YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

General Information

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their 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 $20.00 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), 3108 Wood Ridge Drive, Landisville, Pennsylvania 17538. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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FROM THE EDITORS

We are pleased to present this volume of the *Yearbook* containing articles on an especially wide variety of topics in the field of German-American studies. Beginning with two keynote addresses from the Society's most recent symposia—Wolfgang Helbich's presentation of his project analyzing letters of immigrants sent back to friends and relatives in Germany (Lawrence 1987) and Günter Moltmann's essay on the songs of departing emigrants (Cincinnati 1986)—we continue on to explore the effects of the immigration experience on literary production as well as literary relations between Germany and America (Barbara Lang, Linde Katritzky, Glen E. Lich). In the following set of articles we once more turn our attention to the impact of the forty-eighters on American political and cultural life (Jacob Erhardt, Robert E. Cazden, Robin L. Chambers). The achievements of individual German-Americans are documented in a series of articles ranging from aeronautics to the visual and performing arts (G. K. Weissenborn, Christa Carvajal, Peter C. Merrill). The concluding three articles on the Bauhaus, Pennsylvania German, and Canadian policies toward immigration from Germany reveal the broad spectrum of German-American cultural interaction as well as that of scholarly interests in German-American studies (Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, Marion Lois Huffines, Gerhard P. Bassler).

As always we are indebted to Steven Benjamin and the members of the Bibliographic Committee for their continuing efforts to document all publications in German-Americana. Our appreciation goes also to the members of the Editorial Board whose support and assistance are invaluable.

Max Kade German-American
Document and Research Center
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
December 1987

Wolfgang Helbich

The Letters They Sent Home: The Subjective Perspective of German Immigrants in the Nineteenth Century

I

Two hundred eighty million letters were sent from the United States to Germany between 1820 and 1914; or, to make the estimate less precise yet more reliable, a minimum of 250 million and a maximum of 300 million.[1] The hard core of the somewhat recondite calculations behind those figures is the 164 million letters received in the *Reichspostgebiet* (the German Empire of 1871 without Bavaria and Württemberg) from the United States 1870-1908. The totals given above, arrived at by adding likely figures for the two kingdoms with independent mail services and fairly safe projections forward as well as shakier ones backward, would seem to demonstrate impressively that the flood of German immigration to the United States brought in its wake a steady stream of letters to the old country. But most of all in our context, it is a chastening reminder that the 5,000 letters collected by the *Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung (BABS)* at the Ruhr-Universität Bochum are but a minute fraction of the volume actually written—.0018 percent, to be painfully exact.[2]

But it might be worthwhile to take another look at those gigantic figures—at least the officially confirmed ones. Starting from the commonsense assumptions that there would be some correlation between the number of German immigrants and the total of German-born persons in the United States in any given year, and the number of letters written to Germany at that time, and that immigrants are more likely to write frequently during the first years after their arrival, whereas their correspondence would tend to taper off after a while, the graph presented here does not lend itself to an obvious interpretation. For the period up to 1883, there appears to be a clear positive correlation between the number of immigrants on the one hand (although to a lesser degree for the German-born) and the volume of letters on the other. Between 1884 and 1895, there is at least no flat contradiction between the

two. But from 1897 on, there is a definite and rapidly growing discrepancy between a dwindling or stagnating immigration and a gradually diminishing German-born population on the one hand and the volume of letters on the other, which more than doubled from 1897 to 1908.[3]

This seemingly contradictory development cannot be explained by an increase in literacy, by the greater speed of mail across the ocean, or by lower postage rates. Even if the Dillingham Commission's figures are to be believed (illiteracy rate of immigrants, 1899-1910: from Germany, 5.2%; from England, 1.0%; from Poland, 35.4%),[4] it is out of the question that a possible gain in a couple of percentage points could account for even part of the increase. There were faster ships and lower postage, but the big steps in both fields were taken between 1850 and 1875, not in the 1890s or early 1900s.[5]

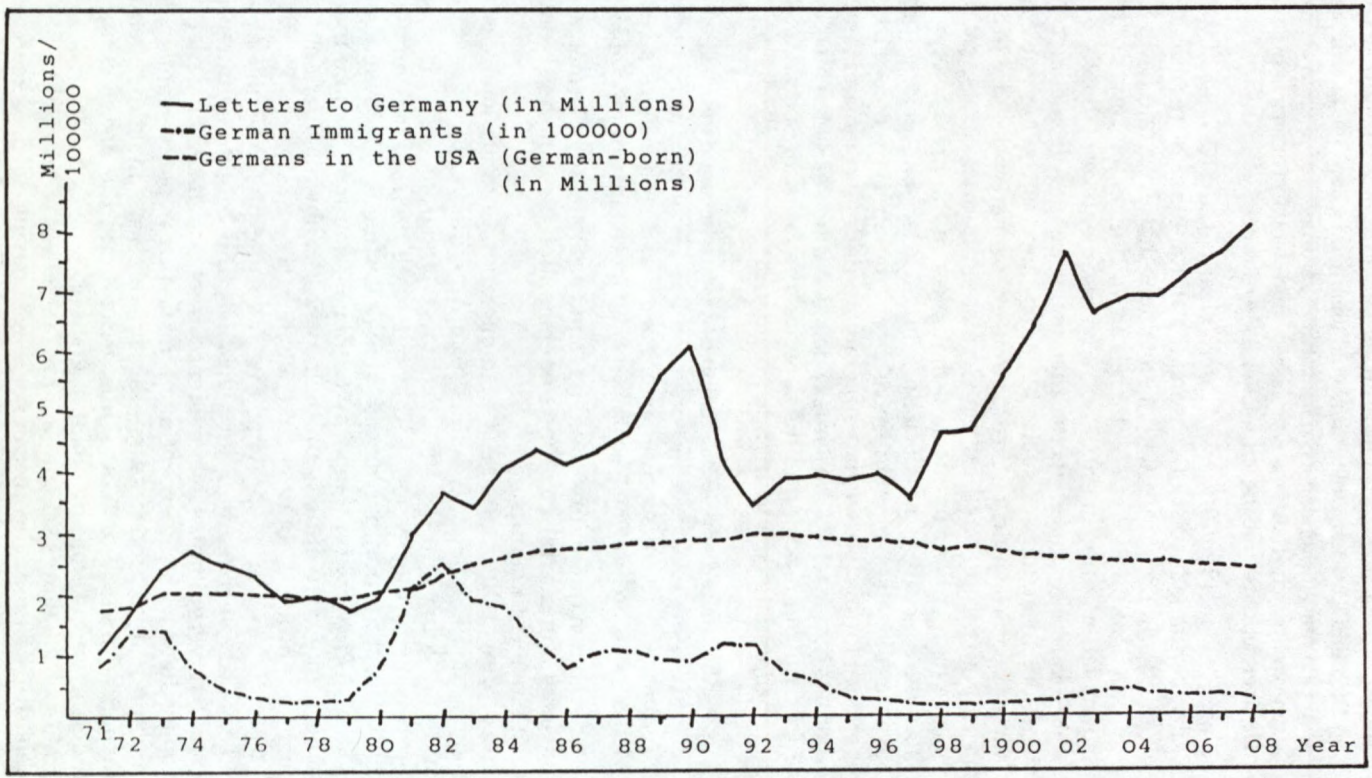
The only plausible explanation is the increase in the volume of business mail. This must not be understood as a phenomenon that suddenly appeared out of nowhere.[6] Assuming that some business mail was expedited even before the Civil War, that the period of a high correlation between immigration and letters may be used as a measuring device indicating a "normal level" of letter-writing activity, that commercial communication tends to increase with industrialization, and that the results of a contemporary study on business and private mail are valid,[7] one may arrive at the conclusion that private letters comprised 80% of the volume of mail through 1870, but then gradually lost in importance, reaching 50% around 1880, 30% by 1890, and finally dropped to 20% around 1900. By this calculation, the number of private letters written from the United States to Germany would be 100 million.[8]

The sheer volume of this flow of letters would seem to emphasize the importance of the correspondence to writers and recipients. One has to consider what a great effort it was for a person of little formal education—some 90 percent of the emigrants—and no tradition or habit of written communication to compose a comprehensible letter. Family ties, the sense of support by a word from home, and the wish to stay in touch with the former environment must have been very strong even during the strenuous and absorbing period of basic adaptation.

At the same time, these letters from America may well be considered detailed direct and indirect answers to the question of family members or friends in Germany whether they, too, should emigrate. What a miner in the Saarbrücken area wrote to his brother in California in 1858 must have been asked virtually millions of times:

> Lieber Peter ich muß dier auch zu wißen thun daß wir fest gesonnen waren für zu dir zu kommen, aber dan hörten man überall sehr schlechte Nachrichten, aus Amerika, daß alles Still Liegen thät und wäre kein verdienst vorhanden, Ich und meine Frau wier sind noch immer gesonnen nach Americka aber du mußt mir eine genaue nachricht schreiben ob wir nach kommen, wie es jetzt zufällig ist.[9]

Or, in a similar vein:



Graph: Annette Haubold

> Eine große Bitte habe ich an Dich, lieber Anton, schreibe mir einmal wieder auf Post und diesen Brief und beantworte mir, ich habe schon viel an Dich gedacht, ich wollte mir wohl auch wünschen, bei Dir zu sein, wenn ich nur wüßte, daß ich das Brot dort geruhiger essen kann als hier, dann wollte ich hier alles verlassen und wollte Dir nachkommen. Darüber schreibe mir diesen wieder, lieber Bruder.[10]

The answer, incidentally, was rarely clear-cut. It was usually rather lengthy, contained a list of reasons for and another of reasons against emigrating and ended up with a statement that everyone had to make up his own mind. Even so, there can no longer be any doubt that emigrant letters—not agents, not advertisements, not books or periodicals—were the major factor that made people decide in favor of emigration. In matters of such vital importance as leaving one's home, common people would not trust strangers or mere printed words.

Historians, captivated by the German authorities' exaggerating the influence of agents or by ideas of the power of the press, were slow to realize the decisive role of letters in the decision-making process. Theodore Blegen seems to have been the first to recognize their importance for his Norwegian emigrants.[11] Both German and American authorities had reached the same conclusion much earlier. Thus, in 1852 the Trier *Landrat* reported to his superior, the *Regierungspräsident*, about letters from relatives and friends in America:

> Es werden Reisen von 10 bis 12 Stunden gemacht, um den Inhalt eines solchen Briefes, besonders, wenn er von einer als zuverlässig bekannten Person geschrieben ist, zu erfahren, und vorzugsweise jüngere Leute lassen sich durch solche Nachrichten bestimmen [auszuwandern].[12]

Dozens of such quotations could be found easily in any German archive containing administrative reports or emigration files for the second half of the nineteenth century.

According to the United States Immigration Commission in its study of immigration, 1899-1910, letters from America were the most important factor going into the final decision to emigrate.[13] The Dillingham Commission further reported that out of all the German immigrants questioned at the port of entry about their destination, 77% were joining relatives; 17% were on their way to friends; and hardly more than one out of twenty were entirely on their own. It is obvious that only letters could have brought about such a situation.[14]

There is no way of proving that the same phenomenon obtained thirty or sixty years earlier, but plausibility and admittedly unrepresentative, but very impressive evidence from the *BABS* material argue strongly that—with the exception of the first wave of emigrants, who by definition had no predecessors—the situation was similar or even more pronounced in 1880 or 1850. Thus, letters form the decisive link both producing and explaining chain migration.

Most of the things said about emigrant letters so far could have been established without the researcher's ever having seen or read such a document. Information such as that provided above is of varying

degrees of interest to historians, but obtaining it would not require the collection of a large number of letters. When we went about soliciting material from the public,[15] there were different questions on our minds, questions that concerned the content of immigrant letters.

The salient point is the fact that such letters constitute the one and—apart from an occasional diary—only source for learning about the personal, subjective aspects of emigration and assimilation as perceived at the time of writing, not embellished or otherwise distorted by the passing of thirty or fifty years, as in the case of autobiographies. The individual perspective encompasses the factual reporting on everyday life and American society as well as the expression of hopes and fears, sympathies and antipathies, value judgments and emotions in the new environment and in the turmoil of "uprooting." (There is even a fairly good chance that the letters will put an end to the debate whether such an "uprooting" actually took place.)

The value of this testimony is enhanced by the fact that the overwhelming majority of letter writers were no scholars, journalists, or otherwise "trained observers." They were neither trying to meet standards nor catering to a wider audience, but just reporting about themselves to people who knew them very well. In many ways, what we learn here is more spontaneous and less guarded, more immediate than what learned authors or bright traveling correspondents have to offer.

The fact that more than nine out of ten emigrants from Germany were lower or lower middle class and had at best an elementary education, and that despite a tendency of the educated to write more, the bulk of the emigrant letters have been written by "common people," may cause intellectuals to condescendingly rejoice in the virtues of naive or ignorant testimony. But there is more to it. At the latest when one notices once again that a writer's letters improve in facility of expression and clarity over the years—when in view of the foreign-language environment one ought to expect the contrary—one comes to realize that the great majority of our letter writers would never in their lives have put pen to paper if they had stayed in Germany. In fact, *Alltagsgeschichte* before 1900—afterwards, oral history helps out—is severely handicapped by the dearth of personal written material from lower-class persons that might provide the subjective and emotional angle, and what seems at first sight very out-of-the-way material for Germany history—the letters of those who left the country—may in fact provide some insights hard to gain or to corroborate by purely German sources alone. What will be said below about "equality" is a fairly good example.

II

With regard to the content of the emigrant letters, insights may be gained on a great variety of aspects of immigrant life as seen "from below." Walter Kamphoefner is presently working on the contribution of the letters to our understanding of the German-Americans' position

in American political life—nativism, slavery, the election of Lincoln, the Civil War, Blue Laws, Prohibition, World War I, etc. Practically everything that has been written on those themes so far, whatever its intrinsic value, is based on statistics and the testimony of people of some prominence. We have good reason to believe that the emigrant letters will add significant features to our present knowledge and may possibly bring about important revisions.

The particular impact of emigration and assimilation on women and their role in it within the family or as single immigrants will become much clearer on the basis of the letters. A project researcher has published some preliminary findings.[16] A master's thesis on female immigrants, based on the *BABS* holdings, will be completed by the spring of 1988. And three German doctoral candidates are presently working on dissertations dealing with women and emigration, all using our letters intensively. This list could be continued, but let us turn to some examples of the kind of information one may glean from the immigrant letters. One topic has been mentioned briefly above: "equality."

The Declaration of Independence held that "all men are created equal." The Age of the Common Man, the rise of the humble to high honors, the rags-to-riches or Horatio Alger myth, and the ideal of the classless society dominated the social philosophy of nineteenth-century America, Social Darwinism notwithstanding; equality versus aristocracy was one of the major themes on the ideological battleground of the Civil War.

Yet there is fairly solid consensus among historians, based on hard evidence, that despite slogans and some appearances, American society was very far from equality—economic, social, or otherwise.[17] How did German immigrants in their letters see this question? There are many, of course, who do not touch upon it at all; but those who do are virtually unanimous: everyone in America, whether the president or the pastor, is addressed by *du;* one does not have to doff one's hat or cap to anyone; people who do the dirtiest work, like street cleaners, are fully respected; everyone is equal, from the lowliest to the president; the farmer and his servants eat at the same table; no one can order about anyone else, one person is worth as much as the next; there are no privileges and no titles; the poorest man from Germany is respected just as much as the richest American; after duty hours the general ranks no higher than the private—he eats with him, plays with him, smokes and snuffs with him from the same snuffbox.[18]

Some of them may be careful in their wording—"Every worker here believes himself to be equal to his employer," or "everybody considers himself just as good as if he belonged to the oldest nobility"[19]—but all agree that American equality means a major improvement over the situation in Germany for them, that it is one of the reasons for their staying in America and a major enticement for their German correspondents to follow them across the Atlantic.

A number of conclusions seem plausible from the above. For one thing, whatever historians may claim about actual inequality, and

whatever reality may have been like, the letter-writing immigrants, mostly members of a group generally considered to occupy the lowest rungs on the social ladder, happily scribbled about being treated as equals. They may have embellished their own observations; American or German-American popularizations of the ideology of the common man may have influenced them; or the striking difference between Germany and America may have blinded them to the more subtle distinctions of rank and caste in the United States. Yet the fact remains that they were massively, and most favorably, impressed, and most likely took the seeming equality at face value.

If one looks more closely at their examples or illustrations, one may discern that what they really mean and enjoy is the absence of the constant, visible everyday humiliations of the lower orders they had been used to in the old country, and here historians will not contradict. It seems permissible to conclude from this relief felt about the end to personal humiliation that the lower classes in Germany did not take the outward signs of their submission for granted, but actually suffered from them; and one may interpret the prominent role of such remarks in the letters as an indication that the writers expected considerable interest in the question on the part of their correspondents in Germany.[20]

Another idea that commands much attention of immigrant letter writers is the claim that in America hard work almost infallibly pays, that is, an endorsement of the work ethic. It is very rare indeed that someone believes in being able to amass riches; but comfort and even a certain affluence are seen to be within the reach of everyone who tries hard enough. Generally such statements are followed by comparisons with the old country, sometimes in the sense that lazy people had better stay in Germany, since in the United States they would be worse off than at home, but mostly to the effect that the writer (and people in general) never had a similar opportunity in Germany: there they could work as hard as they might without ever getting anywhere. ''. . . denn hier in diesem Lande ist es noch gut vor den Arbeitsamen Mann, vor den Faullenzer aber ist es in Deutschland besser . . .'' (1854),[21] or ''den es ist das Land wo milch und honig flist und wo jeder Arbeiter wenn er will sich etwas verdienen kann, wenn man nur will aber die meisten ergeben sich dem Trunke und vergeuden das Geld wie sie es verdienen . . .'' (1883),[22] or an almost classical statement:

> Wer hier fleißig, brav, eingezogen, sittsam und sparsam ist, kommt bald zu Vermögen. Versteht sich von selbst, daß man sich . . . mit Schnapssaufen und liederlichen Vagabunden nicht abgeben darf. . . . Hätte ich das Letztere getan, so wäre ich nicht der Mann, der ich jetzt bin (1860).[23]

The last quotation can serve as a bridge between the type of statements proclaiming in the abstract that hard work results in affluence, and those that delineate with a lot of concrete detail how the writer started with nothing, or even in debt, and climbed step by step to a

respectable social and economic position.[24] Occasionally, even one or the other of the subtler aspects of the Protestant ethic is voiced by an immigrant; so a farmer writes to Germany in 1906 that he now had enough time for a visit there, but not enough money, ". . . und Geld vor eine Plesierreise zu Borgen das darf ein Man der Vorwärts strebt nicht thun."[25]

The frequent expression of the belief in a real chance to move up by hard work raises several questions. Did the writers describe reality, or were they blinded by their wishful thinking? Or maybe both? Were these statements based on their own—possibly biased—observations, or had they been indoctrinated, and if the latter, in Germany, in America, and by whom—by German-Americans or by Americans? Only a few tentative answers can be given here, but they might narrow down the range in which more precise and more definitive interpretations are to be found.

As to turning to the Protestant ethic on the basis of one's own experience, there are the two letters already cited,[26] dozens of others that tell similar success stories experienced by the letter writers, and there are about as many others that report about comparably enviable careers of others. Though these accounts might be embellished as to details and somewhat exaggerated as to the affluence achieved, there is no good reason for doubting the basic veracity of such reports.

Even if the gospel of work and opportunity had not been preached incessantly across America, both the man who had made good and the one still trying would eagerly embrace a doctrine so comfortable and flattering to the successful; it makes one feel better to believe that not luck and circumstance, but one's own qualities and merits account for what one has achieved. Moreover, the competitors who fall by the wayside were thus not the victims of one's own rapacity, or even of an unfair social order, but simply of their own vices. Few such success stories or more abstract statements of the Protestant ethic fail to point to the other side of the coin: the neighbor—or occasionally even a younger brother—who failed miserably because of laziness, liquor, or bad company, or the presence of ne'er-do-wells who will end up badly because of their vices.

But does not the great majority of studies on social mobility in nineteenth-century America conclude that the rags-to-riches myth was nothing but that, that there was far less mobility than ideology and impressionistic views of Europeans assumed, and that it was very hard and rare indeed to climb into the upper class?[27] Does not the authoritative comparative study of social mobility in the United States and Western Europe arrive at the rather surprising conclusion that "it is still not clear if workers in nineteenth-century Europe had worse chances of upward mobility than those in America," on the basis of dozens of local mobility studies on both sides of the Atlantic?[28]

There is not necessarily a contradiction between what the letters claim and what historians have found. For one thing, it is striking that none of the success stories in the letters collected in Bochum and almost none of the more general statements of the work ethic go so far as to take

the rags-to-riches image literally. In some cases it is a decent starting capital that is expanded into a sizeable industrial or agricultural enterprise, but in most there is little or nothing at the beginning, and independence or substantial property at the end, but not wealth. Moreover, Stephan Thernstrom in *Poverty and Progress,* speaks not only for his own study, but for many others as well when he mitigates his disillusioning findings by stating: "The 'dream of success' certainly affected those laboring families, but the personal measure of success was modest. By this measure, the great majority of them had indeed 'gotten ahead.'" The Newburyport study deals with people "whose aspirations and expectations were shaped in the Irish village or the New England subsistence farm."[29] The letters, which were all written by people in a position to make direct comparisons, at least on a local level, make abundantly clear that the village or small-town background of very many German immigrants also made for a modest measure of success.

Moreover, one ought to recall that the works on mobility are all statistical studies. By claiming that the overwhelming majority made no great strides, they still establish that a few people did, and that far more made at least some noticeable economic and social progress, even if they did not jump from blue collar to white collar or from farmer to industrialist. Social mobility, whether intra-generational or inter-generational, is usually measured by occupation and by such tangible evidence as home ownership. Factors that are statistically more elusive like standard of living—whether changes of it within America or the differential between Europe and the United States—are almost never taken into consideration.

It is a fairly complicated undertaking to determine how much the average German immigrant—or rather the average practitioner of a given occupation or range of skills—improved his real income when employed regularly; the calculations become far more difficult and the results shakier when one takes into account the effects of periodic unemployment, a perennial and ubiquitous phenomenon in the United States, far more so than in European economies after the middle of the nineteenth century.

But it is fairly safe to make the following statements: (1) Outside the South, industrial nominal wages could be up to 300 percent higher than in Europe in the highly skilled occupations, but tended to be at best 100 percent higher for unskilled labor. (2) The differential in real wages tended to be lower, especially in view of the higher cost of lodging in America. (3) As to food and clothing, moving to America meant a definite improvement in almost every single instance. Unemployment, even in skilled occupations, could easily reduce and in rare instances even wipe out the differential in standard of living. Thus, an improvement in the amenities of daily living took place for almost every individual once the Atlantic had been crossed, and this may very well have contributed strongly to the belief in just reward for honest, hard work.[30]

But of course, experience and observation are not the only explanation for a large number of German immigrants voicing the tenets of the

Protestant ethic. Almost from the moment the immigrants stepped off the ship in New York or New Orleans, they like everyone else in the United States all through the nineteenth century were exposed to the fervid preaching of the gospel of work and its rewards. There were changes over time, shades of emphasis, regional and religious and class differences as well as varieties of sophistication, but the basic creed was pervasive, and while an individual might refuse to believe in it, and many failed to live by it, he or she could not possibly be ignorant of it; it was a major element present in every public channel of communication, from school and church to newspapers (native or ethnic), magazines, popular literature and political oratory.[31]

It is most unlikely that even the widest publicity would have gained adherents to a doctrine that finds no support in real life. But if experience—as in the case of many of our letter writers—and ideology match, they may reinforce each other and create true believers. Would this combination of American reality and American creed then be the explanation for our letter writers' commitment to the work ethic and upward mobility, or does one have to take a third element into account: the possibility that these ideas already were part of the cultural baggage they brought across the Atlantic?

The question is difficult, not simply because it has not been studied sufficiently, but because the answer appears to be largely negative. For one thing, the letter writers themselves generally describe the creed and its implementation as something specifically American, standing in stark contrast to Germany. For another, we know that the overwhelming majority of them left their home country for economic reasons, which means very simply that they saw little chance of sufficient betterment for themselves at home. As to the extent of adherence to the idea that hard work is justly rewarded by an improvement of one's economic and social position, every generalization will suffer from the great differences in industrial development, political outlook, and other factors between the various German regions and principalities. But there is considerable evidence to support the impression that throughout the nineteenth century one of the aspects of the general socio-political retardation of Germany vis-à-vis the West was the fact that the belief that one could and should rise socially by working hard was rarely if ever propagated among the lower and lower middle classes. On the contrary, the school system rather tended to discourage any ideas of leaving one's estate and rising in the world.[32]

But this may not be the whole answer. An individual need not be indoctrinated in order to feel an intense desire to better his or her lot. As is pointed out in the sociological study cited above, even in the Middle Ages, long before the rise of the modern idea of social mobility, there was no *Sozialfatalismus:* "Schon die großen Wanderungsbewegungen (Ostkolonisation) zeigen deutlich, daß z. B. die Chance, vom nicht erbberechtigten Sohn zum freien Bauern aufzusteigen, durchaus wahrgenommen wurde, wenn sie sich bot."[33] This example, obviously given without a thought about the nineteenth-century transatlantic migration, seems quite intriguing in our context, not only because the

two population movements out of Germany have a number of aspects in common, but also because emigration is here taken to be an indication of a tendency toward some form of social mobility. Could it be that this observation points toward at least a partial answer—there cannot be an absolute or complete one—to a central question in emigration research that does not become less pertinent because utterly unsatisfactory answers have been offered? I mean the question arising from the observation that if poverty was the major motive for emigration, but only one out of ten poor people went to America: How did the one differ from the other nine?

Perhaps what I imply here as a possible explanation for a truly puzzling problem can never be verified—or falsified. With the present tools of the historians it seems very difficult indeed. But one may safely state that such a thesis—emigration of the most success-oriented—would not only fit perfectly into the picture sketched above, but also command considerable plausibility: The people who emigrated were those who suffered most from their poverty and the lack of realistic prospects to rise out of it; they were even willing to leave home and community for the expectation of betterment, and they were self-confident enough to risk living in an entirely novel environment.

Discussing class differences in the degree of acceptance of the work ethic, historian Daniel Rodgers states, when passing from employers to workers: "The men and women who worked within the factories left no such permanent or conspicuous record of their feelings about time and labor."[34] He finds that labor history deals with unions, parties, and radical newspapers, but rarely with the genuine reactions and attitudes of the rank and file—primarily because of the dearth of firsthand information. On one point, there is almost unanimous agreement among the letter writers:

> . . . den hier müssen die Leute mehr Arbeiten wie bei Euch . . . (a shoemaker, 1860).[35]

> Die Arbeit hier ist grundverschieden von der deutschen. Von 7 Uhr früh bis 12 U. Mittags. Esszeit 1/2 Stunde. Von 1/2 1 Uhr bis 1/2 6 U. stets mit ungeschwächter Kraft. Da giebt es nicht Schnupfen noch Rauchen weder Frühstück noch Vesper. Das ist eben für langsame Deutsche nicht recht passend (a miller, 1871).[36]

> . . . ich war doch gewiß kein langsamer Arbeiter, aber hier war ich ein reiner Stümper. . . . Es wird alles sehr schnell gearbeitet, Frühstück und Vesper ist nicht. Von früh 7 Uhr bis Mittag 12 und von 1 bis 6 Uhr ohne umzusehen, nicht mal austreten kann man . . . (a bricklayer, 1881).[37]

It seems fairly safe to assume that the trend visible in the three quotations (and more than two dozen letters not quoted here) is based more on fact than fancy for two reasons. The letter writers seem to have few incentives for exaggeration; and most of them were craftsmen and skilled workers who not only had worked on the same type of job on both sides of the Atlantic, so that they were really in a position to

compare, but also frequently describe the different working techniques employed in Germany and America in such meticulous detail that it would be most surprising if they were less careful observers when it comes to the pace of work.

Whereas the claims made as to the intensity of work and lack of breaks may and perhaps ought to be checked by studies relying on less subjective sources, the reactions to the different quality of work belong to the category of "feelings" referred to by Rodgers, for which we have little else besides letters, diaries and, with some reservations, autobiographies and the minutes of a couple of hearings on labor problems. It would seem to be a normal reaction for wage earners to complain bitterly when a speedup is imposed or the rate of work is raised; the twentieth century offers many examples. Surprisingly enough, our letter writers seem to be favorably impressed, or to simply take the difference for granted; it is very hard indeed to find a word of criticism. Our first letter writer quoted (note 35) continues matter-of-factly that whoever does not feel like working harder will not get along in America. The second one (note 36) continues by saying with obvious satisfaction and approval—and probably exaggeration: "Hingegen hat man aber auch in 9 Stunden mehr verdient als dort die ganze Woche." And the third one (note 37), though generally somewhat skeptical about things American, adds with guarded approval: "Man verdient zwar schönes Geld, aber man muß auch was für leisten, unser Lohn steht 3½ Dollar (15½ Mark) . . . ." These three stand for ten times that number, who not only emphasize that one must work harder, but also either appear to be quite happy with that or say so explicitly—generally arguing that the higher pay makes a greater effort worthwhile; at any rate, they express no longing for the easier work at lower pay back in the old country. And in several instances one can sense considerable satisfaction not only with the higher standard of living thus gained, but also about one's ability to keep up with that gruelling pace that would destroy or drive away a weaker or less steadfast man.

Here as well as in the other instances we have been dealing with the tip of the iceberg as far as the evidence of the letters is concerned. A systematic analysis of the material will yield far more information on the themes outlined above. Even then, it should have become clear, a great amount of research will be needed to make the message of the letters intelligible, to sort fact from fiction and description from attitude, and to find a place for the insights gained in the body of knowledge we already possess about the adaptation process of German immigrants in America.

After dealing with a number of aspects of immigrant and ethnic history on which the letters shed some light—and promise to yield more insights—at some length, I would like to touch upon some others very briefly, so as to give an idea of the wide scope of questions to which the letters might provide answers.

In viewing the immigration and adaptation process, the terms "uprootedness" and "marginal man" may be outmoded, but our letters make quite clear that we need those concepts, even though they do not

seem to apply in any acute sense to the majority of German immigrants. What we have learned about the buffering or decompression-chamber function of ethnic neighborhoods and of personal networks (of which chain migration is only one variety), is fully supported by the letters, which frequently give a very clear picture of the concentric circles of family, friends, others from one's home town, vicinity, general part of Germany, and finally, the entire local German-American community (with all its divisions and rivalries) forming a multiple protective shield from Americans and other ethnics that does, however, permit forays into alien territory if desired.

In fact, only the letters let us know the amazing real weight of the "personal network." Occasionally one gets the feeling that emigrants live in a social world made up of the folks from back home—and very little besides. Very careful studies must be made of this phenomenon; but even now one can say that in many cases common language and even common religion were of less importance than common region, sub-region, or neighborhood.

Even when the buffering is not too effective, the strains of assimilation usually do not appear as particularly dramatic; especially for the common people, there is little to get excited about: one has to learn English to find a decent job—this is frequently accepted with as much of a shrug as the fact that it gets hotter in the summer than in Germany. What may help is the apparent general acceptance of German immigrants (at least of those respectable enough to write letters home) by the host society; I was startled to learn from Kerby Miller that many Irish immigrants wrote home bitterly about persecution, humiliation, suffering and longing for home,[38] for I had never encountered such intensity of feeling with Germans; at most, there was a sense of annoyance about being called "damn Dutchman" or about some *Englischer* being treated better at work. On the other hand, one encounters many a disparaging remark not only about Blacks and Indians, but also—very drastically, if not venomously—about the Irish and, in a multi-faceted way too complex to be discussed here, about Americans. A feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the Anglo-Americans is expressed quite frequently: they do not keep their front yards in good order; they work only to the point where they can get enough to drink; they do not plan for the future—in short, they do not meet the demands of the work ethic as the Germans do.

Loyalty or rather identification with one's own ethnic group seems to be widespread, and it is difficult to decide whether from a defensive posture, from a feeling of superiority, or both. The reactions to major events in Germany, whether reason for pride or for shame, are strong enough, and most massive, of course, in World War I; but more pervasive and persistent is the identificational pride in German-American achievements, whether on the Civil War battlefields or in a turner parade, a German engineer being preferred to an American or a successful *Sängerfest*—whatever impresses Americans and evokes their respect (or envy).

It is a very strange complex that has to be explored further, but what is quite clear already is the "German-American centeredness" of much

of this thinking and feeling. Anything that elevates the value of the label "German" is positive, and the contrary negative. The fate of Germany is important for its reflection and impact on German-Americans and their ethnic reputation. Germany did not have to win the World War to prosper or avoid humiliation—but because a German defeat would do immeasurable damage to the German-Americans. "You must win because of us" is spelled out in many letters.

III

We are pursuing such lines of inquiry further, but we are also working on another, maybe more ambitious, and certainly more difficult project. Rather than looking at certain aspects or clusters of aspects of assimilation, we are trying to analyze the process of assimilation as a whole. We know that it did take place and what the results are; we do not really know how it took place, and why.

We are trying to dissect the "anatomy of assimilation," to disentangle the web of a complex development, to isolate the steps, and determine their sequence, in the process of adaptation. Especially if one considers feelings equally important as facts, and personal reactions as much as the experience of daily life, the approach to the phenomenon of assimilation on the individual rather than on the group level must rely primarily on letters.

We have tried to adapt categories of assimilation developed by Milton Gordon[39] and Hartmut Esser[40] for the group process to the individual level. On that basis, we are establishing a year-by-year "assimilation profile" for each of the some 320 individuals who wrote our approximately 260 letter series (defined as numbering five or more letters from the same person or family). One sample profile is appended to this article (see Appendix). The method is not yet perfected, even at this first stage out of three. For one thing, the four categories (cognitive, identificational, social and structural assimilation) permit too much overlapping and must be refined further; for another, the considerable unevenness in the amount and the precision of the information for every individual will pose major problems when we have to go about measuring in order to approach stage two. Perhaps the analogy of a one hundred-item questionnaire will illustrate this particular problem. Really solid work could be done only on the basis of complete answers to all one hundred questions. Our respondents may answer fifteen more or less completely, others maybe ten—but entirely different ones. Fortunately, that is an exaggeration. In many cases, we get close to the equivalent of fifty answers, and there are about a dozen key concepts that most letter writers touch upon sooner or later.

I do not believe much would come out of this if we confined ourselves to the letters alone. Actually, far more time is being spent on research in "hard" sources than on working with the "soft" letters. We are trying to learn as much as possible about the letter writers, both on their background in Germany and on their American existence outside the letters. Our forthcoming edition of the letters will demonstrate for

twenty letter writers how much can in fact be learned about persons of no prominence whatsoever; certainly it is far more than we expected when we started out.

The second stage will consist of an attempt to compare the data as objectively as possible, and then to establish a typology of assimilation. We have reason to believe that the profiles will not result in an entirely random distribution of profiles on some sort of infinite continuum, but rather form clusters and, if all goes well, allow us to point out five or perhaps seven basic types of assimilative behavior. Once we have gotten to that point, we can either stop or continue. We could stop because the results might be quite respectable. If that is not the case, we would like to take the inquiry to its logical conclusion in stage three. Knowing by then that a number of different assimilation types exist, we would ask what makes one person assimilate according to one specific pattern, and the next individual according to a different one. Obviously, a wide array of factors—personal, social, economic, regional, etc.—from a variety of disciplines will have to be taken into account. Meanwhile, we will also continue working on less all-encompassing issues, such as some of the concepts dealt with in part two of this article, most of which deserve further inquiry. Whatever the Bochum project team is doing or trying to do: All our material is open to researchers and has been from the beginning of the project. We have already had many visitors, and we like having them; among other things, we have learned a lot from them.

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Appendix

Adaptation Profile: Martin Weitz (1823-1869; weaver from Schotten/Hessen; emigrated, single, 1854, to New York; began working in textile mill, Rockville, CT, 1855).

1. **Cognitive Assimilation**

One year after arrival, he has declared his intention of taking music lessons, most likely in a German-American context. He has become painfully aware of the economic and emotional drawbacks of not knowing English. He shows a fair degree of orientation concerning practical matters.

At the end of the second year, his English has improved but, still considering it insufficient (as well he might), he is taking English lessons. He also revels in the American values of freedom and equality—though those, of course, may have been in his cultural baggage (there are references to German forty-eighters); but in any case, this part of American ideology is now shared by him. And he wants economic independence so much that he hopes to learn the barber's trade.

From then to the end of the five-year period covered by the letters, the belief in equality is confirmed and repeated; his orientation is improving further and expanding into the realms of politics and economics. His English is still rather weak, at least when written, but he seems to be able to get along. He adopts the American custom of having his daughter baptized at a later date (rather than immediately after birth), and when the daughter's name appears for the first

time in the available documents, in her marriage certificate, it is in the English form of "Amelia" rather than the German "Amalie." When she gets married, at age twenty in 1880, it is to a first-generation immigrant, but he is from England.

Taking everything together—American values, ideology, and customs, general orientation and the English language, Weitz conveys the general impression that he does not assimilate breathtakingly fast or particularly slowly, but at the even pace of someone fairly sure of himself, fairly at ease and knowing quite well what he wants.

2. **Identificational Assimilation**

Here Weitz presents a crazy quilt of partly contradictory pronouncements that require careful interpretation. During the first year after arrival, he utters relief and happiness about being in America, and expresses pity for those suffering from poverty in Germany; but a few lines after saying he feels like crying about the misery of his family in Germany (one month after arrival), he wishes them to have fun at an annual fair and remarks rather bitterly that this sort of fun and amusement does not exist in America. With similar ambiguity, he says after a year that America is fine if one has got work; out of work, however, he had felt like killing himself.

But there is no ambiguity about his wholehearted identification with German-Americans, whether in reporting about bloody fights between Germans and Know-Nothings in Cincinnati (in this context, he also seems to side with the proponents of beer and liquor) or about the *two* German *Gesangvereine* in Rockville (with about 300 Germans in a population of about 2,000) and his opinion that German singing promotes the reputation of the Germans with the Americans tremendously. Also quite undivided is his praise for the food in his (German) boarding house.

Before his second year is over, he has found that as far as temptation and bad company are concerned, America is far worse than Germany. But he suggests that a friend of his should emigrate and come to Rockville, since he would be much better off there than in their German hometown of Schotten. His radicalism as to despots slaughtering the innocent by the thousands senselessly in the Crimean War extends to America as well: here, things are no better. He continues elaborating on American hypocrisy: they go to church six times a week, but rob the shirt off your back whenever given a chance.

Interestingly enough, he equates—at one point at least—Americans and Know-Nothings, and emphasizes one must not be scared of them. Apart from that, he continues, things are fine: we are free men, earn good money when healthy, and live quite happily.

By the end of the fifth year he has reported in a balanced way on lower pay from time to time, but at the same time thanked God and his family for having come to America instead of being mired in misery like so many of his friends in Schotten. In September 1856 (slightly more than two years after arrival), he took out his first papers. He shudders at the thought of still being in Germany, but hastens to point out that this is no paradise, that there are thousands of unemployed, and that their fate is far worse than it would have been in Germany, "for here no one cares about anyone else—everyone has to take care of himself."

His radical loyalties from Germany are transferred to the Republicans, all the more so since a prominent forty-eighter from his hometown has done the same. This is where his loyalty to German-Americans draws the line: those who side with the Democrats he takes to be misled and stupid. Frémont's defeat is explained by Democratic fraud; otherwise, "we" would have won. But there is a remedy for such things: since we have freedom of the press, every such crime

will be discovered and made public. He also sees an important contribution for the immigrants to make for the cause of freedom.

He proudly reports that "we" (this time meaning, no doubt, the Germans in Rockville) have organized a *Turnverein* that is well liked by the Americans, and that a German church and school are to be founded, for which purpose he gladly contributes much money. He casually mentions he could support a wife better in America than in Germany, and he expresses contentment about the life they lead.

Thus he identifies with some American ideals, but not with Americans; on the contrary, they, or at least Democrats, are the foil against which he identifies with Republican-oriented German-Americans and, on a local level, all German-Americans. Whenever German-Americans' impressing Anglo-Americans is mentioned, there seems to be a certain tacit recognition of the latters' factual domination. In sum, he has more critical than favorable comments to make on Americans; most of this criticism, incidentally, is of a rather conventional kind, to be picked up in any German-American publication. He is happy with his living conditions, by and large, and would seem to be developing quickly into a rather successful German-American with reservations towards Americans, but general acceptance of the host society. At the beginning, he may have felt somewhat insecure, perhaps even threatened, by the Know-Nothings, but not for long, or so it seems.

3. **Social Assimilation**

With one exception, and that long after the letters end (in 1859), we do not learn of the slightest social contact with Americans; the exception is his membership in the (ethnically integrated) Hockanum Fire Brigade mentioned in an obituary in 1869—apart from contacts with the postmaster or officials, of course.

During his first year, all the contacts we hear about are not just German-Americans, but people from his hometown; he even expresses the importance of such a network clearly when he says, woe to anyone who comes here and has no friends and acquaintances—obviously meaning people known from back home. A year after arrival, he mentions that he could get married any day; that many German fellows marry American or Irish girls, but he wants to wait; after five months of waiting, he considers getting married to a girl from a different area of Germany, whom he has met in America, but he becomes quite serious toward the end of the second year: his family should find out if a girl he had known before he left, from a neighboring town, were still "healthy and unmarried"—and whether she would like to join and marry him. She does indeed, they exchange letters, he sends the passage money, and they get married the day after they arrive in Rockville. Godmothers for their daughter are a relative in his hometown in Germany and two German-American married women in Rockville, of whom at least one is from Schotten.

It would seem that the moment he seriously thought about marriage he felt safe and secure enough in the new country; certainly, the general impression he gives in his letters contradicts the idea that he might have looked for wifely solace as a way out of some misery. But secure and self-confident as he may have felt—Americans he apparently saw only from afar. His social integration seems to have been with the Rockville German-Americans—with a heavy (though probably diminishing) reliance on people from his hometown, a couple of them also in Rockville, more of them in other parts of Connecticut and in New York, with whom he stays in touch by visits, word of mouth, or letters.

4. Structural Assimilation

During the first year, there are ups and downs in his money-earning activities. The first time he can send any money home—ten dollars—was more than a year after his arrival. Constantly, the professional way of reporting about his jobs to his weaver father betrays his technical competence as well as a certain pride and interest in his craft. From now on, his financial sorrows seem to be over. He sends more money home after 2 years ($20), another $15 after 2½, $35 for his bride's passage after 3½ years—though far more often money is promised for the future or apologies are made for not sending any because of necessary purchases or low earnings.

But there is no doubt in his mind that he is doing far better than he could have hoped for at home. And the wages he reports seem to indicate that even for American standards he is doing quite well. The information on his death certificate shows that he has made at least one important step on the advancement ladder: from weaver to loom fixer or from skilled to highly skilled or, in money terms, 50% higher pay (according to the U.S. Census for 1880).

All in all, Weitz seems to be a well-adapted immigrant. There are no obvious strains, emotional disturbances, or psychic difficulties mentioned or to be suspected from anything he writes. His ties to home remain strong, and so do those to the hometowners in America. But he seemed to be well on his way to being a respectable and respected citizen when he died of typhoid fever at age forty-six.

Notes

[1] Expanded version of keynote address delivered at the Eleventh Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS, 23-25 April 1987.

[2] Deutsche Reichspostverwaltung, *Statistik der Deutschen Postverwaltung* (Berlin, 1871-76), and *Statistik der Deutschen Reichs-Post und Telegraphenverwaltung* (Berlin, 1877-1913). Based on Bavarian statistics for one year ("Übersicht über die Post- und Telegraphen-Betriebsverhältnisse in Bayern für das Kalenderjahr 1883," Staatsarchiv München, ehem. Akten der Oberpostdirektion, Verz. 2, Sch. Nr. 203-5) and the percentage of the number of letters sent there from the U.S.A., of the total for the *Reichspostgebiet*, plus an estimate of Württemberg solely on the grounds of the volume of mail from there to the *Reichspostgebiet*, 46 million was added to the 164 million; for the years 1909-13, about 10 million a year for the entire German empire should be fairly close; and for the period 1820-69, anything between a total of 20 million and 30 million seems possible.

[3] Both positive and negative correlation become even more pronounced when one compares the letter curve with one based on plausible estimates of the incidence of letter writing, like two letters per year for every immigrant during five years, and one each for the following five.

[4] U.S. Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 41 vols. (Washington, DC, 1911), 1:99.

[5] Postage from the U.S. for a half-ounce letter was 30 cents (1852), 15 cents (1857), 6 cents (1875). George E. Hargest, *History of Letter Communication Between the United States and Europe, 1845-1875* (Washington, DC, 1971), 16, 111, 199-224.

[6] Kristian Hvidt, the Danish historian who was the first to look at the actual volume of mail between the country of emigration and that of immigration and to whom I am indebted for the idea of looking into the German situation, seems to assume that after three decades of exclusively private letter writing (at the rate of 3.5 letters per Danish-born person in the U.S.), suddenly, from 1905 on, there was a doubling of the volume of mail due to the appearance of commercial communication. *Flugten til Amerika eller Drivkraefter i masseutvandringen fra Danmark, 1868-1914* (Aarhus, 1971), 339-45. Obviously, commercial

letter writing develops gradually. And the figure of 3.5 letters per man, woman, and child seems much too high. It is hard to see why Germans should have written fewer letters than Danes, but even adding 30% for the Bavarians and Württembergers not included in the *Reichspost* figures, the German-born in the United States (if one considers all letters private ones) wrote no more than 1.6 (1875), 2 (1885), or 1.8 (1895) letters per person.

[7] "Der Briefverkehr des deutschen Reichs-Postgebiets mit dem Auslande im Jahre 1879," *Archiv für Post und Telegraphie* 10 (May 1880): 299-300.

[8] One may add that while from the late 1890s on, the letter curve runs clearly counter to the immigration one, it shows a growing and very clear similarity to the import-export curve.

[9] Copy in *Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung (BABS).*

[10] Wolfgang Helbich, ed., *"Amerika ist ein freies Land . . .": Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland* (Darmstadt, 1985), 27.

[11] Theodore C. Blegen, "The 'America Letters,'" in *Avhandlinger utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo,* Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse (1928) (Oslo, 1929), 2:7, 17, and Theodore C. Blegen, *Norwegian Emigration to America, 1825-1860* (Northfield, MN, 1931), 196, 212-13.

[12] 10 April 1852, Landeshauptarchiv Koblenz, Best. 442, Nr. 6808, 53-54.

[13] U.S. Immigration Commission, *Reports of the Immigration Commission,* 4:56-60.

[14] Ibid., 3:360-65.

[15] The other members of the project team were Bettina Goldberg, Walter Kamphoefner, and Ulrike Sommer.

German archives hold very few emigrant letters, and almost none written by people who were not in some way prominent. I thus turned to the public by a long article in *Die Zeit* ("Doch zur Heimat wirds wohl nicht," no. 7, 11 Feb. 1983, 64) and a shorter one in *Hör zu* (E. Einhäuser, "Dann ging's in den Wilden Westen . . . ," no. 5, 27 Jan. 1984, 26-27), and a standard text sent to some 130 dailies all over the country, and printed in about 50, as well as one offered to some 150 local historical or genealogical periodicals, published by about 145. Several radio interviews did not yield a single letter. The other appeals, however, netted some 5,000 or, in the way of counting we have come to consider more meaningful, about 260 "series" plus about 1,350 single letters.

More than 85% of the material is now available both in the original (generally, copies) and in typewritten transcriptions. The difficult and time-consuming chore of transcription was funded by a generous *Stiftung Volkswagenwerk* grant, which also paid for the researcher and the student assistants who did the cataloging, the collecting of data on the letter writers and especially the massive work of content indexing on the basis of about 30 categories of information (e.g., "German-language schools"; "upward mobility"; "political activities and office-holding"; etc.) touched upon in the letters. After a paperback intended for the general public (see note 10), a 600-page scholarly edition of 20 letter series, *Briefe aus Amerika* (ed. by Helbich, Kamphoefner, Sommer) will be published in the fall of 1988, with an English translation scheduled to appear two years later.

[16] Ulrike Sommer, "Letters of German Immigrant Women: Attempting a Case Study," in *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s to 1930s,* ed. Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder (Bremen, 1985), 48-58.

[17] E. Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics* (Homewood, IL, 1969), 44-58.

[18] Helbich, *"Amerika ist ein freies Land . . . ,"* 112-22.

[19] Ibid., 119-20.

[20] What is indicated here seems to complement and support the findings of Günter Moltmann, "Auswanderung als Revolutionsersatz," in *Die Deutschen und die Revolution,* ed. M. Salewski (Göttingen, 1984), 272-97. One might even speculate that particular discontent with these humiliations was one of the motives of emigration.

[21] Helbich, *"Amerika ist ein freies Land . . . ,"* 102.

[22] Ibid., 107.

[23] Ibid., 102.

[24] Ibid., 103-8.

[25] Ibid., 104.

[26] Ibid., 103, 107-8.

[27] A good introduction and survey of the types of work done in the 1960s and 1970s is given by a collection of essays: E. Pessen, ed., *Three Centuries of Social Mobility in America* (Lexington, MA, Toronto, London, 1974).

[28] H. Kaelble, *Historische Mobilitätsforschung: Westeuropa und die USA im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Darmstadt, 1978), 70.

[29] S. Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), 165.

[30] I have tried to unravel some of the knots in the problem of comparative standards of living in my introduction to the "worker" series in our forthcoming edition of immigrant letters (see n. 15). Meanwhile, the information provided by two books is very helpful: Peter R. Shergold, *The "American Standard" in Comparative Perspective, 1899-1913* (Pittsburgh, 1982); Werner Sombart, *Why is There No Socialism in the United States?*, ed. C. T. Husbands, transl. P. M. Hocking (London, 1976).

[31] D. T. Rodgers, *The Work Ethic in Industrial America, 1850-1920* (Chicago, London, 1974).

[32] D. K. Müller, *Sozialstruktur und Schulsystem: Aspekte zum Strukturwandel des Schulwesens im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1977), 179-89, 264-68, 279-87; H. Titze, *Die Politisierung der Erziehung: Untersuchungen über die soziale und politische Funktion der Erziehung von der Aufklärung bis zum Hochkapitalismus* (Frankfurt a. M., 1973), 129-30, 138-44, 262-73; F. Fürstenberg, *Das Aufstiegsproblem in der modernen Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1962), 13-33.

[33] Fürstenberg, 15.

[34] Rodgers, *The Work Ethic*, 154.

[35] Helbich, *"Amerika ist ein freies Land . . . ,"* 88.

[36] Ibid., 98.

[37] Ibid., 95.

[38] Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York, 1985).

[39] Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York, 1964); Milton M. Gordon, *Human Nature, Class, and Ethnicity* (New York, 1978).

[40] Hartmut Esser, *Aspekte der Wanderungssoziologie: Assimilation und Integration von Wanderern, ethnischen Gruppen und Minderheiten: Eine handlungstheoretische Analyse* (Darmstadt, 1980).

Günter Moltmann

Schubarts *Kaplied* von 1787 und die Entstehung des weltlichen Auswandererliedes in Deutschland

Weshalb sollte sich ein Historiker mit Liedern befassen?[1] Sind nicht Literaturwissenschaftler, Musikologen oder Liederforscher zuständiger für Dichtung und Klang? Die Antwort fällt nicht schwer: Lieder sind aufschlußreiche historische Quellen, sie sind Ausdruck populärer Sentiments, sie können antreibende Faktoren bei historischen Entwicklungen sein. Hier sei nur erinnert an die *Marseillaise* als Freiheitsgesang der Französischen Revolution, die *Wacht am Rhein* als Gesang des deutschen Nationalismus oder die *Internationale* als Kampflied der sozialistischen Arbeiterbewegung. Für Auswandererlieder gilt dasselbe. Auch sie gehören zu den historischen Quellen, auch sie sind Ausdruck populärer Sentiments, auch sie können historische Vorgänge mitbewegt, mindestens mitbegleitet haben. Es lohnt sich darum für den Historiker, sie genauer unter die Lupe zu nehmen. Schubarts *Kaplied* ist ein gutes Beispiel dafür. Wer sich mit der Geschichte der deutschen Übersee-Auswanderung befaßt, stößt immer wieder auf dieses Lied. Es hat eine interessante Entstehungsgeschichte und markiert vielleicht eine wichtige Wende im Selbstverständnis deutscher Auswanderer nach Amerika.

Kein geringerer als Friedrich List, der bekannte deutsche Nationalökonom in der ersten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, hat überliefert, wie dieses Lied einmal gesungen wurde. 1789 geboren, vertrat List in Württemberg liberale Staats- und Wirtschaftsideen, wurde wegen angeblich staatsfeindlicher Betätigung seit 1821 verfolgt, schließlich zu Festungshaft verurteilt, wanderte gezwungenermaßen 1825 nach Amerika aus, kehrte 1832 als amerikanischer Konsul nach Deutschland zurück, forderte unermüdlich volkswirtschaftliche Innovationen, fand aber nicht genug Resonanz für seine Ideen und nahm sich 1846 das Leben. Als List auswanderte—er reiste mit seiner Familie von der Pfalz durch Frankreich nach Le Havre—schrieb er in sein Tagebuch:

> Heute sollten wir Deutschland verlassen und alles, alles, was uns lieb und teuer darinnen gewesen, ach! vielleicht auf immer, und hinausziehen über das Weltmeer; vielleicht eines unserer Teuren in den Wellen begraben sehen; vielleicht wegsterben von ihnen mit dem herzzermalmenden Schmerz, sie allein zurückzulassen im fremden Lande. — So saßen wir da, jedes in seinem Schmerz, keines wagte aufzublicken, aus Furcht, dem anderen sein Inneres zu verraten. Da stimmten die Kinder das Lied an: Auf, auf, ihr Brüder und seid stark etc. Wir ziehen über Land und Meer nach Nordamerika, — und nun war es uns unmöglich, unseren Schmerz länger zu verhalten.[2]

Ähnlich wie Friedrich List dürfte es vielen Auswanderern ergangen sein. Wenige Jahre zuvor, 1816/17, waren Zehntausende von Deutschen aus dem Südwesten ihres Landes nach Rußland und nach Nordamerika ausgezogen, um in der Fremde ein besseres Leben zu beginnen. Die wirtschaftliche Not hatte sie dazu gedrängt. Sie wußten, daß die große Reise, vor allem wenn der Ozean überquert werden sollte, ein erhebliches Risiko darstellte—anders als heute, wo Touristen in sieben Stunden von Frankfurt nach New York fliegen. List hatte 1817 als Rechnungsrat der württembergischen Regierung im Auftrage des Königs Hunderte von Auswanderern bei der Abfahrt am Neckar nach den Gründen ihres Fortzuges befragt und viel von der Not, die hinter ihnen lag, und der Furcht, mit der sie in die Zukunft schauten, erfahren.[3] Nun war er selbst in die Lage des Auswanderers geraten und brachte mit seinen Angehörigen Empfindungen zum Ausdruck, die typisch für die Stimmung damaliger Amerikafahrer gewesen sein dürften: "Auf, auf, ihr Brüder, und seid stark!"

Das von der Familie List gesungene Lied war 1825 bereits achtunddreißig Jahre alt. Es handelte sich dabei um das von Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart 1787 gedichtete und vertonte *Kaplied*. Seine Entstehungsgeschichte ist bekannt. Vorweg sei bemerkt, daß das *Kaplied* ursprünglich kein Auswandererlied war, mehr noch, daß es gar nicht Nordamerika betraf, sondern Südafrika, genauer: das Kap der Guten Hoffnung. Daher kommt der Name *Kaplied*.

Schubart war, als er das *Kaplied* schrieb, im zehnten und letzten Jahr Gefangener des württembergischen Herzogs Karl Eugen und saß auf der Festung Hohenasperg unweit Stuttgarts. Durch seine respektlose Kritik an Adelsherrschaft und Kirchenregiment, an Zügellosigkeit und Libertinage des Herzogs hatte er den Zorn des Willkürherrschers erregt, weshalb dieser ihn aus Ulm entführen und einkerkern ließ. In den letzten Jahren seiner Gefangenschaft besaß er jedoch Kontakte zur Außenwelt und war informiert über das, was draußen vor sich ging. So wußte er auch, daß Karl Eugen in den Jahren 1786 und 1787 ein Regiment Soldaten an die Niederländisch-Ostindische Kompanie verkaufte, also einen Soldatenhandel tätigte, wie er wenige Jahre zuvor, während des amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges, von Landgraf Friedrich II. von Hessen und anderen deutschen Fürsten zugunsten Englands in großem Umfang stattgefunden hatte.[4]

Karl Eugen hatte sich in einem Subsidienvertrag verpflichtet, eine kampfbereite Truppe von fast zweitausend Soldaten zu stellen: ein Regiment mit zwei Bataillonen zu je fünf Kompanien Infanterie und zusätzlich eine Artilleriekompanie. Dafür zahlte ihm die Niederländisch-Ostindische Kompanie rund 300000 Gulden sowie weitere Beträge für den Transport und späteren Ersatz an Mannschaften zum Ausgleich von Verlusten. Durch dieses Geschäft konnte der Herzog seine leere Staatskasse auffüllen, während die niederländische Kompanie das Kap der Guten Hoffnung, wichtige Zwischenstation auf dem Wege nach Ostindien, gegen Übergriffe der Engländer militärisch absicherte.[5]

Am 22. Februar 1787 schrieb Schubart an den Berliner Buchhändler Himburg:

> Künftigen Montag geht das aufs Vorgebirg der guten Hoffnung bestimmte würtembergische Regiment ab. Der Abzug wird einem Leichenconducte gleichen, denn Eltern, Ehemänner, Liebhaber, Geschwister, Freunde verlieren ihre Söhne, Weiber, Liebchen, Brüder, Freunde— wahrscheinlich auf immer. Ich hab' ein paar Klaglieder auf diese Gelegenheit verfertigt, um Trost und Muth in manches zagende Herz auszugießen.[6]

Schubart hatte in der Tat einige Wochen vorher zwei Lieder verfaßt, drucken lassen und als Flugblatt unter die Menge gebracht.[7] Es ist anzunehmen, daß am Tage des Auszugs des ersten Bataillons aus Ludwigsburg, am 27. Februar, Soldaten und Angehörige die Lieder kannten. Vor allem dasjenige mit dem Eingangsvers "Auf, auf ihr Brüder, und seid stark . . . !" wurde schnell populär.

Das Lied umfaßt zwölf Strophen. Am Anfang steht die Aufforderung, am Abschiedstage stark zu sein und den Seelenschmerz zu überwinden, der mit dem Auszug in die weite, ungewisse und ungewohnte Ferne verbunden sei. In drei weiteren Strophen wird der Abschied in seiner Schwere ausgemalt: Teure Bande zum Vaterland würden zerrissen, der Abschied von der Familie verschlüge die Sprache, und die Trennung von der Geliebten sei schmerzlich. Diese bedrückende Stimmung könne, so sagt es die fünfte Strophe, durch Trommelwirbel und Marschmusik überwunden werden. Es folgen drei Strophen des Trostes: Freundschaft sei ewig, und Gott sei überall. Der Abschied vom Vaterland lasse sich mit dem Dank für die Fürsorge der alten Heimat verbinden. Die letzten vier Strophen handeln von der Ankunft und dem zukünftigen Schicksal am Kap der Guten Hoffnung: Im Anblick des Tafelberges werde man das neue Land begrüßen. Auch im fernen Land würden Deutsche brave und gute Leute sein. Beim Trunk des Weines würde sich allerdings Sehnsucht nach der Heimat einstellen.

> Auf, auf! ihr Brüder und seid stark,
> Der Abschiedstag ist da!
> Schwer liegt er auf der Seele, schwer!

Wir sollen über Land und Meer
Ins heiße Afrika.

Ein dichter Kreis von Lieben steht,
Ihr Brüder, um uns her:
Uns knüpft so manches theure Band
An unser deutsches Vaterland,
Drum fällt der Abschied schwer.

Dem bieten graue Eltern noch
Zum letzten Mal die Hand;
Den kosen Bruder, Schwester, Freund;
Und alles schweigt, und alles weint,
Totblaß von uns gewandt.

Und wie ein Geist schlingt um den Hals
Das Liebchen sich herum:
Willst mich verlassen, liebes Herz,
Auf ewig? und der bittre Schmerz
Macht's arme Liebchen stumm.

Ist hart! drum wirble du, Tambour,
Den Generalmarsch drein.
Der Abschied macht uns sonst zu weich,
Wir weinen kleinen Kindern gleich;
Es muß geschieden sein.

Lebt wohl, ihr Freunde! Sehn wir uns
Vielleicht zum letzten Mal,
So denkt, nicht für die kurze Zeit,
Freundschaft ist für die Ewigkeit,
Und Gott ist überall.

An Deutschlands Grenze füllen wir
Mit Erde unsre Hand,
Und küssen sie, das sei der Dank
Für deine Pflege, Speis' und Trank,
Du liebes Vaterland!

Wenn dann die Meereswoge sich
An unsern Schiffen bricht,
So segeln wir gelassen fort;
Denn Gott ist hier und Gott ist dort,
Und der verläßt uns nicht!

Und ha, wenn sich der Tafelberg
Aus blauen Düften hebt,
So strecken wir empor die Hand,

Und jauchzen: Land! ihr Brüder, Land!
Daß unser Schiff erbebt.

Und wenn Soldat und Offizier
Gesund ans Ufer springt,
Dann jubeln wir, ihr Brüder, ha!
Nun sind wir ja in Afrika.
Und alles dankt und singt.

Wir leben drauf in fernem Land
Als Deutsche brav und gut,
Und sagen soll man weit und breit
Die Deutschen sind doch brave Leut',
Sie haben Geist und Muth.

Und trinken auf dem Hoffnungskap
Wir seinen Götterwein,
So denken wir, von Sehnsucht weich,
Ihr fernen Freunde, dann an euch;
Und Thränen fließen drein.[8]

Wie erklären sich die starke Wirkung dieses Liedes und seine Popularität? David Friedrich Strauß, der Biograph Schubarts, wies auf persönliche Bezüge zwischen Dichter und Geschehen hin:

> Unter den Officieren, die mit diesem Regiment der Heimath Lebewohl sagten, waren mehrere vieljährige Asperger Freunde des Dichters; woraus sich die rührende Innigkeit des Textes wie der Melodie erklärt, die uns noch heute beim Singen dieses Liedes unwiderstehlich ergreift. Von der schmählichen Veranlassung dieses Abschieds mußte der gefangene Dichter . . . natürlich absehen; was aber dadurch dem Liede an historisch-politischer Bedeutsamkeit entging, wuchs ihm an allgemein menschlicher zu.[9]

Damit ist ein wichtiges Moment genannt. Das *Kaplied* war kein politisches Lied, kein Protestlied gegen Fürstenwillkür und Soldatenhandel. Das *Kaplied* war auch kein Soldatenlied, wie es die hessischen Söldner während des nordamerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskrieges gesungen hatten, etwa "Frisch auf, ihr Brüder, in's Gewehr! / 's geht nach Amerika!" oder "Wer will mit, nach Amerika, nach Amerika? / Die Hannoveraner sind schon da . . ." oder "Ein Schifflein sah ich fahren, / Kapitän und Leutenant, / Darinnen war'n geladen / drei brave Kompanien Soldaten . . .". Schließlich war das *Kaplied* auch kein geistliches Lied, kein Kirchengesang. Gottes Gegenwart könne die Seele stärken, heißt es zwar zweimal im Lied, aber Gottvertrauen steht nicht im Mittelpunkt der Aussage. Der Inhalt des Liedes trifft schlicht und unmittelbar die menschliche Situation, die Seelenverfassung der Betroffenen, die Stimmung der ausziehenden Soldaten. Und dann ist in ihm auch ein nationaler Ton zu vernehmen. Vom "deutschen Vaterland" ist die Rede, vom "lieben Vaterland", dem sich die Soldaten

verbunden fühlten. Dieses Motiv weist voraus auf das neunzehnte Jahrhundert, es war in Deutschland im achtzehnten Jahrhundert noch relativ selten zu hören.

Ob auch die Melodie, die Schubart dem Liede gab, so "unwiderstehlich" war, wie David Friedrich Strauß meinte, erscheint allerdings fraglich. In der ursprünglichen Fassung war sie gar nicht einfach. Der Tonumfang war groß und das Tempo schnell. Das Lied ist später in vereinfachter Melodie gesungen worden. Möglicherweise gab es schon 1787 eine einfachere Version.[10]

Wie konnte aus dem *Kaplied* ein Lied der Auswanderer nach Nordamerika werden? Auf welche Weise sich der Transformationsprozeß tatsächlich vollzogen hat, wann das *Kaplied* zum Amerikalied umgedichtet wurde und warum es dazu kam, läßt sich wohl nicht mehr rekonstruieren. Jedoch ist der Zusammenhang gut vorstellbar. Es war ein leichtes, das im Lied genannte Zielland Afrika mit Amerika zu vertauschen. In manchen Fassungen blieb das auf Afrika, aber nicht eigentlich auf Nordamerika passende Adjektiv "heiß" sogar stehen, so daß die erste Strophe endete: "Wir müssen über Land und Meer / Nach heiß Amerika."[11] Auch die fünfte Strophe, die vom Trommelwirbel und von Marschmusik handelte, wurde von den Auswanderern gelegentlich weiter gesungen, obwohl sie im Rahmen des Auswanderungserlebnisses nicht sehr sinnvoll war. Kein Auswanderertrupp zog mit Trommeln und Trompeten von Deutschland fort, um nach Amerika zu gehen. Alle Strophen, die sich ausführlicher auf Südafrika, das Kap der Guten Hoffnung und den Tafelberg bezogen, die Strophen neun, zehn und zwölf, mußten freilich fortfallen.

Die Reststrophen paßten in Inhalt und Stimmungslage so genau auf die Situation Abschied nehmender Auswanderer, daß sie von diesen ohne Änderungen gesungen werden konnten. Darin ist der Grund für die Übernahme des *Kapliedes* zu sehen. Auswanderer bedurften wie die Kap-Soldaten der Stärke, um den Seelenschmerz zu überwinden. Ihr Abschied vom Vaterland, von der Familie, von Freunden und Geliebten war dem der Soldaten durchaus gleichzusetzen. Auch sie wußten nicht, wie es ihnen in der Fremde ergehen würde, und ein Wiedersehen mit der Heimat war damals und durch das neunzehnte Jahrhundert hindurch für die meisten Amerikafahrer höchst unwahrscheinlich. Die Trost sprechenden Strophen sechs, sieben, acht sowie die Strophe elf mit der Versicherung, daß Deutsche auch im fernen Land "brav und gut" leben würden, waren der Auswanderungssituation ebenfalls angemessen. Soldatenverkauf, Soldatenwerbung und Auszug von Kompanien, Bataillonen und Regimentern in überseeische Gebiete, all das gab es im Deutschland des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts allerdings nicht mehr. Wohl wurde das *Kaplied* auch in seiner ursprünglichen Form noch weiter gesungen, aber Zweck und Motiv im Sinne Schubarts waren nicht mehr gegeben. Dafür trat ersatzweise die Auswandererssituation ein, auf die es ideal paßte. Das Tagebuch Friedrich Lists bezeugt das.

In einer fünfstrophigen Version des zum Auswandererlied umfunktionierten *Kapliedes*, die in handschriftlichen Liederbüchern aus der

Pfalz—Freisbach (1846) und Herschweiler-Pettersheim (undatiert)—aufgezeichnet ist, lautet die erste Strophe:

> Lebt wohl, ihr Brüder, lebet wohl!
> Der Abschiedstag ist da.
> Schwer liegt er auf der Seele schwer,
> Wir geh'n jetzt über Land und Meer,
> Hin nach Amerika.

Dann folgen die Strophen zwei, drei, sechs und sieben des ursprünglichen *Kapliedes* mit nur geringfügigen Änderungen.[12]

Für die Popularität des Schubartschen "Amerika-Liedes"—wenn man es so nennen darf—spricht die Tatsache, daß es auch aus anderen Gegenden als der Pfalz, etwa aus Hessen und der Schweiz, handschriftlich überliefert ist.[13] Offenbar war es in den 1830er, 1840er und 1850er Jahren ein Lieblingslied südwestdeutscher Auswanderer, weit verbreitet, jedermann bekannt und vielfach gesungen. Dabei war es nur natürlich, daß sich manche Varianten herausbildeten. Auch gab es Lieder mit anderen Aussagen, die aber in Formulierungen und Inhalten deutlich Anklänge an Schubarts Lied aufwiesen, zum Beispiel: "Auf, ihr Brüder, laßt uns reisen / Fröhlich nach Amerika", oder "Auf ihr Brüder, laßt uns ziehen / Unser Schein ist schon geschrieben!" ("Schein" ist offenbar eine Anspielung auf die Auswanderungserlaubnis), oder "Frisch auf ihr Brüder, mit heitrem Sinn / Segeln wir nach Brasilien hin", oder "Mit frohem Muth, hört, meine Brüder, / Gehts nach Amerika hinüber!"[14] Mehr oder minder steckt in all diesen Liedern die Tendenz des Sich-selbst-Mut-Machens, der Selbstüberwindung, wenn auch die meisten fröhlicher klingen als das *Kaplied*.

Gelegentlich waren an Schubarts Lied anklingende Weisen stärker religiös akzentuiert, zum Beispiel folgender Liedtext: "Auf Brüder, auf zur Reise, / Hin nach Amerika. / Gott, der allgut und weise / Er ist ja stets uns nah!"[15] Häufiger läßt sich jedoch eine stärkere Verweltlichungstendenz erkennen, etwa so: "Auf, auf, ihr Leutchen, groß und klein, / Fahrt nach der neuen Welt, / Fahrt nach Amerika hinein, / Denn dort verdient ihr Geld. / Und hat man Geld, dann ist man froh, / In diesem Erdenthal, / Und dieses war ja immer so, / Und ist es noch zumal."[16] Schließlich sei noch erwähnt, daß es Lieder anderen Inhalts gab, die aber nach der Melodie des *Kapliedes* gesungen wurden, zum Beispiel: "Glück auf, der Abschiedstag ist da, / Seyd munter und seyd froh! / Zwar ward auch uns die Trennung schwer, / Doch schrecket uns nicht Land, nicht Meer, / Wir ziehn nach Mexiko." Dieses Lied wurde von deutschen Bergleuten gesungen, die nach Mexiko auswanderten.[17] Offenbar regte das Schubartsche Lied nicht nur zur Wiederholung an, sondern auch zur Weiterentwicklung und Veränderung seines Textes und zur Übernahme der Melodie beim Singen anderer Lieder. Es war Ausgangspunkt eines weit verzweigten Liedgutes, das—von Ausnahmen abgesehen—fortschreitende Verweltlichungs- und auch Verflachungstendenzen aufwies. Das *Kaplied* kann als Archetypus für eine im neunzehnten Jahrhundert sich differenzierende Liedtradition gelten,

in der seelische und materielle Motive in einem breiten Spektrum zum Ausdruck kamen.

In seiner Entstehungszeit, in den 1780er Jahren, war das *Kaplied* aufregend und neuartig. Darin lag seine besondere Wirkung. Auswandererlieder hatte es zuvor auch gegeben, sogar in größerer Zahl. Deren Ursprünge reichten manchmal weit zurück, ins siebzehnte oder sechzehnte Jahrhundert. Die Überlieferung ist lückenhaft, aber der erhaltene Bestand läßt deutlich erkennen, daß Lieder des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts einen anderen Charakter hatten als die der späteren Zeit. Es waren geistliche Lieder oder weltliche Lieder mit stark religiösen Bezügen. Die menschliche Gefühlswelt kam nicht unmittelbar zum Ausdruck wie im *Kaplied,* sondern war eingebettet in den Glauben an Gottes Fügung. Es waren Klage- und Trostlieder, die die Auswanderer sangen. Sie waren dem kirchlichen Liedgut mehr oder minder eng verhaftet, ganz besonders dem protestantischen Kirchenlied. Gruppenauswanderung im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert war oft Dissidentenauszug. Abweichler von der Konfession des Landesherrn, die dem Grundsatz *cuius regio eius religio* nicht folgen wollten, nutzten das *ius emigrandi* oder wurden, wie im Falle der Salzburger, vertrieben. Abweichler von einer der großen Kirchen, der katholischen oder lutherischen, wichen staatlicher und kirchlicher Intoleranz und wanderten fort. Ihr Glaube fand in Liedern ergreifenden Ausdruck.

Ein gutes Beispiel hierfür ist das Salzburger Exulantenlied, vierzehn Strophen umfassend, geschrieben von Joseph Schaitberger im Jahre des ersten Salzburger Protestantenexodus, 1686. Es beginnt mit den Worten: "Ich bin ein armer Exulant, / Also muß ich mich schreiben. / Man tut mich aus dem Vaterland / Um Gotteswort vertreiben." Dann folgt Strophe für Strophe die Klage über das Vertreibungs- und Auswanderungsschicksal, die Anrufung Gottes, die Ergebung in das Schicksal und die feste Erwartung zukünftiger Erlösung. Die siebte Strophe lautet: "Ob mir der Satan und die Welt / All mein Vermögen rauben; / Wann ich nur diesen Schatz behalt: / Gott und den rechten Glauben." Und die dreizehnte Strophe: "Soll ich in diesem Jammertal / Noch lang in Armut leben, / Gott wird mir dort im Himmelssaal / Ein bess're Wohnung geben."[18] Das Exulantenlied wurde sechsundvierzig Jahre später, während der großen Salzburger Vertreibung von 1732, erneut gedruckt und offenbar von den Fortziehenden gern gesungen. Man darf unterstellen, daß auch die nach Georgia auswandernden Salzburger damals dieses Lied kannten und sangen.

Freilich waren nicht alle Auswanderer dieser Zeit religiöse Dissidenten. Existenznot und wirtschaftliches Elend trieben viele in die Fremde. Der Dreißigjährige Krieg und andere Konvulsionen, die das Land verheerten, verursachten erhebliche Bevölkerungsbewegungen, zunächst innerhalb Europas, im achtzehnten Jahrhundert aber auch über See, nach Amerika. Agrarkrisen, wirtschaftliche Not und soziales Elend wirkten als Push-Faktoren. Amerika erschien als Land, wo es sich besser leben ließ. Lieder, die diese nicht religiös motivierten Auswanderer sangen, sind kaum überliefert. 1742 wurde in Bern das Lied eines

Auswanderers aus dem Kanton Appenzell veröffentlicht, der nach Carolina gegangen war und bitter über sein Los als *indentured servant* klagte. Die ersten acht der insgesamt neun Strophen sind dieser Klage gewidmet: alle Freiheit sei hin, er sei ein Sklave, die Welt sei betrogen, er litte Hitze, Kälte, Hunger und Lebensgefahr bei Nacht und bei Tag, er sei ein armer Mann, habe keine Hoffnung mehr, aus Carolina herauszukommen, Arbeitsschweiß bereite ihm Pein, Arbeitsscheue könnten dort noch Versäumtes nachholen. In der letzten Strophe schlägt dann aber der religiöse Ton voll durch: "Wir alle seuffzen auf zu Gott, / Dem Vatter im Himmels-Thron, / Stehe uns bey in dieser Noth / Durch Jesum Deinen Sohn. / Schick uns Gnad, Stärck und Beystand,/ Löß uns auf von dem Joch und Band / Ins Himmels-Vatterland, Amen."[19] Die Struktur des Klage-Trost-Liedes ist auch hier gewahrt, nur daß die Darstellung des beklagenswerten Zustandes des Ausgewanderten sehr viel mehr Raum einnimmt als die Anrufung Gottes.

Das religiöse Auswandererlied verschwand nicht mit dem Einsetzen der *Kaplied*-Tradition, sondern lebte fort. Auch für das neunzehnte Jahrhundert ist es noch vielfach bezeugt. 1803 erschienen in der Schweiz *Zwey Auswanderungs-Lieder für die in Amerika ziehenden Landleute aus dem Kanton Basel aufgesetzt von einem ihrer Reisegefährten* sowie das *Abschieds-Lied der nach America reisenden Landleuten des Cantons Basel.*[20] Das erste hat sechsundzwanzig, das zweite fünfzehn und das dritte acht Strophen. Ob sie je gesungen wurden, läßt sich nicht feststellen. Sie dürften aber doch die Mentalität der damals nach Amerika fortziehenden Schweizer widerspiegeln. Inhalt und Diktion des ersten der drei Lieder sind ganz von religiösem Geist durchdrungen. Zwar kommt neben der Klage über die Trennung von der Heimat auch Protest gegen die Heuchelei der Reichen, die den Armen nicht helfen, zum Ausdruck, soziales Aufbegehren also (Strophe fünf); aber dieser revolutionäre Ton wird später aufgefangen und konterkariert, etwa in Strophe fünfzehn: "Ach besih in deinem Auge / Deinen Balken, den du hast, / Vielleicht hast du gnug an deinem, / Eh du deinen Bruder haß'st." Im zweiten Lied wird revolutionärer Geist als Verstoß gegen die Gottesordnung geradezu verurteilt: "Ach wir meinten auf der Erden, / Es soll' bey uns besser werden; / *Freyheit! Gleichheit!* jeder wollt', / *Aber es hat weit gefehlt.*" Zwar sei die Freiheit gekommen, aber damit auch mehr Schlechtigkeit, und Gottes Wort fände täglich weniger Beachtung. Der Auszug nach Pennsylvania sei die Abwendung vom Bösen und die Hinwendung zu Gott. Das dritte Lied enthält ähnliche Gedanken.

Aus dem folgenden Jahr, 1804, sind drei Rappisten-Lieder überliefert, Lieder aus der pietistisch-apokalyptischen Gemeinschaft Georg Rapps, deren Anhänger in Harmony, Pennsylvania, in New Harmony, Indiana, und in Economy, Pennsylvania, ein Leben in Gütergemeinschaft und Ehelosigkeit führten und Gottes Wiederkehr auf Erden erwarteten. Sie sind liedgeschichtlich besonders interessant. In den Eingangsversen erinnern sie an das *Kaplied* und sind sicher von diesem beeinflußt: "Brüder theure Bundes Brüder / Freuet euch", "Auf auf schwingt euch zum Grund / Wo Gott sich finden läßt" und "Auf Brüder es ist da, die Zeit daß wir abreissen / Nach Nord America, in das

gelobte Land''. Ansonsten aber sind sie ganz religiös geprägt und auf die Heilslehre Georg Rapps hin orientiert, das heißt weniger Klage und Trost als Zuversicht, Selbstsicherheit und Freude über das kommende Gottesreich auf Erden: ''Brüder theure Bundes Brüder / Freuet euch / Singt dem Herren neue Lieder / Der sein Reich / In Amerika aufrichtet / Und Europa ganz vernichtet, / Brüder eilt.''[21]

Das letzte Beispiel zeigt die Langlebigkeit eines im siebzehnten Jahrhundert entstandenen geistlichen Auswandererliedes, das bis ins späte neunzehnte Jahrhundert weiter tradiert wurde. Altlutheraner aus Pommern, der Mark Brandenburg, Posen, Sachsen und Schlesien, die sich der Preußischen Unionskirche nicht beugen wollten, sangen es bei ihrem Auszug aus Deutschland auf dem Wege nach Australien und Nordamerika in den 1830er und 1840er Jahren. Das Lied hat sieben Strophen:

Hilf, lieber Gott! was Schmach und Spott muß doch dein Häuflein dulden,
Das gläubig ist an Jesum Christ, auch ohne sein Verschulden!
Jud', Türk' und Heid' kann jederzeit gar wohl gelitten werden;
Nur die Gemein', da Christen sein, hat nirgend Raum auf Erden.

Das macht, Herr Christ, des Teufels List in diesen letzten Zeiten,
Da er durch Mord und Lügenwort die Kirche will bestreiten;
Und das weiß dann der Höllenmann fein artig durchzutreiben,
Das Wort des Herrn kann nah und fern in aller Welt nicht bleiben.

Doch ist's die Art der Kirchenfahrt, die, wie des Noahs Kasten,
Schwebt hin und her auf wildem Meer und kann fast nirgend rasten;
Luft, Wasser, Wind und solch Gesind' sind stetig ihr entgegen:
Doch muß sofort auf Christi Wort sich Wind und Wetter legen.

Er hält das Schiff mit einem Griff, und wenn es scheint, er schlafe,
So wacht er doch und sorget noch für seine armen Schafe,
Und ist bereit, zur rechten Zeit mit Hilfe beizuspringen,
Vornehmlich dann, wenn jedermann will mit dem Tode ringen.

Wirf hin und her, du tolles Meer, das Schiff mit deinen Wellen!
Gott kann die Flut und tolle Mut gar bald zufrieden stellen.
Brauch deine List, du Antichrist, samt allen Höllenpforten,
Und sei bedacht auf List und Macht; doch bleibt's bei Christi Worten.

Dies Schifflein muß durch viel Verdruß zwar öfters sein gekränket;
Doch wird's nicht gar in der Gefahr zum Abgrund eingesenket.
Denn seine Hand hält es imstand, auch wenn es gleich schon sinket;
Gott hält die Weis', daß auf der Reis' kein gläubig Herz ertrinket.

Es ist nicht fern der Morgenstern, das Licht ist schon vorhanden;
Auch ist das Land gar wohl bekannt, woselbst das Schiff soll landen;

Des Heilands Wort zeigt uns den Port, da er vorangegangen;
Der helf' uns nach, daß allgemach wir auch dahin gelangen.[22]

Nicht individuelles Schicksal wird in diesem Lied beklagt, sondern die Notlage der Kirche als Gemeinde und Institution. Der Teufel bekämpfe die Kirche mit Mord und Lügenwort. Das Wort des Herrn könne nicht mehr gehört werden. Dann wird die Kirche—in barocker Manier—mit einem Schiff verglichen, das Wind und Wellen ausgesetzt sei, hin und her geworfen werde und zu sinken drohe, das aber doch immer fest in Gottes Hand bleibe und am Ende den sicheren Port erreichen werde. Das Bild vom Schiff, dem die Kirche gleiche, ist rückbezogen auf die Geschichte von der Fahrt über das Meer und die Stillung des Sturms, Jesu Wundertat, von der das Neue Testament berichtet (Matth. 8:23-34). Die Altlutheraner mochten dabei auch ganz konkret an die ihnen bevorstehende Seefahrt über das Meer nach Australien und Nordamerika gedacht haben. So traf das Lied in zweifacher Weise die Vorstellungen der Auswanderer.

Das Lied findet sich in allen Auflagen des im achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhundert in Pommern benutzten Bollhagenschen Gesangbuchs.[23] Sein Verfasser war, wie stets angegeben, Fridericus Fabricius, ein lutherischer Theologe, 1642 in Stettin geboren, später Pastor der dortigen Nicolai-Kirche, 1703 gestorben. Von ihm erschien unter anderem im Jahre 1688 ein Band *Geistliche Lieder,* in dem der Gesang "Hilf, lieber Gott, was Schmach und Spott muß doch dein Häuflein dulden" enthalten ist.[24] Fabricius war jedoch nicht der Urheber dieses Liedes. Er hatte nur ein älteres Lied in eine neue Form gegossen. Der ganze Titel dieses Bandes lautet in barocker Umständlichkeit: *Geistliche Lieder / Auß Seel. Herrn D. Josua Stegmans Hertzens-Seufftzern genommen / Nach heutiger Reim-Art in etwas geändert / Theils auff allgemeinen / theils auff eigenen privat-Zustand gezogen / Und in der Hafft verfertigt.* Was es mit der Haft des Fabricius auf sich hatte, muß offenbleiben, braucht hier auch nicht zu interessieren. Wichtiger ist der Hinweis, daß Fabricius das Lied dem Buch *Hertzens-Seufftzer* von Josua Stegman entnommen hatte, das 1628 in Rinteln in dritter Auflage erschienen war. Stegman, 1588 in Sülzfeld bei Meiningen geboren, 1632 gestorben, war Professor für Theologie an der Universität Rinteln. In den Notzeiten des Dreißigjährigen Krieges veröffentlichte er Erbauungsschriften mit Dichtungen, Gebeten und Liedern.[25] Das Auswandererlied der Altlutheraner aus der Mitte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts geht also zurück auf ein Lied aus den Notzeiten des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Fast dreihundert Jahre wurde es gesungen. Es ist Zeugnis für die Beständigkeit und Gleichförmigkeit von Vorstellungen und Mentalitäten von Wanderern, die Haus und Hof verlassen haben, schutzlos den Fährnissen der Reise ausgesetzt sind, sich aber in ihrem Gottvertrauen geborgen und geschützt fühlen: zeitloses Erlebnis des gläubigen Menschen, der sich unterwegs weiß von einer schlechten in eine bessere Welt.

Das religiöse Auswandererlied hat also das *Kaplied* und die mit ihm einsetzende weltliche Liedtradition lange überdauert. Es besaß jedoch

im neunzehnten Jahrhundert nicht mehr die große Bedeutung, die es im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert gehabt hatte. Es stellte nur eine Komponente im mittlerweile überwiegend weltlich geprägten Liederschatz der Auswanderer dar. Das *Kaplied* markiert sozusagen den Schnittpunkt zweier Entwicklungslinien, es drängte die bis 1787 vorherrschende geistliche Tradition zurück und ebnete den Weg für eine diesseitsbezogene Auswanderungsinterpretation. Anstelle der Gottbezogenheit traten irdisches Schicksal und individuelle Mentalität in den Vordergrund.

Die Vorgänge am Tage des Auszugs des ersten württembergischen Kap-Bataillons aus Ludwigsburg, am 27. Februar 1787, zeigen diese Übergangssituation und Schnittpunktlage wie unter einer Lupe. Der Ablauf der Ereignisse gestaltete sich wie folgt: Früh am Morgen dieses Tages, vor dem Abmarsch des Bataillons, hatte der Ludwigsburger Garnisonspfarrer einen Gottesdienst zu Ehren der scheidenden Soldaten abgehalten. Dieser Gottesdienst endete—das ist historisch überliefert—mit dem Absingen der letzten Strophe des Liedes "O Jerusalem, du schöne" von Philipp Friedrich Hiller (1699-1769).[26] Der Text lautet: "Alsdann werd' ich nicht ertrinken, / Christus ist mein Arm und Schild, / Und sein Schifflein kann nicht sinken, / Wär' das Meer auch noch so wild; / Obgleich Mast und Segel bricht, / Läßt doch Gott die Seinen nicht." Hier war die gleiche Schiffsmetapher verwandt, die das Stegman-Fabricius-Lied durchzogen hatte. Stärker noch als dort mag den Teilnehmern am Gottesdienst die bevorstehende lange Seefahrt mit all ihren Gefahren vor Augen gestanden haben. Ein geistliches Lied begleitete sie. Dann folgte der Ausmarsch unter lebhafter Anteilnahme der Ludwigsburger Bevölkerung. Der mitziehende Feldprediger Johann Friedrich Spoenlin schrieb damals in sein Tagebuch: "Wirklicher Abmarsch des Bataillons unter sehr gemischten Empfindungen der Soldaten selbst und der Zuschauer. Jeder, der fühlen kann, mag sich die Szene selbst ausmalen!"[27] Dabei war den Scheidenden und den Daheimbleibenden das *Kaplied* von Schubart gegenwärtig, das weltliche Lied mit seiner unvermittelten Stimmungsbeschreibung, seiner Aufforderung zur seelischen Stärke und Selbstüberwindung, mit seiner Vorschau auf ein erträgliches Leben—nicht im Gottesreich, sondern am Kap der Guten Hoffnung.

Will man verstehen, wieso es damals in der Entwicklung des Auswandererliedes zum Durchbruch eines neuen Dichtens und Singens gekommen ist, muß man den zeitgeschichtlichen Hintergrund und den geistesgeschichtlichen Kontext ins Auge fassen. Das *Kaplied* entstand zwischen der Amerikanischen und der Französischen Revolution, zwei außerdeutschen Vorgängen, die in Deutschland starken Widerhall fanden. Deutschland selbst erlebte nur die Fernwirkungen dieser Ereignisse, aber es gärte auch in seiner Gesellschaft. Aufklärung und Rationalismus hatten staatliche und kirchliche Ordnungskonzepte in Frage gestellt. Modernes Denken bahnte sich seinen Weg. Der Mensch stand im Mittelpunkt dieses Denkens, nicht mehr die Autorität von Institutionen. Die Säkularisierung des Auswandererliedes war Ausdruck der fortschreitenden Säkularisierung der abendländischen

Gesellschaft. Lange Zeit war menschliches Existieren eingebettet gewesen in höhere Ordnungssysteme, jetzt löste sich der Mensch aus diesen Fesseln, betonte seinen Selbstwert und scheute sich nicht, seinen Gefühlen differenziert Ausdruck zu geben. Er entdeckte seinen eigenen Willen, stellte sich vor, daß er seine Geschicke in eigene Hände nehmen könne, daß sich Schmerzen und Nöte mit eigener Seelenstärke überwinden ließen, daß er der Schmied seines Glückes sei und irdische Ziele anstreben und erreichen könne.

Die Säkularisierung des Menschen führte nicht überall zur politischen Revolution und zum Umsturz herkömmlicher Gewalten. In Deutschland tat man sich damit noch auf lange Zeit recht schwer. Theoretisch könnte man sich das *Kaplied* auch als Protestlied gegen den unmenschlichen Soldatenverkauf und gegen die Willkürherrschaft kleinstaatlicher Potentaten vorstellen. Schubart war immerhin ein Vertreter des Sturm und Drangs, ein Bewunderer von Revolutionen und ein scharfer Kritiker fürstlicher Tyrannei gewesen. In seiner Zeitschrift *Deutsche Chronik* war er für Toleranz, Humanität und Menschenrechte eingetreten. Das *Kaplied* aber entstand in der Festungshaft. Wie hätte er von dort her revolutionären Geist beschwören können, angenommen, er wäre nach zehnjähriger erniedrigender Haft tatsächlich noch Revolutionär gewesen?

Der neue Geist des *Kapliedes* spiegelt nicht revolutionäre Protesthaltung mit umstürzlerischer Zielsetzung wider, er bezeugt vielmehr eine Hinwendung zum Menschen, der mit seinen persönlichen Empfindungen, Schmerzen, Hoffnungen und Wünschen ernster genommen wurde. Nicht der Angriff auf Institutionen und Mächte, sondern die Aufwertung des bislang abhängig gewesenen Menschen fand hier statt. Schubarts Lied korrespondierte mit der Volksstimmung. Das Volk spürte, daß der Dichter es verstanden hatte, seiner Mentalität Ausdruck zu verleihen. Damit war das Tor zu einer neuen Art des Liedersingens im Auswanderungsprozeß geöffnet. Als die deutsche Amerikaauswanderung im neunzehnten Jahrhundert immer größeren Umfang annahm, als immer mehr Menschen ihre Heimat verließen, um jenseits des Ozeans eine bessere Welt aufzusuchen, da war es diesen Auswanderern möglich, unbeschwert von Konventionen all das in Liedern auszusprechen, was sie unmittelbar bewegte. Da entwickelte sich ein breites Spektrum unterschiedlicher Lieder, vielfach variierend in Inhalten und Melodien.

Eines dieser säkularen Lieder des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts war Samuel Friedrich Sauters "Jetzt ist die Zeit und Stunde da, / Wir reisen nach Amerika". Der badische Dorfschulmeister Sauter hat es am 12. Juni 1830 als "Abschiedslied für Auswanderer nach Amerika" verfaßt. Gedruckt wurde es 1845 in Karlsruhe.[28] War das auf Amerika umgeprägte *Kaplied* bis zur Jahrhundertmitte vielleicht das populärste deutsche Auswandererlied, so wurde es in dieser Rolle von Sauters Lied bald abgelöst. Unzählige Varianten entstanden.[29] Überall kannte man es. Noch im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert wurde es vielerorts gesungen. Dabei stand es in Formulierung und Aufbau deutlich in der Tradition des *Kapliedes*, ist gelegentlich sogar als "Parodie auf Schubarts Kaplied"

bezeichnet worden.[30] Der Abschied von der Heimat und die Vorschau auf das Zielland werden hier fröhlich besungen. Die Freunde sollten nur nicht weinen, man fürchte sich nicht. Nach der Überfahrt würde Amerika mit dem Ruf "Victoria" begrüßt. Dort sei alles wunderschön, dort könne man Deutschland vergessen. Eine Eichsfelder Version des Liedes von 1910 lautet folgendermaßen:

Jetzt ist die Zeit und Stunde da,
Wir reisen nach Amerika;
Der Wagen steht schon vor der Tür,
Mit Sack und Pack marschieren wir.

Ihr Freunde wohl und anverwandt,
Reicht mir zum letztenmal die Hand.
Ihr Freunde, weinet nicht so sehr,
Wir sehn uns nun und nimmermehr.

Und wenn das Schiff am Ufer steht,
So wird ein Liedchen angestimmt.
Wir fürchten keinen Wasserfall,
Wir denken, Gott ist überall.

Und sind wir dann in Baltimore,
So heben wir die Händ' empor
Und rufen dann "Victoria",
Jetzt sind wir in Amerika.

In Amerika, da ist es fein,
Da fließt der Wein zum Fenster rein.
Wir trinken eine Flasche Wein
Und lassen Deutschland Deutschland sein.

Und woll'n wir nun spazieren gehn
Im grünen Wald, wo Blumen stehn,
Da fand ich eine, die das spricht:
"Blaublümelein, Vergißmeinnicht!"[31]

Das Abschiedslied, in ernster oder heiterer Form, war freilich nur eine Art des Auswandererliedes. Daneben traten viele andere Arten. Es gab politisch-soziale Protestlieder mit der Aufforderung, nach Amerika zu gehen, um den unerträglichen Verhältnissen in Deutschland zu entkommen.[32] Es gab Werbelieder, vermutlich von cleveren Werbeagenten der Schiffahrtsgesellschaften verfaßt und unter die Auswanderer gebracht. Es gab Loblieder auf Amerika, Freiheitslieder, Reiseballaden, Goldsucherlieder und sozialistische Lieder. Oft mischten sich die Motive. Schwer nur lassen sich Kategorien aufstellen, um das ganze Liedgut zu erfassen. Neben positiven Auswandererliedern gab es negative, zum Beispiel Warnungslieder, die potentielle Amerikafahrer bewegen sollten, zu Hause zu bleiben, nach dem Motto "Bleibe im Lande und nähre dich redlich" (Psalm 37:3). Es gab Reiseballaden mit unglücklichem Ausgang, Moritaten, Bänkellieder, Schiffsuntergangslieder, Rückwanderungslieder.[33]

Selbst Ulklieder existierten und konnten Auswanderungsproblematik widerspiegeln: " 'Schorsch, du mußt jetzt nach Amerika', / Sprach der Vater einst zu mir, / 'Denn du liebst die dicke Lina, / Und das ist nicht nett von dir. / . . . / Weil die Lina evigelisch [*sic*] / Und der Schorsch katholisch war, / Wollten es die Eltern beide, / Und die ganze Sippschaft nicht.' "[34] Auch Kinderlieder konnten Auswandererlieder sein. So gibt es zu dem bekannten Lied "Hänschen klein" folgende für die Rheinprovinz 1915 belegte Variante: "Hänschen klein ging allein / In die weite Welt hinein, / Stock und Hut stehn ihm gut, / Wandert wohlgemut. / Doch die Mama weinet sehr, / Hat ja nun kein Hänschen mehr. / Da besinnt sich das Kind, / Kehrt zurück geschwind. / Liebe Mama, ich bin da, / Hänschen aus Amerika, / Ich bin hier, bleib bei Dir, / Freue dich mit mir!"[35]

Säkulare Auswandererlieder, denen Schubart den Weg gebahnt hatte, stellen eine Fundgrube für Sozialgeschichte und historische Mentalitätsforschung dar. Man braucht nur hineinzugreifen in das große Reservoir dieser aussagekräftigen Zeugnisse und kann dabei reizvolle Entdeckungen machen. Dafür die Augen ein wenig weiter zu öffnen, war die Absicht, die hinter diesen Ausführungen stand.

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Anmerkungen

[1] Überarbeitete Fassung einer *keynote address*, vorgetragen auf der Jahrestagung der Society for German-American Studies, Cincinnati, 25. April 1986.

[2] Friedrich List, *Schriften—Reden—Briefe*, Hg. Erwin v. Beckerath [u. a.], 10 Bde. (Berlin: Reimar Hobbing, 1927-35; Rpt. Aalen: Scientia, 1971), 8:52.

[3] Vgl. *Aufbruch nach Amerika: Friedrich List und die Auswanderung aus Baden und Württemberg 1816/17: Dokumente einer sozialen Bewegung*, Hg. Günter Moltmann (Tübingen: Hermann Leins, 1979), 120-87.

[4] Für Schubarts Biographie ist immer noch unentbehrlich *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Leben in seinen Briefen*, Hg. David Friedrich Strauß, 2 Bde. (Berlin: Duncker, 1849), hier bes. 2:178-79.

[5] Über diese Zusammenhänge informiert am besten Johannes Prinz, *Das Württembergische Kapregiment 1786-1802: Die Tragödie einer Söldnerschar* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder, 1932), 4-36.

[6] Strauß, *Schubart's Leben in seinen Briefen*, 2:281.

[7] *Zwei Lieder für das nach dem Kap bestimmte v. Hügelsche Regiment, nebst Musik* (Stuttgart, 1787).

[8] Text in *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubarts Gedichte: Historisch-kritische Ausgabe*, Hg. Gustav Hauff (Leipzig: Reclam, 1884), 109-11.

[9] Strauß, *Schubart's Leben in seinen Briefen*, 2:178-79.

[10] Die Melodie des *Kapliedes* in *Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart: Strophen für die Freiheit*, Hg. Peter Härtling (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1976), 85. Eine einfachere Melodie, gegenüber dem Original abgeschliffen und sangbarer, zum Beispiel in einer Aufzeichnung des Lehrers August Müller, Battenhausen (Kreis Frankenberg), 1905, Kurhessisches Archiv, Abschrift im Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, Freiburg i. Br., A 165956. Für wertvolle Hilfe bei der musikologischen Analyse des *Kapliedes* bin ich Frau Julika Koch, M. A., Hamburg, sehr zu Dank verpflichtet.

[11] Belegt in der in Anm. 10 genannten Fassung aus Battenhausen; ebenfalls in einer Fassung aus Gutenswil, Kanton Zürich, Schweizer Archiv, Abschrift im Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, A 23264.

[12] Nach Fritz Heeger, "Lebt wohl, ihr Brüder! Ein pfälzisches Auswandererlied und seine Herkunft," *Die Pfalz am Rhein*, Bd. 14 (15. Aug. 1931), 425, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Kapsel Vld fol.

[13] Wie Anm. 11.

[14] Texte der vier genannten Lieder in gleicher Reihenfolge: (1) *Schwäbische Volkslieder mit ausgewählten Melodien*, aus mündlicher Überlieferung gesammelt von Ernst Meier (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1855), 256; (2) "Aus dem Liedgut des dobrudschadeutschen 'Singers' Paul Ruscheinski," authentische Tonaufnahmen 1956-1973 von Johannes Künzig und Waltraud Werner, Melodie-Transkription und Kommentare: Gottfried Habenicht, 3 Langspielplatten, Institut für ostdeutsche Volkskunde, Freiburg i. Br.; (3) Liedblatt, gedruckt bei J. Kahlbrock, Hamburg, 1836; (4) Liedblatt, undatiert, Staatsbibliothek Oldenburg, Jahrmarktliteratur Reihe D, Neue Lieder 5. Texte 1, 2 und 4 auch im Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, Text 3 im Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte, Hamburger Volksliedsammlung, Bl. 6221.

[15] Text in *Sammlung deutscher Volkslieder, welche noch gegenwärtig im Munde des Volkes leben und in keiner der bisher erschienenen Sammlungen zu finden sind*, Hg. Willibald Walter (Leipzig: Rheinische Buchhandlung Karl Heubel, 1841), 179.

[16] Liedblatt "Die neueste Fahrt aus Deutschland nach Amerika," gedruckt bei J. J. Spiegel, undatiert, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Bl. 3586.

[17] Liedblatt "Zwei neue Lieder," gedruckt bei Langhans, Hamburg, undatiert, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, Bl. 1650.

[18] Text in *Reformation—Emigration: Protestanten in Salzburg*, Ausstellungskatalog (Salzburg: Amt der Salzburger Landesregierung—Kulturabteilung, 1981), 259; dazu Gerhard Walterskirchen, "Das protestantische Lied in Salzburg," ebd., 146-50, bes. 147. Mundartliche Fassung bei Angelika Marsch, *Die Salzburger Emigration in Bildern* (Weißenborn, Bayern: Anton H. Konrad, 1979), 18-19.

[19] Text bei Leo Schelbert und Hedwig Rappolt, *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererschicksale in Briefen aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten: Walter-Verlag, 1977), 87-88.

[20] Liedblatt, ohne Ortsangabe, "Gedruckt im Jenner, 1803." Stadtarchiv Basel.

[21] Texte in *Georg Rapp's Separatists / Georg Rapps Separatisten, 1700-1803: A Documentary History*, Hg. Karl J. R. Arndt (Worcester: Harmony Society Press, 1980), 441-49.

[22] Der Text des Liedes ist mehrfach in der Literatur zur Auswanderung der Altlutheraner abgedruckt, z. B. bei Johann Nagel, *Die Errettung der Evang.-lutherischen Kirche in Preußen von 1817-1845* (Elberfeld: Verlag des Lutherischen Büchervereins, 1867, 3. Aufl., 1905), 148-49; Wilhelm Iwan, *Um des Glaubens willen nach Australien: Eine Episode deutscher Auswanderung* (Breslau: Verlag des Luth. Büchervereins, 1931), 41-42.

[23] Laurent. David Bollhagen, *Heiliges Lippen- und Herzens-Opfer einer gläubigen Seele, oder vollständiges Gesangbuch, enthält in sich die neuesten und alten Lieder des seligen Dr. Luther und anderer erleuchteten Lehrer unserer Zeit: Zur Beförderung der Gottseligkeit beim öffentlichen Gottesdienst in Pommern . . .* (Alt-Stettin: R. Graßmann, 1886), 437-38. Frühere Auflagen u. a. 1726, 1743, 1862.

[24] Fridericus Fabricius, *Geistliche Lieder* (Alten Stettin: Samuel und Johann Gebrüdern der Höpfner, 1688), 56. Zur Person siehe *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, Hg. Christian Gottlieb Jöcher, 4 Bde. (Leipzig, 1750-51, Rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1960-61), 2:480-81. Bei der Klärung des liedgeschichtlichen Zusammenhangs halfen dankenswerterweise Oberstudienrätin Lieselotte Clemens (Malente), Professor Traugott Koch (Hamburg), Dr. Jürgen Henkys (Petershagen b. Berlin), Bronte Pech, Dr. Ruth Kastner, Dr. Elke Hauschildt, Kerstin Siebenborn (alle in Hamburg).

[25] Siehe Albert Fischer und W. Tümpel, *Das deutsche evangelische Kirchenlied des 17. Jahrhunderts*, 6 Bde. (Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1904-16, Rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 2:476.

[26] Prinz, *Das Württembergische Kapregiment*, 30.

[27] "Der Ausmarsch des württ. Kapregiments vor 150 Jahren: Nach dem Tagebuch des Feldpredigers Johann Friedrich Spoenlin," Hg. Walter Grube, *Württemberg: Monatsschrift im Dienste von Volk und Heimat*, 1937: 107-12, bes. 109.

[28] Samuel Friedrich Sauters, "des alten Dorfschulmeisters, welcher anfänglich in Flehingen, dann in Zaisenhausen war und als Pensionair wieder in Flehingen wohnt," *Sämmtliche Gedichte*, Karlsruhe 1845 (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann), 241-43.

[29] Varianten finden sich in vielen Liederbüchern, u. a. bei Ludwig Erk und Franz M. Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, 3 Bde. (Leipzig, 1893-94, Rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1963), 2:596-97, und Wolfgang Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters aus sechs Jahrhunderten*, 2 Bde. (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1954-62), 1:122. Zahlreiche Versionen im Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, KiV 238. Siehe auch Textvergleich bei Ns. Gonner, *Die Luxemburger in der neuen Heimat* (Dubuque, IA: Selbstverlag, 1889), 109-10.

[30] Rolf Wilhelm Brednich, ". . . Und lassen Deutschland Deutschland sein . . . ," in *Auswanderung Bremen—USA*, Führer des Deutschen Schiffahrtsmuseums, Nr. 4 (Bremerhaven: Deutsches Schiffahrtsmuseum, 1976), 20-25, bes. 20.

[31] H. Herbst, *Eichsfelder Volkslieder*, 1910, 83, hier nach Steinitz, *Deutsche Volkslieder demokratischen Charakters*, 1:122.

[32] Ein gutes Beispiel dafür ist das 49 Strophen umfassende Lied "Heil dir, Columbus, sei gepriesen" aus den frühen 1830er Jahren. Kurzfassung (12 Strophen) bei Curt Mündel, *Elsässische Volkslieder* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1884), 227-30.

[33] Vgl. Lutz Röhrich, "Auswandererschicksal im Lied," in *Der große Aufbruch: Studien zur Amerikaauswanderung*, Hg. Peter Assion, Hessische Blätter für Volks- und Kulturforschung, NF 17 (Marburg: Jonas, 1985), 71-108.

[34] Text ebd., 84-85.

[35] Ungedruckt, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv, A 68499. Dort noch eine weitere Variante, A 79213. Vgl. überdies Röhrich, "Auswandererschicksal im Lied," 97. Für diesbezügliche Auskünfte, auch für Informationen zum *Kaplied*, danke ich Frau Waltraud Linder-Beroud, Deutsches Volksliedarchiv.

Barbara Lang

Immigration in German-American Literature, 1850-1900

Between 1850 and 1900 the process of immigration and acculturation was one of the most important topics in novels and tales written by American immigrant authors from Germany. This topic served as a focal point which also permits insight into related issues. The authors described time-specific economic, social and psychological difficulties the immigrants incurred during the process of their adjustment and they also referred to the complex issue of their ethnic group's self-definition within the new cultural context.

The time frame for this investigation was chosen on the basis of historical and literary considerations. With the emergence of large immigration waves in the 1850s, the topic of immigration started to appear in a variety of literary genres. Concomitant with the decline in immigration numbers, it was increasingly being replaced by other subject matters by the first decade of the twentieth century.

German-American prose fiction is regarded here as ethnic American literature. Its analysis contributes new insights into the development of a culturally and ethnically diverse American literature and society. This approach is based both on recent scholarship focusing on immigrant acculturation and on research emphasizing the diversity of American literature where regional and ethnic aspects such as Southern and Western, Jewish, Hispano-American and Chinese-American literature have already been investigated. Furthermore, this approach is supported by the observation that almost all authors analyzed here explicitly identified with America and wrote for a German-speaking or English-speaking audience in the United States, accepting their adopted country's standards of evaluation for their literature.

The group of authors selected is restricted to those who can be called ethnic American writers. German-American authors are defined as immigrants from Germany writing prose literature in English and German in the United States. However, returnees who had written and lived in the United States only temporarily are included if external

circumstances such as health or economic reasons rather than problems of alienation carried them back to the Old World. Heinrich Börnstein and Emil Klauprecht who had worked successfully as publishers and writers in the United States prior to their return to Europe may serve as examples. Their literature reveals traits typical of German-American literature such as the discussion of German-American and American subject matters and an explicit identification with their adopted homeland.

This definition differs from those developed by anthologists and researchers in the nineteenth century. Restricting their research efforts to poetry, which was almost exclusively written in German, they took German literature as their point of reference.[1] While very few authors regarded themselves as Germans, two major groups of writers can be identified in terms of their ethnic self-definition, one considering themselves German-American and one American. These two self-definitions reflect antagonist positions, which may be epitomized in two ideal types, preservationists and assimilationists. The first adopted an attitude of cultural superiority and endeavored to maintain their dual cultural heritage refusing to be *Kulturdünger.*[2] The latter advocated cultural adjustment to the United States based on a new definition of America as a multi-cultural nation in the process of constituting itself through the contributions of different ethnic groups.

Research on German-American literature started with Heinrich Rattermann's *Biographikon* and articles and reviews written in numerous nineteenth-century German-American magazines. Until the turn of the century, the main purpose of this research, which was often explicitly stated, lay in the presentation of German-American contributions to America's culture. However, while poetry attracted the attention of anthologists and researchers, prose was neglected. This was also true for research conducted in the Third Reich which brought a new wave of interest in German-Americana. The perspective of research of that time reflected the purpose of identifying German culture abroad as the products of *Auslandsdeutsche* which led to the emphasis of the German "mother-culture" as a point of reference.

The appearance of Robert E. Ward's *German-American Studies* in the 1960s revealed a renewed interest in German-American culture. Today, research on German-American prose is still in the pioneer stage.[3] Only recently, Don Heinrich Tolzmann's first "introductory history of German-American literature"[4] and Robert E. Ward's helpful bio-bibliography of German-American writers appeared.[5] Due to this lack of research with regard to prose, findings in German-American poetry were assumed to be valid for German-American literature as a whole. Criticism pertaining to poetry such as the low level of literary quality; sentimentalism; pathological homesickness; intellectual backward orientation to Hermann, leader of the Cherusci; the Rhine and *Blaublümelein* stigmatized the comprehensive body of German-American literature.[6]

It must be emphasized that German-American prose and poetry served completely distinct purposes. Poetry was employed as an apt vehicle for the expression of emotions referring to the German fa-

therland and to ideal realms distant in time and space. It was almost exclusively written in German, with its authors drawing on German literary traditions. Poetry was often produced for festive occasions to create the idealized atmosphere desired. In contrast, prose was used as a form adequate for the expression of the more prosaic reality of the adopted homeland. Its complex time-specific functions will be analyzed here for the first time. Immigrant authors developed a unique perspective of America presenting an unprecedented subject matter—the experience of immigration. Lacking literary predecessors in this field, they increasingly developed new literary forms accepting models from both countries including Cooper, Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, and later Irving, Joaquin Miller, Bret Harte and American realists.

The experience of immigration served as a writing incentive not only for traditional writing professions. A broad social spectrum of perspectives is represented in nineteenth-century German-American prose with amateur authors coming from fields including journalism (Börnstein and Stürenburg), teaching (Douai), engineering (Asmus), business (Puchner), medicine (Mayer), and construction work (Bertsch). As a consequence, the works' literary quality ranges from popular and trivial literature transforming experienced reality in a naive and unreflected manner to literature on a high level of formal and technical sophistication. The method applied for this variety of literary sources has to consider both historical developments and literary traditions of specific genres, time-contingent subject matters and topoi. In addition, the works' diverse functions have to be taken into account. While authors of less self-referential works directed their readers' attention toward their historical context, there are also writers focusing on the development of literary techniques reflecting historical circumstances only to a limited extent.

German-American prose literature can be divided into two main groups with different functions and audiences. Authors writing in English addressed the general American public including Anglo-American and German-American readers.[7] They endeavored to attract attention to the fate of German immigrants and to their specific moral, cultural and social contributions to America. In contrast, authors addressing a German-speaking readership used their literature as vehicles for a variety of time-contingent ethno-cultural and political purposes. The development of an ethnic consciousness was one of these goals, which was also reflected in the attempts of German-American magazines to stimulate the creation of German-American literature through prize contests after 1850. The spectrum of works selected by the juries included the mystery novel, the social utopia, and the historical novel. The functions of these forms range from manifesting the existence of a rapidly increasing ethnic group to being literary vehicles designed to encourage ethnic self-confidence and political and social activity.

Before the 1850s, isolated beginnings of German-American prose focusing on German immigration can be found. Hermann Bokum, a professor, pastor and author of numerous immigrant books, gives a

short autobiographical account in his *Aufruf an die Deutschen in den Vereinigten Staaten:*

> Ich kam in dieses Land vor 35 Jahren im Alter von 21 Jahren. Während der ersten 10 Jahre war ich an der Universität von Pennsylvanien, in Yale, und in Harvard als deutscher Lehrer angestellt. Während dieser Zeit erfreute ich mich der Bekanntschaft von Männern, die in politischer und socialer Hinsicht, sowie in der Sphäre der Literatur und Wissenschaft bedeutende Stellen einnahmen. Alsdann studirte ich Theologie in einem Seminar in der Stadt New York, wurde ordinirt und wirkte als Prediger in Pennsylvanien. Nachdem ich späterhin 7 Jahre in Cincinnati, Ohio, gewohnt . . . zog ich vor 7 1/2 Jahren mit meiner Familie nach Ost-Tennessee.[8]

Bokum published two prose works, *The Stranger's Gift: A Christmas and New Year's Present,*[9] and *Never Despair: A Tale of the Emigrants: Founded on Fact.*[10] Both books are written in English with the purpose of creating a deeper understanding among the native-born Americans for the problems, customs and contributions of German immigrants to the United States, as stated in *Never Despair:*

> In the following pages the author has endeavored to present in imaginative dress some of the many interesting facts with which he has become acquainted during his intercourse with the German population in this country. They will suggest, he hopes, some useful principles of action to the Americans who may be brought in contact with them and to that portion of the German population who can be reached through the medium of books (7).

Bokum presents the fate of an upper-class Prussian who had immigrated with his family in order to achieve "an independence which he could not hope to attain in Europe." The family's experiences are shown to be paradigmatic, "for most of the German immigrants are met with similar difficulties when they first come to this country" (11). In fact, the author depicts situations which become topoi in German-American prose.

The protagonists are shown to lose their property becoming "the dupes of those whose only occupation consists in imposing on the immigrants while they are on their journey" (12). This initiation to the New World is continued with a gradual replacement of German social values and patterns of interaction. While the heroes' initial endeavors to attain employment as music teachers in the Northeast prove fruitless, their new start in the West with means and skills acquired in the United States brings about their economic and social success. This advocation of demographic mobility and complete acculturation is expressed in the character of an assimilated German-American:

> . . . there are principally two errors which occasion the ruin of many immigrants. They linger in the large cities and become a burden to themselves and others instead of going to the far west where they are

> wanted and appear unwilling to acquire the English language and to assimilate themselves to some extent with the Americans (30).

Throughout the novel, the author argues that "the only safe course for the immigrants is to mingle as much as possible with the American population" (35). The protagonists serve as models of successful assimilation demonstrating the difficulties and rewards of this process. From the perspective of their final social and economic success which grants them "access to several of the aristocratic circles" their initial struggles and humble beginnings gain new meaning: "It now seems to me we were bowed down only that we might learn to make proper use of the means of success which were soon afterwards placed within our reach" (94).

In contrast to later authors who fight for immigrants' political rights, Bokum takes an apolitical stance arguing that the political ignorance and the divided sympathies of immigrants are destructive for American democracy (46). His major purpose is to eliminate cultural and social sources of misunderstanding between native-born Americans and immigrants and to transform ethnic interaction into enlightening experiences:

> By coming to this country we have within our reach all the noble traits of heart and mind which distinguish the Americans and bring them in return all that is of good report in our own people. It is the noblest commerce we can think of, and blest be the day when every vessel with emigrants which comes to *our* shores will be engaged in it (98; emphasis added).

Bokum is apparently the first German-American writer who focused on the subject of immigration and assimilation. His work has hitherto been neglected and it is not clear to what extent he may have served as a model for later German immigrant authors. This role has to be attributed largely to Charles Sealsfield (1797-1864), James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) and Friedrich Gerstäcker (1816-72).

In addition, Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris* (1842) served as a model for a number of German-American writers. The first German-American imitation of this mystery novel which was employed as a vehicle for the topic of immigration was published anonymously under the title *Die Geheimnisse von Philadelphia: Eine Tendenznovelle und zugleich ein Beitrag zur Sitten- und Cultur-Geschichte des Amerikanischen Volkes.*[11] The omniscient narrator directly addresses German-American readers:

> Die meisten unserer Leser schieden ja vor kürzerer oder längerer Zeit vom alten deutschen Vaterlande und vertrauten sich den schäumenden Wogen des Meeres an . . . . Ja, auch diese Nächte der Angst und Noth und Gefahr sind überstanden, glücklich ist der ersehnte Boden der Freiheit betreten, glücklich ist eine neue Heimath gefunden (18-19).

The narrator identifies with America when outlining the topic of the novel which focuses on the depiction of Philadelphia's social underworld, introducing the vicious protagonist "Dutch Jimmy" to be a German:

> Ja, leider müssen wir es im Voraus bekennen, daß einige der Hauptcharaktere, die wir im Laufe unserer Erzählung in diesen Höhlen des Lasters eine Rolle werden spielen sehen, Deutsche sind, und daß gerade dadurch der deutsche Name eine Zeitlang Gefahr lief, auf eine entehrende Weise in den Mund des verworfensten Theils *unserer* Bevölkerung zu kommen (emphasis added).

While the immigration process does not yet play a dominating role, this work deserves attention as the first German-American mystery novel and one of few works presenting a German as a vicious protagonist. Over a fifty-year period, the standard German-American hero covers a spectrum from the representative of Germanic virtues fighting against the perils of the new environment to an assimilated hero combining the virtues of his native and adopted country. The negative counterpart, however, is mostly found in Yankees, Irishmen, other non-German groups or Jesuits.

Dutch Jimmy, an immigrant from Württemberg had spent ten years in Philadelphia's underworld. Despite his good German education he cooperates with a greedy Irish companion,[12] rapes an innocent beauty and shows himself to be a specialist in forgery, bribery and underworld leadership. Apart from entertainment, the novel provides explanations of various facets of American life and introduces newly arrived immigrants to aspects such as the temperance movement or the different status of women.

Heinrich Börnstein's[13] *Geheimnisse von St. Louis,*[14] a mystery novel that appeared one year later, also reveals the purpose of informing the readers about their new country. In addition, Börnstein provides models of successful social and cultural patterns of behavior for immigrants. Against the background of a historical St. Louis setting, he develops the fate of an immigrant family. As the postscript shows, the audience addressed is again German-American,[15] and both narrator and immigrant protagonists are shown to identify with America. This becomes evident in a comment on the St. Louis fire of 1849:

> Die herrliche, thatkräftige Elasticität unseres amerikanischen Charakters, das rasche, unverdrossene *Go ahead* Treiben unseres Landes zeigten sich . . . in ihrem schönsten Lichte. Nach einer solchen verheerenden Katastrophe . . . wären in Deutschland, wo das Volk in beständiger Unmündigkeit gehalten wird, . . . die Leute vielleicht noch sechs Monate nach dem Feuer händeringend um die Brandstätte gestanden . . . (I,2:1).

Throughout the novel, Börnstein creates an atmosphere of patriotism for America. Like many of his followers, he presents his protagonists as native Americans of German descent rather than as immigrants, thus implying a long history of German presence in the Midwest. His heroes, the Böttcher family, had been driven back to Europe due to Jesuit intrigue. Returning to St. Louis, they plan to dig out a treasure the Jesuits had buried when killing one of their relatives.

Hence, materialistic hopes are shown to be a prime reason for coming to America. This "search for the golden Grail" introducing America as the "Land of Promise" becomes a recurrent motif of hope and disillusionment also in later German-American novels dealing with immigration. Börnstein invalidates this objective showing that the Böttchers achieve more than just prosperity by leaving the mysterious treasure to the Jesuits and working hard on their farm instead:

> . . . die ganze Familie freute sich jenes stillen und arbeitsamen, aber Gesundheit und Zufriedenheit gebenden Lebens, das den Landmann in Amerika in seiner unabhängigen sorgenfreien Lage so glücklich macht (I,2:158).

Using the mystery novel as a popular framework, the author focuses on the immigrants' fate and their experiences of various aspects of American life. The Böttcher family is portrayed as a paradigm of German integrity and innocence in a world of political corruption and materialism. This contrast is already documented in telling names: the children Maria and Josef almost fall prey to Smartborn,[16] the personification of American materialism cooperating with the Irish-American underworld.

Scenes of conflict and resolution established in Börnstein's novel became topoi for the depiction of immigrant fates in German-American prose fiction as long as this topic prevailed. As in Bokum's novels, German immigrants are subjected to the dangers and evil forces of the new country losing goods they had brought from the Old World and adapting to American social patterns of behavior. This painful process of initiation enables them to succeed in their new environment.

Four years later, Emil Klauprecht (1815-96)[17] again used the frame of the popular mystery novel in *Cincinnati oder Geheimnisse des Westens*[18] for a depiction of immigrant life in America, albeit reluctantly, as he states in the preface:

> Wieder ein Beitrag zur Geheimnis-Literatur! Wieder der abgedroschene, marktschreierische Titel, die 'secondhanded speculation' auf die hohle Neugierde . . . . So lautet wohl der strenge Ausspruch manches Zeitgenossen . . . (iv).

While Klauprecht refers to literary predecessors such as Cooper, Sealsfield and Gerstäcker,[19] his intention is to reveal America's city life that writers had hitherto ignored: ". . . wo der schachernde Yankee athemlos nach dem allmächtigen Dollar und der europäische Proletarier schweißtriefend um eine neue Heimat rang . . ." (iv).

Klauprecht presents German immigrant life from several perspectives and time levels within the intricate framework of a mystery plot involving Yankee and Jesuit underworld organizations. Again, German immigrants are shown to be part of American society. Karl Steigerwald, an Americanized businessman with a Virginian wife, and his brother Wilhelm, an artist of the Düsseldorf School who treasures and preserves his German heritage, personify the antagonist positions of preserva-

tionists and assimilationists. They are joined by their father and sister arriving from Schleswig-Holstein still under the impact of the events of 1848.

Klauprecht develops the history of German presence in America further than Börnstein. His protagonist Washington Filson is a perfect hybrid of German and American culture. While he had studied in Germany and fought with distinction in Schleswig-Holstein, he is presented to be the only grandson of the famous American writer John Filson (1741-88) whose descriptions of Daniel Boone had shaped American ideals of pioneer life.

Klauprecht filled his novel with such insinuations of connections between American and German culture and history establishing numerous relationships between prominent Anglo-American and German-American figures who were of importance in the respective cultural groups' history and process of ethnic self-definition. Presenting John Filson as a Herrnhuter (2:95) and showing cooperation between Aaron Burr and Justus Erich Bollman, the author implies the common goals and values of the two ethnic groups despite the ethnic frictions that predominate the contemporary scene. Klauprecht also uses John Filson's popularity to lend an air of authenticity and authority to the German-American view of Ohio's history which he develops in the novel. John Filson is shown to assert that Germans were the first settlers in Ohio[20] and contrasts Puritan cruelties toward Indians with the peaceful actions of Herrnhuters.

Throughout the novel, an omniscient narrator refers to the extra-textual contemporary situation, and a comic sub-plot depicting the quarrel between two German-American journalists gives a comic insight into current political schemes. In his concluding remarks the author harmonizes extra-textual and fictional reality appealing to his German-American readers to vote for the Whigs and to fight the evil influence of Jesuits and Catholics such as the Irish who cooperate with the Democratic Party.

Using the form of the mystery novel to reach a wide audience and to influence its political behavior, Klauprecht accomplishes two tasks. While discussing historical, cultural and political aspects of German-American life, he also depicts the contemporary situation of immigrants and challenges his readers to actively participate in the shaping of American society and politics.

This use of the novel as a vehicle for the expression of political goals becomes more prominent in the works of the forty-eighters Adolph Douai and Georg Willrich.[21] The latter, while still employing elements of the mystery novel, developed a social utopia describing the impact of forty-eighters on American society in his novel *Erinnerungen aus Texas: Wahrheit und Dichtung*.[22] Contrasting the political repression prevalent in Germany in 1848 with the freedom and opportunities of America, he presented his protagonists as model immigrants undermining the institution of slavery through a Negro colony in Texas.

Like his predecessors, Willrich portrays his immigrants as returnees. Hermann von Nordberg had come to the United States in 1841 returning

to Germany in order to marry Bertha von Osten. Unjustly charged with revolutionary activities, he came back to America with Bertha after his release from prison, settling in Texas. Educating slaves and enabling them to become independent, the protagonists are models of German political and social impact in America. They strive for the establishment of a reasonable state and contribute to the furthering of the principles guaranteed in America's constitution, namely, the freedom and equality of all her citizens irrespective of their national or ethnic background. Within the framework of his social utopia, Willrich presents a model of German political and social impact in the New World outlining characters who actively shape and improve American society.

Another author who projected reformist ideals onto America showing new models for immigrants' political and social behavior is Adolph Douai (1819-88).[23] In *Fata Morgana: Deutsch-Amerikanische Preisnovelle,*[24] he envisions an exemplary enlightened colony in a remote area of the New World. Again, elements of the mystery novel are employed.[25]

The plot with numerous Jesuit intrigues is subordinated to discussions of a reasonable state that Germans were to build in Mexico or America, and on political, social and cultural aspects of the United States. While these discussions can be traced back to the period of enlightenment in Germany, their immediate historical background is the plan to found a German state in the American West:[26]

> Man sprach von der Gründung eines vernünftigen Staates im Westen. Die Sache scheint noch nicht aufgegeben zu sein, obschon sie nicht auf den erwarteten Erfolg stieß. Das alles kommt um wenigstens 100 Jahre zu früh. . . . Aber wir erleben's nicht mehr—wir irren herum in der Menschenwüste, wie ewige Juden, und folgen einer Fata Morgana, einer umgestülpten Wirklichkeit, einem Luftschlosse (12).

More than his predecessors, Douai employs the realm of fiction as a means of political instruction for his ethnic group. In numerous comments on the contemporary extra-textual political situation he shows the impact of American politics on German immigrant life. He challenges his readers to participate in the political process and to actively shape American politics and society rather than to tolerate slavery and to suffer from nativism. Douai recommends supporting the Republican Party both for emphasizing the strategic value of supporting the Republicans and for enhancing the political influence of his ethnic group:

> Seitdem die Mehrheit der Deutschen, besonders im Westen sich für die Republikanische Partei erklärt hat, seitdem haben diese Deutschen, die vordem nur als 'stimmendes Vieh' betrachtet wurden, bei allen Parteien sich viel mehr Achtung erworben (235).

The colonists fight for abolition, a free Missouri, for Governor Rollins, and for the Republican Party: "Der Sieg der Republikanischen Partei in der nächsten Präsidentenwahl ist gesichert, wenn wir alle oder doch die allermeisten Deutschen zu dieser Partei bekehren können" (245).

Hence, factual elements and utopian structures anticipating the success of German-American political endeavors are intermingled. German political influence is shown to lead to cultural and social influence in the United States. Douai exalts this influence showing that ethnic conflicts are overcome with Americans adjusting to German customs: ". . . jetzt lernen sie ganz verzweifelt geschwind die deutsche Sprache um an unsern Sonntagsunterhaltungen teilzunehmen" (263).

Germans are shown to change the country, its people and its customs. Douai thus develops a fictional model in which German-Americans successfully cope with the hostilities, political and social problems his readers encountered in contemporary reality. Douai did not merely comment on the contemporary situation of Germans in the United States. He presented models of ethno-political action on the basis of problems encountered in contemporary life and tried to encourage ethno-political activity in his readers both through factual documentation and fictional means.

With the Civil War a major shift in subject matter can be observed. Rather than focusing on inter-ethnic conflicts, writers paid attention to homogeneous German-American settlements and "Little Germanies" on the one hand, and to the complex process of acculturation on the other hand.

Douai's work is paradigmatic for this change at the time of the Civil War. He had claimed German moral and intellectual superiority in *Fata Morgana* presenting colonists who were highly critical of American institutions. In contrast, his story "Des Herzens Zug ist des Schicksals Stimme,"[27] published in 1864, shows Germans to be impressed with American researchers. They identify with America and advocate immigration:

> Deutschland erzeugt täglich neue Goethe und Schiller, nur daß sie in den engen Blumentöpfen kleinbürgerlicher Verhältnisse drüben verkümmern; auf *unsern* freien Boden verpflanzt, kommen sie zu besserer Entwicklung (445; emphasis added).

In German *Salons,* intellectuals and persons of public and social standing from both nations freely exchange views. All national gaps[28] are successfully overcome. The German forty-eighter protagonist demonstrates his American patriotism being prepared to sacrifice his life for the Union in the Civil War. Eventually, an intermarriage, which was commonly used as a symbol of successful assimilation in German-American literature, documents the completion of this process.

One of the first German-American novels focusing on a German-American community is Willibald Winckler's *Die deutschen Kleinstädter in Amerika.*[29] In this satirical account of a homogeneous German town in the Midwest during the Civil War, Winckler reveals intra-ethnic disharmony, and the total lack of German culture in the majority of the German-American population that had been praised by many German-American authors. His characters represent a wide spectrum of German-Americans including the Latin farmer, the redemptioner, the

political journalist, the German-American poet and the nouveau riche with their respective Americanized value systems. From the perspective of an already settled community, emigration is portrayed as advantageous:

> Weit über das Terrain verbreitet wohnen reiche Farmer, von denen jeder mehr schuldenfreies Grundeigenthum sein nennt, als mancher wohlhabende Rittergutsbesitzer Deutschlands. Zu diesen reichen Bauern gehörte auch Steinbrenner . . . , den man in der Gegend allgemein den 'lateinischen Bauern' nannte, weil er in Deutschland studiert hatte (22).

Even the German redemptioner Höfke, whose wife had not survived their initial years in America finally attains his own farm with the help of the protagonist Vischer, editor and journalist for a Republican newspaper. As in the majority of German-American novels, the author's sympathies are with the abolitionist cause while the Democrats are renounced as advocates of slavery. Like Klauprecht and Douai, Winckler comments on extra-textual events. Of special interest is his reference to the forty-eighter Sigel in the Civil War and to the beginning tendency to exclude Jews from some clubs:[30] ''. . . hat der Turnverein in Baltimore nicht schriftliche Klagen seiner Mitglieder entgegengenommen, worin man gegen das dominierende Auftreten der 'jüdischen Race' im Verein protestirte?'' (13).

In addition, Winckler frequently alludes to literary figures that influence the German-American mind. The German influence is ironically rendered in a portrait of Anastasius Grün as a poor German-American poet and critic for the *Fackel* which is, in turn an allusion to Samuel Ludvigh. Gerstäcker's *Die Regulatoren von Arkansas* receives critical comment, and throughout the novel, references to James Fenimore Cooper and Harriet Beecher Stowe are used to show the strong impact of American literature on the German immigrant's mind.

A decade later, German-American community life is described in urban novels focusing on ''Kleindeutschland'' using the techniques of realism prevalent at the time. Caspar Stürenburg's collection of articles entitled *Kleindeutschland: Bilder aus dem New Yorker Alltagsleben*[31] may serve as an example. Originally published in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, the stories reflect the grim reality of lower-class German immigrant life in the fashion of American realism:

> Besonders sind es aber die charakteristischen Eigenthümlichkeiten, Verhältnisse und Gestalten des deutschamerikanischen Lebens, die Revue passieren sollen. Da führt der Weg nicht durch die Salons der Reichen, sondern durch das bunte, laute, gemüthvolle 'Kleindeutschland' der gewaltigen Metropole . . . (2).

Different aspects of German-American everyday life of the lower classes, such as the tenement house with its wide spectrum of impoverished characters are described and the peculiar mixture of English and German characteristic of this environment: ''Unten, der Bierwirth, der eine lease hat und der dieses Umstands viel lieber Erwähnung thut,

als er sich an die mortgage seines Brauers auf die saloon-fixtures erinnern läßt . . ." (6).

An important aspect of ethnic life in the metropolis are ethnic conflicts and sufferings from xenophobic groups: "'Dutchie!—old fool' brüllt die Menge draußen auf der Straße, und von einem Steinwurfe getroffen, sinkt der Ärmste blutend zu Boden" (23). Despite these hardships, the author promotes immigration to America describing poverty and mishap as an initial difficulty which can be successfully overcome. In the story "Hans im Glück" he shows an exemplary process of assimilation with a successful husband who welcomes his German wife and child in Castle Garden:

> "Was mir die alte Heimath neidisch versagt, hier hab ich's gefunden: Verdienst, Zufriedenheit, Familienglück und die beste Aussicht, daß es noch besser werde in der Zukunft. Gesegnet sei Dein Kommen in unser schönes, großes freies Land Amerika!"
> Unten auf der Straße spielen die deutschen Musikanten, die jeden Abend durch unsere Straße ziehen, die begeisternde Weise des "Star Spangled Banner" . . . (188).

Apart from America's economic opportunities, Stürenburg emphasizes its political and social freedom portraying America as a country where the American dream can be a reality even for immigrants starting their new life in a poor ethnic environment.

Other authors like Nathan Mayer, Hugo Fürst and Kathinka Sutro-Schücking focus on upper-class German-American life. Nathan Mayer, a Jewish German-American author (1838-1912)[32] portrays the life and manners of Jewish German-American families in his work *Differences: A Novel.*[33] The hero, the forty-eighter Louis Welland meets families of high education and social rank when accepting a position as a surveyor in Tennessee. Apart from families whose endeavor to enter the first social circles had taken them west, where "society had no crystallization" (32), he meets the rich and famous of New York.

There are the Goldmans who "were of Hebrew descent and firmly attached to a rational interpretation of their religion" (34), and rich German-Americans like the Reichenaus, Wertheims and Boeckheimers who "live on Fifth Avenue and have made mints of dollars"(110) and meet in Saratoga's fashionable world. Nathan Mayer's characters reveal more patriotism for German culture and class-consciousness than those of gentile authors. They strictly guard social distinctions—e.g., "I would not associate with the ignorant or ill-bred. I was too much of a German for that" (291)—and contrast German idealism and American materialism to the latter's disadvantage. Furthermore, they do not experience the problem of a dual ethnic heritage. While admiring and cultivating German culture, philosophy and music, they clearly identify with their new American environment.

Another example of a Jewish German-American author is Hugo Fürst. In his *Iphigenia: A Modern Woman of Progress*[34] he also focuses on German-Jewish upper-class life and thought in America and on the

intellectual discussions among this group. As in Mayer's novel, the characters admire German culture—"we are near the dawn of a period in which the Germanic element will lead in civilization" (52)—yet they identify with America: "Educated in Germany, his preferences were of that country and his prejudices were thinner and fewer than . . . of these whose opinions have crystallized in *our* eastern colleges" (54; emphasis added).

Kathinka Sutro-Schücking[35] (1831-93) also focuses on German immigrants who had successfully completed their process of adjustment and realized the "American dream" of economic success. Her numerous novels reveal a striking structural similarity: German protagonists with an exceptional sense of honor, ethnic pride and morality are subjected to the hardships of assimilation which they successfully master. In *Dr. Zernowitz,*[36] she portrays a Polish medical doctor who had been subjected to menial work in order to survive until an American physician accepted him as partner and left him the practice after his death.

In *Eine liebelose Ehe,*[37] she adopts the same structure. Despite the title, the novel focuses on the fate of two poor aristocratic immigrants who try to survive as artists in New York's Bowery and a nouveau riche German-American family. The immigrant artists' miserable circumstances change when Mathilde Mertens, daughter of a German-American parvenu and millionaire falls in love with one of them, and makes him a fashionable artist of Fifth Avenue circles.

In Mathilde's parents, the author shows two diametrically opposed effects of Americanization. Her father, a simple, warm-hearted person proud of his ethnic background feels uncomfortable in the pretentious social life his parvenu wife tries to establish. Telling the story of his American dream-career from his humble beginnings, he is a contrast to his wife who displays all the weaknesses of German-American parvenus attempting to hide her humble German background and emulating the life of Fifth Avenue circles, thus losing her personality:

> "Also schämt er sich nicht, wie so viele Renegaten, seines Vaterlandes?"
> "Gott bewahre! Dafür ist er ein viel zu kluger und edeler Mensch—er prahlt sogar bei jeder Gelegenheit damit, was . . . meine Mutter jedesmal außer sich bringt, denn—leider! möchte sie die Welt gerne glauben machen, daß sie Amerikanerin sei—trotz ihres scheußlichen Englisch und ihrer durchaus deutschen Erscheinung!" (3)

As in other German-American novels, adjustment to America appears as a painful process of initiation. Significantly, moral growth and an increase in social status in America are described as concomitant developments. Yet a prerequisite is the departure from German attitudes and systems of value. This conflict can be observed especially in Max von Werner for whom financial incentives and social artistic ambitions seem to undermine his artistic qualities (18). Despite the hardships it describes, the novel supports immigration emphasizing the inner growth achieved through this process.[38]

Novels focusing on the process of assimilation appear up to the 1890s, parallel to socialist and anti-socialist novels. Johann G. Woerner's *The Rebel's Daughter: A Story of Love, Politics and War*[39] is an example. Describing the life and political success of Victor Waldhorst in an antebellum Southern community, the author shows the injustice of nativism contrasting it with the protagonist's intelligence, moral and political integrity. Ethnic conflicts are shown to be part of the hardships of assimilation including personal insults which the protagonist experiences such as "it is a disgrace to our class to have at its head a miserable Dutch abolitionist and scare-crow" (94) and overall ethnic prejudice. In addition, clashing value systems as epitomized in beer gardens versus Sabbatarianism are sources of ethnic and political antagonism between Anglo-American and German-Americans: "Ah these beer gardens! That desecration of the Holy Sabbath by music from brass and stringed instruments! What a flagrant violation of the land!" (253).

The German protagonist succeeds due to his moral standards and his loyalty to the Union. He is the epitome of German-American success being elected governor, fighting in the Union army and finally winning the hand of the daughter of one of the first families of Virginia. Again, intermarriage is a symbol for successful assimilation on the basis of moral integrity.

In the 1880s and early 1890s the discussion of social issues started to dominate German-American literature. While reacting to subject matters and forms developed in Anglo-American literature, immigrant authors still presented the issue of German immigration. Two types of social novels can be identified. One continued the tradition of their predecessors of the 1850s focusing on German-American ethnic issues. The other, written in English, addressed the general American population and contributed to contemporary discussions on social issues in American life and literature, especially to Edward Bellamy's controversial novel *Looking Backward.*

Max Arlberg's *Josef Freifeld: Ein Sozialroman*[40] belongs to the first group. While the author discusses German-American issues, he focuses on the promotion of socialism and anarchism in the United States sharply criticizing American political and social structures.

In contrast, Rudolf Leonhart decidedly defends America's political institutions against the background of an immigrant colony in Mexico in his novel *The Treasures of Montezuma.*[41] This author emphasizes in his preface:

> . . . the present product of my pen differs widely from those I have hitherto given to the public. While I have endeavoured to entertain, I have no less endeavoured to instruct and of such magnitude . . . that I deem an explanation of my reasons for embodying it in a story not only justifiable but necessary. . . . I presume it is generally conceded that at no time has there existed such . . . dissatisfaction with the condition of social affairs as now (3).

The novel can be regarded as a continuation of Douai's *Fata Morgana* where the settlement of a Mexican colony had been planned but not realized. In *Montezuma,* Leonhart presents the forty-eighter Herbert Grau who had escaped his death sentence by fleeing to Mexico. Indians showed him the treasures of Cortez with which he established the independent commonwealth colony Friedrichsruhe gaining the consent of the Mexican government. Most important, however, is the novel's function of presenting a model for a multi-cultural America, which is presented at the end: "You are composed of many nationalities. Do not cling then, to one particular race or land, but placing yourselves on the broad platform of cosmopolitism, work at and for the emancipation of all" (278).

Apart from these social works novels reacting to developments in contemporary American literature appeared, such as Richard Michaelis' novel *Looking Further Forward: An Answer to Looking Backward by Edward Bellamy.*[42] The book strongly supports the present American principle of competition and renounces Bellamy's dream of a communistic society comparing him to German-American radicals.

> Of course, Mr. Bellamy holds more moderate views than those Spies and Parsons proclaimed, but he has this much in common with the Anarchists and Communists of Chicago . . . he really believes his socialistic aircastles *[sic]* must spring into existence very soon . . . (iv).

Here it becomes evident that ideology rather than ethnicity determines friend or foe at the turn of the century. Again, the author uses the most popular fictional framework of the time, the social novel, to present the issue of immigration, which is already of marginal importance in the novel. Like his predecessors, the author refers to the contemporary extra-textual situation, and even to his own political role as editor of the *Freie Presse* when outlining the social success of German immigrants in America:

> I can show you in the college library a copy of the German paper the "Freie Presse" published in the city of Chicago, anno 1888, where the editor, in contradicting similar statements of the communists of those days, points to the fact that in 1888 there were 12,000 German house owners, manufacturers and well-to-do or rich businessmen in Chicago, who all had come to the city poor. When these Germans came to Chicago only a very few of them spoke English, still they were able to accumulate fortunes (35).

Economic reasons still rank first in Michaelis' account of reasons for immigration. America compares favorably with Europe in economic terms when one character explains that the average income of Americans was "about twice the average amount earned by the people of Germany or France" (81). Immigration is discussed with numerous attacks on German-American radicals and socialists who are blamed for inter-ethnic problems in a dialogue between two characters. One of them maintains that the "objection against further immigration was

largely due to the action of the German and Irish dynamiters'' getting the reply:

> I can imagine . . . that some of the customs and notions of the numerous immigrants of your time were objectionable to the native Americans and that the crimes of the anarchists, their crazy revolt against the laws of a country that had offered them hospitality, must naturally have created a deep emotion among the Anglo-Americans. But I think they had, nevertheless, many reasons for encouraging immigration . . . (112).

German immigrants are described to be an asset to the newly developing American industry:

> The very fact that hundreds of thousands of ablebodied people, whose rearing and education had cost the European countries millions of dollars, landed on American shores was a great gain to the United States. The very presence of these men and women increased the value of the lands or city lots where they settled, thus enriching the property owners (113).

Hence, Michaelis, demonstrating his support for the American system shows the positive impact of immigration at a time when it was interrelated with radicalist efforts to undermine or change the American system. Thus, he tries to amend the political understanding between the different ethnic and cultural groups by showing the American reader the positive aspects of immigration.

We still find individual German-American authors who continued to write on the subjects of immigration and German-American life in the last decade of the nineteenth century and after. Yet these belong to the group of preservationists. Writing in German and addressing a German-speaking readership, their major goal was the maintenance of the German language and the preservation of German cultural values in America.

However, the topic of immigration had lost importance in the mainstream of German-American literature. Another German-American reply to Edward Bellamy, which appeared one year later, Ludwig A. Geissler's *Looking Beyond: A Sequel to ''Looking Backward'' by Edward Bellamy and an Answer to ''Looking Further Forward'' by Richard Michaelis*[43] did not even touch upon the issue of immigration. Thus, German-American authors reveal an increasing adjustment to their American literary and historical context. While still representing ethnic issues and fictional structure in the 1890s, they shifted their attention to American political and social subjects, increasingly dropping immigration and German-American life into the background.

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Notes

[1] Zimmermann's definition may serve as an example: "We mean by German-American a German who has chosen the United States of America as his second home, that is, one who does not merely live temporarily within its territory; and by German-American literature, accordingly, the total of the literary products in the German language by Germans permanently settled in the United States" (*Deutsch in Amerika: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutsch-amerikanischen Literatur* [Chicago, 1892], xvi).

[2] This term was used by Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati and Leipzig, 1847), 235.

[3] Hitherto, only one monograph has focused on the analysis of prose: George Condoyannis, "The German American Prose Narrative" (Ph.D. diss., University of Columbia, 1954).

[4] *German-American Literature* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1977), iii.

[5] *A Bio-Bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus Intl. Publ., 1985).

[6] Wilhelm Schneider, *Die auslandsdeutsche Dichtung unserer Zeit* (Berlin, Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1936), 253.

[7] This expression was used by German-American authors in the nineteenth century.

[8] (Philadelphia: Walther & Goette, 1862), 1.

[9] (Boston: Light and Horton, 1836). It focuses on the fate of immigrants in a set of short stories.

[10] (New York: Scotfield & Voorhieb, Boston: Whipple & Damrell, 1837). This book is dedicated to the members of the Emigrants' Friend Society in Cincinnati.

[11] (Philadelphia: Druckerei des *Volksvertreters*, 1850). Only the first volume could be found. It is not certain whether subsequent installments ever appeared (see Condoyannis, 42).

[12] This is one of the very few German-Irish cooperations in German-American literature apart from Reinhold Solger, *Anton in Amerika: Novelle aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben* (New York: Steiger, 1889), and Hugo Bertsch, *Bob der Sonderling* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1905).

[13] The founder and editor of *Vorwärts* at Paris had been associated with noted Communists. After initial settlement in Highland, Illinois, he arrived in St. Louis in 1849, where he edited the *Anzeiger des Westens*. As the novel shows, his radical views became more moderate in the New World, where he actively supported the German theatre and translated and adapted many plays. Returning to Europe, he wrote for American papers, while working at the Burgtheater in Vienna, where he died in 1892.

[14] Two vols. (Cassel: Hotop, 1851; 2d ed. Altona: Verlags-Bureau, 1868). Hitherto, only volume one was believed to exist.

[15] This postscript also states the novel's popularity with its German-American readers: ". . . in mehr als 4000 Exemplaren durch den 'Anzeiger des Westens' verbreitet, wurden die ersten Extra-Ausgaben von 1500 Exemplaren, . . . noch während des Erscheinens vergriffen."

[16] This name ridicules an American term of pride and is an ironic retaliation for the expression "dumb" or "damned Dutch" applied to German immigrants.

[17] The editor and publisher came to America at the age of seventeen with a relative. After working as a farmer, he opened a lithography business in Cincinnati (1837) where he published the first illustrated newspaper in the Midwest from 1846-47. After editing *Der deutsche Republikaner* (1849-51 and 1852-56) and *Westliche Blätter* (1851-52) and co-editing *Tägliches Cincinnati Volksblatt* (1856-64), he was named American consul in Stuttgart by Lincoln. When President Grant severed this appointment, Klauprecht stayed in Stuttgart and later moved to Vienna.

[18] (Cincinnati: F. Schmidt & Co., 1854).

[19] "Die wenigen deutschen Novellisten, welche den Westen Amerika's zum Schauplatze ihrer Dichtungen machten, folgten bekanntlich den Spuren Cooper's, Sealfield's und anderer Pioniers einer neuen Literatur nach der frischen Atmosphäre des Urwalds" (iii).

[20] "Schönbrunn, die deutsche Stadt, wurde dort am 3. May 1772 ausgelegt. Kein Fort, kein einzelnes Blockhaus unterbrach damals noch die westliche Wildnis . . ." (2:78).

Rudolf Glanz, *Jews in Relation to the Cultural Milieu of the Germans in America up to the 1880s* (New York: Ktav Publishers, 1947) emphasizes the importance of pioneer life for German immigrants: "It must be said in defense of the German that his exclusion from the pioneer organizations clashed with the whole conception of America. . . . Over here, the German often heard himself called a non-pioneer which particularly incensed him" (23).

[21] Georg Willrich (1805?-61) had been traveling in America before returning to Germany where he was imprisoned for participating in revolutionary activities. After his release from prison, he emigrated to Texas where he worked as a rancher. Later, he taught at Texas Military Institute, Ruterville, as professor of modern languages and at Bayard College, Independence, Texas, until 1861. See also Selma Metzenthin-Raunick, *Deutsche Schriften in Texas* (San Antonio: Freie Presse für Texas, 1935), 35.

[22] (Leipzig: Chr. E. Kollmann, 1854). The novel is subtitled "Aufgezeichnet während der Untersuchungshaft zu Hannover" and dedicated to the President of the United States and to the German-American consul of the United States, Samuel Bromberg.

[23] The descendant of a French refugee family, Douai was born in Altenburg, where he founded a *Realschule.* After studying in Leipzig (1838-41), he spent six years as tutor in Russia. Arrested during the Revolution of 1848, he was acquitted and emigrated to Neu Braunfels, Texas, in 1852. Apart from teaching, he edited the abolitionist *San Antonio Zeitung* (1853-56) until he was forced to flee because of his radical views. The founder of a German-American school in Boston, he is also reputed to be the founder of the first kindergarten in America. Fighting for the teaching of German in America, he wrote numerous articles on political, social and cultural topics. A bibliography of his works can be found in Eitel W. Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1958).

[24] (St. Louis: *Anzeiger des Westens,* 1858).

[25] Friedrich Münch, a member of the jury, regards it as a mystery novel: "Das Werk ist eine jener Tendenz-Novellen, wie wir größere von Eugen Sue haben und kleinere auch von hiesigen Deutschen geliefert wurden, d.h. die Erzählung . . . bildet den Faden, an welchem Betrachtungen über die ernstesten Fragen des Lebens und unserer Zeit angereiht werden . . ." (iii).

[26] Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika,* describes the search for a German state: "Gleichwohl wollten sie einen neuen Staat gründen. Die einen wollten Texas, die andern Oregon; wo das Land noch keine Leute habe, da könne der deutsche Staat unabhängig und durch die nachkommenden Landsleute stark genug werden . . . . Man bildete Zweigvereine . . . und der Pittsburger 'Adler des Westens' fing an, Pläne über den zu gründenden Staat zu veröffentlichen" (252).

[27] *Deutsch-Amerikanische Monatshefte* (May 1864): 444-59.

[28] "Wäre sie eine Deutsche, so wäre sie längst mein. . . . Aber sie ist eine stolze Yankeein, und ich bin stolz den Amerikanern gegenüber. Du kennst meine Überzeugung: ehe wir Deutschen nicht stolz sein lernen, werden wir drüben keine Nation . . ."(453).

[29] (Leipzig/New York: Schmidt, 1871).

[30] Rudolf Glanz, *Jews in Relation* . . . , mentions that Jewish participation was particularly conspicuous in Glee Clubs and that antisemitic practice started in the Arion Glee Club of New York, which inserted an Aryan clause in its by-laws.

[31] Third ed. (New York: Steiger, 1889).

[32] The author, a physicist, was born in Bavaria and came to Cincinnati with his parents in 1849. After graduating from Ohio Medical College, he studied in Paris, returning to the United States in 1861. During the Civil War he worked as a surgeon for the 14th Connecticut Volunteers. Thereafter he practiced in Hartford, CT. Other novels found by this author such as *The Fatal Secret* (Cincinnati, 1858) and *A Point of Honor* (Hartford, 1884) deal only marginally with German-American life.

[33] (Cincinnati: Bloch & Co., 1867).

[34] (Philadelphia: Peterson, 1886).

[35] Coming to America as a visitor in 1856 at 21, she married Emil Sutro in 1861 and settled permanently in America.

[36] (Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1894).

[37] Paul Sutro, comp. and ed. (n.p., n.d.).

[38] The acculturation of individual emigrants is also the main theme of Eduard Leyh, *Der Tannhäuser* (Leipzig: Julius Günther, 1874). While its first part is written in the form of

a novel of letters, the second part shifts to the direct account of a first person narrator's experience showing the metamorphosis of a German adjusting to the American environment and value system.

[39] (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1899).

[40] (Milwaukee: Friedenker Publ. Co., 1887).

[41] (Canton, 1888).

[42] (Chicago and New York: Rand McNally, 1890).

[43] (London/Covington, LA, 1891).

Linde Katritzky

German Romance and American Romance: Influences of Ludwig Tieck and E. T. A. Hoffmann on Nathaniel Hawthrone

Roughly defined, the German Romantic period extended from 1797 to 1828 and American Romanticism from 1828 to 1860. The two volumes of *German Romance,* Carlyle's translation of romantic short stories, appeared in 1827 and can be regarded as strong links in this continuous pattern.[1] Carlyle's works and thoughts found ready entrance in America through Ralph Waldo Emerson, who visited him in England in 1833 and became his lifelong friend and correspondent. Discussion of German literature and philosophy is a recurrent topic in their letters.[2] The two volumes of *German Romance* are not mentioned, but they had already been published prior to the commencement of the friendship, and it is unlikely that they were not discussed when the two young writers first met and shared their experiences.

The impact of this anthology on Hawthorne, or more precisely of Carlyle's selections from the works of Ludwig Tieck and E. T. A. Hoffmann,[3] demonstrates some of the important ways in which German Romantic literature influenced American writing. This relationship was well recognized by contemporaries, but in Hawthorne's case it was discredited and obscured by Edgar Allen Poe's blatant accusation of unoriginality and plagiarism. He claimed of Hawthorne that

> he is not original in any sense. Those who speak of him as original mean nothing more than that he differs in his manner of tone, and in his choice of subjects, from any author of their acquaintance—their acquaintance not extending to the German Tieck, whose manner, in some of his works, is absolutely identical with that habitual to Hawthorne.[4]

Rather than foster interest in these obvious relations, Poe's misplaced reproach led to denial and suppression of connections between the German and the American periods of Romanticism. The attack also explains why Hawthorne himself refrained from drawing attention to

German influences in his works and thoughts. Nevertheless they were considerable. Poe's remark shows that he was quite familiar with Tieck, who was widely read in America at that time, both in the original and in Carlyle's translation. Percy Matenko traced his imprint on nineteenth-century literature in a comprehensive study on *Ludwig Tieck and America.* He reports that the only German tale which Hawthorne, a rather poor scholar of the German language, ever read in the original was Tieck's "Vogelscheuche," and he explains in some detail how these adventures of a scarecrow animated by magic inspired Hawthorne's "Feathertop."[5]

If any direct borrowing from Tieck can be detected in Hawthorne's work, it would be in this tale, but by calling it "A Moralised Legend," Hawthorne has modestly foregone any claim to original invention. Tieck's conception is taken over, together with its inherent moral, which is restated by the witchlike Mother Rigby: "and many a fine gentleman had a pumpkin head as well as my scare crow."[6] Setting, treatment and ending are all, however, quite different, as Hawthorne has transposed the idea from an elegant European context into an environment that was familiar and interesting to him. Matenko also indicates considerable internal evidence, though he found no direct proof, that Hawthorne had read the stories which Carlyle had selected for his *German Romance.* These five tales are all steeped in the spirit of folklore and fairy tale and are related with deceptive simplicity, behind which problems of sin, guilt and isolation are explored in depth by a symbolism that takes its strength mainly from nature. Matenko's conclusion that Hawthorne must have known Tieck's tales in Carlyle's translation is strengthened by the fact that the only tale by Hoffmann which Carlyle included has also exerted a traceable influence on Hawthorne's writing.

Jack D. Zipes, in his studies of the romantic hero in German and American literature, finds alienation "at the center of most romantic works," and he shows that "the romantics place their protagonists in situations which force them to ask how they can overcome their sense of estrangement."[7] In Tieck's fairy stories this Romantic search for individualism uses elements of traditional folklore to probe into the hidden torments and passions of the soul, and to open perspectives into the mind's irrational recesses. Focusing on the outsider position of the hero,[8] Zipes has found "striking similarities" in the pattern of "Der Runenberg" and "Ethan Brand," as well as in various details of the narration; for instance "Christian sits before a camp-site near the Runenberg," and "Ethan tends the lime furnace at the foot of Mount Graylock."[9] Such parallels occur too consistently in many of Hawthorne's tales to be mere coincidence, but his technique in lifting images and incidents from German Romantics is always one of transformation and integration. He invariably adapts German concerns in a highly individual manner to his own visions, as Zipes' comparison between Ethan Brand and Christian from "The Runenberg" shows. Their situations are completely different; so is the environment in which their destinies unfold. What they have in common are attitudes, unquenchable yearnings and the conflicts with the realities of life which arise from their Romantic ideals.

To express such tension, Hawthorne has adapted several of the devices used by Tieck and Hoffmann to his own needs. Tieck turned to the fairy world of folklore for his background in all the tales of the *German Romance,* but he introduced into this traditional context smooth and almost friendly catalysts of evil, who owe their origin to the suave devil of Enlightenment. In his *History of the Devil,* Daniel Defoe already reports that this modern fiend is most dangerous without his cloven foot.[10] While people learned polite principles at the close of the Roman Empire by this account, the devil took much longer to acquire good manners, but had caught up with human refinement by the time Defoe was reporting about him.[11] This adversary was no longer frightful, but attempted to take his victims unawares by assuming the habits to which they were accustomed.

Tieck developed this conception into figures who blend inconspicuously into the environment of basically good and reasonable people in ways that seem so natural to them that their instinctive defenses are neutralized. In "The Fair-Haired Eckbert" *(Der blonde Eckbert)* this agent of evil appears alternatively as an old woman, a sage naturalist, and a young knight. In the end all turn out to be one and the same. Their functions are presented in such ambiguous light that it never becomes quite clear whether their motives were sheer malice or misplaced benevolence. Only the disastrous ending confirms their true fiendish nature.

Moonlight confuses and seduces Christian in Tieck's "Runenberg," a tale of the supernatural, and through Tieck this illumination of the night became a special symbol of Romantic vision.[12] Similarly significant for Romantic feeling is "Waldeinsamkeit," a word which he coined in "The Fair-Haired Eckbert." It epitomizes longing for primeval nature and implies the healing as well as the harrowing aspects of solitude. In and around mysterious woods the haunting tale of the knight Eckbert and his wife Bertha unfolds with fateful force. Like Hester Prynne in *The Scarlet Letter* they are good people, rather more conscientious and self-critical than most. Evil attaches itself to them in the form of false friends, who gain their confidence only to expose and betray them, starting with the crooked woman whom Bertha meets in her youth when she is lost in the forest. Dressed in a black hood and looking every inch the conventional witch, she still treats Bertha kindly and even prays before meals. She also leaves the girl alone in the vast solitude for longer and longer periods, and reveals to her all the secrets of her glittering jewels and pearls, so that temptation finally overpowers the well-intentioned but inexperienced Bertha. She flees with the magic bird and a modest amount of the treasure, after leaving the dog tied up in the deserted house. This betrayal haunts her and the knight whom she marries, until they finally unburden themselves to Walther, who has befriended them for many years. When he shows inexplicable familiarity with the details of her past, Bertha is struck with such terror that she sickens and dies. The motif of the false friend who patiently insinuates confidence is then repeated once more, when Eckbert's lonely life is brightened by companionship with a young knight.

Hester Prynne's husband attaching himself as Roger Chillingworth to her lover, pretending friendship for the purpose of tormenting him by eliciting his shameful secret, is a variation of this pattern. Like Walther, Chillingworth operates patiently, fortified by foreknowledge of his victim's guilt. The agony in both tales arises from a burdened conscience, and the chilling loneliness in which the guilty ones spend their lives is in large measure self-imposed. As foils to these dark secrets, pearls symbolize the possibility of purity and happiness. In Tieck's tale the witch-woman claims that, had Bertha proved steadfast, treasures of pearls and jewels would have been hers, while the child in *The Scarlet Letter* is named Pearl.

The wilderness of the woods, with their inexplicable allure and dangers, epitomizes the dark recesses and the alienation of the soul. Hester, who in the end triumphs over her fate, resists the temptation to elope into the woods with her lover, while neither Eckbert nor his wife, or Christian in "The Runenberg" can deny their call. They all fall prey to the sinister forces, as does "Young Goodman Brown," who like Christian meets a stranger in the forest and accepts his company.

Tieck merely states about Christian's encounter: "They went along, and the stranger soon appeared to Christian as if he had been an old acquaintance."[13] Like the kindly man in the crowd who materializes next to Robin Molineux in his hour of need and turns his destiny in exactly the opposite direction from the one into which the boy's own sturdy instinct had led, Tieck's stranger also guides Christian to his doom without arousing his suspicion.[14] Similarly young Goodman Brown follows "the figure of a man, in grave and decent attire" who gives the impression of an older, more weighty and experienced version of himself, and thus also seems familiar. Significantly, Christian becomes aware of the stranger only moments after he pulls a cursed mandrake root from the soil, while Goodman Brown exclaimed: "What if the devil himself should be at my very elbow," just before noting that he is no longer alone.[15] In both cases a premonition of evil precedes its actual appearance, a hint that there exists a character predisposition which is ready to receive it. Both young men are basically neither black nor white, but receptive to good as well as to evil, and Hawthorne has expressed this ambivalence even in the name he has chosen for his young farmer, Brown. They both appreciate the innocence which is represented by a wife they love, but not enough to overcome their longing for the adventures of the woods. Both emerge from their excursions changed and unfit to resume the conventional life they left behind.

Christian is laden with a bag of jewels, but when he "loosed his sack, and shook it empty, it was full of gravel, among which were to be seen large bits of Chuck-stone, and other pebbles."[16] Matenko likens this aborted quest for the absolute to similar obsessions in Hawthorne's stories "The Birthmark" and "Ethan Brand" and points out that in "The Great Carbuncle" Dr. Cacphodel, the alchemist, resembles, in his mistaking of granite for the gem, Christian when he believes that a sack of pebbles is filled with precious stones.[17]

Though Tieck's situations and techniques are used by Hawthorne, he transplants them into New World contexts and can therefore introduce similarities which may even extend to actual phrasing and yet be—Poe's criticism notwithstanding—really original. Before Christian, for example, disappears forever into the forest, he calls to his wife and favorite daughter "come hither, darling; come my pretty child; and give me a kiss, one kiss, that I may feel thy mouth upon my lips once again, and then I leave you."[18]

Phrasing and key words are used in *The Scarlet Letter* in entirely changed circumstances. Dimmesdale, too, is taking his last leave and echoes the words " 'Hester', said he, 'come hither! Come, my little Pearl!' " And somewhat later "My little Pearl . . . wilt thou kiss me now?"[19] As he dies shortly thereafter, his exclamation turns into a bond that transcends death. While for Tieck yearning for a kiss is metonymic for torn allegiances, Hawthorne turns it into a symbol of Dimmesdale's redemption. Pearl rejects it while he still persists in his role as honored minister, but bestows it freely after he acknowledges his true position. She "kissed his lips. A spell was broken."[20]

Tieck's techniques subordinate the magic apparatus of fairy tales to the complexities of human urges and passions. Hawthorne blends the elements of fairy lore and legend with even more ambiguity into his romances, so that an alternative, rational explanation need hardly ever be excluded. Clearly both authors were attracted by the knowledge of human nature, especially the maze of guilt and atonement, from which centuries of folk wisdom had extracted the fantasies of fairyland, and they both attempted in their different ways to transform the old tales into new legends, infused with metaphysical and psychological significance.

Disorientation in this strangely disquieting world is created not only by the intrusion of supernatural forces into commonplace events, but even more so by confusion and tension within the human soul. The happy ending of fairy tales cannot be achieved in this complex world, and the reader is left with a feeling akin to that of Christian, for whom "the strangest and the commonest were so mingled, that all his efforts could not separate them."[21] This is also the condition in which Giovanni in "Rappaccini's Daughter" finds himself.[22]

Yet wherever Hawthorne adopts Tieck's methods, he aims for different effects. Tieck's blurred contours serve the purpose of deception. They seduce the unsuspecting Eckbert and his wife, or Christian, none of whom would at first willingly have followed the devil. The situation is somewhat different for Goodman Brown. He is not altogether unaware of his guide's true nature and knows that any trust in him is misplaced. The unremarkable appearance of these nightly apparitions is used metonymically by both Tieck and Hawthorne to point out the all-pervading presence of evil, and the seemingly harmless ways by which it gains entrance. Both authors reinforce this point also by an emblematic use of nature, which changes from something familiar into a wilderness, once the woods are entered. Thus, young Brown soon begins to worry "that the traveler knows not who may be concealed by

the innumerable trunks and the thick boughs overhead; so that with lonely footsteps he may yet be passing through an unseen multitude."[23] As the road proceeds, nature images grow less realistic and more disturbing. The figures in the woods likewise lose recognizability, but gain intensity. The triumph of wickedness in the forest is never called a dream but described like one, for while it lacks visual precision, feelings and emotions are assailed by vivid impressions.

Like Tieck, Hawthorne confirms the reality of evil uncompromisingly and offers no happy conclusions, but he pursues a path which leads through New England territory and follows the German romances only into directions which he was already exploring himself. This same independence enabled him also to transmute Hoffmann's exuberant fantasy *The Golden Pot (Der goldene Topf)* into the strange and somber plot of "Rappaccini's Daughter."[24]

Significantly, Hawthorne was not tempted to emulate the oscillating brilliance with which Hoffmann juggles imagination and reality, and materializes the wildest fantasies in the middle of bourgeois decorum; however, the story line of *The Golden Pot* as such has many parallels with "Rappaccini's Daughter." Hawthorne's approach is entirely different to that of Hoffmann, and for the setting of "Rappaccini's Daughter" in a rambling mysterious Italian patrician house he uses the scenery of Tieck's "Goblet," a tale which is also included in Carlyle's *German Romance.* Hoffmann tells how the student Anselmus woos and wins the serpent daughter of a salamander, who leads the apparent life of an archivarius, a civil servant. When asked whether his brother is "in his Majesty's service too? Or perhaps a private scholar," this gentleman replies with perfect composure that he is in fact a dragon watching over "a famous mystic carbuncle."[25] The startling information seems to have seeded Hawthorne's imagination with the legend of "The Great Carbuncle."

The archivarius' daughter Serpentina will receive as her marriage portion a golden pot, polished

> with beams borrowed from the diamond; in its glitter shall our Kingdom of Wonders, as it now exists in the Harmony of universal Nature, be imagined back in glorious dazzling reflection; and from its interior, on the day of marriage shall spring forth a Fire-lily, whose eternal blossoms shall encircle the youth that is found worthy, with sweet wafting odours. Soon too shall he learn its speech, and understand the wonders of our kingdom, and dwell with his beloved in Atlantis itself.[26]

This speech of odors is precisely the language which Giovanni in "Rappaccini's Daughter" fails to understand, and his experience can thus be taken as the negative to Anselmus' enthusiastic reaction towards ideal perfection. Both suitors are young students, neither active nor heroic, though receptive to their environment. Accidents of fate are apt to shape the destiny of such people, but Anselmus responds to them with a fervent imagination of which Giovanni is incapable, for while Anselmus is a poet, he represents the everyday world, and his perspec-

tives on Dr. Rappaccini's unorthodox garden reflect the fears and uncertainties which accompany new technical advances. Where Hoffmann merges fact and fantasy, in Rappaccini's case "there was no approach between himself and these vegetable existences."[27] Giovanni can neither understand this disharmony as antagonism between mind and nature, nor sense Beatrice's behavior as perfect agreement between these two vital life forces, for as such it appears when set against the pattern of Serpentina in Hoffmann's *The Golden Pot.*

By fusing the commonplace with the sublime, Hoffmann superimposes a surrealistic level on the action, in which the impossible becomes likely and acceptable. Hawthorne's romances dispense with this dimension. He tones down the wild and grotesque, and where he blends fantasies into his narration he twists the focus so that alternative interpretations may be found. This is not important to Hoffmann and his apotheosis of poetry. He unites Serpentina with Anselmus who has learned to understand that her "Lily is Knowledge of the Sacred Harmony of all Beings; and in this do I live in the highest blessedness for evermore . . . for, like Belief and Love, this Knowledge is eternal."[28] The crowning of Schelling's nature philosophy is here epitomized, where the Golden Age will come again, when man can attune himself to nature and merge into the unity of the universe. Anselmus longs for this happy moment, but Giovanni lacks all premonition of it. His love is lukewarm, his doubts keep him from commitment, his desires are without fire and lack any spark of enthusiasm. Like the travelers on Hawthorne's "Celestial Railroad" he would quite like to get into paradise if it does not put him to any special inconvenience. And like these scientifically-minded passengers he lacks the faith in a higher reality which alone would enable him to interpret what he sees in its true significance.

Serpentina's union with her lily in the golden pot symbolizes a paradisical state, and such "an analogy between the beautiful girl and the gorgeous shrub" forms also the core of "Rappaccini's Daughter."[29] The symbolic relationship becomes here "so intimate that her features were hidden in its leafy bosom and her glistening ringlets all intermingled with the flowers."[30] If this closeness and mutual dependence is meant to symbolize, as in *The Golden Pot,* "Knowledge of the Sacred Harmony of all Beings," this meaning is only suggested, but never spelled out. In Hawthorne's tale the various levels on which Hoffmann's action takes place have all been compressed into one. Much happens that is decidedly unusual, but nothing that is impossible. Even the ending would become realistic, if Dr. Baglioni is seen as a poisoner.

Emblematic for retaining the dimensions of the possible is Hawthorne's change of the golden flowerpot into one of marble. The plant is not overtly magic; in this noble, but quite realistic container it only "had the lustre and richness of a gem."[31] While the flowers are seen as "gemlike" and as "purple gems,"[32] there is no direct indication that their magnificence is other than natural. Even their poisonous qualities can be accepted in a medieval herb garden.

Unlike Serpentina, Beatrice tempts not with treasures from a spirit world and gives no explanations, only an example. It is her peculiar tragedy that none of the three men involved in her destiny shows the slightest interest in "the Sacred Harmony of all Beings" of which she has become part. All they want is to effect changes which suit themselves, and their committed pursuit of their own personal interests results in irrevocable loss and ultimate destruction.

While Hoffmann changes freely from narration to allegory, Hawthorne remains within the narrow circle of his setting where, however, different levels of interpretation are constantly suggested. When he says of his heroine, "she must pass heavily, with that broken heart, across the borders of Time—she must bathe her hurts in some fount of paradise, and forget her grief in the light of immortality and there be well,"[33] he aligns her with nature spirits like Serpentina or Undine, whose harrowing tale was well known to both Hoffmann, who wrote an opera about it, and to Hawthorne.[34] The fountain, with its symbolism of perpetual youth and immortality also alludes to these myths, though Hawthorne is careful to describe it only as if it "were an immortal spirit."[35] The setting of this symbol of life and youth is "sculptured with rare art, but so woefully scattered that it was impossible to trace the original design from the chaos of remaining fragments."[36] These broken pieces symbolize the disharmony and disunity of purpose in the world that surrounds Beatrice as represented by the three male characters in the story, as well as more generally the alienation and disorientation of contemporary culture from the original simplicity of nature.

Hawthorne's symbolism is never one-dimensional, and insight into his subtle meanings can frequently be gathered from his use of images in other stories. He describes an "ornamental fountain" in "The Hall of Fantasy" which is said to unite "the virtues of the Fountain of Youth with those of many other enchanted wells." In it "the imaginative beholder may discern what form he will."[37] As Giovanni lacks this creative vision, he personifies those for whom idealism and beauty convey no message. In tune with that is his response to the purple color which predominates around Beatrice. Even before she came into view and he had only heard her rich voice, he thought, though he knew not why, "of deep hues of purple or crimson and of perfumes heavily delectable."[38]

Giovanni's impressions of this color combination seem to be tinged with reminiscences of Revelation 18.4, which describes the Great Whore of Babylon, one of the Mideastern demons from whom Serpentina and Undine are descended. Hoffmann, however, uses purple as metonym for the poetic imagination. At the end of *The Golden Pot,* when the visions are fading and "all had melted into the air," he reports having "found a paper lying on the violet table with the foregoing statement of the matter, written fairly and distinctly" by his own hand; surely an ending that is a tour de force of poetic imagination. With similarly allegoric intent Hawthorne imparts a "purple atmosphere" to his "Hall of Fantasy." He might be describing Giovanni when he speaks there of

people who "mistake the Hall and Fantasy for actual brick and mortar and its purple atmosphere for unsophisticated sunshine."[39]

What Giovanni perceives in the mysterious garden is therefore quite different from the exuberant visions of Anselmus. Where the one felt entwined by emerald serpents, who beckoned him to fairyland, the other sees only plants that "crept serpentlike along the ground or climbed high, using whatever means of ascent was offered them."[40] If "means of ascent" is taken metaphorically, Giovanni's failure to provide that needed support would have to be seen as the central theme of the story. Such an interpretation would identify Beatrice with nature spirits like Serpentina and Undine, while her father, like the salamander, would represent a fire demon, or in contemporary words: science in its interfering and self-willed aspects. Ancient gods like Vulcan, and Titans like Prometheus are related to this group. Hawthorne alluded to their dual aspects in "Earth's Holocaust," where he speaks of the "Titan of innovation,—angel or fiend, double in his nature, and capable of deeds befitting both characters."[41]

The father-daughter relationship, incidental in Hoffmann, is used by Hawthorne to personify the power of the intellect over some aspects of nature. Rappaccini's assumption that he can mold his daughter according to his will expresses the hope of science that nature will become subservient to its designs. Close interdependence of those two forces is also symbolized by this relationship. As in ancient myth, both are inextricably connected, though not always compatible, and sometimes even mutually destructive—implications which Hawthorne uses to shift his tale into ominous psychological dimensions.

Equating Beatrice with the harmony of self-regenerating nature as expressed in plants and spring water, and her father with the scientific urge which works ceaselessly on improvements and controls, indicates a reading which transcends the personal tragedy of the four characters involved. Before Hawthorne arrived at the equivocal and disturbingly suspended perspective of this tale, he had already worked on the theme in a different context. In "The Lily's Quest" it is the heroine's name, Lilias Faye—that is the fairy lily—which points to inspiration by *The Golden Pot.* Lily's young lover, a representative of humanity and reality, is called Adam Forrester. Together they search for a spot on earth where they can live in lasting joy and happiness, but Sorrow in the guise of a crazed old man points out that every place they select has already been desecrated by suffering and misery. When they finally settle down it is on an old tomb where Lily dies. Adam learns from this bitter experience "what was betokened by the parable in which the Lily and himself had acted; and the mystery of Life and Death was opened to him. 'Joy! Joy!' he cried, throwing his arms towards heaven," and he arrives at a conclusion strangely reminiscent of that of Anselmus, yet transposed into quite a different key: "and now our happiness is for Eternity!"[42]

The parabolic content of this tale is not yet handled with the same subtle virtuosity which brings the ambiguous texture to "Rappaccini's Daughter," but the message is similar: the poetic bliss which Anselmus

finds with his beloved belongs to the realm of imagination and cannot be realized in the rough reality of this life.

These and various other affinities in Hawthorne's work to the stories of Tieck and Hoffmann which Carlyle translated indicate a special familiarity with the *German Romance.* Hawthorne's use of Tieck's and Hoffmann's writings shows that he read them with an alert and creative mind, and that he profited considerably from their ideas wherever they touched on his own sensibilities and inner experiences. With glimpses from their myths and fairy tales he imparted an air of mystery and uncertainty to the often drab reality of the New World around him, and his reflective mind turned well-known domestic scenery into memorable and thought-provoking parables as if steeping it in the magic lustre of Romantic moonlight "making every object so minutely visible, yet so unlike a morning or a noontide visibility."[43]

Such seemingly natural integration of German influences into his own romances was only possible because Hawthorne relied for his inspiration not on any one literary source, but accepted stimulants and ideas from diverse writers. All these he fused into a coherent view corresponding with his own attitudes and personal experience. Various such links have recently been traced for "Rappaccini's Daughter" which appeals especially to modern interests with its submerged passions and its probing of the subconscious.[44]

Henry A. Pochmann drew attention to many of the non-German ingredients that went into Hawthorne's writings. Mindful of Poe's fierce accusation he concludes that by and large "the influence of German literature on Hawthorne is relatively inconsequential," and that the "influence of Hoffmann must be put down as negligible and that of Tieck as questionable."[45] This view is still generally prevalent, and it is also found in a recent overview of "Hawthorne, Melville, and The German Nineteenth Century" by Hans-Joachim Lang.[46] Carlyle's *German Romance* has not been taken into account in forming these judgements. Comparison between Carlyle's selection of German Romantic writing and Hawthorne's American romances suggests that Hawthorne owes much to these tales by Tieck and Hoffmann, but as he came to them with a mind already well stocked with ideas, he was able to integrate the vivid impressions he received from the German Romantics into a world peculiarly and memorably his own.

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Notes

[1] *The Works of Thomas Carlyle in Thirty Volumes,* Centenary Edition, vol. 21, *German Romance I,* and vol. 22, *German Romance II* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896).

[2] *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1843-1872* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., The Riverside Press Cambridge, 1884), vols. 1 and 2.

[3] *German Romance I,* Ludwig Tieck: "The Fair-Haired Eckbert," "The Trusty Eckart," "The Runenberg," "The Elves" and "The Goblet," 285ff.

[4] Edgar Allen Poe, "Tale-Writing: Nathaniel Hawthorne," in *American Romanticism*, ed. Stanley Bank (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 173.

[5] Percy Matenko, *Ludwig Tieck and America* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954), 1ff.

[6] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 3d ed. intr. by Hyatt H. Waggoner (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1970), 381.

[7] Jack D. Zipes, *The Great Refusal: Studies of the Romantic Hero in German and American Literature* (Bad Homburg: Athenäum Verlag, 1970), 17.

[8] Zipes, 83.

[9] Zipes, 75.

[10] Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Devil: Ancient and Modern in Two Parts*, intr. by Richard G. Landon (London: E. P. Publishing Ltd., 1972), 304 (orig. pub. 1727).

[11] Defoe, 412.

[12] Tieck captured this romantic mood in his *Kaiser Octavian* in a verse which became the motto of the movement:

Mondbeglänzte Zaubernacht,
Die den Sinn gefangen hält,
Wundervolle Märchenwelt,
Steig auf in der alten Pracht!

[13] *German Romance I*, 321.

[14] Hawthorne, 45.

[15] Hawthorne, 150.

[16] *German Romance I*, 341.

[17] Matenko, 76.

[18] *German Romance I*, 342.

[19] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, A Signet Classic 10 (New York: The New American Library, Inc., 1959), 235, 238.

[20] Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 238.

[21] *German Romance I*, 327.

[22] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 334.

[23] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 150.

[24] *German Romance II*, 3ff.

[25] *German Romance II*, 41.

[26] *German Romance II*, 84.

[27] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 331.

[28] *German Romance II*, 113.

[29] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 337.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 358.

[34] *Undine* by Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué was considered by Carlyle for good reasons a better choice than the tale by the same author which he included in his *German Romance I*, the now all but forgotten "Aslauga's Knight," 207. *Undine* had, however, already been translated previously. Hawthorne refers to *Undine* in *Love Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne, 1839-1863* (Washington: National Cash Register, 1973), 1:97, 219.

[35] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 330.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 463.

[38] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 332.

[39] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 465.

[40] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 331.

[41] Hawthorne, *Selected Tales and Sketches*, 519.

[42] Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Twice-Told Tales*, ed. J. Hubert Scott, The Riverside Literature Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), 503.

[43] Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, 44.

[44] E.g., Carol Marie Bensick, *La nouvelle Beatrice: Renaissance and Romance in "Rappaccini's Daughter"* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985).

[45] Henry A. Pochmann, *German Culture in America: Philosophical and Literary Influences, 1600-1900* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), s.v. "Nathaniel Hawthorne," 381-88, here 387-88.

[46] In *American-German Literary Interrelations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Christopher Wecker, American Studies, vol. 55 (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1983), 32.

Glen E. Lich

Sealsfield's Texas: Metaphor, Experience, and History

Implicit in Charles Sealsfield's seemingly irrepressibly optimistic *Cabin Book* (*Das Kajütenbuch,* 1841) is a quality that Sealsfield calls "high-minded adventure."[1] While the episodic novel unfolds as a series of allegories in which setting is able to speak and act—to be understood as well as felt—corresponding metaphors in *The Cabin Book* unify the frame cycle and reveal a moral aesthetic in which destination and process converge. These strings of metaphors may also reveal something—in the manner of Leon Edel's "figure under the carpet" or "evidence in the reverse of the tapestry"—about Sealsfield's concepts of history and literature.[2]

The Cabin Book argues the possibility, even the need, of forecasting the future in a way that reconciled social myth with change. If *Progress,* the theme of the Great Exhibition in 1851 in London, was the dominant myth of the nineteenth century, then evolution and revolution were primary modes by which change was expected to take place. Writers and scientists and explorers therefore engaged in a re-creation, or revaluation, of "natural history" as a general frame of reference in order to uncover symbologies more relevant to what they perceived as a radically changing reality. Much in the manner that this historicism introduced a dynamic and potentially relativistic way of understanding change, Sealsfield's novel about the southwestern frontier points to both good and bad in the alternately exciting and burdensome task of proving that "social dreams could become things of flesh and blood."[3]

Sealsfield cultivated the rhetoric of the New World as a metaphor of adventure, abundance, and good fortune. The frontier flourished and blossomed under his pen. and he populated it with romantic rebels like himself. But *The Cabin Book* reminds one repeatedly that Eden preluded the Fall (35) and that experiments in democracy remain high-stake gambles for those who want freedom from worn-out homelands, from taxes and debts, from the law and the past (9, 24, 77, 99, 165, 251).

Sealsfield's aspirations for America focused on Texas when he wrote *Das Kajütenbuch* in 1841—five years after the Battle of San Jacinto and five years before Texas entered the Union. His novel about the "birth and resurrection" (212) of Texas life in the 1830s suggests an "enchanted" (14, 26, 29) land inhabited by legendary men, where "you sow nails at night, and find horseshoes in the morning" (15). No other early writer so richly captured the mystique of Texans as they have ever liked to see themselves: bigger than life, better than most other people, mavericks, strutting around and crowing rambunctiously, thoroughly uncompromising about their freedom and dignity, sometimes cheats and tricksters at least in the stories they told, and courageous if not downright foolhardy. Sealsfield's Texas is equally loud and flamboyant: a golden land where sensitive plants grow six feet tall and where the oaks are the tallest on earth.

The Cabin Book, named after a plantation house built to look like both an ark and a battleship, unfolds as the personal reminiscence of a young Texas colonel whose tales of great valor on the Jacinto Prairie entertain a circle of "grandee planters" (7) gathered near the Mississippi River. Sealsfield reminds us frequently that these tales of daring and adventure in Texas are set only five years earlier in the middle of the 1830s, but the listeners' rapt attention tells us that these events already belong to a legendary past. Occasionally the guests break in. They want the colonel's true opinions, and the colonel never fails to satisfy their curiosity as he weaves a history together.

The Texas Revolution becomes an allegory, the first of several, as the colonel narrates a story of manifest destiny: the Davids of Texas overcoming the Goliath of Catholic Mexico. But the story is not simple. Like heroes of Homer's *Iliad,* these Texans and Mexicans are flesh and blood mortals garbed in the forces of time. Young and old listen to the colonel's voice. Through his eyes, they watch the Alamo and San Jacinto grow into the eternal struggle to create and to dream.

Sealsfield adorns the epic with tall tales. Not only do mimosas tower in the air, but they are so delicate and pure that they cower before the approaching hoofbeats of a horse and rider. "It is only when you have ridden some distance, that, tremblingly and fearfully," they raise themselves again, "reminding you of a lovely maiden who, touched by some rude hand, terrified and blushing, lets her head sink in her arms, and only ventures to raise it when the danger is past" (32). Sealsfield tells us that the Texas prairies are like a prayer. They inspire a newcomer with "an indescribably, but pious, childlike confidence" (31). Riding these prairies the first time, the narrator remembers how awed he was by their divine majesty. "The God of Moses, who spake out of the burning brush, did not appear comparable to the God who here appeared to me pervading everything, in the clear, immeasurable world" (31). In comparison with the land, Sealsfield's picture of most of the early Texans seems negative. The climate robs people of their ability to think, the author suggests (23, 28, 36). Many Texans are scoundrels running from a shady past. But, he argues, "for such a country, even outcasts and dregs are necessary" (77). The aristocrats, merchants, and

gentle churchgoers of the East Coast have no place in an emerging Texas. Such people, the colonel pauses to puff his cigar, have "too much piety and respect for authority." They "would cringe, bend, submit to everything rather than defend themselves, or rise up and fight. They "are much too orderly." They "love peace and quietness too well." What Texas demands, he concludes, are "restless heads, heads with a cord round their neck, a brand on their body, who do not value their lives more than an empty nut-shell, don't inquire long, and have their rifle always in their hand" (77).

Texans are always a mixed bag. While many seem to be "rabble"—people who could not make anything of themselves anywhere else and drifted westward—Texans are likewise "never satisfied" (55) and that is what makes them a race apart. That is what guarantees their success—to the degree that anything is ever guaranteed. They are heirs of Europe's past. From the Normans they have a bold example in history of an inferior race that won a new land (79, 97). From the Swiss and Greeks they inherited "strategic genius" (141). From the English they have beliefs in inalienable human rights (121). From the Germans, Sealsfield worries, they have the dreams but not the fortitude to hold their heritage together (86). They possess a "grandeur of character": things in Texas stand out in strong relief (99). But whether they can ride their mustang into the future depends on how well they balance their strengths and weaknesses. In many ways, Sealsfield seems to predict, their future is as glowing—and as ambiguous—as the colonel's sunsets. When Texans walk the earth, the ground shakes. "Lands and kingdoms are not won like birds, through mildness, patience, gentleness, modesty, but with power, might, and daring" (84). So legendary Texans ought to win. But Sealsfield is not blind to their faults. To them, freedom is like water to fish (121). They are scarcely conscious of how much they need freedom. Yet they cannot exist without it (121). They cannot live within institutions. They cannot fight from fortresses, and they seldom cooperate well together (155). Texans are made from strong, coarse marble and granite. "No people on earth," the colonel muses, "the ancient Romans perhaps excepted, have had this intense energy, this enduring and almost terrible strength of will" (152). And like Americans, Texans "never lose sight of the great end" (145).

Clearly, Sealsfield knows what will sell to readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Yet behind his rendition of legendary greatness he always discovers deeper meaning: a purposeful dynamism that rises to the occasion, seldom greater than the demands placed on it but always capable of surpassing its shortcomings. That is the heart of *The Cabin Book,* and that message unites "The Jacinto Prairie" with the other stories.

"The Jacinto Prairie," first and most popular of the beautiful novellas that comprise this frame narrative, outlines Sealsfield's myth of history and his concept of the social covenant. In a recent monograph, Walter Grünzweig underscores the ethical significance of this novella to the whole of the novel when he writes that Texas is "needed in order to reform the American character and to inspire the country's return to the

original values of the founding fathers''—''this principle, this Ariadne's thread'' (73) that the grandee planters who listen to this and subsequent novellas have forgotten.[4]

While unfolding Sealsfield's historical consciousness, these seemingly ingenuous tales hark back to two writers most influential on Sealsfield—Goethe and Scott—with a curious twist that gives Sealsfield his singular position. Sealsfield was intent upon exploring what Jerome Bruner calls the ''alternativeness of human possibility.''[5] And having pondered alternatives, Sealsfield wrote to do battle for the future—his future—armed with an understanding for the *utility* of history akin to that of Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773) and Scott's *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818). In examining historical subjects, Goethe and Scott, and similarly Sealsfield, were well aware of the limitations or shortcomings of the past and—in Sealsfield's case—of the future. But the historical arena gave Goethe and Scott the opportunity to correct ''values of the human spirit'' in the present and Sealsfield to address values of the future.[6]

In *The Heart of Mid-Lothian,* for instance, Scott presents a memorable image of progress when he writes, in the opening, of the highflyers and rapid mailcoaches that ''thunder'' across a then modernizing Britain, rivaling all else in ''brilliancy and noise.'' ''Now and then, to complete the resemblance,'' Scott continues, ''it does happen that the career of these dashing rivals . . . meets with [an] undesirable and violent termination.'' The ancient ways were ''slow and sure,'' Scott muses; when an accident occurs, one rues ''the exchange of the slow and safe motion'' of old conveyances. A fast-moving lifestyle brings with it, he suggests, the risk of being ''smashed to pieces with the velocity of [a] vessel hurled against the breakers, or rather with the fury of a bomb bursting at the conclusion of its career through the air.''[7]

Scott ends with a decidedly negative tone, corresponding perhaps with his regret for the passing of the old. But Sealsfield sees boldness and speed as the order of the day. Without advocating ''brilliancy and noise'' for their own sake, he reminds readers in *The Cabin Book* that the Norman conquest of Britain and the Texan conquest of the future resound with the noise of road-building and empire. The bones of the rowdy Normans paved the way into Britain. And recurring to the metaphor of the marriage of the right men to the right land, Sealsfield adds, ''faint heart never won fair lady'' (138).[8]

This wooing of destiny sounds much like a *Bildungsroman* for society. Wulf Koepke's explanation of Sealsfield's affinity for Scott's fiction helps explain also the argument of what emerges here as Sealsfield's moral aesthetic. ''Sealsfield found his master in Walter Scott, the only famous writer whom he was anxious to meet in person.'' But unlike Scott and unlike James Fenimore Cooper, Sealsfield ''did not write historical novels, but used the *form* of the historical novel, as developed by Scott, to write 'contemporary novels.' ''[9]

Sealsfield incorporates, albeit somewhat ambivalently, the strain of aristocratic paternalism found in both Goethe and Scott. Although he theorizes a vaguely Pestalozzian and Comtean religion of humanity[10]

that accrues from democracy, he acknowledges a kind of natural aristocracy (71-73) in practice. But he is far less ambivalent with regard to paternalism, the second aspect of Goethe's and Scott's selective recollection of the past. Somewhat like mysterious runes that whispered their sounds to the attentive reader who learned to "hear" what the letters wanted him to amplify, Sealsfield's Texas awaited reading by legendary men whose story would stand for the new order envisioned timidly by Goethe and apprehensively by Scott. The alcalde and the sea captain are two of several characters in *The Cabin Book* who, having achieved positions of responsibility and judgment, use power vested in them to facilitate history's natural or "vegetable" (263) growth. As Koepke further points out, "Sealsfield saw society in a perpetual process of formation and renewal. He presented alternate models for society and the novel as a genre, which may later have degenerated into adolescent fantasies, but nevertheless should be taken seriously."[11]

Not only in "The Jacinto Prairie" but throughout *The Cabin Book,* which Grünzweig calls a "'Western' with global dimensions,"[12] Sealsfield portrays both beginning and pattern for the human progress that was a major ethical concern of his time. One dominant metaphor in Sealsfield's world is focused on grafting highly developed European culture onto healthy rootstock of the New World where, in fertile soils and free from disease, the best of the Old World could secure a new lease on life. Yet Sealsfield consistently cautions readers to shape substance into idea: to see setting—time and place—as an ambivalent force. Such a setting, he reminds both continents, can be staging ground for a new kind of social history. This environment predisposes a certain behavior, it levels and it democratizes, and it forces people to define themselves in new ways.

Another metaphor, in which Sealsfield develops the ambivalence more clearly, shows the old order riding into the future on the wild mustang that is Texas. In an "enchanted" (25-26) land where nails grow overnight into horseshoes, Sealsfield seems to compare winning the West with taming spirited horses: dangerous not only to the trainer but cruel to the horse as well (18-19). When a runaway mustang leads him almost to his death, young Morse senses that both the prairie and the animal defy him. Both are "beasts" (20) that rob the unwary of a sense of direction, Morse recalls. Only an accident saves Morse's life. When we remember that a horse is a beast of burden and a symbol of freedom, the nature of Sealsfield's emblem becomes clear: Westering Texans try to capture something they have lost, a runaway that promises to take them far. This metaphor of destination and process unites the novellas of *The Cabin Book.*

Sealsfield's Texas is virgin wilderness and virgin time: the new stage for an age-old drama of human history, cheap like the mustangs but full of "strength and rage" (20), land of endless horizons and endless futures, a West Coast of the 1840s. Sealsfield always emphasizes not the going but the coming to terms with the arrival when he cautions that only bold people can court and master these possibilities. Texas may seem a place "where love affairs are got up overnight and become

marriages in the morning'' (238), and it may well be a place where wildflowers stand so tall and so thick that a mustang pony has trouble walking (25, 33) through ''a flower-garden . . . in which there was scarcely anything green; but the most variegated carpet of flowers—red, yellow, blue, and violet'' (25). But this effulgent, almost perverse, ''prairie'' cautions trespassers to question survival on a diet of blossoms, however promising of seed. Elsewhere Sealsfield warns that the prairie is a sea of flux[13] ''rolling in uninterrupted waves'' (13), a dancing ''vegetable world'' (28), a ''sea of Bengal fire'' (27), a ''fire ocean'' (29) dotted with oak mottes that look alternately like a ''bower'' (21) or a ''serpent which coils itself to spring upon its prey'' (25). Little wonder that virgin Texas is a place where rational people lose their way (35), succumb to a phlegmatic climate (110), and starve amidst plenty (26, 38–39). Texas seems to hold all things for all people—infinite space in a finite world—but Sealsfield's young colonel is old enough to have wondered whether the golden sunsets are blessings or mirages.[14]

''Sealsfield's exaggeration of Romantic images in his description is a warning,'' adds Koepke in an essay that argues Sealsfield's place in German literary history.

> Neither ecstatic dreams nor unreasonable anxiety are suitable attitudes toward this virgin land. . . . The Arcadian view of nature and man is thus replaced by a millennial perspective: nature and society are what humans make out of them through strenuous effort and struggle. Paradise is not the state of this earth, but a goal.[15]

Likewise, Sealsfield's Texas is not an end, but a means to an end. The transition from ''The Jacinto Prairie'' to ''Kishogue's Curse'' widens the scope of the novel. Now the subtitle, *National Characteristics,* assumes significance as Sealsfield compares the ''birth'' of Texas with the ''resurrection'' of ''whole peoples'' elsewhere in the world. The story of unfortunate Kishogue, a gem about a stolen horse, leads into tales of derring-do set outside Texas. Here, in relation to other American liberation movements, Sealsfield tells readers what a ''glorious'' thing it is to witness the emergence of new nations.

> Verily, it is a glorious period for a philanthropist, when it is permitted to him to celebrate the new birth and resurrection of a whole people. At such a time, all that is low and common disappears—the noble and high-hearted feelings overpower all that are unworthy, and the most miserable slave becomes a hero. (212)

The ''birth'' of Texas from the wilderness dream and the ''resurrection'' of the Americas from European imperialism speak not only to Texans and Cubans and Bolivians but also to weary Europeans.

Still, even here as the political significance emerges, the emphasis on love and romance and adventure also rises. Throughout the stories run metaphors of conveyances—whether Kishogue's or Morse's horses or Yankee clipper ships that symbolize both destination and process or Captain Murky's ''cabin,'' the ship-like home from which the novel gets

title and frame—all entwined with the question of a "gentleman's" responsibility to other people. Should a nice young man like Colonel Morse condone rabble? Should a ship captain break the law in order to serve a higher justice? What kind of a man should win the beautiful young maiden Alexandrine? Will it be the Baron de Marigny or the "new man," Morse, now already a general?

Morse's guiding stars are obviously in the ascendency. A self-made man, still rising, whose heritage and natural abilities combine with hard work and sterling conscience, he is a clear symbol of *Progress,* the theme ten years later of the London Exhibition. Never, Sealsfield must have felt when writing about Morse, had people been more conscious of triumphing over the world around them, but never, he thought, had they careened into the future at such speed and so precariously. The future here is not entirely golden, and it never is entirely golden. However, a vein of picaresque humor is always present: rednecks named Cracker, a general named Burnslow, sea captain aliases like Ready and Murky, and paradises as bizarre as a sixty-by-hundred-foot "cabin." Yet Sealsfield trusts in the ability of all things, all systems and all organisms, even Murky's "vegetable" house, to right themselves when guided by good minds. "The wheel of the world is urged on," he writes, "not by dwarf, but by giant hands."

> In its powerful revolutions it crushes the weak; the strong overcome and guide it. Such strong hands were also . . . busy in Texas . . . men with giant souls, who under rude hats hid the finest heads, under rough buckskin waistcoats the warmest hearts—the most iron will; who, desiring great things and carrying out those great things with the most limited means, have founded a new state which . . . has assuredly a great destiny. (165)

Perhaps easily missed elsewhere in "The Jacinto Prairie," Sealsfield leaves no doubt at the end of the Texas novella that those strong hands are led by even stronger minds. Morse, a nephew of Faust and cousin of Wilhelm Meister, represents the "high-minded adventuresomeness" required to negotiate dangerous highways.

Balancing the promise and the savagery of regeneration through violence, *The Cabin Book* echoes the Old Testament, the romantic beliefs of the second great age of exploration, and the convenant voluntarily adopted by the American republic. As a "contemporary novel" with what we today might call a moral agenda, this novel unearths the organic forces that led to community and government in the Old World.[16] Sealsfield's Texas reveals to Europe its own childhood, goads America toward its founding dream, and leads both worlds into the future. Some of the princes of the *Adelsverein* claimed the novel gave them the idea of colonizing Texas. And when other German princes explored Texas and led colonists there in order to win new glory for old crowns, they may have known their roles in part from Sealsfield's characters.[17] If Sealsfield animated what was implicit in travel books like those of J. Val. Hecke (1820, 1821) and helped princes conjure reality

from myth, his novel probably also prepared frontier intellectuals for what they would see and, in the idiom of the day, perpetuated the words and metaphors they used in their letters home. Whether these German writers favored romanticism or emergent poetic realism, the histories, treatises, geographies, and philosophies they wrote—like the planned communities they built—operate out of the same sense of the anatomy and physiology of society and belief systems that Sealsfield recognized as at once ancient and modern. His myth, purporting to be a model *of* reality, is perhaps more accurately understood as a model *for* reality, willingly received and widely practiced by the nobles Heinz Gollwitzer describes in *Die Standesherren* (1964) as well as by republicans and forty-eighters like Ernst Kapp, the geographer and philosopher of technology.

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Notes

[1] Charles Sealsfield, *The Cabin Book or National Characteristics,* trans. Sarah Powell (New York: St. John and Coffin, 1871; rpt. with foreword by Glen E. Lich, Austin: Eakin, 1985), 79. All subsequent citations from this edition are given parenthetically in the text. An abbreviated version of this paper was read in New Orleans at the annual meeting of the South Central Modern Language Association in 1986.

In addition to comprehensive studies of Sealsfield by Alexander Ritter, recent criticism and reprints of *Das Kajütenbuch/The Cabin Book* attest to new trends in Sealsfield scholarship: Walter Grünzweig, *Charles Sealsfield,* Western Writers Series, no. 71 (Boise: Boise State University, 1985); Wulf Koepke, "Charles Sealsfield's Place in Literary History," *South Central Review* 1 (1984): 54–66; and Wendelin Schmidt-Dengler, "Charles Sealsfield: *Das Kajütenbuch,*" in *Romane und Erzählungen zwischen Romantik und Realismus: Neue Interpretationen,* ed. Paul Michael Lützeler (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1983), 314–39.

There is a recent German scholarly edition: *Das Kajütenbuch oder Nationale Charakteristiken,* ed. Alexander Ritter (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1982).

Note on the translation selected for the 1985 facsimile edition by Eakin Press: Sarah Powell's 1852 London translation of *Das Kajütenbuch* so closely matches the style and tone of the German that translators must marvel. Not only is her English a nearly exact rendition, but her familiarity with flora, fauna, geography, and then current events of the trans-Mississippi South is equally impressive. Although the ethos of Sealsfield's German approximates the moral aesthetic out of which Victorian prose operated, her text does not act like a translation by another author, nor has it "aged" as a translation by someone other than the original author usually ages.

[2] Leon Edel, "The Figure Under the Carpet," *Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art,* ed. Marc Pachter (Washington, DC: New Republic Books, 1979), 24–25. See also Leon Edel, *Literary Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), vii, 1–2, 6–7, 40, 51, 82–83.

[3] James Madison, quoted in Arthur Eugene Bestor, *Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663–1829* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 1.

[4] Walter Grünzweig, *Charles Sealsfield,* Western Writers Series, no. 71 (Boise: Boise State University, 1985), 25.

[5] Jerome Bruner, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 53.

[6] Alice Chandler, *A Dream of Order: The Medievel Ideal in Nineteenth-Century English Literature* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970), 28.

[7] Walter Scott, *The Heart of Mid-Lothian,* Everyman's Library (New York: Dutton, 1978), 16.

[8] Compare Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 8ff.

[9] Wulf Koepke, "Charles Sealsfield's Place in Literary History," *South Central Review* 1 (1984): 55.

[10] See T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[11] Koepke, 61, 63.

[12] Grünzweig, 26.

[13] This imagery of flux takes an autobiographical twist when one recalls that the pseudonym *Sealsfield,* sometimes rendered as Seatsfield and Sealesfield, was also given as *Seafeld* and, in German, *Siegefeld.*

[14] Compare imagery in John L. Allen, "The Garden-Desert Continuum: Competing Views of the Great Plains in the Nineteenth Century," *Great Plains Quarterly* 5 (1985): 207–20.

[15] Koepke, 60.

[16] On the basis of what he writes into *The Cabin Book,* I judge that Sealsfield's interests were somewhat more those of the historical cultural geographer than those of the anthropologist or sociologist. Compare Terry G. Jordan, *The European Culture Area: A Systematic Geography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), 48ff. Sealsfield was also interested in the politico-economic foundations of developing areas.

[17] Gilbert Giddings Benjamin, *The Germans in Texas: A Study in Immigration* (New York: Appleton, 1909; rpt. Austin: Jenkins, 1974), 25–37.

Jacob Erhardt

Robert Reitzel and the Haymarket Affair

On 4 May 1886 a bomb was thrown near Chicago's Haymarket Square which caused the first "red scare" in America and produced the first American anarchist martyrs. A mass meeting of workers had been called together in Haymarket Square on the evening of the fourth, in order to protest police brutality of the previous day, when the police had killed one and seriously injured six other McCormick Harvester strikers, who had been agitating for an eight-hour day. The English version of the announcement read:

Attention Workingmen!
----------Great----------
MASS - MEETING
TO-NIGHT, at 7:30 o'clock,
----------at the----------
HAYMARKET, Randolph St. Bet. Desplaines and Halsted
Good speakers will be present to denounce the latest
atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

This so-called "great mass meeting" which was to begin at 7:30 P.M. and which was expected to attract many thousands of workers, actually drew only a crowd of about twelve to thirteen hundred people, and did not start until after 8:30 P.M.[1] The weather changed as the last speaker of the evening was speaking; it began to drizzle, and the crowd, seeking shelter, quickly dwindled to three hundred or less. Just as Samuel Fielden was winding up his speech, captains John Bonfield and William Ward appeared with a police column of 180 men and told the crowd to

disperse peaceably. Suddenly, without warning a dynamite bomb was thrown into the midst of the police, killing officer Mathias J. Degan immediately; six other policemen later died from their wounds. During the ensuing panic several of the fleeing people were killed and two hundred wounded.[2] Although in Frank Harris' ostentatiously sensational novel, *The Bomb,* Rudolph Schnaubelt is identified as the bomb-thrower, no one could, in fact, be implicated, and the identity of the bomb-thrower is still unknown today.[3] Nevertheless seven men were arrested and charged with the murder of policeman Degan. Albert Parsons, who had fled from Chicago, later turned himself in, so confident was he that he would not be tried because of complete lack of evidence. But he, as well as other prisoners, completely misjudged the hysterical mood of Chicago which was whipped up by the police, who seemed only interested in retribution, and by the press, which fed on the fears of the public by describing vividly an imagined communist and anarchist conspiracy by foreign-born fanatics threatening their very lives and property.[4] Of course, it was not only the city's papers which added to the hysterical mood of Chicago. Generally, the conservative American as well as the ethnic American papers were all solidly lined up against the Haymarket prisoners. Their rights were defended only by socialist and anarchist papers, though by no means by all of them and the support of some of those papers was merely lukewarm.

The chief prosecutor Julius S. Grinnell did not even try to prove that the defendants had thrown the bomb, rather he attempted to establish a conspiracy. All eight defendants were found guilty of murder by the twelve jurors, "whose admitted prejudices against anarchism were declared by Judge Gary to be 'no cause for exclusion.' "[5] Seven were condemned to death, while Neebe received a fifteen-year prison sentence. Subsequently, Spies, Parsons, Engel, and Fischer were hanged on 11 November 1887. One day before the execution the death sentences of Schwab and Fielden were commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Oglesby, while on that same day Lingg committed suicide by exploding a bomb in his mouth. The trial, it is now commonly agreed, was a judicial farce and a gross miscarriage of justice:

> A biased jury, a prejudiced judge, perjured evidence, an extraordinary and indefensible theory of conspiracy, and the temper of Chicago led to the conviction. The evidence never proved their guilt.[6]

Society took its revenge against these men who, in newspapers and public speeches, had encouraged and supported striking workers and had called for a social revolution.

In 1893 Governor John Altgeld of Illinois granted an absolute pardon to the three remaining prisoners, because, as he stated in his pardon message, the jury had been packed, the jurors legally incompetent, the judge prejudiced, and the evidence insufficient to show that the defendants were guilty.[7] Historians today are in general agreement with this summary of the Haymarket Affair.[8]

The events in Chicago captured Robert Reitzel's (1849-98) interest right from the start. His own socio-economic revolutionary ideas were similar, though less inflammatory, to those expressed by the Chicago anarchists. Nor did he ever call for a violent overthrow of the existing social order, as several of the defendants admitted to having done. He came to view the trial itself as a major political event, as a dangerous assault on the First Amendment, and as a proving ground for the viability of a free America. Thus, his initial active interest in the Haymarket Affair soon changed to a consuming passion. He eloquently and vigorously defended the anarchists in speeches and especially in the pages of his popular, weekly literary journal *Der arme Teufel*, of which he was the editor and main contributor from 1884 until his death in 1898. Although Reitzel was well known among German-Americans of the last century, not only because of his journal,[9] but also as an able, charismatic public speaker,[10] he failed to mobilize support of any consequence for the condemned Haymarket prisoners. It might have turned out differently, if he had joined forces with others. But his temperament was far too individualistic to allow him to become an adherent of any dogma or movement. The Social Democrats had ruined socialism for him, he once said, the Christians Christianity, and the anarchists anarchism.

Some of the circumstances of Reitzel's life help to explain how he came to have such an extreme political outlook. In his carefree student days at the University of Heidelberg, Reitzel had studied history and philosophy rather half-heartedly and had left the university without receiving his degree. Consequently he was unable to find employment in Germany and therefore willingly heeded his father's advice to emigrate to America. And so he left the Black Forest and arrived in New York City in 1870 at the age of twenty-one. But life was just as grim in America; he was again unable to find a steady job; he and some companions tramped through New York, Pennsylvania and Maryland, often having nothing to eat, no place to sleep, most of the time treated like the scum of society or sometimes even like common criminals. He kept a journal of the first year of his wild and colorful experiences in America. These entries into the journal later formed the skeleton of his autobiographical novel *Abenteuer eines Grünen*, which not only gives a fascinating and at times disturbing historical, sociological and economic portrait of America in the 1870s, but is also a German-American *Sprachkunstwerk* of the first rank in clear, crisp prose, heightened with romantic yearning à la Eichendorff and irony reminiscent of Heine.

Late in the fall of 1870 Reitzel found a mentor in a minister from Baltimore named Pister who decided that a theological career was the only option open for him, and who found him a temporary job in a wine cellar. No one was more sorry than Reitzel himself, when the time had come to prepare his first sermon, for this meant he had to give up his work in the wine cellar. As he remarked: ''Hatte ich doch nichts weniger als Sehnsucht nach dem Weinberg des Herrn, der Weinkeller war mir lieber'' (30 April 1887, 173). It is not surprising—given such a jocular attitude coupled with his shockingly unorthodox sermons—that his attempt at the ministry failed in less than a year. For more than a decade

he then traveled across America, a welcome speaker before liberal German-American audiences. In Detroit some of his friends helped him found *Der arme Teufel,* the freshest, most exciting as well as one of the most controversial German-American journals. Finally he had found a receptacle for his extremely liberal ideas.

For the remaining years of his life he continued to speak out, to write and to edit his paper. During the last four painful years he was laid up in bed, in his *Matratzengruft,* not unlike Heinrich Heine. Robert Reitzel died 31 March 1898 in his fiftieth year.

Reitzel's impassioned defense of the Haymarket prisoners was met with other voices, of course. He had printed a long letter by August Spies in the *Armer Teufel,* a letter which he likened to a monologue from Büchner's *Dantons Tod.* The *Chicago Daily News* published an English translation of this letter and by way of explanation to its readers identified the *Armer Teufel* as an anarchistic paper devoted to free love, revolution and the sharing of property, while agitating against society, the law of the land and religion.[11] Reitzel responded in a manner typical for him, first by feigning mocking exasperation, and then by cheerfully poking fun at this assertion:

> Ist je einem Menschen so Verleumderisches auf den Kopf zugesagt worden?
>
> Ich soll gegen das Gesetz sein, ich, der ich das gesetzliche Alter abwartete, ehe ich heiratete und ehe ich eine Zeitung herausgab! . . . Ich soll gegen Religion sein, da ich doch mehr Feiertage halte als im Kalender stehen! (25 September 1886, 340).

An essay by Reitzel with the Latin heading ''Vae Victis'' appeared in the 15 May 1886 issue of the *Armer Teufel.* His information about the events in Chicago was incomplete at this time. He wrote that a few thousand protesters had gathered in Haymarket Square who wanted to avenge the continuing injustices and brutalities perpetrated on the workers. Actually, as already stated, there were never more than thirteen hundred people present and only three hundred or less at the time the bomb was thrown. The speeches that evening by Spies, Parsons and Fielden were no more inflammatory than others given at political gatherings before 4 May; nor was there in those speeches any threat of personal violence against the police.

Reitzel had expected the workers to revolt at some point; for him the Haymarket tragedy was purely the result of a struggle for material interests. He foresaw all too clearly that society would demand the spilled blood of the policemen be avenged, and that a witch-hunt would begin against anarchists, communists and socialists, who were now all conveniently lumped together.

For the next one and one-half years the Haymarket Affair became the most important and most painful concern in the *Armer Teufel.* Hardly an issue was published without a reference to it. The cheerful tone of the paper and its carefree banter diminished drastically. Reitzel became personally more and more involved with the fate of the eight prisoners,

especially after traveling to Chicago in July 1886, where he met all of them. A number of letters by Spies and Lingg addressed to Reitzel were published in the *Armer Teufel*. He spoke at numerous mass meetings to raise money for the defense of Spies and the others, and to rouse the people to action. His report about his first trip to Chicago—"In der Höhle des Löwen"—sounded surprisingly optimistic. Being present in the courtroom during the proceedings and talking to the defendants must have buoyed his spirits. He knew this trial was a "bedeutendes Kulturereignis," but for the onlooker it might have appeared to be merely an amusing comedy of errors. He relished the bizarre irony of distributing to each defendant in the courtroom the latest issue of the *Armer Teufel*. And Judge Gary who liked to have women hovering around the bench during the trial was described in a mocking way:

> Der Richter—das Bild eines richtigen alten amerikanischen Philisters. Wenn ihm einige Zeitungen nähere Beziehungen zu den ihn beständig umgebenden Damen insinuieren, so müssen, nach meiner Meinung, diese Beziehungen sehr gestandener Natur sein, denn die um diesen Salomo versammelten Weiber sind sicherlich schon mit der Mayflower herübergekommen (31 July 1886, 276).

At the end of his essay, in a more serious vein, he warned not to underestimate the able prosecutor Grinnell; William Perkins Black, chief attorney for the defense, was also judged to be a skillful lawyer who clearly had feelings of sympathy for the defendants; however, he was prone to lose his temper which, Reitzel remarked, might end up doing more harm than good.

The pronouncement of the death sentence for seven of the eight defendants surprised even the prosecutor Grinnell, Reitzel claimed. Now, however, Reitzel tried even more desperately to rouse the people out of their lethargy to action. In general, people sympathetic to the cause of the labor movement felt the hanging would never be carried out. Reitzel knew better:

> Wenn es möglich war, daß ein solches Urteil gesprochen und bestätigt wurde, dann ist es auch möglich, daß es vollzogen wird; wir müssen uns mit der Tatsache vertraut machen, daß man sieben kräftige, gesunde Menschen vor der gesamten zivilisierten Welt hinmordet, hinmordet mit kalter Überlegung (16 October 1886, 364).

In bold juxtaposition he compared the fate of Jesus with that of the anarchists, the city of Chicago with Jerusalem: "Jerusalem — Chicago — dasselbe Trauerspiel, dieselben Akteure, dieselbe Vergewaltigung des Gerechtigkeitsgefühls" (30 October 1886, 380). Was not Jesus' preaching an incitement to anarchy? Did not Jesus have to die, he argued, because he was too great a threat to law and order, and to the high priests of religion?:

> Haben nicht die acht Männer in Chicago mit demselben Stolz wie der Menschensohn die Anklage des Anarchismus, der Volksaufwiegelung,

> der Revolutionspredigt beanwortet mit einem: "Du sagst es"?! (30 October 1886, 380).

Did Judge Gary not perceive the similarity of his position with that of his colleague of two thousand years ago, Pontius Pilate? Though when Pilate had pronounced sentence he declared himself innocent of the spilling of blood by washing his hands before the crowd, thus showing his weakness and inability to change matters, perhaps even his nobility of soul. Judge Gary showed no such weakness nor nobility of soul, and he chose not to wash his hands publicly.

As the eleventh of November 1887 moved inexorably closer, Reitzel's mood darkened and he became even more somber. The Supreme Court of Illinois had sustained the verdict of the lower court on 14 September and a pardon by Governor Oglesby seemed highly unlikely. Speeches and polemical writings in the *Armer Teufel* on behalf of the anarchists reached a fever pitch. What was about to happen in Chicago, he warned his audience in Detroit on 16 October, was not a blow against the anarchists,

> sondern gegen alles freie Denken gerichtet . . . gegen jede Emanzipations-Idee, namentlich wenn sie vorzugsweise von Eingewanderten vertreten wird, gegen das republikanische Bürgertum überhaupt (22 October 1887, 370).

Would they allow seven men to be slaughtered who had courageously and selflessly fought for the people, he asked? In Chicago, a few days before the execution, Reitzel apparently even considered freeing the prisoners by force from Cook County Jail, an idea he quickly abandoned, when he realized there was no chance of success.[12]

On 12 November, the *Armer Teufel* was published draped in black. Reitzel was back again in Chicago to deliver the funeral speech the following day. Six thousand people marched in the funeral cortege, one quarter of a million lined the route, over ten thousand, maybe fifteen thousand came to Waldheim Cemetery to listen to the eulogy of the dead by Captain Black, the defense attorney of the Haymarket martyrs, by Thomas J. Morgan, a socialist labor leader, by Albert Currlin, a former editor of the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and by Robert Reitzel.[13] All of them spoke in English, except for Reitzel who addressed the crowd in German. He began his moving oration with a feeling of nausea, great sorrow, and defiance:

> Freunde der Freiheit! Mein erstes Wort an diesen Särgen soll eine Anklage sein, nicht gegen den Geldpöbel, der heute in seinen Kirchen dem Herrgott dankt, daß er wieder einmal ein gerechter Richter gewesen ist, sondern gegen die Arbeiter von Chicago. Denn ihr, Arbeiter von Chicago, habt fünf eurer besten, edelsten und konsequentesten Vertreter eurer Sache in eurer Mitte ermorden lassen (19 November 1887, 405).

They were crucified on Good Friday, he continued, though this day was an Easter Sunday which must become a day of resurrection for all time

henceforth. Shame and sadness marked his closing words, and a violent rage:

> Wir haben keine Ursache für diese Toten zu trauern; sie starben den Heldentod, und wie das Kreuz einst zum Zeichen der Liebe wurde, so wird der Galgen im 19. Jahrhundert zum Zeichen der Freiheit werden. Aber trauern müssen wir über unsere eigene Schmach, über unsere Unentschlossenheit, über unsere Feigheit. Laßt uns von diesen Gräbern mit den Worten Herwegs im Herzen scheiden:
>
> Wir haben lang genug geliebt,
> Wir wollen endlich hassen!
>
> (19 November 1887, 405)

The execution of the anarchists was probably the most devastating blow of his life. Events of the last nineteen months had physically and emotionally exhausted Reitzel.[14] When he had returned home to Detroit from Chicago on Friday night, the eleventh, he found there a telegram with the request that he deliver the eulogy at Waldheim. So he rushed back to Chicago and then back again to Detroit emotionally devastated and suffering from acute depression. For a while his life hung in the balance, an artery had burst, and as his blood ebbed away, so did his life, it seemed. Absolute rest, prescribed by his physician, did help him recover, but for the ten remaining years of his life he became a quieter, a more contemplative man.

A poem Reitzel had written earlier celebrating the New Year 1887 had been a resounding clarion call for action:

> Was frommen bei zertretenen Saaten
> Der Sehnsucht friedliche Schalmein?
> Wir wollen statt der Tränen Taten
> Und Blut statt Wein.
>
> (Reprinted in the 31 December 1887 issue, 33)

A year later, however, when no social upheaval had followed in the wake of the Haymarket Affair, disillusionment set in. In a grim poem filled with bitter grief he wrote resignedly

> Es war wie immer,
> Es blieb beim Alten,
> Wir haben uns alle
> Recht brav gehalten.
>
> Wir hatten Mut
> Im Wirtshaus-Orden;
> Wir schauten zu
> Wie andre morden.
>
> Wir sagten uns selber:
> Es muß so sein!

Und tranken grimmig
Unseren Wein.

Wir haben dem Volk
Recht brav geraten—
Jedoch der Henker
Verzeichnet die Taten.

(31 December 1887, 33)

At the first anniversary of the execution of the Haymarket prisoners, on 11 November 1888, he again was one of the speakers at Waldheim Cemetery, this time before a crowd of over seven thousand people, as he reports (17 November 1888, 405). Having conquered his debilitating sadness, his address was not one of sorrow, but rather one of protest against the legal murder of five men who had belonged to humanity. They had not been guilty of any crime, he maintained, other than exercising their right of freedom of speech.

The guiding impulses of his work and life were liberty, love and beauty. His love embraced particularly the poor, the disadvantaged, the oppressed, the persecuted. Thus it was only natural for him to be drawn to the Haymarket prisoners, and he always fiercely rejected any suggestion that his motives were self-serving or not based on facts:

> [. . . daß ich in] meinen Äußerungen über die Chicagoer Tragödie, speziell über August Spies, durch nichts anderes beeinflußt worden bin, als durch die Tatsachen und mein menschliches Gefühl, das mich manchmal zu weit, aber selten irre führt (7 January 1888, 43).

He had painfully learned to remain faithful to oneself, to the true nature within, so that one may be free, even though the cost to the self may be prohibitive.

Although a man of great conviction, a splendid stylist and an engaging public orator, Reitzel's impact on the Haymarket Affair in the end turned out to have been negligible. He did raise considerable sums of money for the defense of the Haymarket prisoners, and convincingly took up their cause in his journal and as a public speaker. But all his life he prided himself in fighting his battles alone, in never joining forces with others: "In meinem Leben habe ich keiner Partei angehört . . ." (17 November 1888, 404). While such extreme individualism may be admirable in many ways, it did considerably weaken his political influence, and thus his impact on the Haymarket Affair was minimal.

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New Wilmington, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Facsimiles of the flyers in German and English are reproduced in Edward Baumann, "The Haymarket Bomber," *The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, 27 April 1986, p. 12.

[2] Andrew S. Berky and James P. Shenton, eds., *The Historians' History of the United States* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1972), 2:961.

[3] Frank Harris, *The Bomb* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963). Recently George Meng has been mentioned as the most likely person to have thrown the bomb. See *The Chicago Tribune Magazine*, 27 April 1986, pp. 12-21.

[4] Albert R. Parsons and Oscar Neebe were the only native-born Americans, although Neebe spent his childhood in Germany. Samuel J. Fielden was born in England, while the others—George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Michael Schwab and August Spies—were all born in Germany.

[5] Roderick Kedward, *The Anarchists* (New York: The American Heritage Press, 1971), 36.

[6] Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936), 541.

[7] For the complete pardon message see John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago: Geo. S. Brown and Son, 1899), 365-400.

[8] See, for example, Henry David, 236ff., still the most detailed and exhaustive study; Berky and Shenton, 964ff.; James Joll, *The Anarchists* (New York: The Universal Library, 1966), 143; Roderick Kedward, 36; Dumas Malone and James Rauch, *The New Nation, 1865-1917* (New York: Appeleton-Century-Crofts, 1960), 116; George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland: The World Publishing Company, 1969), 463.

[9] At its peak, the circulation of *Der arme Teufel* was over 7,000. Reported in Adolph Zucker, *Robert Reitzel*, Americana Germanica, vol. 25 (Philadelphia: American Germanica Press, 1917), 49.

[10] For example, Reitzel spoke to a crowd of 1,700 attending a protest rally in Detroit on Sunday, 16 October 1887, against carrying out the death sentence of the five Haymarket defendants who had been condemned to die. See *Der arme Teufel*, 22 October 1887, 372. All Reitzel quotations in the body of my text are taken from *Der arme Teufel*, and are identified by date and page number only.

[11] Under the headline "Humor of the Gallows. Anarchist Spies Relates his Experiences in Jail to the Poor Devil," *Chicago Daily News*, Evening Issue, 20 September 1886, p. 4, said this about the *Armer Teufel:*

> "Der Arme Teufel"—The Poor Devil—is the significant title of a weekly publication in Detroit. It's tendency is against law, society, and religion, and for free love, revolution and the division of property—in one word, it is the most rabid anarchistic sheet published on this side of the water.

Reitzel quotes the above (except for the first sentence) with obvious relish in *Der arme Teufel*, 25 September 1886, 340.

[12] See Carl Nold, "Anarchists: Robert Reitzel," *Man!* (July 1933): 5.

[13] David, 464-65. Berky and Shenton (967) report a much higher figure of worker participation in the funeral cortege: "At the funeral 25,000 working people marched."

[14] It is, however, revealing to observe that at the very time when the Haymarket Affair became Reitzel's consuming passion, he serialized his whimsical, wildly funny autobiography *Abenteuer eines Grünen* in his journal from December 1886 to March 1888 as a counterweight to the Haymarket tragedy.

Robert E. Cazden

The *American Liberal* (1854-55): Radical Forty-Eighters Attempt to Breach the Language Barrier

Communication between German-speaking Americans and their Anglophone neighbors through the medium of print has a long history. It was generally the dominant Anglo-American culture that used German newspapers, books, and tracts to influence political behavior and religious attitudes.[1] During the nineteenth century different elements of German-American society did attempt to reach a larger public by preaching, lecturing, and writing in English—or having their German texts translated.[2] The inability to speak English effectively was the bane of many aspiring prophets, politicians, and social reformers. As Carl Wittke has pointed out, Karl Heinzen's "command of English was so limited that it deprived him of all opportunity to reach larger American audiences."[3] Germans who did reach a national audience, such as Gustav Körner, Franz Joseph Grund, Karl Follen, and Carl Schurz, were those who had mastered the language of the land.

The arena of journalism offered more promise. Bilingual newspapers—part German part English—have not usually been considered in political terms, but from 1831 to 1846 almost all such papers were opponents of the Democratic Party of Jackson and Van Buren (a phenomenon that deserves further investigation). Between 1848 and 1860 the bilingual tactic was still used by Whigs, Republicans, and sometimes by German-American labor groups.[4] A closer look at Grund's *Pennsylvania German* (1840–41) reveals something more than a Whig campaign paper, for it contained an interesting garniture of prose and poetry—Byron's *Don Juan* for German readers, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, and Novalis for English readers.[5]

By the 1850s the secular press was dominated by forty-eighters, whose radicalism was hardly monolithic in character.[6] But the general public did not discriminate and tended to regard these outspoken journalists as either heroes or villains. This turbulent decade of political and economic crisis was accompanied by a resurgent nativism that was both anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant. The spring elections of 1854 saw

the first phenomenal success of the Know-Nothing party at the polls. In the fall elections the party triumphed in Massachusetts, Delaware, and Pennsylvania (in alliance with the Whigs), and sent about seventy-five sympathetic congressmen to Washington.[7] Germans were understandably alarmed.

The need for an English newspaper to present the "German" point of view was now a topic of some importance. In January 1851, Albert Gloss deplored the isolation of the German press and its failure to influence Anglo-Americans. His remedy was a German-English newspaper. Heinrich Börnstein, editor of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis, commented on this suggestion and developed his own idea for a "German-English central organ" that would collect the best articles from the German press and publish them weekly with English translations. Immediately Börnstein received and printed a letter from Dr. Heinrich Wilhelm Gempp announcing the imminent appearance of a bilingual paper "free from all party ties" to be published as a weekly supplement to the *Anzeiger.*[8] The *German-American—Der Deutsch-Amerikaner* made its bow on 8 March 1851, and on 25 April Börnstein and Gempp purchased the *Anzeiger* publishing company. Gempp's sudden death destroyed the partnership and after 1 June *The German-American* ceased to appear.[9] Two years later, in July 1853, Börnstein began his own "organ of mediation between Anglo-American and German-American life"—a Sunday edition of the weekly *Anzeiger* in English which lasted about a year.[10]

During the early 1850s, forty-eighter radicals created several quasi-national associations for freethinkers and rationalists, the most important being the *Freimännervereine,* Free Congregations, and the Socialistic *Turnerbund.*[11] The Societies of Free Men, which flourished primarily in the Midwest, functioned as community centers for the unchurched: sponsoring lectures, gymnastic, vocal, and dramatic groups, and German-English schools.[12] They were also the most militant of forty-eighter organizations. Their program of anticlericalism, antipuritanism, materialism, and radical politics was presented with such lack of restraint that many Americans became convinced that German democracy and irreligion were inextricably connected. Although the Societies of Free Men shared the rationalism of the Free Congregations, they feared that atheism was developing its own priesthood and so opposed the employment of any regularly salaried speaker as a vestige of ecclesiasticism.

These organizations were natural targets for nativist politicians and journalists. John P. Sanderson in 1856 devoted eleven pages of his book *Republican Landmarks* to the dangerous hordes of German radicals, the Free Men in particular. "They come here," he wrote, "as disciples of Heine, who, in 1848, published his famous Democratic programme in Switzerland, one of the main features of which is, that there can be no true freedom until Christianity shall be abolished."[13] Although the real culprit was probably Karl Heinzen,[14] the very name Heine was anathema to many Americans, not to mention German-Americans.[15]

In 1850 Friedrich Hassaurek, who was then barely eighteen years old, founded the Cincinnati *Freimännerverein* which, if not the first, was

perhaps the exemplar for similar societies in other cities. Hassaurek's newspaper *Der Hochwächter* was their most important organ.[16] Though German radicals indulged in imprudent attacks on American institutions—such as Heinzen's call for the abolition of the presidency—the centripetal force that held the Societies of Free Men together was anticlerical fervor. Members were convinced, by their experiences in Europe, that religion was a gigantic plot conceived of by the clergy for the enslavement of mankind. This animus turned violent during the American tour of Papal Nuncio Gaetano Bedini in 1853-54, after which the Societies of Free Men steadily lost influence until the crisis of civil war made them irrelevant.[17]

During 1854 the fateful debate over the Kansas-Nebraska bill aroused Germans throughout the country to political action. A number of statewide conventions of radical German groups were held that year. The most important took place in March at Louisville and produced Karl Heinzen's *Louisville Platform,* a remarkable and influential program for social and political reform.[18] Unfortunately, Heinzen's platform created a bitter split in the ranks of German radicals, which was quite evident when delegates from seventeen organizations in Ohio convened at Cincinnati's Freemen's Hall on 23 March 1854.[19] Besides hammering out another lengthy platform, the Free Germans of Ohio voted to establish an English-language paper, possibly the most important item on their agenda.[20] Christian Esselen, whose personal journal *Atlantis* was one of the finest intellectual fruits of the forty-eighter renaissance, was called upon to implement this decision. Esselen wrote,

> We stand between two fires: On the one side the slaveholding party with their caucuses, nominations, their corruption and demagoguery, threatens our political honor and independence; on the other side there stands nativism, with its fanatical puritanism, as dangerous today as in the time of Cromwell, with its hatred of the immigrant population, with its Sunday and temperance laws.[21]

By September the Central Committee of the Free Germans of Ohio (located in Cleveland) announced that John Hancock Klippart, the American-born editor of the *Democratic Transcript* in Canton, Ohio, was willing to undertake an English paper with German radical tendencies to be called the *American Liberal.* Cleveland was chosen as the place of publication.[22]

Esselen, who moved to Cleveland prior to December 1854, agreed to serve as associate editor—which meant that he supplied original copy in German and Klippart made the English translations.[23] Many articles appeared in both Esselen's *Atlantis* (in German) and in the *American Liberal,* but the latter was basically more polemical, emphasizing party politics and questions of the day, while *Atlantis* took the higher road of objective analysis.[24] Nowhere in the new journal was there any mention of "German radicalism." Esselen as editor ensured moderation, intelligence, and high-minded idealism. The typical abrasiveness of German-American journalism was absent, for the *American Liberal* was presented

in the spirit of reconciliation as a journal "devoted to the development and affiliation of all American Citizens of whatever nativity."[25] It lacked sparkle, however, thanks to Klippart's rather pedestrian translations. Heinzen had called Klippart's *Democratic Transcript* "a very mediocre local sheet" and predicted that the *American Liberal* would be without any real influence since it was not published in New York.[26]

On Wednesday, 20 December 1854, the *American Liberal* introduced itself with a long "Salutatory."

> The special tendency of the Liberal will be to acquaint the Anglo-American citizens with the views and objects to be obtained, by the educated and liberal Germans resident in America. We take it for granted that an enterprize of this kind will not be unkindly received, and cheerfully promoted by our fellow citizens of both the English and German tongue. Harmonious relations will thus be established between the two nationalities, which have been partially commenced by political parties—further developed by social intercourse, but which have nevertheless not yet attained to that permanence and confidence which we think desirable to maintain uninterrupted amicable relations. . . .
>
> Those who deem it important to view a subject from all points, it will well repay the pains, to examine closely the views presented by "*foreigners*" in relation to American institutions. . . . The study of politics, like that of anatomy, is best studied comparatively.

The program of the new journal was disarmingly presented: "We . . . advise all Germans to Americanize themselves as speedily as possible, but we do not understand by this to disclaim our nationality, but simply to employ it in the general purposes of American institutions." These "general purposes" were then specified: defense of the Declaration of Independence, support of the Republican Party, first priority to antislavery agitation, and repeal of the fugitive slave law. Other controversial issues were addressed with more circumspection. First was

> a stumbling block which has heretofore caused considerable confusion in political ranks.—We mean the agitation of the Temperance question. The fact that the Germans as a mass, stand arrayed in the foremost ranks of opposition to the Maine-Law, is not based upon their love of spiritous liquors, but is based upon a sentiment of devotion to personal liberty and independence, which sentiment is an innate characteristic of all Germanic tribes.

Another thorny issue was religion, which the *American Liberal* diplomatically dismissed as "an affair of a strictly private nature and character." The paper's anti-Catholicism was far more acceptable (at least to non-Catholics) than its proposal to tax all churches and church property. The *American Liberal* also praised the common school system as "the most brilliant point of American institutions" and pledged itself to the transmission of German culture:

> The American Liberal will thus supply a vacuum which appears to exist, namely, of affording the German population who are natives of this country, but who are not familiar with the German tongue, an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of existing German affairs in the English language, whilst at the same time the American will be enabled to form a more correct estimate of the German character, Literature, Politics, Science and Art.

It was all very earnest. Each weekly issue had four large pages with six columns of text per page. About half the content was devoted to domestic and European affairs, the rest to Esselen's essays, literature, and miscellaneous items. Among the literary contributions were translations from Goethe, Schiller, and Freiligrath, Shelley's "Man and Nature," and a number of sketches by George Lippard.[27] In February the *American Liberal* began to serialize "Book One" of Fichte's *Die Bestimmung des Menschen,* its first publication in the United States (and hitherto unrecorded). By 21 February the paper had agencies in twenty-five cities in fourteen states, including Texas, South Carolina, and New Hampshire. Almost all the agents were Germans.

With the issue of 14 March, the *American Liberal* was forced to adopt a smaller format—temporarily it was hoped, since the necessary weekly income of $90 to $100 was not forthcoming. The economic slump was partly to blame, but the paper's stand on Sunday laws, lack of religious freedom, religious hypocrisy, and puritanism also hampered sales, as Esselen candidly admitted.[28] The issue of 14 March is also notable for printing Heine's well-known condemnation of America from his book on Ludwig Börne—a very appropriate choice for an antislavery journal.[29]

In the March number of *Atlantis,* Esselen announced suspension of the *American Liberal* and his own resignation as associate editor.[30] A deputation from Toledo wished to take over the paper which then had eleven hundred subscribers, almost all behind in their payments. For this purpose, a new committee was formed consisting of Jakob Müller, Peter Lenk, and Guido Marx, one of the owners of the *Toledo Express.* However, the move to Toledo was abandoned. An attempt to reorganize by selling shares was then undertaken, but to no avail. The *American Liberal* was irrevocably dead.[31]

Despite its faults and limited circulation, the paper was remarkably good. Even Samuel Ludvigh praised it highly in his own fashion.[32] The *Cleveland Leader* commended the *American Liberal* as being "the recognized organ of the intelligent, anti-slavery Germans of the United States . . . destined to fill an important gap in American politics and social life."[33] As a unique example of forty-eighter journalism, the *American Liberal* well deserves to be rescued from oblivion.

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Notes

[1] Many examples may be found in Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984). The American Tract Society's *Amerikanischer Botschafter* (NY), founded in 1847, soon reached a circulation of 30,000. Noted in Moritz Wagner and Carl Scherzer, *Reisen in Nordamerika in den Jahren 1852 und 1853,* 2d ed. (Leipzig: Arnoldische Buchhandlung, 1857), 1:280. For a characteristic "infidel" attack on the Society, see Samuel Ludvigh, "Gruß! Der Herausgeber der Fackel an die amerikanische Höllen-Gesellschaft . . . ," *Die Fackel* 7 (1853-54): 137-42.

[2] The predominantly German religious denominations made extensive use of translations. Radical propagandists rarely had the money for such purposes. While both Samuel Ludvigh and Karl Heinzen enjoyed long careers and were prolific writers, only some of Heinzen's works reached an English readership, and this was largely due to the efforts of the *Verein zur Verbreitung radikaler Prinzipien* (organized in 1865). On the origins of this *Verein,* see Cazden, *Social History,* 526-27. Samuel Ludvigh had no such backing. Late in 1868, a wealthy Chicagoan, identified only as "A. P.," offered to invest $5,000 for an English translation of Ludvigh's liberal writings. It was, however, a meaningless gesture since Ludvigh died a few months later (*Die Fackel* 21 [1868-69]: 58).

[3] Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-80)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 138.

[4] For details, see Cazden, *Social History,* 255-57, and 280-81, nn. 18-19, 23-24.

[5] Grund's paper succeeded the *Deutsche National-Zeitung* (Philadelphia), published by C. F. Stollmeyer, on 14 March 1840. First called *The Pennsylvania German,* it soon changed its name to *Grund's Pennsylvania German.* After 31 October 1840 the paper was conducted entirely in German as *Grund's Pennsylvanischer Deutscher.* The last known issue is dated 13 March 1841.

[6] Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), is the best introduction to forty-eighter radicalism.

[7] Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism* (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1952), 388.

[8] *Wöchentlicher Anzeiger des Westens* (St. Louis), 8 February 1851. My translation. Hereafter cited as *WAW.* In 1851 Albert Gloss was very possibly a resident of Richmond, Virginia, since the following year he represented a *Komitee für europäische Revolution* from Richmond at the *Deutscher Revolutions-Congress* in Philadelphia (29 January-1 February 1852). The purpose of this congress was to raise money for a London-based group of revolutionaries led by Amand Goegg and Joseph Fickler, who were both in attendance. At this meeting the *Amerikanischer Revolutionsbund für Europa* was founded. See the report in the Philadelphia *Freie Presse,* 29 January 1852, reprinted in *WAW,* 14 February 1852; and C. F. Huch, "Revolutionsvereine und Anleihen," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia,* Nr. 18 (1910): 1-19.

[9] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-80), 1:255. Hereafter cited as Arndt-Olson.

[10] *WAW,* 16 July 1853. My translation. Five thousand copies of the first issue were printed on 16 July 1853 edited by Louis Didier and Julius Neudorff. See also Arndt-Olson, 1:250. Börnstein was one of the few forty-eighters to accomplish the hat trick of publishing newspapers in both languages. In 1854 Christian Esselen reported that Theodor Gülich and Karl Röser were about to publish English newspapers, although neither seems to have succeeded. The forty-eighter Gülich was publisher of *Der Demokrat* (Davenport, IA), an independent paper founded on 15 November 1851, while Röser was publisher of the *Wisconsin's Demokrat* (Manitowoc) from October 1853 until January 1861 when it changed hands. See Esselen, "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," *Atlantis,* n.s. 1 (June 1854): 232; and Arndt-Olson, 1:663.

[11] On the *Sozialistischer Turnerbund* see Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner: Der Kampf der deutsch-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und soziale Gerechtigkeit, 1848 bis 1918* (München: Heinz Moos Verlag, 1978); and Cazden, *Social History,* 646-47.

[12] On the St. Louis Society and its school, which were torn apart by internal dissension, see J. Lucas, "Aus der Sturm- und Drangperiode des 48er Deutschthums in

Amerika. (Der Verein freier Männer in St. Louis),'' *Amerikanischer Turner-Kalender* 2 (1881): 56-63.

[13] John P. Sanderson, *Republican Landmarks: The Views and Opinions of American Statesmen on Foreign Immigration . . .* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1856), 219-29, here 219. The quotation continues:

> Liberty to them is a vague and indefinite idea, and, under their guardianship, would soon be nothing more nor less than licentiousness. Imbued with the German philosophy of European revolutionary leaders, and filled with new, strange and bewildering theories of the destiny of man and of human society, they soon find, on their arrival here, that their ideas of universal happiness are not likely to be realized, in the present state of American society, or under the existing form of government, and they become accordingly the advocates for the abolition of both. Denying all imperfection in the nature of man, and finding the Christian religion in the way of their social and political reform, they do not hesitate to assail the religion as well as the government of our revolutionary ancestors. Organized under the style and title of *Free Germans,* they have their associations in all the principal cities of the Union.

[14] The reference may have been to Heinzen's most popular atheistic tract, which in its first version appeared in Karl Heinzen, ed., *Die Opposition* (Mannheim: Hoff, 1846), 1-32, then as *Erst reine Luft, dann reinen Boden!* (Bern: Jenni Sohn, 1848). It was frequently printed in the United States as *Sechs Briefe an einen frommen Mann* (1853 etc.) and in English translation (1856 etc.). See Wittke's discussion in *Against the Current,* 158-60.

[15] For an example, see Cazden, *Social History,* 308-9.

[16] On Hassaurek, see *Dictionary of American Biography,* s.v. ''Hassaurek, Friedrich.'' Details on the early days of *Der Hochwächter* and the *Freimännerverein* may be found in Joseph Rudolph, ''Kurzer Lebensabriß eines achtundvierziger politischen Flüchtlings: Schluß,'' *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 8 (January 1908): 25-30. Rudolph, an Austrian forty-eighter, was secretary of the Cincinnati *Verein.* See also Henry John Groen, ''A History of the German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati before 1860'' (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1944), 204-23.

[17] See Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution,* 135-37; and Bruce Carlan Levine, '' 'In the Spirit of 1848': German-Americans and the Fight over Slavery's Expansion'' (Ph.D. diss., The University of Rochester, 1980), 221-28. The decline of the once proud Cincinnati *Verein* forced the membership to turn its Freemen's Hall into a German Institute. In 1860 it was sold for debts and became a Catholic Institute. ''Sic transit gloria rationis!'' was Samuel Ludvigh's epitaph (*Die Fackel* 13 [1860-61]: 96).

[18] See Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution,* 163-65. The *Louisville Platform* was widely disseminated in both German and English; for example, Sanderson, *Republican Landmarks,* 219-22.

[19] ''The *Freimännervereine,* to which Heinzen expected his platform to appeal, quarreled about its details and indulged in controversies as bad as the narrowest sectarian conflicts. Heinzen himself savagely attacked a comparable declaration of principles issued by the 'Free Germans of Ohio' '' (Wittke, *Against the Current,* 95).

[20] See [Wilhelm Rapp], ''Die 'freien Deutschen' in Wisconsin, Kentucky und Ohio. (Aus der Turnzeitung vom 15. April 1854.),'' *Jahrbücher der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Turnerei* 1 (January 1892): 241-49. Reporting on the decisions of the Ohio convention, Rapp wrote:

> Die Pflicht des Central-Committees [in Cleveland] und der Kreisvororte [Chillicothe, Sandusky, Toledo, and Cincinnati] ist, das in der Platform ausgesprochene Streben mit allen ihnen zu Gebote stehenden Mitteln zu fördern und eine unabläßliche Agitation auf die deutsche und *englische* Bevölkerung des Staates durch Verbreitung von entsprechenden Propaganda-Schriften, Aussendung von Rednern, Berufung von Massenversammlungen &c. zu beginnen und zu unterhalten. Die Kreisvororte haben besonders darauf hinzuwirken, daß auch *amerikanische* Fortschrittsvereine gebildet und zum Anschluß an die Organisation veranlaßt werden. Dem Central-Committee ist es zur Pflicht gemacht, Schritte zu thun, um die Gründung einer *englischen* Zeitung im Sinne der Platform zu bewerkstelligen, und in Kurzem wird ein Aufruf an alle deutschen Fortschrittselemente in den Ver. Staaten erfolgen, durch vorläufiges Abonnement die Existenz des Blattes zu sichern. (243, italics mine)

The *Platform der freien Deutschen Ohio's* is reprinted on 243-49. See also Levine, '' 'In the Spirit of 1848,' '' 218-21. The first of these statewide conventions was held in Milwaukee,

1-2 October 1853, when 62 delegates representing 23 *Vereine* formed a *Bund freier Menschen* (Rapp, 242). Esselen also reported on similar conventions in Peoria, Illinois, and San Antonio, Texas. "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," 230-31. The Peoria convention (May 1854) and its platform are discussed by Levine, "Free Soil, Free Labor, and *Freimänner:* German Chicago in the Civil War Era," in Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983), 169. On the San Antonio platform, see Rudolph Leopold Biesele, "The Texas State Convention of Germans in 1854," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 33 (April 1930): 247-61; and W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 115-17 et passim.

[21] "Die Thätigkeit der deutschen Vereine," 231. My translation. On Esselen's activities as founder of the Frankfurt *Arbeiterverein* and his participation in the German Revolution of 1848-49, see Franz Neuland, *Proletarier und Bürger: Arbeiterbewegung und radikale Demokratie 1848 in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt: Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund, 1973), which augments and corrects the earlier works by Veit Valentin and other historians. See also Dora Edinger, "Christian Esselen: Citizen of Atlantis," *Michigan History* 34 (June 1950): 133-43; H. A. Rattermann, "Christian Esselen," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 12 (1912): 405-46; A. E. Zucker, ed., *The Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 292; and Eitel Wolf Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 74-77.

[22] Esselen, "Das deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungs-Project," *Atlantis,* n.s. 1 ([September] 1854): 305-7. Klippart, of German ancestry, was born in Stark County, Ohio, in 1823. He was praised as being "completely at home with the German language, and familiar with German literature, German thought, and German philosophy" (306). My translation. The Cleveland announcement, reproduced on 305-6, is signed by members of the Central Committee: C[arl] W[ilhelm] Schmidt, H[umbert] Droz, J[akob] Müller, C. F. Thiele, and J. Koch. Years later Müller published an account of the *American Liberal* in his *Aus den Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers: Skizzen aus der deutsch-amerikanischen Sturm- und Drang-Periode der 50er Jahre* (Cleveland: Druck von Rud. Schmidt, 1896), 135-40. Klippart, who was largely self-educated, failed in the newspaper business but served for nearly 22 years as Secretary of the Ohio Board of Agriculture. For further details, see Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio . . . ,* The Ohio Centennial Edition (Cincinnati: State of Ohio, 1904), 2:618-20; and *Dictionary of American Biography,* s.v. "Klippart, John Hancock."

[23] Esselen was in Milwaukee until about September 1854, then lived in Chicago where he published one or more issues of a weekly leaflet called *Die Krisis: Ein politisches Flugblatt* (not in Arndt-Olson). He had planned to move to Dubuque, Iowa, in November, but instead took his *Atlantis* to Cleveland. See *Atlantis,* n.s. 1 ([September] 1854): 159. See also the *Milwaukie Flugblätter,* 2 September 1854.

[24] "Der American Liberal und die Atlantis," *Atlantis,* n.s. 2 (January 1855): 79.

[25] *American Liberal,* 20 December 1854, subtitle. Until recently only four issues of the *American Liberal* were known to me: 20 December 1854; 3, 10 January and 21 February 1855 (American Antiquarian Society). For this article the Ohio Historical Society has kindly supplied a film of its holdings: 20, 27 December 1854; 3, 10, 24 January and 14 March 1855. Whether any issues were published after 14 March is doubtful.

[26] Heinzen's remarks are quoted in Groen, "German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati," 217-23, here 219 and 221. My translation.

[27] The issue of 20 December 1854 included the following: part one of "The Tale. From Goethe's 'Entertainment of the German Emigrant,' " Carlyle's translation taken from *Fraser's Magazine;* Schiller's "A Walk in a Linden Grove"; Freiligrath's "Revenge of the Flowers." The number of sketches by George Lippard that appeared in the *American Liberal* attests to that author's great popularity among German-Americans. See Cazden, *Social History,* 352-54.

[28] "Schlechte Zeiten für die Presse," *Atlantis,* n.s. 2 (February 1855): 159-60.

[29] The text (with excisions) is translated from Heine's *Ludwig Börne: Eine Denkschrift* (1840), 2d book, 38, lines 23-34, 39, lines 4-13. See *Sämtliche Schriften,* ed. Klaus Briegleb (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1971), 4:38-39.

> We find in a letter bearing [the] date July, 30. 1830, from Henri Heine—a German poet not unknown to American literati—the following opinion of America:

"Or shall I go to America, that tremendous prison house of liberty, where the invisible fetters oppress more painfully than the visible ones in Fatherland *[sic]*—where that most perverse of all tyrants, *the rabble* rule in all their uncouthness. You know my thoughts in relation to this miserable land, which I once loved, before I knew it. And yet I must publicly praise and vindicate it as a professional duty! My dear German Farmers go to America! There is there neither Prince nor Noble; there "all men are equal"—equal boors—with the exception certainly of several million, who have either a black or a brown skin and are treated worse than you would treat a dog! . . ."

On Heine's anti-American views, see especially Jost Hermand, "Auf andere Art so große Hoffnung: Heine und die USA," in Sigrid Bauschinger et al., eds., *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975), 81-92.

[30] "Deutsch-amerikanische Literatur," *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (March 1855): 237-39.

[31] "In Sachen des 'American Liberal,'" *Atlantis*, n.s. 2 (April 1855): 312-14.

[32] "Auch den Werth eines Journales kann man nicht nach der Zahl der Abonnenten beurtheilen, sonst müßte z.B. der 'American Liberal,' gewiß ein ausgezeichnetes Blatt, das schlechteste englische Journal und z.B. die Baltimore 'Sun' das beste sein" (Ludvigh, "Geld und Geist," *Die Fackel* 8 [1854-55]: 243).

[33] *Cleveland Leader*, 29 December 1854. Quoted from U.S. Works Progress Administration, Ohio, *Annals of Cleveland 1819-1934* . . . (Cleveland, 1937), 37:220.

Robin L. Chambers

The German-American Turners: Their Efforts to Promote, Develop, and Initiate Physical Culture in Chicago's Public Schools and Parks, 1860-1914

Introduction

Throughout the United States, the move to develop public recreation and supervised physical activities grew out of the social reform movement of the mid-nineteenth century, the Dewey education movement and the development of ethnic community consciousness (Davis 1976). Social reformers such as Thorstein Veblen, Ray Stannard Baker, and Ida Tarbell; early champions of playgrounds and parks, like social economist Richard T. Ely (Betts 1974); and special ethnic groups such as the turners, who sought to continue a moral and physical way of life (Hofmeister 1976), all contributed to the eventual development of publicly sponsored recreation and physical education programs.

The purpose of this essay is to examine in particular the German ethnic community's contribution to the development of physical education and supervised recreation in the city of Chicago. The Chicago Germans waged three physical culture campaigns for the city's youth. Over a fifty-year period, from 1860-1914, the Germans (and turner members in particular) affected two major public institutions: the public schools and the parks. The first two campaigns were directed at the public schools with a focus on providing physical training for the students. The third campaign focused on the park commissioners in hopes that better services and supervised activities would be provided.

Background

Why were the Germans so influential in Chicago? Three factors contributed to their effectiveness: the Germans were a large segment of the population; they had an extensive communication network to develop consensus; and they had well-organized social groups dedicated to the development of physical culture. In addition, especially near the turn of the century, social reformers and followers of the

University of Chicago's John Dewey also became active in Chicago. The combination that was effective in other parts of the country thus also reached a critical mass in Chicago.

According to one report (*Chicago Daily Tribune,* 4 December 1873), Chicago had become the second-largest immigrant depot in the country by 1870. Although the German migration to Chicago began in a modest fashion, with each succeeding decade there was a significant increase in their political clout (see Table).

Table
German Population of Chicago
1850-1920

	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920
Total Population	29963	109206	298977	503185	1099850	1698575	2185283	2701705
German Ancestry	4757	22230	52316	75205	161039	170738	182289	112288
% of German vs. Total Population	15.9	20.1	17.5	14.9	14.6	10.1	8.3	4.2 *
% of German vs. Other Foreign Born			35.94	36.71	35.73	34.7	24.27	13.89
% Increase of Population	570.3	264.6	173.6	68.3	118.6	54.4	28.7	23.6
City Size in Sq. Miles			35		178			198

(Keil and Jentz 1983; Burgess and Newcomb 1931; Department of Development and Planning 1976)
* First year where another country (Poland) had more foreign-born arrivals.

Newly arrived male adults continued to settle in Chicago, with the result that even in the 1880s, 75 percent of the heads of households were still first-generation Germans (Keil and Jentz 1983). By the eleventh census (1900), there were approximately 338,000 Germans living within the borders of the state of Illinois and 473,000 first-generation American offspring (*Chicago Tribune,* 16 January 1901). After 1900, immigration to Chicago continued at a significant pace, although the percentage of Germans decreased in relation to the total population. By 1920, three out of five Germans were second-generation Chicagoans (Keil and Jentz 1983).

Throughout the period (1860-1914), Germans accounted for roughly one-third of the total foreign population and eventually generated one-third of the city's foreign voting power (Ulrich 1885). Their influence was amplified by the fact that they totaled 24.7 percent of the city's "gainfully employed," many of whom were organized into strong labor unions (Townsend 1927).

So important was the German group influence that Lincoln considered their vote to be a deciding factor in the 1860 election (Gernon 1934; Monaghan 1942). The Germans—referred to as a "racial group" in early reports—possessed political clout. Their influence was illustrated by the

parades and petitions which they generated and the important political offices held (Monaghan 1942). According to Townsend (1927), they may have been the most important group in Chicago.

In order for the Germans to retain their cultural heritage but at the same time to introduce newly arrived residents to the ways of American life and to organize into socially conscious groups, German newspapers flourished. Approximately 236 German-language newspapers, which operated as daily, weekly (Sunday), semi-monthly, or monthly publications, were established in Chicago and its surrounding communities between 1848 (*Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, 21 April 1848) and 1925 (Chicago Public Library Omnibus Project 1942). Of these, the majority began during the 1880s (Arndt, and Olson 1976). The newspapers, almost entirely written in the German language, were eclectic in nature. They ranged from trade (jewelry, plumbing, brewing, or farming), medical services, theatrical, humor, evangelical, sports (*Amerikanische Jagd- und Schützen-Zeitung*, 1886-98), to radical socialist (*Der Anarchist*, 1888-94).

Physical Culture Concerns

The earliest *Turnverein* (gymnastic and social club) was established in Cincinnati in 1848 by the exiled Friedrich Hecker (Seibel 1954). The teachers were selected based on who had the most experience under Friedrich L. Jahn (1778-1852), the "Father of Gymnastics," who conceived the idea that Germany's morale could be restored by building up physical and moral powers through the practice of gymnastics (Hofmeister 1976). As Germans settled throughout America, they founded *Turnverein* fraternities in order to practice the teachings of Jahn. As the societies grew, the need for trained teachers became evident. After 1853, *Schulvereine* (school societies) were implemented as non-sectarian schools for teacher training (Metzner 1911). At the third National Turnfest held in Chicago in 1869, the idea was formulated that one national program and training school for teachers should be developed (Koeber 1942). The Normal School of the North American Gymnastic Union (established on 22 November 1866 in New York City) was chosen to serve as the national turner training school. The third time the training program was offered it was moved to Chicago until the fire of 1871, at which time it then became a traveling school until 1875 (Metzner 1911; Knapp and Hartsoe 1979). After many years of operating in Milwaukee, the Normal School finally became a part of the School of Physical Education of Indiana University in 1941 (Northwest Turners 1960).

In Chicago, the first German gymnasium to be opened was Irving Hall in 1852 (Hofmeister 1976). By the summer of 1854, Professor H. G. Ottignon from New York was hired as the instructor. The need for and popularity of a gymnasium for social, cultural and physical activities was evidenced by the fact that every four years, a new *Turnverein* was established on Chicago's south and west sides (Wood 1881). By 1896, at least twenty-four turner societies had been registered in Chicago (*Chicagoer Freie Presse*, 2 July 1896).

Prior to the Civil War, the interest of the turners in physical activity and training stemmed from the teachings of "Father" Jahn and the importance of having a strong, standing citizen group ready for war. It is not surprising, therefore, that turners were prominent members of the Union Army. The numbers and organizing ability of the Germans, in general, can be illustrated by the fact that in the spring of 1861, approximately 9,000-10,000 soldiers responded to President Lincoln's call for Union volunteers; of this number, 5,000–6,000 were turner-trained Germans (Knapp and Hartsoe 1979).

Additionally, twenty-five regiments, several from Chicago, were composed solely of turners. For example, on 17 April 1861 one hundred and five members of the Chicago Turngemeinde were organized as the Turner Union Cadets and later named the Hecker Regiment (Greiner 1952). It has also been estimated that possibly as many as fifty of the Union generals were of German birth, at least half of whom were probably turner-trained at one time (Seibel 1954).

After the Civil War, the turner societies changed their names to reflect the new values in society and became known as German-American turners. New efforts were focused on the public schools, as evidenced by a unanimous resolution adopted by the national turners in 1866 and forwarded to Congress:

> It is the duty of this organization to support all attempts to raise the intellectual standard of the people and to promote the non-sectarian education of youth by establishing and furthering good schools. (Northwest Turners 1960)

In Chicago, efforts by German newspaper publishers, such as Balthasar Rau, urged the spread of the value of physical education. Rau believed that the papers should be used as constant propaganda to induce the municipal administrations to introduce gymnastic work in the public schools (*Der Turner,* 3 June 1892).

Physical Education in Chicago's Schools: The First Campaign

Through the influence of the turners, by lifestyle example and newspaper articles, educational leaders of the board of education in the city of Chicago began to call for a system of physical training as early as 1861 (Dore 1861). The motivation was the desire to improve the health of the students. Based on the principles of the turner movement, Dio Lewis' "New Gymnastics" and exercises published for the Oswego, New York, schools (Wells 1861), the board thought that exercises would be a remedial cure for those youths who suffered from such conditions as mental fatigue, shoulder stooping, wan complexion, and enfeebled physical constitution (Wells 1860).

Classroom teachers led exercises in Chicago's elementary schools. Basing the activities on the turner calisthenic model, the board expected teachers to have students exercise next to their desks, moving their arms and legs, marching in place or changing positions, on command and by a special count. The exercises were conducted for a period of three to

five minutes, as often as once every half hour. Although the exercises were found to be beneficial by a teacher review group, no regular program or time for the calisthenics was established. Consequently, when, where, how, or if the exercises were conducted was left up to a teacher's discretion (Dore 1861).

During the fall of 1866, various local German societies petitioned the board of education to extend their efforts to the secondary level (*Die Staatszeitung,* 6 September 1866). A "specialist" from a *Turnverein* was brought in and implemented a program for two semesters in 1867 (Board of Education 1863). Although the project was considered successful, the board pleaded financial constraints, and the "experiment" was abandoned (Brentano 1868).

The Second Campaign

Efforts to integrate physical education as a part of the curriculum were directed by the various superintendents of schools for fifteen years. Finally, in 1885, the turner societies, led by second-generation forty-eighters who became concerned with the rapid ill effects of urban life on children became determined to promote physical training in *all* public schools. This time, the board of education appointed a special "Committee on Physical Culture" which consisted of four members of the Chicago *Turngemeinde* (Pesavento 1966). The committee implemented a successful pilot program at an elementary school which the teachers could easily implement without the benefit of a "specialist." Unlike the 1866 experience, this project led to the hiring of a regular instructor to oversee the work of the elementary teachers in four grammar school programs (Special Committee 1886). Steady growth was funded thereafter.

By 1900, schools were being built with a gymnasium (Williams 1926), graded manuals were developed (Suder 1886), a full-time director and special teacher of physical education was hired (Chicago Public Schools 1901), and physical education had been divided into specialty areas with different emphases (Suder 1901). All of these innovations were brought about through the farsightedness of certain members of the board of education who worked in conjunction with (and under pressure from) turner societies.

During this second campaign (1885), German exercise "specialists" were hired for the secondary level, eight turner-trained teachers brought physical culture to the forty-eight elementary schools, a calisthenics manual was adopted (insuring that all students were being instructed in a similar fashion), and turner Henry Suder had been hired to supervise the city's school physical training (*Die Staatszeitung,* 6 September 1866).

The Park and Playground Movement

During the early stages of the industrial revolution, many large American cities had already begun to provide municipal land specifically for parks. New York City's Central Park (established in 1856) was the first park created solely as a pleasure garden. The idea of using city land

as pleasure gardens to serve the people was the central idea of the park movement (Lutzin 1979). In Chicago, by 1869, three separate park districts (the South, West and Lincoln) were created for a similar reason (Eastman 1914).

While large green open areas provided some relief from the congestion of urban life, Chicagoans used the parks for passive activities, unstructured and unsupervised, many times creating their own recreational experiences (Benjamin 1982). Chicago social reformers, such as Jacob Riis of the Municipal Science Club (Halsey 1940), were concerned that supervised, wholesome play activities were lacking for children and that many of the parks were not accessible to the people who needed them the most. Eventually, Mayor Harrison, influenced by social reformers, created a special park commission on 6 November 1899 (Jackson 1901). This commission was charged with three specific objectives, to:

1. establish playgrounds in the congested sections of the city as rapidly as finances permitted;
2. study the need of playgrounds in the districts and to disclose ways of meeting those needs, and
3. study the three park boards of the city with a view to determine their relation to the play and recreational problems of the community (Perkins 1904).

In essence, the commissioners' mission was to create "play parks" located nearer to the people since the people could not easily travel to the parks (Rainwater 1922).

The commission recommended establishing play parks in areas of the city which contained the greatest population density (Halsey 1940). Of the three park districts, commissioners from the South District were the first to create a system of small play parks (one to five acres) and thus begin what play historian Rainwater (1922) termed the "recreation center stage" of the play movement. Eventually, the West Park and Lincoln Park districts duplicated the original efforts of the South Park commissioners, creating small playground-type parks or squares throughout the immigrant districts (Perkins 1904; Eastman 1914).

The play parks were all developed and built with similar characteristics. These consisted of an outdoor and indoor (fieldhouse) physical plant. Each fieldhouse contained an assembly hall with stage and cloak rooms, a men's and women's indoor gymnasium with locker rooms, shower baths and toilets, two to four club rooms, a refectory, and a branch of the Chicago Public Library (South Park Commissioners 1908).

The outdoor physical plant was created to encourage active, supervised recreation over passive activities. For children, there were swing sets, teeter-totters, giant slides, wading pools, sand bins, and an open area for games. The outdoor men's gymnasium was equipped with an iron pipe frame holding traveling rings, climbing ladders, poles, and slanting beams (all modeled after the turner equipment). The women's outdoor gymnasium had similar equipment. Additionally, at each park there were ball diamonds and fields and athletic (track) ovals, and some had lagoons for boating, stables for riding, and tennis courts. All but one

of the parks had an outdoor swimming pool with lockers (Foster 1916). The types of recreational activities which were encouraged fell into five general categories. They were:

1. the physical, such as gymnastics and ball games;
2. the manual, such as shop classes;
3. the social, as in dance, party or club activities;
4. the aesthetic, including dramas and concerts, and
5. the civic, such as public service lectures (Osborn 1928; Rainwater 1922).

The Third Campaign

Although the playground movement in Chicago was initiated through the actions of social reformers and the park commissioners, the turners did influence the developmental direction of the play parks in three prominent ways. The first influence of the German-American turners came indirectly. Due to their already developed political clout, significant ethnic population proportion and established record in the development of sound physical training, gymnastic classes were instructed on the turner model (DeGroot 1907). Each class included tactics and marching, mat and tumbling exercise, apparatus work or dance steps for girls, and organized play and team games (South Park Commissioners 1905).

Not only was the gymnastics instruction modeled after the work carried on in the *Turnvereine* but many of the playground directors and superintendents had received their initial training at the local turner clubs, leading to a second, administrative influence. For example, the second chairman of the special park commission was turner alderman Ernst F. Herrmann (Perkins 1904). Additionally, Theodore A. Gross of Turn Verein Vorwaerts served for thirty-five years as superintendent of the municipal playgrounds (Koeber 1942) and George Sonnenleiter, Sr., was a municipal playground director for over twenty years (Schrader 1960).

The third and most direct influence of the turners was made through their efforts to organize and secure sites for the proposed play parks. In 1895, the Turn Verein Vorwaerts (Northwest Turners) gathered fifty-six thousand signatures and petitioned the West Park commissioners to establish a park near a German area (Schrader 1960). Legislative authority was granted and on 22 August 1896 the first playground with natatorium was erected at Douglas Park and dedicated by Governor John P. Altgeld (who was born in Prussia in 1847) (Currey 1913; Koeber 1942). The community-conscious efforts continued throughout the period of small park development. One example was the erection of the "German Building" in Jackson Park (South Park Commissioners 1897).

The Chicago Park Commission (established in 1839, two years after the city of Chicago was incorporated) worked independently but in a parallel fashion to the school board. The South and West Park commissioners (1895) attempted to provide places for supervision and physical training for young children and activities for its adult residents. Heavily

influenced by the German-American turners, a growing tide of civic responsibility, and the belief that physical training was indeed a positive method to curb juvenile delinquency, the commissioners developed a year-round, sixteen-hour per day program which was unparalleled in any other city of the nation at the time (South Park Commissioners 1908).

Conclusion

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the German-American community played the principal role in bringing physical culture and training to Chicago public institutions. From a base of politics and ethnic community consciousness, they helped to shape the emerging social values of the time. They then translated those values into changes in the public schools' curriculum and into the development of a unique park system and its programs.

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G. K. Weissenborn

The Weißkopf Controversy

In the early morning hours of 14 August 1901 near Bridgeport, Connecticut, a small graceful monoplane took to the air with its inventor and builder, Gustav Weißkopf,[1] at the controls, carrying him for half a mile before landing undamaged. Two years, four months and three days before the Wright brothers' success at Kitty Hawk, a German immigrant mechanic had achieved powered, controlled flight. He was reviled, pronounced a fraud, and then ignored. Like Goebel, the German-American who invented the incandescent light bulb before Edison,[2] Weißkopf, handicapped by his background, and unskilled at self-promotion, saw others hailed as the "first" in the field in which he had made so many breakthroughs. Years after his death, just as an opportunity for recognition became possible, Weißkopf and his accomplishments fell victim to an agreement between the Wright estate and the Smithsonian Institution that finally blocked any official, objective consideration of the evidence amassed in the inventor's favor.

Born on 1 January 1874 in Leutershausen, Bavaria, Gustav Albin Weißkopf was the second child of Babetta née Wittmann and Karl Weißkopf, a railroad foreman. As a boy, Gustav's experimentation with tissue-paper parachutes and his dreams of aviation prompted his schoolmates to dub him "The Flyer."[3] Like most early aviation pioneers, he became interested in observing birds in flight and with the aid of a friend began to trap them in the park, tying strings to the birds' legs so that they could be recovered. The police eventually discovered this *Tierquälerei* and put an end to the experiments.

Gustav was more than a dreamer; things mechanical always interested him, and he would become an outstanding engine designer. His father did not have the heart to punish him when one Sunday he discovered little Gustav splashing about in his best shoes, tinkering with a series of waterwheels he had placed in a stream.[4]

His happy childhood and tranquil home life were abruptly brought to an end when he was orphaned before the age of thirteen. After a brief apprenticeship to a bookbinder, and then to a locksmith, he traveled to

Hamburg where he was taken aboard a ship as a cabin boy. For the next six years, Gustav traveled widely, settling briefly in Brazil, where he helped a German family clear land and plant crops. Throughout these years of wandering, his passion for flying remained undiminished and at nineteen or twenty years of age, he returned to Germany, after having learned that a man, Otto Lilienthal, was actually getting into the air in a craft of his own construction.[5]

Lilienthal (1848-96) had become famous beyond his country's borders and was to influence aviators throughout the world. The data collected in his aerodynamic studies was to be used by many others: in 1901, the American enthusiast Octave Chanute lent the Wright brothers a copy of Lilienthal's work, *Der Vogelflug als Grundlage der Fliegekunst*, with a partial translation in typescript. Gustav Weißkopf stayed and studied with Lilienthal for two weeks and many of Weißkopf's later designs show the influence of Lilienthal's ideas—the plan views of machine No. 21 and Lilienthal's No. 6 glider, which made many successful flights, are remarkably similar.[6]

In 1894, Weißkopf chose to make America his home, never to leave, and 1897 found him testing gliders in Boston. J. B. Millet, a publisher, acted on behalf of the Boston Aeronautical Society in employing Weißkopf to build and fly a glider in 1897; Millet hired a mechanic, Albert B. C. Horn, to help with its construction. Eventually, several gliders were built, one patterned after a design of Lilienthal's managed to get off the ground for short distances. "A lighter person would have done better as his [Weißkopf's] weight must have been nearly 200 lbs." wrote Horn.[7]

Newspaper clippings show that Weißkopf was testing gliders in 1897 in New York, where he was employed by the Horsman Company, a firm selling toys and sporting goods. Here in New York, he met his future wife, Louise Tuba, a Hungarian immigrant, and followed her to Buffalo where they married on 24 November 1897. On the marriage license he listed his occupation as "aeronaut."[8]

For the next two years the family lived in several locations including Baltimore where newspaper records show him building and testing two gliders, but there can be little doubt that Weißkopf was experimenting not only with aircraft designs but also with engines in this period; when interviewed in 1934, his wife stated that he continued his airplane construction both before and after they were married.[9] In 1899, he found employment in a Pittsburgh coal mine, where he met Louis Darvarich, whom he befriended and who helped him work on his aircraft. By affidavit dated 19 July 1934 Darvarich attested to a remarkable event in aviation history:

> Approximately April or May 1899, I was present and flew with Mr. Whitehead on the occasion when he succeeded in flying his machine, propelled by a steam motor, on a flight of approximately a half mile distance at a height of about 20 to 25 feet from the ground. This flight occurred in Pittsburgh, and the type machine used by Mr. Whitehead was a monoplane. We were unable to rise high enough to avoid a three-

> story building in our path, and when the machine fell I was scalded by the steam, for I had been firing the boiler. I was obliged to spend several weeks in the hospital, and I recall the incident of the flight very clearly. Mr. Whitehead was not injured, as he had been in the front part of the machine steering it.[10]

The historian Thomas D. Crouch, whose approach to Weißkopf in his work, *A Dream of Wings,* is decidedly hostile,[11] states that there is not "a shred of evidence" to support Darvarich's statement, and concludes that "[it] is difficult to believe that any student of the case could give any credence to the Pittsburgh story." His criticisms have been raised by others: no newspaper account has been found about an incident that "should have captured front pages across the nation."

The attitudes of the press and public to the aviators of the time will be discussed in greater detail below; the notion that the press was eager to seek out such news for an aviation-hungry public to devour is, as we shall see, simply not so.

Crouch states that no "mention of treatment for the supposed injuries has been discovered in Pittsburgh police department, fire department, or hospital records." The administrative records of the time were generally not kept as carefully as they would be today and are sadly incomplete, but some evidence of the crash does exist in the form of a statement made by fireman Martin Devine, who was called to the scene of the accident:

> . . . I believe I arrived immediately after it crashed into a brick building, a newly constructed apartment house which I believe was on the O'Neale Estate. I recall someone was hurt and taken to a hospital, but do not recall what one. I am able to identify the inventor as Gustave Whitehead from the picture of this man showed me by Miss Stella Randolph.[12]

Nevertheless, the demonstration of 1899 cannot be claimed as the first successful powered flight. No effort was made on Weißkopf's part to record the event either photographically or in form of a log, and no measurements such as speed, altitude or distance flown appear to have been taken. Furthermore, the flight was not fully controlled, and the aircraft did not land undamaged. Such a setback did not, however, deter the inventor.

Leaving Pittsburgh in 1900, Weißkopf moved to Bridgeport, and in 1905 to Fairfield, Connecticut, where he resided till his death. The basement of the flat he rented was put at his disposal and it was here in the summer of 1901 that he began to construct planes and engines at night, after the day's work had been completed. Not long after, a man named Miller offered financial assistance, and with the three hundred dollars given him, Weißkopf built a small workshop behind the house.

He often recruited boys from the neighborhood to help him; though they received no pay, they learned a great deal from their work and were later able to put the knowledge gained in Weißkopf's shop to good use in their jobs. Some of them, including Junius Harworth, Louis Lazay as well as Bert and Andy Papp, witnessed his earliest flights and were

among his first apprentices. Harworth recalled that the first task the inventor set himself after completion of his shop was the repair and modification of a steam engine that he had brought from Pittsburgh and which had been damaged in an early trial flight. Randolph speculated that this engine could have belonged to the aircraft in which Darvarich was injured. At any rate, Harworth states that, with repairs completed, the engine ran perfectly, demonstrating that Weißkopf built functional engines at an early date.[13]

His reputation as a machinist grew quickly and soon attracted a young immigrant, Anton Pruckner, who had just completed four years of intensive shop training in Hungary and who was to become one of Weißkopf's most valued assistants.[14]

The year 1901 would prove one of Weißkopf's busiest and most significant, for the 14 August flight was preceded by many shorter "hops" which strongly indicated progress and spurred the inventor to greater efforts. The airplane he was using had folding wings so that it could be pushed through the streets to locations where it could be tested in safety. An elegant bat-winged monoplane with a ten-meter span, "No. 21" was flown by Weißkopf in the summer of 1901 from Howard Avenue East to Wordin Avenue, along the edge of property belonging to the Bridgeport Gas Company. Upon landing, recalled Harworth, the machine was turned around and another hop was made back to Howard Avenue.[15]

It was also around that time that Cecil A. Steeves, a schoolboy, came upon Weißkopf testing his aircraft on the Gilman Estate. Three men with ropes began pulling the machine which, within two hundred feet, became airborne, rising high enough to clear telephone and trolley lines before sailing across the road to land undamaged in an old circus lot. Major O'Dwyer, having been shown the site by Steeves, took measurements which disclosed the distance travelled by the aircraft to be nearly one thousand feet.[16]

Alexander Gluck, Thomas Schweikert and Joe Ratzenberger were schoolboys at the time; Gluck by affidavit dated 19 July 1934 recalled:

> Approximately 1901 or 1902, . . . I was present on one occasion when Mr. Whitehead succeeded in flying his machine, propelled by motor, on a flight of some distance, at a height of four or five feet from the ground. The machine used by Mr. Whitehead was a monoplane with folding wings. I recall its having been pushed from the backyard of the residence where the Whitehead family lived, 241 Pine Street, Bridgeport, Connecticut, which was opposite my residence at the time (228 Pine Street). The plane was set in motion in the street in front of the house, and when it flew was propelled by an engine.[17]

Schweikert and Ratzenberger remembered vividly a flight made in the summer of 1901 on a lot on Cherry Street during which Weißkopf's aircraft rose high enough to lift a group of boys who had been clinging to its fuselage off their feet.[18]

Two of the most impressive witnesses to early 1901 flights, neither of whom had ever met the other, were Frank Layne and Elizabeth Koteles. Both were in their early twenties when the events in question took place, and both were unimpressed with what they saw, ignorant of the flights' significance. When requested for an interview in 1968, Layne, then ninety-two, replied:

> I know nothing about the technical matters of airplanes. I do not understand why you would want to interview me. I think you are wasting much of your valuable time. Look, I never knew Mr. Whitehead personally or anything about his aircraft. All I did was watch him fly.[19]

Layne was certain of the date, for he associated it with his discharge from the Navy after service in Cuba, following the sinking of the battleship *Maine*. He had gone to Bridgeport to visit his friends, with whom he went to see Weißkopf fly at Fairfield Beach; the longest flight he witnessed covered "about a quarter of a mile." Other flights were made that day, "some longer and some shorter."[20]

Equally nonplused by the researchers' interest was Elizabeth Koteles. Major O'Dwyer, who interviewed her in 1974, wrote:

> The 94-year old Mrs. Koteles was mentally alert and, having been a young married woman (age 22; old enough to understand and retain what she saw) who lived next door to Whitehead on Pine Street, she was well aware of him and his work. She and her husband walked one evening to the place where Whitehead was testing his airplane—but she did not believe she had seen a flight. "No. He didn't fly," she said. "He only went a little way and came down."
>
> This delightfully honest and sincere old lady, still puzzled at our interest in a non-flight, answered numerous questions thoughtfully, taking care to consider before deciding upon making a statement about the height and distance flown. Making comparisons with fixed objects . . . she provided information about the flight which indicated it had covered a distance of 120-200 feet, at a height of approximately five feet. She could recall and imitate the sound of the engine, which indicated it had been a steam one; details she contributed made it probable No. 21 was the airplane she had seen. The year, she recalled, was 1901.[21]

However important these early trials may have been, none was apparently reported on, until the *Bridgeport Herald* printed a story on page five of the 18 August 1901 edition, outlining a flight made for "fully half a mile" on 14 August.[22]

Present at the Fairfield location, according to the story, were: Richard Howell, the paper's editor; two of Weißkopf's assistants, James Dickie and Andrew Celli; and the inventor. After a trial run with ballast instead of a pilot, Weißkopf took over, having removed the weights. Shortly after the propellers were engaged (Howell's language here is imprecise, and he speaks of starting "the wings" as propellers were often called then), Dickie and Celli could no longer hold the machine on the ground. On Weißkopf's command, they let go and "the newspaperman and the

two assistants stood still for a moment watching the air ship in amazement. . . . She was flying now about fifty feet above the ground. . . .''[23] The aviator managed to avoid a group of chestnut trees by leaning to one side, thereby banking the monoplane.[24] He shut off the engine and landed softly. The *New York Herald* and the *Boston Transcript* printed the story on 19 August 1901.

Weißkopf's detractors found many a sympathetic ear, for most people believed that powered, controlled flight was impossible. Orville Wright, after Wilbur's death in 1912, devoted his energies to the defense of the Wright priority as the first to fly,[25] and collected most ''anti-Weißkopf'' arguments and sentiments into one short article in the August 1945 edition of *U.S. Air Services.* These charges are worth examining in detail.

The article states that first, news of such a revolutionary event would not have been withheld for days, only to be printed in the Sunday edition of the paper. Second, James Dickie denied both that he was present that morning, and that he knew Andrew Celli, the other assistant named. Third, John Dvorak, a Chicago businessman, who financed the building of a motor by Weißkopf, deposed in 1936 that Weißkopf did not have the mechanical skill to build a working motor, and that he was given to gross exaggeration. Finally, Stanley V. Beach, a financial backer after 1903, was never told that he had flown.[26]

There was in fact no delay in printing the story, for the *Bridgeport Herald* was solely a Sunday newspaper; it should be noted that the *New York Herald* and the *Transcript* picked up the news of the event the next day, as did other wire-service papers.[27]

At the heart of Wright's assertion is the premise that public interest in aviation was so intense that any story of a succssful flight would have been taken up by the press immediately. This is simply not so. Initial reports of success by the Wrights in December 1903 were dismissed by press and public as ''just so many more crackpot items amongst a host of routine absurdities in a bustling and exuberant epoch.''[28] To prove to the world that their invention was indeed capable of flight, the Wrights invited the press to witness a demonstration, but when bad weather delayed the tests the reporters departed, convinced it was all a waste of time.[29] Professor Langley's failure to launch the *Aerodrome* in late 1903 had produced howls of derision which had infected the entire field of endeavor and had not yet subsided. In fact, the public in the United States ''had become so apathetic to the possibility of heavier-than-air flight that it remained unmoved and unconvinced by reports of the Wrights' success. . . .''[30] In 1906, after flying for three years, the brothers offered their machine to the U. S. Army, ''convinced that it had possibilities for military reconnaissance. They were told that the authorities would not take action 'until a machine is produced which by actual operation is shown to be able to produce horizontal flights and to carry an operator.' ''[31] This skeptical attitude by the press, the public and the authorities contributed significantly to keep Weißkopf in obscurity.

In James Dickie's affidavit of 2 April 1937 he states that, to the best of his knowledge and belief, the aircraft shown him "in pictures No. 32 and 42" never flew, that he does not know Andrew Celli, and that he was not present on the morning of 14 August 1901.[32]

Though it initially appears very damaging to Weißkopf's claims, the document is riddled with errors and proven distortions.

The dimensions of the aircraft described by Dickie have nothing at all in common with those of machine No. 21, which Weißkopf tested on 14 August; therefore Dickie cannot have been acquainted with that airplane.[33] When Major O'Dwyer spoke with him about the affidavit,

> [He] admitted that the engine described in it was one stationed upon the ground, having heavy boilers transmitting steam through a hose to the pipe, causing it to revolve for the testing of tethered aircraft, . . . The engine was not intended for use in aircraft, and never was. In light of Dickie's later admissions, his affidavit of earlier date has little value and it would not have been published had all the facts been known earlier.[34]

The identity of Celli remains a mystery. In the 1960s, however, Major O'Dwyer discovered that Weißkopf's neighbor on Tunxis Hill, a machinist who helped build his aircraft and who often told of having seen him fly, was named Anthony Suelli (actually a Swiss named Zülli). Howell's error in misspelling the name is understandable if he only heard it pronounced. Unfortunately, the researchers made this discovery too late, for Suelli died before he could be interviewed.[35]

Thus it appears that Howell's account remains unsubstantiated, but such is not the case, for two others have sworn they were present that day. By affidavit dated 21 August 1934 Junius Harworth swore that

> On August, fourteenth, Nineteen Hundred and One I was present and assisted on the occasion when Mr. Whitehead succeeded in flying his machine, propelled by a motor, to a height of two hundred feet off the ground or sea beach at Lordship Manor, Connecticut. The distance flown was approximately one mile and a half and lasted to the best of my knowledge for four mintues.[36]

Anton Pruckner, with whom Weißkopf made many flights, swore as follows:

> I did witness and was present at the time of the August 14, 1901 flight. The flight was about ½ mile in distance overall and about 50 feet or so in the air. The plane circled a little to one side and landed easily with no damage to it or the engine or the occupant who was Gustave Whitehead.[37]

It was Weißkopf's habit, when testing aircraft, to make more than one flight a day unless, of course, the machine was damaged beyond airworthiness. The discrepancies in the affidavits of Pruckner and Harworth arise from the fact that they describe two different flights of the four flights made on that day. This accounts for their absence from Howell's article.[38]

John Dvorak's criticisms, that Weißkopf was too unskilled to build a working engine, and that he was given to gross exaggeration, are simply nonsensical. Junius Harworth responded:

> Dvorak is absolutely correct in making affidavit to the effect that Whitehead could not build a motor to satisfy Dvorak. This was because Dvorak had his own drawings, his own ideas, which did not agree with Whitehead's. . . . Why could not Dvorak get any other person to manufacture his motor at that time? It was because his drawings and ideas were not correct. Whitehead knew this, and that is why the breach occurred. . . . He [Dvorak] lacked mechanical skill to build motors. . . . If he lacked skill, how could he judge and claim that Whitehead did not have this skill, when already Whitehead did have a shop, with equipment in it, and was building motors?[39]

In fact, Weißkopf's ability and mechanical skill could have made him a wealthy man at a time when there was an ever-increasing demand for lightweight engines, but he was far more interested in flying. Even so, word of his talent as a machinist spread rapidly. In the 1901 *Bridgeport City Directory* he was listed as a "machinist." His daughter, Rose, remembers bringing home so many letters with orders and advance payments on engines that she could scarcely carry them all. She stated that one day, her father returned fifty orders, for he built "only as many engines for sale as he felt would provide him with funds to advance his own work upon airplanes."[40]

Weißkopf avidly experimented to find a powerful but lightweight propulsion unit, and started with steam, but soon tried other methods:

> When interviewed on Janaury 4, 1936, Louis Lazay told the writer that Whitehead had built the first gasoline motor used in an airplane in this country. Darvarich recalled a revolving hexagon-type motor built by Whitehead. Harworth reported under the date of August 28, 1935, that Whitehead had built the Snaideki engine which had 16 cylinders, 8 on a side.[41]

Even Stanley Beach stated that Weißkopf deserved a place in early aviation, "due to his having gone ahead and built extremely light engines. . . . The 5-cylinder kerosene one, with which he claims to have flown over Long Island Sound on Jan. 17, 1902, was, I believe, the first Aviation Diesel."[42]

News of his skill as a mechanic soon spread throughout the state and beyond. The Wright brothers maintained an extensive correspondence with Octave Chanute, who served as their link to the outside world while they were conducting their experiments in such a relatively isolated spot as Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Most importantly, he kept them abreast of the latest developments in their field. By letter dated 3 July 1901 Chanute wrote to Wilbur:

> I have a letter from Carl E. Myers, the balloon maker, stating that a Mr. Whitehead has invented a light weight motor, and has engaged to build

for Mr. Arnot of Elmira "a motor of 10 I.H.P. to weigh with supplies for two hours and accessories about 30 lbs. as estimated."[43]

Wilbur Wright was suitably impressed; one of the greatest problems faced by aviators and mechanics of the time was to find an engine that was both light and powerful. He responded:

> The 10-horsepower motor you refer to is certainly a wonder if it weighs only thirty lbs. with supplies for two hours, as the gasoline alone for such an engine would weigh some ten or twelve lbs. thus leaving only 18 or 20 lbs. for the motor or about two lbs. per horsepower. Even if the inventor miscalculates by five hundred percent it would still be an extremely fine motor for aerial purposes.[44]

The German-born inventor also won the endorsement of Charles R. Wittemann, one of the more respected names in American aviation history. He was the first commercial builder of airplanes in the United States; he built some of the first air mail planes for the Post Office Department; he designed special stunt aircraft for many famous flyers; and in World War I, President Wilson appointed him to a committee to examine and report on the aircraft industry at the time. Wittemann once purchased two Weißkopf engines for his airplanes and reported that they functioned well.

When asked of his opinion of Whitehead and his ability, Wittemann replied without hesitation, "I'd say he was a genius. All around."—"You wouldn't say he was just a nut?" he was asked."Oh no! By no means. He knew what he was doing."[45]

Clearly, Weißkopf was not the vain, boastful dreamer that Dvorak alleges. Despite his best efforts, the inventor was almost always short of money. After Miller, an early garage mechanic who did much work for Weißkopf, a man named Linde provided financial assistance probably until the end of 1902.[46] In 1905, Stanley Beach, son of the editor of *Scientific American,* took an interest in Weißkopf's work and along with his father assisted Weißkopf financially for several years. In 1939, Beach drew up a statement, neither sworn nor signed, about his relationship with Weißkopf. Largely critical, the typed version consisted of six and a half pages and has been relied on heavily by the aviator's detractors.

The two men did not get along, and Weißkopf's assistants have said he would not have worked for Beach but for his painful lack of funds. Beach did not permit him to pursue his own ideas but forced his own unsuccessful designs on him, from time to time.

In statements made in response to Randolph's 1937 book, Beach denied that Weißkopf had ever flown successfully because if he had, Beach as aeronautics editor of his father's magazine would have known about it.

> It is indeed strange that Beach did not know of the August 14, 1901, flights when they occurred, whether or not he was promoting Whitehead's efforts at that date. In his capacity as Aeronautics Editor for the *Scientific American,* and as a resident of Stratford (next door to Bridgeport)

he must have discovered that the Bridgeport, New York and Boston papers were either scooping him in his hometown and in his own field, or publishing a fraudulent claim. In either case the *Scientific American's* aeronautics section was strangely silent. Was Beach trying to "save face" thirty-odd years later with his statements?[47]

Strangely enough, Beach's name does not appear on the masthead or anywhere else in *Scientific American,* indicating he had a position on the staff.[48]

Beach's 1939 "statement" has been proven to be the product of more than one hand, for part of the original is typed, part handwritten. In another hand at the top of the first page is written "Please, correct, leave out and add to. . . ." and, as mentioned above, the document was never signed. Interestingly enough, the author managed to pay Weißkopf some compliments; his praise of the inventor's engines has already been alluded to, and on the last page of Beach's (?) statement, he wrote: "I know that the airplane patented by him was inherently stable, laterally and longitudinally, and that it would always make a 'pancake' landing instead of a nose dive." It would seem that for Beach to know this, he must have watched more than one landing of Weißkopf's aircraft.[49]

His flight success attracted attention and visitors, among them the Wright brothers. Though no firm date for the visit can be given, it appears that some time after the August flight they did see him. In Anton Pruckner's 30 October 1964 affidavit, he states:

I can also remember very clearly when the Wright brothers visited Whitehead's shop here in Bridgeport before 1903. I was present and saw them myself. I know this to be true, because they introduced themselves to me at the time. In no way am I confused, as some people have felt, with the Wittemann brothers who came here after 1906. I knew Charles Wittemann well. The Wrights left here with a great deal of information. . . .[50]

Both Cecil Steeves and Junius Harworth remember the Wrights; Steves described them and recalled their telling Weißkopf that they had received his letter, indicating an exchange of correspondence. Though Orville Wright always denied his acquaintance with Weißkopf, the evidence clearly contradicts him. The Wright *Flyer* seems to have nothing in common with Weißkopf's elegant monoplane, and it would be difficult, if not impossible to determine how much "information" was picked up from Weißkopf by the Wright brothers, if any.

The success of 14 August was soon followed up by other flights. In the 1 April 1902 edition of *The American Inventor* there appeared a letter from Weißkopf to the editor, describing two flights made by the inventor on 17 January 1902. His words are worth repeating:

It [machine No. 22, resembling No. 21 with which the Aug. 14 flight was made] was intended to fly only short distances, but the machine behaved so well that at the first trial it covered nearly two miles over the water of

Long Island Sound, and settled in the water without mishap to either machine or operator. It was then towed back to the starting place. On the second trial it started from the same place and sailed with myself on board across Long Island Sound. The machine kept on steadily in crossing the wind at a height of about 200 feet, when it came into my mind to try steering around in a circle. As soon as I turned the rudder and drove one propeller faster than the other, the machine turned a bend and flew north with the wind at a frightful speed, but turned steadily around until I saw the starting place in the distance. I contrived to turn but when near the land again, I slowed up the propellers and sank gently down on an even keel into the water, she readily floated like a boat. My men pulled her out of the water, and as the day was at a close, and the weather changing for the worse, I decided to take her home until Spring.

The length of the flight on the first trial was about two miles, and on the second about seven miles.[51]

Weißkopf's description of his landing brings to mind Stanley Beach's assertion that the machine was "inherently stable, laterally and longitudinally, and that it would always make a 'pancake' landing instead of a nose dive."

Unfortunately, those who might have witnessed these flights were not interviewed. Pruckner was not present on the occasion, though he was told of the events by Weißkopf himself.

Weißkopf was of fine moral character, and never in all the long time I was associated with him or knew him did he ever appear to exaggerate. I have never known him to lie; he was a very truthful man. I believed him when he said he flew, and I still believe he did what he said. . . . I saw his aircraft fly on many occasions and I see no need to disbelieve this particular event.[52]

The ever-restless Weißkopf continued to work and to invent for as long as he was able, and his dissatisfaction with his successes contributed to his eventual obscurity. Upon landing, he would often dismantle an entire airplane to modify it, trying different wing configurations upon a fuselage in order to improve performance. He experimented with gliders and powered craft, monoplanes, biplanes and triplanes, as well as helicopters. Of his successful tests, Weißkopf told Pruckner, "Those flights are no good. They are not long enough. We cannot go anywhere. Before flying means anything, we must go somewhere."[53] This discontent, coupled with a chronic shortage of money is the main reason why the successful flights of 1901 and 1902 were not exploited, not—as Gibbs-Smith asserts—because they were "flights of fancy."[54]

Gradually, he became disheartened, as one by one of his discoveries were credited to others who accepted public acclaim for pioneer work in this field. The First World War brought with it suspicion, prejudice and hatred of all things German and Weißkopf, who appears never to have lost his accent, is believed to have felt credit denied him because of his background.[55]

On 10 October 1927, at only fifty-three years of age, Weißkopf died, leaving his family the house he had built, some acreage and eight dollars. A few months before his passing, he received with tears of joy the news that Charles A. Lindbergh had successfully crossed the Atlantic. Weißkopf was buried in a pauper's grave.[56]

His story would end here, but for the reluctance of prominent scholars and institutions to acknowledge his achievements, or even bother themselves with a thorough, objective review of material gathered to date, a reluctance which only served to spur his biographers, Randolph and Major O'Dwyer, on to greater efforts. Though an extensive history of their dealings with the Smithsonian is beyond the scope of this essay, a brief mention of the Smithsonian's attitude and the reason for its position is made here, for it goes far to explain Weißkopf's relative obscurity today; and it involves no less a personage than Professor Samuel Pierpont Langley (1834-1906), mathematician, astronomer and (as Secretary) head of the Smithsonian.[57]

Langley was already in his fifties when he first developed a serious interest in aviation. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, he began experimenting not with gliders but with rubber-driven models, hoping thereby to advance directly to a full-size powered machine. He was an arrogant and impatient man who approached the subject with almost a spectator's attitude; Gibbs-Smith speaks of his "chauffeur's attitude of mind."[58] Nevertheless, his early model tests were successful and attracted attention.

The facilities and resources open to Langley were impressive. As head of the Smithsonian, he commanded the single largest source of research funding in America,[59] and his position permitted him to call on the services of a staff that boasted expertise in a variety of important areas.[60] Not surprisingly then, when the United States went to war with Spain over Cuba in 1898, the United States government asked Langley to design a full-sized aircraft, and granted him fifty-thousand dollars to build it. The result was the rather large, awkward-looking *Aerodrome*, a monoplane with two sets of mainplanes arranged in tandem. Like Langley's models it was to be catapulted off a houseboat on the Potomac River. The Professor's assistant, Charles Manly, volunteered as pilot, even though he had never even tried to fly a glider, let alone an untested, powered machine, and had no idea as to how the controls would affect the flight.[61]

The aircraft was tested twice, on 7 October and 8 December 1903, and on both occasions fell into the Potomac "like a handful of mortar,"[62] causing even the gentle Manly to deliver a "most voluble series of blasphemies"[63] after his second dunking. Nine days after Langley's failure, the Wrights achieved a powered, controlled flight, sustained for twelve seconds, on an isolated North Carolina beach. The *Aerodrome* was not, however, dead and gone.

Glenn H. Curtis, engineer and test pilot, was granted permission by the Smithsonian in 1914 to rebuild Langley's aircraft. He saw the project as a means of gaining an advantage in the patent suits the Wrights had brought against him for infringing on their flight control system. If the

Aerodrome could be made to fly, then it could be stated that the Wright airplane was not the first capable of carrying a man in flight.[64]

Many vital alterations were made to the *Aerodrome,* for aeronautics had advanced considerably since 1903. The then Secretary of the Smithsonian, Dr. C. Walcott, unwisely concealed the true extent of the alterations, and when the machine finally managed to get into the air off Lake Keuka, New York, in the summer of 1914, it was hailed as "the first aeroplane capable of sustained free flight with a man."[65]

Orville Wright was understandably incensed and brought external pressure to bear by sending the 1903 *Flyer* to the Science Museum in London, England; the plane would not be returned until he and his brother were acknowledged as the "Fathers of Powered Flight." The Smithsonian finally issued a retraction in 1942, but the Second World War had intervened to prevent the safe transfer of the machine to the museum until December 1948.

On 23 November of that same year, the executors of Orville Wright's estate entered into a contract with the Smithsonian for the display of the aircraft which dealt with, among other things, the wording to be used on the accompanying plaque. Paragraph 2(d) of the agreement reads:

> 2(d) Neither the Smithsonian Institution or its successors, nor any museum or other agency, bureau or facilities, administered for the United States of America by the Smithsonian Institution or its successors shall publish or permit to be displayed a statement or label in connection with or in respect of any aircraft model or design of earlier date than the Wright Aeroplane of 1903, claiming in effect that such aircraft was capable of carrying a man under its own power in controlled flight.[66]

Failure to observe this condition by the Smithsonian would result in a return of the *Flyer* to the vendors, according to paragraph four of the contract.

The contract clearly ties the museum's hands: it commits one of the world's most renowned public institutions to present a single version of aviation history to the detriment of other contenders for the title of "first," regardless of evidence. The achievements of the Wrights have passed into folklore and become part of American consciousness; the loss of the 1903 *Flyer* would be a serious blow to the museum's prestige, particularly if the terms under which the aircraft was forfeited were to become public knowledge. Recognition of Weißkopf's accomplishments would hardly be a blow to the memory of the Wright brothers, who could still be properly considered as seminal figures of early aviation. By demonstrating their machine in Europe, they overcame public skepticism on both sides of the Atlantic[67] and sparked a resurgence of aviation on the Continent, where developments appear to have reached a plateau following the deaths of Lilienthal and Pilcher. The Wrights raised flying to the level of the practical and revolutionized the manageability of the airplane; indeed, they have outgrown the realm of historical fact, assuming legendary proportions. If such unassailable

national heroes secure their reputation with the country's most prominent museum by contract, then it is not surprising that a half-forgotten immigrant mechanic has little chance of an impartial hearing before a public familiar only with the name "Wright."

Weißkopf has over thirty "firsts" to his name, but because he was generous in sharing information about his discoveries, he received little credit for his efforts.

> He was Connecticut's first designer, builder and flyer of powered aircraft and aircraft engines. So far as has been established, he was the first in the country to build sufficiently powerful and lightweight gasoline engines for powered flight and to sell them. . . . In this country he was the first to introduce the use of rubber-tired wheels under airplanes for ground transport. . . . His use of folding wings on airplanes is the first known in this country, and he was the first to use silk in making them; he was the first to provide his craft with individually controllable propellers to vary in revolutions per minute . . . ; first to build a concrete runway in this country. . . . Most of these things he accomplished prior to December 17, 1903.[68]

Weißkopf's excommunication from the halls of aviation history is an unmerited sentence imposed not by history, but by contract. However, the evidence amassed in his favor—affidavits, letters, tape-recorded interviews and newspaper clippings—has now been supplemented by conclusive proof of his genius. The German news magazine *Der Spiegel* recently reported that a full-scale reproduction of machine No. 21 was tested at the Sikorsky Memorial Airport in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Several unpowered flights were successfully concluded, demonstrating the basic airworthiness of the craft.[69] On 7 December 1986 the replica of Weißkopf's machine No. 21 made several successful, sustained, powered flights ranging from 146 to 330 feet distance. The replica was piloted by Andrew Kosch.[70] In addition, the state of Connecticut has petitioned the Smithsonian Institution

> to conduct a public hearing in Connecticut to investigate and document reports that Gustav Weißkopf, a German immigrant living in Bridgeport, successfully flew a power-driven, heavier than air machine in free, controlled and sustained flight on August 14, 1901, along the Long Island Sound shoreline.[71]

This powered flight has finally vindicated the man who for so many years had been ridiculed and denounced as a fraud, placing Weißkopf together with the Wrights as one of the greatest aviation pioneers, and the first man to achieve sustained, powered and controlled flight.

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Notes

[1] Though he was known to most of his contemporaries in Bridgeport as Gustave Whitehead, Weißkopf will be referred to by his German name here in order to stress his Central European background, and because it is likely that the inventor himself did not Anglicize his name for several years after his arrival in the United States. Weißkopf is the name he uses on his marriage license, signed in Buffalo, NY, in 1897.

[2] Norris and Ross McWhirter, *The Guinness Book of World Records* (New York: Bantam Books Inc., 1973), 174.

[3] Stella Randolph, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead* (Washington, DC: Places Inc., 1937), 23. The author here gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Miss Randolph who, until joined in her research by Major William O'Dwyer in the early 1960s, was virtually alone in keeping alive the aeronautical achievements of Weißkopf. Her two books, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead* and *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: Before the Wrights Flew* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1966) and the work *History by Contract* (Leutershausen: Fritz Majer & Sohn, 1978), co-authored by Major W. J. O'Dwyer, will remain cornerstones for any work conducted on Weißkopf in the future. Indeed, Miss Randolph has gathered so much original material that virtually no research on Weißkopf is now possible without consulting documents already published by her. Upon learning that the English historian C. H. Gibbs-Smith, who had strong anti-Weißkopf leanings, was to write the officially sanctioned monograph on the aviator for the Smithsonian Institute, Major O'Dwyer remarked: "What will he use for research reference? Stella's two books?" (Letter to Mr. S. Paul Johnston, Director, National Air and Space Museum, 22 Aug. 1968).

[4] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . .*, 62.

[5] Ibid., 62.

[6] C. H. Gibbs-Smith, *Aviation* (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1985), 74-76. Note particularly the same bat-wing of the mainplanes; Weißkopf's machine had a fuselage, whereas Lilienthal hung from a frame between the wings.

[7] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 36.

[8] Ibid., 105.

[9] Ibid., 39.

[10] Louis Darvarich, affidavit dated 19 July 1934 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 78.

[11] Tom D. Crouch, *A Dream of Wings* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1981) 120. Further quotes regarding the Pittsburgh incident are taken from this page. Crouch's attitude is indeed remarkable, in light of Randolph and O'Dwyer's work. Despite the fact that most witnesses and co-workers were initially interviewed by Randolph in the 1930s, when they were only middle-aged, Crouch speaks of Weißkopf supporters as "determined partisans . . . [drawing on] the fading memories of aged men and women to buttress their hero's shaky case," (119) and "Once again, there is no evidence to substantiate the fading recollections of an old man struggling to recall events that had occurred a lifetime before" (120). He does not name the man. Perhaps not surprisingly, Crouch acknowledges "an enormous debt to Mr. Gibbs-Smith for his guidance in the study of Whitehead's career" (318).

[12] Martin Devine, affidavit dated 15 August 1936 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 39-40.

[13] Randolph, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead*, 33.

[14] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . .*, 80.

[15] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 49.

[16] Ibid., 50.

[17] Alexander Gluck, affidavit dated 19 July 1934 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 37.

[18] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 50.

[19] W. J. O'Dwyer, "Did Whitehead Fly before the Wrights?" *American Aircraft Modeler*, November 1968, 53.

[20] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 62.

[21] Elizabeth Koteles, witnessed statement dated 1 August 1974 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 62-63.

[22] *Sunday Herald* (Bridgeport), 18 August 1901, 5.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Lilienthal also controlled his glides in flight by shifting his body weight. See: C. H. Gibbs-Smith, *A History of Flying* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd., 1953), 197.

[25] Crouch, 308.

[26] Orville Wright, *U.S. Air Services* (August 1945), quoted in W. J. O'Dwyer and S. Randolph, *History by Contract,* 214.

[27] Author's correspondence with Major O'Dwyer, dated 25 February 1976.

[28] Gibbs-Smith, *A History of Flying,* 231.

[29] J. W. R. Taylor and K. Munson, *History of Aviation* (London: Octopus Books Ltd., 1973), 50.

[30] Marivn W. McFarland, ed., *The Papers of Wilbur and Orville Wright* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953), 1:390.

[31] Taylor and Munson, 50.

[32] James Dickie, affidavit dated 2 April 1937 in Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . . ,* 154.

[33] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . . ,* 114.

[34] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 28.

[35] Ibid., 31.

[36] Junius Harworth, affidavit dated 21 August 1934 in Randolph, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead,* 50.

[37] Anton Pruckner, affidavit dated 30 October 1964 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 54.

[38] Randolph, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead,* 48.

[39] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . . ,* 107

[40] Ibid., 121.

[41] Ibid., 127.

[42] Stanley Beach, statement undated, unsigned, unsworn; in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 297.

[43] McFarland, 1:65.

[44] Ibid., 1:66.

[45] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 136.

[46] Ibid., 124. There is some uncertainty as to the time Beach first lent assistance to Weißkopf, but it was probably in 1903 or 1904, coinciding with John Weißkopf's (the inventor's brother) trip to California to raise money, and not in 1901, as Beach asserts.

[47] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . . ,* 97.

[48] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 124.

[49] Ibid., 134.

[50] Anton Pruckner, affidavit dated 30 October 1964 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 55.

[51] Gustave Whitehead, Letter to the Editor, *The American Inventor,* 1 April 1902.

[52] Anton Pruckner, affidavit dated 30 October 1964 in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 54.

[53] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 19.

[54] Gibbs-Smith, *Aviation,* 292.

[55] Randolph, *Lost Flights of Gustave Whitehead,* 66.

[56] O'Dwyer and Randolph, 143.

[57] Gibbs-Smith, *A History of Flying,* 209.

[58] Gibbs-Smith, *Aviation,* 67.

[59] Crouch, 129.

[60] Ibid., 134.

[61] Gibbs-Smith, *Aviation,* 66.

[62] Crouch, 287.

[63] Ibid., 290.

[64] Ibid., 309.

[65] Gibbs-Smith, *A History of Flying,* 211.

[66] Contract between Smithsonian Institute and Estate of the Wright brothers, in O'Dwyer and Randolph, 289.

[67] Crouch, 142.

[68] Randolph, *The Story of Gustave Whitehead: . . . ,* 134.

[69] "Weißkopf gegen Gebrüder Wright," *Der Spiegel,* 28 July 1986, 163.

[70] William J. O'Dwyer to G. K. Weissenborn, Toronto, 1 February 1987. Original in the hand of the author.

[71] General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, Senate Bill No. 401. Special Act No. 86-11, "An Act Concerning Gustav Weißkopf, Aviation Pioneer," 29 April 1986.

Christa Carvajal

Fanny Janauschek: Bohemian on a New World Stage

> I had come early and was talking to her stage manager on stage, when Miss Janauschek appeared. All my illusions were threatened at once. This old, shrivelled and breathless person . . . with thick spectacles was the 'famous Fanny' about to portray Mary Stuart! When she stepped out of the dressing room later, in make-up and costume, I was somewhat consoled. As soon as she had stepped onto the set, speaking her first lines, she became the great actress and I forgot my disappointment. What I saw now was the ideal personification of Schiller's unhappy queen of Scots.[1]

Fanny Janauschek, whom contemporaries had hailed "Queen of Tragedy" for several decades, died in Brooklyn in 1904 in dire poverty.[2] Her career in the United States had begun with a much lauded performance of Franz Grillparzer's *Medea*, in German, to German audiences at the Academy of Music in New York in the fall of 1867.[3] Her reputation as one of Europe's great tragediennes prepared the way for what promised to become an even greater achievement of fine artistry on the New World stage. Janauschek's American career, however, shows in retrospect the gruelling demands made on the physical and mental resources of an aging actress touring and working in the theatre in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[4]

As her promoters and managers would have it, Francesca Romana Magdalena Janauschek was born 20 July 1830 to a wealthy Prague merchant and his wife, and enjoyed a happy childhood until her mother's death, after which "manifold misfortunes befell the family."[5] From sketchy German sources, however, we can glimpse a bleaker beginning. One continental historian who gave her birthday as 20 July 1829 stated that "her father was a taylor and her mother a laundry maid in the theatre."[6] The Janauscheks, as Fanny would later emphasize repeatedly in American interviews, were of "pure Czech blood."[7]

Her entrance into the corps de ballet of the Ständetheater at Prague at an early age, certainly several years before her ninth birthday,

indicates that the family was of meager means. A wealthy merchant's daughter would not have been permitted the peculiar privilege to dance professionally during childhood. It is more likely that Fanny, one of nine children, was placed into the working world of her mother, where an artistic career promised escape from ethnic and socio-economic restrictions.[8]

Bohemian affairs had been marked for centuries by tension and conflict between three major ethnic groups. "Czechs and Germans mistreated each other and, together, mistreated the Jews."[9] During the last decades of the eighteenth century, Prague's theatres began to reflect the national cleavages of Bohemian society. Several Czech-language theatre efforts were underway, attempting the separation from "the German mother institution."[10] In an unabashed ethnocentric chronicle of Bohemian theatre affairs, nineteenth-century German theatre historian Oscar Teuber emphasized that the Ständetheater remained a monument to German national culture, "a solely German institution."[11] We may wonder what this meant for Fanny and her mother.

The peculiar stories about Fanny's beginnings tend to gloss over, indeed remake, her years of preparation for a theatrical career. Persistently, Janauschek is featured as an aspiring, gifted piano student who, unfortunately, suffered an accident, a severe cutting of her hand, and consequently had to give up the prospect of a concert career. Even her obituary referred to the misfortune which "of course, put an end to all her prospects of becoming a professional pianist, but as she possessed a mezzo-soprano voice of considerable promise, she began to study for the operatic stage at the Prague Conservatory."[12]

We shall have an opportunity to examine this "accident" in a different context later. That Fanny was a student at the Prague Conservatory cannot be validated. In Teuber's version of her professional training:

> The young member of the ballet betrayed early an inclination toward something loftier, recited verses at home with relish and enjoyed nothing more than visiting the theatre's spoken drama. When her mother discovered her passion, she entrusted it to the care of Primadonna Mad. Podhorsky and asked for advice. She, in turn, did not refuse her attention and coached young Janauschek in a not too difficult role. Director Ernst, with the approval of [artistic manager] Stoger allowed a trial performance, which, however small a debut, gained the fourteen or fifteen year old Fanny some favorable attention and audience applause.[13]

The account, written after Janauschek had become well known in the German theatre, creates a rather idyllic picture of the Ständetheater "family" with young Fanny, appropriately, aided in her first artistic attempts by a motherly teacher, then "allowed" to perform in public with the blessing of a fatherly management. We have it from other sources that her mother died when Fanny was nine years of age.[14] It is not clear when and why Janauschek became an actress. We may infer

from later statements by her and her promoters that she tried to become a singer, and that her attempts were frustrated by her social and ethnic status. The Prague Conservatory, one of the first and supposedly best music schools in the German language realm during Fanny's years at the Ständetheater, was a philanthropic project for theatre-loving German aristocrats. To enter, one needed patronage and connections. Teuber closed his chronicle of Fanny's training stating that "the character actor Baudius took over her further education after auditions for the concert master of the Ständetheater opera proved that Fanny had no talent for opera."[15]

The date of her first appearance as an actress has been consistently given as 17 July 1845. She played two roles, "Caroline von Biberstein" in *Ich bleibe ledig* and "the actress" in *Komm her.* Thus typed as an ingénue in light comedy, she pleased her critics with a "natural tone," "uninhibited stage movement," and "a pleasing speaking voice."[16] Her inauspicious debut gives us no clue about her departure from Prague soon thereafter. Fanny left the Ständetheater at the age of fifteen or sixteen for Leipzig. She was, however, unsuccessful in gaining entrance into Leipzig theatre circles and, penniless, left for smaller stages. Her *Wanderjahre* had begun.

The mountainous region of Saxony where she spent two years among starving miners and impoverished artisans proved to be an inhospitable environment for her aspirations to pursue a theatrical career. Allegedly, she wandered from small town to small town, giving performances with another young woman, adding to her income by making and selling artificial flowers. At a small theatre in Annaberg, she found a short-time engagement with a company managed by a "Direktor Tietze." She earned twenty-four *Thaler* a month.[17]

In 1847, she auditioned in Heilbronn, Württemberg, and secured there a seasonal contract with the Ringelmann company. German theatre historians differ in their accounts of Janauschek's professional work after Heilbronn. The demise of the Ringelmann company forced the actress again to find employment. Supposedly, she played in Cologne in 1847, then in Aachen during the same year.[18]

Before she came to Frankfurt in 1848, Janauschek was said to have acquired the patronage of several important directors and playwrights. In Heilbronn, Justinus Kerner, in Cologne, Roderick Benedix, and in Aachen a director Gerlach supposedly recognized the actress' talent and came to promote it.[19] At the most, these associations proved temporary. There is no indication that Janauschek herself attributed her start in German theatre to the influence of these men.

In February 1848, she played "Gretchen" *(Faust)* at Frankfurt, as a guest. This performance brought her a regular engagement with the Frankfurt theatre, which she began in May of the same year. In Frankfurt, Janauschek began her transformation from Bohemian ingénue to German character actress. At first, she continued to play roles that came mostly from the standard contemporary repertoire. Eduard Devrient recorded in his diary: "I traveled to Frankfurt at ten o'clock. Saw there in the theatre a production of 'Nähkätchen' . . . Miss

Janauschek was quite nice, natural, and of womanly dignity.''[20] On 28 August 1849 Fanny played lead in *Iphigenie* at the occasion of Frankfurt's Goethe celebration. The critics enthusiastically proclaimed her to be a new star of the German theatre.

She was praised to show a performance style similar to Rachel's:

> Her acting which highlights certain dramatic climaxes in roles has definitely something of the manner of the French tragedienne [Rachel]. Not only in the gestural part, but also from an inner core does her playing reveal a masterful majesty. In her historical characters she shows not only artistic and psychological truth but also historical truthfulness.[21]

It is difficult to take from such description much more than a critic's admission that Janauschek performed with authority and commitment.

Twelve years in Frankfurt gave her the opportunity to incorporate into her repertoire the major roles of classic European dramatic literature. She played ''Gretchen'' *(Faust)*, ''Leonore'' *(Tasso)*, ''Klärchen'' *(Egmont)*, ''Jungfrau'' *(Jungfrau von Orleans)*, ''Maria Stuart'' *(Maria Stuart)*, ''Isabella'' *(Braut von Messina)*, and several other roles.[22] In November 1858, Janauschek apparently had a dispute with the Frankfurt management. Devrient received a letter from her, upon which he made the following entry in his diary:

> Miss Janauschek is seeking my objective assessment about her refusal to play ''Isabella'' in *Braut von Messina*, which the management justly demands of her. She deems it fair to ask me to support her. She will be quite surprised over the letter that I wrote her, namely, telling her that she is professionally and artistically wrong . . . Miss Janauschek responded nicely that she would do what I had advised her to do. It is lovely that I have such influence even from afar.[23]

Janauschek, after obliging the Frankfurt management and the influential Devrient, nevertheless decided in 1861 to leave the security of her Frankfurt engagement to perform only as guest star. Before her departure from Frankfurt she published a brochure for the theatre management entitled *Illustrationen der neuesten Geschichte des Frankfurter Theaters unter der Leitung des Herrn von Guaita.*[24]

She appeared in Weimar during the fall of 1861, then left for Dresden, where she spent almost a year, and went to Vienna in 1863. While in Weimar, she was painted by Arnold Böcklin. It is through this painting that the story about the accident which supposedly caused Janauschek to give up a concert career gains some significance.

Böcklin broke with the tradition of painting actors in a specific role and in costume by portraying Janauschek as a lady in mourning. It was the year in which the painter's mother had died. In the painting Janauschek stands against a barely opened door, her face turned away from the light, in a strangely resigned stance, faintly smiling. ''The lady in black'' seems caught in a moment of admitted vulnerability, of indecision. Curiously, the otherwise completed painting shows Janauschek's hands, especially her right one, barely outlined by the painter's

brush. Both hands seem large and fleshy. We do not know whether Böcklin did not complete her hands because he perceived them to be flawed or whether Janauschek asked for a specific "treatment" of her hands, which the painter refused (and, consequently, left the task incomplete altogether).

Böcklin supposedly said of Janauschek to a theatre colleague that she had been "eine böse Person." Janauschek later admitted that she did not like the painting.[25] As an actress, she had reason to object to the painter's personal view of her. She may well have been disappointed that Böcklin's interpretation did not permit a theatrical pose and that she did not appear in one of her great roles on the canvas as she had on stage. Self-conscious also about her appearance, she had reason to object to a naturalistic portrayal of certain features which she considered flawed. Folkloric tradition has it that "the hands give it away." Janauschek, in America, was almost compulsive about pointing out that she had connections with Europe's aristocracy, and that she had received the best in education and training that the Old World had to offer. The painting made her "simpler" than she cared to appear.

For almost a decade, Janauschek toured in Germany as a guest artist. During this time she collected her share of great critical successes as well as failures. Seeing her in a contemporary drama, Heinrich Laube recorded that "Miss Janauschek did not live up to expectations."[26]

Independent actresses in Germany during Janauschek's years faced a number of hardships that did not beset their male colleagues. Even as stars, they seldom acquired a secure financial base. Actresses were required to own their wardrobes and replenish them for each production as directors saw fit. Audience tastes tended to favor splendid costuming, and actresses had to oblige the demands for rich attires and jewelry. Actresses in Germany were fired or not rehired if they became pregnant. Theatre directors discouraged and in some cases forbade marriage.[27]

The number of women entering the stage profession in the second half of the nineteenth century far exceeded the number of positions available in the German standing and traveling companies. The competition was fierce, rewards were always uncertain, and the whims and wishes of theatre-bureaucrats and director-managers often outrageous. To a beginning actress, applying for an engagement, one director replied in writing:

> My dear miss, I cannot offer you but 35 Rubel for the month but you should join us, nevertheless. We have here many well-to-do gentlemen, so you will have an amusing time, to be sure.[28]

It is reasonable to suggest that Fanny Janauschek came to the United States because she did not succeed in securing a position of preeminence among her German contemporaries. In 1867, she became manager and leading actress for a troupe that had gathered for the purpose of preparing a tour in the United States.[29] Once in New York, she found a German audience willing to accept her with enthusiasm. Max Ma-

retzek directed her as "Medea" at the Academy of Music and then took her on tour with stops at the major German-language theatres in the United States.

In Milwaukee she appeared with her own company in March 1868, "the first European guest of renown" to give five performances. She played "Maria Stuart," "Adrienne Lecouvreur," "Medea," "Deborah," and "Thusnelda." In November of the same year, Janauschek appeared as Racine's "Phaedra," Schiller's "Isabella" and Goethe's "Iphigenie."[30] In Cincinnati, during the spring of 1869, Janauschek starred as "Deborah" and "created such enthusiasm for her passionate performance of the title role as had never before occurred in the history of Cincinnati's theatre."[31]

One of her first reviews in the United States, a response to her performance in German of "Medea," stated

> Mlle. Janauschek has a handsome figure and a sumptuous presence, aided by features that are in every sense expressive. There is less dignity, less reserve and more humanity, more of the woman, in her 'Medea' than in Ristori's, but this is justified by Grillparzer, who shows no less of that sad one's heroism than her weakness. Mlle. Janauschek, however, has applied a deal of close study to the character, and develops every phase of it thoroughly. German acting does not rely at all upon 'points,' and many passages which on our stage, and even in the Italian drama, would be specifically made to stand out, fell into the ranks of even declamation last night. This was particularly noticeable in 'Medea's' meeting with 'Creusa.' This conscientious scruple of the German artist is apt to make a performance sometimes monotonous. A human tenderness blending with an Eastern picturesqueness of gesture, and a refined sentiment prominent throughout every scene were the remarkable features of Mlle. Janauschek's 'Medea'—and saved her impersonation at all events from wearying anyone.[32]

During her first visit, in the winter of 1868, "she appeared in polyglot performances, playing in German, Lady Macbeth to Booth's Macbeth, while the other members of the company spoke English."[33] In an interview before that performance, she voiced her intention to study English in order to act in American theatres. Before she settled permanently in the United States, she returned once more to Germany for the 1872-73 season.[34] Apparently she felt it necessary to prepare for a New World career with intensive language study. Her first performance in English ("Deborah," on 10 October 1870 at the Academy of Music) had not satisfied her.

Critics pointed out repeatedly that she spoke English with a strong gutteral accent, "but with sufficient clearness and admirable emphasis."[35] For her American colleagues, her accent and her appearance remained an occasion for anecdote or ridicule. She was for them an exotic star-actress, as this recollection by Otis Skinner reveals:

> I had not encountered the tragedienne until I met her on the scene—her rehearsals having been conducted by her stage manager. As "Seyton" in *Macbeth* I entered to announce the coming of "King Duncan" and was instructed to wait my speech until "Lady Macbeth" demanded my news. Madam's massive back was toward me, her gaze fixed on "Macbeth's" letter, and she showed no recognition of my presence. I blurted out, "The King comes here to-night." Thereat she whirled like an enraged tiger, her eyes two fiery search-lights, and with a deep vibrato thundered out: "How now, sirrah, vot noos?" With wilting legs I reiterated my speech and retired clammy. Her eyes had given me a distinct electric shock.[36]

From 1873 through 1892, Janauschek toured the United States. During the first decade and a half of her American career she managed to play a predominantly classic repertoire. One of her greatest successes was the double role "Lady Dedlock" and "Hortense" in *Bleak House.*[37]

She insisted that acting should be considered an art form and, for some years, succeeded in persuading her colleagues and audiences that the theatre was a place for serious and committed exploration of the literary drama. The Boston Park Theatre management announced her engagement to play in *Bleak House* in 1882 with the following congratulatory introduction:

> A lack of appreciation of the sterling genius and faithful endeavors of this artiste betokens an abnegation of the power to recognize the very best upon our stage today. For now over a half score of years Janauschek had held firmly, and without the slightest displacement, the very foremost station upon the stage as an exponent of heroic roles, and those characterizations which call for widely-varied intellectual and dramatic powers. Since she first seized upon this high position by absolute force of her ability, she has never descended to a lower rung upon the ladder of histrionic fame, and today, as her present engagement here shows, the desire to witness her splendid representations is daily increasing.[38]

To Philip Hale, Janauschek "reached her zenith about 1887 as Brunhilde."[39] By this time, however, she had been forced to add several roles in melodrama to her repertoire and had resorted to publicity practices which showed her growing panic over losing her audience appeal. She began to exhibit her jewelry in conjunction with her performances, claiming some pieces to have been the gifts of kings and princes in Europe.[40] She felt compelled to point out in interviews that she voluntarily played older roles. Her appearance as "Meg Merrilies" she regarded "as a business mistake, because she allowed herself to be identified with the part, and thus gave the public the idea that she was really a very old woman."[41]

Janauschek was openly critical of the predominance of melodrama on American stages. She was keenly aware, however, of the problem of finding dramas which were accessible to a great variety of theatergoers in America. She tried her talents as producer, she lectured on theatre, and relentlessly exhorted the public to become more demanding in its

expectations concerning theatrical entertainment. She became more and more exasperated with American tastes for "frivolity and shallowness, absurdity and foolishness, stupidity and giddiness, and any amount of vulgarity; void of all natural sentiment and ideal perception . . . of all and every poetical fancy."[42]

By the late 1880s, her exasperation was expressing itself in tirades and tantrums. She began to fight a losing battle for the appreciation of American audiences. Her stateliness had turned to massiveness, her brooding anger had changed to bitterness. She was finally forced to perform in vaudeville, because she needed money. It was not by her choice, as one of her American chroniclers suggested, that:

> She made remarkable displays of varied abilities in wretched pieces whose absurdities not even her genius could mitigate. A concoction called "The Doctor of Lima" was a perfect miracle of ineptitude, but the pathos with which she filled her own part was supreme. While she was on stage the audience was sympathetic and tearful; when she was 'off' it was shaken with irreverent laughter.[43]

One of her last efforts to force the issue of the serious literary vehicle versus the drama "void of all and every poetical fancy" ended as a minor scandal. Probably as part of a variety show, "she enacted Jacques in a freakish feminine performance of 'As You Like It,' and—in spite of an appalling and ludicrous make-up—she stirred a bored audience to genuine enthusiasm by her fine reading of the part."[44]

Janauschek announced her retirement from the stage in 1890, only to reemerge the next year to appear in *The Harvest Home.* That production was a complete failure. Her last legitimate stage performance was as "typical Eastside 'fence' keeper" in *The Great Diamond Robbery* during the 1895-96 season.[45]

On 18 July 1900 she suffered a stroke. Her obituary accounts for her last years:

> [After her stroke] she went to St. Mary's Hospital, in New York, remaining there until December, 1900, and then went to live at the home of Mrs. Aston in Saratoga, N.Y., under the care of Dr. James E. Kelly, of that place. A benefit performance at Wallack's Theatre, in which many prominent actors and actresses took part, on April 12, 1901, netted $5,000.00 for her. In October, 1903, she decided to sell her effects, consisting of costumes she had worn in her former productions. Then a relief fund was started for her and later the Actor's Fund induced her to go to its home on Staten Island.
>
> Mme. Janauschek died November 28, 1904, at the Brunswick Home, Amityville, L.I., N.Y. Funeral services were held at No. 241 West Twenty-third Street, New York. Internment was in the Actor's Fund plot, Evergreens Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y.[46]

Janauschek's acting, for American tastes, lacked "immediacy," that is, it showed considerable technique and artfulness. Her acting style, from what we can see in her portraits and construct from descriptions,

was based on carefully thought out arrangements in stage space. It was a dramatic text that determined her decisions on how to show herself and she approached the text with eager curiousity and unsentimental intelligence.

Yet, as a working actress since early childhood, Janauschek had neither the leisure nor the educational equipment to develop a concept of performance art that could accommodate her experience as Bohemian, as German, as American and as woman. During a lifetime in which the theatre was shaped, on the Continent and in America, by commercial interests and the values of a boisterous, emerging bourgoisie, Janauschek's sensitivity and intelligence was oddly overwhelmed by contemporary trends and fashions. From her combative attitude, from her insistence to be a serious artist in the theatre of her time, we may glimpse the strains and strictures of an historical predicament and the heroic efforts of a woman to come to grips with the confusing demands of traditions as varied as the ones that happened to shape her individual fate.

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Notes

[1] Ludwig F. Lafrentz, "Deutsch-Texanische Theater Reminiscenzen," *Deutsch-Texanische Monatshefte* 5, no. 12 (1900): 186.

[2] See also: Jerry Vincent Cortez, "Fanny Janauschek: America's Last Queen of Tragedy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973).

[3] Fritz A. H. Leuchs, *The Early German Theatre in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1928), 155.

[4] See also: Garff B. Wilson, *A History of American Acting* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 58.

[5] Friedrich Johann von Reden-Esbeck, *Deutsches Bühnen-Lexicon* (Eichstätt und Stuttgart: Verlag der Krull'schen Buchhandlung, 1879), 471.

[6] Ludwig Eisenberg, *Großes Biographisches Lexicon der Deutschen Bühne im XIX. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Verlagsbuchhandlung Paul List, 1903), 471.

[7] Interview clipping in the Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[8] German sources gloss over Janauschek's childhood and often do not mention her Czech background.

[9] See also: Oskar Schürer, *Prag: Kultur, Kunst, Geschichte* (Wien: Verlag Dr. Rolf Passer, 1935), 311-51.

[10] Oscar Teuber, *Geschichte des Prager Theaters* (Prag: Druck und Verlag der k. k. Hofbuchdruckerei A. Haase, 1888), 3:xiii.

[11] Ibid., xiv.

[12] Janauschek obit. N.Y.D.M. 10 December 1904, in the Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York, NY.

[13] Teuber, *Geschichte*, 246-47.

[14] Clippings in the Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[15] Teuber, *Geschichte*, 247.

[16] Ibid., 247-48.

[17] Reden-Esbeck, *Deutsches Bühnen-Lexicon*, 315.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 315-16.

[20] Eduard Devrient, *Aus Seinen Tagebüchern: Karlsruhe 1852-1870* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1964), 17.

[21] Eisenberg, *Großes Biographisches Lexicon*, 471.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Devrient, *Aus Seinen Tagebüchern*, 293.

[24] Reden-Esbeck, *Deutsches Bühnen-Lexicon*, 316.

[25] Rolf Andree, *Arnold Böcklin—Die Gemälde* (Basel: Friedrich Reinhard Verlag, 1977), 254.

[26] Alexander von Weilen, *Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer und Heinrich Laube im Briefwechsel* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1917), 129.

[27] Gisela Schwanbeck, *Sozialprobleme der Schauspielerin im Ablauf dreier Jahrhunderte* (Berlin-Dahlem: Colloquium Verlag Otto H. Hess, 1957), 77-81.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Reden-Esbeck, *Deutsches Bühnen-Lexicon*, 316.

[30] John C. Andressohn, "Die literarische Geschichte des Milwaukeer deutschen Bühnenwesens, 1850-1911," *German American Annals* 10 (1912): 78.

[31] Ralph Wood, "Geschichte des deutschen Theaters von Cincinnati," *Deutsch Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* (1932): 21.

[32] George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 8:345.

[33] Philip Hale, "Mme. Janauschek," in *Famous American Actors of To-Day*, ed. F. E. McKay and C. E. L. Wingate (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1896), 1:19.

[34] Reden-Esbeck, *Deutsches Bühnen-Lexicon*, 316.

[35] John Ranken Towse, *Sixty Years of the Theatre* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1916), 210.

[36] Otis Skinner, *Footlights and Spotlights* (New York: Blue Ribbon Books, 1924), 62.

[37] Hale, "Mme. Janauschek," 23.

[38] Playbill for *Bleak House*, Park Theatre, 13 to 18 February 1882.

[39] Hale, "Mme. Janauschek," 20.

[40] Lafrentz, "Deutsch-Texanische Theater Reminiscenzen," 186.

[41] Hale, "Mme. Janauschek," 19-20.

[42] Ibid., 22.

[43] Towse, *Sixty Years of the Theatre*, 212-13.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Hale, "Mme. Janauschek," 19-25.

[46] Janauschek obit. N.Y.D.M.

Peter C. Merrill

Henry Vianden: Pioneer Artist in Milwaukee

In the year 1849 Milwaukee was a fast-growing frontier city. About a third of the city's twenty thousand residents were immigrants from Germany, a proportion that was to remain stable for the rest of the century. The Milwaukee of 1849 was a city of unpaved streets and buildings of mostly single-story wood construction. Cultural life was limited and there were few opportunities for a professional artist to earn a living. Nonetheless, a few portrait artists had settled in the city by this time. Among these were two Scotsmen, Burnard Durward and George Robertson, and the English-born Samuel Marsden Brookes. All three of these artists eventually left Milwaukee, Brookes and Durward leaving in 1862. Henry Vane Throne, a young English gentleman, had arrived in 1847. He produced landscapes of local scenery and founded a drawing class, the first such enterprise in the state. His promising career came to an abrupt end, however, when he was killed in an accident a few years later.[1]

In late 1849 Heinrich Vianden arrived from Germany and joined the small group of artists who had already taken up residence in Milwaukee. He was a trained professional and the first German-born artist to settle permanently in the city. Known in America as Henry Vianden, he soon began to give instruction in painting and drawing, thus filling the void left by the premature death of Henry Vane Thorne. Within a few years he was firmly established as the city's leading professional artist. Through his role as an art teacher, he had a profound influence on an entire generation of younger artists in the city. A shrewd judge of talent, he encouraged several of his best students to seek further training in Europe.

Vianden was already recognized in his own day as an outstanding local artist, a view which was reaffirmed by Porter Butts, who wrote the authoritative history of art in Wisconsin.[2] More recent scholarship has confirmed Vianden's position as an important early regionalist painter in the Midwest. The Milwaukee Art Center owns seven of his landscapes, at least two of which have been loaned out for inclusion in

exhibitions outside of Wisconsin.[3] But while Vianden's stature as an artist appears to need no reassessment, the details of his career certainly require both clarification and more extended treatment. For one thing, published discussions of Vianden's career have largely overlooked the information available in a number of sources, including particularly public records and publications in foreign languages. This essay will seek to present an expanded view of Vianden's life and work by drawing upon sources which have not been utilized previously.

Vianden was born 9 July 1814 at Poppelsdorf, now a part of Bonn. His parents were Wilhelm Joseph Vianden (1789-1819) and Anna Maria Vianden, née Weyh (1788-1866).[4] Vianden's father was a faience painter and was no doubt employed at the faience manufactory in Poppelsdorf.[5] Henry Vianden was an only child and only five years old when his father died.

Vianden, like his father, is reported to have had experience decorating chinaware.[6] At the age of fourteen, however, he was apprenticed to a goldsmith.[7] From 1836 to 1841 he was a student at the art academy in Munich. In 1844 he began to exhibit his paintings at the art association in Cologne. The same year, however, he went to Antwerp, where he spent a year and a half continuing his art education.

While in Belgium, Vianden exhibited sixteen etchings. Although the works themselves are not known to have survived, a full record of their titles and content still exists. One group of etchings depicted the seven deadly sins, each being illustrated by an episode from the Bible. For this series, Vianden collaborated with the Belgian artist Franciscus Andreas Durlet (1816-68). Of the remaining nine etchings exhibited in Belgium, all but one are also of religious subjects. The single exception was a picture of Achilles casting down Astyanax. This etching, which dates from either 1834 or 1836, is Vianden's earliest known work.[8]

Vianden returned to Germany in 1845. From 1846 to 1849 his name is listed in the Cologne city directories, which give his occupation as painter and report that he lived at Große Brinkgasse 11.[9] He continued to exhibit at the Cologne art association until 1848, the year before his departure for America. Among the works which Vianden exhibited in Cologne were portraits, genre paintings, and depictions of historical events or episodes from literature. *Ein Mönch am Grabe (A Monk at the Grave)*, exhibited in 1844, has a title reminiscent of the kind of subject preferred by Vianden's older contemporary, Caspar David Friedrich (1774-1840). *Margret*, exhibited in 1847, derives from a story of the same name by Gottfried Kinkel (1815-82).[10] In Kinkel's romantic tale a village heroine is abandoned by her inconstant lover but later reunited with him. Vianden's works during this period also include further etchings on biblical themes and etchings which depict such allegorical subjects as *The Triumph of Good* and *The Triumph of Evil*.[11] Interestingly enough, the work he exhibited in Cologne does not include any landscapes, although he later devoted himself almost exclusively to this type of painting.

In November 1848 Vianden was married to his first wife, Magdalena Krüppel. She was the daughter of a village physician, born in 1811 near

the town of Zülpich, about twenty miles west of Bonn.[12] The civil marriage record indicates that Vianden was a painter by profession. He was also skilled as a lithographer and copperplate engraver, however, and he probably helped support himself by this kind of work.[13]

Vianden and his wife left Germany in May 1849 and after a voyage of thirty-nine days arrived on 4 July 1849 in New York, where he remained for several weeks before moving on to Wisconsin.[14] He appears to have purchased property at Burlington, Wisconsin, near Racine, but by October he had reached Milwaukee, where he appeared before the clerk of the county circuit court in order to file a declaration of intent to become a United States citizen.[15] In December he was again in Milwaukee, this time to arrange for an exhibition of paintings which he had brought from Europe. Among these were some paintings of the 1848 Revolution in Germany, one of these depicting a street battle in Berlin.[16] Probably this was *Der Barrikadenkampf (The Battle of the Barricades)*, which Vianden had exhibited in Cologne the previous year.[17] The show was held in a newly-built hall next to Matthias Stein's gun shop on Market Square, a neighborhood which was then the center of the city's growing German immigrant community.

Suggestions about religious or ideological factors having played a role in Vianden's decision to leave Germany are not supported by any hard evidence, and the idea that Vianden might have been personally involved in the political unrest of 1848 was probably suggested by his paintings of the barricade battles.[18] Nonetheless, various circumstances suggest that Vianden was more at ease among social liberals than among conservatives. For example, though nominally a Catholic, Vianden once stated that he had consented to a church wedding only for his wife's sake, but had personally felt that the previous civil ceremony was sufficient.

By May 1850 Vianden had definitely settled in Milwaukee.[19] He acquired a nine-acre tract of land near Root Creek on the outskirts of town where he eventually built a picturesque cottage. There was a garden and farm at his country house where he often hunted rabbits in the woods nearby, accompanied by his two red setters. The area where Vianden settled is now part of Milwaukee, but during his lifetime it lay outside the city limits. When Vianden purchased the property, it lay within the village of Greenfield, later to be known as Layton Park.[20] The cottage, which Vianden had designed himself, was basically built to resemble a Swiss chalet. The inclusion of a veranda, however, added a suggestion of the Victorian style. Stained a brown color and decorated with carved vertical beams, it struck one observer as having the appearance of an oversized cuckoo clock. Vianden frequently gave classes in outdoor painting which were held on the grounds near his cottage. A willow tree near the house was painted by so many of his students that it came to be known as the most painted tree in Wisconsin.[21] Vianden sold part of his land to Forest Home Cemetery, but still owned considerable property at the time of his death. His house, which was still standing in 1922, has since been demolished. Apparently it stood near the southwest corner of the cemetery.[22]

Vianden's base of operations in the city was a studio housed in a small store at 111 Mason Street near the corner of Broadway. The studio served as a school, workshop, and exhibition room.[23] For years Vianden, a tall straight man with a ruddy face and robust constitution, was in the habit of walking the three miles into town almost every day.

In addition to teaching at his home and at his downtown studio, Vianden also taught drawing at two private non-sectarian schools in Milwaukee: Peter Engelmann's German and English Academy as well as Mathilde Franziska Anneke's German, French, and English Academy.[24] Both Engelmann and Anneke were political liberals who had come to the United States after having been involved in the Revolution of 1848. Vianden was associated with the German and English Academy as early as 1865, when Engelmann was still principal.[25]

Vianden's first wife, Magdalena Krüppel, bore him four children, but all died in infancy. On 5 June 1860, after more than eleven years of marriage, Magdalena left him and returned alone to Germay. Vianden learned through friends in Germany that his wife was living with her widowed sister at Euskirchen, a town fourteen miles west of Bonn. Letters which he wrote to his wife went unanswered and on 1 November 1861 Vianden filed for divorce in the Milwaukee County Circuit Court. A final decree of divorce was granted on 15 February 1862. He was, however, required to restore to Magdalena $2,000 which he had received from her at the time of their marriage. The divorce decree stipulated the terms of repayment, one of which was that he deposit with the court deeds for land which he owned at Burlington in Racine County. In 1867 Vianden was married in a judicial ceremony to his second wife, Fredericka Wollenzien, who was born in Germany in 1837. They had no children. Fredericka died in 1897.[26]

Several of Vianden's students had notable careers as artists. The most successful of these was Carl Marr (1858-1936), who had been born in Milwaukee, the son of a German immigrant engraver. With Vianden's encouragement, Marr went to study in Munich, where he eventually settled and became director of the Royal Academy of Art. Another talented student who pursued a similar career was Robert Koehler (1850-1917). Koehler, born in Hamburg and brought to Milwaukee as a child, also studied in Munich and ultimately became director of the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts.

Two other students of Vianden who came to play an important role in the Milwaukee art scene were Frank Enders (1860-1921) and Robert Schade (1861-1912). Enders was born in Milwaukee, the son of German immigrant parents. Schade, who came from a similar background, was born in New York but settled in Milwaukee at an early age. With Vianden's encouragement, both studied in Munich; Schade from 1878 to 1882, Enders from 1879 to 1884. Although they were both at the Munich Academy at the same time, they were in different classes. Both later established studios in Milwaukee, where they had successful careers.

Not all of Vianden's students were from the local German-American community, however. One of his most talented students was Susan

Henry Vianden, untitled landscape, oil on canvas, 26 × 19 inches. Courtesy of Robert Brue.

Stuart Frackleton (1851-1932), who studied landscape painting with Vianden but later turned her attention to china decoration. Frackleton ultimately attracted national attention both for her work as an artist and as an authority on ceramics.

After coming to the United States, Vianden largely confined his efforts to landscape painting but continued to paint a few pictures of other types. In a lottery held in 1874, thirty-six Vianden paintings were distributed to holders of winning tickets. Most of these paintings were landscapes, but there were also paintings with such titles as *Grapes, Spanish Bandit, Veiled Lady,* and *Monk's Head.*[27] In 1877 Vianden was commissioned to do a portrait of the deceased father of Frank Siller, a local art patron.[28] The Milwaukee Public Library at one time reportedly owned a self-portrait by Vianden.[29] Vianden was most famous, however, as a painter of trees. Known as the "oak tree artist," he typically painted pictures in which a single tree occupies a prominent position at the center of the canvas.

A frequently repeated anecdote reports Vianden's advice on how to paint a tree. The photographer Edward Steichen, who began his career in Milwaukee, gives this version of the story:

> There was a landscape painter, famous in Milwaukee, who was particularly applauded for the way he painted trees. At one of his exhibitions a young lady approached him and said, "Oh, Mr. Vianden, you paint such wonderful trees. What is your secret?" And he said, "Secret? Vat is a tree? A tree is one hundred t'ousand leaves. You paint one hundred t'ousand leaves and dare you have a tree."[30]

During the summer Vianden often went on painting excursions in the woodlands, particularly to the Wisconsin Dells and along the Fox and Kickapoo rivers. Usually he would take along a horse and wagon, staying for the night at farm houses or village hotels. On such excursions, lasting for weeks at a time, he was often accompanied by several of his students.[31] His landscapes were so much admired locally, that he was apparently able to make an adequate living from what he earned by farming, teaching, and the sale of his paintings. He was even able to afford two visits back to Europe. During his second trip, in 1893, he visited Italy as well as Germany.[32]

In private life Vianden cultivated a gruff exterior. He was, as the artist Louis Mayer put it, "a sworn enemy of elegance and polite habits" though "liberal and good natured at heart."[33] To his friends, the burly figure with the white beard was known as "the bear." He was sociable, however, and enjoyed entertaining friends at his home. There he would proudly serve capons raised on his farm or game he had shot, his own asparagus, and even red-currant wine which he made himself. Toward the end of his life, he continued to go into town twice a week in order to spend time at Toser's, a favorite *Weinstube.*[34] Such meetings were typically characterized by good-natured conviviality, but the conversation could also take a philosophical turn. Vianden, well-informed, particularly with regard to history, often drew attention to parallels

Peter Woltze (1860-1925), portrait of Henry Vianden, watercolor, 1882, Milwaukee Art Museum. Woltze was a German-born artist who returned to Germany in 1900 after spending twenty years in Milwaukee. The painting is a gift of the Leidersdorf Family.

between events of his own day and those of the past.[35] He was also fond of reading poetry.[36]

Vianden was eighty-five when he died at his home on the evening of 5 February 1899. His death, due to pleurisy, had come after an illness lasting several weeks. Funeral arrangements were made by his friends, as his only relative in the United States was a sister of his second wife.[37] Burial was at Forest Home Cemetery, not far from Vianden's home. His former students, Frank Enders and Robert Schade, were among the pallbearers. Norbert Becker, another pallbearer, and Frederick William von Cotzhausen, a prominent Milwaukee lawyer, politician, and writer, spoke at the funeral.[38] There was no religious service.

Milwaukee underwent many changes during the fifty years that Vianden lived there. What had once been a frontier town had become a city of stately buildings, streetcar lines, and new housing developments. In 1888 the Layton Art Gallery was opened two blocks east of Vianden's studio. When the Milwaukee Art Association was organized the same year, Vianden was elected vice-president.[39] Around 1895 Vianden's studio at 111 Mason Street was torn down. In its place was built the University Building, a six-story masonry structure which became the home of the Milwaukee Art Students' League and which for years provided studio space for a long list of Milwaukee artists.

Other, less immediately visible changes took place in the city's art life. For many years Vianden had been the only academically trained German-born artist in the city. After 1880, however, the situation was greatly altered by the sudden arrival of a number of professionally trained German artists who came to Milwaukee to work for the American Panorama Company.[40] By the last decade of the century Vianden was only one among many talented professional artists in the city. Nevertheless, his death in 1899 attracted considerable attention, for he was both an early settler and a local celebrity. The fact that Vianden was for many years the only local artist represented in the permanent collection of the staid Layton Gallery is some indication of the high esteem in which he was locally held.[41]

The style and subject matter of Vianden's paintings underwent little change during his career in America; it is unlikely, therefore, that he was much influenced either by American art at large or by changing conditions in Milwaukee. The influences which shaped Vianden's work were, on the other hand, almost entirely those to which he had been exposed before leaving Germany. The Vianden paintings which are known to have survived are mostly landscapes and provide no sharp reflection of the times in which he lived.[42] The celebration of nature for its own sake was, however, a matter which in Vianden's time required no explanation or apology. A similar point of view can be detected in the works of the German-American poets who were Vianden's contemporaries.

Vianden was in Germany from about 1830 to 1849 serving his apprenticeship as an artist. This was a time when Romanticism still exercised a considerable influence on German art, though it was also a time of transition when artists could choose between several competing

schools of painting. Painters like Moritz von Schwind sought to carry forward the Romantic tradition while others, like Carl Spitzweg, devoted themselves to genre painting and cultivated a Biedermeier outlook. The German art academies at the time tended to favor religious and historical subjects executed on a grand scale. Landscape painting at that time was developing away from Romanticism in the direction of an increasingly realistic style, a fact which was certainly a major influence on Vianden's work. It was also a period during which the Düsseldorf Academy was at the height of its prestige and had not yet been overshadowed by the academy at Munich. The qualities of meticulous detail which were the hallmark of the Düsseldorf style were still much in vogue and were able to reach Vianden even in Munich. The influence of the Düsseldorf tradition is clearly reflected in Vianden's painting, even though he was never directly a part of the art colony there. For one thing, the academy at Düsseldorf strongly encouraged landscape painting.[43] More significantly, however, Vianden never abandoned the principles of careful photographic realism which he evidently absorbed from the influence of the Düsseldorf school. The five years which Vianden spent at the Munich Academy coincided with the period when the director of the academy was Peter von Cornelius, who had previously been director of the Düseldorf Academy. It is possible, however, to exaggerate the influence which Cornelius may have had on Vianden's work. The large narrative frescoes which absorbed the talents of Cornelius have, in fact, little in common with Vianden's landscapes.

In conclusion, it is appropriate to ask what kind of critical standing Vianden is likely to have in the future. The same qualities of meticulous detail which were so much admired in Vianden's youth were already being called into question during his mature years, and for most of our own century the hard, precise Düsseldorf style has been out of favor with art critics. But the last twenty years have witnessed an ongoing reappraisal of both American and German painting from the period in which Vianden lived, so that Vianden's contribution to American art will probably receive increasingly sympathetic attention from future art historians.

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Notes

[1] Porter Butts, *Art in Wisconsin* (Madison: The Madison Art Association, 1936), 70-81.

[2] Ibid., 109-13. Vianden's painting, *The Old Oak,* is reproduced on p. 111. This painting, which was in the collecton of the Milwaukee Journal Gallery from 1927 to 1958, has since been acquired by the Milwaukee Art Center.

[3] *View of the Fox River, Wisconsin* was included in an exhibition held in Boston in 1975-76, while *Landscape with Palisades Along the River* was part of an 1977 exhibition at the St. Louis Art Museum. Both pictures were produced in the catalogs of these exhibitions: Anneliese Harding, *America Through the Eyes of German Immigrant Painters* (Boston: Goethe House Boston, 1975-76), 35 and 72; Judith A. Barker and Lynn E. Springer, *Currents of Expansion: Painting in the Midwest, 1820-1940* (St. Louis: The St. Louis Art Musuem, 1977),

104 and 175. *View of the Fox River, Wisconsin* was also loaned to the Henry Ford Musuem at Dearborn, Michigan, for inclusion in a 1944 exhibition "The Arts and Crafts of the Old Northwest Territory." Other museums will, in all probability, eventually acquire works by Vianden for their permanent collections. For example, the West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts in West Bend, Wisconsin, is now trying to acquire works by pre-1950 Wisconsin artists, including Vianden.

[4] Information on Vianden's parents is to be found in the following public documents: (1) Vianden's birth certificate (Geburtsurkunde No. 192/1814, Standesamt Poppelsdorf), (2) the civil record of Vianden's first marriage (Heiratsurkunde No. 732/1848, Standesamt Köln), (3) the death certificate of Vianden's mother (Sterbeurkunde No. 65/1866, Standesamt Poppelsdorf), and (4) the civil record of Vianden's second marriage (Milwaukee Registration of Marriages, 2:490).

[5] In Vianden's birth certificate his father's occupation is given as "painter." In the civil record of Vianden's first marriage, his father's occupation is reported as "faience painter." The faience manufactory at Poppelsdorf was established in 1755 and was in operation throughout the nineteenth century. For information about it, see Konrad Hüseler, *Deutsche Fayencen: Ein Handbuch der Fabriken, ihrer Meister und Werke* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1956), 1:65-66.

[6] Wilhelm Hense-Jensen and Ernest Bruncken, *Wisconsins Deutsch-Amerikaner bis zum Schluß des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Milwaukee: Im Verlage der Deutschen Gesellschaft, 1902), 2:39-40. *Germania und Abendpost* (Milwaukee), 6 February 1899, p. 7.

[7] *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 February 1899, p. 4.

[8] Théodore Hippert and Jena Théodore Joseph Linnig, *Le peintre graveur hollandais et belge du XIXme siècle* (Brussels: Fr. J. Olivier, 1879), 1094-98.

[9] J. G. Heyn, *Kölner Adreßbuch* (Cologne: J. A. Mermet, 1846), 362. W. Greven, *Allgemeiner Wohnungs-Anzeiger für Cöln* (Cologne: Verlag von W. Greven, 1848), 196. J. G. Heyn, *Kölner Adreßbuch* (Cologne: J. A. Mermet, 1849), 397.

[10] Gottfried Kinkel, "Margret: Eine Geschichte vom Lande," in *Erzählungen von Gottfried und Johanna Kinkel* (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J. G. Cotta'scher Verlag, 1851), 229-90.

[11] Johann Jakob Merlo, *Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken Kölnischer Künstler* (Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1850), 490-91, and the same author's *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit* (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1895), 899-900.

[12] Vianden was married to Magdalena Francisca Wilhelmina Krüppel in a civil ceremony which took place on 29 November 1848. She had been born at Nemmenich, near Zülpich, on 27 July 1811, the daughter of Johann Wilhelm Krüppel and his wife, Maria Aloysia Josephine Christina Nonn.

[13] Hermann Alexander Müller, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon: Leben und Werke der berühmtesten bildenden Künstler*, ed. Hans Wolfgang Singer (Frankfurt am Main: Literarische Anstalt Rütten und Loening, 1921-22), 5:1.

[14] Lydia Ely, "Art and Artists in Milwaukee," in *History of Milwaukee*, ed. Howard Louis Conard (Chicago and New York: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1895), 2:76. That Vianden arrived in New York in July 1849 is also explicitly stated in a declaration of intent to become a U.S. citizen which Vianden filed in Milwaukee later that year. Merlo, 899-900, also reports that Vianden left Germany for America in 1849. Butts' claim that Vianden left Germany in 1844 is apparently mistaken. Butts, whose source of information was Vianden's passport, evidently confused the artist's departure for Belgium in 1844 with his later departure for America (Butts, 110 and 167). The notion that Vianden could have departed for America as early as 1844 is furthermore invalidated by the documentary evidence that Vianden's first marriage took place in Germany in 1848.

[15] *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 February 1899, p. 4.

[16] Rudolf Koss, *Milwaukee* (Milwaukee: Schnellpressen-Druck des *Herold*, 1871), 291. *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 8 December 1849, p. 2. Koss states that some of the pictures were not by Vianden, while the *Sentinel* reported that all of the paintings were his own work.

[17] Merlo, 491.

[18] Butts, 110. Walter Osten [pseudonym of Theodore Mueller], "The Father of the Milwaukee Painters," *The Milwaukee Turner* 5, no. 7 (July 1942): 1-2. Mueller's assertion that Vianden played an active part in the 1848 Revolution is without source and unverifiable. Vianden's name does not appear in relevant sources such as Josef Hansen

and Heinz Boberich, *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850* (Cologne and Bonn: Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 1876).

[19] Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, 2:39-40.

[20] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 1 February 1899, p. 5.

[21] *Milwaukee Journal*, 9 July 1922, pt. 6, p. 2.

[22] Information concerning Vianden's sale of land to Forest Home Cemetery was provided by George H. Wilcox, president of Forest Home. Mr. Wilcox believes that Vianden's house probably stood at what is now a vacant lot between 27th and 28th streets. The place is just east of St. Luke's Hospital, which was built in 1952.

[23] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 April 1903, pt. 5, p. 10, and 9 August 1879, p. 8. John Thickens, *Milwaukee City Directory, for 1873-1874 . . .* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee News Company, 1873), 314.

[24] Ely, 76.

[25] Richard Edwards, *Edwards' Directory to the Inhabitants . . . in the City of Milwaukee, for 1865* (Milwaukee: Starr and Son, 1865), 269.

[26] *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 February 1899, p. 4. Fredericka is buried with her husband at Forest Home Cemetery, where records indicate that she was born in Germany on 24 or 25 July 1837 and that she died at Greenfield, Wisconsin, on 24 April 1897.

[27] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 24 December 1874, p. 8.

[28] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 31 October 1877, p. 7.

[29] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 February 1899, sec. 2, p. 1.

[30] Edward Steichen, *A Life in Photography* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1963), chap. 1, p. 3. For another version of this story, see the *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 February 1899, sec. 2, p. 1.

[31] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 February 1899, sect. 2, p. 1.

[32] *Evening Wisconsin* (Milwaukee), 1 February 1899, p. 3.

[33] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 April 1903, pt. 5, p. 10.

[34] Milwaukee Writers' Project, *History of Milwaukee County* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Library, 1947), 379.

[35] *Germania und Abendpost* (Milwaukee), 6 February 1899, p. 7.

[36] *Evening Wisconsin* (Milwaukee), 1 February 1899, p. 3.

[37] *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 February 1899, p. 4.

[38] *Evening Wisconsin* (Milwaukee), 6 February 1899, p. 6. *Germania und Abendpost* (Milwaukee), 8 February 1899, p. 2.

[39] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 12 February 1888, p. 6.

[40] One of these younger artists, Hermann Michalowski, is reported to have painted Vianden's portrait. The portrait, at one time owned by Vianden, was donated during his lifetime to a Milwaukee museum. (Hense-Jensen and Bruncken, 1902, 2:48-49.) The present whereabouts of this picture could not be ascertained. There is, however, a watercolor portrait of Vianden in the Milwaukee Art Museum which was done in 1882 by the German-born artist Peter Woltze.

[41] *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 5 April 1903, pt. 5, p. 10.

[42] The sole exception is the painting *Westward Ho*, which is basically a landscape but which incorporates genre elements. This painting was offered for sale a few years ago by Berry-Hill Galleries, a private dealer in New York. The painting was reproduced in a half-page advertisement which appeared in *Antiques* 106, no. 1 (July 1974): 73.

[43] For many years the Düsseldorf Academy was the only major art school in Germany which offered a curriculum in landscape painting. Another outgrowth of this interest was the establishement in 1827 of the Association for Landscape Composition by two Düsseldorf artists, Karl Friedrich Lessing and Johann Wilhelm Schirmer.

Lloyd C. Engelbrecht

Bauhäusler: A Case Study of Two-Way Traffic across the Atlantic

The model of German-American cultural relations which best fits the story of the German Bauhaus and its influence in America is that of an exchange of ideas which are then developed further in each country. I would like to suggest that a similar model is useful for studying German-American cultural relations in other contexts, including those involving events of an earlier period, and that this model is often more suitable than two other models which, though frequently invoked, are not always invoked consciously and explicitly.

The first of these other models is that of the German immigrant and his or her descendents, each generation more removed than the preceding one from direct contact with Germany. German culture plays a diminishing, if never entirely absent, role in each succeeding generation. Certainly this model can be useful and can yield much insight into American character. I would agree with Walt Whitman, who wrote as early as 1883, "To that composite American identity of the future, Spanish character will supply some of the most needed parts." Surely German ingredients are also part of that composite American identity, and it is worth remembering that only two European languages other than English have ever gained wide currency in the United States. Moreover, the recent in-depth study by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin of six generations of a German-American family provides a good example of an instance where this model serves well.[1]

The second of these models is often used in describing the role of German, or Austro-German, high culture in the United States. While it could be argued that this model, with "Culture" flowing in one direction only, was never really useful, it is nonetheless both pervasive and persistent. And it does seem to fit neatly in the cases of those composers who were giants of the musical world and whose careers spanned the period which is precisely that of the maximum flow of German immigrants into America: Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Brahms, Mahler, etc. There simply were no counterparts in America for

these composers, and the belated recognition, in Germany and elsewhere, of an isolated figure such as Charles Ives, is unlikely to change an established mind-set.

I would argue that even when dealing with high culture, the one-way model can get in the way. If Gustav Mahler's American experience is not usually regarded as crucial to his development as a composer, no one would make a similar argument in the case of the painter Emanuel Leutze, who was born in Schwäbisch Gmünd in 1816 and brought to the United States at age nine.[2] He is best known for a painting of a scene from American history: *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* of 1851 (Figure 1). If the Delaware appears a bit Rhenish, that is because Leutze made this painting in Germany, and it is a work that had political implications for post-1848 Germany as well as for the United States.[3] In fact, Leutze worked for extended periods on both sides of the Atlantic, and he aided aspiring young artists from the United States who wished to study in Düsseldorf, as he himself had. He personally helped many of them get settled there, sometimes sharing his own studio. His continuing involvement in artistic affairs in Düsseldorf led him to become a founder of the Künstlerverein Malkasten there, an interesting precursor of Artists Equity in the United States.

There was even a bit of this two-way traffic in the career of Dankmar Adler, who was born near Eisenach in 1844 and arrived in the United States at age ten. He is best known for the firm, Adler and Sullivan, which he operated with his partner, the American-born architect Louis Sullivan.[4] Highlights of Adler's career were the three theatres, one in Pueblo, Colorado, and two in Chicago, which he and Sullivan designed between 1886 and 1892. The largest of these, and the only one still standing, was the Auditorium Theatre in Chicago, now part of Roosevelt University. (The other Chicago theatre was to have been called the German Opera House, but the name was changed to Schiller Theatre.) The partners began work on the Auditorium in 1886, and it was formally opened in 1889. While design work was still in progress, Adler returned to Germany, where he carefully studied recently completed theatres. In designing the three American theatres, he incorporated what he had learned about the seating plans, the fire-proofing, the extensive use of electricity, the heating, the ventilation, and the stage mechanisms of the German theatres he had visited.[5]

Assisting the firm of Adler and Sullivan in the design of these three theatres was the young Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959). Although American-born, he was to become even more strongly involved with two-way traffic across the Atlantic than Adler had been. After leaving Adler and Sullivan, Wright went on to pioneer a type of dwelling known as the Prairie House, characterized by strong horizontal accents and roofs with wide overhangs, suited visually and climatically to the flat Illinois prairie. Good examples are two Illinois houses built just after the turn of the century: the Bradley house in Kankakee and the Willits house in Highland Park. Another hallmark of the Prairie House was the open planning of the interiors, as seen in the Bradley house (Figure 2).

FIG. 1. Emanuel Leutze, *Washington Crossing the Delaware,* oil on canvas 1851, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Gift of John Stewart Kennedy, 1897. (97.34). All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

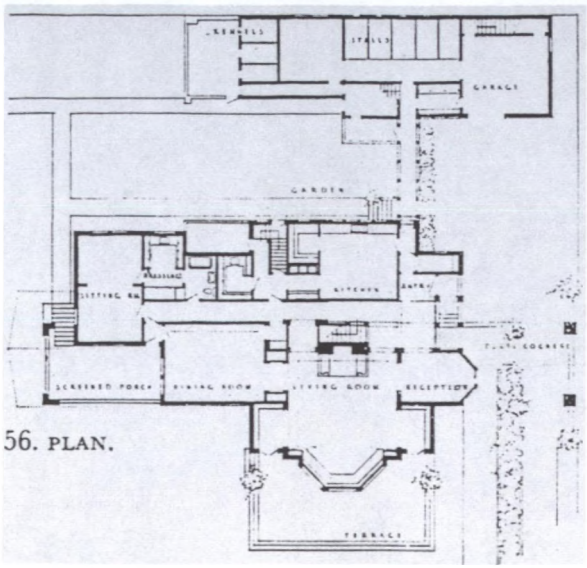

FIG. 2. Frank Lloyd Wright, Bradley house, Kankakee, Illinois, 1901, plan of ground floor.

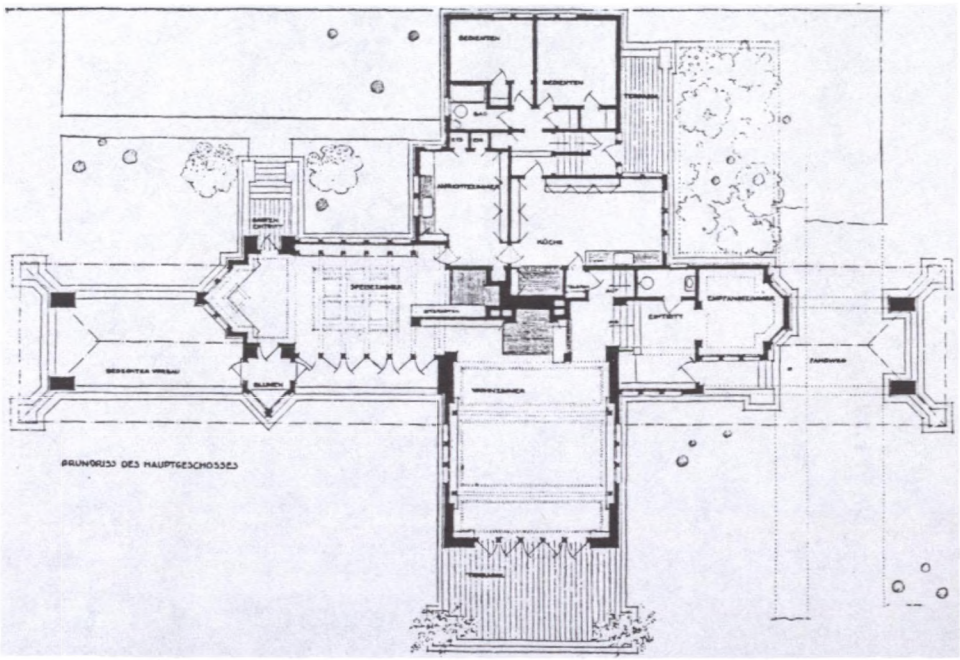

FIG. 3. Frank Lloyd Wright, Willits house, Highland Park, Illinois, 1900-1902.

Sometimes the open planning resulted in a pin-wheel configuration, as in the Willits house (Figure 3).

It should also be noted that extensive illustrations of these two houses appeared at an early date in German publications. Kuno Francke, German philosopher and critic, visited Chicago in 1908, while serving as visiting professor at Harvard University. Several long, stimulating conversations with Wright resulted, and, impressed with Wright and his architecture, Francke urged Ernst Wasmuth, the prestigious Berlin art-book publisher, to bring out two books which comprehensively documented Wright's work, using drawings and photographs.[6] These appeared in 1910 and 1911.[7] Nothing at all comparable was published in the United States until 1942.[8]

It would be impossible to exaggerate the impact these two books had in Germany. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the last director of the German Bauhaus, once recalled:

> The more we were absorbed in the study of these creations, the greater became our admiration for his incomparable talent, the boldness of his conceptions and the independence of his thought and action. The dynamic impulse emanating from his work invigorated a whole generation.[9]

The influence of Wright's pin-wheel plans can be seen in a project prepared by Mies in 1923-24 for a brick country house (Figures 4 and 5). Wright's open planning also influenced one of Mies's finest executed works: the Tugendhat house in Brno, Czechoslovakia (Figure 6). But these "American" instincts got Mies into trouble with Chicago developer Herbert Greenwald, one of his most important patrons. The original floor layout Mies had in mind for the famed apartments at 860-880 Lake Shore Drive proved too "American" for the real estate specialist called in by Greenwald (Figures 7 and 8). These apartments, as built, had little to do with what Mies had wanted.[10]

A better marriage between the intentions of Mies and American circumstances came about in the erection of projecting I-beams emphasizing the vertical components of the window grid. Before assemblage, these projecting I-beams had been welded across flat steel slabs in four-window wide, two-story sections, after which they were lowered into place by derricks (Figure 9). The slabs in each of these sections were then welded to L-beams projecting from large H-beams embedded in fireproofed piers. Following this, the projecting I-beams in each unit were welded to the projecting I-beams in adjacent units. Since even minor irregularities at these welded joints would have been significant when viewed upward because of the length of the perspective, Mies insisted on their erection on the buildings in the order in which they had been cut from the rolled lengths at the mill.[11] Thus the perfectionism of Mies was not inconsistent with the capabilities of American industry. But it is also worth noting that Mies was assisted by a veteran American apartment architect: Henry K. Holsman (1866-1959), of Holsman, Holsman, Klekamp and Taylor.[12]

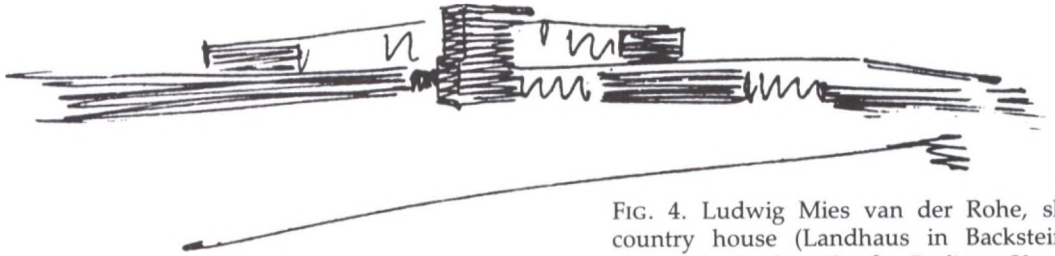

FIG. 4. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, sketch for a brick country house (Landhaus in Backstein), 1923-24, first shown in Berlin (Große Berliner Kunstausstellung, 31 May-1 September 1924).

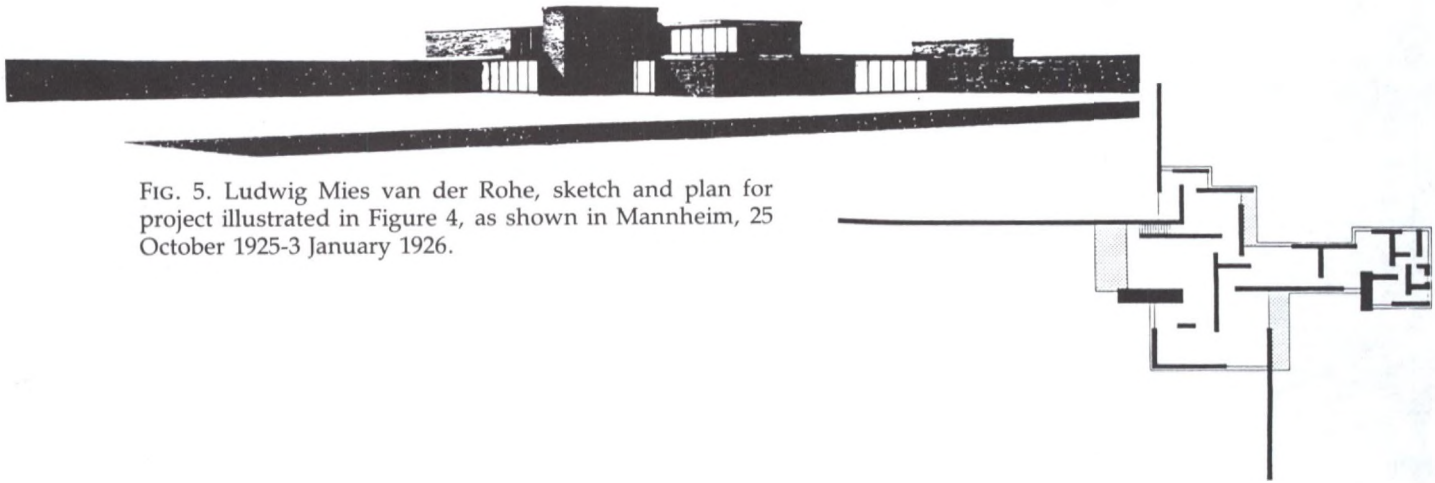

FIG. 5. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, sketch and plan for project illustrated in Figure 4, as shown in Mannheim, 25 October 1925-3 January 1926.

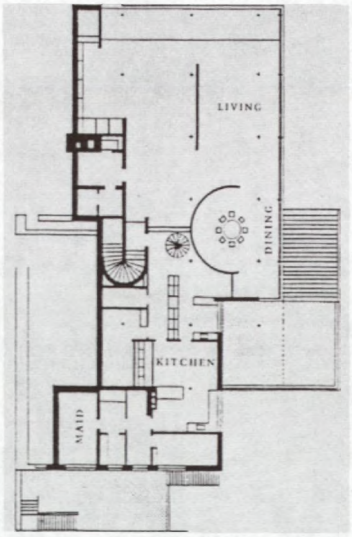

FIG. 6. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Tugendhat house, Brno, Czechoslovakia, 1930, plan of principal story.

FIG. 7. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, apartment buildings at 860-880 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, completed 1951. Photo Hedrich-Blessing.

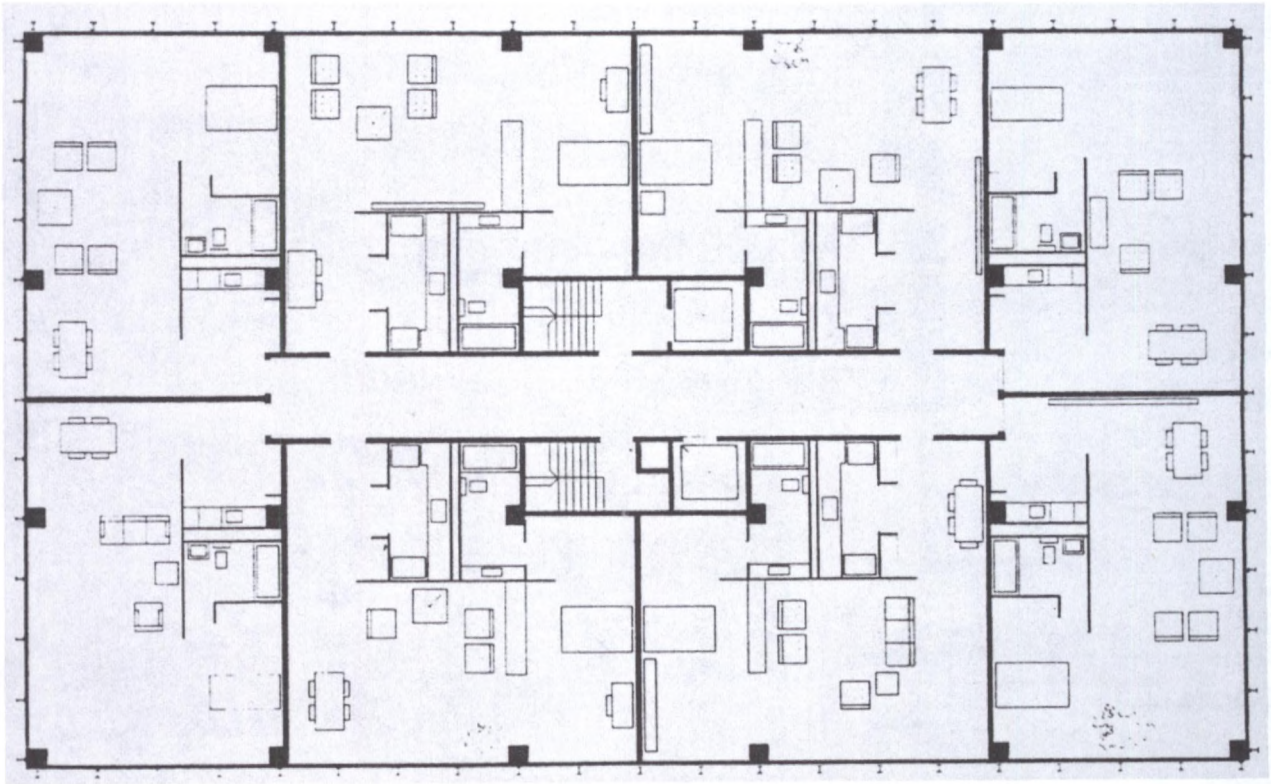

FIG. 8. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, apartment building at 860 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, original plan of typical apartment floor.

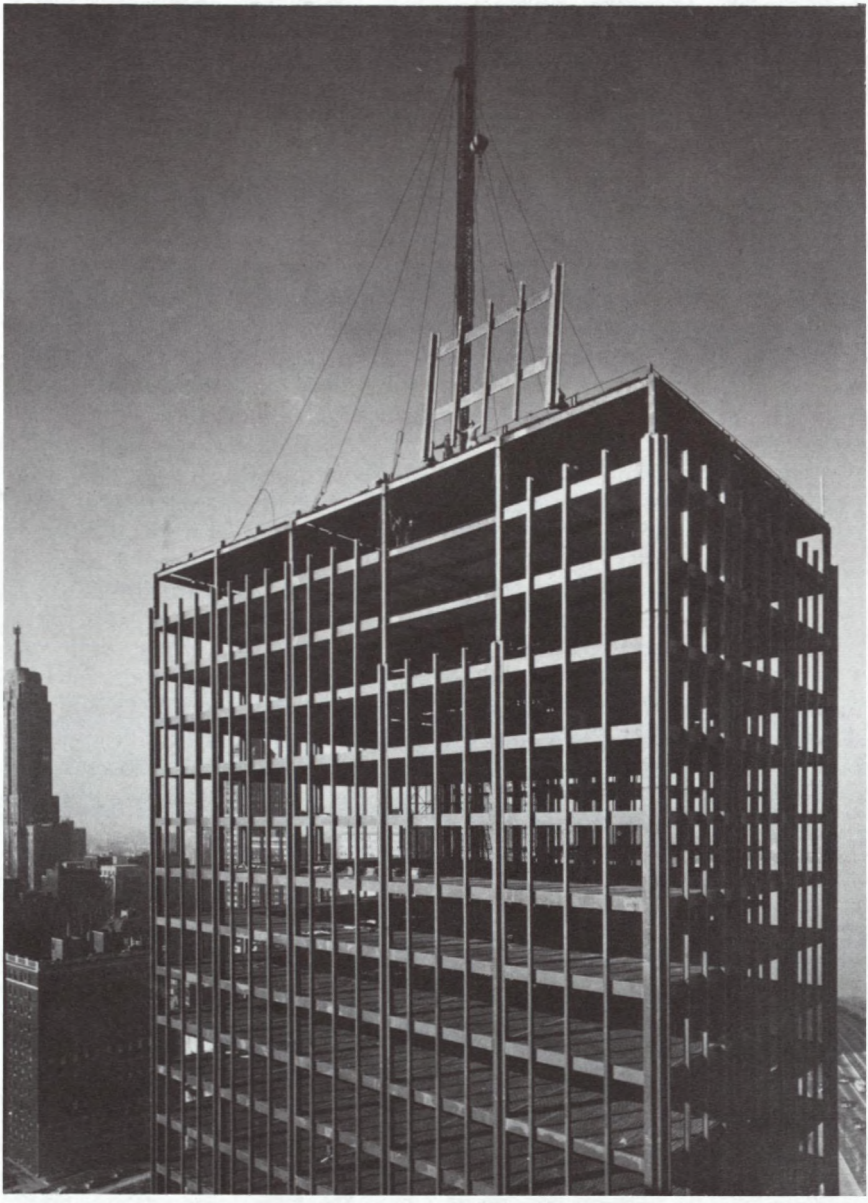

FIG. 9. The erection of projecting I-beams at the apartment buildings shown in Figure 7. Photo Hedrich-Blessing.

American industry on a smaller scale was able to supply a necessary ingredient for the lobby: Mies had wanted to use his famed Barcelona chairs and stools there. However, they had been out of production for many years by 1951 and had in any case been made only in Europe. But a Chicago workshop was able to produce enough chairs and stools to furnish the lobby.[13]

Another German architect influenced by Wright was Walter Gropius. A 1909 hotel-and-bank building in Mason City, Iowa (Figure 10), by Wright makes an interesting comparison with an exhibition building of 1914 in Cologne which Gropius designed with Adolf Meyer (Figure 11). Meyer once recalled that he and Gropius kept an open copy of one of the Wasmuth publications on their drawing board.[14]

Gropius was the founding director of the Bauhaus, serving from 1919 to 1928 in that post. After he moved the school from Weimar to Dessau in 1925, he designed a director's house, of which he was the first occupant. Shortly after moving to Harvard University in 1937, Gropius designed another house at Lincoln, Massachusetts, for himself. Not only is the house very different in appearance, it was also different in construction. As one way of becoming familiar with American building methods, Gropius built the house entirely out of items readily available from American building supply companies and hardware stores.[15]

For the Harvard campus, Gropius designed the Graduate Center, built in 1949-50, with his American firm, The Architects Collaborative, or TAC. When he began work on this project, he had been at Harvard for more than a decade, and was well aware of its long-standing tradition of deploying buildings in quadrangles; hence the double-quadrangle arrangement here (Figures 12 and 13). The resulting configuration was not really very similar to that of the Bauhaus in Dessau (Figure 14), which had been built from scratch on the edge of the city.

Shortly after his arrival in the United States, Gropius began work with his wife Ise, and with fellow *Bauhäusler* Herbert Bayer, on an exhibition for the Museum of Modern Art in New York, documenting his ten years as director of the German Bauhaus. This opened late in 1938; Wright was among those greeting Walter and Ise Gropius at the opening.

The exhibition also served as a more complete explanation of the importance of the Bauhaus than could have been done by merely showing the work of Gropius, Mies, or any other group of outstanding figures from the Bauhaus. It was the educational philosophy of the Bauhaus which was to be its most important contribution in the long run, and much of the exhibition documented student work which bore evidence of the student-centered educational program. Rather than trying to bring each student to a preconceived ideal result, as traditional education in art and architecture had sought to do, the Bauhaus had concentrated on stimulating and nurturing the creative powers of each individual student.

Further comment on the last point is called for, since the Bauhaus has entered the arena of popular culture. Thanks to Tom Wolfe's derisive commentary on the Bauhaus and the mass-produced adapta-

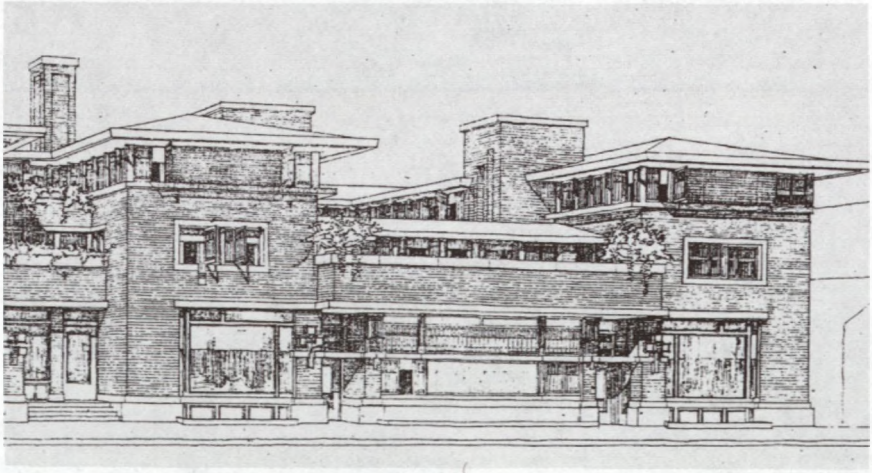

FIG. 10. Frank Lloyd Wright, detail of a Wasmuth rendering of a hotel-and-bank building in Mason City, Iowa, 1909.

FIG. 11. Gropius & Meyer, exhibition building, Cologne, 1914 (demolished), detail.

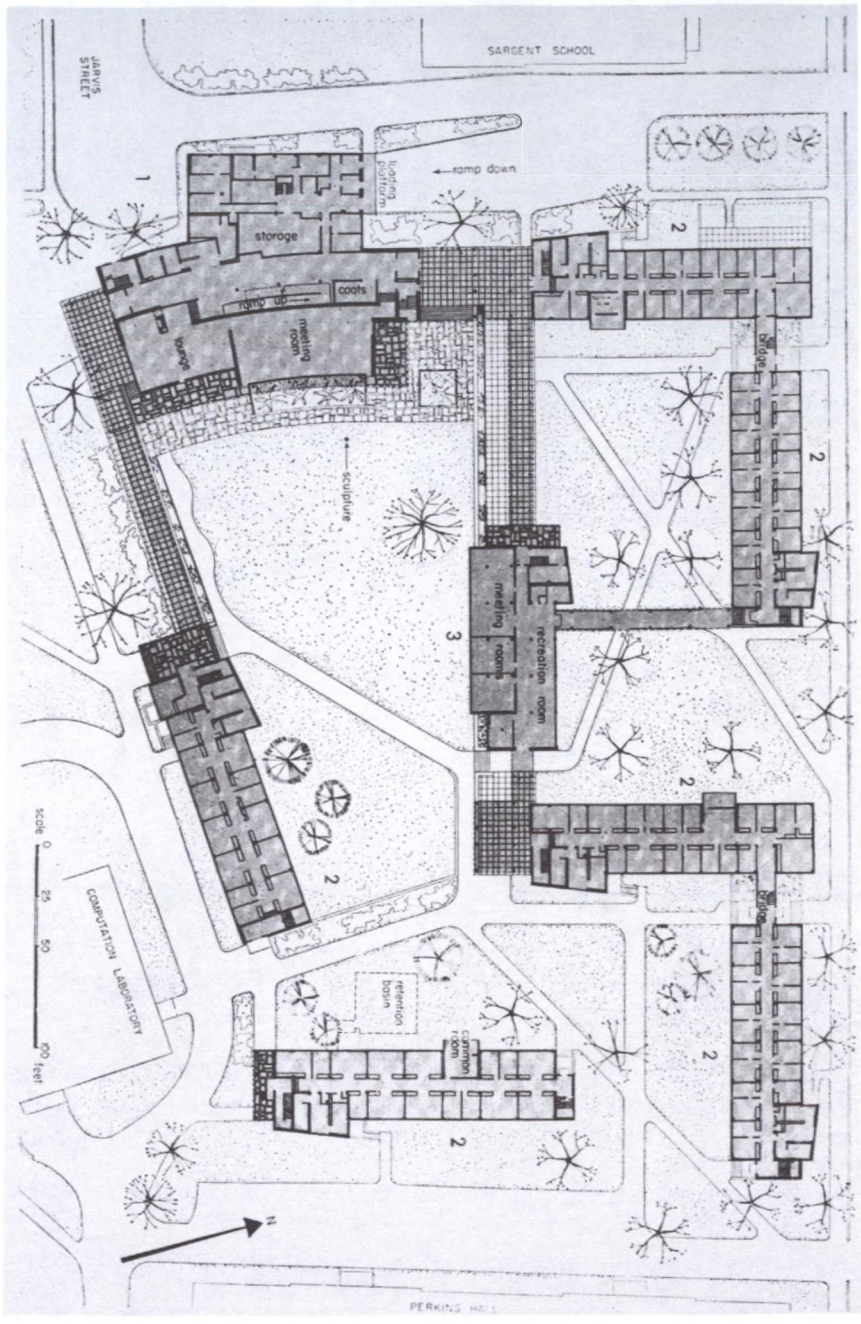

FIG. 12. Walter Gropius and The Architects Collaborative, plan of Graduate Center, Harvard University, 1949-50.

FIG. 13. Aerial photograph of buildings shown in Figure 12.

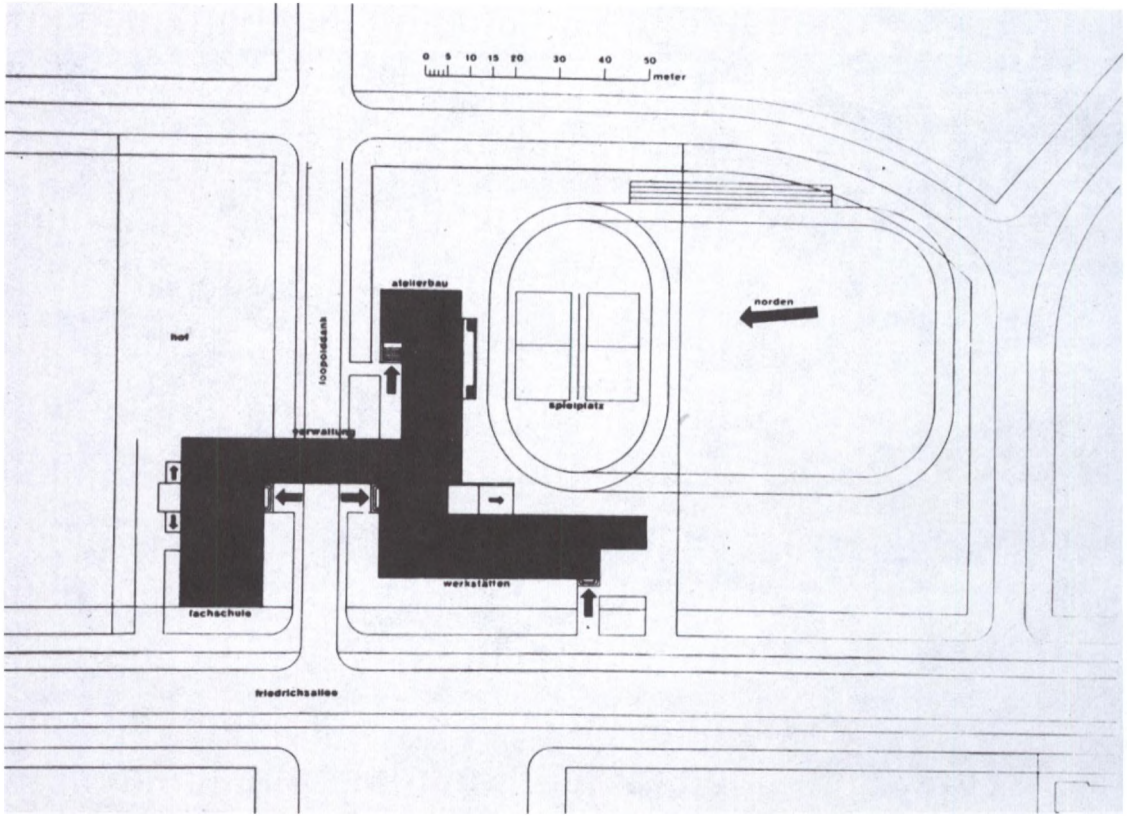

FIG. 14. Walter Gropius, Bauhaus, Dessau, 1925-26, site plan.

tions of Marcel Breuer's famed tubular-steel cantilever chairs, a general conception has arisen of a mythical Bauhaus, insisting on designs which did not stray from approved norms. I might add that this myth has been added to by a number of the apologists for the so-called "post-modern esthetic."[16] Hence, it cannot be stressed too often that such exercises as the tactile chart (Figure 15), introduced as part of the *Vorkurs* or basic course at the Bauhaus, and continued by such American schools as the New Bauhaus in Chicago, were part of an open-ended attempt to avoid preconceived results. The students were asked to organize materials based on the sense of touch, and then draw (and sometimes photograph) the result. A similar approach was taken to photography. Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, a teacher at the Bauhaus who later founded the New Bauhaus in Chicago, made a photo-collage, *Jealousy,* utilizing in an unexpected way a photograph of him made by his first wife, Lucia Moholy (Figure 16). Henry Holmes Smith, who taught photography at the New Bauhaus, made a photograph of discarded bait at nearby Lake Michigan (Figure 17), which he later used for his own collage, inspired by Moholy's work (Figure 18). Open-ended results of a different sort were achieved by New Bauhaus student Nathan Lerner, with his photographic study of an assemblage in an illuminated box (Figure 19), which inspired his sensitive and observant photograph, *Nuns on a Bridge* (Figure 20). In short, it is not too much to say that Bauhaus teaching methods shook up and opened up teaching practices at American schools of art, design, and architecture, and that Moholy's influence helped to loosen up American photography, and make it more creative, experimental, and open-ended.

Gropius could do little to document and interpret the history of the Bauhaus and its influence; he was preoccupied with his teaching and his work with TAC. In truth, little was done to supplement what was presented in the MOMA exhibition and the catalog which accompanied it, for many years. It was not until 1954, when the late Hans M. Wingler (1920-84), art historian, critic, curator, and archivist, became interested in the Bauhaus, that the era of modern Bauhaus scholarship began. Wingler's efforts provide the best example of two-way traffic, both figuratively and literally. Even early on he must have lost track of the number of round trips he made across the Atlantic.

Wingler had been earning his living as a lecturer and newspaper critic in Frankfurt am Main, when he was asked by Gebrüder Rasch, a wallpaper company, to write a book about the Bauhaus. The Rasch firm was interested in starting this project because they had begun producing wallpaper designs from the Bauhaus as early as the 1920s, and they still had some of these in production. Wingler agreed to write the book, but he did not at first realize the scope of the project he had begun. He made arrangements to travel to East Germany to visit Weimar and Dessau. With the help of Gropius, Wingler was invited by Harvard University to serve as research fellow in 1957 and again the following year.[17] As a result of the contact with Gropius, then recently retired from the Harvard faculty but still active with TAC, Wingler became interested in the *amerikanische Nachfolge* of the Bauhaus, and he also decided that an

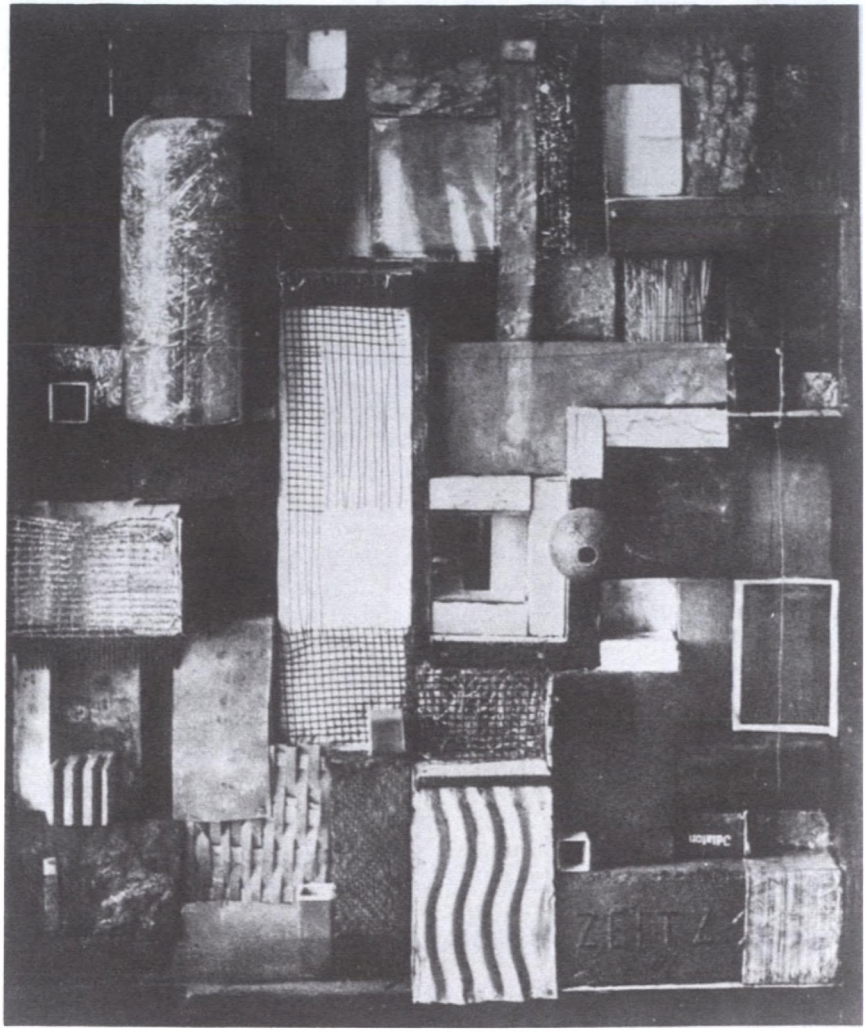

FIG. 15. Willi Dieckmann, tactile chart, made in class of Johannes Itten at the Bauhaus in Weimar, 1922.

FIG. 16. Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, photo-collage, *Jealousy,* utilizing a photograph of him made by his first wife, Lucia Moholy, 1927.

FIG. 17. Henry Holmes Smith, *Discarded Bait,* photograph, 1938.

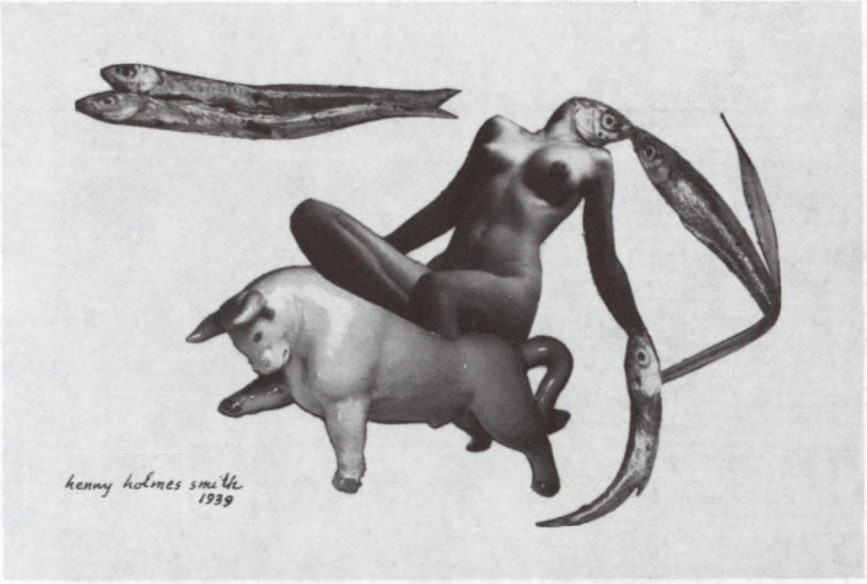

FIG. 18. Henry Holmes Smith, *Europa* photo-collage, 1939.

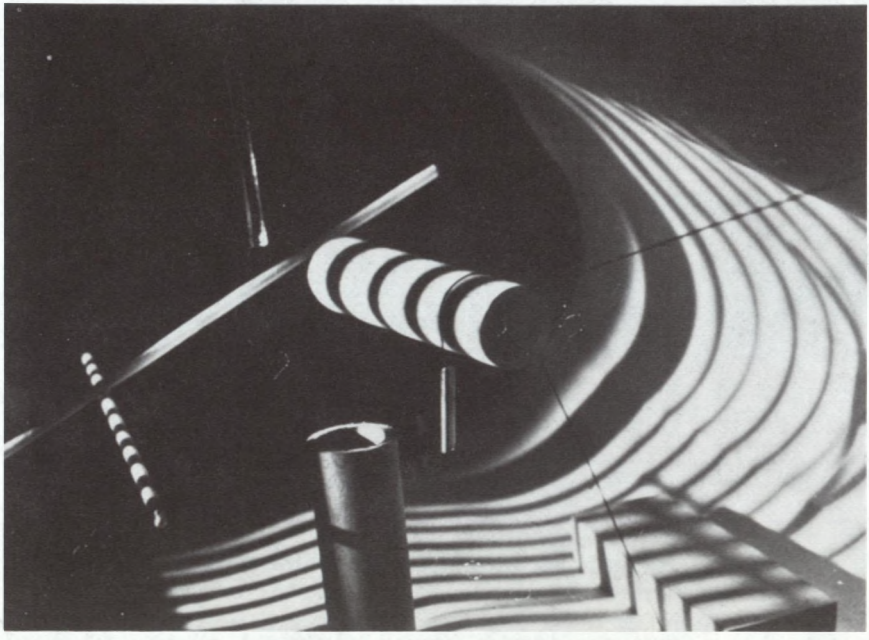

FIG. 19. Nathan Lerner, *Study in Light and Volume,* made with a light box, 1937.

FIG. 20. Nathan Lerner, *Nuns on a Bridge,* photograph, 1938.

FIG. 21. Walter Gropius and Hans Wingler at the dedication of the Bauhaus-Archiv.

FIG. 22. G. Franziska Götz and Bettina Müller, poster for the exhibition, "50 Jahre New Bauhaus: Bauhaus-Nachfolge in Chicago," Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin, 1987 (lithography: ORT, Berlin; printing: Ludwig Vogt, Berlin; original photograph, c. 1938, by William Keck).

archive specifically documenting the Bauhaus and its influence was necessary. This archive, which preceded the book for the Rasch firm, was founded in 1960 in the Ernst-Ludwig-Haus on the Mathildenhöhe in Darmstadt. Gropius, who had donated his personal archives for the project, was present at the official opening in 1961 (Figure 21).[18]

Wingler's book first appeared, in German, in 1962. An enlarged edition appeared in 1968 with a title reflecting expanded emphasis on American developments: *Das Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin und die Nachfolge in Chicago seit 1937.*[19] The MIT Press brought out an edition in English in 1969,[20] and editions in Japanese, Italian and Spanish soon followed. An exhibition marking the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the Bauhaus was seen in Stuttgart in 1969.[21] Wingler helped to organize it, and as one result it was rich in related American material. It was later seen in other museums on three continents. Gropius had designed a building for the Bauhaus-Archiv in Darmstadt before his death in 1969. In 1971 the Bauhaus-Archiv moved to West Berlin, at the invitation of the Berlin Senate. The building which had been planned by Gropius was adapted by Alexander Cvijanovic of TAC for the new site and opened 1979.

As one legacy from Wingler, American material collected by him and his colleagues at the Bauhaus-Archiv now constitutes one of the most important archives of American material in Europe. Some of this material was gathered by Wingler personally on visits to the United States. An exhibition to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of the New Bauhaus in Chicago was recently organized in Berlin. Without Wingler's pioneering efforts, such an exhibition would not have been feasible. It opened 7 November 1987 at the Bauhaus-Archiv with the title, "50 Jahre New Bauhaus: Bauhaus-Nachfolge in Chicago" (Figure 22).[22]

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Notes

[1] A traveling exhibition, organized by Marjorie McClellan and George Talbot and presented by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, documenting six generations of the Krueger family, opened in Eagle, WI, 4 July 1982. *Six Generations Here,* a book based on the exhibition, is scheduled for publication in 1988.

[2] The best source of information on Leutze is Barbara S. Groseclose, *Emanuel Leutze, 1816-1868: Freedom Is the Only King* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975).

[3] Groseclose, 36-41.

[4] Hugh Morrison, *Louis Sullivan: Prophet of Modern Architecture* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1935), 283-93 and passim; Paul E. Sprague, "Adler and Sullivan," in *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* (New York: The Free Press, a division of Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1982), 1:34-35.

[5] Morrison, *Sullivan,* 105-6; Roula Geraniotis, "Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium Theater and Its Relation to German Theater Design," *Abstracts of Papers Presented at the Thirty-seventh Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Minneapolis, April 25-29, 1984* (Philadelphia), unpaged; Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, "Adler & Sullivan's Pueblo

Opera House: City Status for a New Town in the Rockies," *Art Bulletin* 67, no. 2 (June 1985): 288.

[6] Grant Carpenter Manson, *Frank Lloyd Wright to 1910: The First Golden Age* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1958), 212.

[7] Frank Lloyd Wright, *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank Lloyd Wright* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth, 1910); Frank Lloyd Wright, *Ausgeführte Bauten* (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth A.-G., 1911). The latter of these publications originally appeared in a slightly differing version as: "Frank Lloyd Wright, Chicago," *Architektur des XX. Jahrhunderts*, 8. Sonderheft (1911).

[8] Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *In the Nature of Materials: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright, 1887-1941* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1942).

[9] Quoted in: William H. Jordy, "The Aftermath of the Bauhaus in America: Gropius, Mies and Breuer," in *The Intellectual Migration: America and Europe, 1930-1960*, ed. Donald Fleming and Bernard Bailyn (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969), 489.

[10] William H. Jordy, *The Impact of European Modernism in the Mid-Twentieth Century*, American Buildings and Their Architects, vol. 4 (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976), 250-51.

[11] Jordy, *The Impact of European Modernism*, 247-49.

[12] "Lake Shore Drive Apartments, Chicago," *Architects' Yearbook* 5 (1953): 162-69.

[13] Sharon Darling, *Chicago Furniture: Art, Craft and Industry, 1833-1983* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1984), 338-40.

[14] Wolfgang Pehnt, "Gropius the Romantic," *Art Bulletin* 53, no. 3 (September 1971): 383 and note 25.

[15] Winfried Nerdinger, *Walter Gropius* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1985), 194-95.

[16] The term "post-modern," a catch-phrase of the 1980s, has a history of its own; see, e.g., Joseph Hudnut, "The Post-Modern House," *Architectural Record* 97, no. 5 (May 1945): 70-75.

[17] Interview with Heidi Wingler, widow of Hans M. Wingler, in Berlin, December 1985.

[18] Hans M. Wingler, "Die Geschichte des Bauhaus-Archivs," in *Bauhaus Archiv-Museum: Sammlungs-Katalog (Auswahl): Architektur, Design, Malerei, Graphik, Kunstpädagogik*, ed. Hans M. Wingler (Berlin: Bauhaus-Archiv, 1981), 295-98; Hans M. Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1976), 572-73.

[19] Hans M. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin und die Nachfolge in Chicago seit 1937*, 2d ed. (Bramsche/Cologne: Verlag Gebr. Rasch & Co./M. DuMont Schauberg, 1968).

[20] Hans M. Wingler, *The Bauhaus: Weimar, Dessau, Berlin, Chicago* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1969).

[21] Wulf Herzogenrath, *50 Jahre Bauhaus* (Stuttgart: Württembergischer Kunstverein, 1968).

[22] Peter Hahn and Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, ed. *50 Jahre New Bauhaus: Bauhaus-Nachfolge in Chicago* (Berlin: Argon Verlag, 1987). Exhibition catalog, Bauhaus-Archiv.

Marion Lois Huffines

The Dative Case in Pennsylvania German: Diverging Norms in Language Maintenance and Loss

The Pennsylvania German population consists of many subgroups, each participating to varying degrees in the dominant society. Many of the subgroups continue to spcak Pennsylvania German, and the variety of Pennsylvania German spoken fulfills communicative and symbolic functions which also differ from group to group. The linguistic features which characterize the Pennsylvania German of each group vary, and one feature which clearly reflects differences between Pennsylvania German subgroups is the use of the dative case.[1]

The occurrence of the dative case in Pennsylvania German varies among communities. The maintenance of the dative in some groups and its disuse in others raise questions as to whether the loss of the dative case presages language loss and whether it reflects convergence to English. The purpose of this study is to document the distribution of the dative case and view that distribution in terms of the communicative functions served by Pennsylvania German in the communities investigated. This study demonstrates that the dative case continues to exist in the Pennsylvania German spoken in communities of nonsectarians where Pennsylvania German itself is dying but that the dative case has ceased to exist in the Pennsylvania German spoken in communities of sectarians where Pennsylvania German is being maintained. An analysis of this distribution suggests its relationship to the societal norms for Pennsylvania German usage and for appropriate switching behavior.

The case system in Pennsylvania German differs from that in some other varieties of American and European German. Pennsylvania German has a common case which fulfills nominative and accusative functions, a feature which Pennsylvania German shares with southeastern Rhine-Palatinate dialects.[2] The nominative/accusative distinction still exists for personal pronouns. Reports regarding the viability of the Pennsylvania German dative case vary considerably. Anderson and Martin report for the Pennsylvania German spoken among the Old Order Mennonites in Pennsylvania and Ontario a lack of dative forms

after certain prepositions and verbal expressions "which govern the dative in Standard German" (78). They find that older informants and some preschool-age children use more datives than do other members of the community. For the Pennsylvania German spoken by the Old Order Amish in Delaware, Werner Enninger (1980) reports "a trend towards the neutralization of dative and accusative cases" (14). John Costello finds accusative as well as dative forms used as the object of prepositions which express the agent of passive verbs, and he speculates that this represents an incipient case merger. All published teaching grammars of Pennsylvania German, even those most recently (re)published (Frey, Haag), carefully distinguish dative and accusative forms and functions. Neither the Buffington and Barba standardized grammar of Pennsylvania German nor Reed's descriptive study based on field work in Berks and Lehigh counties indicate variability in dative case usage.

Procedures

The following observations are based on interviews with 52 Pennsylvania Germans who live in central Pennsylvania: 33 nonsectarians and 19 sectarians. The nonsectarians live in the farm valleys of southern Northumberland, northern Dauphin, and western Schuylkill counties where they were also born and raised. They are classified into three groups:

Group N: Native speakers of Pennsylvania German. The 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) continue to speak Pennsylvania German with their spouses and peers, but all speak English to their children.

Group 1: First in the family native English speakers. Speakers in Group 1 are the first in their respective families to speak English natively. They range in age from 32 to 54 years. They speak Pennsylvania German to certain (elderly) members of the family and community but English to their spouses and children.

Group 2: Second or later in the family native English speakers. These native speakers of English range in age from 22 to 65 years. They understand Pennsylvania German, some with difficulty, but they seldom speak it.

The Pennsylvania German sectarian sample consists of 10 Mennonites and 9 Amish, who range from 24 to 65 years of age. They were born and raised in Lancaster County but currently reside in Union County, Pennsylvania. All the sectarians speak Pennsylvania German natively and use it for daily discourse within the family and community.

Group M: The Mennonites. The Mennonite group consists of members of an Old Order Mennonite community, also called "Team Mennonites" because of their use of horse and buggy transportation. The group is also characterized by distinctive dress and limited education to the eighth grade.

Group A: The Amish. The Amish group consists of 8 members of a conservative wing of the New Order Amish and one member of an Old

Order Amish community. Old Order and New Order Amish differ in their interpretation of being "separate from the world." As do the Old Order Mennonites, members of the New Order Amish group have electricity in their homes, and the group is also characterized by horse and buggy transportation, distinctive dress, and limited education to the eighth grade. The Old Order Amish informant has no electricity in his home.

The interview consisted of three parts: free conversation, translation of English sentences into Pennsylvania German, and description of pictures. The topics of conversation centered on activities which commonly take place on the farm and at school: daily chores, butchering, weather events, home remedies. The sentences used in the translation task and the selection of pictures used to elicit comparable descriptions without overt reference to English likewise reflect the activities and vocabulary items closely associated with rural family life.

Results

The results below report dative case usage for each of the five groups of informants. Attention is given to three areas of dative function: 1. the use and distribution of dative personal pronouns, for example, *ich hab ihne geschder gholfe* 'I helped them yesterday' and *sie hen ihm en Present bringe welle* 'they wanted to bring him a gift'; 2. the use of the dative to express possession, as in *meim Graenpaep seini schmackt es bescht vun all* 'my grandfather's (wurst) tastes best of all' and *mir waare in meinre Aent ihrem Haus* 'we were in my aunt's house'; 3. the use of the dative to express the object of prepositions, for example, *fer was schwetscht er net zu ihre* 'why doesn't he talk to her?' and *ich waar nach em Schtor gange* 'I had gone to the store.' Results based on the translation task are reported separately from those of the picture descriptions and free conversation.

I. Dative Personal Pronouns

In the translation task 15 sentences are designed to elicit personal pronouns in dative functions. The nonsectarian native speakers (Group N) respond with the most dative pronouns, a total of 83; of the 22 elicited accusative forms, 18 are given by the two youngest speakers in Group N. These two informants frequently diverge linguistically from the older native speakers as will be noted below. First native English speakers (Group 1) respond with the second largest number of dative pronoun forms. Second native English speakers (Group 2) have still fewer dative forms and more accusative forms; this group differs from Group 1 in the number of faulty forms offered which are neither dative nor accusative. Of the sectarians only the oldest Mennonite informant and the one Old Order Amish informant offer dative forms (see Table 1).

The free conversation and picture descriptions yield dative pronoun forms from Groups N and 1. Only 5 dative forms occur in the speech of members in the other groups (see Table 2).

Table 1
Case of Personal Pronouns in Dative Functions
(Translation Task)

Group	dat	acc	other
N	83	22	0
1	50	43	1
2	30	39	8
M	1	86	0
A	2	90	0

Table 2
Dative Personal Pronouns
(Free Conversation and Picture Descriptions)

Group	1 sg	2 sg	3m sg	3f sg	3 pl	Total
N	14	5	9	8	3	39
1	3	2	2	5	0	12
2	1	1	2*	0	0	4
M	0	1	0	0	0	1
A	0	0	0	0	0	0

*other faulty forms given

II. Possession

In Pennsylvania German the dative is used in conjunction with the possessive adjective to express possession. The possessor is expressed by the dative; the possessive adjective follows and agrees with the possessed, the noun it modifies; for example *wu is em Daadi sei Buch* 'where is daddy's book', *was dudscht du mit sellem Mann seim Hut* 'what are you doing with that man's hat'.

In the translation task, 6 sentences are designed to elicit expressions of possession. Nonsectarian native speakers respond most frequently with dative forms to express the possessor. The sectarians with few exceptions use the common case. Nonsectarian native English speakers show considerable variation. The second native English speakers resort most frequently to the English genitive *-s* and also produce faulty constructions lacking gender, number, and case agreement (see Table 3).

Informants use few possessive constructions during free conversation and picture descriptions, but the results parallel those obtained in the translation task. Among nonsectarian native speakers, only the two youngest speakers use the common case. For Group 1 dative usage recedes while common case usage increases. Group 2 demonstrates no mastery of the possessive construction, and one speaker resorts twice to the English construction. The sectarians consistently use the common case to express possession (see Table 4).

Table 3
Case of the Possessor
(Translation Task)

Group	dat	common	-*s*	other
N	25	21	2	3
1	19	17	6	2
2	9	10	18	12
M	3	31	5	3
A	1	34	4	6

Table 4
Case of the Possessor
(Free Conversation and Picture Descriptions)

Group	dat	common	-*s*	other
N	4	3	0	0
1	3	4	0	0
2	0	0	2	4
M	0	11	0	0
A	0	14	0	1

III. Prepositions

As in Standard German, the Pennsylvania German dative is used to express the object of two sets of prepositions. One set of prepositions always governs the dative; a second set governs the dative when the activity of the verb takes place within the spatial or temporal limits expressed by the prepositions. The spoken Pennsylvania German of this sample presents a more complex picture than the above prescriptive rules suggest.

Group N produces dative forms most frequently followed by Group 1. Group 2 has a high percentage of faulty forms. With few exceptions, sectarians produce forms in the common case (see Tables 5 and 6).

The nonsectarian groups diverge linguistically from each other more than the figures in Tables 5 and 6 suggest. For Group N, certain phrases

Table 5
Case Usage with All Dative Prepositions
(Translation Task)

Group	dat	common	other
N	127	99	5
1	71	74	24
2	27	81	41
M	3	175	8
A	2	172	4

Table 6
Case Usage with All Dative Prepositions
(Free Conversation and Picture Descriptions)

Group	dat	common	other
N	331	132	6
1	142	126	35
2	95	123	24
M	40	346	0
A	14	303	3

appear to be formulaic and are invariant. Two such phrases, *in die Schul* 'in school' and *in die Mitt* 'in the middle', are particularly frequent. One statement occurring during free conversation suggests the formulaic nature of the feminine definite article *di* (the common case form) with the noun *Schul: well die acht Graedes waare in die eem Schulhaus* 'Well, the eight grades were in the one schoolhouse'. The form *eem,* here a numeral used as an adjective, is marked for the dative case. Common case forms with dative prepositions not accounted for by their use in formulaic expressions occur only in the speech of the two youngest speakers in Group N.

The first native English speakers use common case forms more frequently with prepositions governing the dative than does Group N, but Group 1 differs from the latter in other ways. The aberrant form *ene* as in *mit ene Pulli druff* 'with a pulley on it' or *sie hocke uff ene Baam* 'they're sitting on a tree' appears to function as the dative indefinite article for three members of this group and for one in particular. The form *ene* occurs with nouns of all genders, and accounts for over half of the total in the ''other'' category for Group 1 in Tables 5 and 6.

The Pennsylvania German of the second native English speakers (Group 2) differs from the previous group (Group 1) in that it contains a larger number of grammatically and semantically aberrant forms. Other linguistic strategies employed by Group 2 are not reflected in the tables. Definite and indefinite articles, which normally carry case markings, are frequently omitted and the nouns occur in telegraphic-style strings, such as *ich geh zu Scheier* 'I go to barn'. Prepositions with contracted forms of the dative definite article *(zum, im)* occur as the prepositional form itself: *im die Schul* for 'in school', *zum die ganz Familye* 'to the whole family'. When compared to all other groups, Group 2 shows the least agreement on usage. Each individual's formation of sentences in the translation task differs from all the others in the group on some dimension.

In contrast to Groups 1 and 2, the sectarians show a substantial amount of agreement in usage. Their use of the common case for dative functions with prepositions far exceeds such usage among the nonsectarians. The dative forms that occur among the Mennonites are generally found in the speech of the oldest members of that group. Some dative expressions seem to be fossilized; one informant uses *nach em*

Riessess 'after (the) recess' three times but has only one other occurrence of the dative definite article *em*. Aberrant forms such as those found in Group 2 do not occur in the speech of the sectarians.

Discussion

The nonsectarian native speakers (Group N) with few exceptions use dative forms to express dative functions. Except for the two youngest speakers, almost all use of nondative forms for dative functions occurs in formulaic phrases. The speech of the nonsectarian native speakers reflects a firmly established norm for Pennsylvania German dative usage. The two youngest nonsectarian native speakers diverge from that norm in ways which parallel the linguistic performance of the first native English speakers. Their usage of Pennsylvania German in terms of communicative function and frequency also corresponds to that of Group 1.

The first in the family native English speakers (Group 1) use fewer datives and more accusative and common case forms to express dative functions than does Group N. The second in the family native English speakers (Group 2) use still fewer datives and contrast with all other groups by the large number of errors in agreement and of aberrant forms which are neither dative nor a correct formation of accusative or common case forms. In addition, these speakers resort to other strategies in their effort to produce Pennsylvania German. They delete articles and possessive adjectives which would normally mark grammatical agreement. They reformulate intended sentences in a seemingly extreme effort to maintain discourse in Pennsylvania German by using familiar constructions in sentences which *almost* say what they intend to say. For Group 2, dative forms are simply not available. Common case forms appear by default but so do others representing misfired attempts to produce Pennsylvania German. Particularly apparent in this group is the lack of unified usage or norm. Individuals often produce unique forms culled from their personal language acquisition history. Fossilized expressions come to function as forms, and memorized remnants serve as structural components. The norm for dative case usage established by Group N and aspired to by Group 1 has not been acquired by Group 2.

The sectarians use accusative and common case forms to express dative functions almost exclusively. The Mennonites produce some dative forms, most of which are fossilized remnants. Other dative forms are given by the oldest members of the Mennonite group. The Amish group uses even fewer dative forms than the Mennonites. It is clear from their uniform linguistic behavior that the sectarians have a firmly established norm. Their norm has adopted a one-case (common case) system for nouns and a two-case (nominative and accusative) system for personal pronouns. Their nominal system as a whole reflects an English model.

Case merger may, indeed, characterize terminal stages of receding languages, but the disuse of the dative among nonsectarian nonfluent Pennsylvania German speakers (especially Group 2) does not reflect

case merger or the superimposition of English rules. It reflects norm loss, a loss resulting from inadequate access to native speaker norms. Among sectarian Pennsylvania German speakers (Groups M and A), the merger of the dative and the common cases is complete. For Pennsylvania German, case merger occurs not in language death, but in continued language usage, where merged forms have become the norm and are transmitted to the next generation.

Each of the five groups has a different commitment to Pennsylvania German, a commitment which is tied to the communicative and symbolic uses of Pennsylvania German. For the nonsectarians, native speakers (Group N) use Pennsylvania German among themselves and with their linguistic peers, and they switch languages as is socially appropriate. The first native English speakers (Group 1) are part of the Pennsylvania German speaking community. Pennsylvania German fulfills for them limited communicative functions. They also switch to English when appropriate. For the second in the family native English speakers (Group 2), Pennsylvania German generally serves no communicative function. They participate in Pennsylvania German conversations by using their passive skills and by speaking English. Their faulty use of Pennsylvania German, though simplified to the point of telegraphic speech, serves them well in establishing their identity and group membership.

Within the sectarian communities of Groups M and A, where it is inappropriate to switch to English, Pennsylvania German continues a forced existence where sociolinguistic norms prescribe its usage but not its form. The lack of switching behavior exposes their Pennsylvania German to the influence of its English environment. As Pennsylvania German continues to fulfill communicative functions in the sectarian speech community, it must meet the needs of today, and while change in sectarian communities is not readily apparent to outsiders, these communities must nevertheless cope with changing environments, both within and without. Sectarian proficiency in an archaic variety of Standard German is passive at best and restricted to liturgical contexts. English serves as the readily available resource of linguistic items and structures for Pennsylvania German elaboration and development. For the sectarians, linguistic convergence toward an English model is becoming increasingly apparent. As seen in this case, the loss of the dative results in a Pennsylvania German noun system which corresponds more closely to that of English. Structural convergence in the verb aspectual system has been noted elsewhere (Huffines), and lexical borrowing from English in the Pennsylvania German written by sectarians has been found to be greater than that in the Pennsylvania German written by nonsectarians (Enninger, 1979).

The societal norms which specify the inappropriateness of language switching within the sectarian community succeed in maintaining the use of Pennsylvania German for daily discourse, but these norms also effect a more intimate contact between Pennsylvania German and English than would otherwise obtain. English linguistic structures exert a more sustained influence on Pennsylvania German precisely because

English structures cannot express themselves in English. As a consequence, linguistic changes often associated with language loss, such as the reduction of morphological complexity, appear in the maintenance of Pennsylvania German among the sectarians. In contrast to the sectarian unified norm, the variation and nonfluencies exhibited by nonsectarian speakers demonstrate the loss of a norm, a loss which does not result in convergence to English but in a desperate search for the morphological complexity no longer modeled in the community.

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Notes

[1] This is a revised and much condensed version of "Case Usage among the Pennsylvania German Sectarians and Nonsectarians" to appear in *Investigating Obsolescence: Studies in Language Contraction and Death*. Ed. Nancy C. Dorian. Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

[2] While many northern German dialects do not distinguish dative and accusative forms, the Rhine-Palatinate dialects, the German dialects to which Pennsylvania German is most closely related, maintain a vigorous dative case. Rhine-Palatinate dialects have, therefore, a two-case noun system: the common case and the dative case. The genitive case does not occur in either American or European German dialects although maintained in Standard German.

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Canadian Postwar Immigration Policy and the Admission of German Enemy Aliens, 1945-50

When the Second World War ended, it did not appear as if immigrants of German nationality would be admitted to Canada for some time to come. German nationals had been declared enemy aliens on 14 September 1939 by Order-in-Council and their entry had been prohibited since then. In April 1946 this prohibition was renewed as Canada remained officially in a state of war with Germany until July 1951. In 1947 and 1948 Canadian officials informed authorities in Germany that a Canadian law of 1873 barred the immigration of citizens from countries at war with Canada, excepting only the wives and unmarried children under eighteen of legal Canadian residents, or proven opponents of an enemy government. German nationals would be considered prohibited enemy aliens as long as a peace treaty had not been signed with Germany.[1]

Canada, furthermore, as a charter member of UNRRA (United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration) and IRO (International Refugee Organization) had initially agreed to the exclusion of displaced persons of German ethnic origin, whether *Reichsdeutsche* (German nationals) or *Volksdeutsche* (members of German minorities from East European countries), from all forms of international relief and legal protection available to a *bona fide* displaced person (DP).[2] Twelve million uprooted German-speaking refugees and expellees[3] were thus abandoned and stigmatized as enemy aliens at a time when their resettlement to the New World seemed to be the only viable solution to their problem. The American military governor in Germany, General Lucius D. Clay, characterized their situation in 1946-47 as

> a tragic movement of peoples from their homes, in many instances of a hundred years, to a new and uncompromising environment without any resources with which to start anew. It was a cruel and heart-rending sight to witness their arrival with a handful of belongings in a country where they were not welcomed, where the available housing had been dras-

tically reduced by bomb and artillery damage, where the food supply was inadequate prior to their arrival and where opportunities for employment in a disrupted economy were few and far between.[4]

Anti-German feelings were understandably strong in Canada, and so were anti-immigrant feelings in general. A high official of the Immigration Branch, referring to *Volksdeutsche* refugees in early 1947, "would not hear of having these Nazi Germans come to Canada."[5] Gallup polls in October 1946 had revealed that 61 percent of Canadians were opposed to any European immigration. On a polled scale of undesirable categories of immigrants, Germans ranked third after Japanese and Jews (with hostility ratings of 60, 49 and 34 percent).[6] Postwar Canada, in the judgment of some historians, appeared to present the spectacle of a country where anti-Oriental, anti-Semitic, anti-German and anti-refugee prejudice conspired to refuse admission even to Holocaust survivors "fully three years after some death camps had been liberated."[7]

An examination of the available evidence does not bear out the assumption that, in the immediate postwar period, immigrants of German origin as such were considered undesirable and excluded from Canada. On the contrary, they were, as will be shown, not only among the first contingent of displaced persons admitted in 1947 but also constituted the second largest group of non-British persons landing in Canada between 1947 and 1951.

Canadian immigration policy has always been highly selective and has distinguished between preferred and non-preferred settlers. Immigrants of German origin have, as a rule, been in the preferred category, except on two more recent occasions. After the First World War Germans and Austrians were excluded from Canada for five years. In 1919 even large-scale roundups and mass expulsions of pre-World War I German-speaking immigrants were proposed.[8] German-speaking Mennonites and Hutterites were barred for three years in 1919 as undesirable. Few Canadians cared to acknowledge that Mennonites had pioneered the opening of the West and established the first model farms on the Canadian prairies. It is to the credit of the Canadian Prime Minister W. L. Mackenzie King that, in spite of adverse public opinion, this decision was reversed in 1922. In the following decade twenty thousand Mennonite refugees from the Russian revolutionary upheavals plus an additional thirty-six thousand Germans from Eastern Europe were offered a haven in Canada.[9] The United States remained closed to these "East Europeans." The second instance of Canada's rejection of German-speaking immigrants was in the late 1930s when the pleas of German-Jewish refugees for a haven found no mercy, and Canada acquired a reputation for being the "worst of all possible refugee receiving states."[10] Ironically, however, more than one thousand non-Jewish Sudeten German refugees were admitted in 1939 under a special arrangement with the British government.[11]

In 1945 immigration to Canada, apart from the prohibition of enemy aliens, continued to be subject to the severe restrictions imposed in 1931.

These confined eligibility to (a) British subjects and American citizens, (b) the wife and unmarried children under eighteen and fiancé(e) of a Canadian, and (c) agriculturists having sufficient means to farm in Canada. In 1946 and 1947 these categories were only cautiously extended to include a wider circle of close relatives and came to be known as the Close Relatives Scheme. Starting in 1947 special project schemes were introduced, especially for displaced persons, under the auspices of the Department of Labor and in cooperation with mining, forestry and agricultural industries looking for immigrant labor.[12] Displaced persons from Europe, however, even if admissible under these schemes, were unable to enter Canada until mid-1947. An exception were four thousand Polish ex-servicemen who were to take over the farm chores that had been assigned to the bulk of the thirty-five thousand German POWs returning to Germany.[13] Canada's immigration bureaucracy, which for fifteen years had been geared to keeping immigrants out, was hopelessly understaffed and neither willing nor able to process any large influx until 1948.

Canadian immigration policy began to change as the initial fears of a continuation of the prewar depression and of adverse effects resulting from demobilization proved unfounded. During 1947 Canadian industries requested the employment of more than twenty thousand displaced persons and in the summer of 1947 a Gallup poll indicated that 51 percent of Canadians favored immigration of "the right type."[14] The signal for the opening of the country to immigrants was given by Prime Minister King in May 1947. Canada, he declared, would henceforth encourage select immigration to the limit of its "absorptive capacity" and in accordance with the present character of its population. Of immediate concern, the statement stressed, was Canada's moral obligation to help resolve "the urgent problem of the resettlement of persons who are displaced and homeless."[15] Among the immediate beneficiaries of this new policy were *Volksdeutsche* refugees, thanks to the structure of the German community and its well organized and determined lobby.

For the masses of *Volksdeutsche* eager to emigrate to North America at the end of World War II, the United States was inaccessible. Under the still valid 1924 quota law, *Volksdeutsche* were classified as East Europeans who were allotted a minimal quota. Until June 1948 only German and Austrian nationals were eligible, up to a combined annual quota of 27,350 which was not filled until 1950. From the 200,000 DPs to be admitted under the United States Displaced Persons Act of June 1948, ethnic German refugees were to be excluded. Only a last minute amendment opened 50 percent of the quotas for German and Austrian nationals to the *Volksdeutsche*.[16] The American government argued that the millions of German-speaking refugees, as well as the absorption of a portion of the non-German DPs crowded into Germany, were the responsibility of Germany.[17] By the end of 1949 a total of merely 3,270 visas from 58,000 applications by *Volksdeutsche* had been approved by American consuls and for 1950 a maximum of 7,000 visa approvals were projected from the annual quota of 13,700 for *Volksdeutsche*.[18]

Canada seemed therefore the only gateway to North America for *Volksdeutsche*. There these refugees had a large number of close relatives among the 50,000 to 60,000 ethnic Germans who had immigrated from Eastern Europe between the two world wars. Two-thirds of the pre-World War II and pre-World War I newcomers in Canada's German community had their roots in Eastern Europe. No more than 25 percent of Canada's German-speaking immigrants since the 1870s had been *Reichsdeutsche*, and the secular associations founded by them never played a significant role. Instead, the church, as among the German minorities of rural Eastern Europe, was the preferred form of association among German Canadians. It structured Canada's German community along traditionally denominational lines and appeared after 1945 as the main lobby for German immigration.[19] The admission to Canada of some twenty-two thousand *Volksdeutsche* refugees between spring 1947 and the end of 1950 must primarily be credited to two separate efforts of church organizations, one undertaken by the Mennonites, and one by a coalition of Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Baptist and Mennonite groups, known as the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees (CCCRR).

The most spectacular effort to rescue *Volksdeutsche* refugees abandoned by international relief organizations was that undertaken by Canada's so-called *Russländer* Mennonites. These were the twenty thousand Mennonite immigrants from Russia of the 1920s who constituted about one-third of Canada's Mennonite community. Identifying more with modern German culture and the German people than other Mennonite groups in North America, the *Russländer* sympathized greatly with the plight of German-speaking refugees and expellees. The *Russländer* had at their disposal the largely American-funded Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) and the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization (CMBC), which had been formed in 1920 and 1922 respectively, to bring about their own resettlement from Soviet Russia. By 1945 MCC had developed into the chief international relief agency of the Mennonites and CMBC was in charge of liquidating the two million dollar travel debt *(Reiseschuld)* of the *Russländer* to the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR).[20]

These two organizations sprang into action as soon as the extent of the catastrophe that had befallen Europe's *Volksdeutsche*, particularly the Mennonite communities in the Ukraine and in East Prussia, became known. As early as the summer of 1945 two leading representatives of the *Russländer* Mennonites, C. F. Klassen and Peter Dyck, managed to enter war-ravaged Germany as special emissaries of MCC tracking down the surviving groups of their people. Working tirelessly, they brought relief, emergency accommodation and, above all, hope not only to Mennonites, but to as many as 100,000 non-Mennonites at the peak of their operation.[21] Klassen and Dyck discovered that of the 100,000 Mennonites living in the USSR in 1940, 35,000 were known to have fled to Germany and only 10,000 had reached the Western zones of occupation.[22] Thousands had perished on the last leg of their disorganized trek in the winter of 1944-45 and many more, classified as Soviet citizens,

were being forcibly repatriated to the USSR after they thought they had reached safety.[23] They were sent, as it turned out, not to their abandoned Ukrainian settlements, but to permanent banishment in Central Asia and to forced labor in Siberia. In the process, many refugee families were torn apart and separated forever. As late as the end of 1946 Germans from Russia were not safe even in the Western zones of Germany, since the Allies were not interested in their fate and UNRRA's mandate was to repatriate displaced persons. Material relief was therefore not enough and their emigration from Germany had to be organized as quickly as possible.

Canada's Mennonite community was galvanized into action when in 1945 the Soviet government permitted the resumption of mail contact by Soviet citizens with the West and the fate of relatives and friends in the Soviet Union became known. The letters from Soviet Asia in 1945 inquired, after the loss of contact with Canada since Stalin's purges of the 1930s, who of their relatives were still alive, and informed about the forcible resettlement, deportation and banishment of Germans in Russia, in the late 1930s, on the eve of World War II, and at the end of the war. Throughout 1945 and 1946 Canada's German-language Mennonite newspapers published hundreds of those letters, telling a horrid tale of suffering, loneliness and despair. Most of the letters from the deportees to the Ural region and to Kazakstan relate in unambiguous language that these innocent people were buried alive and alerted Canadian Mennonites to their responsibility for the speedy rescue of those in danger of forcible repatriation. Three random samples illustrate the tenor of these letters.

From her place of deportation in North Kazakstan Anne Voth, after having lost her husband and two of her three children, grieves to her Canadian relatives in January 1946: "Oh my dear ones! So far away. That is the hardest part. . . . Often I went alone into the steppe where no one could hear me but the heavenly father and screamed." She wrote that she lived with two other Mennonite families in the poorest circumstances in a Russian village and was not allowed to join other Germans. "Please my dear ones, if at all possible," pleads the letter, "bring us over so that I can rest with my child from all this suffering."[24] Aron A. Janzen, who awaited the Red Army in his Ukrainian village in October 1943, writes from his banishment in Kirov district, where "it is eight months winter," that his ration consists of "200 grams bread, nothing else." He "enjoyed a good soup three times" and is "always hungry."[25] Heinrich and Sara Boldt, deportees in the summer of 1941 to Kazakstan, had never become reconciled to their "terribly hard" fate of being *heimatlos*. Their letter of 26 May 1946 is a never-ending litany of woes:

> Our grief and poverty are so great, that we know neither in nor out. . . . How terribly poor has that war made us all! . . . How abandoned are we. Oh, how many tears have flowed this year. It is a terrible word to be *heimatlos*. Our farm consists of two chickens, that is all. We live like Elijah and are dressed almost like our forebears in paradise. One wishes the

> sun would not rise, if one considers everything, that winter is coming and that we have neither outerwear nor underwear. One would rather die today than tomorrow. Greetings to all who remember us. And think of us, when you put on clean shirts and still have clothes to wear. Oh, what has the bad war done to us. I close with a thousand tears.[26]

Nothing could better rally Mennonite resolve to rescue the remnants of their scattered people and bring them all to Canada, than what occurred upon the publication of newspapers full of stunning letters like these. Most of the relatives of the refugees and deportees already in the West lived in Canada, and there in 1929-30 an additional thirteen thousand Mennonites from Russia had intended to migrate, had not the Depression and Stalin's Five-Year Plans forced them to stay.[27] After being brainwashed by Stalinist propaganda into believing that their Canadian relatives were either dead or confined to concentration camps, and considering the first news of their well-being a fairy tale,[28] the refugees in western Germany were as desperate to come to Canada, as were their deported coreligionists in Siberia and Central Asia. Although Canada's refugee admissions policy was not announced until June 1946 and application forms for sponsorship were not available until the beginning of July 1946, more than one thousand Mennonite applications had been forwarded to Ottawa by November 1946 and more than $100,000 had been deposited with CMBC by sponsors.[29] Receipt of Canadian affidavits of sponsorship in November 1946 was reported to have saved at the last moment Mennonite refugees in the British Zone of Germany from forcible repatriation to the USSR.[30] Mennonites were among Canada's first batch of displaced persons arriving in April 1947. Yet no more than 542 Mennonite refugees were able to reach Canada in 1947. In 1948 the number went up to 4,227.[31]

Suspecting difficulties and delays with Canadian immigration, MCC pursued from the outset alternate courses of action. In October 1946 it was decided to send twenty-three hundred refugees to Paraguay, the only country willing to take them immediately. Furthermore, in order to receive the legal protection and travel assistance available to registered DPs, Dyck and Klassen filed an application with the Preparatory Commission of IRO, declaring the Mennonites to be of Dutch origin. Of the Mennonite applicants 90 percent turned out to be eligible for IRO assistance.[32] In order to qualify for official DP status they had to prove to IRO that (a) they did not leave the Ukraine voluntarily, (b) they were not *Volksdeutsche* but of Dutch origin, and (c) they did not serve in the German army or the *SS*. In 1949 American officials in Germany and an IRO eligibility officer, however, discovered and argued that most Mennonite refugees in Europe had accepted voluntary naturalization in Germany, that 30 to 40 percent had served in the *Wehrmacht*, and some had even been members of the *Waffen-SS* and the *SD*. Klassen was able to avert the termination of further Mennonite admissions to Canada by convincing IRO and Canadian officials that most Mennonite refugees had assumed German citizenship only under extreme duress.[33]

By 1950 all the schemes for accommodating refugees with and without relatives in Canada had been exhausted. Canadian immigration officials, eager for more refugees, began to admit so-called hard-core cases, i.e., medical and political rejects and German nationals. By September 1950, 6,500 German-speaking Mennonites had immigrated to Canada (as well as 5,600 to South America and less than 600 to the United States[34]), most of whom are listed in the Canadian immigration by racial-origin statistics as Russian-born of Dutch origin.

A parallel effort on behalf of *Volksdeutsche* refugees of all backgrounds was launched in January 1946 with an appeal by the Winnipeg Lutheran pastor R. E. Meinzen to Prime Minister King for permission to collect and export private relief to displaced millions in Germany for whom UNRRA did not provide. Meinzen's appeal was endorsed at a meeting held on 2 February 1946 in Winnipeg by twenty leading German Canadians, including ministers of the main German-Canadian denominations, one German-language newspaper editor and one college president, as well as by one CPR representative and the Liberal member of Parliament for the Mennonite district of Rosthern, Saskatchewan, Walter Tucker. It was agreed to avoid public protests and petitions except through veterans' organizations, boards of trades, etc., which could not be branded as pro-Nazi. Instead they decided to form an interim committee of one Lutheran, one Catholic, one Baptist and one Mennonite minister, as well as T. O. F. Herzer as CPR representative. This committee would exert steady pressure on the Prime Minister through Tucker, Secretary of State for Veterans Affairs.[35]

The interdenominational movement for relief to the refugees in Germany rapidly gained momentum and was supported by sprouting organizations of German Canadians and their press. The director and driving force of the movement was T. O. F. Herzer, General Manager of the Canada Colonization Association (a CPR subsidiary) and Treasurer of Canadian Lutheran World Relief. Born in Wisconsin of German-Danish descent and trained for the Lutheran ministry, Herzer was characterized by a junior co-worker as "a vigorous and tireless schemer who pursued a cause with diplomatic tact and persistency."[36] In 1914 he joined the CPR where his managerial abilities and humanitarian concerns made him one of the key figures in assisting the immigration of tens of thousands of German-speaking immigrants in the 1920s and their settlement on CPR land.[37] Herzer had excellent contacts with government departments and officials and was recommended to the Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources by a personal friend for his "exceedingly broad experience with immigration matters" and his desire "to do everything possible to help the government solve its immigration difficulties, rather than in any way be embarrassing."[38]

Herzer's strategy was first to make the Canadian government aware of and recognize the problem of the *Volksdeutsche* refugees, by obtaining approval for the shipping of private relief supplies to Germany (not until October 1946 was international parcel delivery to the British Zone permitted), and then ask for the admission of the refugees. Herzer's strategy was successful, for in March 1946 private relief supplies were

approved and in May 1947 the government announced that it would admit refugees of German ethnic origin *(Volksdeutsche)* who were not natives or nationals of Germany on the same basis as registered DPs.[39]

Using his international church and Canadian railway contacts, Herzer proceeded without delay to form an organization which, like IRO, would prepare and present nominees to the Canadian screening teams in Europe and without which no *Volksdeutsche* could be moved to Canada. Thus, the CCCRR was founded in Ottawa on 23 June 1947 at a meeting attended by nineteen different agencies, including affiliates of the Canadian Lutheran, Roman Catholic, Baptist and Mennonite churches, committees of Sudeten Germans and Latvians, two federal government departments, five American Protestant Church organizations, the CNR (Canadian National Railway) and CPR, as well as the Lutheran World Service and the Inter-Governmental Committee (forerunner of the IRO). While the first seven groups became the constituent members of the CCCRR with Herzer as chairman, the remaining attendants assured the CCCRR of their cooperation and assistance. Each of the member groups assumed responsibility for its own overhead. Additional support was secured from American and German churches and the Lutheran World Federation. Starting in 1948 the Canadian government provided a monthly supplementary grant of $10,000.[40]

Faced with more than ten thousand applications under the Close Relatives Scheme from the first day of its operation in Germany, the CCCRR had to overcome staggering problems before it could function properly.[41] "All of us were clergymen, inexperienced in the art of diplomacy and negotiation," recalled one of its officers.[42] The CCCRR started out with no camp and shipping facilities and with little cooperation from the Allied Powers in Germany in contacting applicants outside the British Zone and in obtaining travel and exit visas. By its decree No. 161 of 1945, Germany's four-power Control Council had prohibited the emigration of *Volksdeutsche* and *Reichsdeutsche,* except for anti-Nazis, victims of the Nazi regime and separated family members seeking reunion. Not until June 1948 did the American Military Government in Germany permit the departure of Germans sponsored by foreigners and officially admitted by a foreign country.[43] "All the rules had to be broken to bring the first 50 people" to Canada by Christmas 1947.[44] When, in 1948, the Canadian government had chartered the S.S. *Beaverbrae* for the CCCRR with a carrying capacity of almost eight hundred people, a larger volume of *Volksdeutsche* could be moved—7,000 by July 1949 and 10,000 by January 1950 (including 276 Mennonites under CCCRR auspices).[45]

From mid-1947 to mid-1949 the CCCRR was the only agency to which prospective immigrants to North America from among Germany's four million *Volksdeutsche* refugees could turn. Due to the support of the Canadian government, the CCCRR was able to function almost as a quasi-official government immigration agency. CCCRR records suggest that government and immigration officials accommodated a growing number of marginally eligible German refugees, such as medical rejects and *Volksdeutsche* with German citizenship, for whose

admission on humanitarian grounds CCCRR officers left no stone unturned. The gradual liberalization of the prohibition applying to German enemy aliens was the logical consequence of this development. The events of 1949-50 illustrate this linkage clearly.

In the winter of 1949-50 suddenly up to two-thirds of the CCCRR refugee nominees were being rejected by American and Canadian officials because new evidence was discovered that the refugees had assumed German citizenship not only after but also before 1945. In lengthy memoranda to the Minister of Immigration the CCCRR had argued that the only way for these refugees to obtain ration cards and shelter within Germany after the war was to obtain German citizenship and it was the only means of protection against forcible repatriation to the USSR. During the war German citizenship was individually and summarily conferred upon *Volksdeutsche.*[46] Herzer pointed out that new American legislation of 1950 as well as Australian practices ignored the question of German citizenship of ethnic German refugees. On 15 March 1950 he cabled to Immigration Minister Walter E. Harris:

> If the regulations with respect to German citizenship had been enforced as stringently as they are now, fully 90 percent of the approximate 11,000 refugees (and the 6,000 Mennonites) processed and brought to Canada under the auspices of CCCRR during the last two years would have been denied admission to Canada.[47]

Immigration officials now faced the unenviable dilemma that Canada "would be waiving the Enemy Alien Regulation in regard to immigrants who voluntarily assumed German nationality by naturalization during the war and does not admit the German-born relatives of residents of Canada whose citizenship was acquired by birth."[48] The government's way out was Order-in-Council P. C. 1606 of 28 March 1950 which admitted all *Volksdeutsche* who were not German citizens prior to September 1939 as well as German nationals with close relatives in Canada. The Minister of Citizenship and Immigration informed Member of Parliament Tucker that the government had endeavored to enact all the changes that the CCCRR had hoped to get. "I am certainly pleased," wrote an elated Tucker to CCCRR director Rev. Warnke, "that we decided to ask them to do more than deal with the *Volksdeutsche.*"[49] The Minister even issued a directive that service in the German armed forces as such not be a cause for rejection.[50]

The final readmission of all German nationals on the same basis as the nationals of other countries was now no more than a formality. In a CCCRR brief of September 1950, addressed to Minister Harris, Herzer noted with satisfaction that

> the action of your government has permitted us to bring to Canada about 15,000 *Volksdeutsche* and 6,500 Mennonites—a total of about 21,000 immigrants. . . . Canada has been in the forefront of all the nations in thus facilitating the movement of the least befriended among the

prospective immigrants, *Volksdeutsche* refugees or expellees, who were ineligible to receive help from IRO.[51]

For the period 1945-50 Canadian immigration statistics list only 7,500 ethnic Germans born in the homelands of the *Volksdeutsche*—3,000 in Poland, 1,500 in Yugoslavia, 1,000 in Russia and Romania each, 600 in Hungary and 450 in Czechoslovakia.[52]

Canadian immigration statistics also list 3,000 German citizens and 12,000 natives of Germany entering Canada from 1945 to 1950.[53] Excepted from the prohibition of German nationals were only the wives and children under eighteen of legal Canadian residents as well as Germans who had neither served in the German armed forces nor been a member of the Nazi party. Among these were one thousand refugee internees from Germany who had been interned in Britain in 1939 and had been transferred in the early 1940s to Canada, where they received permanent status in 1945.[54] Two other identifiable small groups of *Reichsdeutsche* were war brides (about one hundred in 1948),[55] and German scientists (about fifty by 1949).[56]

The decision to recruit German scientists and technicians was made in May 1947 on the initiative of several government departments. While German scientists were to assist in the realization of Canada's atomic energy project, the technicians were to create jobs for Canadians. It was expected that with their help a host of new industries would be established, producing everything from drugs, leather, glass, heavy machinery, engineering design and dental burs to motorcycles. The German scientists and technicians did not enter Canada as regular immigrants, but were invited on a renewable one-year contract basis, some without their families, under special Minister's permits. If they decided to remain in Canada after the expiration of their permits, they had to submit to regular Canadian immigration procedure.[57]

Further admissible categories of Germans as of June 1948 were those who had been residents of Danzig prior to 1939, when that city was a Free State.[58] Sudeten German postwar expellees, who had German citizenship conferred upon them after 1938, were also excluded from the enemy alien prohibition.[59] In September 1949 the cabinet decided to deal favorably on an individual Order-in-Council basis with applications for the permanent admission of approved German nationals who were first-degree relatives of Canadian residents. In December 1949 the cabinet agreed to allow the temporary entry of German businessmen as well as university students and approved scholarship holders.[60]

Until May 1949 the Immigration Branch systematically turned down requests from or on behalf of German nationals not eligible under the specified exceptions. In spite of "the volume of cases in which Canadian citizens have indicated a desire to bring out relatives of German nationality," it stuck to the view that the prohibition should remain in force until a peace treaty had been signed with Germany.[61] The event that triggered the change in official attitude shortly thereafter was the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and the formation of a West German government following free elections in August 1949.

Canada's Department of External Affairs urged the restoration of complete freedom of movement between Canada and Germany as early as 5 September 1949:

> The exclusion of German nationals wishing to migrate to Canada has dampened German interest in this country and has given rise to protests by some German elements in this country. The objection to our present policy is not that Canada is failing to do its share to relieve the present over-population of the Western zones, but that the Germans are now the only people who are excluded because they were enemies in the last war.[62]

Canada's formal attitude towards Germany as an enemy state, the Department of External Affairs warned, was becoming anachronistic, inexpedient and counterproductive to good relations and the furtherance of democracy.

The reorientation of Canadian foreign policy towards Germany as a new ally, and the development of economic ties, went hand in hand with a growing demand in Canada for German labor. A resolution of Canadian Army, Navy and Air Force veterans of October 1949, favoring a relaxation in the enemy alien regulations so as to permit German immigration, may be taken as an indication of public support for a change in policy. "There is no doubt that Germans have made good citizens," affirmed the Minister of Mines and Resources in October 1949 as he inquired whether the Canadian Legion shared the views expressed in the veterans' resolution. Many Germans, he pointed out, "have served in the Canadian forces in both wars against Germany, which was a rather stiff test of loyalty to Canada."[63]

In 1950 the final readmission of German nationals on the same basis as the nationals of other countries appeared no more than a formality. In a memorandum to the cabinet of 18 August 1950 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration argued that the existing enemy alien restrictions were depriving Canada of substantial numbers of German immigrants "whose professional, technical or industrial skills would be a valuable asset to the national economy." Canada could only gain from an abolition of the enemy alien prohibition, he stressed, for "it is averred that German immigrants who came to Canada in earlier years have become an important, industrious and loyal element of the Canadian population."[64]

The Order-in-Council of 14 September 1950, removing nationals of Germany from the class of prohibited enemy aliens was, however, kept confidential for more than two weeks at the request of the Minister of Immigration. This is indicative of a considerable residue of public opposition to the move. The Minister was apparently "forced" to release the news on 29 September 1950 when the Order-in-Council was published in the *Canada Gazette*. In a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation interview of 6 October 1950 concerning the change in policy, an External Affairs official was instructed by the Immigration Branch to assure the public that the admission of German nationals "must not have the effect

of altering the fundamental character of the Canadian population."[65] Nevertheless, as of September 1950, the entry of German nationals was not only allowed, but expressly desired by the Canadian government, although Canada's state of war with Germany was not officially terminated until 9 July 1951.

In conclusion, the admission of an estimated thirty thousand Germans (*Volksdeutsche* as well as *Reichsdeutsche*)[66] from the end of World War II to the end of 1950, ranks Germans after Poles as Canada's second lagest group of non-British immigrants for the period when the admission of German enemy aliens was officially prohibited. Canada was obviously anything but closed to Germans as such. High government officials from different departments, who favored the admission of Germans as early as spring 1947, were not motivated by any particular sympathy for Canada's former enemy number one, but by a combination of national economic self-interest, public opinion and diplomatic as well as humanitarian considerations. The flexible attitude of government officials enabled the well organized and determined German-Canadian lobbies of the Mennonites and the CCCRR to make Canada a haven for twenty thousand *Volksdeutsche* refugees and expellees when these were ineligible to receive help from IRO and were inadmissable to the United States. Canada's Mennonites and the CCCRR deserve much credit for relaxations of the ban upon German nationals and for the Canadian government's adoption by September 1950 of the view that "German immigrants have the reputation of being excellent settlers and we intend to encourage the admission of these immigrants."[67]

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Notes

[1] Bundesarchiv, Koblenz (BA), Z1, vol. 887, "Übersicht über Auswanderungsmöglichkeiten (Anfang 1948)"; vol. 885 "Unterlagen für die Auswandererberatung: Einwanderungsbestimmungen für Kanada," 8 December 1948. All translations of German-language documents are my own.

[2] Louise W. Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization: A Specialized Agency of the United Nations, Its History and Work, 1946-1952* (Toronto, 1956), 586. The constitution of IRO excluded the following from its mandate: "Persons of German ethnic origin, whether German nationals or members of German minorities in other countries, who (a) have been or may be transferred to Germany from other countries, (b) have been, during the second world war, evacuated to Germany from other countries, (c) have fled from, or into Germany, in order to avoid falling into the hands of Allied armies." Among the IRO benefits of official DP status were food, clothes, shelter and general care in IRO camps, legal and political protection, education in the displaced person's mother tongue, vocational training and employment opportunities, as well as free transport to places of resettlement. See Holborn, 203-328, 368.

[3] The figure of 12 million is the widely accepted total for 1950, of which 7.8 million were counted in West Germany, according to Hilde Wander, *Die Bedeutung der Auswanderung für die Lösung europäischer Flüchtlings- und Bevölkerungsprobleme* (Kiel, 1951), 22, and Wolfgang Benz, ed., *Die Vertreibung der Deutschen aus dem Osten: Ursachen, Ereignisse, Folgen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1985), 12. The first German postwar census of October 1946 counted a total of 9.5 million Germans who had been expelled from their former homes, 5.9. million

of them were in the Western zones. The 12 million refugees of 1950 consisted of four different categories: (1) *Volksdeutsche* who had fled from the advancing Red Army: about 500,000, including 200,000 from Yugoslavia, 100,000 from Russia, 100,000 from Romania, 60,000 from Hungary, (2) *Volksdeutsche* expelled from Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Yugoslavia at the end of the war: about 4 million, (3) *Reichsdeutsche* expelled from the territories east of the Oder-Neiße line; 6 million, and (4) Interzonal refugees from the Soviet Zone of Germany: 1.6 million by 1950.

[4] Lucius D. Clay, *Decision in Germany* (New York, 1950), 315.

[5] William J. H. Sturhahn, *They Came From East and West: A History of Immigration to Canada* (Winnipeg, 1976), 76.

[6] Jean Bruce, *After the War* (Don Mills, Ontario, 1982), 14.

[7] Irving Abella and Harold Troper, *None Is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948* (Toronto, 1983), 237. See also Gerald E. Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference or Opportunism?* (Montreal, 1977) and Ken Adachi, *The Enemy That Never Was: A History of the Japanese Canadians* (Toronto, 1976).

[8] Donald Avery, *'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932* (Toronto, 1979), 76-77.

[9] Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution* (Altona, Man., 1962). The order rescinding the ban of the Mennonites was not published in the *Canada Gazette* because the government feared public antagonism. See Frank H. Epp, *Mennonites in Canada, 1920-1940: A People's Struggle For Survival* (Toronto, 1982), 157, 183. For the immigration of Germans from Eastern Europe, see Heinz Lehmann, *The German Canadians, 1750-1937: Immigration, Settlement and Culture* (St. John's, 1986), 158.

[10] Abella and Troper, vi.

[11] Andrew Amstatter, *Tomslake: History of the Sudeten Germans in Canada* (Saanichton, 1978), 6, 71.

[12] Freda Hawkins, *Canada and Immigration: Public Policy and Public Concern* (Montreal, 1972), 89 ff.

[13] Canada, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources For the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1947* (Ottawa, 1948), 240. Dirks, 141–42. *Die Mennonitische Rundschau* (Winnipeg), 16 January 1946.

[14] Abella and Troper, 246.

[15] King's statement is reprinted in Howard Palmer, ed., *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism* (Toronto, 1975), 58-61.

[16] Robert A. Divine, *American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952* (New York, 1972), 124. Robert Henry Billigmeier, "Recent German Immigration to America," in D. L. Cuddy, ed., *Contemporary American Immigration: Interpretive Essays (European)* (Boston, 1982), 115.

[17] Clay, 100. This American view was in accordance with the Potsdam Protocol and the SHAEF Plan of April 1945. See M. J. Proudfoot, *European Refugees 1939-52: A Study in Forced Population Movement* (London, 1957), 389 ff., 445 ff.

[18] Francis A. Walter, *Expellees and Refugees of German Ethnic Origin,* House Report No. 1841, 81st Congress, 2d Session (Washington, 1950), also known as the *Walter Report.*

[19] Lehmann, 133, 158, 257-81.

[20] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 335 ff., 348. *Der Bote* (Rosthern, Saskatchewan), 13 June 1951.

[21] *Der Bote,* 14, 21 and 28 November 1945, 26 January and 24 April 1946, and 20 August 1947. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 365-66.

[22] *Der Bote,* 20 August 1947.

[23] *Die Mennonitische Rundschau,* 27 March 1946.

[24] Ibid., 30 March 1946.

[25] Ibid., 22 May 1946.

[26] Ibid., 18 December 1946.

[27] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 236.

[28] *Die Mennonitische Rundschau,* 9 January 1946.

[29] *Der Bote,* 3 July and 20 November 1946.

[30] *Die Mennonitische Rundschau,* 27 November 1946.

[31] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus,* 395, 399.

[32] Ibid., 398, 401.

[33] National Archives of Canada, Ottawa (NAC), RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-4, part 1. *Der Bote*, 11 August 1948 and 17 August 1949. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 406-7.

[34] Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*, 423. *Der Bote*, 11 and 25 May, and 1 June 1949, 25 Janaury 1950.

[35] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 22, file 2.

[36] Sturhahn, 76.

[37] James B. Hedges, *Building the Canadian West: The Land and Colonization Policies of the Canadian Pacific Railway* (New York, 1939), 367-86. *Der Bote*, 23 June 1948.

[38] NAC, RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-9.

[39] *Der Bote*, 2 October 1946, 14 May 1947.

[40] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, files 1 and 2.

[41] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, files 25 and 26.

[42] NAC, MG 26 L, vol. 13, file 70-C. Sturhahn, 82.

[43] BA, Z 1, vol. 885, "Aus- und Einwanderungsbestimmungen 1947-49."

[44] Sturhahn, 80.

[45] *Der Bote*, 27 July 1949, 18 January and 12 April 1950.

[46] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, files 3 and 5.

[47] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, files 3 and 4. RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-13.

[48] NAC, RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-13.

[49] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, file 5.

[50] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, file 4.

[51] NAC, MG 28 V 120, vol. 29, file 5.

[52] See tables "Immigration . . . Showing Country of Birth By Racial Origin," in Canada, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1946* (Ottawa, 1947), 241ff.; *Report . . . 1947* (Ottawa, 1948), 256ff.; *Report . . . 1948* (Ottawa, 1949), 256ff.; *Report . . . 1949* (Ottawa, 1950), 240ff. Canada, *Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration for the Fiscal Year Ended March 31, 1950* (Ottawa, 1951), 38ff., and *Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration . . . 1951* (Ottawa, 1952), 38ff.

[53] These data were supplied (upon request) by the Department of Employment and Immigration Canada in January 1984.

[54] Canada, *Report . . . 1946*, 237-38. Eric Koch, *Deemed Suspect: A Wartime Blunder* (Toronto, 1980).

[55] NAC, RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-7, part 1.

[56] NAC, RG 76, vol. 649, file B6737, part 2.

[57] NAC, RG 76, vol. 649, file B6737, part 1. RG 25, A 12, vol. 2086, file AR 22/5, parts 2/4.

[58] J. J. Thiessen, "Recent Mennonite Immigration to Canada," *Mennonite Life* 4, no. 3 (July 1949): 35.

[59] NAC, RG 26, vol. 122, file 3-32-8, part 1.

[60] NAC, RG 76, vol. 31, file 682, part 5. The admission of German nationals, since September 1949 of approved individual cases and as per order of 29 March 1950 as a general policy, was confined to the following: the husband or wife; the son, daughter, brother or sister together with husband or wife and unmarried children; the father or mother; the orphan nephew or niece under twenty-one years of age; and the prospective husband or wife, of a person legally resident in Canada.

[61] NAC, RG 76, vol. 31, file 682, part 5.

[62] NAC, RG 25, A 12, vol. 2086, file AR 22/2 part 9.

[63] NAC, RG 76, vol. 31, file 682, part 5.

[64] NAC, RG 26, vol. 127, file 3-33-13, L. Fortier to A. MacNamara, 20 September 1950.

[65] NAC, RG 26; vol. 127, file 3-33-13.

[66] The estimate of 30,000 German immigrants is obtained by the following calculation:

MCC count (*Volksdeutsche* from overseas), 1947/48-1950	6,500
CCCRR count (*Volksdeutsche* from overseas), 1947/48-1950	15,000
Racial origin-Germans born in Germany (from overseas) 1947-1950	3,727
Racial origin-Germans from U.S.A., 1945-1950	4,525
Racial origin-Germans from overseas, 1945-1947	572
	30,324

This figure excludes 2,176 Jewish natives of Germany (from overseas), 1945-1950, and 1,233 racial origin-Germans born in Austria (from overseas), 1945-1950.

According to official Canadian statistics, the largest non-British ethnic groups of immigrants were:

	Displaced persons by racial origin 1947-1951	Total from overseas and from the U.S.A. by racial origin 1945-1950
Polish	29,303	38,723
Jewish	12,821	24,393
Ukrainian	22,347	23,663
German	12,813	22,661

Sources: Canada, *Report of the Department of Mines and Resources,* for the fiscal years ended 31 March 1946, 1947, 1948 and 1949, and Canada, *Report of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration,* for the fiscal years ended 31 March 1950 and 1951.

[67] NAC, RG 26, vol. 127, file 3-33-13.

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Abbreviations:

AHI	=	*American History Illustrated*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJA	=	*American Jewish Archives*
BLT	=	*Brethren Life and Thought*
CES	=	*Canadian Ethnic Studies*
DR	=	*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*
HSR	=	*Historic Schaefferstown Record*
IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
MH	=	*Methodist History*
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*
PMHB	=	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
SAHSN	=	*Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter*
WP	=	*Winterthur Portfolio*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*
ZKA	=	*Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*

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