particularly to be

singled out as a "Texas-German" hero in the older historical accounts. For as a youth of seventeen, Ehrenberg fought with Fannin's ill-fated army at Goliad in the War of Independence, where only he and three other German youths were spared during the ensuing massacre of the prisoners by the Mexicans (Tiling 35-38). Returning to Germany several years later, Ehrenberg taught English at Halle and published patriotic accounts of his experiences in Texas. Ehrenberg's *Texas und seine Revolution* (1843) authored, as he wrote, by a "Bürger der Republik" and provided with an appropriate epigraph from Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell*, was particularly popular among prospective emigrants to Texas.

A short time after Carl, Prince of Solms-Braunfels, the Commissioner-General of the Adelsverein, and a group of immigrants founded the settlement of New Braunfels on Good Friday (21 March) 1845, Solms laid the cornerstone of the fort which was to protect the settlement. In correct aristocratic demeanor, Solms named the future fort "Sophienburg" in honor of Sophia, Princess of Salm-Salm, Solms's fiancée. At the symbolic level, this event is itself charged with patriotic import for what was transpiring at that time between the Old World and the New. For as an officer in the army of the Austrian Emperor, Solms observed the occcasion by raising the Austrian flag on the Vereinsberg where the Sophienburg was to be erected. Below, at the location of the settlement's future public square, however, the recently arrived immigrants enthusiastically raised the Lone Star flag of the Texas Republic and democratically elected a Lieutenant Oscar von Claren as their commandant (Biesele 121-22).

These same immigrants and their descendants were also to engage in continuing acts of public patriotic behavior toward Texas and America (even if, in the early years, it was in the German language) just as their Anglo neighbors. The literary expression of patriotism for the immigrant Texas-German writer, however, was another matter. The national consciousness of the immigrant writer in Texas manifested itself primarily in two ways. Much of Texas-German literature is "hermetic" in nature, treating "German" subjects, without a great deal of ideological or "local color" intrusion from the dominant Anglo-American world of Texas. Both prose and poetry, for example, treat the major theme, the immigration and the settlement itself, from this "hermetic" standpoint. Additionally, much of Texas-German poetry (as nineteenth century German-American poetry elsewhere) deals in a nostalgic and frequently nationalistic fashion with topics such as the "Germanness" of people and institutions, the German language, German locales and German political events. The events of the Civil War, however, caused a second mode of writing to emerge as some of the Texas-German writers began to explore themes of German-Americanism as such and the related issue of loyalties to more than one national identity (just as the issue of the war itself caused American loyalties to be divided). Such is the subject, for example, of August Siemering's novel *Ein verfehltes Leben* (1876) as well as several of the short stories from the postwar period.

Neither of these two sorts of immigrant literature, understandably, is a vehicle for patriotism as such. The *Deutschtum* themes of the first body

of literature are "*ex*-patriotic." The topics investigated by the second group of writers, the emergence of German-Americanism and the problematical relationship between Anglo and German "identity" in Texas, does involve feelings of patriotism in a profound sense. But the investigation of such themes is not a vehicle for the "celebration" of patriotism as such.

Given the nature of ethnic literature and the rapidly changing political climate of Texas during the settlement years, the general absence of patriotic themes in the literature is understandable. For this reason, the recently rediscovered "musical drama," *Texas Fahrten,* is a unique example of Texas-German literature on two counts. It is both the only Texas-German "musical" ever written and also a highly successful patriotic work, uniquely presenting and interrelating themes of German, Texan and American patriotism. As far as can be ascertained, Hermann Seele, the pioneer cultural and civic leader of New Braunfels, wrote the narrative and the song texts of *Texas Fahrten* in the 1850s. A music teacher and singing-society member from the central Texas farm community of La Grange, named C. Wilke, about whom not much more is known, composed the music. Neither do we know much about the collaboration of Seele and Wilke on *Texas Fahrten.* Seele himself arrived in Texas from Hildesheim in 1843 at the age of twenty. After working in the area of Galveston for a time, Seele participated in the founding of New Braunfels, where he became the colony's first school teacher. In the course of his long life, Seele played such an important role in the cultural, political, and civic life of New Braunfels, that his fellow citizens referred to him with a pun as "die eigentliche Seele der Stadt." In addition to *Texas Fahrten,* Seele wrote hundreds of poems, one short story "Die Cypresse," and a number of historical sketches, which he published in German-language newspapers and periodicals in Texas. During the past decade, translations of most of these works have been published. But until recently, Seele's *Texas Fahrten* itself resided largely forgotten in the archives of the Sophienburg Memorial Museum in New Braunfels. In 1980, I came across the manuscript while making preparations to microfilm Seele's historically important diary. A critical edition of *Texas Fahrten* with an English translation was published in 1985 by Nortex Press of Austin. There were also performances of the work from 1984 through 1986 in Houston, Fort Worth and New Braunfels.

Texas Fahrten consists of twelve narrative scenes or "chapters," written in doggerel-like couplets and interspersed with choral or solo songs. The dramatic structure of the work, consequently, most closely resembles that of the popular nineteenth-century Viennese *Singspiel* with which Seele and Wilke were doubtlessly familiar. *Texas Fahrten* chronicles the adventures of four young immigrants to Texas at the time of the Adelsverein colonization. Honoring the *Turner* motto *frisch, fromm, fröhlich, frei,* Seele named the four young men Frisch, Fromm, Fröhlich, and Frei. Since Frei had arrived in Texas earlier and had also fought in the Texas Revolution, he acts as a mentor to his friends in their "travels in Texas." Before taking up the settler's life, the young immigrants enjoy the grandeur of the Texas out-of-doors camping and

hunting. They ride with the Texas Rangers, joining them in a fight with the Comanches. They then visit a Mexican Fandango Hall in San Antonio and afterwards they pay their respects to the fallen heroes of the Republic at the shrine of the Alamo. While they are with the Rangers, the four immigrants become acquainted with a legendary and heroic figure, the whiskey-drinking German-American Texas Ranger Emanuel Sartorius. In a lengthy quodlibet (where the narrative text is interspersed with illustrative verses from thirty-three German and four American popular tunes and folk songs), Sartorius tells the four companions of his misspent youth and university days in Germany and of his travels and adventures in America. True to his heroic nature, Sartorius also performs several acts of skill and daring in the course of the work. *Texas Fahrten* concludes with the wedding festival of Fröhlich and Fromm who have married women accompanying the historical Prince Solms of Braunfels on his trip to Texas.

In *Texas Fahrten,* Seele treats the themes of German, Texan and American patriotism at several levels and also interrelates these themes ingeniously. As a musical pageant, with many characteristics of "folk" literature, the work mythologizes German, Texan, and American institutions and types. By presenting these national myths in a positive light, Seele also celebrates them patriotically. With their love of singing and drinking, the four young men are—at one level—the stereotypical *Burschen* of nineteenth-century Germany. But, by describing the joy they feel at being settlers in Texas and their assimilation and acceptance into Texas frontier society, *Texas Fahrten* also celebrates their successes as pioneers in Texas.

With Frei himself, Seele has created a unique instance of a patriotic Texas figure who is a German. As his name suggests, Frei was a Texas patriot during the War of Independence, having fought at the decisive battle of San Jacinto and he acts accordingly. As a mentor to his three friends, Frei not only introduces them to the life of the Texas pioneer, but he also teaches them about freedom and democracy in the Republic. During their first night with Frei at his homestead Blumenau, he demonstrates to them, for example, the freedoms of Texas hospitality, by putting up a stranger for the night. It is significant, that on this occasion, the four immigrants sing a patriotic song about the United States. Later in the work, Frei also conducts his companions to the Alamo and eloquently explains to them why these ruins are a shrine to Texas liberty. Just as Frei is the mythic Texas patriot who is also a German, Sartorius is the mythic German-American frontiersman. Seele's positive, folktale-like evocation of this popular American myth is a similarly patriotic stance. When the immigrants meet Sartorius, he, like Daniel Boone, had just shot a bear through the eyes. Later, by courageous daring, he saves the Ranger's camp from a herd of wild mustangs. This latter deed, in fact, prompts the legendary Captain Jack Hays of the Rangers to give Sartorius his own Bowie knife, thus conferring, symbolically, on this native German the status of an American hero. Sartorius' two deeds particularly help define him as the archetypal and mythic American frontiersman. But in describing each of

these actions, Seele also points out that "German" skills and daring enabled Sartorius to perform such deeds.

Frei and Sartorius are the primary figures in the work, and they particularly represent the harmonious blending of mythic German, Texan and American patriotic elements. But other Texan and American institutions and types appear in *Texas Fahrten,* also in a mythic and positive and, consequently, patriotic light. Captain Hays and other historical Rangers, for example, are also described as the epitome of the dauntless, cunning, and heroic American frontiersman. The Anglo pioneers whom the Germans encounter likewise reflect the very best of this group of people. Ox-drivers, for example, share their evening meal with the friends on the first night of their journey into the interior, while Anglo settlers help the companions on their travels and later when they begin to build their common homestead on Frei's headright.

Several of the twelve songs of *Texas Fahrten* celebrate the patriotic nature of the work musically. Three of them ("Willkommen," "Die Alamo," and the "Schlußchor") express specific patriotic feelings toward Texas itself, while in "Der Freiheit Heimath" Seele includes the entire nation (which he describes by selected, enumerated states). Both "Willkommen" which describes Texas being freed from the fetters "Mit denen Santa Anna gern uns/ Fest geschmiedet [hat]" (Seele 7) and, of course, "Die Alamo" treat the Republican period. The "Schlußchor" summarizes, on the other hand, the immigrant settler's patriotic feelings toward his new homeland. In particular, this song focuses, in its refrain, on the idea expressed throughout the work: that Texas, as a land of freedom, is the ideal new homeland for the German immigrant. As Prince Solms says in his toast at the wedding feast, introducing this song:

> Ich bring ein Hoch dem Vaterland,
> Der neuen Heimath. Texas wurde
> Uns Deutschen hier, schon auf der Erde
> Zum Paradies. Ein neu Geschlecht
> Treu aller Freiheit und dem Recht
> Blüh' nach uns. . . .
>
> (Seele 67-68)

The refrain itself then of the "Schlußchor" is:

> Heil, heil! unserm Texas
> Das fernste Geschlecht,
> Find hier eine Heimath
> Für Freiheit und Recht.
>
> (Seele 68)

It is unlikely that there was ever a public performance of *Texas Fahrten* before those of the last few years. Although nearly one hundred singing societies existed in Texas during Seele's lifetime, they traditionally sang only German folk and popular songs of the sort found in the nineteenth-century *Kommersbücher,* which these clubs often used. Even though Seele was a guiding light of New Braunfels' first singing

society Germania (for which, in fact, he built a *Sängerhalle* at his farmstead) even he apparently would not break with this tradition by producing his own musical. A performance copy of some songs from *Texas Fahrten,* dated 1892, was recently found in the archives of the museum in New Braunfels. But available information from the minutes of the New Braunfels singing societies as well as the published accounts of the annual state meetings of the Texas Sängerbund does not indicate that there was ever an actual public performance of *Texas Fahrten* itself.

Despite then the considerable amount of Texas-German immigrant literature—poems, historical sketches, short stories and a few novels and plays—Seele's *Texas Fahrten* is, culturally, this literature's most unique work. Its expression of German, Texan, and American patriotism, its mythologizing of German, Texan, and American institutions and types and in the figures of Frei and Sartorius respectively, its dramatic and positive symbolization of the Texas-German and German-American experience is found in no other writing. Because of this, as a cultural document, *Texas Fahrten* represents a high point in the development of immigrant German literature in Texas.

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Maria Wagner

Francis J. Grund neu betrachtet

Die Lebensbeschreibungen bedeutender Deutschamerikaner des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts zeichnen sich fast durchweg durch positive Stellungnahme zu der besprochenen Persönlichkeit aus. Nur selten liest man etwas Kritisches, etwas Tadelndes oder gar etwas Abfälliges. Zu den Ausnahmen aber, die nicht so wohlwollend behandelt wurden, zählt Francis J. Grund oder Franz Joseph Grund, wie er als Österreicher ursprünglich hieß. Die meisten Biographen bis in unsere Tage stützen sich auf das Wort seiner Zeitgenossen, die seine politischen Gegner waren. Denn Francis Grund war nahezu der einzige wortgewandte Deutschamerikaner, der bis zum Jahre 1863 auf der "falschen" Seite stand. Dieser Umstand reizt zu der Untersuchung, wie gerechtfertigt diese Beurteilung war, oder ob es nicht noch weitere Gesichtspunkte und Tatsachen gibt, die das Bild in eine andere Beleuchtung stellen.

Das vorliegende Quellenmaterial gibt einen interessanten Einblick in den ausgedehnten Tätigkeitsbereich eines Mannes, der wohl ein mit allen Wassern gewaschener Politiker war und als solcher ganz nach amerikanischen Regeln spielte. Dazu kommt, daß er ein merkwürdiges Gemisch aus Kosmopolit und überzeugtem Amerikaner, "deutschem Edelmann" und Jacksonian Democrat, Katholik und Freidenker war. Seine Briefe und Schriften faszinieren durch ein politisches und historisches Wissen, das die Feinheiten amerikanischer Innenpolitik sowie die verwirrenden Details einer europäischen Erbpolitik durchschaut, aber auch amerikanische, englische und deutsche Literatur überblickt und zu vergleichen versteht.

Die Absicht meiner Arbeit ist jedoch nicht, Franz Joseph Grund reinzuwaschen und als verkannten Idealisten darzustellen. Es geht mir lediglich darum, das Quellenmaterial auszuwerten und die Grundlage für eine objektive Beurteilung zu erweitern.

Ich gründe meine Darstellung auf Dokumente über "Special Agents" und "Special Missions" in den National Archives zu Washington sowie auf das reichhaltige Material im Cotta-Archiv zu Marbach. Da findet sich am Deckblatt seiner Briefsammlung folgende von der Redak-

tion Cotta zusammengefaßte Beschreibung: "Grund, Francis J., Brasilien, Journalist und amerikanischer Konsul, Redakteur des *Washington Globe* und der *Boston Morning Post*, Korrespondent der *Allgemeinen Zeitung*, Mitarbeiter der *Deutschen Vierteljahresschrift*."[1]

Laut eigener Aussage—so in einem Brief an Gustav Kolb aus dem Jahre 1836—war er vor fünfzehn Jahren, also 1821, nach den Vereinigten Staaten gekommen.[2] An anderer Stelle berichtet er, daß er mit einer Enkelin William Penns verheiratet sei.[3] Im Jahr 1843 schreibt er recht selbstbewußt an Georg Cotta:

> Ich bin Redakteur des *Evening Mercury*, Mitarbeiter an zehn Zeitungen englischen und deutschen Inhalts, Wiegemeister der Vereinigten Staaten für den Hafen von Philadelphia, ein Candidat für ein confidentielles Amt im Statedepartment, und Politiker von Profession. . . . Ich fühle mich berufen, vielleicht noch meinen Namen in der Geschichte dieses Landes zu lassen und dies ist mein Ziel. Ich kenne Amerika wie meine Tasche und weiß von jeder bedeutenden Person, was sie will. . . . Meine "Briefe über Deutschland" erscheinen jetzt in *The New World* published in New York.[4]

Über Grunds frühe Anfänge weiß man wenig. Er ist 1807 in Prag geboren, in Wien aufgewachsen, dort an der späteren Technischen Hochschule matrikuliert gewesen. Von da wanderte er 1821 nach Rio de Janeiro aus und lehrte dort an einer Militärakademie Mathematik.[5] Mehr wissen wir seit 1826, da er an der Chauncy Hall School in Boston, Massachusetts, bis zum Jahre 1833 Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften unterrichtete.[6] Für seine Lehrtätigkeit schrieb er seine eigenen Textbücher, deren Qualität allgemein gelobt wurde. Bald aber widmete er sich der Politik und dem Journalismus, wobei er sowohl deutsch wie englisch schrieb und Reden hielt. Grund hatte sich mit der Zeit so viele politische Verdienste erworben, daß er 1836 im Dienste der Vereinigten Staaten nach London gesandt wurde. Durch sein dort auf englisch publiziertes Buch über Amerika trat er mit dem Cotta-Verlag in Verbindung und bot eine deutsche Ausgabe an, die unter dem Titel *Die Amerikaner in ihren moralischen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen* 1837 auch bei Cotta erschien.[7] Dadurch bahnte sich zwischen Francis Grund und Georg Cotta ein Briefverkehr an, der sich über mehrere Jahrzehnte erstreckte. Neben diesem Briefwechsel liegt das umfangreiche gedruckte Material vor, das Grund für den Cotta-Verlag geschrieben hatte.

Man hat Grund vorgeworfen, daß er nach jeweilig persönlichem Interesse von einer politischen Partei zur andern geschwenkt war, je nach den Vorteilen, die sich für ihn daraus ergaben. So hatte er als Demokrat 1835 für Van Buren, 1840 gegen Van Buren für den zu den Whigs gehörenden Harrison geschrieben und geworben. Später hatte er sich wieder der Demokratischen Partei zugewandt. Seine Briefe und Artikel zeigen jedoch, daß er sich konsequent an seine eigenen Anschauungen hielt, das heißt er war für Van Buren, wenn er Van Burens Ansichten teilte, und war später gegen Van Buren, weil er dessen Ansichten und Pläne in der Bankenfrage für katastrophal hielt und weil Van Buren die Annexion von Texas ablehnte. Grunds diesbezügliche

Auffassung über Politik geht aus seiner Kritik an der politischen Haltung seiner Landsleute hervor, wenn er schreibt: "Der Deutsche ist hier der Partei gehorsam, wie er zu Hause der Obrigkeit gehorsam war."[8] Das heißt also, Gehorsam zur Partei betrachtete Grund als politische Naivität. Aber gerade diese Auffassung kritisiert Körner, wenn er in ironischer Umkehrung schreibt, "die Deutschen haben nun einmal die altfränkische Idee, einen so häufigen Wechsel nicht lobenswert zu finden. Anders war es in amerikanischen Kreisen."[9] Grund definiert seine Einstellung zur Politik folgendermaßen: "Die Politik ist für mich kein Sehnen und frommes Meinen, sondern der kürzeste Weg zwischen zwei gegebenen Punkten, und ich handle und schreibe, wie es eben die Umstände mit sich bringen."[10] So ergeben sich hier allein schon in der Auffassung über das Wesen der Politik zwei gegensätzliche Positionen.

Die Vorteile, die sich Grund durch seine politische Agitation für diesen oder jenen Kandidaten erworben hatte, bestand in der Verleihung verschiedener konsularischer Posten in Europa. London, Antwerpen, Bremen, Le Havre waren die Stützpunkte seiner Tätigkeit. Außerdem bereiste er als amerikanischer Geheimagent den europäischen Kontinent und berichtete über alles, was den Vereinigten Staaten von Interesse sein konnte. Aus seinen Berichten merkt man, daß er seine Aufgabe darin sah, Vermittler zu sein zwischen den amerikanischen Staaten und Deutschland, speziell Süddeutschland. Diese Vermittlerrolle, zu der er sich berufen fühlte, geht besonders aus dem Briefverkehr mit Georg Cotta hervor und konzentriert sich auf die Frage der deutschen Auswanderung. In diesem komplexen Problem sieht Grund drei Aspekte: 1. Schutz der deutschen Auswanderer, 2. Vorteil dieser Auswanderung sowohl für die Vereinigten Staaten wie auch für Deutschland, 3. Widerstand gegen die Gründung deutscher Kolonien auf anderen Kontinenten.

Als amerikanischer Konsul in den wichtigsten europäischen Hafenstädten hatte er reichlich Gelegenheit, die bedrückenden Umstände der deutschen Auswanderer auf der Überfahrt zu beobachten. Er scheint darüber auch persönlich mit Cotta gesprochen zu haben. Es wurde zwischen ihnen schließlich ein Auswandererverein für Württemberg geplant, der von Cotta geführt werden sollte und in dem Grund als Vermittler zwischen Württemberg und den Vereinigten Staaten fungieren sollte. So schreibt er 1842 an Cotta: "Ich halte dies für die Aufgabe meines Lebens und würde, wie ich glaube, meine Bestimmung verfehlen, wenn ich bei meiner jetzigen Stellung und dem Vertrauen, das Präsident und gesetzgebende Versammlungen in mich setzen, nicht als Mittler zwischen Deutschland und Amerika auftreten wollte".[11] In diesem ausführlichen Brief bezieht er sich auf einen ihm von Cotta zugegangenen Kolonisationsplan, den er nun Punkt für Punkt bespricht und als übereinstimmend mit amerikanischen Interessen bezeichnet. Außerdem legte er Cotta einen Vorschlag zur weiteren Ausarbeitung vor:

Kurzer Abriß des Kolonisationsplanes in den V. St.

Die Gesellschaft, resp. Regierung muntert nicht zur Auswanderung auf, sondern gibt derselben blos eine eigene Richtung. Dies thut sie durch Überwachung der Auswanderer nicht nur bis zum Meer, sondern bis zur Niederlassung im fremden Lande.

Zu diesem Zwecke kauft sie

1stens eine Anzahl Morgen continuierliches Land, entweder vom Congreß oder der Regierung der einzelnen Staaten. Sie erhält Credit und macht jährliche Abschlagszahlungen ohne Interessen.

2tens Dieses Land verkauft sie den Auswanderern, läßt sich den Kaufschilling hier oder in Amerika durch den von ihr aufgestellten Agenten bezahlen und schlägt nur so viel auf, als Kosten und Interessen deckt.

Das Ergebnis wäre:

a. niedere Preise
b. Legung des Handwerks der Spekulanten
c. Stehender Handelsverkehr mit Deutschland
d. gleichartige Elemente deutscher Gesittung in Amerika
e. Möglichkeit ihrer Vergünstigung.

Die Regierung verbietet das Werben um Auswandern in Wirtshäusern und öffentlichen Straßen, unterstützt unverschuldete Arme und belohnt zugleich Verdienste um Staat und Vaterland, für die keine Anstellung und Gnadungsgehalte vorhanden sind.

Welches Sr. Hochwohlgeboren Herrn Baron Cotta von Cottersburg, Mitglied der Kammer der Abgeordneten gehorsamst vorgetragen wird von

Franz Grund
Consul der Vereinigten Staaten.[12]

Während Grund mit Cotta über diese Pläne verhandelte, berichtete er gleichzeitig darüber nach Washington. Im Februar desselben Jahres schlug er Washington vor, daß amerikanische Konsuln beauftragt werden, die Auswanderung zu überwachen, indem sie Visa und Pässe ausstellen und die Kapitäne aller Schiffe verantwortlich machten, diese Papiere vorzuweisen. Er zählt die sich daraus ergebenden Vorteile wie folgt auf: Erstens würde dadurch verhindert werden, daß Kriminelle nach den Vereinigten Staaten auswanderten. Zweitens würden Monopole der Kaufleute für ihre Beförderung verhindert. Drittens würde der Verlust von Dollars für die Auswanderer und die Vereinigten Staaten wegen unreeller Spekulationen verhindert. Unnötige Einkäufe in Europa würden verhindert, die besser, billiger und zutreffender in den Vereinigten Staaten getätigt würden.

Er berichtet, daß er das Inland auf ausgedehnten Reisen besucht und mit den Ministern der Staaten in Württemberg, Baden, Hessen und Bayern unterhandelt habe. Aber wenn die USA, die direkt daran interessiert sein müßten, keine Schritte unternähmen, so nütze das philanthropische Interesse einzelner Personen hier nichts.[13] Und am 4. Oktober ersucht er um ein *leave of absence* für ein Treffen im Staat

Württemberg, um eine deutsche Auswanderergesellschaft für Amerika zu gründen.

Das Thema Auswanderung beschäftigte Grund unentwegt. Er schrieb darüber in deutschen und amerikanischen Zeitungen und brachte bei Cotta sein *Handbuch und Wegweiser für Auswanderer* heraus, das zwei Auflagen erlebte. Auch in seinen Briefen nahm er immer wieder dazu Stellung und grenzte Auswanderung den kolonialen Bestrebungen gegenüber ab. Er schreibt 1844:

> Sehr zu wünschen wäre es, daß die unsinnigen Colonisationspläne, mit welchen man jetzt schwärmt, von der Presse tüchtig gezüchtigt werden. Deutschland wird wohl daran tun, keine unabhängige Colonie zu bilden, wozu die Zeit längst vorüber ist. Selbst *wir* könnten dies nicht tun, es sei denn angrenzende continentale.[14]

In der *Augsburger Allgemeinen* wiederholt er dasselbe, "noch einmal sey es gesagt, die Zeiten zur Gründung von Colonien zur Ausbeute für das Mutterland sind vorüber, selbst wenn ein solcher Plan mit den allgemeinen Zwecken der Menschheit sich überhaupt vereinigen ließe. . . ." Kolonisation wurde von Gegnern der Auswanderung in der Annahme befürtwortet, daß dadurch Land und Leute für das deutsche Mutterland erhalten blieben. Dieser Meinung trat Grund entgegen:

> Es ist sonderbar, daß alle neueren Vorschläge zur Gründung von Colonien ganz den Umstand unberücksichtigt lassen, daß die erste menschliche Bedingung aller Auswanderung die ist, daß es dem Auswanderer im fernen Welttheil gut gehe und daß er mit weniger Mühe als daheim sein Fortkommen finde. Die Auswanderer sind sich doch vor allem Selbstzweck, das heißt, sie wandern für sich selbst aus, nicht für die daheim Bleibenden. Da kommen aber immer wieder dieselben Leute und sagen: "die Deutschen in Amerika sind ja keine Deutschen mehr; das sind ja Amerikaner, welche Deutschland keinen Dank wissen." Fragen wir nun aber, was hat denn bis jetzt das liebe Deutschland für die Auswanderer nach Amerika gethan? . . . Nichts ist geschehen, und nun, da eine so große Zahl dennoch zu Wohlstand und Ehren gelangt, klagt man sie des Undanks an. Die deutsche Auswanderung nach Amerika, wie leicht ließe sie sich leiten, überwachen, einem bestimmten Punkt zuführen. Welch Verdienst könnte sich da nicht eine Regierung um ganz Deutschland, um die Nachwelt erwerben, die bei einem solchen Unternehmen sich an die Spitze stellen würde! Deutschland und Amerika können sich wechselseitig an die Hand gehen, können eins aufs andere belebend einwirken . . . das gute Einverständnis zwischen ihnen durch eine ausgebreitete Bevölkerung aus deutschem Stamme dauerhafter und für beide Theile segensreicher begründen.[15]

Grund war aber auch amerikanischer Konsul, der die Interessen der Vereinigten Staaten vertrat. So berichtete er zum Beispiel nach Washington über den unhaltbaren Vertrag mit den Hansestädten, der sich auf amerikanische Schiffsbesitzer katastrophal auswirke. Es klingt sehr aktuell, wenn er schreibt, er sehe nicht, wie es den amerikanischen Schiffsbesitzern möglich sei, mit den niedrigen Preisen zu konkurrieren,

unter denen die hanseatischen Kaufleute segeln können, weil ihnen durch verschiedene Regulationen Vorteile zugesichert sind. Wenn dieser Zustand weiter anhalte, werde die amerikanische Flagge von der Nordsee vertrieben werden. Es gebe noch eine andere Überlegung, die er zu bedenken gibt:

> Die Hansestädte Lübeck, Hamburg und Bremen, lehnen es ab, sich dem deutschen Zollverein anzuschließen, vor allem weil ihr Vertrag mit den USA es ihnen ermöglicht, Handel zu betreiben auf der Basis von Gegenseitigkeit, die ohnedies nur zu Gunsten der Hansestädte praktiziert wird. Würden die Vereinigten Staaten mit dem Zollverein auf diesem Prinzip verhandeln, würden sie dadurch neue Märkte für ihre Produkte an Rhein, Donau und Weser finden.[16]

Über den Deutschen Zollverein berichtete Grund Jahre später ausführlich als amerikanischer Agent in geheimer Mission aus Baden 1859:

> Es wurde gesagt, daß höhere politische Ursachen Preußen dazu veranlaßt habe [sic], Österreich am Beitritt zu hindern. Preußen ist jetzt die führende Macht innerhalb des Zollvereins, was sie nicht wäre, wenn 38 Millionen durch Österreich repräsentiert, sich dem Verein anschlössen. Preußen wird aus diesem Grund verdächtigt, auf den Transitzöllen zu beharren, weil Österreich deren Abschaffung als Bedingung für seinen Eintritt bezeichnete. Leider hat jeder der am Zollverein beteiligten Staaten absolutes Vetorecht und kann dadurch jeden beabsichtigten Wechsel im Tarif oder Zoll mit fremden Mächten hemmen. Es geschah auf diese Weise, daß Österreich gehindert wurde, dem Verein beizutreten, obwohl die süddeutschen Staaten und wahrscheinlich die Mehrheit der norddeutschen Staaten diese Union begünstigten.[17]

Es soll nicht übersehen werden, daß Grund hier aus Süddeutschland berichtet, dessen Sympathien auf österreichischer Seite lagen. Zudem war Grund selbst österreichischer Herkunft. Auch seine Verbindung mit Cotta und der *Augsburger Allgemeinen Zeitung* bestärkte diese Einstellung. "Cotta und viele seiner Redakteure waren Süddeutsche und standen als solche der norddeutschen Mentalität oft fremd gegenüber, konnten ein angeborenes Mißtrauen gegen Preußen nicht überwinden."[18]

Grunds Berichte berühren nahezu die gesamte globale Konstellation, die sich in Europa wie in einem Brennpunkt sammelte. Hauptsächlich berichtete er über Europa, er streifte jedoch auch Nicaragua und Costa Rica, die Kanalfrage usw. Die Kriegsstimmung zwischen Österreich und Italien stand jedoch im Vordergrund. Er sieht Frankreich und Preußen sich gegenseitig zuspielen, um ihre jeweiligen Gewinne aus der Situation zu ziehen. Preußen beschreibt er als deklarierten Rivalen Österreichs, dem die preußische Presse übel mitspiele. Der Antagonismus zwischen den beiden deutschen Großmächten teile Deutschland in zwei Lager und spiele dem französischen Kaiser in die Hände. Frankreich bekomme dadurch die Hände frei, Österreich zu schlagen, und Preußen eigne sich als neutrale Macht nebenher eine immense Ausdehnung innerhalb Deutschlands an.

Auf einen weiteren Schauplatz verweisen seine Berichte über Konstantinopel und den Balkan. Die Vereinigten Staaten könnten daran interessiert sein, mit den Balkanprovinzen Handelsverträge zu schließen.[19] Über Rußland schreibt er, daß der Befreiung der Leibeigenen viele Hindernisse entgegengesetzt werden. Der Widerstand vonseiten einer mächtigen Klasse werde zumindest vorläufig die Entwicklung der Außenpolitik dieses weiten und wachsenden Reiches hindern.[20]

Es scheint, daß diese ausgedehnte Mission, zu der Grund beauftragt worden war, zurückzuführen ist auf eine Befürwortung des Senators Stephan Douglas, deren Text ebenfalls im Archiv zu Washington vorliegt. Es ist ein Schreiben, gerichtet an General Lewis Cass, datiert vom 11. Mai 1857. Darin schreibt Douglas:

> You know the circumstances under which Mr. Grund was induced to spend as much time in canvassing the frontier German settlements in the west and you can bear testimony to the fidelity and efficiency with which he performed his duties. I think you will agree with me that it is a point of honor as far as . . . yourself and myself are concerned to see that a suitable plan is tendered to him if it is in our power to recommend it.[21]

Ein Jahr später, datiert vom 18. Juni 1858, erhielt Grund seinen Kontrakt vom State Department.[22]

Etwa ein Jahr lang befand sich Grund auf dieser "geheimen Mission". Neben den Berichten, die er nach Washington sandte, legte er über diese Reise auch ein Buch vor, *Thoughts and Reflections on the Present Position of Europe and its Probable Consequences to the United States*, gedruckt 1860 in Philadelphia. Am 25. Mai 1859 wurde Grund abberufen und begab sich am 1. April 1860 zu seinem Konsulat in Le Havre, das ihm aber durch die Wahl Lincolns im folgenden Jahr verlorenging. Als letzte Urkunde findet sich in seinem Portfolio in Washington eine von mehr als einhundert amerikanischen "shipmasters" unterzeichnete Bittschrift, die ersucht, Grund auf seinem Posten zu belassen.[23] Er wurde jedoch von seinem Nachfolger James Putnam abgelöst.

Jenes Schreiben des Senators Douglas läßt sich ferner mit einer Erwähnung Grunds in Gustav Körners *Memoiren* in Bezug bringen. Körner berichtet über eine Wahlkampagne im Westen, bei der sich Grund als Vertreter der Demokraten und Körner als Republikaner gegenüberstanden. Er beschreibt, wie Grund geschickt die Mentalität der dort versammelten deutschen Demokraten erfaßt und angesprochen hatte. Körner aber habe in seiner Ansprache auf Grunds politische Karriere verwiesen, die auch den Demokraten Untreue gezeigt habe. Grund sei blaß und unruhig geworden, habe ihn unterbrochen und darauf verwiesen, daß er keine persönlichen Angriffe auf Körner gezielt habe und hoffe, daß dieser ihn als Gentleman behandeln werde. Körner berichtet, er habe seine Attacke jedoch fortgesetzt.[24]

Wie bereits angedeutet, betätigte sich Grund neben seiner politischen Karriere im Dienste der amerikanischen Regierung auch als Journalist. Und das war ja sein eigentlicher und hauptamtlicher Beruf, der ihm sein Einkommen sicherte. Aber auch auf diese seine Tätigkeit

erstreckt sich Körners Kritik. Er bezeichnet Grund als "Vater des journalistischen Sensationsstiles" und schreibt:

> Grund stand hinter den Kulissen, manchmal wenigstens, und wo es nicht der Fall war, gab er vor, dahinter zu stehen, was am Ende gleich für ihn war. Seine "Enthüllungen," seine "auf die besten Quellen gestützten" Voraussagen, seine Persiflage bekannter Männer reizte den Gaumen des großen Publikums, brachten ihn aber auch in manche für ihn persönlich sehr unangenehme Kollisionen.[25]

Über solche Kollisionen gibt das Quellenmaterial nichts her, wohl aber zeigt es den Zwiespalt der Doppelrolle, die Grund zu füllen versuchte. Denn Grund war einerseits Regierungsbeamter und Politiker, andererseits Journalist. Heutzutage sind diese zwei Rollen streng getrennt. Jetzt ist es so, daß die Beamten die berüchtigten "leaks" an die Journalisten liefern und diese schreiben darüber. Zu Grunds Zeiten war es möglich, beide Tätigkeiten in einer Person zu vereinen. Er war nicht auf eifersüchtige Beamte angewiesen, er saß selbst an der Quelle. Von Cotta ließ er sich die heiligsten Eide schwören, daß sein Name mit gewissen Artikeln seiner Feder niemals genannt werde. Aus Antwerpen sandte er "einen hier eingeschlossenen Artikel . . . der, würde der Autor herausgefunden, mir ohne Zweifel mein Consulat kosten würde." Er begründet seine Indiskretion mit der journalistischen Verpflichtung, "einige Mängel der Regierung und der Deputierten aufzudecken, namentlich in ihrem Fiskal- und Douanensystem."[26]

Die große Linie von Grunds politischer Ausrichtung war trotz gelegentlicher Seitensprünge die eines amerikanischen Demokraten. Er war aber kein Freund der Sklaverei, obwohl er sie als unvermeidliches Übel bezeichnete. So schreibt er 1840:

> In dem Schuldbuch der Geschichte steht das republikanische Amerika besonders binnen der letzten drei Jahre in Bezug auf die Negerrace hart angeklagt. Man sucht nämlich während dieser Zeit die Sklaverei nicht wie früher, mit dem Drang der Umstände, mit der politischen und physischen Unmöglichkeit ihrer los zu werden usw. zu entschuldigen, sondern dieselbe zu einem System zu erheben, auf welchem sich die Prosperität der Weißen auf den bis nach Südamerika oder wenigstens bis nach der Meerenge von Panama sich zu erstreckenden Territorien der Vereinigten Staaten gründen soll.[27]

Andererseits verteidigte Grund die Sklaverei, wie es in den vierziger Jahren bei vielen Demokraten üblich war. Er betrachtete die Sklaverei "als Sicherung gegen die nördlichen Staaten, deren unaufhörliche Petitionen zu Gunsten der Negeremanzipation das Volk beständig in Aufruhr bringen und zu den schrecklichsten blutigen Verbrechen hinreißen."[28]

Als sich Körner und Grund 1856 als Gegner im Wahlkampf gegenüberstanden, war in der politischen Arena Amerikas eine Veränderung vorgegangen. Eine Umgruppierung innerhalb der Parteien hatte stattgefunden, und eine neue Partei war gegründet worden. Körner schreibt: "Das deutsche Element hatte sich damals mit überwiegender Mehrheit

der demokratischen Partei entfremdet und stellte sich mit Enthusiasmus unter das Banner von Frémont und der Republikanischen Partei.''[29] Wenn Körner unter dem Begriff ''das deutsche Element'' jene Deutschen versteht, deren er in seinem gleichnamigen Buch gedenkt, so hatte er sicherlich recht. Der Großteil der deutschen Intelligenz war von den Demokraten zu den Republikanern übergegangen. Von einer ''überwiegenden Mehrheit'' der deutschen Bevölkerung in Amerika kann aber keine Rede sein, wie die Forschung nachgewiesen hat. Über Grund schreibt Körner an gleicher Stelle weiter: ''Mit großem Eifer stürzte er sich in den Wahlfeldzug für Buchanan, seinen speziellen pennsylvanischen Landsmann. . . . Er wurde von den Amerikanern jetzt sehr gesucht. Er ließ sich bewegen, Rundreisen anzutreten, und bereiste unter den Auspizien von Stephan A. Douglas, namentlich die westlichen Staaten. . . .''[30] Grunds Interesse an den Deutschen galt aber nahezu ausschließlich der Landbevölkerung, den Farmern, Arbeitern und Handwerkern. An sie richtete er sich in seinen Reden, bei ihnen erntete er seine Erfolge. In seiner Beschreibung der Deutschen in Amerika schätzt er die Bauern am höchsten ein.

> Vergleicht man die moralischen Kräfte des deutschen Ackerbauers mit denen der andern deutschen Einwanderer, so wird man bald zur Überzeugung gelangen, daß gerade im Bauernstande die meisten deutschen Fähigkeiten schlummern, und daß er es ist, der die vaterländische Sitte und die vaterländische Sprache am längsten bewahrt.

Nach den Bauern nennt er die deutschen Handwerker mit dem meisten vaterländischen Sinn. Von den Intellektuellen weiß er wenig Positives zu sagen: ''. . . eine nicht sehr erfreuliche Rolle spielten diejenigen Gelehrten, welche in Europa auf den Titel Honoratioren Anspruch gemacht hätten.''[31]

Während Körner aus politischen Gründen mit der Auswandererwelle der dreißiger Jahre nach den Vereinigten Staaten gekommen war, war Grund, soweit sich feststellen läßt, nicht als politischer Flüchtling nach Amerika gekommen. Er stammte aus Metternichs Österreich und scheint sich mit jenen konservativen Elementen identifiziert zu haben, gegen die sich die Dreißiger erhoben hatten. Grund hatte auch die radikalen Bestrebungen der Vormärzbewegung, an denen Körner teilgenommen hatte, nicht geschätzt. Das geht aus einer Bemerkung aus dem Jahre 1838 hervor, in der er schreibt, er habe der deutschen Demagogen nicht mit besonderer Vorliebe gedacht, die revoltieren, weil sich ihnen das Bild der Freiheit nicht gerade so offenbare, wie sie sich dasselbe auf der Universität geträumt,[32] und 1845 schreibt er, er sei kein Verehrer der modernen deutschen politischen Schule.[33] Mit den Jahren hatte sich zwischen ihm und der deutschen Intelligenz in Amerika ein wachsender Abstand ergeben, der wohl auf diese politischen Gründe zurückzuführen ist. Der Überzahl republikanisch gesinnter deutschamerikanischer Journalisten stand um 1860 auf demokratischer Seite kaum ein nennenswerter Name gegenüber, der sich mit Grund hätte messen können. Die neue politische Ära aber hatte Grund überholt. Erst 1863 befreundete er sich mit den neuen Ideen und erschien, wiederum

laut Körner, in der Öffentlichkeit und hielt in Philadelphia eine feurige Rede zugunsten der republikanischen Partei, deren Mitglied er nun wurde. Er fürchtete jedoch den Zorn seiner demokratischen Parteigenossen; und als anläßlich des Besuches von General McClellan eine große Menschenmenge an seinem Haus vorbeimarschierte, deutete er dies als Sturm auf sein Haus, eilte durch eine Hintertür zur Polizeistation, um Hilfe zu holen, und brach tot zusammen.[34]

Körner beschreibt Grund als alt aussehenden, dicken Mann, der ihn lebhaft an einen wohlgenährten Kapuziner erinnerte. In seinem Werk *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten 1818-1848* spricht er Grund bedeutende natürliche Talente, umfassende Kenntnisse, hervorragendes Unterhaltungstalent, schlagfertigen Witz und eine Beredsamkeit wie Abraham a Santa Clara zu. Zum Abschluß schreibt Körner aber eine Beurteilung, die von Biograph zu Biograph weitergegeben wurde:

> Viel bedeutender hätte Grunds Einfluß sein können, viel länger hätte er in dem Andenken weiter Kreise namentlich in der deutschen Bevölkerung fortgelebt, wenn seine Schwankungen in der Politik nicht fast stets mit Verbesserung seiner bürgerlichen Stellung begleitet gewesen wären. Die bedeutenden natürlichen Talente, die er besaß, die umfassenden Kenntnisse, die er sich erworben, glichen den Mangel an Charakter keineswegs aus.[35]

Fragen wir uns nun zusammenfassend, ob dieses strenge Urteil—speziell im Vergleich zu allen andern Politikern seiner Zeit—gerechtfertigt ist und worin es seine Wurzel haben mag.

Zweifellos war der politische Gegensatz ein Faktor in dem Antagonismus, der Körner zu seinem Urteil bewog. Dabei handelte es sich jedoch nicht ausschließlich um parteipolitische, sondern um weltanschauliche Gegensätze schlechthin. Diese Gegensätze betrafen nicht nur amerikanische politische und soziale Auffassungen, sondern reichten zurück auf Haltungen in der alten Heimat, die die politische Sicht beider in Amerika beeinflußten und wohl auch zu dem Resultat führten, daß Körner schon 1855 zu den Republikanern umschwenkte, Grund aber noch acht Jahre Demokrat blieb.

Eine weitere Ursache ist in der Tatsache zu suchen, daß Grund sich vollkommen mit der amerikanischen Politik identifizierte und dort seine Verbindungen pflegte, ja sie den deutschamerikanischen vorzog. Während Grund sich selbst als Vermittler zwischen Deutschland und den Vereinigten Staaten betrachtete, sahen manche seiner deutschamerikanischen Landsleute in ihm ein allzu williges Werkzeug amerikanischer Politik. Dazu kommt, daß diese Willfährigkeit auch ganz ansehnlich belohnt wurde. Tatsache ist aber, daß wenige Jahre später die republikanischen deutschen Wahlredner ganz ähnlich kompensiert wurden.

Es kann nicht bestritten werden, daß Grunds politische Wendigkeit sich nach einer flexiblen, situationsgebundenen Ethik ausrichtete, während Körner ihn nach einer absoluten Ethik beurteilte, ungeachtet der Tatsache, daß dieses flexible, kompromißbereite Verhalten auch unter republikanischen deutschen Politikern zu finden war. Wohl war

Francis Grund ein widerspruchsvoller Charakter, es ist aber unklug, wenn sich die deutschamerikanische Geschichtsschreibung vor allem auf anscheinend negative Aspekte in Grunds Charakter fixiert und dabei völlig übersieht, daß Francis J. Grund als Deutscher im Rahmen der amerikanischen Politik eine nicht unbedeutende Rolle gespielt hat. Seine Tätigkeit als Deutscher im amerikanischen Dienst, auf deutschem und amerikanischem Boden, verdient gründlicher untersucht zu werden. Seine umfassende Berichterstattung über amerikanische Verhältnisse und die Deutschen in Amerika waren zu seiner Zeit eine wesentliche Grundlage des Nachrichtendienstes für das deutsche Gebiet und stellt für uns heute eine Fundgrube zur weiteren Forschung dar.

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Anmerkungen

[1] Handschriftensammlung, Cotta-Archiv, Stiftung der Stuttgarter Zeitung. (In der Folge: HS Cotta-Archiv.)

[2] Brief Nr. 1, an Dr. Gustav Kolb, 20. Nov. 1836 aus London, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[3] Brief Nr. 34, an Georg Cotta, 9. Nov. 1857 aus Philadelphia, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[4] Brief Nr. 16, an Georg Cotta, 7. März 1843 aus Philadelphia, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[5] Eckhart G. Franz in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Hg. Historische Kommission bei der Bayrischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. 7 (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1966) 218.

[6] Thomas Cushing, *Historical Sketch of Chauncy Hall School 1828-1894, with Catalogue of Teachers and Pupils* (Boston: D. Clapp & Son, 1895) 23, 76, 77, 78. Daß Grund auch an Harvard gelehrt habe, wie Körner und die von ihm abschreibenden Biographen berichten, beruht auf einem Mißverständis. Chauncy Hall School war ursprünglich in einem Gebäude untergebracht, das Harvard Hall hieß, aber nicht identisch mit Harvard University ist.

[7] Brief Nr. 1, an Dr. Gustav Kolb, 20. Nov. 1836 aus London, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[8] Maria Wagner, Hg. *Was die Deutschen aus Amerika berichteten, 1828-1865* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag, 1985) 284.

[9] Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880) 58.

[10] Brief Nr. 24, an Georg Cotta, 20. Jan. 1846 aus Paris, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[11] Brief Nr. 14, an Georg Cotta, 17. Dez. 1842 aus Bremen, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[12] Brief Nr. 14, an Georg Cotta (wie Anm. 11).

[13] An Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, 10. Feb. 1842 aus Bremen, Consular Dispatches T 184, National Archives, Washington.

[14] Brief Nr. 19, an Georg Cotta, 12. Dez. 1844 aus Brüssel, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[15] Wagner 207-12.

[16] Wie Anm. 13.

[17] An Lewis Cass, Secretary of State, 13. Okt. 1858 aus Baden, Special Agents, Bd. 20, National Archives, Washington.

[18] Gabriele v. d. Heyden, "Das Menschenbild der *Allgemeinen Zeitung* um die Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der bürgerlichen Publizistik der Zeit," Diss., Univ. München 1966, 79.

[19] An Lewis Cass, 12. Apr. 1859 aus Mannheim, Special Agents, Bd. 20, National Archives, Washington.

[20] Wie Anm. 17.

[21] S. A. Douglas, US Senat, an General C. L. Cass, 11. Mai 1857 aus Chicago, National Archives, Washington.

[22] Lewis Cass, Department of State, an Grund, 18. Juni 1858, Special Missions, Bd. 3, National Archives, Washington.

[23] An William H. Seward, Secretary of State, 1. Apr. 1861 aus Le Havre, Consular Dispatches T 212, National Archives, Washington.

[24] *Memoirs of Gustave Körner 1809-1896, Life Sketches Written at the Suggestion of his Children*, ed. Thomas J. McCormack (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Pr. 1909) 26.

[25] Körner, *Element* 58 f.

[26] Brief Nr. 19, an Cotta, 4. Dez. 1844 aus Antwerpen, HS Cotta-Archiv.

[27] Wagner 69.

[28] *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* 29. Febr. 1840, Beilage Nr. 60: 475-77, Cotta-Archiv.

[29] Körner, *Element* 59.

[30] Körner, *Element* 59.

[31] Wagner 272.

[32] *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* 4. Juni 1838, Beilage Nr. 155: 1179 f., Cotta-Archiv.

[33] Wagner 272.

[34] Körner, *Element* 59.

[35] Körner, *Element* 60.

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Late Nineteenth-Century Industrialization and the Forces of Assimilation on German Immigrants: The Views of Economist August Sartorius von Waltershausen

The observations of European visitors to America in the nineteenth century changed significantly in the decades following the Civil War. For earlier writers such as de Tocqueville, the political institutions and patterns of the then novel republican form of government marked by universal manhood suffrage fixed their attention and caused them to speculate on what the American experiment portended for Old World politics. Assessing the trend, for example, Alexander von Humboldt wrote, "The New World . . . has exercised an important influence on the political institutions, the ideas and the feelings of those nations who occupy the eastern shores of the Atlantic, the boundaries of which appear to be constantly brought nearer and nearer to one another." But as democratic political reforms were extended in Great Britain, France and, to a lesser extent, Germany in the middle decades of the century, the light of America as a political beacon dimmed. What replaced the earlier focus in the writings of visitors was America's impressive economic surge to the status of great power during the Gilded Age. By 1900 the United States produced thirty percent of the world's manufacturing output, far surpassing any rival nation. Corresponding to America's new economic might, the competition for markets, resources and, later, colonies altered American foreign relations during the era, especially with the German Reich. America's economic prowess inspired foreign visitors to witness for themselves the growth of a new world leader. Among the best qualified of these observers, and among the most interesting, was the German economist, August Sartorius von Waltershausen. Trained in the discipline of empirical social science—and German graduate training was renowned worldwide for its high caliber—he had an analytical rigor and keen eye that few others could match. Nonetheless, Sartorius von Waltershausen's view of America was that of a subject of the Second Reich, so much so that his objectivity must be called into question. The task of presenting his observations,

and sorting out his prejudices, should begin by examining his study of the German-American community in the 1880s.[1]

Born in 1853, Sartorius von Waltershausen descended from a distinguished family of German Lutheran ministers and academicians. He studied economics at Göttingen in the 1870s and embarked on a career as professor of economics primarily at the universities of Zurich and Strasbourg. He toured extensively in the United States in 1880 and 1881, taking notes, developing a network of correspondents and gathering literature on topics relating especially to American labor and economic questions. For the next two decades virtually his entire published output dealt with American themes. His prodigious scholarly activity in this period included three major books, at least a dozen articles and three longer publications of fifty to one hundred pages. After 1900 he turned his attention to German and general European economic history, and published several works in the 1920s and 1930s that are still occasionally cited today. Judging by articles and reviews in the leading German economics journal of the late nineteenth century, *Das Jahrbuch für Nationalökonomie und Statistik,* Sartorius von Waltershausen was perhaps Germany's foremost expert on the American economy. His works dealt with issues of contemporary German-American economic relations such as the tariff, immigration, the prohibition on American pork imports to Germany, currency issues and general commercial regulations and restrictions.[2]

The attention he paid to current issues in his work reflected the influence of the so-called national school of German economics, also known as the historical or institutional school. Known for its critique of the English Manchester school of laissez-faire economists, the national school rejected deductive formulations in favor of empirical methods and data gathering. National school economists sought limited generalizations and embraced the comparative method; they also rejected theories of economics which purported to be valid for all societies and all times, and insisted that Germany must develop its own economic science corresponding to the nation's historical and cultural development. The national school embraced such eminent names in German economic thought as Gustav Schmoller, Lujo Brentano, Wilhelm Roscher and Karl Knies. The inspiration for their work derived from two mid-nineteenth-century protectionist theoreticians, Friedrich List, who had spent time in the United States, and Henry C. Carey, an American economist whose influence was greater in Germany than in his native land.[3]

Opposed to the free trade notions of the Manchester school, protectionist concepts attracted widespread interest in Germany after 1871 as a cornerstone of the new German Reich's drive for "a place in the sun." Hans-Ulrich Wehler has coined the phrase "Sammlungspolitik" to describe the negative integration of conservative economic interests as "friends of the Empire" in this era. As a part of this development, the national school, in effect, provided the intellectual framework for Bismarck's change in German commercial policy from free trade to protectionism in 1879. Schmoller, Brentano and others from the

''younger'' branch of the school formed the mainstay of an organization of academics, politicians and civil servants, the Verein für Sozialpolitik, a group devoted to protection of German industry and agriculture, social reforms for the working class and imperialism abroad. The Verein, founded in 1872, eventually attracted the allegiance of such eminent academics as Max Weber and Friedrich Naumann; these men are often grouped together under the heading ''Kathedersozialisten.'' Their program of social and economic reforms at home and colonies abroad might better be described as liberal or social imperialist. The Verein lent academic respectability to Bismarck's drive for German overseas possessions after 1884. In another example of German-American cross-fertilization of economic concepts, Richard Ely and other German-trained academic economists patterned the American Economics Association in 1886 after the Verein für Sozialpolitik, though stripped of the imperialist baggage.[4]

The national school, the Verein and the intellectual services they performed for the Iron Chancellor's state policies provide the necessary framework for understanding the observations of American life by Sartorius von Waltershausen. They reveal why the United States would draw the attention of a young academician embarking on a research career. The national school sanctioned comparative studies for the light they shed on the process of economic change and the insights they lent to German developments.

In important respects, the United States and Germany were traveling parallel paths after 1870 toward contesting the industrial supremacy of Great Britain. Both governments enacted tariffs to encourage domestic manufacturing and keep out foreign competitors; both pursued hard-money policies fairly consistently to insure the value of their currencies in international exchange; as a consequence, both economies were hard hit by deflation in the late nineteenth century and turned to cartels and trusts to maintain price levels. Furthermore, the United States was a potential rival which drained Germany of hundreds of thousands of subjects yearly; in this context it is significant that the period from the 1870s to the 1890s, a time of persistent economic difficulties and downturns in European economic history, witnessed the highpoint of German emigration. These decades also witnessed the flooding of Germany's domestic market with American grain and meat imports; Bismarck remedied this threat to German agriculture and to the *Junker* class of East Prussia by resorting to protective tariffs, a leading example of Wehler's ''Sammlungspolitik.'' Finally, concerning America's future economic might, the 1880s marked the beginning of European warnings about the ''American peril,'' perhaps best exemplified by Alexander von Peez's 1881 work, *Die amerikanische Konkurrenz.* Sartorius von Waltershausen shared this concern to a degree, but the concern was tempered by a certain optimism about the New World. In political rights for all citizens, in manufacturing output, in engineering achievements, in the wide spread of the entrepreneurial impulse and in a variety of measures related to economics, America represented the future or, as the English journalist W. T. Stead's widely read pamphlet predicted,

The Americanization of the World, or the Trend of the Twentieth Century. European visitors who desired a glimpse of their own development in the new century came to the United States to behold the future with awe, disbelief and not a little consternation. These mixed emotions permeated the writings of Sartorius von Waltershausen, especially his study on the future of the German community in the United States.[5]

The essay, written in 1884, explored the fate of the millions of Germans who had come to the New World since the previous century. Sartorius von Waltershausen noted that earlier authors held widely divergent views. Some claimed that Germans were immediately assimilated into the American melting pot, a term he himself employed; others asserted that they retained their cultural and linguistic heritage virtually intact. Sartorius von Waltershausen developed a conceptual scheme which avoided the either/or dualism implicit in earlier models of assimilation or cultural persistence. Instead, he argued, German-Americans were contributing valuable characteristics to the emerging North American culture and national identity of the future. "Die Deutschen, welche nach Amerika auswandern, verlieren ihr Deutschthum . . . aber sie werden nicht Anglo-Amerikaner, sondern sie nehmen ein nationales amerikanisches Wesen an, zu dessen Erzeugung sie selbst viel beigetragen haben and noch täglich beitragen." German-Americans, then, were not becoming Yankees, a term he used disparagingly, but they were compelled to surrender a large portion of their national and cultural inheritance by the relentless pressures of American life. In any event, they were lost to the fatherland and could never be reclaimed. A portion of the nation's most precious resource, its people, were being lost in a permanent diaspora, he declared, and the benefits redounded only to a nation that was Germany's current competitor and potential future threat.[6] Having discounted the possibility that German immigrants in America possessed any value for Germany, Sartorius von Waltershausen proposed a remedy for the problem in the future.

What, then, were the factors which effected this radical transformation of immigrants from being Germans to becoming Americans? Or, put another way, what pressures did immigrants endure to cause them to abandon the patterns of a lifetime and adopt new ones? To these questions Sartorius von Waltershausen offered a variety of answers ranging from the influence of climate to the moral narrowmindedness of the descendants of the Puritans. Three major forces stand out in his litany of baneful American influences: first, the social status of women in New World society; second, the corrupting influence of the English language; and third and most important, the pervasive and all-consuming pressures of American economic life.

If anything truly shocked Sartorius von Waltershausen during his stay in the United States, it was the role that women played in American society. There was no doubt in his mind that American women had abdicated their traditional roles as wives and mothers, guardians of the hearth and home, and had assumed radically different and profoundly disturbing functions. He attributed this transformation to the population imbalance which favored women. Unlike the sex ratios in European

societies, women were outnumbered, primarily due to the immigration of males. As a result, men had to compete for single women and the women, in turn, had parlayed that position into privilege. American women knew what rights were but had no notion of duties. Sartorius von Waltershausen quoted approvingly an article in *Die Kölnische Zeitung* which claimed that American women were not partners for their husbands, but rather served as high-class furniture, half toy, half substitute for everything else lacking in American life. American women were dreadful cooks, were insufficiently interested in properly educating their children or undertaking any hard labor to help their husbands. He did concede that the availability of opportunities for men mitigated the necessity of women working, but the results were negative just the same.[7]

If they were not cooking, helping their husbands or properly raising their children, how were American women occupying their time? Why, he noted sarcastically, busying themselves with literature and religion, entertaining guests and agitating over voting rights and temperance. Apparently the women's rights movement in America was sufficiently well known in Germany, and deemed sufficiently scandalous, that he could simply dismiss it as against the laws of nature, and hence doomed to failure. But he regaled his readers with what must have seemed barely credible tales of women temperance agitators:

> Mehrere hundert Frauen unter der Führung eines Reverend durchziehen, geistliche Lieder singend, die Städte, belagern die Bier- und Schnapssalons oder dringen in sie ein und singen und beten dort so lange, bis nach ihrer Meinung der Trunk- und Spielteufel ausgetrieben ist.[8]

By German standards, the temperance movement represented the worst of American hypocrisy, stupidity and Yankee moral rigidity. He cited the example of prohibition in Kansas which had driven out moderate beer drinking by closing the saloons and encouraged illicit consumption of hard liquor instead. Participation in such obviously wrong-headed campaigns did American women no good, he believed.

The distorted role of American women had little impact on the first generation of German immigrant women. They continued to function as *Hausfrauen* and helpmates for their husbands. But the generation born on American soil, or single German males who took American wives, conformed to American experience. If the naturally mandated folkways and customs which regulated relationships between the sexes could be swept aside within a single generation, what hope could remain for preserving less fundamental German patterns?

The pressure to conform to the usage of English, he maintained, was a second, critical force in wiping out German culture and traditions. He estimated the number of Germans and their descendants on American soil at ten million. Of that number, half did not speak German at all, a quarter still spoke the language reasonably well, but fewer than ten percent paid any attention to the literature of the homeland. In his words, "Die erste Generation spricht und versteht Deutsch, die zweite versteht

es noch, die dritte hat beides verlernt.'' This was not proof, as was sometimes maintained, that German-Americans were becoming like Yankees. Quite the contrary, he insisted. All immigrants were made to feel sensitive to the charge that they spoke English badly, with a heavy accent or barely at all. Experiencing firsthand what a stigma and handicap imperfect command of English really meant, the first generation felt bound and determined that their children would speak English well, perhaps at the cost of not learning the language of the parents. This pattern did not constitute voluntary assimilation, but rather a coerced conformity on both first and second generations. Oftentimes German immigrants, especially those drawn from the lower classes, did not speak proper German anyway, Sartorius von Waltershausen observed. It was less of a linguistic sacrifice, then, to abandon whatever dialect form they spoke and resort to English as a common language for all, immigrant and native alike.[9]

Sartorius von Waltershausen cited linguistic authorities in the 1880s who claimed that 600 words were all that was necessary to get by in English; bare competence in German, in contrast, required the knowledge of 2,000 words. The grammar and syntax, in comparison with German, was primitive, and it required less thought and effort to express oneself in English. On the other hand, though not a beautiful language, English was convenient, practical and powerful. It worked especially well in business, law and for practical, everyday affairs. And it was absolutely necessary for anyone who wanted to prosper economically and claim a share of the country's fabled wealth. Railroads and telegraph lines had had the effect of binding the distant corners of a vast land together, wiping out regional differences, obliterating the isolation of non-English speaking colonies of immigrants such as the Russian-Germans of Kansas, or the indigenous Spanish-speaking settlements of Florida or the Southwest. The use of English amounted to an irresistible force in producing a homogenous American culture. Despite the presence of 640 German-language newspapers and magazines, German instruction in the public schools in some states, German spoken from the pulpit, the growth of German language sections in public libraries, all was to no avail. The voice foretelling the extinction of the German community in America spoke the English language, the single most significant inheritance from the original colonizing power, the British.[10]

The most important involuntary and irresistible force, his third influence on German-Americans, was the compulsion of economic life. For Sartorius von Waltershausen America was the land of ''economic man'' where capitalist industrialization was unfettered by resistance from traditional sectors or by a culture hostile to change. ''In Amerika ist alles durch und durch modern,'' he explained, where economic principles governed society to a far greater degree than in Germany or the rest of Europe. A few miles outside Paris, Lisbon or Berlin, people practiced traditional agriculture and followed ancient crafts by techniques little changed since the Middle Ages. None of these ways survived in the New World. In economic matters Great Britain was no longer the model

for Western Europe, for the label ''Made in America'' was beginning to show up in European markets. Indeed the entire fabric of European rural society was being disrupted by the flood of cheap American grain and meat imports.[11] As an economist, Sartorius von Waltershausen could admire the economic progress he saw in the United States; but as an educated and patriotic German he could only be dismayed by America's progress as an economic rival and by the prospect of the future upheavals that economic change was bringing to Germany as well.

In a very direct way he could witness the impact of untrammeled industrialization on German immigrants. In simple matters of food and clothing, German-Americans had adopted New World ways. Handmade clothing was the mark of wealth in America; everyone else made do with the ready-made article produced by increased division of labor in major garment centers like New York and Chicago. The regional and stylistic variety which prevailed in Germany was obliterated by a standardized and boring American national costume. Only in the brewing of beer would German immigrants find a product similar to what they had enjoyed in the fatherland. Indeed beer was one example of the Germans' contribution to an emerging national American taste. Immigrants faced the most powerful of transforming processes when they faced their first critical need in the New World, employment. ''Es wird schnell und tüchtig gemacht'' in America. A man devoted body and soul to his work. The impact on immigrants was clear:

> Kauft der Deutsche eine Farm, so muß er mit derselben Energie ans Werk gehen, wie die bereits Angesessenen, falls er seine Producte preiswürdig verwerthen will. Nimmt er Stellung in einer Fabrik, so muß er die Maschine ebenso schnell besorgen können als die vor ihm schon angestellten Arbeiter, wenn er auf denselben Lohn wie diese rechnen will. Da nun das ganze amerikanische Volk energisch arbeitet, so bleibt dem Ankömmling nichts übrig, als sich darin zu fügen.

Long breaks for mid-morning breakfasts, as in Germany, were unheard of in America, and the boss allowed no extra time for workers to light up pipes and socialize. The extended conversations of German craft workers about how things might best be done were unknown in the New World. Economic survival dictated to German immigrants the necessity of incorporating the virtues of hard work, American style.[12]

There were, in fact, admirable American traits which Germans at home might well emulate, Sartorius von Waltershausen reflected. In addition to working hard, Americans were practical, disciplined, realistic and motivated. They sought the most efficient means of performing tasks, pressed the division of labor to its utmost extent and substituted machinery for hand labor whenever possible. The net result was an output of goods and mass production at low per unit cost that should win the envy of Germany and other Western nations. The entrepreneurial spirit in America wandered from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Red River Valley of the Dakotas to the Gulf of Mexico encountering no restrictive national borders or natural enemies. The Yankees' restless

talent for speculation had astounded the world by rebuilding Chicago from the ashes since 1871, crisscrossing a continent with endless miles of railroad lines and constructing the giant Eads Bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis. The enormous expanse of territory and abundant natural resources combined with a comparatively small population and low population density had provided a wide arena for the entrepreneurial spirit to make itself manifest and bring ample opportunity for the masses. Parenthetically, he believed that the closing of the frontier and taking up of fertile farm land might lead to an age of fewer opportunities than were present in the 1880s.[13]

Of course the reverse side of the coin could be considerably less attractive, and it was this side that pressed all newcomers. The work was so intense that little time remained for leisure, for self-improvement or for attention to family life. The neglect of American children's education stemmed in part from the father's exhaustion after work; at an early age young men and boys gave up the preoccupations of youth to thrust themselves into the competitive world. Even the Sunday blue laws, so despised by German immigrants, could be justified by the need for at least one day of total rest. In its exaggerated form, the incessant demands of efficiency and hard work were downright unhealthful, leading to nervous breakdowns, premature aging and a variety of physical disorders. Americans became so used to the stimulation of unceasing activity that they could seldom enjoy much-deserved retirement. Among many Americans, there was little to distinguish between what he termed "the energetic and heedless pursuit of wealth" and sheer greed. Simple pleasures gave way to provide more time to think about more ways of making money. For singing, dancing, art and poetry, he lamented, there was nothing left over from the money, talent and attention devoted to starting up new businesses.[14] Sartorius von Waltershausen wished to warn potential emigrants against this dark side of American life. But to the extent that the dark side was a consequence of industrialization as a general process, his warnings were directed to his fellow Germans at home and were consistent with the social reform message of the Verein für Sozialpolitik.

Finally his warnings touched on another concern of the Verein, colonization. Sartorius von Waltershausen applauded Bismarck's quest for German colonies abroad in the 1880s, in part because of the fate of German-Americans. If the German population was indeed so large that it required emigration, then let it be to German colonies, not the United States. The German colonists could retain language, customs and, most important, continue to serve the fatherland. Irrationally and wastefully, imperial Germany was frittering away its most valuable possession, its people, for the benefit of the United States and other countries. Not coincidentally an earlier version of his essay, "The Future of the German Community in the United States," had been delivered as a talk in Göttingen in 1884 to the Kolonialverein, a small but influential organization of colonial promoters, academicians and businessmen.[15]

As a commentator on American life the views of Sartorius von Waltershausen were enlightened by rigorous social scientific training

but also constrained by the limitations of the national school's perspectives, by his loyalty to the German Reich and by his own class background. Like the vast majority of the German professoriat then, his family had served in the upper reaches of the civil service and had been ennobled for its efforts. American egalitarianism and the absence of an officially acknowledged intelligentsia or permanent civil service class aroused European apprehensions about the leveling tendencies at work in this "model" industrial society; the apprehension, in turn, often lent an air of condescension to the remarks of European visitors. Clearly his remarks on American women betray a concern that German women, as well, might follow in the footsteps of their American sisters and depart from traditional norms. Regarding his other observations, the cultural relativism that has matured in the century since he wrote would dismiss as unfounded his claims of superiority for German language, family life or culture. On the other hand, he foresaw clearly that German-Americans would lose their linguistic tradition despite German-language newspapers and a host of institutions which attempted to protect and preserve it. Most important, he grasped the power of the forces which were propelling the United States headlong into the twentieth century and toward economic superiority in the Western world. From the standpoint of an economic analyst, that emerging strength fascinated him; as a citizen of the German Reich who was alert to great power competition in the decades before World War I, he viewed that strength with misgivings. If the competition was, in economic terms, a zero-sum game, only one contender could emerge as the winner.

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Notes

[1] The author would like to acknowledge Walter Struve, Mitchell Ash, Reinhard Flessner, Rolf Breuer and especially Stephen Bailey for reading and commenting on the manuscript. Henry T. Tuckerman, *America and Her Commentators* (New York, 1864) 302-03 for Alexander von Humboldt's comment. Shepard B. Clough and Theodore F. Marburg, *The Economic Basis of American Civilization* (New York, 1968) 262. On the change from political to economic commentary in the post-Civil War era see John G. Brooks, *As Others See Us: A Study of Progress in the U.S.* (New York, 1909) 129-33, and R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York, 1970) 25-81. Manfred Jonas, *The United States and Germany: A Diplomatic History* (Ithaca, NY, 1984) discusses how commercial, economic and imperial rivalry altered German-American relations in the late 19th century in ch. 2, "The Great Transformation." On the prestige of German academic training, see Jürgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1965) 1-52.

[2] On the family background of August Sartorius von Waltershausen, see entries on his father and grandfather in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 30 (Berlin, 1890) 389-95. For his career and academic output, see *Kürschners deutscher Gelehrten-Kalender* (Berlin, 1926) 1643, *Gesamtverzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums, 1700-1910* (Munich, 1984) and the bibliography in his *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 1815-1914* (Jena, 1923).

[3] On the historical school, see Howard D. Marshall, *The Great Economists: A History of Economic Thought* (New York, 1967), ch. 8, and Herbst 129-53.

[4] Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *The German Empire, 1871-1918* (Dover, NH, 1985) is the latest synthesis of critical themes for this era. For discussions of the Verein, see Heinz Gollwitzer, *Europe in the Age of Imperialism, 1880-1914* (London, 1969) 134, and James J.

Sheehan, *The Career of Lujo Brentano: A Study of Liberalism and Social Reform in Imperial Germany* (Chicago, 1966), chs. 3-4. On the concept of social imperialism, see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Max Weber and German Politics, 1890-1920* (Chicago, 1984) 68-90. On the founding of the American Economic Association, see Benjamin Rader, *The Academic Mind and Reform: The Influence of Richard Ely in American Life* (Lexington, KY, 1966), chs. 1-2, and *The American Economic Review* 75.4 (Dec. 1985).

[5] On American economic development in the Gilded Age, see Carl N. Degler, *The Age of Economic Revolution, 1876-1900* (Glenview, IL, 1975), Peter Temin, *Causal Factors in American Growth in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1975), and Barry W. Poulson, *Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1981) chs. 9-17 for a sampling of the literature on this subject. German economic development during the late 19th century has received, if anything, even more attention among historians recently. In English, in addition to the works cited above by Wehler and Mommsen, see Fritz Stern, *Gold and Iron: Bismarck, Bleichroeder and the Building of the German Empire* (New York, 1977), ch. 7 and Karl Erich Born, "Structural Changes in German Social and Economic Development at the End of the Nineteenth Century," in James J. Sheehan, ed., *Imperial Germany* (New York, 1976) 16-38. In German, two seminal works are by Hans Rosenberg, *Große Depression und Bismarckzeit* (Berlin, 1967), and Helmut Boehme, *Deutschlands Weg zur Großmacht* (Cologne, 1966), while Hermann Kellenbenz, *Deutsche Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Munich, 1981) draws on much of the older literature. The work by von Peez is cited in Sheehan, *The Career* 108 and Stead's work is discussed briefly in Geoffrey Barraclough, *Introduction to Contemporary History* (London, 1967) 99.

[6] August Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft des Deutschthums in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Berlin, 1885) 6-8. For the literature on emigration as a German social problem, see David Luebke, "German Exodus: Historical Perspectives on the Nineteenth-Century Emigration," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 20 (1985): 1-17.

[7] Sartorius von Waltershausen 11, 13-18. The characteristics of American women fairly frequently attracted the notice of European visitors. See, for example, Brooks, *As Others See Us* 36-37, 51-53, 175, 209, 258.

[8] Sartorius von Waltershausen 19-23. For a more sympathetic view of the women's movement in America in the late 19th century, see William L. O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: A History of Feminism in America* (Chicago, 1971) 3-106. The German women's movement in the 1880s was just beginning to have its influence felt and had not yet begun to demand suffrage rights. See, for example, Richard J. Evans, *The Feminist Movement in Germany, 1894-1933* (London, 1976) 1-71, and Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., "Frauen in der Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 7 (1981).

[9] Sartorius von Waltershausen 33-35.

[10] Sartorius von Waltershausen 33-38.

[11] Sartorius von Waltershausen 25. For a fuller statement of his views, see *Die nordamerikanischen Gewerkschaften unter dem Einfluß der fortschreitenden Productionstechnik* (Berlin, 1886) 3-10. On the threat of American grain imports to German, especially East Elbian, agriculture, see Gustav Stolper, *The German Economy: 1870 to the Present* (New York, 1967) 20-24, 35-37.

[12] Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 8-10, 30.

[13] Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 25-28. Apparently, it was not uncommon for German visitors to remark perhaps wistfully or enviously on the geographic advantages of the U.S. which gave the nation most of a continent to conquer with no powerful neighbors to contend with. See, for instance, Max Weber's speech in St. Louis at the 1904 Exposition, quoted in Mommsen, *Weber* 79.

[14] Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 15-16, 27, 29-31. The reputation of Americans as hard workers was widespread in the 19th century. See Brooks, *As Others See Us* 137-38.

[15] Sartorius von Waltershausen, *Die Zukunft* 3-4, 39-40. On the connections between German emigration and the drive for colonies in the mid-1880s, see Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), chs. 8-9. It should be pointed out that the race for colonial possessions was a general European phenomenon in the late 19th century, and the U.S. as well engaged in its own colonial pursuits especially after 1898. For an assessment of emigration, colonialism and the quest for overseas markets in Bismarck's Germany, see Dirk Hoerder, "Bedingungsfaktoren der Auslandsstudien im Deutschen Reich: Imperialismus, Auslandsdeutsche, Wirtschaft," *Gulliver* 11 (1982): 118-39.

Marion Lois Huffines

The Function of Aspect in Pennsylvania German and the Impact of English

Aspect is a way of viewing the action expressed by a verb. Tense locates the action of a verb in time; aspect views that action by indicating its status or distribution across time (Lyons 1969). It specifies, for instance, whether an action has been completed or is continuing. Aspect may operate independently or in conjunction with verb tense. In some languages aspect is an obligatory morphological category marked by inflection or verbal particles. In other languages, such as English, German, and Pennsylvania German, aspect occurs optionally in conjunction with tense and/or with adverbs.

Pennsylvania German shares linguistic features with dialects of southern Germany and is most closely related to the dialect spoken in the eastern Palatinate (Buffington and Barba 1965). It has two primary tenses: the present, which is also used to express future time, and the past, which is formally related to the Standard German perfect. Only the verb *sei* 'to be' has an imperfect tense. A future may be constructed by using the auxiliary *warre* 'to become' and the infinitive of the main verb, but this construction occurs infrequently and is used to express probability. A past perfect is formed by the past tense (i.e., perfect forms) of the auxiliary *hawwe* 'to have' or *sei* and the past participle of the main verb; for example, *ich hab en Brief gschriwwe ghatt; mir sin ins Schteddel gange gewest.* In addition to these tense structures, Pennsylvania German employs three syntactic constructions which in conjunction with tense express aspectual information: 1. *sei* plus *am* and the infinitive of the main verb, ex. *sie sin am Balle schpiele* 'they are playing ball'; 2. *duh* plus the infinitive of the main verb, ex. *no duhn mir die Frucht maahle* 'then we grind the grain'; and 3. adverbial *als* with the main verb, ex. *no hen mir sell als uff Brot gesse* 'then we used to eat that on bread'. While these constructions also occur in other German dialects, they do not regularly express aspectual meaning in Standard German.

Teaching grammars of Pennsylvania German describe the formation of the aspectual constructions but indicate little of its usage. Buffington

and Barba (1965), the standardization to which most scholars refer, labels these three aspects as 1. progressive, 2. emphatic, and 3. habitual or repeated. Other more recent teaching grammars follow the Buffington and Barba lead (Frey 1942, rpt. 1981; Haag 1982). Drawing on his own fieldwork but quoting mostly from the Pennsylvania German writings of T. H. Harter, Reed (1947) describes the function of the aspectual constructions as follows: 1. the progressive form indicates continuation with regard to a given point in time; 2. the auxiliary *duh* indicates present iteration; and 3. the adverb *als* indicates past iteration. Neither the Reed nor the Buffington and Barba descriptions capture the full function and distribution of these constructions in today's Pennsylvania German.

All three constructions occur in the speech of both fluent and nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers, so much so that one legitimately questions how much their usage has been influenced by the contact of Pennsylvania German with English. Does the existence of English counterparts promote the usage of these Pennsylvania German forms? Do nonfluent speakers of Pennsylvania German rely on these constructions as a strategy to produce acceptable Pennsylvania German? Do English rules of aspect superimpose themselves on Pennsylvania German discourse? The following study investigates the function and distribution of these three aspectual constructions in order to gauge the effect of English on Pennsylvania German. Attention is given to Pennsylvania German as it is spoken among nonsectarian speakers in a community where its use is declining and the language is dying, and among the separatist sectarian groups where children still learn Pennsylvania German natively.

Sample

The following study is based on interviews with 52 Pennsylvania Germans: 33 nonsectarians and 19 sectarians. All nonsectarians were born and raised on farms in the valleys of lower Northumberland County, upper Dauphin County, and western Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. The nonsectarians are classified into three groups:

Group N: Native speakers of Pennsylvania German. The 13 native speakers of Pennsylvania German range in age from 35 to 75 years; all but four are 60 years old or older. All but the two youngest (35 and 47 years old) speak Pennsylvania German to their spouses and peers but English to their children. The two youngest informants have monolingual English-speaking spouses and little opportunity to speak Pennsylvania German.

Group 1: First in the family native English speakers. The 9 Pennsylvania Germans in this group are the first in their respective families to speak English natively. They range in age from 32 to 54 years. All acquired Pennsylvania German in their pre-teen years by hearing it spoken by their parents to each other and older family members, but their parents spoke directly to them only in English. Members of this group often speak Pennsylvania German to older members of the community for

whom Pennsylvania German is the preferred language, but seldom to their peers or younger people.

Group 2: Second or later in the family native English speakers. The 11 Pennsylvania Germans in this category are native speakers of English who were the second or later in their respective families to speak English natively. They range in age from 22 to 65. They understand Pennsylvania German without difficulty but seldom speak it. They learned what they know of Pennsylvania German from hearing it spoken in their childhood homes, but their parents and siblings always addressed them in English.

The Pennsylvania German sectarian sample consists of 9 Amish and 10 Mennonites, who range from 24 to 65 years of age and live on farms in Union County. All except the youngest were born and raised in Lancaster County; the youngest was born in Union County four months after her parents settled there. All the sectarians speak Pennsylvania German natively and are bilingual. Most learned English in school, but some had learned English as pre-schoolers by waiting on customers to sell farm produce at local farmers' markets or at roadside stands.

Group M: Mennonites. Of the 10 Mennonites in this sample, 8 are Old Order Mennonites, also called Team Mennonites. Their lifestyle is characterized by distinctive dress, limited education to the eighth grade, and horse and buggy transportation. Their church services are conducted in church buildings built for that purpose; the readings are in an older variety of Standard German and the sermons in Pennsylvania German. Their homes have electricity and some modern conveniences, specifically a refrigerator, washer, and freezer. Two informants are members of a more modern Mennonite group. In that group only the women have obvious dress requirements; education is not limited, although they prefer private parochial schools to public ones. The two informants in this sample attended high school, and they drive cars.

Group A: Amish. Of the Amish informants, 8 are part of a conservative wing of the New Order Amish. Their lifestyle is very similar to that of the Mennonites: distinctive dress, limited education, and horse and buggy transportation. Their homes also have refrigerators, freezers, and washers. In contrast to the Mennonites, Amish church services are held in private homes. The hymns and Bible readings are in an older variety of Standard German, the sermons mostly in Pennsylvania German. The one Old Order Amish informant in the sample lives in Northumberland County. His home does not have electricity.

Interview

The interviews were conducted in the informants' homes and lasted for about one and a half hours. Each one consisted of three parts: free conversation, translation of English sentences into Pennsylvania German, and description of pictures. The interviewer spoke only English during the interview, and the informants responded in Pennsylvania German, a common conversational situation in bilingual communities where one language is receding (cf. Dorian 1981). Each interview begins with free conversation which centers on growing up on a farm, farm

chores, butchering, recipes, and one-room schoolhouses. The translation task consists of sentences designed to elicit specific grammatical constructions, but the content of the sentences forms familiar contexts which refer to farm life and growing up. The pictures depict common household items and domestic activities and usually elicit one-sentence descriptions. Because the three tasks differ widely in the extent to which they elicit specific verbal aspects, the results are reported separately for each interview task. Also, not all informants respond with comparable grammatical functions, and totals vary from sentence to sentence.

I. The Progressive: *sei* + *am* + Infinitive

Reed (1947) describes the function of the progressive construction as expressing continuation with regard to a given point in time, and he emphasizes the notion of relative aspect, the expression of duration compared with the time occupied by some other action. Reed also indicates that the progressive construction is not used when the object of the main verb is preceded by a definite article, when the object is a personal pronoun, or when the verb occurs with a qualifying prepositional phrase. Although statistical evidence is lacking, Reed states that the proportion of progressive forms used is very small and restricted to the expression of relative aspect.

Results

The present data provide evidence for much fuller description of the formation and distribution of the Pennsylvania German progressive and its variants. The use of the progressive differs significantly across interview tasks. Speakers use the progressive most frequently while describing pictures of activities and seldom during free conversation, which tends to focus on the past. See Table 1.

Table 1
Frequency of the Progressive during Interview Tasks

Group	Translation Task	Picture Description	Free Conversation
N	116	276	9
1	101	194	8
2	91	166	8
M	110	200	21
A	135	227	7

The analysis below considers the use of the progressive during the translation task and picture descriptions. Attention is given to the position of objects and their modifiers, typical errors and repairs made by speakers during discourse, the occurrence of the progressive with prepositional phrases, and the phonetic realization of *am*.

The Translation Task

The translation task contains 14 sentences designed to elicit the progressive construction, 9 in conjunction with the present tense, 5 with the past. Among the nonsectarians, Groups N and 1 translate a majority of English progressives by using the Pennsylvania German progressive. Group 2 uses the Pennsylvania German progressive least frequently of any group but still demonstrates productive mastery of it. The sectarians use the progressive construction to translate the English progressive almost exclusively and far exceed the level of usage among nonsectarians. See Table 2. These percentages obtain whether *sei* is present or past.

Table 2
Percentage of Translations
Eliciting the Progressive

Group	%
N	74
1	71
2	54
M	92
A	90

Of the 14 sentences, 5 contain noun objects, and 2 pronoun objects. Noun objects tend to follow the *am* and precede the main verb infinitive, ex. *die Fraa is am Buch lese* 'the woman is reading (a) book'; pronoun objects precede both *am* and the main verb infinitive, *er is es am fange* 'he is catching it'. See Table 3.

Table 3
Position of Noun and Pronoun Objects
(Translation Task)

Group	*am* obj V	obj *am* V	*am* pron V	pron *am* V
N	31	7	5	9
1	18	15	0	11
2	12	7	1	12
M	20	7	0	15
A	35	4	1	12

Almost all objects placed between *am* and the infinitive occur without modifying possessive or demonstrative adjectives or articles. Of the groups, only the sectarians offer objects in this position modified by the demonstrative *sell*, 2 occurrences for Group M and 4 for Group A. Objects placed before *am* and the infinitive are modified by articles and

demonstrative or possessive adjectives half of the time. The 5 occurrences of pronoun objects between *am* and the infinitive for Group N are given by the two youngest members in that group.

Several speakers in the nonsectarian groups made errors when trying to employ the progressive construction. One speaker in Group N and in Group 1 make a total of 4 errors by placing *am* both before and after the object; for example, *die Weibsleit sin am Kaffi am drinke* 'the women are drinking coffee'. Group 2, by contrast, produces 13 errors, some of which involve the formation of the construction itself; for example, *ich will's nimmimeh gauz' am heere* 'I don't want to hear it barking anymore'; *er is am drei Munet draa gschafft schunnt* 'he's been working on it for three months'. Group 2 also shows a greater tendency to omit objects altogether and to leave some sentences unfinished.

The sectarians produce the progressive in conjunction with a larger variety of verb forms than do the nonsectarians: with the perfect tenses of *sei,* with the subjunctive mood of *sei,* and with perfect and passive infinitives of the main verb, all directly translating the English original. This variety is lacking in the speech of the nonsectarian speakers, whose translations are less direct.

The Picture Descriptions

In the picture descriptions the relative usage of the Pennsylvania German progressive among nonsectarians parallels their usage during the translation task: Groups N and 1 use the progressive most frequently, Group 2 least frequently. The sectarian percentages are considerably lower than during the translation task. The Mennonite usage is equal to that of Group N; the Amish usage is still greatest of all groups. See Table 4.

Table 4
Percentage of Picture Descriptions Containing a Progressive[1]

Group	%
N	47
1	44
2	34
M	47
A	54

The frequency distribution of the position of noun objects relative to *am* shifts dramatically. The clear trend presented by the translation data is not clearly discernible in the picture descriptions, and Groups 1 and 2 show a reversal of that trend in their speech, placing noun objects more frequently before *am* than after *am.* Group M shows a significant increase in pronoun object placement after *am.* See Table 5.

Table 5
Position of Noun and Pronoun Objects
(Picture Descriptions)

Group	*am* obj V	obj *am* V	*am* pron V	pron *am* V
N	90	43	6	8
1	30	76	1	8
2	27	42	2	5
M	64	46	10	4
A	79	32	3	4

Among the nonsectarians, if noun objects occur following *am*, they normally have no preceding modifier; among the sectarians that rule does not hold. For both Groups M and A more than half of noun objects following *am* are modified by articles or possessive adjectives, ex. *er is am sei Gleeder weck duh* 'he is putting away his clothes'. See Table 6.

Table 6
Modifiers of Noun Objects
in the *am* obj V Position

Group	None	Art	Poss	Other
N	68	15	8	1
1	28	1	1	0
2	24	0	2	1
M	31	15	18	0
A	37	20	22	0

If the noun object precedes *am* it is generally modified, but the nonnative Pennsylvania German speakers of Groups 1 and 2 place unmodified objects before *am* in 26% and 45% of the occurrences respectively for each group. See Table 7.

Table 7
Modifiers of Noun Objects
in the obj *am* V Position

Group	None	Art	Poss	Other
N	6	23	8	6
1	16	39	10	11
2	13	20	8	1
M	1	22	23	0
A	6	12	9	5

Only the youngest speakers of Group N place pronoun objects after *am;* in Group M, 7 of the 10 pronouns following *am* are reflexive pronouns and half of the 10 are offered by one speaker, reflecting an individual placement rule. (See Table 5.)

As in the translation data, the typical error for Groups N and 1 is the repetition of *am* both before and following the object. The two youngest speakers of Group N make a total of 7 errors and 4 speakers in Group 1 make this same error once. While 2 of 7 errors in Group 2 are also of this kind, the 5 others violate the formation of the progressive construction by introducing *zu;* for example:

er is am die Wand zu peente
'he is painting the wall'
verleicht is sie am Brief zu schreiwe
'perhaps she is writing a letter'

Nonsectarian speakers also make repairs in mid-sentence during both the translation task and the picture descriptions. These repairs have the effect of placing *am* immediately before the infinitive; for example (// indicates a break in the sentence construction):

er is am // die Schtupp am aaschtreiche
'he is // painting the room'
sell Meedel is am Kopp // ihre Kopp am wesche
'that girl is // washing her hair (head)'
sie sin am // Pikters am nehme
'they are // taking pictures'
weil mir am // Brot un heesi Supp am esse waare
'while we // were eating bread and hot soup'

Contrary to Reed's observation, the progressive also occurs with qualifying prepositional phrases in the speech of members of all groups.[2] Most prepositional phrases follow the infinitive; for example, *sie is am schpiele mit em Hund* 'she is playing with the dog'. It is, however, possible to find prepositional phrases between *am* and the infinitive, especially in the speech of native speakers (Groups N, M, and A):

er is am Gleeder ins Klaaset henke
'he is hanging clothes in the closet'
do is er am Bee in der Schtul aamache
'here he is putting a leg onto the chair'
datt sin sie am Kaendi aus der Dutt griege
'there they are getting candy out of the paper bag'

The phonetic realization of *am* varies across groups. The nonsectarians generally retain the full vowel [a] and the bilabial nasal consonant [m] of *am*. The sectarians, by contrast, reduce the vowel to schwa half of the time and produce an alveolar nasal [n] for the final consonant half of the time. See Table 8. Examples of this usage include:

sie is [ən] *die Hinkelbieblin fiedre*
'she is feeding the chicks'
sie is [ən] *Blumme blanze*
'she is planting flowers'
er is ebbes [ən] *aus der Teekessel leere in sei Koppli*
'he is emptying something out of the tea kettle into his cup'

Table 8
The Phonetic Realization of *am*

Group	[am]	[an]	[ən]
N	335	57	0
1	293	2	0
2	237	20	0
M	76	75	158
A	44	128	190

The 57 occurrences of [an] reported for Group N are given by the two youngest speakers in that group, the very youngest produces no instance of [am]. Except for the few other occurrences of [an] produced by speakers in Groups 1 and 2, the nonsectarians use a form which historically reflects the contraction of the dative definite article and the preposition *an*. Among the sectarians, this dative *-m* generally does not occur although a few individuals have it in their speech. In Group M, the two oldest speakers produce 70 of the 76 occurrences of [am]; in Group A, the Old Order Amish informant produces 35 of the 44 occurrences of [am]. In addition to the realization of *-m* as *-n*, sectarian speakers also reduce the vowel [a] to [ə], and the preposition has a concomitant loss of stress.[3]

Discussion

The *sei* + *am* + infinitive construction expresses continuous or non-completed action in conjunction with either the present or past time expressed by tense. It regularly translates the English progressive and is used most frequently to describe actions in progress, such as those depicted by the pictures shown during the interview. Rules suggested by Reed (1947) are too restrictive to describe the distribution of Pennsylvania German progressive forms.

The frequency of the progressive varies considerably according to type of discourse. The sectarian speakers are exceptionally good translators. Evidence for this can be seen in the faithfulness with which they translate English progressives by Pennsylvania German progressives and in their use of *sei* in the tense, mood, and voice of the English original. Analysis based solely on translation data would overrate sectarian use of the progressive.

Among the nonsectarians, non-native Pennsylvania German speakers do not gravitate toward greater use of the Pennsylvania German progressive in spite of the relatively easy template it provides to relieve nonfluent speakers of the burden of inflecting a large number of verbs. For Groups 1 and 2, *am* + infinitive appears to function as a constituent unit, a unit which they are reluctant to divide by inserting noun objects or prepositional phrases. The strategy provides for them a more rigid skeletal format for word order and relieves them of having to make word order decisions for a second syntactic field, the first being between *sei* and *am*. By removing the syntactic field between *am* and the infinitive,

nonfluent speakers reduce their linguistic work while violating grammatical norms only in terms of frequency, not in kind.

Among sectarian speakers, the distinctiveness of the progressive construction has been reduced, not only by the loss of the dative *-m* in *am* but by the reduction of the vowel and the loss of word stress.[4] The form [ən] is used with much greater frequency than either [am] or [an] and may presage the ultimate loss of the preposition altogether. This speculation is supported by the evidence provided by the occurrence of object nouns between *am*, however it is realized, and the infinitive. The rule which specifies that object nouns occurring after *am* be unmodified has clearly been lost for Groups M and A. The combination of the linguistic and perceptual reduction of [am] to [ən] and the free variation in the occurrence of modified and unmodified noun objects following *am* results in utterances which closely parallel an English model.

II. The Auxiliary *duh*

Reed (1947) devotes one full paragraph to a discussion of the aspectual use of auxiliary *duh*. He notes its infrequent occurrence, but offers no rules describing its usage. Reed concludes that the construction expresses present tense iteration. Buffington and Barba (1965) describe the auxiliary *duh* as an emphatic form used most frequently to ask questions or to make negative statements. [For most verbs *duh* is the obligatory auxiliary in the formation of the Pennsylvania German present subjunctive. Consideration of the subjunctive formation is not included in this discussion of the auxiliary *duh*.]

Results

In order to elicit a range of the possible uses of the auxiliary *duh*, the translation task contains 8 questions and 7 negative statements, including 2 negative commands. Also included are 2 emphatic uses of English *do* and 2 occurrences of *do* functioning as a pro-form, i.e., occurring in place of the main verb: "I don't know, *do* you?" and "She likes big yellow flowers that smell good, and I *do* too." The results for each of these usages are reported separately below.

Translation Task

The translation task elicited a total of 158 auxiliary *duh* forms, of which 49% are either in questions or in negative statements. Group 2 makes the greatest use of the auxiliary *duh*, especially to form questions. The sectarians, Groups M and A, make the least total use of the auxiliary *duh*. See Table 9 for the total number of occurrences of the auxiliary *duh* and its use in questions and negative statements.

Table 9
Use of the Auxiliary *duh*
(Translation Task)

Group	Total	Quest	Neg
N	30	10	7
1	33	10	1
2	48	18	8
M	23	2	6
A	24	11	4

The two English sentences in which emphatic *do* occurs elicited few occurrences of Pennsylvania German *duh;* three speakers in Group 2 and one speaker in each of the other groups translated "She *does* understand . . ." by using *duh* and the infinitive *verschteh* or *wisse.* By contrast, the English *do* pro-forms are almost invariably translated by Pennsylvania German *duh;* see Table 10 for the occurrences of *duh* as a pro-form as opposed to the use of a main verb (MV) in that context.

Table 10
PG *duh* in Pro-Form Function
(Translation Task)

Group	*duh*	MV
N	15	2
1	12	2
2	16	5
M	13	3
A	14	1

Picture Descriptions

The picture descriptions elicit few uses of the auxiliary *duh.* In Group 1, 12 of the 13 occurrences are given by the two youngest informants in that group. All occurrences in Group 2 are offered by only one informant. None of the sentences given are questions or negated statements. See Table 11.

Table 11
Use of Auxiliary *duh*
(Picture Descriptions)

Group	*duh*
N	1
1	13
2	4
M	3
A	1

Free Conversation

During free conversation the use of the auxiliary *duh* occurs most frequently in the speech of members of Group 1, least frequently in the speech of members of Group N. Because groups differ significantly in the amount of free conversation they produced, it is helpful to develop a score for auxiliary *duh* usage relative to the average amount of discourse offered by each group. The number of occurrences of the auxiliary *duh* is divided by the average number of words per speaker for each group and multiplied by 10^3 in order to achieve a score reportable in whole numbers; see Table 12.

Table 12
Use of Auxiliary *duh*—Scored
(Free Conversation)

Group	# occ. Aux *duh*	Aver # words per speaker	Score
N	24	1303	18
1	37	735	50
2	14	490	28
M	32	1520	21
A	40	1255	31

The auxiliary *duh* occurs no more than 3 times in a negative sentence for each group. No auxiliary *duh* occurs in a question. In Group 1 half of the occurrences of auxiliary *duh* are produced by one speaker, and 31 of the 37 are in the speech of just 3 individuals. One speaker in Group 1 and four speakers in Group 2 make errors in forming the auxiliary *duh* construction.

Discussion

The use of the auxiliary *duh* is relatively infrequent when compared to the other two constructions bearing aspectual information. Speakers who repair sentences by beginning them anew do so to avoid reliance on the auxiliary *duh;* for example:

ich duh net // ich will net ihn heere gauze
'I do not // I don't want to hear him barking'
wu duh ich // finn ich der Daadis Buch
'where do I // do I find Daddy's book'
duh net // geb en nichts fer esse
'do not // give him nothing to eat'

A translation of the emphatic English *do* also deletes *duh* in a repair: *sell alt Haus dutt // muss uffgefixt sei* 'that old house does // must be fixed up'. Such repairs are most frequent in the translation task, where speakers first attempt a word-for-word translation, but repairs also occur in the free conversation and picture descriptions and indicate an avoidance of the auxiliary *duh:*

sie dutt die // sie langt fer ebbes
'she does the // she reaches for something'
er dutt // hot en Loch datt rum sei Schuh
'he does // has a hole there round his shoe'
awwer ich duh naat // ich wees net
'but I do not // I don't know'
mir duhne // mir lewe in die alt Haus noch
'we do // we still live in the old house'

In the above examples one notes other grammatical difficulties which nonfluent speakers have in speaking Pennsylvania German, but the use of auxiliary *duh* has not become a viable alternate strategy for resolving difficulties.

The use of auxiliary *duh* cannot be described as emphatic, nor does it primarily occur in questions or negative statements. During the free conversation many of the auxiliary *duh* constructions occur in extensive discussions of butchering. Nonsectarian native speakers (Group N) use the construction to describe the activities which regularly take place during annual family butcherings and the recipes for the by-products regularly associated with butchering; for example:

no dutt der Butscher es mixe
'then the butcher mixes it'
deel Leit duhne Schperribs schneide
'some people cut spareribs'
no duhn ich sie rooschde
'then I roast them'

The speakers in Groups 1 and 2 use the auxiliary *duh* more frequently than Group N in all three interview tasks. In the translation task, speakers in Group 1 translate 7 sentences using the auxiliary *duh* which speakers in Group N translate by inflected main verbs. Speakers in Group 2 translate 18 sentences by using the auxiliary *duh* construction, 12 of which are translations unique to that group. These native English speakers (Groups 1 and 2) greatly expand the use of the auxiliary *duh*, but evidence from the picture descriptions and the free conversation indicates that its use is an individual strategy relied on by some nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers to produce sentences in Pennsylvania German. Group 2 relies on this strategy particularly heavily when required to translate, and individuals in Group 1 when asked for extensive descriptions. The increased use by these individuals cannot be ascribed to influence from English. English has no auxiliary *do* in noncontrastive affirmative statements. Nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers' usage of the auxiliary does not increase appreciably in questions or with negation. However, the construction serves these speakers well: it helps them avoid inflections on main verbs and provides them with a correct format for troublesome word order.

The sectarians, Groups M and A, use the auxiliary *duh* less during the translation task but more frequently during free conversation than the nonsectarian native speakers. Particularly noticeable in the sectarian

use of the auxiliary *duh* is the concomitant occurrence of adverbs and temporal clauses indicating repeated time; for example:

Ich duh alsemol Yogert mache
'sometimes I make yogurt'
mer dutt's allegebott schtarre
'one stirs it every now and then'
wann mir butschere duhn ich Fleesch kaenne
'whenever we butcher I can meat'
ich duh ebmols helfe
'I help sometimes'

For sectarian speakers, the auxiliary *duh* construction seems to have lost the strength of its iterative function and needs the reenforcement of temporal adverbs and clauses. The more frequent use of *duh* in a pro-form function among sectarian speakers during free conversation provides other evidence for this loss of iterative meaning; see Table 13.

Table 13
***duh* in Pro-Form Function**
(Free Conversation)

Group	*duh* as pro-form
N	3
1	3
2	9
M	14
A	14

The sectarians have also extended the use of the auxiliary *duh* to verbs which cannot be iterative; for example:

er dutt alles wisse wie sell
'he knows everything like that'
es dutt mich gleiche
'it likes me'
. . . Blumme, wu gut schmacke duhn
'. . . flowers which smell good'

Whether the loss of iterative meaning by the auxiliary *duh* construction is due to English influence is not clear. The use of the construction appears always to have been restricted to the present tense. The extension of the use of *als* to report habitual or repeated action to the present, especially among sectarians (see below), is a more likely explanation for the demise of the auxiliary *duh* construction. However, the use of *duh* in pro-form function is clearly based on an English model.

III. Adverbial *als*

While Reed lists *als* as occurring only in conjunction with the Pennsylvania German past, Buffington and Barba (1965) describe it as expressing habitual or repeated activity when used with either present

or past forms. As suggested by Reed, the use of *als* to express iteration occurs so regularly, that "its function as such seems indisputable" (1947:11).

Results

Speakers use adverbial *als* during two parts of the interview, the translation task and the free conversation. Table 14 gives the distribution of *als* across these two interview tasks by tense; total occurrences during the free conversation are also scored relative to the average amount of discourse produced by each individual in each group.

Table 14
Occurrences of Adverbial *als*

Translation Task				Free Conversation			
Group	Total	Pres	Past	Total	Pres	Past	Score
N	25	5	20	116	7	109	89
1	20	3	17	50	8	42	68
2	14	0	14	30	6	24	61
M	21	3	18	67	28	39	44
A	14	1	13	74	25	49	59

In the translation task, 2 sentences are specifically designed to elicit adverbial *als* as the translation of English "used to": "Old men used to sell vegetables" and "They used to knock on the kitchen door." Except for members in Group 2, most speakers use *als* in the translation of these two sentences; most speakers in Group 2 do not. Two other sentences which frequently elicit *als* in Pennsylvania German contain English "often," once with the present and once with the past.

Topics during free conversation tend to focus on past events, especially in the conversations of members of Group N, the group having the largest number of older individuals. This accounts for the high usage of *als* by members in Group N compared to all other groups. Adverbial *als* is regularly used to express habitual or repeated activity; for example:

mei Dad hot als en Brein gemacht
'my dad used to make a brine'
ich hab als gholfe die Grummbeere lese
'I used to help gather potatoes'
mir hen als Brot gebacke
'we used to bake bread'

The use of *als* in the speech of the sectarians differs significantly from its use among nonsectarians in the number of occurrences with the present tense: 42% and 33% of occurrences of adverbial *als* for Groups M and A respectively occur with the present tense, ex. *ich schteh als uff baut finef Uhr* 'I get up (usually) about five o'clock'. Of particular interest is the use of *als* in sentences with the auxiliary *duh;* for example:

maryets duhn ich als hinaus geh
'mornings I (usually) go out'
mir duhn's Fleesch als maahle
'we (usually) grind the meat'
dutscht als Raahm abschebbe misse
'you must (usually) skim off the cream'

Discussion

Adverbial *als* clearly expresses habitual or repeated action in conjunction with present or past time. The nonsectarians seem to associate *als* only with past time and seldom use it with the present tense. The use of auxiliary *duh* seems to fulfill the present tense iterative function for them. The sectarians use *als* with both tenses, frequently in sentences also containing the auxiliary *duh*. It is likely that the loss of aspectual meaning of the auxiliary *duh* among the sectarians has been promoted by the extension of adverbial *als* to express iteration in the present tense.

IV. Summary

In today's spoken Pennsylvania German two aspects appear to be important: the expression of duration and the expression of iteration. Both occur in conjunction with present and past tenses. Duration is expressed by the use of *sei* + *am* + infinitive, the so-called progressive. Among the nonsectarians, nonfluent speakers tend toward a rigid word order, but evidence does not indicate that this strategy is a result of influence from English. Among sectarians, the progressive construction appears to be changing toward an English model in terms of the phonetic realization of *am* and the loss of a rule which distinguishes the placement of modified and unmodified noun objects. The expression of iteration in Pennsylvania German can be achieved by two constructions, one by using auxiliary *duh* and the other by adverbial *als*. The former occurs only in conjunction with the present tense; the latter tends to occur only with the past. Nonsectarian speakers observe this distribution, but the use of auxiliary *duh* occurs infrequently. Among sectarian speakers, the iterative meaning of the auxiliary *duh* has weakened and the use of adverbial *als* has been extended to the present tense.

The differences in the speech of the sectarians and the nonsectarians point to the existence of two separate Pennsylvania German norms. The nonsectarians retain a more conservative norm, observing rules for the forms and functions of verbal aspect which do not show evidence of English influence. Nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers attempt to use these rules but fail to achieve the full norm of the native speaker model. The variation in forms and functions which occurs in their speech is indicative of their incomplete mastery of that norm. Members of Group 2 represent the last generation to possess some productive control of Pennsylvania German in this community, but their errors do not show evidence of impinging English rules. Faulty forms and aberrant distributions of forms suggest strategies which apply a Pennsylvania German rule, not a reliance on a substitute English structure. In

the Pennsylvania German of fluent and nonfluent nonsectarian speakers, the impact of English has been minimal. In contrast to the Pennsylvania German of nonsectarians, the Pennsylvania German spoken by the sectarians shows evidence of substantial English influence in the form and function of verbal aspect. Their speech indicates that their rules are converging toward an English model. The influence of English is, therefore, not to be found in the Pennsylvania German of the nonsectarians, among whom the language is dying, but it is a likely cause of differences found in the Pennsylvania German of the sectarians, who continue to learn Pennsylvania German natively and use it for daily discourse.

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Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] The percentages reported in Table 4 represent the number of responses containing at least one progressive. Only one progressive was counted for each picture although the description may have contained more than one.

[2] Reed (1947) also rules out the use of the progressive for verbs describing certain "psychological states." However, verbs describing psychological states, such as those mentioned by Reed, occur in the progressive; for example:

waar ich am denke zu mir selwert
'I was thinking to myself'
er is am wunnere, wie er die Ebbel vum Baam griege kann
'he is wondering how he can get the apples from the tree'
seller is en dieseide, weller Abbel es bescht waer
'that one is deciding which apple would be the best'
er is yuscht en wunsche, 's er kennt en Abbel hawwe
'he is just wishing that he could have an apple'

[3] The phonological progression of [am] to [ən] and the expanded use of the progressive with the full inventory of tenses, moods, and voices directly parallel the historical development of the progressive in English as it is thought to have evolved by some scholars (see Baugh 1963).

[4] The loss of this *-m* most likely reflects the merger of the dative and common cases in the Pennsylvania German of sectarians (see Huffines, forthcoming). This merger is complete for sectarian speakers in this sample, and only a few fossilized dative usages remain in their speech.

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Joseph C. Salmons

But Hoosiers *Do* Speak German: An Overview of German in Indiana

The study of German dialects throughout the Midwest has come far in the last decade and a half, thanks especially to the work of Eichhoff, Schach, Buchheit, Keel, Gilbert, Seifert, and numerous dissertations.[1] Yet the study of the German language in Indiana is in its infancy or, perhaps more accurately, is just being born. Apparently no scholarly work has ever been published on any non-Amish variety of German in Indiana; indeed, even the German spoken by Mennonites and Amish in Indiana has hardly been investigated.[2] Sorting out the complicated state of affairs for the diverse dialects which make up Indiana German is going to take years of work, but that work has at last begun, as discussed below. The present article should briefly introduce a few of the most important historical and contemporary aspects of German in Indiana, from sociological, sociolinguistic, and linguistic perspectives, treating some parallels to and differences from other German-American dialects.

The first goal must be to show that German is an important language in Indiana, something not even all German-Americanists have always been willing to concede. Before coming to Indiana, I reread Hofman's classic article (1966/1968) about German in the Midwest, finding Indiana labeled "peripheral" German-American territory, where German-American culture had long been exposed to Anglicization. Shortly thereafter at a conference, a very competent German-American linguist from the Midwest told me not to expect to find significant numbers of German speakers in Indiana. Trying to ease that obvious disappointment, he added, "Go to a little town called Ferdinand; you might still find a couple of people in their eighties who remember a little." After moving to Indiana to see for myself, I found numerous speakers from Ferdinand and other parts of Dubois County who are quite fluent and barely forty years old. Even younger (fluent?) speakers are said to exist. More recently, another German-Americanist and linguist, born and

Map 1

Approximate location of some German speakers in Indiana. (Percentages from 1980 US Census)

raised in Indiana, was unaware of other German-English bilinguals in the state. German in Indiana thus seems to be a well-kept secret.

In spite of this low profile among specialists, several substantial communities of German-English bilinguals still exist. According to the 1980 United States census, four Indiana counties reported over six

percent of the population using German as the normal language in the home. While the census data may well represent an inaccurate picture—presumably skewed toward more German use than actually goes on—it serves to locate strongholds of German-English bilingualism and perhaps give a rough idea of the size of those communities.[3] The areas listed here are older communities, with long bilingual traditions, in three of four instances heavily Amish and Mennonite (cf. Map 1):

County	Percentage of Pop.	Number of Speakers
LaGrange County (NE Indiana)	15.0	3,428
Adams (S of Fort Wayne)	9.8	2,428
Daviess (SW Indiana)	7.2	1,845
Dubois (Jasper)	6.15	1,937
		Total: 9,638

In more urban areas, German speakers are numerous but tend to be first or second generation Americans, for example:[4]

County	Number of Speakers
Allen	3,780
Elkhart	2,173
Lake	2,266
Marion	3,515
St. Joseph	1,562
	Total: 13,296

Almost every corner of Indiana still reports significant pockets of German speakers. Eight more counties have between 600 and 1,000 speakers each:

County	Number of Speakers
Kosciusko	810
LaPorte	757
Marshall	753
Monroe	767
Porter	918
Spencer	641
Tippecanoe	713
Vanderburgh	943

In these 17 counties, less than one fifth of Indiana's counties, we find almost 30,000 people who claim to use German at home.

A crucial question is: Who speaks what to whom and when? The

answer parallels what is documented for many other German-American communities in recent decades. Among the southern Indiana speakers—with whom this article deals most—German is restricted largely to private domains and to use as a marker of ethnic group. German is strongest among family, friends, and neighbors. On some occasions, speakers will initiate a conversation in German and later switch to English. Here, German seems mostly a marker of ethnic identity: One begins in German, acknowledging that the speakers are "Germans" and German speakers; the switch is then made to accommodate those less comfortable in German or for technical vocabulary.

The vitality of an ethnic language of course need not be measured solely by its number of speakers. Language use for official or institutional purposes can contribute much to the maintenance of a tongue. Let us look at some historical examples of institutional German use in Indiana.

German language newspapers number well over 150 through the course of Indiana's history and throughout every part of the state. *Der deutsche Beobachter* (Fort Wayne) was probably the first, founded in 1843. I must say "probably" because scholars are unsure whether it was ever published. Evansville has at least 18 separate titles in bibliographies listing German papers in Indiana (Arndt and Olsen 1961, Miller 1982), Indianapolis 22, and a town as small as Logansport has 12 entries.

Circulation climbed into this century for many papers, reaching impressive levels as late as the 1910s:

Täglicher Demokrat	Evansville	1918	5,149
Der wöchentliche Demokrat	Evansville	1918	8,631
Freie-Presse/Staatszeitung	Fort Wayne	1910	4,000
Telegraph und Tribüne	Indianapolis	1915	10,825
Wöchentliches Journal	Terre Haute	1915	2,075

Even German-language papers from villages sold over 1,000 copies, for instance, the *Huntingburg Signal* with a circulation of 1,700 in 1910.

Most German language publications appeared in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, many disappearing during the First World War. A few survived much longer, however. Two of the last secular German language papers in the state both failed in 1927, the *Freie-Presse/Staatszeitung* of Fort Wayne and the *Indiana Telegraph* of Evansville. After that, *Die Evansville Post* failed in 1930, the *Indiana Staats-Herold* of Hammond in 1931, and the Catholic monthly *Paradiesesfrüchte* from St. Meinrad in 1936. Some Mennonite publications in German survived into the 1940s.

Turning now to religion, some groups naturally maintained German in religious services much longer than others. Old Order Mennonites and Amish, who probably number between 4,000-5,000 in Indiana—according to Reimer's 1979 estimate—still use German in many services across the state.

I take here as an example of German in church the Missouri Synod

Lutherans. First, an overview of German services in Indiana Missouri Synod churches:

Year	Churches With Some German Services	Over 50% German Services	All German Services	Total Number of Congregations	Percentage With Some German Services
1964	7			192	3.65
1960	12			189	6.35
1955	18			167	10.78
1950	31			155	20.00
1945	35			147	23.81
1940	66	31		125	52.80
1935	81	41	5	131	61.83
1928	100	48	8	133	75.19
1925	113	66	10	126	89.68
1922	109	69	10	127	85.83

The largest drop in percentage of Indiana's Missouri Synod Lutheran congregations offering some German services clearly comes during the Second World War, parallel to the large drops during this period found in Nebraska by Buchheit (1985) and in Texas by Salmons (in progress). In the late 1940s, the bilingual congregations were still scattered across the state, including over 15 in Fort Wayne and 5 in nearby Decatur. "The region," the area east of Chicago stretching along Lake Michigan, had a handful and several more were to be found in Indianapolis and in southwestern Indiana.[5]

These are, of course, simply numbers for one branch of Lutheranism in Indiana. Other churches, especially Catholic and other Lutheran groups, also continued German services until recently. Even after regular German services ceased, some congregations have continued to utilize bilingual pastors. Dubois County still has German-speaking clergy. A Standard German-speaking Lutheran minister from there reports using some German in visiting with older members of his congregation. The same pastor holds German-language services at a Jasper nursing home.

One of the most important institutions for language maintenance is the school. Through the nineteenth century, German-language schools were common in Indiana. In 1886, 231 German schools had just over 30,000 pupils enrolled. During the First World War, German disappeared entirely from public schools and almost entirely from private schools and did not reappear for decades. An article from 1938 talks of a contemporary anti-foreign language wave which would interfere with the "gradual reinstatement of German in secondary schools and colleges to a position approximating that which it once occupied" (Berrett 1938: 320). At that writing, a total of 47 Indiana high schools offered German, but only six offered more than two years of instruction. Fort Wayne, a predominately ethnic German community, did not reinstate

German until the late 1940s (Scott 1980b). In a more extreme example, Jasper High School in the middle of heavily German-speaking Dubois County only reintroduced German in the mid-1970s.

Institutional usage served an important function: It kept Standard German alive. With the loss of institutional usage. Standard German was doomed to be lost. Until about the First World War, many German-Americans spoke their local dialect(s) but came into constant contact with Standard German, learning it at school, reading it in their newspapers, hearing it from the pulpit, and so on. As noted above, during the 1910s anti-German (or more generally xenophobic and anti-foreign language) sentiment was strong enough that German and other languages were eliminated from schools across the United States. Indiana here follows the same path as bilingual communities across the United States. Many educators took it upon themselves, with help from government and academics, to discourage foreign language use, even in the home. Children were punished for using languages other than English at school. Teachers told their communities that their varieties of German, Spanish, Czech, etc., were only dialects, substandard varieties; that bilingualism caused insanity. As Clifford Scott (1980a, 1980b) has documented, German was forced out of Indiana public and parochial schools in even predominately ethnic German areas, and moves were made to censor German books in public libraries.

The irony here is obvious: The very educators who were denying students access to standard varieties of German and other languages complained that the spoken languages were not standard. Thus, a generation of bilingual Americans was denied literacy in their native tongues and told that they spoke substandard dialects. The widespread in-group attitude that the dialects spoken by German-Americans are "bad German" remains now as scar tissue from those old wounds. Today, children at school learn a German barely intelligible to many German speakers in Indiana.

The general perception of standard within the community also warrants mention. Speakers from several parts of Dubois County have reported that Jasper German is a higher, i.e., more Standard German than other dialects. This may well be based more on the social system in the county than on any linguistic reality, though the standard elements in the various dialects have not been systematically investigated. As in most German-American dialects, many Dubois County idiolects reflect some standard features not found in the base dialects. Also unclear at present is whether these standard features reflect the imported sociolects of the immigrants or a koine of south German dialects tending toward Standard German.

The ethnic revival movement of the 1970s created some ethnic institutions and recreated others, but usually without much effect on language use.[6] Indiana lagged behind some other heavily German-American areas in the formation of ethnic organizations and the (re)introduction of German into institutional settings. For example, the Indiana German Heritage Society was formed during the German-American Tricentennial (1983), while similar organizations in Texas had

been underway for nearly a decade. The Indiana German Heritage Society, however, has grown with alacrity, numbering several hundred members in its first year, building a membership throughout the state.[7]

In the electronic media, Hoosiers have surprisingly little German-language radio, far less than their neighbors. In fact, French is broadcast twice as many hours per week as German in Indiana. An overview (compiled from the annual *Broadcasting/Cablecasting Yearbook*):

German-Language Broadcasting: 1986		
State	**Stations Using German**	**Total Hours Per Week in German**
Midwest:		
Indiana	3	4
Illinois	5	16
Ohio	11	39
Michigan	6	11
Wisconsin	14	49
Other:		
New York	12	23
Pennsylvania	13	28
Texas	5	20

The Indiana hours currently come from Indianapolis, New Albany, and Fort Wayne. Historically, German-language radio in Indiana has remained stable since the mid-1970s at three or four hours per week. In 1960 and 1964, no German broadcasting was reported.

Summarizing then, spoken German remains relatively widespread in Indiana, largely in private domains. Institutional use has largely if not yet entirely died out in Indiana, taking Standard German with it. In churches and print media, German died gradually; in the more directly government-controlled domain of education, the transition came practically overnight. Significantly, institutional use of German, as throughout the Midwest, was commonplace in the state well within living memory. Exceptions to the loss of institutional uses are still found among the relatively closed societies such as the Amish and Mennonites.

Turning to the German language in Indiana, we must deal with a definitional problem. What does "German" mean to these many Hoosier German speakers? Indiana has numerous varieties of German that many European German speakers can understand only with great difficulty. Two common kinds of German found in Indiana represent extremes, linguistically and in linguistic vitality. On the one hand, many speakers, especially first generation urban speakers, speak more or less contemporary Standard German. This German, as elsewhere in the United States, is seldom passed on to later generations. On the other hand, the most vital German in Indiana is the Pennsylvania German spoken by several thousand Amish and Mennonites, at least Old Order, a language by no means easily intelligible to Standard German speakers.

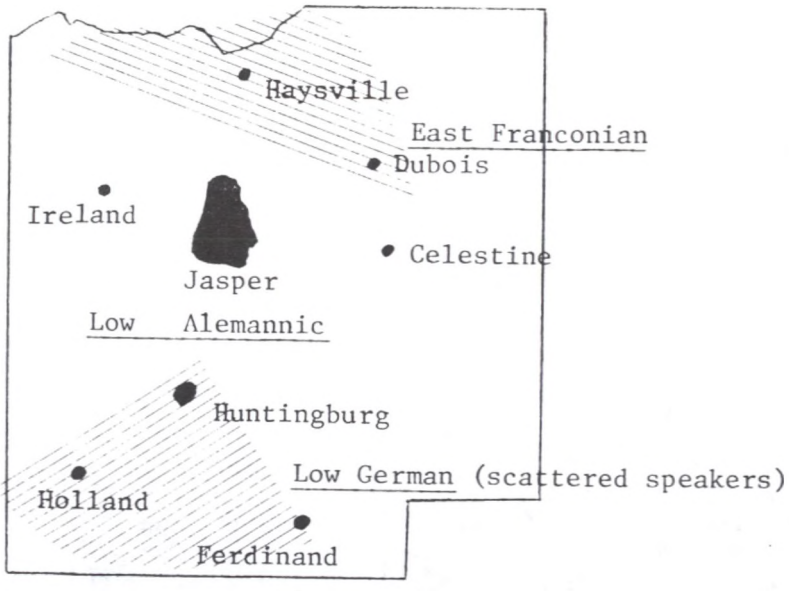
For the purposes of this discussion then, "Indiana German" refers to a number of divergent varieties, not all mutually intelligible, spoken within the state. One clearly may not posit a general Indiana German dialect as Gilbert has for Texas German (Gilbert 1972: 1 and elsewhere).

One finds almost every point along the scale from standard to extreme dialect. In Dubois County alone several distinct kinds of German have coexisted for a century and a half now.[8] In northern Dubois County, including the Haysville area, a dialect based on East Franconian of Pegnitz and Bayreuth is spoken. Throughout central Dubois County a Low Alemannic dialect from the Freiburg area is still used. In the south, Westphalian Low German, from around Osnabrück, survives. Finally, Amish in Martin and Daviess counties at the northern border of Dubois County speak Pennsylvania German (cf. Map 2).

This dialectal diversity in a small, heavily German-speaking area after several generations is perhaps surprising, and certainly much more widespread than that found in many German-American bilingual areas. The situation can however be easily enough explained. First, Dubois County German immigrants formed cluster settlements. Thus, speakers of the same or similar dialects lived together in Dubois County. Colonization efforts were certainly aided by the first German priest in the county, Father Kundek, who brought Catholic families to central Dubois County. The maintenance of dialects was aided by sharp religious lines within the county. The so-called Catholic triangle—the points were Jasper, Celestine, Ferdinand—was bordered in several places by Protestant communities. Until quite recently—and to a quite

Map 2

Major dialects of Dubois County (approximate location)



limited extent even today—the religious boundaries represented cultural and linguistic boundaries. Niehaus's recent dissertation (1981) documents the limited social contact, limited intermarriage, etc. between Protestant and Catholic. While the outside—English-speaking—world may have regarded the "Dubois County Dutch" as a homogenous ethnic group, clear boundaries were maintained within the German-speaking communities.

Interestingly, some Haysville speakers and Jasper speakers even claim difficulty in understanding the other dialect, though the dialects are linguistically quite close. Such difficulty in communicating may have more sociological than linguistic causes. Both Haysville and Jasper speakers have had some contact with Amish from Daviess and Martin counties. All parties concerned—Amish and non-Amish—report that the other groups sound strange, but, in Lester W. J. Seifert's words, "with a little practice, accompanied by patience and good will, communication is quite possible" (1970: 18). Cross-dialect communication between the Low German speakers in the southern part of Dubois County and any other group there appears out of the question, though many *Plattdeutsch* speakers have been trilingual in English, *Plattdeutsch,* and another Dubois County German dialect.

Much linguistic analysis of Dubois County German will be forthcoming in the immediate future. For the purposes of this brief introduction, I sketch only two particularly important points.

First, even after preliminary taping in Dubois County, some isoglosses are clear. The verb "to speak" for instance shows considerable variation in Dubois County German, coming from the German base dialects. "To speak German" can take, among others, the following forms in Dubois County:

deitsch blauere	Haysville
deitsch schwätze/schwatze	Jasper
deitsch babbele	Celestine[9]
deitsch rede	southeast & Haysville
plattdütsch küren	southwest
deutsch/deitsch spreche(n)	whole county

Every speaker is aware of social and geographical variation in this verb, which is of course automatically elicited by asking people if they speak German. Once beyond the ritualistic sentence, "I can speak German," many speakers use either *spreche* or *schwätze.* The other, locally distinct forms serve as markers of community, but then often give way in conversation to forms with greater currency across Dubois County.

The word for "potato" shows less variation, with only three words:

Erdäpfie	⟨ *Erd(s)apfel*
Kartoffel	
Grumbeer	⟨ *Grundbirne*

This distribution is however still complex. *Erdäpfie* is used in the northern part of the county, in the Haysville area. *Grumbeer* appears to

be limited to Alemannic speakers. The Standard German (and north German dialect) *Kartoffel* is used by Low German speakers in the southwest. In the northern or East Franconian area, all three words are understood even though the Standard German *Kartoffel* is rarely used. In the central or Low Alemannic area, the three words compete, though informants use their Alemannic form for the first word, i.e., *Erdapfe(l)* with a low back vowel in the second syllable and a schwa finally. In the southern part of the county, even speakers of Upper German dialects do not understand the Haysville term. Part of the ongoing work in Dubois County involves the study of lexical dialect mixing, including passive isoglosses, that is, where given words are understood even if they are not actively used.

Second, many or most of the changes away from the base dialects are found not only in Indiana but across German-speaking America in Pennsylvania, Texas, and across the Great Plains. One can talk, to some extent, of a set of American German features, widely found across the country. In the lexicon, for example, Dubois County speakers have borrowed many of the same words as other nineteenth-century German immigrants, often with the same morphology:

die Car, -s	'car'
die Fenz, -en	'fence'
fixen (fixte, gefixt)	'to repair'
gleichen (gleichte, gegleicht)	'to like (someone)'

In conversational marking, the modal particles (*doch, mal,* etc.) of German have lost ground, occasionally being replaced by similar English items, e.g., *you know* and *well* as hesitation words.[10] Code-switching appears rare. Switches are usually either German to English for an unfamiliar word or phrase or emblematic code-switching of conversational markers as just noted.

In conclusion, Indiana has more German than has been hitherto acknowledged, representing a *Paradebeispiel* of spoken German outside the obvious and more often studied German-speaking areas in the United States, such as Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Texas.

The dearth of published work on Indiana German is quickly being eliminated. Research underway on German dialects in Indiana includes study of lexical isoglosses in Dubois County. Peter Freeouf, a doctoral student from Indiana University-Bloomington, is writing a dissertation on the morphology and phonology of some Dubois County dialects (primarily Haysville Franconian and Jasper Alemannic), with attention to age and social stratification. Direly needed are many other projects. For example, C. Richard Beam (personal communication) has suggested a lexical study of the rapidly disappearing Adams County Swiss German. Dialect boundaries, dialect shift, code-switching (between dialects and languages), the role of semi-speakers, the complex relationship between attitudes and language use, these and other issues will

yield a rich harvest for those interested in working on German in Indiana.

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Notes

[1] I am grateful for a range of comments from the following people: Sabine Jordan (Humanist in Residence, Dubois County, 1980-1981): Ruth Reichmann (President, Indiana German Heritage Society), Edgar C. Polomé (Univ. of Texas), Eileen Schaber (Haysville, IN), and Linda Moehle-Vieregge (Univ. of Texas).

[2] The exceptions here are a short sociology-of-language oriented article by Reimer (1979) on the Mennonites of northeastern Indiana and work on an eastern Indiana Amish community in Wenger's 1969 dissertation.

[3] The reliability of census reports on language use in the United States has become the subject of considerable discussion among sociologists of language; cf. especially Veltman (1983) and Fishman (1984).

[4] Allen and Elkhart counties are actually mixed settlements, including urban and rural speakers.

[5] More general, but detailed comparisons of Missouri Synod language use and shift are available in Hofman (1966, 1968) and Dietz (1949).

[6] Cf. Fishman 1984 and 1985 for general discussions of the "ethnic revival" and language maintenance in the United States.

[7] The Indiana German Heritage Society can be contacted through:
Dr. Ruth Reichmann
Indiana German Heritage Society
400 E. Michigan Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204.

[8] 1986 marks the sesquicentennial of German settlement to Dubois County. In 1836, 12 German-speaking families moved to near present-day Jasper.

[9] Reported by Sabine Jordan (personal communication, cf. also Jordan 1981).

[10] Amazing here is the fact that many speakers have kept translated forms of these modals particles in their English, but virtually lost them in German. For instance, Dubois County English includes "let me look once," Standard English "let me just have a look." The *once* functions here as its German equivalent *mal*—now essentially extinct in Dubois County German—does in Standard German.

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Byron B. Renz

German-Language Broadcasting in Cincinnati, Ohio: 1929-1984

It was in the late 1960s that the push to achieve increased civil rights for ethnic minorities resulted in a demand to increase the visibility of minority groups in broadcasting. Programming specifically oriented to various ethnic groups increased, as did minority group representation on staffs and percentages of minority ownership and control of broadcasting properties. At first glance, it might appear as if this period marked the beginning of significant amounts of ethnic broadcasting in the United States. However, such is not the case. Broadcasting in languages other than English in this country is more widespread and has deeper historical roots than is generally realized.[1] In fact, non-English-language broadcasting in the United States can be traced almost to the beginning of broadcasting.

An interesting example of a European immigrant group which, historically, has made an effort to maintain its language, alongside English, is the German community of Cincinnati. Broadcasting in German began in Cincinnati within the first decade of the history of radio broadcasting, when it served a post-World War I German-speaking community of approximately 127,000 people, nearly thirty-five percent of the total population of the city.[2] By the end of 1984, German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati had achieved a fifty-five-year discontinuous history occurring in three periods: (1) the pre-World War II period, from 1929 to 1938; (2) the war and post-war period, from mid-1943 until 1955; and (3) the modern period, from 1961 to the present.

In each time period, the nature of German-language broadcasting was shaped by the interests and needs of the German-speaking community, the character of American radio programming, and the efforts of individuals or institutions in the community. This survey will explore the impact of these forces on German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati throughout the three periods of its history.

The Beginnings of German-Language Broadcasting in Cincinnati

From 1921 to 1924, the Cincinnati German community's involvement in the electronic media paralleled that of the community at large. Imported German records served as an incentive for investment in a Victor Victrola or a Brunswick record player by members of the German community, just as the availability of German music on player piano rolls increased interest in that mechanical instrument among Cincinnati's Germans. Radio set manufacturers, including Crosley in Cincinnati, were beginning to acquaint the public with radio receivers and the concept of broadcasting. Association of radio with the live concert was one strategy used by the manufacturers. For example, in December 1922, a Wurlitzer Radio-Concert was staged. Sponsored by the Crosley Radio Manufacturing Company, the choral concert was followed by a demonstration of Crosley radios.

By 1923, the principle of radio broadcasting was spreading rapidly. In July, the Fifth-Third Bank had an advertisement in the German-language press which showed a man with earphones at a table with the components of a radio receiver. His wife, who had been entertaining him at the piano, was turned toward her distracted husband. She found him attending to a message which included the call letters of mythical station S-P-A-R-E-N (''save'').[3]

By the spring of 1924, radio ads began appearing in the German-language press, and on 18 March 1924 the newspaper began publishing selected lists of radio programs for the three Cincinnati stations on the air at that time: WLW (700 KHz), WMH/WKRC (550 KHz) and WSAI (1330 KHz).[4] Immediately added to these lists were selected programs available in Cincinnati but originating nationwide and outside of the borders, from Calgary, Alberta, to Havana, Cuba. Within two years, radio receivers were becoming more compact and easier to operate, and increasing numbers of ads for brand-name radios appeared in the German-language press. By 1929, ads for floor-model radios, often including built-in record players, were a common item in the advertising pages of the *Freie Presse*. The increased availability of home radio receivers, along with advances in receiver sound quality, undoubtedly stimulated interest within Cincinnati's largest ethnic group for programming directed toward themselves.

Adding to that impetus was the strong level of German cultural activity within the Cincinnati community in the 1920s. Prior to World War I, Cincinnati Germans published two substantial newspapers, the *Volksblatt* and the *Freie Presse*, and numerous German-language books. An active German Theater presented plays by German and other dramatists.[5] Although the war had a devastating effect on this culture, by the mid-1920s, German societies were being revived, the German Theater opened again, and German literary activities were being resumed.[6] Beginning in 1926, imported German films were shown at Emery Auditorium, the Civic Theater, local movie houses, and occasionally at the *Turnhalle*.

Technology and culture combined in the last half of the decade when it was clear that musical concerts were associated with evening radio listening within the Cincinnati German community. In 1927, a short poem appeared in the *Freie Presse* which described a family gathered in their living room during the evening, each pursuing a separate quiet activity, but all listening to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony on the radio.[7] The framework was set for the development of broadcasting directed to the interests of the German ethnic community.

Actually, the first Cincinnati radio program that had a distinct German orientation was broadcast on 1 December 1927. From 7:45 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. that evening WFBE presented German folk songs with running commentary. The host was J. W. Fickencher.[8] The program appeared to be an isolated presentation; the beginning of significant German programming in Cincinnati occurred nearly two years later, in the fall of 1929. With the Graf Zeppelin still frequently occupying the headlines, Cincinnati's fifth radio station was about to go on the air. WCKY, actually licensed to Covington, Kentucky, signed on the air Monday, 16 September 1929, at 7:45 p.m. The maiden program featured a welcome from the Kentucky governor, forty-five minutes of music from the National Broadcasting Company network in honor of its seventieth affiliate, and, of some significance for the German community, live music by the "Little German Band."[9]

The existence of a fifth station in the Cincinnati market created a broadcast outlet that became available for use by the German community. Within WCKY's first week on the air, the *Freie Presse* initiated the first of what was to be a series of German programs on that station. On Sunday, 22 September 1929, the *Freie Presse* noted that the first of a continuing series of programs would begin that evening at 9:45 p.m. Intended as a showcase for German music, the fifteen-minute program was entitled *Eine Rheinreise* and was constructed as a musical travelogue, with commentary in German. The *Freie Presse* had responsibility for production of the program, which was intended to be light entertainment that could be enjoyed in the privacy of one's home for people who spoke German and who had an appreciation of German culture.[10] The program was consistent with a common theme in German literature: a reminiscent yearning for the homeland. Therefore, the introduction of German broadcasting in Cincinnati served as an extension of the existing forms of cultural expression—the music concert and the stage play.

On subsequent evenings, the program was extended to forty-five minutes and involved a variety of vocalists and instrumentalists. Early programs included dramatic materials, although by November the programs began to consist exclusively of music. Eventually, it was moved from Sunday evenings to leave that night free for religious programming. Particularly notable programs were those occurring during October in a month-long sixtieth anniversary jubilee of the *Freie Presse*. The first of those programs was billed as the most advanced artistic work to date in the *Freie Presse* radio series, a rival of the best English-language dramatic works found on other American stations. It

featured a dramatic presentation of the story of a German soldier's fate, "All Quiet on the Western Front." Two weeks later, a sixty-five member mixed chorus filled the studio of WCKY to present a concert of German choral works. The *Freie Presse* received several letters of appreciation, expressing thanks for the consideration the programming showed to the German-Americans, for the "correct German language," and for the lovely music, enjoyed by German speakers and non-German speakers alike.[11] The anniversary month culminated with a program which included comments from government officials who represented the German community.

After a 20 December Christmas program, which featured a mixed chorus and women's choir performing the works of Mendelssohn and Rossini as well as Christmas carols, the *Freie Presse* program ceased without fanfare and without notice.

As 1930 progressed, German music programs were offered periodically on Cincinnati radio, but without the artistic and production effort that went into the presentation of the *Freie Presse* programs. In mid-January, WFBE aired programs of *German Music* from 7:45 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. on consecutive Friday evenings, but the program was not continued.[12] In early February, WFBE began broadcasting a Sunday morning music program, *German Echos*, from 10:30 to 11:00.[13] The program continued weekly through 23 February; two weeks later it reappeared an hour later retitled *Deutsche Musik*.[14] Beginning in August, its air time was delayed yet another half hour, and then moved back again the following April. After the 17 May 1931 segment aired under the name *Deutsches Programm* the program was discontinued. From late spring through the summer of 1931, German programming was absent from Cincinnati's airwaves, except for an isolated half-hour presentation on WFBE at 2:30 p.m., Sunday, 30 August 1931. At that time, a half-hour network program was presented which had been produced by German radio.

As the 1930s wore on and Germany became increasingly involved in world politics, an occasional news presentation involving substantial use of German would be broadcast on Cincinnati's major stations. Although of interest to the German community in Cincinnati, the infrequent broadcasts were originated by the network and were available to all affiliates.

Even though little or nothing was being done with German broadcasting in Cincinnati for most of 1931, the presentation of German cultural materials in the community was not dormant. German films were being shown periodically, both at the Deutsches Theater and the Erlanger Grand Opera House at Vine and 5th in Cincinnati. With generally high mass media activity involving German matter continuing, it seemed to be only a matter of time before the community would again use radio as an artistic and cultural outlet. Renewed activity in German-language and German-music programming occurred in September 1931 with the advent of a half-hour German music program, *Echos von Deutschland*, on WFBE from 11:45 a.m. to 12:15 p.m.; it was discontinued after eight weeks. The week after *Echos von Deutschland*

began, the first of a series of radio programs reminiscent of the *Freie Presse* program of two years earlier was scheduled to be aired under the sponsorship of the UFA Theater, the main location for the showing of German-language films at the time.

The *UFA Theater Radioprogramm* was broadcast on WFBE Sundays from 12:30 p.m. to 1:00 p.m. These were dramatic presentations in German supported by a live orchestra, with some additional musical selections. The first half-hour presentation featured Adela Banker-Boltz, Henrietta Duning of the Duning Chorale and Travel Association, and Fritz M. Witte, narrator and actor in the earlier *Freie Presse* series. The program also included the UFA Orchestra.[15] The *UFA Theater Radioprogramm* ran with general regularity—apparently skipping an occasional week or two periodically—for the remainder of 1931 and into the late spring of the following year. On Sunday, 1 November 1931, it was reduced to fifteen minutes, the length it retained until the end of April 1932 when it was suddenly discontinued.[16]

As the depression deepened in the 1930s, people increasingly turned to radio for service and inexpensive entertainment. Yet, the increasing use of radio by the general public was not paralleled by an increase in German music and cultural programming in Cincinnati. While German-language films ran with some regularity at the UFA and Mayfair theaters during 1933 and 1934, broadcasting activity from the German community was nil.

Then, on Sunday, 2 February 1936, locally produced German programming returned to Cincinnati when a half-hour program, *The German Culture Hour,* was aired on WCPO at 1:15 p.m. The producer was William Duning, who was to remain instrumental in the production and talent aspects of a number of programs. The program focused on music and included anecdotal commentary and occasional serious lectures given in both English and German. Each program followed a theme, ranging from a Low German presentation—incorporating music and poetry—to a commemorative presentation on Mother's Day. One program, dedicated to the upcoming Berlin Olympics, included commentaries in English and German on the Olympic preparations and on Berlin as a city. *The German Culture Hour* was scheduled regularly for Sundays as long as German talent was available; newspaper notices asked those interested in appearing on future programs to make their interests known to the program's producers. After airing weekly through Sunday, 10 May, *The German Culture Hour* abruptly ceased.

In September 1937 the *German Radio Program of the Freie Presse* enjoyed a month-long revival, after which it was replaced for six weeks by an all-music program entitled *Deutsche Lieder.* At the beginning of 1938, the periodic effort to present a German cultural program continued as the *Freie Presse* reintroduced its cultural hour, now titled *The German Radio Program of the Free Press.*[17] After two months, that program, and all other efforts to provide German language and cultural programming, ceased. It was not to resume again until late in World War II. Another program, initiated in the mid-thirties and often associated with German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati, was entitled

Canal Days and aired quite regularly on WSAT until 1955. The program consisted of a series of vignettes of life in early Cincinnati, frequently focused on the German community, narrated in a German accent by Ray Shannon in the character of the Old Rhinelander. *Canal Days* is given only passing mention here because the narration and dialogue were entirely in English.

Even though there were times during this early period when no German-language or German-music broadcasting originated in Cincinnati, a less obvious development in broadcasting began to play a role in the Cincinnati German community's use of radio. Near the end of 1933, an ad appeared in the German-language press for a radio that was capable of receiving not only AM, but also police and air traffic bands. The general availability of all-band radio receivers made the existence of German international radio broadcasts a factor in the Cincinnati German community's use of German-language radio. By the fall of 1935, newspaper ads were promoting the shortwave capability of receivers in the German community. Philco appealed to the purchaser's interest in being able to listen to German radio broadcasts in an ad for an all-band receiver. The ad suggested that reception of stations from Berlin would be virtually guaranteed. This was a time when Cincinnati was a city whose population was sixty-five percent German extraction.[18]

German international broadcasts actually had begun in 1929,[19] but there was no evidence of any widespread reception of direct German broadcasts in Cincinnati in the early 1930s. On 3 April 1934, the *Freie Presse* included alongside its list of domestic radio offerings a list of German shortwave programs.[20] For the remainder of the decade, German shortwave programming was frequently included along with the domestic listings.

When the German shortwave listings were first published, the North American service was available from 9:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m., Eastern Standard Time. American listeners would have heard the opening transmission announcement in German and English, followed by a fifteen-minute program of German folk songs, which was followed in turn by incidental music programs that emphasized German folk songs, classical music, or popular orchestras, alternating with two fifteen-minute English and German newscasts. In the final quarter hour, a German-American program entitled "With the Stethoscope on the Heart of the Times" was presented. The sign-off at 11:30 p.m. was read in both German and English. At the beginning of 1935, the evening shortwave program had expanded to include the hours of 5:30 p.m. to 10:30 p.m.;[21] by mid-year, North American programming began at 5:00 p.m.[22] In 1937, the schedule included the hours from 4:50 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., a schedule maintained for the remainder of the decade.[23]

The evening's transmissions often included plays and documentaries. Music and poetry were sometimes blended in relatively lengthy programs. Some programs were directed to women; an occasional program had a youth orientation.[24] Later in the decade, fifteen-minute instructional programs in German for English speakers were included in the program schedule.[25] The schedule was varied in program type, and

was oriented to monolingual speakers of English, as well as to German speakers in North America. For listeners with shortwave bands on radio receivers, common in the mid- and late 1930s and 1940s, the additional availability of shortwave programming from Germany added materials—largely apolitical—which complemented the locally generated programming in that it added German music and cultural matter to the pool of available German programming in Cincinnati.

It is unlikely that the availability of the German international radio service had an effect on the production of German-language programming in Cincinnati. Locally produced programming arose from the artistic and cultural interests of the institutions within the Cincinnati German community, aided by the personal interest in radio in any who offered to serve as program host or talent. The availability of the German international service did not impinge upon either of those motivating forces. Undoubtedly, news from Germany was sought by those German-Americans who also followed local newscasts as tension mounted in the relationship between the two countries. The sorrow and anxiety experienced by the German community in Cincinnati, as in other German communities in the United States, were very likely paralleled only by the experiences of Japanese communities in the West. These concerns stimulated listenership in the international service, but that interest was ancillary to the interests that motivated the German community to produce programs locally.

The American networks also satisfied the interest in following news reports about Germany; they occasionally carried a major political address from Germany. Adolf Hitler's Vienna address on 15 March 1938 was typical of the way that the American networks handled that type of presentation. NBC carried Hitler's speech, a broadcast which was relayed in Cincinnati by WLW. The original speech was carried, but, periodically, Hitler's speech was faded under for a brief paraphrase of the ideas in English. Then the volume was restored on the speech itself. The paraphrased interruptions were sufficient to introduce the key ideas in English, but were not so intrusive as to destroy one's ability to follow the speech in German. The fading and signal distortion characteristic of shortwave transmissions magnified for American listeners the apparent frenzy of the German audience. At the close of the speech, the German national anthem was played, an opportunity the commentator used to complete a paraphrase of the closing portions of the speech.[26] The frequency with which this type of German-language matter was introduced into American society by means of the networks was not great, but it did have the effect of enhancing the German presence on the world stage in the minds of Americans. As for the German community in Cincinnati, the program was an oustide source of German matter, with the varying resultant effects that such broadcasts had on German-American communities wherever they existed in the United States. It was not entirely coincidence, however, that the cessation of German cultural programming in Cincinnati during the World War II period coincided closely with Hitler's Vienna address of 1938. It was shortly after this time that, in reaction to native obloquy regarding citizens of

German extraction, the *Freie Presse* began publishing regularly a box stating "Our Platform" for German-Americans. The platform pledged, among other things, "absolute and unswerving loyalty to American ideals and principles, continued and consistent effort to inculcate that spirit in the mind and heart of every citizen of German extraction, and strict obedience to American laws and customs."[27] Through its publications, the German community believed that it was necessary to declare publicly its loyalty to the United States. By the same token, the majority of the community declared firmly that they would not fall prey to the inclination of the larger society to ridicule and vilify the German nation.

The lack of complete regularity in the German programming of the twenties and thirties may be attributed to several factors. Often, simple practical problems interfered with a program schedule. In the spring, baseball broadcasts would preempt Sunday afternoon schedules, a favorite time for the presentation of German cultural programming. Other practical problems pertained to the time and effort needed to coordinate talent and prepare scripted materials on a weekly basis. Such efforts are very difficult to sustain when the initiative is largely individual rather than institutional. Even in the case of the *Culture Hour* produced by the *Freie Presse,* the organization lent support to what were primarily individually initiated program efforts. The program production was not an integral part of the newspaper's organizational activities. German radio programming did not become institutionalized and, consequently, capable of sustaining itself in the absence of a particular figure who would promote and coordinate some venture.

It should be remembered, too, that programs such as William Duning's *The German Culture Hour* represented one among several activities that the Cincinnati Germans participated in to promote the culture and to stimulate use of the German language. The German-language press was the linchpin of these several activities, which included book publishing, legitimate theater, music concerts, and incorporated German motion pictures. The Duning-organized trips to German-speaking countries of Europe were another part of the composite effort to promote German cultural and linguistic activities, and the development of the German clubs and singing societies could also be counted among these activities. Irregularities in German radio programming should be viewed in that light. Radio programming was but one of several activities intended to promote things German, and the radio program was not central in the mix of existing activities.

The World War II and Post-War Period

German cultural programming returned to the Cincinnati airwaves sooner than might have been expected during the period of the Second World War, largely due to the quiet but determined will of William Duning. With the support of the Willis Music Company, Duning introduced the half-hour *Zoo Opera on Radio* in early July 1943. For several weeks in the height of the summer the program aired on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons at 5:15 on WCKY and Saturday evenings at 8:30 on WKRC before being discontinued.

About a year later (15 July 1944) the Alms and Doepke department store supported the USO and William Duning in the presentation of the *Opera and Cathedral Radio Concert* on WKRC Saturday evenings from 9:45 to 10:15. The inaugural program was in honor of the men and women in service to their country.[28] The program aired for the remainder of the summer, then was suspended for the rest of the year.

The Alms and Doepke *Opera and Cathedral Hour* resumed on 10 February 1945, again airing at 8:45 p.m. Saturdays on WCKY.[29] It continued to air regularly through mid-October 1949, the longest running German cultural presentation to that time.[30] The program remained under the direction of William Duning for the five years that it was on the air. Thematically, it was oriented toward classical music, emphasizing German composers, with a brief commentary on the music by Duning. Upon occasion, the commentary would be more extensive. It was his custom to use both German and English in the program's verbal continuity. Musical motifs played over the field of German composers (including programs on Wagner and Bach) and, at times, focused on semi-classical music or themes such as church music from the world's famous churches.[31]

The custom of providing special year-end programming was evident at this time. A special New Year's Day program was scheduled for the advent of 1947, featuring the music of Wagner again and Johann Strauß.[32] Later that year, a special Christmas program was scheduled for 7:30 p.m. on Saturday, 20 December, which presented Christmas tidings within the context of selections from Handel's *Messiah*. Regular programs continued to air on Saturdays at 7:30 p.m. on WCKY until late 1949.

A likely sponsor of German music programming on radio would be a music store that featured imported records. It was just such a situation that resulted in a new German music program that was introduced on 13 March 1949. The program, *German Melody Time*, was introduced on WZIP (1050 AM) located just south of Cincinnati in Covington, Kentucky. It aired Sundays from 1:30 p.m. to 2:00 p.m. and was sponsored by Northside Music, which carried German phonograph records. The program was oriented entirely to music, but was short-lived, being discontinued after only two months on the air.

A special Christmas radio program was aired on WSAI on Christmas Day 1951. *An International Christmas*, sponsored by the Dittrich Travel Service, aired at 4:30 p.m. This same travel service promoted trips to German-speaking Europe during the period, and a record store would occasionally promote the fact that it stocked a selection of German records. The early 1950s constituted a dry spell for German-language or German-cultural programming in Cincinnati. No programming with a German orientation appeared until late 1954, with the exception of the isolated Christmas program. An occasional German cultural event was staged, however: In May 1950, a Viennese student group gave a live concert at Emery Auditorium, and, in the fall of 1953, the Harmonie Singing Society gave a concert at Harmonie Hall on McMicken Avenue.

But German cultural activity through the electronic media and even the motion picture was minimal during this period.

On Monday, 27 September 1954, German programming resumed in Cincinnati. Called simply the *Deutsche Radiostunde,* the program was heard Mondays on northern Kentucky's WZIP. The program continuity was provided in German by Werner Schulz,[33] and the program featured folk music reminiscent of the old homeland and German popular music.[34] The program aired approximately eight months, until early June in 1955, and then was discontinued. Although the program was relatively short in duration, it was the forerunner of the German radio disk jockey program, with German folk and popular music, commercials, and ad-libbed comments and announcements. With its termination, German programming again disappeared from Cincinnati's airwaves for the duration of the decade of the fifties.

The post-war period was marked by several significant characteristics. It represented an effort to revive the single-sponsor programming of the pre-war period, along with its structured block programming formats. The reintroduction of German-language programming while the war was still in process represents a courageous step by Duning, declaring, in effect, that it was the German language and German culture which originated abroad and which had been forged by the German experience there that were significant, rather than the expression of German national interests in the world political arena.

The period, too, was a troubled one for German ethnic radio, as it was troubled for radio in general. The late forties marked the beginning of a transitional period for radio that lasted into the mid-fifties. Two factors forced a major change in the concept of the societal role of radio. First, television made its debut in 1948; by mid-1949 a significant number of sets had been introduced into Cincinnati homes. Second, as the population's educational and socioeconomic levels increased, the view developed that radio should provide a significant service. With these changes came substantial changes in program formats. Block programming yielded to free-flow formats, and the inexpensive phonograph record assumed increasing importance again, as it had in the early 1920s. Program continuity, previously provided by staff announcers and program hosts, was increasingly provided by disk jockeys.

These changes were significant not only for broadcasting in general, but also for the programming efforts of the Cincinnati German community. People's electronic media habits were increasingly directed to television; interest in radio and the motion picture declined correspondingly. For a time, the effect that the general changes in radio would have on German-language programming was uncertain. Nevertheless, as radio struggled to redefine itself, so, too, did the Cincinnati German community seek ways to continue to use the medium as an outlet for linguistic and cultural expression.

The Contemporary Era

The availability of additional radio channels through the increased use of the FM band in the 1960s was a boon to the ethnic broadcaster.

The increased channel availabilities reduced the competition for air time and increased the demand for programming, allowing for the expansion of German-language broadcasting on both AM and FM bands. The conditions were then ripe for an era of continuous German radio programming in Cincinnati which began early in the 1960s. Four separate efforts were involved in that decade.

WLW seldom became involved in German programming, but on 7 February 1963 it aired an evening program of German music, with the intention of trying to determine the extent and character of audience response to such programming.[35] The lack of any follow-up programs suggests that the experiment was not productive.

A longer-term effort was an evangelical religious program that aired on WHOH, Hamilton, Ohio, Mondays from 7:00 p.m. to 7:15 p.m. Entitled *Radio Midnight Call,* this syndicated program began in early October 1967 and ran until the end of July 1968.[36] It featured evangelist Win Malgo, who paid a personal visit to Cincinnati in late June 1968.[37]

A third program had an even longer run. In late July 1965, a German program was reintroduced to northern Kentucky's WZIP.[38] Called *Remember Germany,* the program was scheduled Sunday evenings from 6:10 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. There was a juggling of hours in the early fall, and the programming then settled in to a 2:05 p.m. to 3:10 p.m. afternoon hour on Sundays. The program was simulcast on the station's AM and FM facilities.[39]

Since the mid-sixties marked a period of renewed German immigration to the Cincinnati area, WZIP made an effort to find a program host who was fluent in both German and English and who had some knowledge of music as well. L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt served as producer and hostess of the program for most of its tenure. She had received encouragement from a citizenship council which suggested that bilingual broadcasts in German might aid immigration efforts. The program was completely bilingual, with introductory and descriptive materials given in English and then in German. It had the character of a travelogue, with the places and scenes illustrated by musical selections.[40] Even commercials were bilingual, with a male voice used for the English announcement and a female voice for the German. Although most of the programming originated locally, *Remember Germany* each month incorporated taped cultural programs from German radio. In June 1968, *Remember Germany* was discontinued due to administrative and program format changes at the station.[41]

The dominant German-language radio program in Cincinnati during the 1960s began on Easter Sunday in 1961. On 2 April Hermann Albers introduced *The German Hour* Sunday mornings on WKRC from 9:00 to 9:30, a program comprised of German music and conversation.[42] The program aired weekly on WKRC until December of that year when Albers transferred the program to WMOH in suburban Hamilton. He changed the name to *Over the Rhine Showcase,* and the program was given a two-hour time slot, from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m. Sundays. The program title was derived from the Cincinnati neighborhood known as

"Over the Rhine," a residential area that formerly attracted German immigrants.

In 1964, additional hours for German language programming were added to WMOH's FM station, WHOH, allowing *Over the Rhine Showcase* to run daily, from noon to 6:00 p.m. initially, and shortly thereafter, when hours were extended, to 7:00 p.m. The period from noon to 5:00 p.m. was taped in advance, and the evening block was live. The taped portion of the WHOH weekday programming was discontinued in the late summer of 1964, and *Over the Rhine* settled in to a twelve hour weekly schedule, 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. weekdays and Sundays from 12:00 noon to 2:00 p.m.[43]

At WMOH/WHOH Hermann Albers also encouraged bilingualism. For a time, Albers and his wife worked together on *Over the Rhine Showcase;* he made announcements in English, she in German. Due to schedule conflicts, his wife later left the program, and Albers hosted it alone. Generally, announcers for non-English-language programming have not had specific broadcast training. This was also the case with Albers. A baker by trade, he had had neither formal training as an announcer, nor a university education. Nevertheless, with the uncrystallized idea that "somebody ought to do something" with German-language radio, Albers put together a demonstration tape at home and submitted it to the program director at WKRC. Shortly thereafter, and with almost no warning, Albers was given air time on WKRC. Initially, Albers volunteered his services, but subsequently he was paid the legal minimum wage.

The program philosophy was to generate materials oriented to entertainment, to minimize informational components, except for commercials and announcements for clubs and organizations, and to refrain from any consideration of political issues. The orientation of *Over the Rhine Showcase* was local, although Albers was aware of some program sources from Germany, primarily brief news reports and commentary. The German consulate made available informational tapes, usually news reviews, which Albers occasionally included in his program, along with a taped religious program in German and sports scores. Little additional effort was made to consider information categories in a broader sense. It was music that was the focus of the programming, and the philosophy of music programming adopted by Albers was based on the desirability of variety. Variety, in this case, included operettas, folk music, and popular music. Albers obtained a list of current hits from Germany and used it as a guide in his selection of music. He regularly played records from his personal library of German music. Albers left *Over the Rhine Showcase* in 1968. For a short time the program continued with interim announcers until Heinz Probst became host of the program upon his return from Germany where he had been collecting German records.[44]

Under Probst's directorship, *Over the Rhine Showcase* settled in to a broadcast pattern of 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Mondays through Saturdays and 12:00 noon to 5:00 p.m. on Sundays. The first two hours of the Sunday show, subtitled the "Germania Show," featured the latest hit

songs.[45] As 1970 drew to a close, the Sunday hours for *Over the Rhine Showcase* were extended from 7:00 a.m. until 6:00 p.m.; by early 1972 the Monday through Saturday hours were extended from 5:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Soon afterwards, the hours began to be gradually altered and reduced.[46]

In late 1974, the call letters of WHOH, Hamilton, changed to WYCH.[47] The German program continued under the reorganized structure, although in November 1974 the time devoted to it was reduced considerably. The daily and Saturday programming had been discontinued, and the Sunday program was done live from 1:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. This schedule was maintained until 1977, when Probst transferred his *Over the Rhine Showcase* to WCNW, a Hamilton AM outlet at 1560 KHz. The hours were Sundays from 2:00 p.m. to 5:15 p.m. In March 1978, the hours of *Over the Rhine Showcase* were adjusted slightly, and, later that year, the program left WCNW to remain off the air for slightly more than a year.[48]

Probst's *Over the Rhine Showcase* returned to the air in early 1980 on FM outlet WCNE in Batavia, Ohio.[49] The basic structure of the program remained unchanged. Airing on Sundays from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., the program included telephone and mail requests. It also incorporated vignettes of German-American history, in English, by Eugene von Riestenberg, with whom Probst had begun to collaborate in 1975. The series, known as *German-American Bicentennial Minutes,* concerned notable persons or groups of German ancestry who had contributed to the development of the New World.[50] The historical and biographical vignettes represented the first effort on Cincinnati German-language radio to provide some insight into the contributions of German-Americans to the evolving American society.

In February 1980, *Over the Rhine Showcase* expanded to two hours of programming on both weekend days; in May of the following year, two more hours on Sunday were added. In addition, Probst prepared special programs of Christmas music, broadcast from 6:00 p.m. until midnight on Christmas Eve and from 8:00 a.m. until 2:00 p.m. on Christmas Day.[51] In early February 1982, WCNE entered into a shared-time agreement with WOBO, Owensville, Ohio, and *Over the Rhine Showcase* formally became a presentation of WOBO, still at 88.7 MHz. The German-American cultural vignettes were gradually discontinued when von Riestenberg moved away from Cincinnati, but Probst included a weekly commentary from Germany with Hans Helmut Faber, news of the week in review from a European perspective.[52] The Saturday program was also discontinued, so that, as 1984 began, *Over the Rhine Showcase* was a four-hour program on Sunday afternoons, hosted by Probst.[53]

In the decade of the 1970s, Probst's program was not the only German-language program on the air. Late in 1970, a second German program was initiated. Called at first *The German Sunday Concert* and later, simply, *The German Concert,* the program originated from WPFB-FM, Middletown, Ohio, between Cincinnati and Dayton. The FM signal was strong in both communities. The announcer was Gebhard Erler.

There was some juggling of time schedules in the early months of the program: on 17 January 1971, the program aired from 10:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon; in April the hours were extended to 4:00 p.m.; and on 7 November the hours changed again to 10:00 a.m. to 12:30 p.m. and 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. Christmas that year featured a special Christmas concert.[54]

In early 1972, WPFB-FM adopted the call letters WPBF, and at about the same time, *The German Sunday Concert* became *The German Concert* as it began to air on Saturdays from 9:00 a.m. until 12:00 noon, as well as maintaining a two-hour Sunday morning schedule, which was soon extended to four-and-a-half hours. In early April Erler included a syndicated sports report featuring the latest soccer results on a national and regional basis from Germany.[55] After the introduction of the ''Request Concert'' as an integral part of the program in early 1973, *The German Concert* settled in to a regular pattern of hours and program components for a number of months.

In early 1976 Erler introduced Gisela Shepherd to the program, providing opportunites for dialogue and a contrasting female voice for alternating commercials. Saturday hours were still 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 noon, and Sundays the program ran from 9:15 am. to 3:00 p.m., with a request portion of the program from 10:00 a.m. to 11:00 a.m. and again from 12:00 noon to 1:00 p.m.[56] The remainder of the decade saw only minor time changes in *The German Concert* and regular Christmas specials that included Christmas Eve and Christmas Day programs of German Christmas carols. For the Christmas specials, Erler incorporated Christmas poems and stories read by Gisela Shepherd, Dieter Waldowski, and himself.[57] Gisela Shepherd began her own Saturday morning program on WQPR in Dayton, Ohio, in July 1982, a program that was still on the air in 1984. The signal, however, does not extend to the Cincinnati metropolitan area.[58]

Another German radio personality was introduced to Cincinnati listeners in the 1970s. Hans Kroschke broadcast on several area stations, including WCHO (Washington Court House, Ohio), WNKR (Falmouth, Kentucky), and WAIF, Cincinnati's non-commercial community-supported station. For a time, he worked with his sister Christel, providing the opportunity for male-female alternating voices; subsequently, he worked with both Gebhard Erler and Dieter Waldowski, later only with Waldowski, and, finally, alone. Kroschke's program has experienced numerous changes in day and time. He began with an hour on Monday evening and a half hour on Saturday.[59] After several moves in days and times, the schedule at the beginning of 1984 included two hours on Monday evening, one on Wednesday, and two on Saturday.[60]

A program deserving passing mention as an instrument contributing to an awareness of German culture in the Cincinnati area is a syndicated classical music program hosted by David Berger and aired on Cincinnati's public radio station, WGUC. The program became available in Cincinnati in 1975, Saturdays from 1:00 p.m. to 1:30 p.m.[61] *Music from Germany,* the commentary for which was entirely in English, contributed primarily to German culture by familiarizing the listenership with

contemporary German classical recordings, many of which had not become readily available on the American record market.

Collectively, the German programming in Cincinnati from the 1960s through the 1980s represents an increase in total hours over any period in the past. In a sense, too, the collective contribution that has been made to the German language, culture, and music has increased accordingly, as is evident from an examination of the nature of the contemporary programming, the programs' audience, economic arrangements, and the functions that their producers perceived them to have.

Programming

The programming of German-language broadcasting evolved during the contemporary era. Even though by the mid-sixties the disk jockey ad-lib style was dominant in radio generally, *Remember Germany* utilized the traditional form of the fully developed script with scheduled commercial inserts. The programming of the other German presentations has been more contemporary in type: a disk jockey pattern that concentrates heavily on music and commercials, with occasional brief informational inserts and announcements from the German civic associations and social clubs.

From the beginning of the era, an emphasis on music has characterized each of the programs. In *Remember Germany,* music scheduling adhered to a philosophy which condoned variety in musical types, from operatic to modern to regional folk patterns from various areas of Europe. The music on the three current programs is similar in type, although differences can be detected in the mix of record types. The focus is upon a traditional German popular music, which resembles American country music in that both tend to incorporate close harmony, lyrics with similar themes, or ballads. Nevertheless, the music types vary from operetta to traditional folk music, to the historical German lieder, and to the latest hits from the German popular music charts.

About sixty percent of Probst's music is made up of the traditional folk music of Germany, *Schuhplattler,* polkas, and waltzes. About ten percent of the music consists of the hits, and the remaining thirty percent is operetta music, music of the Austrian and Swiss Alps, and some Yugoslavian and Rumanian selections.[62] The music programming is characterized by a nostalgic traditional orientation. In this respect, it is distinguished from programming on mainstream stations in both Germany and the United States, where social and industry expectations dictate that music programming be oriented along the lines of mass tastes.

Little is done with the incorporation of entertainment elements other than records and disk jockey chatter. No dramas or dramatic sequences are carried, and only occasionally are there live broadcasts from remote locations. Erler noted that he has broadcast live from the *Oktoberfest* and German Day in Dayton, and from the Germania festivities in Cheviot (just west of Cincinnati).[63]

When he was on the air, Albers felt it might have been desirable to

dramatize some of the stories and legends from German folk literature. However, his self-consciousness about his North German dialect (for which he received occasional criticism) discouraged him from venturing into artistic efforts with cultural materials. He did weave into his regular programming the playing of the Angelus each evening at six o'clock, a traditional time for German farmers to pause in the fields to say their prayers.[64]

Relatively little news is incorporated in the German programming. Erler formerly used short taped news reports from the Deutsche Welle in Cologne, but he was using no news inserts in the early 1980s. Probst, on the other hand, was using a five-minute taped weekly news commentary from Germany, with discussion of major international and national news stories. A major item in the news is identified, and then the various editorial positions on that topic in leading German newspapers are explored. The previously mentioned *Bicentennial Minutes* also contained a news feature, as well as an educational and cultural segment. Kroschke's program has no regular news component, although he once ran brief reports from an immigrants' rights adviser, who provided advice on income tax questions for persons without citizenship status.

A small amount of sports programming is available, but it is limited in scope. The Erler program uses a four-to-seven-minute syndicated soccer report, with the previous week's results from the German leagues. The report is in German. Erler said that he would air the scores of local soccer matches, if called, but no systematic effort is made to obtain scores or other sports news. Probst expressed an interest in carrying sports results not generally available on English-language stations, such as soccer, skiing, and auto racing, but his program did not include such materials. Kroschke's program, too, was devoid of sports.

Public affairs programming is also minimal in current (1984) Cincinnati German radio. In recent years, only the *German-American Bicentennial Minutes* would fall into that category. Editorials are completely absent from this programming.

It might be expected that broadcasting from a particular ethnic base would generate pressure from the community to advocate causes of particular concern to that group. This apparently has seldom occurred in Cincinnati. For example, on *Remember Germany,* Adrian-Schmitt made a conscious effort to avoid issue-oriented programming that might be inherently controversial. Erler indicated that a group once approached him with a request to be able to air its views but that he discouraged the request. The general sentiment was that problems are avoided by staying away from inherently controversial issues, such as religion and politics. As Kroschke noted, "listeners say this is the nice thing about the program. Advocacy is disruptive; people don't like it. They want to relax. They want to be entertained." It is not surprising that station management has not applied pressure on the German-language broadcasters as a result of any program matter aired.

The deemphasis of informational programming may be understood as a reaction to the expressed programming interests of the audience,

the costs usually associated with informational programming, and the limited hours available to the German-language broadcasters. Erler had previously incorporated a half hour of political news from Germany, but a call-in program intended to elicit listener response concerning his programming discouraged his use of the information segment, which he subsequently canceled. The audience seemed to prefer that the limited amount of time available for German-language programming be devoted almost exclusively to music.

Probst's reaction to audience interests was somewhat different. He concluded that his listenership is generally interested in news from the Old Country, and he reviews any free materials he receives for possible airing. He acknowledged that other programming would be available, but most of it entails a fee, and the program's budget would not accommodate regular purchase of such programming.

All of the program producers wished that more time were available for programming informational materials. Erler would use additional time to incorporate news from Germany; Probst would also add cultural materials relating to the German experience in the Americas; Kroschke would focus on German-American activities in the local community. While extended hours might be feasible, none of the operators was hopeful that a full-time commercial German-language station might be developed. The traditional small business sponsors simply could not generate adequate revenues to support a station of even modest size.

Listenership

Despite the sophistication of broadcasting audience measurement techniques in contemporary times and the large number of companies engaged in such research, no statistical evaluations have been made of listenership to the German programming. Some of the stations carrying this programming have subscribed to the general audience listenership reports, such as *Arbitron* or, formerly, *The Pulse*. In these cases, the German hours were blended in with the rest of the stations' programming. For example, general indications of audience size and demographics for *Remember Germany* were available from *The Pulse* ratings, to which the station subscribed, but no more specific audience studies were conducted for the German program. The usefulness of that information in establishing programming objectives, other than for advertising purposes, is limited. Nevertheless, the announcers develop some sense of the audience characteristics through informal means, such as telephone calls to the station, usually for requests, mail received, and conversations with listeners at gatherings of the various German organizations. Albers typically received four or five letters a week and fifteen to twenty telephone calls on a Sunday morning, with a heavy response from "the older generation." Probst estimates that one letter or telephone call represents a thousand listeners.

Erler says that the telephone calls he receives cut across the spectrum of age groups and sexes. Children call for the birthdays of their parents, parents for birthdays and anniversaries, and the elderly for anniversaries. The calls come in both German and English, about half in each

language. The number of calls he receives and the wide geographic area from which they come lead him to believe that some 200,000 persons listen with some regularity, many of whom are non-German-speaking Americans.

Economics

Stations broadcasting non-English-language programming characteristically enter into any one of several types of contractual arrangements with special groups interested in air time. The most common of these is brokered programming, where the station charges a flat rate for each hour of programming. Program hosts are responsible for selling their own advertising. WAIF charges a nominal hourly fee in a conventional brokered arrangement; Kroschke then receives donations to underwrite a portion of his costs. Probst also receives donations from listeners.

A slight variation is used by WPBF with the Erler program. In this case, the station provides the air time free, but, in return, receives all of the advertising revenue. For his part, Erler receives a percentage of the sales that he initiates. Typically, he would make an initial contact with a prospective advertiser and then turn the account over to the station's sales department. With *The German Concert,* Erler indicated that there was little difficulty attracting a full complement of sponsors for the program. He estimated that he averages about twelve minutes of commercial time an hour and that he typically runs two or three minutes of public service announcements in addition to the twelve commercial minutes. For a Sunday morning time period, this number of commercial minutes would be comparable to that of the community's major stations and represents strong advertiser interest in the program. Most of *The German Concert*'s advertisers are small local firms in Cincinnati: restaurants, bakeries, meat markets, boutiques, import shops, night clubs, novelty shops, hardware stores, and auto parts shops.

The same advertising pattern existed in the 1960s. For *Remember Germany,* there was virtually no national advertising; nevertheless, local advertising increased until it neared the limits of former NAB commercial time limitation recommendations (eighteen minutes per hour). Albers recalled that his program averaged from four to six commercials an hour, most sold by the station's regular sales staff, but some sold by Albers with the help of leads from sympathetic acquaintances. Most of the commercials were for local sponsors, many with some particular connection to the German community, such as meat packers and bakers. The one national account that Albers had regularly was Lufthansa airlines, which submitted prepared copy in both German and English. More recently, Lufthansa has directed advertising to the Erler program.[65]

The program hosts incur substantial expenses. A major expenditure is the purchase of their own records and tapes. Probst has acquired more than 2,000 German records and is on a mailing list for some fifteen records a month from Germany.[66] Erler has acquired between 1,600 and 1,700 record albums, 200 to 300 45 RPM singles, and 150 to 200 tapes.

Equipment costs, where programming is done from a home studio—as is the case with Probst—add to the expenditures that must be accommodated by the program hosts.

Programming Functions

The German-language programming broadcast throughout Cincinnati serves a variety of functions in the community. On the one hand, it serves as a facilitator for the immigrant struggling to make the transition from the German language and culture to English and American customs. Yet, the contribution is not so much one of providing information that would assist in acculturation; rather, it is important psychologically. It provides a momentary respite from the anxiety of adjustment. For those who have been in the community for a longer time, the programming continues to provide a sense of respectability and identity and to serve as a primary disseminator of information pertaining to club activities.

The common use of English and heavy reliance on music, an international language understood and appreciated apart from the language of the lyrics, attract monolingual English speakers along with German-English bilinguals. Kroschke estimates that seventy percent of his listeners are monolingual English speakers. Occasionally, the presence of German music and language on the air has inspired a young person to choose German as a language to study in school or to persevere in the language study. There seemed to be no sentiment that German-language broadcasting should spearhead a resurgence of German in the community; rather, the program producers regarded the schools as the appropriate source of such linguistic reinforcement.

The program hosts agreed unanimously that the main contribution of their programming to the German-Americans in Cincinnati was to bring them a little something from home—a bit of nostalgia. The music and language provide a reminiscence of childhood. To attempt to ascribe broader social or linguistic effects to the programming would not seem to be justified on the basis of the perceived effects of the current program producers.

However, the nostalgic contribution should not be dismissed as insignificant. It is important both for those who listen to the programming and those who produce it. Erler told of a time a few years back when an elderly German woman in a hospital, who knew she was dying, asked for a radio to be able to listen to the German music that she knew and loved well. A radio was brought, and she listened to the sounds of the program as she slipped from consciousness. What she wanted more than anything else was the sound of the German popular music, which apparently gave her a sense of ease, a sense of being at home. Erler added, "These touching things happen. That's the only reason I do it [continue with the weekend programming]. It's not for the money, because I would have had to quit a long time ago if it were for the money. It's a small thing I love to do for people." Since part-time avocational contacts describe the character of the announcers' involvement with ethnic programming in Cincinnati, the announcers' own

nostalgic reminiscences, from personal involvement with the audience and the music, seem to provide much of the motivation to continue with the German-language programming.

Conclusion

German-language broadcasting was a natural outgrowth of the size and concentration of the German population in Cincinnati, and it is not surprising to note, therefore, that German-language and German-cultural broadcasting has continued to exist in the city since 1929. It is also characteristic of Cincinnati German-language broadcasting that, historically, it has been carried on as one component of a larger effort to perpetuate German culture in America. This effort has consisted not only of German cultural perpetuation per se, but particularly of the perpetuation through widespread dissemination of the newer German-American culture that arose in this country.

Several factors have contributed to the fact that German broadcasting in Cincinnati remained a marginal vehicle for information and culture transmission to the Cincinnati German community. Along with their European counterparts who immigrated to the United States in the last three centuries, the Germans were assimilated into American society rather quickly. They also accepted readily the challenge of learning English. For the large early immigrant groups, this assimilation was virtually complete by the time that broadcasting became an instrument recognized as a major disseminator of entertainment, information, and culture. The rate of assimilation was accelerated due to the fact that at two periods of American history—during the First and Second World Wars—the German language and culture were dealt severe blows through legal or administrative efforts to repress the German language and to blunt the culture and through the difficulty of perpetuating the language and culture in a general climate of calumny in which the German-Americans lived during those periods.

Along with the rate of assimilation within the German-speaking community, institutional pressures from outside the community have hindered the broadcasting efforts. Ownership changes at radio stations have often resulted in program format modifications and a concomitant interest in achieving a uniform sound in the station's music. The inconsistency of the sound of the German program with that of the rest of the station's schedule has quite frequently resulted in station pressure to move the programming to less desirable time slots—low listenership periods—or to eliminate the German programming altogether.

There has been little to counter these forces. Aside from the institutional support of the *Freie Presse* in 1929 and the early thirties, German broadcasting has resulted almost entirely from the interest and effort of a single individual, from the substantial efforts of William Duning in the mid-thirties and forties to those of the three Cincinnati German radio personalities of today. The production, dissemination, and generation of financial support for even modest broadcast activities demand a collective effort if they are to be sustained for any length of time. That collective effort is more likely to be maintained if it is

institutionalized in the form of a private company, an academic institution, or some other community organization.

It is clear that the primary function of German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati is neither linguistic reinforcement nor the providing of primary informational services. Although useful, the dissemination of information about the activities of the several German societies does not constitute a substantial service function. Nostalgia is the primary force motivating the continuation of German-language broadcasting in Cincinnati. While nostalgia is not an insignificant motivating factor in non-English-language broadcasting, it is, nonetheless, insufficiently powerful to result in substantial increases in German-language broadcasting in this community. Before any such increases can occur, there has to be the perception that broadcasting is performing a significant informational service function for its audience.

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Notes

[1] There is some use of Spanish-language broadcasting on stations—mostly radio—in forty-seven of the fifty states, as well as in the District of Columbia. Only Kentucky, Tennessee, and Mississippi have no non-English-language broadcasting. Of our two other colonial languages, French is transmitted in twenty-four states and German in twenty-eight. Polish is used in twenty-two states. American Indian languages are broadcast in nineteen states, Italian in fifteen, Portuguese in eight, and Japanese in three. *Broadcasting/Cablecasting Yearbook 1985*, F-86-96, and *Broadcasting/Cablecasting Yearbook 1982*, D-98-111.

[2] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "Cincinnati's German Heritage in the Twentieth Century," *Festschrift for the German-American Tricentennial Jubilee, Cincinnati, 1983*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Cincinnati, OH: The Cincinnati Historical Society, 1982) 92.

[3] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 1 July 1923.

[4] The first two stations went on the air in 1922; the third followed in 1923. They were joined by WFBE, 1926; WCPO, 1927; and WCKY, 1929.

[5] Tolzmann 93-94.

[6] Tolzmann 96.

[7] Franz Mennacher, "In den Fliegenden Blättern," rpt. *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 13 Feb. 1927: 11.

[8] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 1 Dec. 1927 (radio listings).

[9] *Cincinnati Enquirer* 15 Sept. 1929: 4.

[10] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 23 Sept. 1929: 3.

[11] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 20 Oct. 1929: 6.

[12] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 10 Jan. 1930 and 17 Jan. 1930.

[13] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Feb. 1930 (radio program listings).

[14] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 9 March 1930 (radio listings).

[15] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 20 Sept. 1931: 13.

[16] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 1 Nov. 1931 (radio listings).

[17] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1938: 2. The German title of the program was *Das Deutsche Radio-Programm der Freien Presse.*

[18] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 1 Sept. 1935: 1.

[19] Sydney W. Head and Christopher H. Sterling, *Broadcasting in America: A Survey of Television, Radio, and New Technologies*, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982) 27.

[20] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 3 April 1934 (radio listings).

[21] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 1 Jan. 1935: 8.

[22] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 8 July 1935: 6.

[23] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1937: 5.

[24] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1937: 5.

[25] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1939: 7.

[26] A recording of this speech is available at the Miami University Broadcasting Service/ Crosley Broadcasting Corporation ET Archives, Miami University, Oxford, OH.

[27] For example, *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 2 Jan. 1940: 4.

[28] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 9 July 1944: 2.

[29] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 4 Feb. 1945.

[30] The final ad appearing in the *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* for the Alms and Doepke *Opera and Cathedral Radio Concert* is found in the 16 Oct. 1949 issue.

[31] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 6 Oct. 1946.

[32] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 22 Dec. 1946.

[33] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 12 Dec. 1954.

[34] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 26 Sept. 1954: 6.

[35] *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* 3 Feb. 1963.

[36] *Cincinnati Kurier* 6 Oct. 1967. The program's German title was *Radio Mitternachtsruf.* The *Cincinnatier Freie Presse* changed its name to the *Cincinnati Kurier* on 3 April 1964.

[37] *Cincinnati Kurier* 21 June 1968.

[38] *Cincinnati Kurier* 23 July 1965.

[39] WZIP's AM frequency was 1050 KHz; the FM, 90.5 MHz.

[40] *Remember Germany,* prod. L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt, WZIP, Cincinnati, 3 Nov. 1965.

[41] L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt, interview, May 1984.

[42] Hermann Albers, personal interview, 27 June 1981.

[43] *Cincinnati Kurier* 7 Aug. 1964.

[44] Dan Bellman, *Nachricht,* publication of the Cincinnati German-American Citizens League (March/April 1979): 1.

[45] *Cincinnati Kurier* 20 Feb. 1970.

[46] *Cincinnati Kurier* 25 Dec. 1970, 7 Jan. 1972, and 23 Feb. 1973.

[47] *Cincinnati Kurier* 1 June 1973.

[48] *Cincinnati Kurier* 29 Nov. 1974, 9 Dec. 1977, and 3 March 1978.

[49] *Cincinnati Kurier* 18 Jan. 1980.

[50] Heinz Probst and Eugene von Riestenberg, personal interview, 20 June 1981.

[51] *Cincinnati Kurier* 22 Feb. 1980, 19 Dec. 1980, and 1 May 1981.

[52] *Amerika Woche* 16 Dec. 1982. The *Cincinnati Kurier* ceased publication on 21 May 1982. The Chicago-based *Amerika Woche* then became the major German-language newspaper outlet for Cincinnati. Even though *Amerika Woche* was a regional publication, it acquired some of the Cincinnati advertising that had formerly gone to the *Kurier.*

[53] David Bitter, President, German-American Citizens League (Cincinnati), telephone interview, 29 Dec. 1983.

[54] *Cincinnati Kurier* 15 Jan. 1971, 23 Apr. 1971, and 25 Dec. 1971.

[55] The telephone reports originate with a sports reporter from the German-language *Philadelphia Gazette-Demokrat* who provides his syndicated radio reports to several stations.

[56] *Cincinnati Kurier* 20 Feb. 1976; times in the ad were erroneously reversed.

[57] *Cincinnati Kurier* 22 Dec. 1978.

[58] *Cincinnati Kurier* 21 May 1982.

[59] *Cincinnati Kurier* 5 Aug. 1977.

[60] Hans Kroschke, personal interview, 29 Dec. 1983.

[61] *Cincinnati Kurier* 7 March 1975.

[62] Heinz Probst, personal interview, 20 June 1981.

[63] Gebhard Erler, personal interview, 12 June 1981.

[64] This and subsequent information was gathered in interviews with L. Gerlinde Adrian-Schmitt (May 1984), Hermann Albers (27 June 1981), Gebhard Erler (12 June 1981), Hans Kroschke (10 June 1981 and 29 Dec. 1983), and Heinz Probst (20 June 1981).

[65] Difficulty in attracting national advertising has characterized ethnic programming by all ethnic groups until fairly recently, when the Spanish-language broadcasters convinced several major advertising agencies that it would be profitable to target certain national advertising to the ethnic station.

[66] Bellman, *Nachricht* (March/April 1979): 2.

Dieter Sevin

Joachim Maass in Amerika

Die Machtübernahme Deutschlands durch die Nationalsozialisten hat bekanntlich zu einem Massenexodus von deutschen Intellektuellen geführt, unter denen auch viele bedeutende Schriftsteller waren. Sie suchten in anderen Teilen der Welt Zuflucht. So verbrachten Johannes R. Becher und Theodor Plievier die Zeit der Naziherrschaft in der Sowjetunion, während Anna Seghers diese Jahre in Mexiko lebte und Stefan Zweig bis zu seinem Freitod 1942 in Brasilien verweilte. Der Großteil dieser Schriftstellergeneration kam jedoch in die Vereinigten Staaten.

Für einige wenige Autoren, die schon vor der Emigration durch Übersetzung bekannt waren, vollzog sich die Umsiedlung relativ unproblematisch, weil durch die Tantiemen von Übersetzungen die wirtschaftlichen Voraussetzungen für eine neue Existenz gesichert waren, so zum Beispiel für Thomas Mann, Franz Werfel und Lion Feuchtwanger. Für die meisten deutschsprachigen Exilanten traf dies jedoch nicht zu; und selbst bekannte Autoren—wie zum Beispiel Carl Zuckmayer, der als Farmer in den Bergen von Vermont lebte—mußten ihren Unterhalt mühsam mit ungewohnten Arbeiten bestreiten. In der Tat bedeutete das Exil für die meisten Exilanten eine echte Bedrohung der schriftstellerischen Existenz, denn die wenigsten trauten es sich zu oder waren bereit, in der Sprache ihres Asyllandes zu schreiben. Keine Veröffentlichungsmöglichkeit und keine Leserschaft, nur für die Schublade schreiben, ja selbst oft keine ersichtliche Möglichkeit zur Bestreitung des Lebensunterhalts, das war die Situation, die viele erwartete.

Ziel dieser Arbeit soll es sein aufzuzeigen, wie schwierig es gerade für einen noch nicht sehr bekannten, sich gerade etablierenden Autor wie Joachim Maass war, als deutschsprachiger Autor in Amerika zu bestehen. Gleichzeitig soll gezeigt werden, welchen Einfluß dieses Land auf ihn und sein Werk hatte. Joachim Maass war sich der Problematik einer Exilantenexistenz durchaus bewußt. Besonders fürchtete er den Verlust der lebendigen Muttersprache und der deutschsprachigen

Leserschaft. So ist es keinesfalls verwunderlich, daß er bis zur letzten Minute zögerte, seine Heimat und besonders seine Heimatstadt Hamburg zu verlassen. Mitte der dreißiger Jahre konnte Maass zum ersten Mal von seinen Tantiemen leben und sich daher allmählich von seiner journalistischen Tätigkeit zurückziehen. Die politische Situation in Deutschland erlaubte es ihm jedoch nicht, sich in Ruhe seiner schriftstellerischen Arbeit zu widmen, sondern entfachte in ihm einen intensiven inneren Kampf. Je mehr sich seine Opposition gegenüber dem Regime verstärkte, umso dringender wurde die Notwendigkeit, das Land zu verlassen. Jenes Ringen um eine Entscheidung und die Konflikte, die sich aus diesem inneren Kampf für und wider das Exil ergaben, spiegeln sich in seinem letzten noch 1939 in Deutschland veröffentlichten Roman wider. Wie schon der Titel *Ein Testament* andeutet, ist dieses Werk als abschiednehmendes Vermächtnis an das deutsche Volk konzipiert.

Der mit sich kämpfende Autor erhebt hier nicht nur seine warnende Stimme gegenüber dem Zeitgeschehen und sagt klarsichtig, in allegorisch verschlüsselter Form den vorprogrammierten Untergang des kriminell-diktatorischen Regimes voraus, sondern setzt sich auch mit der Eventualität und zunehmenden Notwendigkeit des eigenen Exils auseinander. Durch das Schreiben des Romans und dessen Veröffentlichung 1939 im Nazi-Deutschland wurde das Exil für Joachim Maass ein Erfordernis. Einerseits waren es persönlich-moralische Gründe, die einen weiteren Aufenthalt für Maass in seiner Heimat unerträglich machten—wie er selber in einem seiner wenigen biographischen Hinweise festgestellt hat:

> Nun, ich vollzog die meine [Emigration], achtunddreißig Jahre alt, aus freien Stücken. . . . Allerdings hatte ich zwingende Motive. Erstens wünschte ich, das Los meiner jüdischen Freunde zu teilen; das war eine Sache des menschlichen Anstandes. Zweitens wünschte ich, mich der spukhaften Verkommenheit und Verlogenheit zu entziehen, die das Leben und leider auch das Wesen der deutschen Nation immer giftiger durchschwärzten; das war eine Sache demonstrativer Abkehr und Trennung und, zugegeben auch des seelischen Selbstschutzes. Ich verstand mich nicht mehr in meinem eigenen Volk—man schwieg; man schwieg in allem. (''Eine Frage der Sittlichkeit'' 103)

Andererseits war es jedoch die Veröffentlichung des Romans *Ein Testament,* die eine persönliche Gefährdung im Nazi-Deutschland darstellte. Maass hat versucht, das eigentliche Anliegen des Werkes durch eine großangelegte Allegorie vor der Zensur zu verdecken. Strukturell als Kriminalroman angelegt, geht es um die Aufklärung und Schuldfrage eines Mordes an einem wohlhabenden, aber physisch und geistig heruntergekommenen Kaufmann. Im Handlungsverlauf dieser tiefgründig und vielschichtig verwickelten Schicksalsdarstellung wird dem sorgfältigen Leser klar, daß es sich bei dem Mord um das Ende der Weimarer Republik handelt. Selbst der Mörder—niemand anders als Adolf Hitler—ist erkennbar. Wie geschickt Maass die äußerliche Verkleidung seines eigentlichen Anliegens, eines Appells an die Intellek-

tuellen im damaligen Deutschland, gelungen ist, bezeugt die Tatsache, daß der Roman noch 1939 in Deutschland gedruckt werden konnte. Was der Autor mit seinem Werk erreichen wollte, hat er selbst 1957 rückblickend erklärt:

> In seiner romanhaft-phantastischen Form, die es vor dem Zugriff des zur Macht gelangten Gesindels schützen sollte, wünschte ich, abschiednehmend, meinem Inneren Luft zu machen und ohne Rücksicht auf die politische Verrücktheit, die uns alle besudelte, die Werte zu preisen, ohne die dazusein sich doch nicht verlohnt: Reinheit, Klarheit, Geist und die Liebe zum Menschen und seiner sittlichen Würde. (''Von ihm selber'' 186)

Diese Absicht und der tiefere Sinn des Romans wurden von der nationalsozialistischen Zensur nicht erkannt, im Gegensatz zu Ernst Jüngers Roman *Auf den Marmorklippen,* der auch 1939 in Deutschland erschienen war und bald von den Nazis wenngleich nicht verboten, jedoch heftig angegriffen wurde. Die allegorischen Bezüge zu den Geschehnissen der nationalsozialistischen Schreckensherrschaft, so zum Beispiel den Konflikten zwischen SA und SS, waren in Jüngers Roman offensichtlicher als bei Maass. Trotzdem konnte auch Maass nach der Veröffentlichung von *Ein Testament* nicht mehr sicher sein, daß der wahre Inhalt des Romans, ein Aufruf an die guten Kräfte in Deutschland gegen das diktatorische Regime, nicht doch erkannt würde. Somit wurde das Exil neben der moralischen eine absolute Notwendigkeit im Hinblick auf die für ihn immer größer werdende physische Gefahr.

Kurz vor Ausbruch des Weltkrieges landete Maass dann in der Neuen Welt. Von Tagebucheintragungen Thomas Manns (*Tagebücher 1940-1943* 92), der sich in seiner ersten Reaktion über die Legitimität von Maass' Aufenthalt erbost hatte, während er gleichzeitig lobend von *Ein Testament* sprach (94), wissen wir, daß Maass ein Besuchsvisum hatte. Selber hat Maass sich nicht dazu geäußert. Es ist jedoch anzunehmen, daß er—sein Bruder Edgar war schon in den zwanziger Jahren in die USA ausgewandert—Vorkehrungen für eine plötzliche Abreise getroffen hatte, aber mit seinem Entschluß bis zur letzten Minute zögerte. *Ein Testament* zeugt besonders davon, wie schwer ihm die Entscheidung tatsächlich gefallen ist, Deutschland zu verlassen, eben weil er wußte, daß er als ein sich etablierender Autor damit auch jegliche Publikationsmöglichkeit für seine Bücher verlieren würde. Nach einer Haussuchung durch die SA gab es für ihn kein Zögern mehr.

Außer durch eine USA-Reise im Jahre 1936, bei der er sich vor allem um Übersiedlungsmöglichkeiten für seine jüdischen Freunde erkundigt hatte, kannte Maass Amerika nicht. Das amerikanische Leben und die Kultur der USA waren für ihn sozusagen neu. Auch galt sein kulturell-literarisches Interesse mehr der russischen und portugiesischen Literatur als der anglo-amerikanischen. (Er hatte in den zwanziger Jahren längere Zeit in Portugal verbracht.) Sein Interesse für die amerikanische Literatur entwickelte sich erst allmählich nach seiner Ankunft in den Staaten. Am Anfang seines Exils, als er zunächst in New York lebte,

nahm ihn das einfache Überleben völlig in Anspruch; diese Anpassung an die neue Umwelt hatte einen lähmenden Einfluß auf ihn, jedenfalls in bezug auf schriftstellerisches Arbeiten. Erst nachdem sein Lebensunterhalt durch die Anstellung am Mount Holyoke College halbwegs gesichert war, fühlte er den Zwang, wieder zu schreiben.

Es ist nicht überraschend, daß sein erster im Exil geschriebener Roman *Das magische Jahr* ein nostalgisches, autobiographisches Buch über seine Jugend ist, voller Sehnsucht nach seiner geliebten Heimatstadt Hamburg. Obwohl das kennzeichnende Merkmal des Werkes ein nostalgisches Sehnsuchtselement ist, welches durch die Exilsituation bestimmt wird und ohne diese nicht denkbar wäre, hat Maass die Handlung im Roman auf Deutschland begrenzt.

In dem ausführlichen, fast fünfzig Seiten langen Vorbericht des Romans (''Im fremden Schnee'') macht Maass deutlich, was ihn bewegte. So schildert er in eindringlicher Weise seine Situation, die Einsamkeit des Winters in Neuengland, den er 1943 zurückgezogen in einem kleinen umgebauten Hühnerstall erlebt, um Ruhe für neues kreatives Schaffen zu finden. Obwohl sich das eigentliche Geschehen des Romans auf Hamburg begrenzt und scheinbar kaum ein Zusammenhang zum Vorbericht besteht, gehören beide doch zusammen. Im Vorbericht sieht und interpretiert Maass die zeitgeschichtliche Lage, in der er sich während des Schreibens befindet:

> Ich bin mir selber unwahrscheinlich geworden in diesem urweltlichen Schneetreiben, und von Zeit zu Zeit muß ich mir Geschichten erzählen, erlebte Geschichten, damit ich mir selber wieder glaubhaft werde. Wer bliebe sich glaubhaft in einer solchen Einsamkeit? (xxxviii)

Das Schreiben und Heraufbeschwören der eigenen Kindheit werden Maass zur Notwendigkeit, zur Selbsterhaltung in einer Zeit, die ''apokalyptisch, grausam aufs allerunsäglichste, ordinär, verlogen . . .'' (xl) und kein Aufenthalt für einen Mann seiner Art ist.

Die an Verzweiflung grenzende Verfassung des Autors beruhte nicht nur auf den immer noch erfolgreichen Feldzügen Hitlers—sein Freund und Gönner Stefan Zweig hatte nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund kurz zuvor in Brasilien den Freitod gewählt, was Maass schwer betroffen hatte—sondern auch ganz konkret auf der allgemeinen Misere der meisten Exilanten, dem Bewußtsein, für die Schublade zu schreiben, daß die Chancen und Möglichkeiten, ein Werk in deutscher Sprache zu veröffentlichen, minimal waren. Auch dieser Aspekt seiner Exilsituation hat sich in dem Vorbericht zu *Das magische Jahr* niedergeschlagen. Peter, der einzige, der ihn in seiner einsamen, verschneiten Hütte aufsucht, nimmt eines seiner Bücher in die Hand, und Maass erklärt ihm, daß er sie in Deutschland geschrieben habe: '' 'over there' in Zeiten, die vergangen sind''. Bezeichnend ist, daß er gerade an dieser Stelle die englische Sprache benutzt:

> ''Happy boy'', sagt Peter nachdenklich. Er blättert in dem Buch, dann streichelt er mit der Linken über die anderen und betrachtet sie. Ich trinke mein Glas aus und sage nach einer Weile: ''Happy? You probably

mean, because nobody can read them?'' ''You have written them'', sagt Peter und hebt leicht die Augenbrauen. ''So—what?'', versetze ich. ''Who cares?'' (xx)

Die Möglichkeiten, das Kernproblem des Exils—die ''absolute Echolosigkeit'', wie Maass es nannte—zu überwinden, waren für ihn wie für die meisten weniger bekannten Exilanten äußerst gering. Ohne deutschsprachigen Markt blieb eigentlich nur die Verbreitung der Werke in der Sprache des Asyllandes. Maass war sich bewußt, daß er als Achtunddreißigjähriger die englische Sprache nicht mehr so beherrschen würde, daß sie ihm—wie dies zum Beispiel der Fall war bei seinem schon vorher emigrierten, erfolgreichen Bruder Edgar oder bei dem jüngeren Stefan Heym—als Medium seiner künstlerischen Intentionen dienen könnte, obwohl er der englischen Sprache durchaus mächtig war, wie es seine Literaturvorlesungen bezeugen. Maass fürchtete jedoch, daß selbst der Versuch, auf englisch zu schreiben, der deutschen Sprache, jenem ''magischen Instrument'', wie er sie nannte, Abbruch tun könnte. So blieb nur eine einzige Alternative, nämlich seine Werke in Übersetzung zu veröffentlichen.

Für einen in den USA relativ unbekannten Autor ohne eigene finanzielle Mittel hätte allem Anschein nach die Verbreitung durch Übersetzung seiner Werke jedoch kaum eine reale Chance gehabt, wenn nicht eine Kollegin vom Mount Holyoke College, Erika Meyer, eine deutschstämmige Amerikanerin, sich erboten hätte, die Übersetzung vorzunehmen. Zweifel an der Übersetzbarkeit der eigenen Werke, die Überzeugung jedenfalls, daß jedes Werk durch Übersetzung verliere, hatte sicherlich auch Maass. Umso hoffnungsvoller war er, als er sah, wie ausgezeichnet die Übersetzung gelang und daß dies von vielen Seiten bestätigt wurde. Carl Zuckmayer, der vielleicht der einzige deutsche Exilautor war, mit dem Maass in engem Kontakt stand, nahm regen Anteil an der Übersetzung, wie es ein Brief an Erika Meyer bezeugt:

> Jetzt wird es für mich ein reines Vergnügen sein, nachdem ich das Deutsche kenne, das Werk *[Das magische Jahr]* noch einmal in Deiner Sprachverwandlung nachzukosten. Ich weiß bereits, daß es ein wirkliches Vergnügen sein wird, vielleicht sogar ein Genuß. Ich habe nämlich etwas Infames getan: manchmal hielt ich es nicht aus, an einer besonders schönen oder besonders schwierigen unübersetzbar-erscheinenden Stelle, schrie ich plötzlich auf (aus Wut und Qual eines notorisch ''Unübersetzbaren'' heraus), stürzte zum Bücherbord, wo das englische Buch steht, und schlug die Stelle nach. Es ist natürlich ganz unfair, Einzelstellen nachzuschlagen, ich weiß es; ich weiß, daß es darauf ankommt, ob und wie die Gesamtmelodie, der geistige und sprachliche Charakter, das Wesen des Buches und seine Seele in den anderen Sprachkörper übertragen und glücklich mit ihm vermählt ist. Was ich aber fand, schien mir so umwerfend, so verblüffend gut und deckend—obwohl es Einzelstellen waren—, daß ich sagen muß, ich war beschämt über meine misgivings und hingerissen zugleich. (Brief im Besitz von Erika Meyer-Shiver)

In der Tat war die Übersetzung vorzüglich gelungen, wie es in einem Textvergleich aus dem Vorbericht ersichtlich ist:

In mir raunen die ewigen Stimmen—sie meinen auch mein Schicksal. Ich kann sie nachflüstern, mich noch einmal in ihnen beginnen und den langen Weg noch einmal antreten, der von jener Sommerstunde der Kindheit bis in diese Winterstunde führte, da mich der Schnee umtost. Als ein Geschichten-Erzähler bin ich auf die Welt gekommen; das Geschichten-Erzählen ist immer meine Lust, zuweilen meine Qual und oftmals meine Rettung gewesen, auch damals, als die "Neue Zeit" in meinem Lande überhand nahm—und warum also nicht heute auch, da rings um mich der Schnee, der fremde, überhandzunehmen droht?

Wohlan denn, du unbeträchtliches Jetzt und Hier, du gelbglimmender Wände-Würfel im flirrenden Schnee—Taucherglocke im treibenden Irgend- und Nirgendwo: sinke! Abwärts mit dir und mit mir, abwärts und immer tiefer bis in die Gründe, wo Stille ist, das unverlierbare Leben schaut ein, mit großen ernsten Fischaugen—und du bist angekommen, wo kein Wogenschlag den Frieden der Wahrheit stört: in der Tiefsee der Zeit. (xlv-xlvi)

In me eternal voices are murmuring—they mean my fate too. I can repeat their whisperings, can begin myself anew in them, can start out once more on the long road that led from that summer hour of childhood up to this winter hour, in which the snow rages about me. As a storyteller I came into the world; storytelling has always been my joy, sometimes my agony and often too my salvation, as in the days when the forces of evil gained the upper hand among my people—and so, why not today too, when round about me the foreign snows threaten to gain the upper hand?

Very well, then, you inconsiderable Now and Here, you cube of walls glimmering yellow in the swirling snow—diver's bell in the drifting somewhere and nowhere: sink! Downward with you and with me, downward and ever deeper into the realm where silence reigns: forgotten life, which has never been lost, looks in with great solemn fish eyes—and you have arrived where no breaking wave disturbs the peace of truth—in the deep sea of time. (xlii)

Auch die Nuancen des Textes, in denen gerade der Gegenwartsbezug des Werkes oft klar wird, gehen bei Erika Meyer nicht verloren wie zum Beispiel in dem folgenden Auszug:

. . . denn die kindliche Seele, weil ihr zwar das Wissen, nicht aber die Weisheit ferne liegt, strebt unbelehrt einem gewissen Schicksals-Einverständnis zu, in einem Instinkte, der leider der gereifteren, wenn erst die Irrlichterei der Sinne und die allgemeine Schattenjagd der Erwachsenen-Welt sie in ihre Strudel reißt, so häufig und so gründlich in Vergessenheit gerät, daß man sich immer wieder verwundern möchte, wie aus so wesensklugen Kindern so taubherzige Männer und Weiber werden. (167)

For the child's soul, because it is indeed a stranger to knowledge but not to wisdom, strives untaught toward a certain consonance with fate; thus it acts out of an instinct, which unfortunately is so frequently and so thoroughly lost by the more mature soul, when once the vagaries of the senses and the shadow-chase of life draw it into their vortex, that one wonders again and again how such callous-hearted men and women came to be from such innately wise children. (181)

Thomas Mann, der sich für die Veröffentlichung des Romans beim Bermann-Fischer Verlag einsetzte, sprach sich gleichzeitig auch sehr lobend über das Werk aus:

> The literature of the German emigration has been enriched by a beautiful, important, highly original, and highly artistic prose work, in which Maass has fulfilled all the expectations that he aroused with his earlier work. . . . And seldom has the recherche du temps perdu, this descent in the depths of childhood, been undertaken with a richer poetic harvest. . . . The images of memory, colourful, uncanny, grotesque, tragic, enchanting images against the background of the great harbor city of Hamburg crowd upon each other; each one surpasses the previous one in its intensive dream reality; I did not find a single 'empty spot', not a single weak scene in the whole book. (Aus einem Brief, den mir Erika Meyer zur Verfügung gestellt hat.)

1944 verlegte der kleine Bermann-Fischer Verlag in New York *The Magic Year,* und die Rezensionen in einigen größeren Zeitungen waren durchaus wohlwollend. So schrieb die *New York Times* am 21. Dezember 1944 in dem *Literary Supplement:* "It is interesting as a study of childhood and of German life, and it is written with impressive skill. Mr. Maass is a deft and original writer, with a distinctive manner all his own." Auch Wendell Johnsons ausführliche Rezension mit dem Titel "Roots of Nazi Thinking: Fine Novel Demonstrates that Training Predating Hitler Molded German Minds," in *The Chicago Sun Book Week* (24. Dez. 1944) spricht von "superb literary charm . . . the polished work of a sensitive, keen, poetic craftsman" und betont die psychologischen Einsichten des Buches. Trotz der allgemein positiven Rezensionen hatte das Buch absatzmäßig jedoch nicht den erhofften Erfolg. Die relativ niedrigen Verkaufsziffern (es wurden nur ungefähr 3000 Exemplare verkauft) und die damit verbundenen niedrigen Tantiemen waren eine sehr große Enttäuschung für Maass. Ein Grund ist sicherlich darin zu suchen, daß der kleine unterfinanzierte Bermann-Fischer Verlag, der 1946 von *Cur-*

rent Books aufgekauft wurde, wenig für die Verbreitung des Buches tun konnte.

Selbst wenn man annehmen darf, daß der amerikanische Markt für neue deutsche Exilwerke während des Krieges und kurz danach begrenzt war—eine Frage, die einer umfassenden Untersuchung wert scheint—und auch wenn man die ungünstigen Verlagsvoraussetzungen der englischen Ausgabe berücksichtigt, wäre zu prüfen, inwieweit im Roman selber Gründe für die relative Erfolglosigkeit in der breiteren amerikanischen Leserschaft zu suchen sind. Ein Grund ist sicherlich die besondere Situation, aus der heraus der Roman geschrieben wurde und die der amerikanische Durchschnittsleser kaum nachvollziehen konnte oder wollte. Maass hat dies wohl selbst erkannt, und der Vorbericht, in dem er dem Leser seine Exilsituation schildert, ist sicherlich als Versuch zu werten, dieses werkspezifische Problem abzubauen. Bei dem scharfsichtigen Leser scheint ihm dies gelungen, wie die Rezensionen bestätigen. Für die breitere Leserschaft trifft es jedoch kaum zu, denn der nachträglich geschriebene Vorbericht kann eben nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, daß der Roman primär als eine Art Selbsttherapie konzipiert ist, geschrieben im vollen Bewußtsein, daß die Chancen der Veröffentlichung nur sehr gering waren und daß als Leserschaft eigentlich nur die Mitexilanten in Frage kamen.

Trotz des mageren Erfolgs von *The Magic Year,* hatte sich Erika Meyer nochmals bereit erklärt, auch Maass' noch im Nazi-Deutschland veröffentlichten Roman *Ein Testament* zu übersetzen. Das Werk erschien 1947 mit dem Titel *The Weeping and the Laughter,* wiederum bei einem relativ kleinen Verlag (Wyn) in New York. Auch diesmal blieb der erhoffte Erfolg aus. In einem Brief hat sich Maass bitterlich über die schlechte Aufmachung und ungenügende Werbung beschwert. Das waren sicherlich berechtigte Vorwürfe. Der tiefere Grund für den geringen Anklang ist aber wohl—ähnlich wie bei *The Magic Year*—im Text selber, im impliziten Leser zu finden, eben weil der Primäradressat des Buches nicht ein breiteres Publikum war—und schon gar nicht das amerikanische—sondern gezielt die gebildete Leserschaft des Nazi-Deutschland im Jahre 1939. Die verschlüsselte, als große Allegorie angelegte Botschaft des Romans war für das amerikanische Leserpublikum einfach nicht durchsichtig genug.

Das einzige auch in Nordamerika wirklich erfolgreiche Werk war die Übersetzung seines in Europa vielgelesenen Romans *Der Fall Gouffé,* der 1960 von Harper & Row mit dem Titel *The Gouffé Case* veröffentlicht wurde. In diesem nach dem Krieg in New York geschriebenen Roman wird das für Maass charakteristische Thema vom Kampf zwischen den guten, moralischen Kräften dieser Welt gegenüber den dunklen, dämonischen Gewalten erneut aufgegriffen. Der entscheidende Unterschied zu *Das magische Jahr* und *Ein Testament* ist jedoch, daß *Der Fall Gouffé* nicht für eine begrenzte, sondern für eine allgemeinere Leserschaft geschrieben wurde, die die amerikanische bewußt mit einbeschließt.

In der Tat verlegt Maass einen Teil der Handlung von Europa nach Amerika. Eindrücke und Erlebnisse des Autors aus seiner Exilzeit

finden so einen direkten Niederschlag, was sehr wohl zum Erfolg im Europa der Nachkriegszeit (*Der Fall Gouffé* erfuhr 1951 seine Erstauflage im Fischer Verlag) sowie auch in der späteren amerikanischen Ausgabe beigetragen haben mag. Die sehr genauen und liebevollen Städte- und Landschaftsbeschreibungen—wie zum Beispiel die des kleinen Städtchens Saratoga Springs im Staate New York oder die der Wüstenlandschaft und des kalifornischen Küstenstädtchens Monterey—gehen vor allem auf persönliche Erfahrungen zurück, im Fall der Gabriele Bompard auf die Begegnung mit einer deutschen Immigrantin, gegen deren weibliche Verführungskünste Maass selber scheinbar genauso wenig gefeit blieb wie all die Liebhaber seines Romans.

Mit *Der Fall Gouffé* gelang Maass der erhoffte Durchbruch. Daß das Werk auch heute noch Anklang findet, beweisen die Neuauflage 1978 im List Verlag und die Knaur Taschenbuchausgabe von 1981. Das Buch ist als Indiz dafür zu werten, daß die nach dem Krieg neu eröffnete deutschsprachige Publikationsmöglichkeit und das vorstellbare Leserpublikum Maass nicht nur den nötigen kreativen Auftrieb gaben, sondern sich auch direkt auf seine Schreibweise auswirkten.

Obwohl der Roman außerordentlich spannend und flüssig geschrieben ist, sollte es einige Jahre dauern, bis *Der Fall Gouffé* wirklich zum Bestseller wurde. Während sich die Erstausgabe von 1951 auf 12000 Exemplare beschränkte, wurde *Gouffé* Anfang der sechziger Jahre in fast alle westeuropäischen Sprachen übersetzt, in den Bertelsmann Lesering aufgenommen (Schaaf 28-29), von Harper & Row 1960 verlegt, und so wurde der Roman auch in den USA ein Erfolg.

Obwohl das Buch nicht nur lobend rezensiert wurde, war die Grundhaltung in den meisten Rezensionen durchaus positiv (*Book Review Digest* bringt 1961 acht Auszüge). So schreibt Jeremy Brooks am 30. Dezember 1960 im *Guardian:*

> This book must be over a quarter of a million words in length, and it is undeniable that a great many of those words could easily be dispensed with. But if they were, something would be lost. . . . What grips one, what makes this novel stand up head and shoulders above the general crowd, is the way the author communicates his own conviction about the importance of these details. Whatever this book is—a great novel, a best-seller, an attempt to out-Krull Thomas Mann—the one thing it could never be is insignificant. (4)

Ronald Hayman wiederum, im *New Statesman* vom 10. Dezember 1960, meint weniger positiv: "'The Gouffé Case' . . . is oddly unbalanced but it turns out very much better than the beginning promises. . . . It is always convincing and often very vivid but, for me at least, far too leisurely." *The Library Journal* vom 15. April 1961 schreibt dagegen fast begeistert über den männlichen Protagonisten des Romans:

> Jaquemar's quest turns into one of the most powerful spiritual struggles in recent fiction. Full of striking unorthodox literary . . . symbols which dig deep into the recesses of the mind, this is a deep and probing reading experience. Startling, shocking, thrilling, revolting yet always absorbing, this may well be one of the year's crime-fiction triumphs.

Der späte Erfolg und die erhoffte Anerkennung, die Maass durch dieses sein letztes großes Werk auch in der englischsprechenden Welt erfuhr, waren ihm in seinen letzten Jahren, wo es auf Grund seiner schwindenden Gesundheit ruhiger um ihn wurde und er kaum noch arbeiten konnte, eine große Befriedigung, wie sein Freund Harry Pfund betont hat.

Bezeichnend dafür, wie sehr Maass durch sein Leben in Amerika beeinflußt und geprägt wurde, sind auch seine kritischen Werke wie zum Beispiel die Biographie über Carl Schurz. Die Carl Schurz Gesellschaft hatte Maass seine Stelle am Mount Holyoke College vermittelt, und so ist das Buch als Geste des Dankes für diese Organisation und zugleich als ein Dokument echter Bewunderung für diesen Deutschamerikaner zu werten, dem es gelungen war, seine demokratischen Ideale in der neuen Heimat weiter zu verfechten. Zu erwähnen wären ferner die literaturkritischen Werke, besonders das kleine Buch *Die Geheimwissenschaft der Literatur* (1949) und sein vor kurzem neuaufgelegtes Kleist-Buch, beides Werke, die als direktes Resultat seiner amerikanischen Lehrtätigkeit anzusehen sind. Das Spektrum des amerikanischen Einflusses reicht über das Prosawerk hinaus. In der Tat wäre gerade das nicht-fiktionale Werk von Maass ohne den Aufenthalt in Amerika gar nicht denkbar.

Bemerkenswert ist, daß das Exil, das ohne Zweifel enorme Probleme mit sich brachte—Maass spricht von einem "veritablen Notstand", da besonders die deutsche Sprache "zu welken und zu verholzen" drohte ("Von ihm selber" 184)—gleichzeitig auch neue und positive Impulse für Werk und Lebenssicht bewirkten, deren sich Maass durchaus bewußt war und aus denen sich auch bei ihm ein für viele Exilanten charakteristisches Gefühl der Dankbarkeit ergab, das zum Beispiel auch Helmut Pfanner in seinem 1983 erschienenen Exilbuch betont. Maass war dankbar für das Asyl, das man ihm gewährte, die Freundschaft, die man ihm entgegenbrachte, sowie die Impulse, die er während dieser "Schatten-Existenz" für sein Werk erhielt, wie er es in seinem autobiographischen Essay "Von ihm selber" herausgestellt hat:

> . . . da ich sie einmal auf mich habe nehmen müssen, so schmeichle ich mir wohl, daß sie, was sie mit der einen Hand nahm, mir mit der anderen zurückgab; denn das Exil entblößt den Menschen des einzig tiefen und urtümlichen Behagens, das ihm auf Erden vergönnt ist—und was bleibt ihm in seinem Froste, als sich selber die Feuer zu entzünden, an denen er sich ein bißchen erwärmen kann? (184)

Dieses Gefühl der Dankbarkeit und Zugehörigkeit spielte sicherlich auch eine Rolle in der Entscheidung, nach dem Krieg nicht permanent nach Deutschland zurückzukehren. Das Ende der Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland eröffnete für Maass vorerst ein neues Betätigungsfeld. 1945 wurde er zusammen mit Richard Friedenthal, der damals in London lebte, als Herausgeber für *Die neue Rundschau* berufen, die als Vierteljahresschrift neu und im Ausland erscheinen sollte. Da die eigentliche Editionsarbeit in New York stattfand, fiel die Hauptarbeitslast auf Maass. Obwohl dies in Kombination mit seiner Lehrtätigkeit wenig Zeit

für eigene künstlerische Tätigkeit ließ, gab ihm die Arbeit als Redakteur und vor allem die veränderte politische Situation in Deutschland neuen Auftrieb. Seine sehr empfindliche und starken Schwankungen unterworfene Gesundheit schien sich in dieser Zeit auch zu festigen.

Wie viele Immigranten nach dem Krieg plante auch Maass, seiner alten Heimat einen längeren Besuch abzustatten und eventuell sogar permanent zurückzukehren. Vor allem versprach er sich künstlerische Impulse von einem solchen Aufenthalt, der sich allerdings aus finanziellen Gründen erst Anfang der fünfziger Jahre realisieren ließ. Der Erfolg von *Der Fall Gouffé,* vor allem der Verkauf der Filmrechte im Jahr 1952, für die er die zu damaliger Zeit große Summe von $50000 erhielt, beendete zeitweilig die langen Jahre großer finanzieller Bedrängnis. Maass glaubte, sich geldlich keine Sorgen mehr machen zu müssen, was ihn verleitete, seine Position am Mount Holyoke College aufzugeben. Seine Herausgebertätigkeit hatte er schon 1948 beendet, um sich neben dem Lehren wieder ganz seinem neuen Werk widmen zu können. Nach dem Erfolg von *Der Fall Gouffé* entschloß er sich, 1952 für eine unbestimmte Zeit in die Bundesrepublik zu reisen.

Dieser Besuch—er muß nach Auskunft seines Freundes Harry Pfund rund zwei Jahre dort verbracht haben—wurde zu einer großen Enttäuschung. Neben der Tatsache, daß die literarische Welt ihm nach fünfzehnjähriger Abwesenheit kaum Beachtung schenkte, war es vor allem ein Gefühl des Unbehagens, das ihn veranlaßte, in die USA zurückzukehren. Maass, der unerbittliche Moralist, sah in der Einstellung der meisten Menschen im Nachkriegsdeutschland—mit Ausnahme von einigen vertrauten Freunden—eine ihn erschreckende sittliche Indifferenz: ''Beim Gros meiner ehemaligen Landleute . . . machte sich bei diesen sonst vernünftigen und anständigen, wohlmeinenden Menschen so etwas wie ein blinder Fleck des Erinnerns und Empfindens bemerkbar'' (''Eine Frage der Sittlichkeit'' 105). Maass war es einfach nicht möglich, das allzu menschliche Verlangen des ''Vergessenwollens'' derjenigen, die die schreckliche Zeit der Naziherrschaft durchlebt hatten, zu akzeptieren. Es quälte ihn, daß man nicht konsequenter und laut vernehmbar die Ablehnung dessen, was unter Hitler geschehen war, proklamierte.

So kehrte Maass dann in seine Wahlheimat zurück, wo er—abgesehen von einem Kurzbesuch in die Bundesrepublik Anfang der sechziger Jahre—bis an sein Lebensende blieb und in einer harmonischen Lebensgemeinschaft mit seiner alten Freundin Marie Renée Luft in New York lebte. Im Jahre 1972 starb Maass nach langer schwerer Krankheit. Vor einer kleinen Trauergemeinde hielt Maass' langjähriger Freund Harry Pfund eine Ansprache, worin er besonders die menschlichen und moralischen Qualitäten seines Freundes hervorhob, die für sein Leben und Oeuvre bestimmend waren:

> Wir alle, die wir hier zusammengekommen sind, haben Joachim Maass als Freund erlebt, wir wissen, wie treu, wie ergeben er war seinen Freunden gegenüber, wie er ihre Leistungen, ihre Ansichen achtete, wie er überhaupt ein außergewöhnlich liebenswürdiger und auch konzilianter Mensch war. Nur wenn es sich um Angriffe auf menschliche

Würde, auf Prinzipien, die ihm heilig waren, handelte, konnte er unerbittlich scharf werden. Er hat es gelernt, Gutes und Schlechtes im Leben zu erkennen, das gehörte zu seiner untrüglichen Menschenkenntnis und war ein Grundelement seiner Fähigkeit als Schriftsteller.

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Joachim Herrmann

Zum deutsch-amerikanischen Dichter Alfred Gong: Eine biographische und bibliographische Einführung

I. Leben und Werk

Obwohl Alfred Gong (Pseudonym für Arthur Linquornik) seinen letzten Gedichtband *Gnadenfrist* mit den denkwürdigen Zeilen ausklingen läßt: "Alt bin ich und vergessen / und ohne Feinde geblieben",[1] vermochte er noch vor seinem frühzeitigen Tod 1981, sich eine gewisse internationale Anerkennung als Dichter zu verschaffen. Seine Gedichte erschienen in bedeutenden europäischen Publikationen *(Akzente, Neue deutsche Hefte, Literatur und Kritik, Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung)* wie denn auch in mehreren amerikanischen Zeitschriften und Zeitungen und zahlreichen in den USA oder Europa veröffentlichten Anthologien und Schulbüchern. Eine erste bedeutsame wissenschaftliche Untersuchung seines Oeuvres wurde allerdings erst 1983 in Joseph Strelkas *Exilliteratur* vorgelegt: Im Kapitel "Zum Werk eines vor dem Exil völlig unbekannten Autors: Alfred Gong" bezeichnet Strelka die größtenteils in den USA entstandenen Gedichte als "Beispiele einer Lyrik von großer künstlerischer Bedeutung".[2] Alfred Gongs Platz in der deutschen—und deutsch-amerikanischen—Literatur scheint damit gesichert zu sein. Hier möchte ich einen kurzen Überblick über sein Leben und seine Werke vermitteln sowie im Interesse weiterer Forschung eine Bibliographie der wichtigsten Primär- und Sekundärliteratur liefern.

Daß Alfred Gong vereinsamte, resignierte, sich vergessen glaubte und verbittert wurde, ist die vielleicht unausweichliche Folge seiner gesamten Lebensumstände. Strelka zählt ihn "zu jenen, die zunächst gar keine Wahl zwischen äußerem und innerem Exil hatten, die zunächst ins innere gestoßen wurden und das äußere erst nach Ende des Krieges wählen konnten, wie sein engerer Landsmann Paul Celan",[3] und nach Peter Paul Wiplinger war Gong "Zeit seines Lebens Emigrant, war ein Vertriebener, ein Verschollener, ein Vergessener. Er war sich dessen bewußt, er fühlte sich als solcher: als Heimatloser."[4]

Bei der Erstellung von Alfred Gongs Biographie erwies es sich bisweilen als schwierig, Einzelheiten mit Bestimmtheit zu datieren. Die

zugrundeliegenden Informationen stammen sowohl aus autobiographischen Anmerkungen, die typischerweise mit Gedichtveröffentlichungen erschienen, als auch aus Nachschlagewerken; als zusätzliche Quellen dienten mehrere aus unterschiedlichen Anlässen und zu verschiedenen Zeitpunkten verfaßte Lebensläufe, die sich alle im Nachlaß befinden.[5] Gleichermaßen aufschlußreich ist auch Strelkas Analyse der Gongschen Lebensumstände, die sich weitgehend auf vom Dichter eigens für ihn gemachte Angaben stützt. Zu Gongs Kindheit und Jugend sind einige Gedichte aus *Gnadenfrist* (''Nativität'', ''Vorbedeutung'', ''Die Steine gedenken'', ''Anna'', ''Bukowina'', ''Topographie'', ''Damals, als Pan Silvester'', ''Mein Vater'', ''Studium Generale'', ''In meiner Stadt'' und ''Initiation'') häufig die einzige oder reichhaltigste Informationsquelle. Dennoch mußte einiges infolge vager, unvollständiger oder sich widersprechender Angaben offen und hier unberücksichtigt bleiben.

Alfred Gong wurde am 14. August 1920 in Czernowitz geboren, der Hauptstadt der damals rumänischen Bukowina. Er verlebte eine anscheinend ereignislose Jugend und besuchte ab 1939 die dortige Universität, mußte jedoch nach der sowjetischen Besetzung 1940 sein Studium vorzeitig aufgeben. Daß er nicht wie seine Eltern und seine Schwester nach Siberien deportiert wurde, verdankte er einem Zufall. Die Rückeroberung der Bukowina durch rumänische und deutsche Truppen im folgenden Jahr hatte zur Folge, daß Gong in das neuerrichtete Judenghetto zwangseingewiesen und später in einem Konzentrationslager interniert wurde; nur mit der Hilfe eines Wehrmachtsoffiziers glückte ihm die Flucht. Zunächst hielt sich Gong als ''U-Boot'' in Bukarest auf; als jedoch im Dezember 1946 die kommunistische Machtübernahme unmittelbar bevorstand, flüchtete er weiter nach Wien.

Zahlreiche im Nachlaß befindliche Zeitungsausschnitte bezeugen, daß seine Werke bei acht Dichterlesungen, die seit 1949 stattgefunden hatten, großen Anklang fanden. So erwähnt eine Besprechung des am 18. Juni 1951 abgehaltenen Vortragsabends nur drei der acht auf dem Programm stehenden Dichter, nämlich Franz Werfel, Theodor Kramer und Alfred Gong, während eine andere besagt, daß dieselbe Veranstaltung auch Werke von Richard Beer-Hoffmann, Friedrich Torberg, Martha Hofmann und Paul Celan (''Todesfuge'') einschloß.[6] Gong war für das literarische Publikum Wiens zum Begriff geworden. Seine Gedichte erschienen zum Beispiel im *Silberboot*. In Rudolf Felmayers Anthologie *Tür an Tür: Die neue Folge* war Gong als einziger jüdischer Autor unter vierundzwanzig österreichischen Dichtern mit fünf Gedichten vertreten. Seine im *Tagebuch* veröffentlichte ''Legende vom Nimmersatt'' rief eine Reihe begeisterter Leserbriefe hervor. Auch die Anerkennung durch die literarische Prominenz blieb nicht aus: Im Dezember 1950 erhielt Gong neben Christine Busta und drei anderen den zweiten Preis in einem Lyrikwettbewerb, zu dem die von Hermann Hakel herausgegebene Zeitschrift *Lynkeus* eingeladen hatte.

Der von Krieg und Verfolgung nach Wien Getriebene konnte zwar dort erste literarische Erfolge verbuchen, entschied sich jedoch 1951, ''enttäuscht und in einer tiefen persönlichen Krise'',[7] für die Auswan-

derung in die USA, wo er, nach kurzem Aufenthalt in Richmond, Virginia, sich endgültig in New York City niederließ. Eine im Nachlaß befindliche Notiz besagt hierzu: ''Daß ich aus Österreich emigrierte u. nach Amerika kam, war lediglich meiner materiellen Not zuzuschreiben.''

Tatsächlich konnte er aber seine wirtschaftliche Lage in New York nur geringfügig verbessern, und erst die Mitte der fünfziger Jahre brachte den Beginn einer etwa zehn Jahre dauernden äußerst fruchtbaren Schaffensperiode, die gewissermaßen mit dem Erhalt der amerikanischen Staatsbürgerschaft (1956) und der Heirat mit der Schweizerin Norma Righetto (1957) eingeleitet wurde. Sein erstes Buch, die Gedichtsammlung *Gras und Omega*,[8] erschien 1960, und im folgenden Jahr kam sein zweiter Gedichtband, *Manifest Alpha*,[9] heraus. Die Kritik war durchaus positiv. Zu *Gras und Omega* sagte Karl Krolow: ''ein Erstling von eigener Farbe, eigenem Reiz ist ihm gelungen!''[10], und in seiner Besprechung dieses Bandes schrieb Hans Sahl: ''Bei einer Untersuchung über die moderne deutsche Nachkriegslyrik wird man die Gedichte Alfred Gongs in Zukunft nicht übersehen dürfen.''[11] In diesen Zeitraum fallen auch die mehrjährigen Vorbereitungsarbeiten für die Herausgabe der erfolgreichen Anthologie *Interview mit Amerika*,[12] über die Hälfte aller Erst- und Wiederveröffentlichungen, etwa ein Dutzend Vorträge und Dichterlesungen sowie die Fertigstellung von zwei Bühnenstücken (''Zetdam'', 1958, und ''Um den Essigkrug'', 1959), einem Musical (''Klischee aus Übersee'', 1961) und der ''Grünhorns Blues'' genannten Sammlung von 25 satirischen Erzählungen und Gedichten.

Zu welchem Zeitpunkt dann die Wende eintrat, läßt sich wohl kaum genau ermitteln, doch wird der Mißerfolg bei den Bemühungen um die Veröffentlichung dieser zuletzt genannten vier Werke eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt haben. Während er sein Musical und die beiden Bühnenstücke noch bis 1970 vergeblich unterzubringen versuchte, schien er in bezug auf ''Grünhorns Blues'' bereits 1966 jegliche Hoffnung aufgegeben zu haben, und nur der Einzelveröffentlichung der Erzählung ''Carmens Rose'' (1966) verdankte er es, daß der Piper Verlag, der zunächst die Manuskripte abgelehnt hatte, im April 1967 die Initiative ergriff, Alfred Gong um die Veröffentlichungsrechte für weitere Erzählungen bat und schließlich 1969 *Happening in der Park Avenue* herausbrachte. Allem Anschein nach kam der mit dieser Veröffentlichung verbundene Erfolg für Alfred Gong bereits zu spät: Er hatte begonnen, sich in zunehmendem Maße von der Welt zurückzuziehen.

Gong charakterisierte sein Leben in New York in einer im Nachlaß befindlichen Notiz als ''im Sinne der Grillparzer-Formel 'Ein Mensch, der zwei Fremden u. keine Heimat hat.' '' Da er sich weder als Österreicher noch als Deutscher fühlte, wurde er in keinem der in New York ansässigen Kreise völlig heimisch, und auch in bezug auf eine mögliche Zugehörigkeit zur deutschen, österreichischen, deutsch-amerikanischen oder austro-amerikanischen Literatur schien er sich im unklaren: Er nannte sich zwar mehrfach ''deutsch-amerikanischer Dichter'', vermied aber meistens jegliche Kategorisierung, indem er die

Bezeichnung "deutschsprachiger Schriftsteller" verwendete. Obschon er sowohl mit dem Austrian Forum (dem Kreis um Mimi Grossberg) als auch dem Literarischen Verein und der von Peter M. Lindt geleiteten Social Scientific Society in Verbindung stand, schien ihm nicht viel an Kontakten mit anderen deutsch-amerikanischen Autoren gelegen zu sein, wie er auch im allgemeinen nur wenige Freundschaften einging. Dieser anscheinend in seinem Charakter verwurzelte Hang zum passiven Einzelgängertum muß wohl im Zusammenhang mit seinem in der jüdischen Tradition verhafteten Schicksalsglauben und seiner Neigung zur Astrologie gesehen werden. Über seine Schwierigkeiten im Umgang mit Menschen schreibt Strelka:

> Mehr als durch alles andere, ja mehr als durch alle Fluchten seiner verfolgungsreichen Vergangenheit, leidet er an seiner Resonanzlosigkeit, an der undurchdringlichen Einsamkeit, in die er sich gestürzt sieht. Er versteht sie im Grunde nicht, diese Menschen rings um ihn, die ein Leben führen, das ihm nichts sagt, . . . und sie verstehen ihn nicht.[13]

Als Gong zu emigrieren beschloß, hatte er nach Strelka "die heimliche Absicht gehabt, sich das Land anzusehen und nach Westeuropa zurückzukehren".[14] Für ihn war Europa eine Geliebte, wie er es in der folgenden im Nachlaß befindlichen Notiz: "Ich verließ Europa—wie man eine Geliebte verläßt, sie verlassen muß, um sie stärker zu lieben" und auch in dem von Helmut F. Pfanner übersetzten Brief an Rudolf Felmayer vom 14. Juli 1954 ausdrückte: "If I had returned to Europe earlier, only on a short visit, I would not have had the strength to come back into this splendid hell which I have chosen for my new home. . . . So I want to wait until I feel strong enough for a visit to my former ladylove."[15]

Seine mehrfachen Wien-Besuche Ende der sechziger Jahre zerstörten jedoch alle Illusionen; im Blick auf eine dieser Reisen schreibt Strelka:

> Er plante den Kauf einer Wohnung, er hoffte auf die bereichernden Impulse einer lebendigen, deutschsprachigen Umgebung, auf Anerkennung wenigstens im engsten Kreise gleichstrebender Kenner. Aber der Versuch der Wien-Reise endete in der Katastrophe seiner Einsicht, daß keine der Hoffnungen hielt, was er sich versprochen hatte. . . . Er fand sich in der deutschsprachigen Umgebung so verlassen, verloren und ausgesetzt wie in New York, mit dem einzigen Unterschied, daß ein uneinsichtiger und bedrückender Provinzialismus ihm alles noch unerträglicher machte als der Hintergrund der aufregenden und brausenden Welt-Kulturmetropole New York.[16]

Durch den Freitod seines langjährigen Freundes Paul Celan (Ende April 1970) erschüttert und von dem Resultat der Wien-Reisen bedrückt, begann Gong zu resignieren und veröffentlichte nur noch selten. Obwohl oder vielleicht gerade weil sich Gong mit seinen Werken nicht an ein bestimmtes literarisches Publikum, sondern in gleichem Maße an Leser in New York wie auch in Österreich und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland wandte—wegen der in vielen seiner Gedichte reflektierten ablehnenden Haltung zum Kommunismus erschienen nur einige

wenige in Rumänien bzw. der DDR—, ließ die Anerkennung durch Literaturwissenschaftler lange auf sich warten; zu lange für den resignierten Dichter, der, ohne sich um eine Veröffentlichung zu bemühen, das abgeschlossene *Gnadenfrist*-Manuskript der Schublade anvertraut und sich mehreren Romanprojekten zugewandt hatte. Indem er sich passiv seinem Schicksal überließ, glaubte er zunehmend, in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein, und wurde verbittert. Somit bedurfte es wiederum der Initiative Dritter, daß *Gnadenfrist* veröffentlicht werden konnte: Durch Joseph Strelkas Artikel "Zufallslese: Zu österreichischer Lyrik der Gegenwart"[17] aufmerksam geworden, wandte sich der Mitherausgeber der Reihe "Lyrik aus Österreich" Alois Vogel an ihn und ermöglichte ihm letztlich das Erscheinen dessen, was für Gong der erste neue Gedichtband nach fast zwei Jahrzehnten und—wie er am 6. März 1980 Alfred Gesswein brieflich mitteilte—"vielleicht [s]ein Nachlaß" war. Er hat kaum noch gedichtet, und er starb am 18. Oktober 1981 nach längerem Krebsleiden in New York.

Obwohl er auch Prosa veröffentlichte und sich jahrelang vergebens bemühte, erfolgreiche Dramen zu schreiben, ist Gongs literarische Bedeutung ohne Zweifel hauptsächlich—und vielleicht ausschließlich—in seiner Lyrik zu finden. Seine Gedichte, wie Strelka feststellt,

> gehören im höchst allgemeinen und weitergefaßten Sinn Hugo Friedrichs der 'modernen Lyrik' an. Die traditionellen Strophen-Formen sind verschwunden und aufgebrochen zu reim- und regellosen rhythmisierten Versgruppen, die einem inneren Gesetz folgen: das Ergebnis besteht im Zerlegen und Deformieren, einer Ästhetik des Häßlichen. . . . Bis zu einem gewissen Grad könnte man viele seiner Gedichte mit dem Werk jener Autoren vergleichen, die als Beispielsfälle einer Spätphase des hermetischen Gedichts charakterisiert worden sind.[18]

Die wissenschaftliche Auseinandersetzung mit Gongs lyrischem Werk hat erst begonnen.

II. Bibliographie

Die Bibliographie der Primärliteratur beruht auf einer von Gong gewissenhaft geführten Veröffentlichungsliste, die sich im Nachlaß befindet und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach vollständig ist. So ließen sich mit der Ausnahme von zwei Wiederveröffentlichungen, die hier unberücksichtigt bleiben sollen, sowie den Erscheinungsdaten von fünf *Aufbau*-Artikeln zu allen Publikationen die bibliographischen Angaben ermitteln, sofern sie nicht bereits vorlagen. Die von 1951 bis 1981 in Zeitungen, Zeitschriften und Anthologien erschienenen Werke Alfred Gongs umfassen insgesamt 189 verschiedene Gedichte, Prosastücke, Essays, Rezensionen und Berichte. Vielfach wurden Lyrik wie Prosa in gleicher oder veränderter Form wiederveröffentlicht, so daß sich für den genannten Zeitraum eine Gesamtzahl von 393 Erst- und Wiederveröffentlichungen ergibt. In der nachstehenden Bibliographie sind alle drei Gedichtbände sowie die nicht in ihnen enthaltenen Gedichte und Texte in der am besten zugänglichen Veröffentlichung aufgeführt; zwei

weitere Abschnitte verweisen auf Rundfunksendungen und Übersetzungen.

Der zweite Teil der Bibliographie gibt lediglich die Rezensionen zu den drei Gedichtbänden vollständig wieder. *Happening in der Park Avenue* erhielt zwar 45 Rezensionen und *Interview mit Amerika* dreimal so viele, doch sind viele darunter sehr kurz oder aber schlecht erhältlich. Somit beschränkt sich die vorliegende Auswahl zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt auf die wesentlicheren und leichter zugänglichen Rezensionen, wie auch die Rubrik "Artikel über Alfred Gong" nur die wichtigsten und aussagekräftigsten Artikel einschließt.

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Osnabrück, Federal Republic of Germany

Anmerkungen

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[5] Der im Bibliotheksarchiv der University of Cincinnati befindliche Nachlaß Alfred Gongs umfaßt Kopien sämtlicher im folgenden aufgeführter Texte, und ein umfangreicher Katalog über das Gesamtmaterial einschließlich einer vollständigen Bibliographie der Primär- und Sekundärquellen steht ebenfalls dort zur Verfügung. Diesbezügliche Detailfragen sollten an Professor Jerry Glenn, German Dept., Univ. of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH 45221-0372, gerichtet werden. Eine Auswahl der unveröffentlichten frühen Lyrik erscheint demnächst in *Modern Austrian Literature.*

[6] Die erstgenannte Besprechung, für die "P" zeichnete, enthält abgesehen von *WK* keinerlei bibliographische Angaben; die zweite stammt von "F.M." und erschien in *Die Stimme* 51 (Juli 1951).

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Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, and Dissertations

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Abbreviations:

AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJH	=	*American Jewish History*
Amst	=	*Amerikastudien*
BLT	=	*Brethren Life and Thought*
CES	=	*Canadian Ethnic Studies*
CG	=	*Canadiana Germanica*
DR	=	*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*
EaS	=	*Englisch-amerikanische Studien*
GCY	=	*German-Canadian Yearbook*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*
HSR	=	*Historic Schaefferstown Record*
JAH	=	*Journal of American History*

JC	=	*Journal of Cooperation*
JNALA	=	*Journal of NAL Associates*
MHB	=	*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NGTHS	=	*Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter of the Society for German-American Studies*
PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
SAHSN	=	*Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*

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