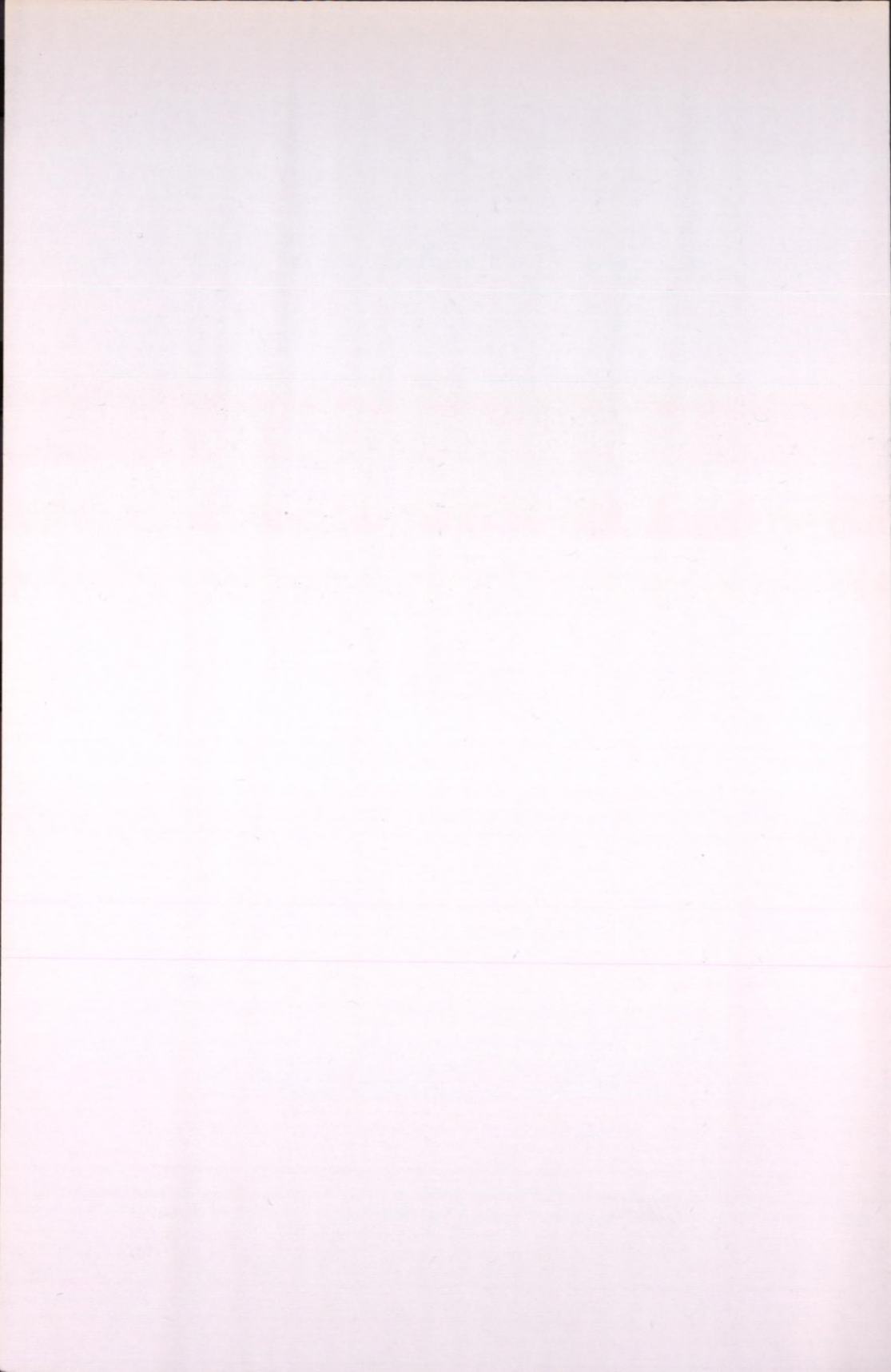


YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 23

1988



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General Information

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in the Americas. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants 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, KS 66045. Inquiries regarding book reviews for the *Yearbook* should be addressed to Jerry Glenn, Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, M.L. 372, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH 45221. The *Newsletter* appears four times a year. Items for the *Newsletter* should be submitted to La Vern J. Rippley, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, MN 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, Robert E. Coley (Millersville University), 3108 Wood Ridge Drive, Landisville, PA 17538. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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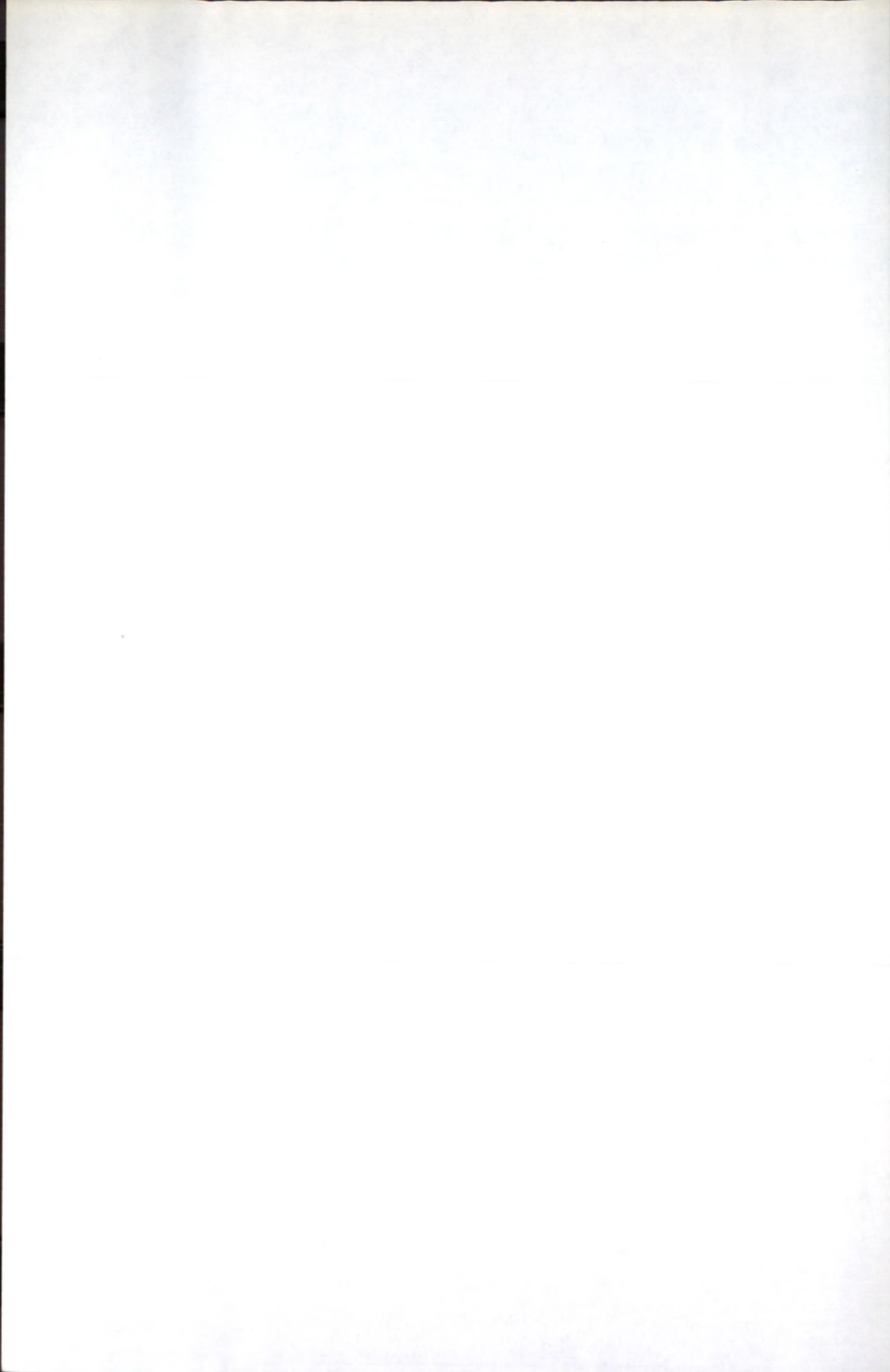


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FROM THE EDITORS

With this volume of the *Yearbook* we commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Society for German-American Studies. The growth and the accomplishments of the Society since 1968 are recalled in a special report by our president, Don Heinrich Tolzmann.

Leroy Hopkins's essay reminds us of another anniversary which occurred in 1988: the Germantown Protest against Slavery of 1688. A photograph of the original document signed by Francis Daniel Pastorius and three other settlers, which was presented to the Quaker Monthly Meeting on 30 April 1688, as well as a transcription of the text appear following the "Topical Index" of the "Annual Bibliography."

While the twentieth anniversary of the Society as well as the three-hundredth anniversary of the Germantown Protest were highlighted during the 1988 Symposium at Millersville University, the focus of the meeting was on the Pennsylvania Dutch. Don Yoder's keynote address, which begins this *Yearbook*, juxtaposing "Dutchman" and "Deitschlenner" offers insights which we can apply to complex relationships between earlier, established groups and newcomers, whether in Pennsylvania or elsewhere.

Of special interest in this volume is the survey of collections of early German imprints in America compiled by Gerd-J. Bötte and Werner R. Tannhof. Their report not only serves as a guide to materials, but also documents the rich tradition of German printing in the United States from colonial times to the early nineteenth century.

The *Book Review* section beginning with this volume is edited by Jerry Glenn. The inclusion of book reviews allows the *Yearbook* to present a more comprehensive picture of scholarly activity in the field of German-American studies.

We are again indebted to our colleagues on the Editorial Board as well as the Bibliographic Committee and its director, Steven Benjamin. Their untiring efforts are indispensable for the continued success of the *Yearbook*.

Max Kade German-American
Document and Research Center
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
December 1988



Don Yoder

The "Dutchman" and the "*Deitschlenner*": The New World Confronts the Old

I

By the middle of the nineteenth century, there were in North America two German-speaking worlds, which impinged on each other and were conscious of each other's presence, yet remained separate.¹ These were on the one hand the world of the Pennsylvania Dutchman and on the other the world of what he called the "*Deitschlenner*," the European German or immigrant German of the nineteenth century. These worlds came into contact and reacted to each other, positively or negatively, in Pennsylvania, in the Midwest, and in Ontario, wherever the Pennsylvania Dutchman had by migration planted his culture by 1850.

The Pennsylvania Dutch culture, a rich, slowly developed hybrid American system, combined continental German elements, British Isles components borrowed from the Quaker and Scotch-Irish neighbors, as well as numerous new American ideas and techniques which affected everything from church organization to the meals that were set on the Dutchman's table. Most of them were farmers and craftsmen who put their mark on rural America in the pre-industrial age with such things as barn formats, wagon patterns, rifle production, and other technological innovations.

More important than these factors is the fact that by the time of the Revolution the Pennsylvania Dutchman had become an American, in his politics and his general outlook. Even in areas where they continued to speak German, the immigrants and their children had been quickly Americanized. They were oriented to America and American problems, having cut their ties with Europe and its future by their migration.²

The two worlds came into contact increasingly in the second half of the nineteenth century. By 1850 the Pennsylvania Dutch were becoming aware that a new type of German-language culture was developing in the cities of the Northeast and the Midwest. This was what we now call the German-American culture, in its various local varieties, which

flowered mostly in urban contexts, with major centers in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Columbus, Chicago, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Milwaukee, New Orleans, and elsewhere. In addition to these urban centers there were also large rural and small town enclaves in the Midwest, Texas, and other states.

Who were these German-Americans? Looking at them with the eyes of the Pennsylvania Dutchman of the time, they were foreigners, Europeans, Germany-Germans or *Deitschlenner*. Even those who were fortunate enough to come from what was then called Rhenish Bavaria—the Palatinate—and thus spoke a dialect that could almost pass for Pennsylvania Dutch—were different in that their outlook on politics and culture reflected a century more of involvement with European history than the Pennsylvanians—most of whose ancestors had arrived in America before the Revolution.

It was these new German immigrants who created the world of *Gemütlichkeit*, now largely gone, of the *Biergarten*, the *Volksfest*, the *Turnverein*, the *Männerchor*, and the *Sängerfest*. While the Pennsylvania Dutch became Odd Fellows and Red Men and Elks and Knights of the Golden Eagle, in fact filled all the American fraternal orders, the nineteenth-century immigrants built a world of their own, in which, as Carl Wittke put it, the highest praise for something was that it was “gerade wie in Deutschland.”³ Of course it never was, but it comforted them to think so, with their exile mentality. These German-Americans, as they came to call themselves, attempted in part to create in America a German bourgeois atmosphere for themselves in their urban neighborhoods, churches and lodges. The Pennsylvania Dutchman had long ago given up interest in Europe, but these newcomers not only tried to be “Germans in America” but they cultivated *Deutschtum* or Germanness in all their institutions. And after 1871 they were not lacking in praise of the new united German Empire.

The *Deitschlenner* became aware of the Dutchman too. Whether he traveled among the Dutch settlements or himself settled in their midst, he reacted to their difference from his German culture. One of the difficulties we encounter in the face of so many ultra-critical, negative judgments of the Dutch culture by European Germans is that there was often a class difference and certainly a cultural difference between the two groups. So we find statements like that of one Dr. Büchele who in dealing with the Pennsylvanians in the 1850s speaks of their “gibberish speech,” which he admits, “still has a few thousand words that remind one of Germany,” and “whose thickheaded peasant arrogance (*dickköpfiger Bauerndünkel*) everywhere opposes in the most nauseous manner every attempt at education beyond reading and writing, Bible and catechism.”⁴

Most European travelers and educated *Deitschlenner* commented unfavorably on the German spoken in Pennsylvania and in the Pennsylvania Dutch diaspora in other states. They expressed especial distaste for the admixture of English words, and the Germanizing of English expressions, which were part of our Pennsylvania High German especially visible to outsiders in the columns of our German newspapers.

Some of these critical travelers and immigrants should have the privilege of revisiting Germany today and hearing the numerous English expressions and words that have been taken over into current German, like *babysitten*, *Teamwork* (as in *Teamworkforschung*), and best of all the one I heard from the lips of the archivist of Dr. Büchele's own university, "Ja, wir haben das gemanaged."⁵

The nineteenth-century travelers and immigrants usually also complained that the Pennsylvanians were behind the times culturally. As Francis and Theresa Pulszky put it,

they do not know the names of Lessing and Herder, Schiller and Goethe; they are strangers to the development of the English and the German spirit, peasants of the past age, who have become free and rich in their new country, but have been left untouched by the progress of a century.⁶

Even the young Philip Schaff (1819-93), usually so irenic in his approach, attacked the Americanized culture of the Pennsylvania Dutch. This was during his first year in America, straight from the University of Berlin, and he spoke as a shocked European German, and with all the indignation of his twenty-seven years. Later, after having worked intimately with the Pennsylvania Dutch churches and their native ministers he could be more charitable. But this is what he said in his address called "Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States," given before the Schiller Society of Marshall College in 1846:

American Germany [which he is contrasting with European Germany] . . . on the contrary, must, pauper-like, beg from the English all her education, so far as she has any at all; she possesses not a single college that may be said to represent the German interest in a manner worthy of the mother country; she has no national literature, yea, does not even know that of her own kindred so well as its friends and admirers in New England. Her language, for the most part, is an almost unintelligible and characterless gibberish, made up of the most different German dialects thoroughly interwoven with Anglicisms and barbarisms. No wonder that *Dutch* and *vulgar, German* and *rude* have become, in many places, convertible terms.⁷

But despite the insults, his hope was that "the American intellectual and religious culture" should in time become more and more "Anglo-German."

The references to the Pennsylvania Dutch as "peasants" should certainly not disturb us in this day and age when we know so much more about peasant culture in Europe and its ways of operation. This is particularly true in the case of manners, everyday dealings with family and community. The immigrants complained that the Pennsylvanians were rude and impolite. The fact is that the typical Dutchman abhorred polite forms. This was not just an absorption of American egalitarianism, but was a heritage from the peasant distaste for the fancy, exaggerated *Höflichkeitsformen* of the cities. I learned a great deal about

this from my father, who was the eighth generation of his father's family in America (they were 1709ers who fortunately skipped New York and came directly to Pennsylvania). He was born on a farm in Schuylkill County, and learned Dutch before English. One time I asked my father how one says in Dutch, "Please pass me the butter." He laughed and said "you don't say 'please' in Dutch—you would just say, 'Reech mer mol die Budder.'" There was even an old farmer in the Hegins Valley that my father told me about who became insulted one time when somebody referred to him as a "Chendelmann." A "Chendelmann" was someone who did not work, or at least did not work with his hands, like a respectable Dutchman.

In return the Pennsylvanians made it clear that they did not share and did not want to share the culture of the "German-Americans," and in their way they could be just as cutting. One traveler tells us of hearing in Schuylkill County some women talking (this was in the 1840s) who said: "Wir sind keine Affen, wie die Deutschländer; aber Amerikaner sind wir, und das bleiben wir, wenn wir auch deutsch sprechen."⁸ The reference to "apes" reflects the Pennsylvanian distaste for the overabundance of polite forms used by the immigrants when speaking their High German.

The cultural differential between Pennsylvania Dutchman and European German, involving as it did the total culture as well as language, is accented in many autobiographical accounts. One of these is by Georg von Bosse, a Lutheran clergyman of Philadelphia who arrived in this country in the 1870s and became an ardent defender of *Deutschtum* against the encroachments from Americanization. He preached a while in Reading, Pennsylvania, and got to know the Pennsylvania Dutch culture thoroughly. He is somewhat gentle in his criticisms of it. Among them, he writes:

I was allowed to experience hearty hospitality, and the "Du" with which my host, in Pennsylvania German style, addressed everybody even including me (me a minister!), sounded very cordial to me. My High German they understood pretty well, as also I their dialect, so that we could converse in a stimulating manner. Of Germany and its history they knew only a little and there was no question at all of a spiritual bond with the people from whom their forefathers had sprung. Yet in spite of this with their German speech they had resolutely preserved many a German character trait.

In foods I learned to know different new ones like sweet potatoes, sweet corn, tomatoes, stewed, fried or cut up raw, and then the all-beloved pie, which the Pennsylvania German women understand how to bake just so masterfully. For sleeping I got a big, two-person bed, such as is to be found in almost every house in the United States. Quite comforting was the painful cleanliness [*peinliche Sauberkeit*] which reigned everywhere.

And it still does, one might add. When he had been in Pennsylvania longer, von Bosse became an apologist for German-Americanism. So

touchy was he over language that one time he was outraged at a *Volksfest* in Philadelphia when he noticed that the banner over the sauerkraut booth was spelled "sour crout."⁹

II

Pennsylvania Dutchman and European German reacted to each other not only on the everyday level. Also in the sophisticated culture the two groups met, clashed, and reacted. Tension between the "Pennsylvania" element and the "European German" element developed in most of the Pennsylvania Dutch denominations. In several cases this tension occasioned schisms, with results that can be traced down to the present day. Among these was the long and bitter fight (1886-94) in the so-called *Evangelische Gemeinschaft*, a revivalist denomination that had been founded in Pennsylvania in 1800 as a kind of German-language clone of the Methodist Church.

In 1894 the *Gemeinschaft* split into two separate and rival organizations, one calling itself in English the Evangelical Association and the other the United Evangelical Church, to confuse everybody. One of the several disputed factors in the division (which centered in the personalities of rival bishops named Dubs and Esher, both of them immigrants) was the rivalry between the Pennsylvanian and European membership and leaders. As one historian of the division put it:

During the first fifty years of the church's existence the members of the General Conference were almost all natives or residents of Pennsylvania. Hence the church government found itself exclusively in the hands of Pennsylvanians.

Yet when the church began to spread its borders toward the far west and to absorb other groups, naturally in this too a change took place. During this transition period there arose in Pennsylvania a class of men, whose leaders fostered and spread the narrow viewpoint that since the church had been founded in Pennsylvania, it must now too be governed continuously by Pennsylvanians and that those members who were born abroad had to sit on the back bench.

Of the ten first bishops of the denomination, seven were Pennsylvanians and three were back-benchers.¹⁰

One of the basic reasons for the alienation between Pennsylvanians and European Germans in the churches was naturally language. The Pennsylvanians were losing their High German competency and could no longer easily understand some of the immigrant ministers. An immigrant evangelist named Carl G. Koch, preaching in Ohio in the 1840s, expressed it in this way:

Toward Spring I held a protracted meeting in Berlin Township, Mahoning County, in Schalleberger's Schoolhouse. Since this neighborhood consisted mostly of Pennsylvania Germans and some European German families, I soon heard the complaint that I was not understood very well, since I speak in such a High German manner, etc. But

gradually they understood me better and better; the Holy Spirit accompanied the Word to their hearts, and I heard no complaints anymore over my High German speech.¹¹

Sometimes not even the Holy Spirit could keep the two groups in agreement. This was true even in churches where High German was still used by the Pennsylvanians. William A. Helffrich (1827-94) in his German autobiography describes in detail the struggles he had in his own congregations to promote the official Reformed Church paper, which was edited in Philadelphia by European Germans. When he inquired why his parishioners were not subscribers, they said, "Everything is too far away, we don't understand it!" ("Sis alles zu weit ab, mir verstehen's net!"). Helffrich himself judged the paper as aimed more at the clergy than the people in the pews. "What do our Pennsylvanians want with reports from Germany and articles cribbed from other journals which have not the least interest for our church in America?" He also objected to the "mania of German editors for using foreign words, even when writing for the people."¹² Helffrich's concern to do something "for our people," a concern in which he was joined by Benjamin Bausman and other Reformed ministers, resulted in the establishment in 1867 of *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*, edited and published at Reading, which until its demise in 1903 was the leading German-language paper reflecting the Pennsylvania German outlook.¹³

But the best example of all is what happened to Pennsylvania Lutheranism, which split into two wings, one an Americanizing wing, the other a Germanizing wing. The Americanizers, led by Samuel Simon Schmucker (1799-1873), who had been educated in Anglo-America, at Princeton in fact, organized the General Synod and operated both Gettysburg College and Gettysburg Seminary.¹⁴ The Germanizers, led in part by immigrant clergy and in part by natives like Samuel Kistler Brobst (1822-76), founded the Philadelphia Seminary, and in 1867 joined with several Midwestern Lutheran bodies, all conservative, in the ultra-conservative General Council. The Gettysburg faction adopted the revivalist methods of the major Anglo-American churches, favored English as the national language, and in general offered an ecumenical hand of fellowship to other American evangelical bodies, whether German or not. The Philadelphia faction withdrew the hand of fellowship from everyone but Lutherans. Their motto was, "Lutheran pulpits for Lutheran ministers only, Lutheran altars for Lutheran communicants only." Stressing a Lutheran confessional rather than an Anglo-American pan-evangelical position, they expressed their distaste for the union church which existed almost everywhere in grassroots Pennsylvania among Lutherans and Reformed. They also favored the German language wherever possible. The context here is important to note. Central Pennsylvania, the seedbed of the Americanized Lutheranism, was an area where the Pennsylvania Dutchman came into closer contact with other ethnic groups and churches than in eastern Pennsylvania, and in central Pennsylvania low churchism and English preaching were the order of the day.

III

In sorting out the many influences, negative or positive, that the European Germans had upon the Pennsylvania Dutch, it is important to point out that in several instances the European Germans provided the necessary stimulus to the development of the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect culture. Dialect sketches had appeared in our newspapers from the period of the War of 1812, but it was not until the 1860s that a full-fledged dialect literary movement complete with books and pamphlets in Pennsylvania Dutch by identifiable, ethnically conscious writers made its appearance. Philip Schaff, the brilliant Swiss theologian and church historian who ministered to the American churches from his professorial chair at Mercersburg, had, it appears, a decisive influence in encouraging literature in the Pennsylvania dialect. Not only did he publish one of the earliest dialect poems, the *Owetlied* (*Abendlied*) by the Moravian minister Edward Rondthaler, which appeared in Schaff's *Kirchenfreund* for 1849, but Schaff had a dear friend in the Reformed ministry, the archetypical Pennsylvania Dutchman Henry Harbaugh (1817-67). Harbaugh's early death was a severe personal blow to Schaff, who wrote of his friend:

He was endowed with rare gifts of mind and heart. For the defects of his early education he made up by intense application. He was a poetical genius, the only one who has risen, as far as I know, from the German-American population. I first suggested to him the desirableness of immortalizing the Pennsylvania-German in song, as the Allemannian dialect has been immortalized by Hebel. He took up the hint and wrote his *Schulhaus an der Krick*, which he modestly submitted to me, and which, when published, produced quite a sensation among the Pennsylvania-Germans, and found its way even to Germany.¹⁵

It is said that Professor Schaff used to repeat the *Schulhaus* epic with great spirit, no doubt with his strong Graubünden accent showing through.

Another European German who influenced dialect literature was Ludwig Wollenweber (1807-88), an immigrant who more or less adopted the Pennsylvania Dutch as his people. He was born at Ixheim near Zweibrücken in the Palatinate and came to America after the revolution of 1830. He arrived in 1833, settling in Philadelphia where he founded *Der Freisinnige* in 1838, and the *Philadelphia Demokrat* in 1839, serving as its editor for many years. Although his liberal politics found little resonance among the upstate Dutch, their dialect and manners found resonance in him. He loved Berks County and its people, traveled happily among them, writing sketches of his visits for the *Demokrat*. After retiring he moved to Womelsdorf and spent his declining years writing local color novelettes in High German and dialect poetry and prose for upstate newspapers that appeared under the penname, "*Der Alte vom Berge*." He is remembered by his adopted people for his charming novella, *Die Berg-Maria*, published by the firm of Ignatius

Kohler in Philadelphia in 1880, as well as for editing the first book of Pennsylvania Dutch dialect prose, *Gemälde aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Volksleben*, published by Schaefer and Koradi in Philadelphia in 1869. And who could forget the poem he wrote with which he closes the little volume: "Ich bin en Pennsilfaanier,/Druff binnich schtols un froh."¹⁶

The Pennsylvania Dutch folk culture was influenced by the European Germans in still other ways. Among the *Deutschlenner* who came to Pennsylvania, some did not settle down into the culture but remained marginally attached to it. These were the peddlers and the tramps, the "*Rumlaefer*" who had their summer circuits to their favorite farms, where they could count on a good meal and sleep in the barn, or even, in Mennonite country, in the "tramp chamber" in the farmhouse.

Some of these wanderers performed minimal services in return for the meal. Some were folk artists without knowing the term, filling out birth and baptismal certificates, or carving a bit of "tramp art" out of cigar boxes. Some sang songs which diffused and eventually became part of the Pennsylvania Dutch folksong repertoire. I am convinced that the majority of the dialect and part-dialect songs that are still recordable among the Pennsylvania Dutch came into the culture, not in the eighteenth century, but in the nineteenth, essentially from nineteenth-century immigrants.

One of the favorite German tramps who circulated through the Dutch Country as late as the 1890s was "*Der Brille-Schmidt*."¹⁷ For years he tramped the Berks and Lehigh County roads on foot, carrying his satchel. He was redfaced (*rotgsichtich*), wore a brown derby, had long hair and a brown mustache. He wore a white shirt, at least it once was white. He sold spectacles (*Brille*) and filled out baptismal certificates. In the houses that he visited he was always a welcome entertainer. He used to take up a newspaper and make up humorous stories, pretending to read them. As his biographer says of him, in Dutch, "Er war en guder Actor, awwer mit den ass er Hochdeitsch gschproche hot war er net so gud zu ferschteh." Beside him trotted a little dog that he called "*Roverli*."

He never complained, he never talked of his troubles, he never talked of "*Deutschland*." But his name was Paul Pfluegel, he was believed to have been from Breslau, and probably had a university education. He used to amuse Latin students at the Kutztown State Normal School by knowing their lessons better than they did. And he is said to have had duel scars—he called them "*sabre cuts*" which may or may not have come from his service in the American Civil War. But let us listen again to his biographer:

Awwer siss en Zeit kumme wu er die Welt ferlosse hot misse. Die Zeit war do wu es gheesse hot, "*Hans, du gehscht in der Kaschde*". [This was one of his bywords that people remembered.] Er iss grank warre un iss noch en Armehaus gschickt warre in Lecha Caunty. Datt iss er gschtarrewe in 1902 un iss fargraawe an der Hufte Karrich bei de G.A.R.

Ya, seine Griegs-Kummeraade hen ihn net fergesse. Un wann der Wind blost, dann schwenkt en gleener Flag iwwer sei Grab. So much for "Der Brille-Schmidt."

IV

Let us now examine the other side of the coin, to determine what effects German-American contacts with the Pennsylvania Dutch had on the German-American culture that developed to its fullest extent in the second half of the nineteenth century. First of all, German-American historians and publicists appropriated Pennsylvania German history, from Germantown on, as the first phase of a larger overarching German-American historical panorama. They made Pastorius, Peter Muhlenberg, von Steuben, de Kalb and other colonial and revolutionary leaders into identity symbols of German-American culture, in fact into German-Americans. The Pennsylvania Dutch largely forgot Pastorius and von Steuben, but occasionally remembered Peter Muhlenberg in patriotic sermons and Fourth of July oratory.

German-American historiography thus made use of themes from colonial history, setting them in the framework of a united German-Americanism. The works of Rattermann, Kapp, Seidensticker, Sachse, Rosengarten and others enlightened America on selected chapters of Pennsylvania Dutch history. Seidensticker, who like Sachse and Rosengarten was second generation, contributed among other things the *Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien* (1876) and compiled that indispensable check list of German-language imprints in America, 1728-1830. Only in our day, through the recent work of Werner Tannhof and others, has this been superseded by the vastly enlarged check and finding list published this year by the University of Göttingen in collaboration with the Pennsylvania German Society.

To accent the personal experience of those European Germans who settled among the Pennsylvania Dutch, let us consider the case of Reading, Pennsylvania. Reading provides an important example of the place taken by the nineteenth-century immigrants in what was basically a Pennsylvania Dutch town. In the nineteenth century there were in Reading native firms side by side with immigrant firms. Of the latter, the Lauer and Reading Breweries were founded and operated by immigrant Germans. There is in the Penn Commons a statue of Frederick Lauer (1810-83), Reading's principal brewer from 1835 until his death.¹⁸ He was born in Gleisweiler, near Landau, in what was then called the Rhenish Palatinate. He came to America with his father, George Lauer, in 1823. The father had large vineyards damaged during the Napoleonic Wars, although he continued to make wine and beer commercially until his emigration. He landed in Baltimore, but came on to Reading, where he had a married daughter. There he established the brewery which his son Frederick took over, while another son founded a brewery in Pottsville to compete with the Swabian Yuenglings, who had arrived in 1829.

Frederick Lauer attended Pennsylvania German schools in Womelsdorf and Reading, and married into the Berks County Guldin family, descendants of the 1710 Swiss immigrant Samuel Guldin (1664-1745), the first German Reformed minister in Pennsylvania. Lauer was a public-spirited man, helping Reading in its transition from borough to city in 1847, and aiding in the organization of the Berks County Agricultural Society in 1852 and serving as its first president. He attended the National Democratic Convention of 1860 in Charleston—not all the new immigrants were Republicans—but with the election of Lincoln he supported the Union cause during the Civil War. He was involved in planning a railway from Reading to Lancaster and Columbia, served as trustee of the Keystone State Normal School, and nationally as president of the United States Brewers Association. (One can imagine that with his Dutch wife and his Palatine accent he fitted perfectly into the Pennsylvania Dutch world.)

Somewhat more German-American in his style and influence was his competitor, Philip Bissinger. He too was a native of the Palatinate, from Dürkheim, and emigrated with his parents in 1855 to New York. He attended school at Lancaster and served as a captain in the Civil War. In 1866 he opened the Bissinger Café on North Penn Street, famous throughout the rest of the century for its banquets, and in 1886 organized the Reading Brewing Company. He married a daughter of another immigrant, William Rosenthal, publisher of German newspapers in Reading. Bissinger's cultural influence on Reading was varied. He designed the Masonic Temple there, but it was on the musical life of the city that he left his principal mark. He was musical director of the Reading *Männerchor*, reorganized the Germania Orchestra, and in 1879 organized the Philharmonic Society and directed its concerts.¹⁹

Another musical contributor to Reading's nineteenth-century life was John Endlich (1819-92), a native of Hesse-Darmstadt who emigrated in 1839, settling in Reading where he taught music, served as organist and choir director, and composed music that was used in the Lutheran and Reformed churches. His published tune and organ manuals were used also in the country churches. He married the daughter of a Pennsylvania Dutchman, the Rev. Dr. Jacob Miller (1788-1850), pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Reading. As an immigrant John Endlich was unusual in that he returned to Europe for lengthy stays, first in 1857-61 when he served as United States Consul at Basel, and again in 1866-72, which enabled his sons to attend schools in Stuttgart, Tübingen, and Darmstadt.²⁰

In the twentieth century the impact of the immigrant Germans on Reading was deepened through the establishment of the Berkshire Knitting Mills and Wyomissing Industries, by Ferdinand Thun and Henry K. Janssen, immigrants of the 1880s, whose philanthropies included the Landis Valley Museum, the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, and the *American-German Review*. In the area of the Pennsylvania Dutch culture they sponsored the popular "Wunnernaas" radio program of G. Gilbert Snyder over WEEU, with fifteen minutes of Dutch dialect. This program, one of the two most popular dialect radio programs in

Pennsylvania history, was aired live early Sunday afternoon. I remember it very well—every Sunday my father insisted on getting us home from church in time to listen to the “Wunnernaas,” whom he knew personally and corresponded with in Dutch. After that we settled down to enjoy the rural humor of the “Assebe and Sabina Show” with Harry Reichard and Paul Wieand, and of course “die Keturah” played by the unforgettable Audrey Miller. Some Sundays this constellation of dialect invading our suburban Philadelphia home provided possibly a more lasting religious experience than the preceding church service, and I am at least half serious about that.

V

Now having given a few vignettes of “*Deitschlenner*” who settled among the Dutch, let us look at two Pennsylvania Dutchmen who largely adopted the German-American viewpoint.

Samuel Kistler Brobst (1822–76) was a Pennsylvanian who worked very closely with the European Germans in Lutheran church work and as journalist and publicist.²¹ Born along the Blue Mountain, in Kistler Valley (*Kischtler Dahl*), Lehigh County, he learned the tinsmith and coppersmith trade before becoming a schoolteacher and Lutheran minister. His training in Anglo-America, involving attendance at Washington College in western Pennsylvania, and his work for the American Sunday School Union, deepened his understanding of the Anglo-American churches but drove him in a sense home to a conservative Lutheran position. Here he took the opposite path from his older colleague and eventual opponent in reshaping Lutheranism into an Anglo-American pattern, Samuel Simon Schmucker.

Brobst was ordained in 1847, but rarely preached because of a throat ailment. His mission for Lutheranism and his own people, led him to found the *Jugendfreund* in 1847, the *Missions Blätter* in 1854, the *Lutherische Zeitschrift* in 1857, and the *Theologische Monatshefte* in 1868. Brobst’s publishing work, centered in Allentown, gave him an outlet for his conservativizing program for Lutheranism and the Pennsylvania Dutch. For Lutheranism he wanted separate German churches, German parochial schools, and German Sunday School literature. He was not, however, an ultra-Germanizer, his motto being “Equal rights for both languages.” His conservativizing tendency in Lutheran theology made him one of the architects of the General Council (1867), and he is remembered for being a principal founder both of the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia (1864) and Muhlenberg College in Allentown (1868). He was also the principal founder of the *Verein der deutschen Presse in Pennsylvanien* (1862) and its first president. This linked him with the major publishers and editors of German newspapers and periodicals in Pennsylvania, some of whom were Pennsylvania Dutch and others European Germans. For his part in this largely secular press union, and his association with such radical forty-eighters as Dr. Kellner, who had earlier founded a socialist paper in New York, and with the liberal historian Oswald Seidensticker, many Lutheran colleagues became

critical of him. The English party in Lutheranism misunderstood his equal-billing-for-both-languages approach and thought that he wanted to build a wall, or a dam, as Heinz Kloss called it, around Lehigh County, to keep out English. He was also one of the founders of the Keystone State Normal School, now Kutztown University, which was founded to train Dutch farm boys and girls as teachers for the public schools.

Brobst cultivated cordial relations with the new European-German Lutheran synods of the Midwest, including the Missouri Synod. He urged his own Pennsylvania Lutherans not to turn away from the immigrant population, but to operate home missions and organize churches among them, as Methodists and other Anglo-American denominations had long done. Judging Brobst from the impact his work had during his lifetime, it is somewhat ironic that his own people largely forgot him. And in light of his advocacy of the European Germans it is equally surprising that the German Society of Pennsylvania forgot the identity of his bust which once honored the society's halls until someone reidentified it in 1931.

The second vignette is of a Pennsylvania Dutchman, Howard W. Kriebel (1859-1937), who became an evangelist for German-American unity during the period of the First World War.²² In 1912 he took over the editorship of the *Pennsylvania German*. This magazine, founded in 1900, was the most influential Pennsylvania Dutch cultural journal in English, a kind of Pennsylvanian counterpart of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, but without the German-American materials at first. The eventual failure of this journal, which contributed so much to Pennsylvania historiography, biography, genealogy, even folklore and folklife studies, was due to Kriebel's attempt to shift its focus radically into a militant German-American stance.

The September 1914 issue of the magazine outlined some of Kriebel's plans. The masthead or logo that he chose has in big letters at the top, *The Penn Germania*, and in small, almost unreadable letters at the bottom, *The Pennsylvania German: A Popular Journal of German History and Ideals in the United States*. Between the two stands a diminutive William Penn on a pedestal. In front of him a buxom Columbia, holding the stars and stripes, shakes hands with a monumental, Brunhilde-like Germania, complete with mammary armor and a huge sword, holding the German tricolor. The American eagle and the German eagle are displayed right and left on heraldic shields.

From the date—September 1914—it is easy to see what Kriebel was trying to do. The European war had started. German and English propaganda were flying back and forth. Already anti-German feeling was mounting in the United States. What his personal reasons were for adopting this heavily German-American, racist position, I have not yet completely determined, but I will be sorting that out for publication later.

The September 1914 issue contains a few articles of Pennsylvania Dutch interest, but the lead article, the longest in page length, is "A

Tentative Constitution for a Contemplated Organization of 'The National Germanic Society' to succeed the Penn Germania Publishing Company." The society's object was "to advance the knowledge of Germanic history and ideals in the United States among the American public, particularly among the descendants of German and Swiss immigrants." It was to have no connection with national, state, or local politics. The society was to publish a periodical called *The National Germanic Magazine*, to serve as a clearinghouse for German-American information past and present, "to be a transmitter of current events, thought-movements and ideals of the Germany of today," and to provide "an impartial forum of serious purpose within its special field aiming to form lofty and just public opinion"—meaning, undoubtedly, pro-German opinion.

Among the society's larger purposes were: (1) The fostering of popular interest in the contributions to the nation in the past two centuries of those Americans whose forebears were German, in every field of endeavor, i.e., the contributionist approach which every ethnic group insists on taking at a certain stage in its ethnic development. (2) "To foster the higher ideals the best Germanic stock has stood for: frugality, honesty, patience, perseverance, thoroughness, industry, scholarship, love of liberty, home and country, truthfulness, righteousness, regard for law and order, hatred of tyranny, exalted life ideals." (3) To promote the spirit of good fellowship among descendants of the Germanic stock.

All of this is of course very ethnic in orientation, contributionist and defensive—proposing to do much the same sort of thing that *Der Deutsche Pionier* had done earlier. It was also hortatory and edifying, preaching the "ethnic virtues" of German-Americans as if every German-American carried them all in his personal makeup. This approach is in a sense like denominational history in church historiography, which rarely finds negative factors in church development or unedifying elements to discuss. All this is of course linear ethnic historiography, pre-acculturation theory, pre-cultural pluralism theory, pre-Marcus Hansen's transethnic approach to immigration history.

A final sample of Kriebel's views is his call for a German-American Library, where he manages to sound even more Teutonic:

It could become a German-American Valhalla, a memorial to the dead, an armory for the living. [Now he explains to the Pennsylvanian readers what Valhalla was.] Valhalla in German mythology was the hall stocked with shields and spears, into which were received the souls of heroes slain in battle. From its gates warriors went forth each morning to fight and to return at night to feast with the gods. What more fitting antitype to this myth could there be than a collection of the records of the deeds and ideals of a people to which their sons and daughters could at all times go for their weapons of offence and defence in the battle of life and for communion with the spirits of the departed.

VI

And now, my conclusions. From these vignettes I have attempted to show the fantastic crisscross of influences in the social and cultural interface between the European Germans and the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Because of time limitations I will summarize only the influences, as I see them, of the "*Deitschlenner*" on the Dutchman.

First of all, the immigrant Germans who settled in Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century served their apprenticeship to America, in a sense, by serving the already existing Pennsylvania Dutch culture in industry, business, church and press. In industry the immigrants' factories, breweries, hotels and restaurants shared the field with those of the Dutchman. Later, the talents of individual immigrants added to our economy the additional skills of mechanical and civil engineering, engraving and lithography, and the manufacture of scientific and musical instruments.

In the world of the churches, in addition to the factors I have already mentioned, the immigrant clergy buttressed the German language, created the high church movements in liturgy, restored the reformation confessions, influenced church music, introduced the deaconess movement, stepped up home missions through the influence of the German *Innere Mission* movement, and founded charitable institutions like church-sponsored hospitals. However, the earliest church-sponsored hospital of the now familiar pattern was St. Luke's Hospital in New York City, founded by the Dutchman-turned-Episcopalian, Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg (1796-1877).²³

In the world of the press immigrant Germans founded publishing houses which continued to furnish the upcountry Dutch with their favorite devotional and other popular reading matter. Immigrant editors shaped public opinion, some of them, like the German Jew Moritz Loeb, editor of the Doylestown *Morgenstern*, defending the Mennonite right to be different in refusing to serve in the Union army in the Civil War. Not all the editors, of course, were immigrants. There were many native penmen like Benjamin Trexler of the *Friedensbote* in Allentown, whose *Skizzen aus dem Lecha-Thale* (1880-86) I vote one of the best local histories produced in nineteenth-century America.²⁴

The second major point is that the "*Deitschlenner*" enriched Pennsylvania Dutch folklore. In dealing with the lore repertoire of the Pennsylvania Dutch, one sees that not all of it crossed the Atlantic with the colonial migration. Many songs, along with many memorable sayings, rhymes, jokes and folk stories now in general circulation were sung or told and retold at Pennsylvania tables or before Pennsylvania firesides by the tramps and peddlers or by immigrants who married into the family.

The literary use of the dialect was often encouraged by immigrant editors, who allowed those quaint columns headed by the word "*Humoristisches*" into their papers. Immigrants like Wollenweber, who published the first book of prose in the dialect; J. Fred Wetter, whose column "*Der Hansjoerg*" was popular in Pennsylvania and in Mid-

western German-American newspapers; and Conrad Gehring, a Swiss who settled at Kutztown, all published dialect sketches. And, as I said, it was Philip Schaff who stirred Henry Harbaugh to write in his mother tongue.

The third influence is the most important of all. The presence of the "*Deitschlenner*" among them in Pennsylvania, and visible from the Midwest through the German-American press, stimulated the Pennsylvania Dutch to decide who they were, ethnically speaking. By comparing themselves and their culture to the newcomers, they saw that after all they were not "Germans in America" nor even "German-Americans" but Pennsylvania Dutch, different from the new immigrants in almost every aspect of their culture. This was not the only formative influence on the Pennsylvania Dutch ethnic identity, but it brought it to a head.²⁵ Other factors were the Civil War and its social upheavals, the English-only program of the public school, the centennial with its wave of patriotic feeling for the ethnic groups that had participated in the American Revolution, and the new immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe that brought new ethnic groups to settle in eastern Pennsylvania's towns and mining centers. All of these factors worked together to produce by 1891 the Pennsylvania German Society, which was a kind of Dutchman's "Declaration of Independence."²⁶

However, while the presence of the immigrant Germans with their programmed German-Americanism calling for unity among all "Germans" in America—a unity that has never existed—forced the Pennsylvania Dutchmen to turn their backs and go their own way, a small minority of them, including the two influential voices of Brobst and Kriebel, largely accepted the German-American propaganda. And it is undoubtedly true that the presence of the European Germans in Pennsylvania, with their built-in preference for the word "German" and their distaste for the word "Dutch," confused matters thoroughly in twentieth-century Pennsylvania by fanning the flames in the conflict between the two terms "Pennsylvania German" and "Pennsylvania Dutch."

Where does it all end? Perhaps instead of arguing over "Pennsylvania German" and "Pennsylvania Dutch," or over "Germans in America" and "German-Americans," in this era when most of us have become either "invisible ethnics" or no ethnics at all, we can concentrate and should concentrate on attempting to unravel and understand the human experience of the immigrants in each different period and cultural context, attempting to see what the New World meant to them—as individuals, families, and communities—at the time when they were creating this "New World" for themselves. But please, no Valhallas!

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Notes

¹ Keynote address, Twelfth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 28-30 April 1988.

² What a recent historian has written of the Virginia Germans after the Revolution is also true of the Pennsylvania Germans:

They had become Americans like all the other inhabitants of the erstwhile colonies without having undergone the process of linguistic and cultural assimilation that in more recent American history has been declared the criterion of Americanization. The Virginia Germans of 1785 were nothing but Americans. They had no ties, political, economic, or even cultural, with any of the numerous German fatherlands in Europe. These German-speaking Virginians were as detached from Germany and Switzerland as the English-speaking Virginians were from England, Scotland, and Ireland. Already most had been born on American soil or were the products of an American environment. (Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* [Charlottesville, VA, 1969], 112-13.)

³ Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant* (New York, 1939), chap. 9.

⁴ Dr. Büchele, *Land und Volk der Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1855), 278.

⁵ Heard 1983 at the University of Tübingen during an academic tour for American professors sponsored by the West German government.

⁶ Francis and Theresa Pulszky, *White, Red, Black: Sketches of American Society in the United States* (New York, 1853), 1:254-55.

⁷ Philip Schaff[f], *Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States* (Chambersburg, PA, 1846), 10.

⁸ Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati, OH, 1847), 307.

⁹ Georg von Bosse, *Ein Kampf um Glauben und Volkstum: Das Streben während meines 25-jährigen Amtslebens als deutsch-lutherischer Geistlicher in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1920), 21.

¹⁰ Thomas Bowman, *Die Störungen in der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft* (Cleveland, OH, 1894), 20.

¹¹ Carl G. Koch, *Lebenserfahrungen von Carl G. Koch, Prediger des Evangeliums* (Cleveland, OH, 1871), 234-35.

¹² William A. Helffrich, *Lebensbild aus dem Pennsylvanisch-Deutschen Predigerstand*, ed. N. W. A. and W. U. Helffrich (Allentown, PA, 1906), 264-65.

¹³ See Don Yoder, "The Reformed Church and Pennsylvania German Identity," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 18 (1983): 63-82.

¹⁴ For Schmucker's program for Lutheranism, see Vergilius Ferm, *The Crisis in American Lutheran Theology: A Study of the Issue between American Lutheranism and Old Lutheranism* (New York, 1927); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 16:443-44.

¹⁵ David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff, In Part Autobiographical* (New York, 1897), 142, 242-43.

¹⁶ For biographical data on Wollenweber, see Ludwig August Wollenweber, *Mountain Mary: An Historical Tale of Early Pennsylvania*, trans. with introduction by John Joseph Stoudt (York, PA, 1974), 15-18.

¹⁷ Edwin C. Miller, *Miller's Prose and Verse: Part English [and] Part Pennsylvania German* (Allentown, PA, 1924), 90-94.

¹⁸ For Lauer's biography, see Morton L. Montgomery, comp. *Historical and Biographical Annals of Berks County, Pennsylvania* (Chicago, 1909), 1:783-84.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 760-61. For Wilhelm Rosenthal's biography, see *ibid.*, 2:1177. He emigrated from Prussia in 1847 edited the *Readinger Adler*, and founded the *Banner von Berks, Die Biene, and Die Deutsche Eiche*.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:793.

²¹ See Ralph C. Wood, "S. K. Brobst—Our Pennsylvania Dutch Language Leader," *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1, no. 14 (4 August 1949); also Heinz Kloss, "Samuel Kistler Brobst," *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums* (Breslau, 1933), 1:546-47.

²² For Howard Wiegner Kriebel, see Samuel Kriebel Brecht, *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families* (New York, 1923), 245-46 et passim. He was a graduate of the Keystone State Normal School (1876) and Oberlin College, and taught both in the public

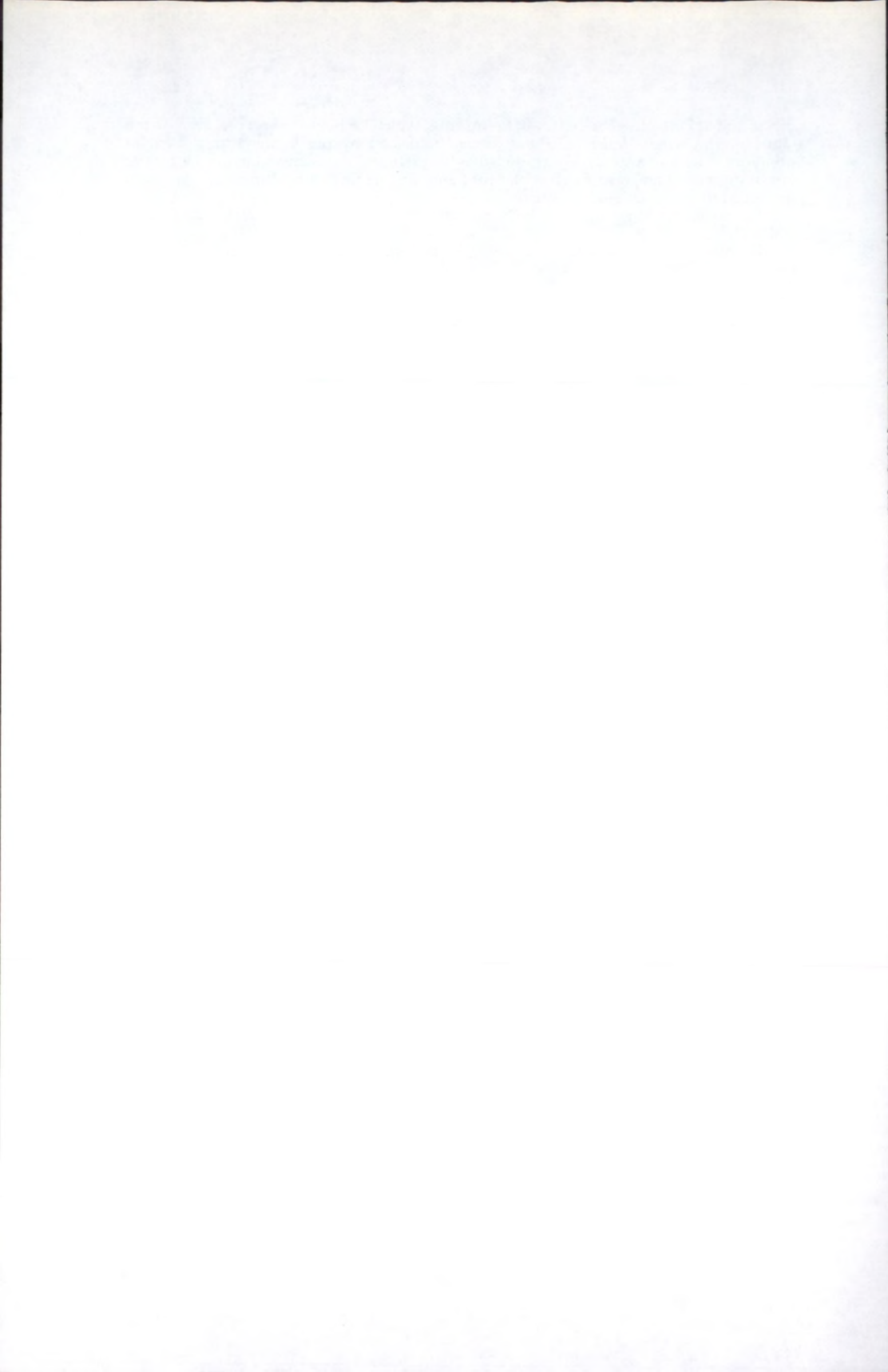
schools and at Perkiomen Seminary at Pennsburg, which he helped to revive. He was the author of *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania*, published by the Pennsylvania German Society in 1904, and was largely responsible for planning the Schwenkfelder Library at Pennsburg, now a major research center for Pennsylvania German culture. He was also a minister in the Schwenkfelder Church.

²³ For William Augustus Muhlenberg, see the *Dictionary of American Biography*, 13:313-14.

²⁴ For Benjamin F. Trexler, see Charles R. Roberts et al., *History of Lehigh County, Pennsylvania* (Allentown, PA, 1914), 3:1321; also Mahlon H. Hellerich, ed., *Allentown 1762-1987: A 225-Year History* (Allentown, PA, 1987), 1:passim.

²⁵ For a discussion of this, see Don Yoder, "The Pennsylvania Germans: Three Centuries of Identity Crisis," in *America and the Germans*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia, 1985), 1:41-65.

²⁶ For detailed discussion of the origin of the Pennsylvania German Society from the standpoint of ethnic identity research, see Don Yoder, "Pennsylvania German Folklore Research: A Historical Analysis," in *The German Language in America*, ed. Glenn G. Gilbert (Austin, TX, 1971), 70-101.



Leroy T. Hopkins

**The Germantown Protest:
Origins of Abolitionism among
the German Residents of Southeastern Pennsylvania**

One of Pennsylvania's greatest resources is its population. Few states can boast the multitude of ethnic groups and cultural heritages that coexist within the commonwealth's boundaries. Frequently unnoticed is the fact that racial and ethnic groups have often shared the same living space. The results of such historic interactions need to be studied. In doing so, perhaps we can develop strategies which will facilitate the peaceful coexistence if not the active cooperation of Pennsylvania's diverse groups.¹

In the following I propose to explore one such historic relationship of a racial and an ethnic group: Afro-Americans and Pennsylvania Germans. Obviously the limits of the present format preclude a truly comprehensive study of this complex topic. Instead, my comments will focus on a historic document whose three-hundredth anniversary falls in 1988: the Germantown Protest. Much has been written about this first protest in the New World against the African slave trade and it seems improbable that anything startlingly new or different could be said about it. However, a "reception history" of the document may perhaps shed some new light on its significance and its importance for German-Black relations after 1688.

In attempting to trace the origins and manifestations of German-Black interactions it is important to place those interactions in the general context of race relations in the commonwealth. Such an undertaking must of necessity thread its way between the Scylla of platitudinous generalities and the Charybdis of anecdotal speculation. Recent commentaries on German-Afro-American attitudes indicate that the truism of monolithic German anti-slavery sentiment does not withstand the acid test of close scrutiny. In the 1985 edition of his *Pennsylvania Germans: A Persistent Minority*, William Parsons characterizes German-Black relations thusly:

Pennsylvania Dutch and blacks lived in close contact in the southern tier of counties in the state. They ignored each other in daily affairs. Virtually no Negroes in Pennsylvania worked as farm labor in the area where Dutch farmers predominated. Few Germans sought employment in the cotton mills, whose black workers were "good at cotton." Pennsylvania Dutch held no animosity toward blacks, as many urban workers of the time did. In fact, to some degree, a feeling of sympathetic understanding existed. The poor German on the same rung of the social ladder as the Negro, often made common cause with him.²

Perhaps unintentionally Parsons delineates an ambivalent relationship in which one group morally sympathizes with another group but socially avoids it.

This ambivalence is particularly manifest in a quote drawn from a nineteenth-century travel book which Parsons cites in order to emphasize the response made by a Black resident of Bethlehem to the question "Are you happy in this half-German state of Pennsylvania?" The answer is a classic example of "puttin' on massuh": "Yes, sir, col[ore]d people are as white as anybody here, if they behave. Col[ore]d people like the Germans, there's no deception with them."³

Implicit in these statements is the imposition of behavioral norms and the recognition that acceptable social behavior is solely determined by strict adherence to those norms. Such circumstances are normal except in this case social acceptability means a willingness to sacrifice. Submersion of one's individuality (spontaneity) and cultural identity are explicit in the equation of "behaving" with becoming as "white as anybody." Blackness in that context can only mean socially unacceptable behavior.

The blatant subservience of this testimony prepares the way for the double entendre of the final statement. One can read it either as "Germans are open and friendly" or as "Germans do not try to disguise their feelings, positive or negative" towards Blacks. In either case these statements from a resident of Bethlehem demonstrate that there are nuances to German-Black relations which have yet to be fully understood or appreciated.

In like manner La Vern J. Rippley has uncovered not fully researched overtones in nineteenth-century German attitudes towards Blacks:

Led by the liberal Forty-eighters, the German press in America prior to the Civil War was closely allied with the cause of abolition. Some of the older German papers, however, made no apologies for their opposition to abolition. At best, they conceded that gradual emancipation of the slaves might prove satisfactory. Often the older papers sided with English-language editors in opposing suffrage for the blacks.⁴

Clearly German-Black relations were and are much more complex than the frequently asserted generality of German opposition to slavery would lead us to believe. Rippley's contrast of forty-eighter and earlier German attitudes towards abolition is an important contribution to this discussion since it forces a clarification and definition of terms. When

one refers to German-Black relations, it is important to be clear about what one means by "German" or, for that matter, "Black" since geographical location and time are important factors in this or any group interaction. German-Black contacts in a nineteenth-century northern farming community would be different than in an eighteenth-century southern city.

This need for differentiation leads us to our historical context and our actual topic—the Germantown Protest. The German migrations to Pennsylvania are a matter of historical record and volumes have been written on the successive waves that followed the initial settlement of 1683. The facts about the Afro-American presence in Pennsylvania, however, bear repeating since it is a history that is still being uncovered and written.

At least four decades before the creation of Germantown, Blacks lived in the Delaware River Valley. They had been brought there by Dutch and Swedish settlers who needed their labor to insure the survival of their colonies.⁵ African slavery had come to the New World shortly after Columbus' final voyage. The ruthless exploitation of the European colonists and the heroic resistance of the conquered Indians necessitated a new source of labor. Africa was chosen as that source by the same colonial powers that sought to divide the New World into spheres of influence.

As a result of Spain's weak infrastructure it was necessary to sell the burgeoning slave trade to a succession of European countries beginning in 1517. The Netherlands was just one of those countries to reap the economic benefits of the *assiento*. It is well known how the human cargo from a Dutch ship was brought to Jamestown in 1619 to begin the process which resulted in the legalization of slavery in the English colonies in the latter third of the seventeenth century.

The arrival of the Quakers in the Delaware Valley changed the status of the enslaved Blacks very little. Like the Spaniards, Dutch, Swedes, and Portuguese before them the Quakers readily accepted the cheap source of labor which the Africans represented. Colonists were difficult to persuade that it was worthwhile to risk their lives and fortunes and come to the wilds of America. The economic advantages of having a literally perpetual supply of cheap labor far outweighed possible moral objections to trading men, women, and children like commodities. In Pennsylvania, as elsewhere, slave labor played an important role in the creation and maintenance of the colonial economy. The growth of the slave trade in Pennsylvania during the 1680s and the arrival of the German settlers set the stage for conflict.

In 1684, just one year after the settlement of Germantown, 150 Africans were reportedly sold in Philadelphia.⁶ These and the majority of African slaves sold into the commonwealth up to the Revolutionary War were brought from Africa via the West Indies. The intermediate stop was necessary to acclimate the Africans as well as to prepare them for the strict discipline expected of them during their lifetime of servitude. The proliferation of African slaves moved four of the Germantown residents, Garret Henderichs, Derick op de Graeff, Francis

Daniell Pastorius, and Abraham op den Graef, to send a protest to the Monthly Meeting held at Richard Warrel's.

In their protest dated 18 April 1688 the signatories outlined their reasons why they were opposed to what they termed the "traffick of men Body." Much has been written about this protest and the Germantown settlers who authored it. A survey of the many articles, essays, and books which have appeared since the late nineteenth century reveals that one article, Hildegard Binder-Johnson's "The Germantown Protest of 1688 against Negro Slavery" attempted to interpret the protest out of its historical context while emphasizing the unique circumstances surrounding its formulation and reception.⁷

The protest was delivered to the Monthly Meeting on 30 April 1688 and then forwarded to the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings in the same year. No action was taken and the document was "lost" until the following statement appeared in the Quaker publication *The Friend* on 13 March 1844: "The testimony of the Friends at Germantown against slavery, sent up to the Yearly Meeting of 1688, has, within the last few days, been discovered."⁸ Therefore we are dealing with rather unique circumstances. The Germantown Protest can only be considered a manifestation of internal discussion since there is no evidence that anyone outside of the Monthly and Yearly Meetings was aware of it. By the nineteenth century when the text was rediscovered, it was useful as a tool to legitimize Quaker leadership in the anti-slavery movement. But what does the protest tell us about German relations with Blacks in the seventeenth century?

Binder-Johnson interprets the protest as a secular statement that uses economic arguments to persuade the Quaker leadership to terminate the slave trade. Her basic hypothesis is that the non-English, Northern European immigrants to Pennsylvania rejected slavery for two reasons. First, slavery was unknown to them especially in its New World manifestation.⁹ Secondly, Pastorius' mission in the New World was to represent the economic interests of the Frankfort Land Company by welcoming new colonists and directing them in a manner so as to insure that the colony would be a financial success.¹⁰ The proliferation of slavery—at least in the view of the protesters—threatened the efforts to attract colonists because, as the text emphatically states:

You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it?¹¹

Binder-Johnson quotes the above passage to support her thesis but a slightly different reading of this and another passage creates a new perspective on the protest.

The sentence "You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing" is a clear statement of a fact which interpreters of the protest to date have not fully appreciated. What Pastorius is referring to here is the European

slave trade. Contrary to Binder-Johnson's assertion, Northern Europeans—indeed, almost all Western Europeans—were acquainted with the African slave trade and some segments profited from it. Slavery existed, of course, during Antiquity but its modern manifestation, European exploitation of Africans, began in the Middle Ages.

There is a growing body of scholarship on African-European interactions and one of the more interesting is Hans Werner Debrunner's *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe*.¹² This kaleidoscopic survey of contacts between Europeans and Africans since the Middle Ages both fascinates and confounds the reader because of its encyclopedic scholarship. Debrunner weaves documented references to Africans in Moorish Spain¹³ and in the entourage of the illustrious Hohenstaufen emperor Friedrich II,¹⁴ together with illustrations of African saints in German cathedrals and reports on Black communities within Europe's major seaports to create a most unusual tapestry of cross-cultural contacts.

Of special interest for our purposes is Debrunner's account of what he terms the "Iberian Centuries," or contacts established by Spain and Portugal with Africa 1450-1650. According to Debrunner the first Africans arrived in Portugal in 1436.¹⁵ They were captives brought to Europe by Prince Henry the Navigator to use in his grand scheme to open trade with Africa. As noted above, circumstance dictated that Spain and Portugal would have to resort to *assientos* or trade agreements with trade associations or other European nations to exploit fully the commerce with Africa which included people and goods. At various times between 1500 and 1750 Holland, France, England, and reportedly the German trading house of Welser benefited from this lucrative trade.¹⁶

Very little has been written about German involvement in the slave trade. Prussia, for example, established trade settlements on the coast of Guinea in 1680 and on the island of Arguin in 1687.¹⁷ Both efforts were short-lived because their proponent, Friedrich Wilhelm, the Great Elector, died in 1688. Debrunner notes that the treaty which transferred the Prussian colonies to Holland supposedly assured Prussia a supply of "court moors" for the amusement of its nobility.¹⁸ According to the British Foreign Office's *Peace Handbook* on German possessions in Africa, the treaty which transferred the holdings of the Brandenburg African Company to the Dutch West Indian Company was signed in 1718; interestingly enough, reference is made to a financial settlement that included "7,200 ducats and 12 negroes."¹⁹

"Court moors" or "Hofmohren" were not an uncommon feature of German or, for that matter, European courts. Alfred Lindner, for example, traces in his article "Die Nachkommen eines gräflichen Kammerröhren der Rokokozeit: Die Baderfamilie Thomas in Greiz"²⁰ the genealogy of a twentieth-century Thuringian family that is a direct descendant of an eighteenth-century court moor named Heinrich Conrad Guinea who served at the court of Reuß-Plauen. In the Hessian State Archives there are also numerous references to court moors, several from the sixteenth century.²¹

Further research is obviously needed on the presence of Africans in the German-speaking regions of Europe. It can, however, be affirmed without reservation that Africans were present at the majority of German courts during the seventeenth century. Consequently, it is unlikely that Pastorius or any member of his party was unacquainted with Africans or the slave trade. Pastorius, as a native of Sommerhausen, was most certainly cognizant of the courts at Fulda, Kassel, and Hanau—all of which had court moors. Dutch involvement in the slave trade during most of the seventeenth century would likewise seem to preclude ignorance of slavery on the part of the Dutch settlers in Germantown. No, it is more likely that a reason for the Germantowners to protest was not so much that slavery was encountered in the New World for the first time but that slavery was being practiced there also.

Too little attention has been paid to the economic side of the protest which Binder-Johnson rightfully emphasizes. The Germantown protesters cautioned that the existence of slavery in the colony would dissuade further immigration. However, since Africans and an expanding slave trade were also to be found in Europe, this warning would seem to lack compelling logic, especially in light of the subsequent events. After the protest had been issued the question of the slave trade and Quaker involvement was submerged in protracted internal discussions that delayed decisive action for almost three generations. Despite repeated petitions from other sources and Quaker unwillingness to resolve a divisive issue and thus risk the sort of permanent political crisis such as that which obtained from the framing of the federal constitution to the outbreak of the Civil War, the predicted interruption in the flow of colonists to Pennsylvania never materialized. Why the German colonists did not avoid Pennsylvania after 1688 is really the point where an interpretation of the Germantown Protest must begin.

Overemphasis of the humanitarian connotations of a protest against slavery has obscured the tangible self-interest embodied in the protest. Why did the Germantown settlers come to the New World? The instructions given to Pastorius by the Frankfort Land Company were in essence a directive to make a profit.²² Slavery would seem to be the ideal construct for a mercantilistic colonization scheme. What better way would there be to maximize profits than to utilize a relatively inexpensive labor supply that would be self-sustaining? Given the economic realities of colonization, opposition to slavery would have to be considered not only utopian but also inimical to the profit motive. The Pastorius-guided protest would seem therefore to contradict the colony's mission.

In many social contexts morality and religion are utopian in that they elicit behavior that conflicts with prevalent social norms. To remain with our example, the abolitionist who opposes slavery on moral or religious grounds is perceived by the slaveholder to be not only a utopian idealist but also a pernicious threat because he seeks to destroy what the slaveholder considers the very foundation of the economic and thus social order. The motivation for the Germantown Protest must be placed in a context other than that of a struggle between moral absolutes. The

very decision not to publicize their protest by petitioning the Yearly Meeting instead of the legislature was an obvious stratagem to avoid confrontation and thus perhaps achieve change without conflict. But what did the Germantowners hope to achieve?

The text of the Protest clearly indicates that the Germantowners objected in principle to what was being done with Blacks and they said so in no uncertain terms:

There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, wch is right & reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of ye body. . . . But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against.²³

What the Germantowners objected to was that servitude was forced upon the Africans. There is no indication that they were opposed to servitude per se or that they were necessarily espousing the cause of the African because they were committed to freedom or integration of the African into colonial society on equal footing with themselves.

If the protest can be used as a measure of German attitudes towards Africans then one finds there the same ethnocentrism and attitude of superiority that generally characterized European attitudes towards Blacks during the Colonial Period.²⁴ Referring to the Africans the protesters noted "Now tho' they are black, we can not conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones."²⁵ Although they plead the golden rule as the basis for coexisting with all men regardless of background or race, the Germantowners clearly recognize a difference between the races. The unusual use of the word "Neger" in a context where one would expect "moor" or "Ethiopian" because of Pastorius' German background²⁶ and the astute comparison that in "Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black Colour"²⁷ are clear indications of the Germantowners' awareness of the interdependency of color as a racial distinction and economic exploitation. Remarkably the group around Pastorius is able to transcend the popular prejudice of the day and plead the case of the African on the very pragmatic grounds of self-interest.

In condemning the practice of slavery the Germantowners prophesy one of its possible consequences:

If once these slaves, (:wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters & mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom; as you have to keep them slaves?²⁸

The Germantowners suggest that slavery may not only prove dangerous to the slaveholders in the sense that it puts them and their families at jeopardy to suffer retribution from the slaves but that ultimately Quaker willingness to adhere to non-violence could be put to the test. These are, of course, hypothetical arguments which, nevertheless, are not without their logic; indeed, Pennsylvania's notorious Black Codes of the eighteenth century are most certainly prefigured here.²⁹

Another motive for the Germantown Protest was a much less hypothetical situation: the survival and development of the Germantown economy. Unfortunately very little research has been done on the impact which slavery had on the development of free labor in seventeenth century Pennsylvania. The Germantowners were primarily artisans and it is difficult to assess what impact the Quaker use of slaves had on the burgeoning Germantown economy. A petition given to the Pennsylvania Assembly on 3 February 1707 holds perhaps a clue to the difficulties which the Germantowners either experienced or predicted in 1688:

A Petition of several Freemen, Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia, complaining of the Want of Employment, and Lowness of Wages, occasioned by the Number of Negroes belonging to some of the Inhabitants of the said City, and others, who being hired out to work by the Day, take away the Employment of the Petitioners, to their great Discouragement; and praying that Provision for Restraint of so many Negroes as are at present employed be made by the House, was read, and ordered to be read again.³⁰

At this point it is difficult to say whether or not the Germantowners faced or expected a similar dilemma. However, if one reads the Germantown Protest as a document of protest against unfair economic disadvantage then the subsequent interactions of Germans and Blacks before the Revolutionary War are more plausible and less contradictory.

It is indisputable that Germans were slaveholders—not just in Pennsylvania but also in the South. Equally factual is German support for the abolition movement in its various stages. Rippley is not the first to comment on the variety of German responses to the Afro-American presence. In the 1850s the *New York Tribune*, a staunch abolition supporter, devoted several articles to schisms in the German-American community because of the slavery issue, especially regarding its spread to the newly-opened territories.³¹ Likewise in 1870 Cincinnati's *Der deutsche Pionier* published an article on the same phenomenon and titled it characteristically "Deutsche Sklavenhalter und germanisierte Neger."³²

Binder-Johnson closes her discussion of the Germantown Protest by citing figures from the 1790 census. In so doing she reduces the German anti-slavery impulse to a numbers' game. Irish-Americans owned 6,578 slaves in 1790. Scotch-Americans owned 27,570 in contrast to the English and Welsh who owned 258,684 slaves. By comparison, German-Americans owned 3,079.³³ Since Germans owned fewer slaves they

were obviously the strongest supporters of abolition. Binder-Johnson obviously ascribes to the simplistic notion that the statistics of 1790 are causally related to the protest one hundred years before.

The fallacy in this logic is apparent. By linking the protest and the census, Binder-Johnson overlooks the practice of manumission which became widespread in the eighteenth century. Also she neglects to examine where the German slaveholders were concentrated. Were they in the North or South? What religious affiliation, if any, did these slaveholding Germans entertain? How many slaves were freed by Germans during the eighteenth century, not how many Germans had slaves in 1790 would seem to be a more appropriate question in this context.

Similarly, if one can perceive the Germantown Protest as a pragmatic declaration of common sense doctrine, then it would perhaps be possible to deal more consistently with the many apparent contradictions in German-Afro-American interactions. Then perhaps we can understand how the Germantowners could protest against African slavery in 1688, but Cornelius Bom, who joined the settlers in Germantown, could write to Rotterdam in 1684 "I have no regular servants except one Negro whom I had bought."³⁴ We could then also better appreciate the Moravian experience in the West Indies and Bethlehem³⁵ or understand the relationship between George Michael Weiss, minister of the Reformed Calvinist faith in Montgomery County, and his slave Gideon Moor who caused quite a furor by suing the congregation in the 1760s for ownership of land he thought was given to him by his master.³⁶ Finally we can then perhaps reconcile the fact that Germantown which was the site of the historic protest was also the locale where less than a century later on 24 March 1766 the following resolution was passed:

It was unanimously Resolved by the said Inhabitants That as a separate lot of land of sufficient largeness situate on the Northwest side of Bowman's Lane in Lower Germantown, has several years ago by the whole Germantown Inhabitants been purchased on purpose for and as a separate and distinct Burying ground for all Strangers, and negroes and mulattoes as die in any part of Germantown;—

That therefore henceforth no Negroe or Mulattoes shall be buried or suffered to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground nor on any part thereof on any pretence whatsoever,—nor any stranger but what by the overseers of the said Burying Ground for the time being shall in their judgment and discretion shall be judged suitable and be admitted to be buried in the said upper Germantown Burying Ground.³⁷

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Notes

¹ Special address delivered at the Twelfth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Millersville University of Pennsylvania, 28-30 April 1988. All

quotations from the Germantown Protest have been brought into accord with the orthography and punctuation of the original document as reproduced after page 220 of this volume of the *Yearbook* [eds.].

² William Parsons, *Pennsylvania Germans: A Persistent Minority*, new ed. (Collegeville: Chestnut Books, 1985), 205.

³ *Ibid.*; quoted from Johan Georg Kohl, *Travels in Canada and Through the States of New York and Pennsylvania* (London: G. Manwaring, 1861).

⁴ La Vern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1984), 163f.

⁵ Cf. Edward Raymond Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania, 1639-1861*, repr. (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 1f.

⁶ Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Scribner, 1976), 63.

⁷ Hildegard Binder-Johnson, "The Germantown Protest of 1688 against Negro Slavery," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 65, no. 2 (April 1941): 145-56.

⁸ *The Friend: A Religious and Literary Journal* 17, no. 16 (13 March 1844), 125.

⁹ Binder-Johnson, 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 150f.

¹¹ Quoted in Binder-Johnson, 152.

¹² Hans Werner Debrunner, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe: A History of Africans in Europe before 1918* (Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien, 1979).

¹³ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 18-20.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁶ Rolando Mellafe, *La Introducción de la Esclavitud negra en Chile* (Santiago de Chile: Universidad de Chile, 1959), 19.

¹⁷ U.K. Foreign Office, Historical Section, *Peace Handbooks 18: German African Possessions (Late)* (London: HMSO, 1920), 15.

¹⁸ Debrunner, 96f.

¹⁹ U.K. Foreign Office, 16.

²⁰ *Genealogie: Deutsche Zeitschrift für Familienkunde* 6, no. 6 (November/December 1963).

²¹ E.g., a tailor's bill for a moor's clothing sent to Count Philipp Ludwig von Hanau dated 1578 (1 C Staatsobershaupt, 6 Hofstaat 63, GK 86/27836, Hessian State Archives, Marburg/Lahn).

²² Binder-Johnson, 148.

²³ Louis M. Waddell, ed., "The Germantown Protest," in *Unity from Diversity* (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania. Historical and Museum Commission, 1980), 37.

²⁴ Cf. Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968).

²⁵ Waddell, 37.

²⁶ Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1889) states unequivocally that *Neger* is a borrowing from the French during the eighteenth century when the grammarian Adelung noted its usage by contemporaries such as Kant, Herder, Schiller, and Wieland.

²⁷ Waddell, 37.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ W. E. B. DuBois and A. Leon Higginbotham provide the best interpretation of these laws in their books *The Philadelphia Negro* and *In the Matter of Color*, resp. It can, of course, be cogently argued—as both authors do—that the extremely restrictive laws imposed on Black Pennsylvanians reflected a general fear not only of slave revolt but also of the very presence of Blacks in Pennsylvania society.

³⁰ Louis M. Waddell, ed., "Free Laborers Object to Black Slaves," in *Unity from Diversity*, 38.

³¹ Cf. *New York Tribune*, "The Germans and Slavery" (22 January 1851), p. 4, col. 3. and (24 January 1851), p. 5, col. 5.

³² Otto Niemeyer, "Deutsche Sklavenhalter und germanisierte Neger," *Der deutsche Pionier* 2 (1870-71), 280-84.

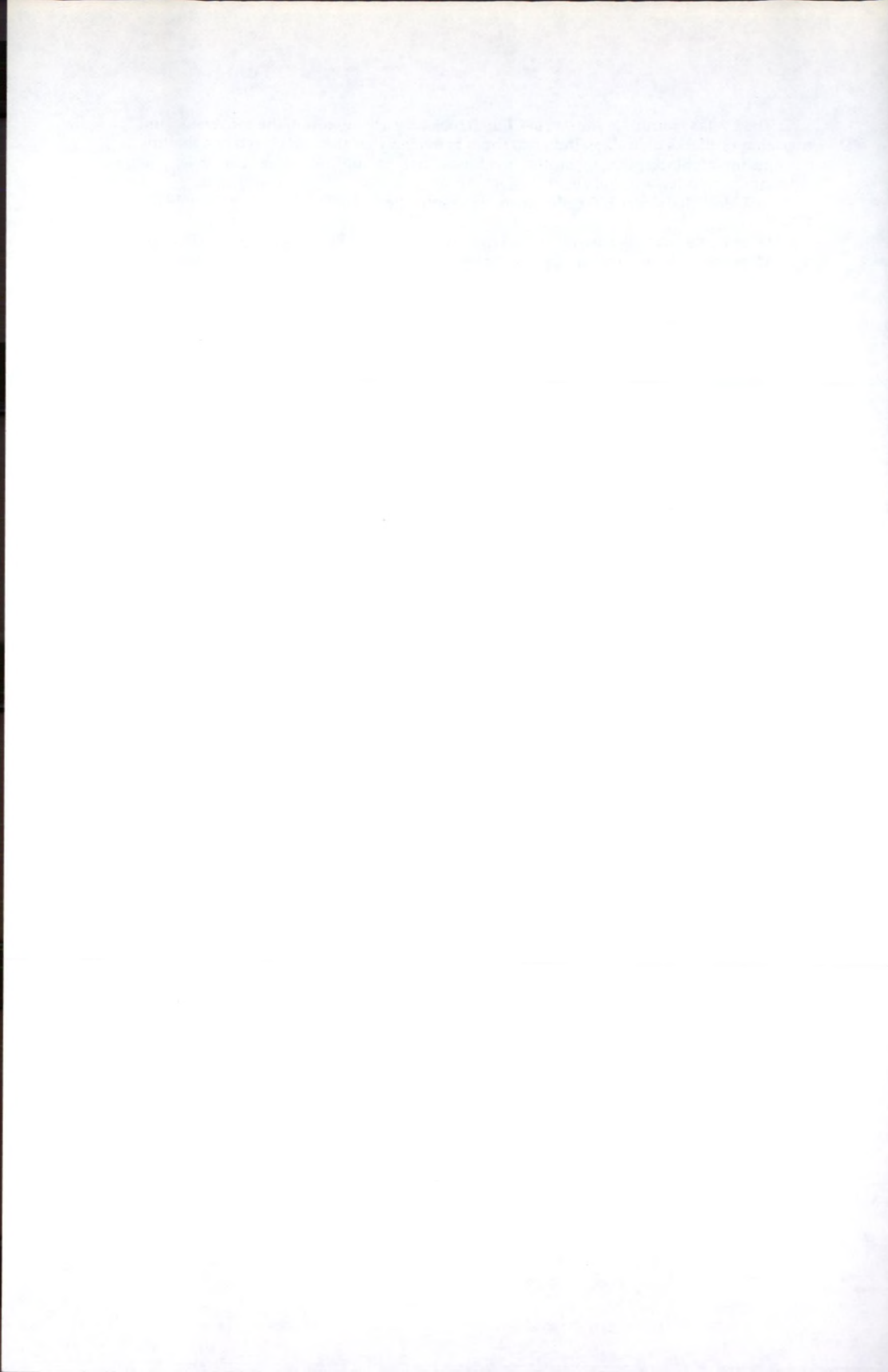
³³ Binder-Johnson, 155.

³⁴ In Samuel W. Pennypacker, "The Settlement of Germantown," *Pennsylvania Magazine* 4 (1880), 25f.

³⁵ The Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church took an early interest in the conversion and education of Blacks as well as Indians. There is evidence in the church records that the relationship of Blacks to the brotherhood was not as untroubled or benevolent as historians would have us believe.

³⁶ "Gideon Moor: Slave, Freedman and Litigant," *Penn Germania* 13, no. 5 (May 1912), 364-68.

³⁷ Peter D. Keyser, "A History of the Upper Germantown Burying-Ground," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 8 (1884), 419.



Donald F. Durnbaugh

The Sauer Family: An American Printing Dynasty

One of the earliest appraisals of the printer Christopher Sauer of eighteenth-century Germantown appeared in William McCulloch's emendations to the pioneer *History of Printing in America*, written and published in 1810 by Isaiah Thomas. Much of McCulloch's additional material, which he wrote between 1812 and 1815, was incorporated in the second edition of Thomas' work (1874). Following a passage in which McCulloch sketched the remarkable ingenuity of Sauer—a master of more than a score of crafts and trades—he concluded with Sauer's achievements as a printer:

To the last [trade] he was particularly attached; as an evidence of which he desired on his death bed, that the printing business might never go out of the family of his descendants, but that one or other of the lineage should acquire and practice the art.¹

Sauer was fortunate in his dying request. His descendants did follow in his printing footsteps, even well into this century. They hardly matched his achievements in printing, with the possible exception of his like-named son, but all the same they made stalwart contributions of their own. This article will briefly trace the course of the lives and works of the Sauer family of printers. It is unfortunate that a complete story of the family has not yet been written, although 1988 marks the two-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the inception of the Sauer press in Germantown.

It is not the case that the achievements of the Sauers as printers have been ignored. A century ago the scholar Oswald Seidensticker could appropriately complain that insufficient attention had been given to the Sauers, father and son. But now matters stand differently. A recently compiled bibliography, which includes primary sources and secondary treatments of the Sauers, lists more than 560 items. A popular biography of the first two Sauers was published in 1981, but still lacking is an analytical treatment that considers the content of Sauer imprints,

provides meticulous bibliographical detail, and places the extended family in the context of their times.²

Christopher Sauer I

The founder of the press and progenitor of the dynasty, Christopher Sauer (originally Johann Christoph Sauer, 1695–1758), arrived with his wife and son in Philadelphia in 1724. First settling in Germantown, Sauer later tried farming in present-day Lancaster County but returned to Germantown in 1731. A tailor in Germany, he practiced other trades in America. By 1739 he was considered a "wise and much esteemed man" in the land, carrying on at least six trades as a surgeon-apothecary, clockmaker, woodturner, glazier, lampblack manufacturer, and printer in the large, two-storied stone house he erected on the Germantown Road.³

From the beginning, he was concerned with the welfare of his fellow immigrants. One means to this end was providing them with edifying reading material; he early sought such from fellow Radical Pietists in Germany, such as Andreas Gross in Frankfurt/Main. It was through these contacts that Sauer received the type fonts which enabled him to begin his printshop in 1738, though he used his own ingenuity to construct the actual printing press. His explicitly stated purpose was to use the medium of printing to provide helpful reading matter for the isolated German settlers following the motto: "For the glory of God and my neighbor's good."

Sauer considered that an almanac would be an ideal first publication, because the useful compilation could contain "various needful and edifying theological things, and also household remedies for all kinds of sicknesses." The Sauer-initiated almanac became very popular among the German-speaking element in the colonies; it was published far into the nineteenth century, long after the dissolution of the Germantown printing establishment. Its contents included the typical calendars and important dates, but went beyond that to feature recipes for home remedies, instruction in writing, and popular histories.⁴

Despite Sauer's clearly stated reluctance, he was persuaded to begin publishing a newspaper, announced at its start in 1739 as a quarterly. Successively, it appeared on a monthly, biweekly, and eventually weekly basis, with changing titles, finally known after 1762 as *Die Germantowner Zeitung*. Astonishingly, the price remained the same during the increase in frequency of publication, as Sauer (and later his son) explained that growing income from ads met the increased costs.⁵ Although the Sauer family prospered through their printing enterprise, their motivation was never solely commercial; both men were primarily dedicated to the welfare of their fellows and to their religious ideals.

It was, of course, in 1743 with Sauer's issuance of the first Bible published in the American colonies in a European language that he earned his place in history. First announced in 1742, it took fifteen months of exhausting labor on the hand-press to print the twelve hundred quarto-sized copies of the German Bible, which basically

followed Martin Luther's translation. Only four pages could be impressed at one time, after which the type had to be redistributed and the next pages set up. Sauer asked for contributions to help defray the substantial costs involved, so that the price could be kept low. The truly poor were to be charged nothing at all. Thus it was that the "largest work that had [yet] issued from any press" in Pennsylvania (according to Isaiah Thomas) was undertaken and completed. It was to be surpassed in that honor during the colonial period of American history only by the *Martyrs Mirror* of the Ephrata society, released five years later.⁶

It was through Sauer's publishing activity that his substantial influence in society was exercised; at times it was held to be pivotal for the course of Pennsylvania politics. The downfall of the touted Charity School scheme in the mid-1750s was hastened by his voiced suspicions of the concealed political intent beneath the ostensibly philanthropic undertaking. It was also Sauer whose publicity on the problems within struggling colonial Lutheran and Reformed congregations made him unpopular with their clergy. Sauer's vocal critique of the scandals surrounding mass transportation across the Atlantic of immigrants and redemptioners played a substantial role in the eventual reform of that enterprise. As an outspoken pacifist, he was considered pernicious by military officers and by political activists. Important as these themes are, they must be passed over here without further elaboration. Fortunately, the topics are still drawing careful scholarly attention.

These activities were motivated by his religious stance as a Radical Pietist, concerned for the welfare of the community. Radical Pietism shared the zeal for reform of church life of the broader Pietist movement, but went beyond the latter to condemn all organized religious activities. True religion, for the Radical Pietist, was an individual matter, and was to be judged by the character of each person and by each person's activities. Thus Radical Pietists like Sauer were intensely religious and keenly moral but at the same time fiercely critical of the lapses of institutional life in church and state.⁷

Sauer's son wrote an obituary of his father in 1758 which clearly spelled out his intent to carry on the Germantown printshop in the same spirit as the father:

On September 25 the old and well-known printer Christopher Sauer departed this temporal life in the sixty-fourth year of this life, after living in this country for thirty-four years. He was always kind and friendly to friend and foe. He boasted neither of his skilfulness nor of his mind, but rather remained humble. He at all times was concerned for the good and the freedom of this country. . . . I would rather, as heretofore, earn my humble bread by my bookbinding trade and be freed of the burden of the printshop, which would be much easier. Yet, as long as there is no one to whom I could entrust the printshop, I find myself obligated for the sake of God and my neighbor to continue. . . . For it is to the honor of God and the well-being of this country that this printshop has been dedicated. And I will seek always to maintain this aim.⁸

Christopher Sauer II

Some poorly informed authors have collapsed the two Christopher Sauers, father and son, into one person. Although this has made for unfortunate confusion, the mistake is understandable; not only are the names identical, the approach and styles were alike. The son undertook the unbroken continuation of the publishing program of his parent. Though perhaps not quite as universally gifted as the father, Christopher Sauer II mastered all aspects of the printing trade. McCulloch, writing as a craftsman, described the culmination of Sauer's mastery as occurring shortly before he turned over the press to his sons in 1777:

At this period he manufactured books entire and throughout: the type, the paper, the lampblack, the ink, the binding were all executed within himself, or by his own immediate workmen. Indeed, he could perform each of these branches himself, and some of them to great perfection. He appeared to possess the genius, in this respect, of his progenitor.⁹

The particular aspect of printing in which Sauer II surpassed his father was in typesetting. Although the father occasionally cast type to replace broken characters as needed in the course of printing, it was only under the son's direction that a large-scale type foundry was developed. This won commendation in 1775 from a Pennsylvania provincial conference responding to the appeals of the Continental Congress to encourage domestic industry. Sauer II proceeded by enlisting two European-born associates in the enterprise, Justus Fuchs (Fox) (1736-1805) and Jacob Bay (ca. 1735-?); both of these men were ingenious workmen and went on to run their own foundries. They stayed, however, in close association with their original employer.

Sauer II printed two more editions of the Germantown Bible, the second in 1763 and the third in 1776. For the latter he only used type cast in America. In fact, he sought to have enough type cast to maintain a standing font for the quarto Bible. Sauer invested the substantial amount of £3,000 in the project, which demanded, for example, seventy-two thousand alone of the lowercase letter *e*. Unfortunately, this ambitious enterprise, along with much else, fell victim to the confiscation of the press by the revolutionary American government in 1778.¹⁰

Another publishing breakthrough was the initiation of what has been called the first religious magazine in America. This was the *Geistliches Magazien*, issued irregularly in two volumes from 1764 to 1772. (Issue number twelve of the second volume contains a note: "Printed with the first type ever cast in America.") Sauer's motive for beginning this venture was characteristic of the man. He noticed that the income from the sale of the 1763 edition of the Bible was greater than anticipated. Not wishing to take profit from printing the Bible, and eager to provide nurturing material, he announced that he would distribute free copies of the new periodical as supplements to the Germantown newspaper. Translations of religious essays, sermons, and original poetry made up the bulk of the content. Of particular interest are the compositions by the famous schoolmaster Christopher Dock, including

his two hundred rules of conduct for children and two long hymns.¹¹ It was Sauer II who printed Dock's masterly guidelines for schooling, but they were written originally at the behest of the father. This initiative demonstrates that the older Sauer was not opposed to all forms of education, although he was scathingly critical of higher education for its inducement, in his eyes, to pride and vanity. His son, Sauer II, was noted as a founder and supporter of the Germantown academy, serving for many years on its board and donating largely to it. He also continued the philanthropic bent of his father with regard to immigrants, and was widely respected as a public-spirited citizen of irreproachable reputation. It was said about him: "No medicine, not even a dose of jalap, was [considered] effectual unless purchased at Sower's apothecary shop. No almanac was correct in time and weather, and no newspaper spoke the truth, unless published by Sower."¹²

It thus came as a shock for many when Sauer II was plunged into misery akin to that of Job of the Old Testament in the course of the American Revolution. As Seidensticker expressed it,

Branded as a traitor, he was driven from house and home, and robbed of his fortune, even to the last penny. How true it is that in the maddening whirl of destruction, under the rough rule of war, the best and most innocent and inoffensive are crushed, and trodden under foot.¹³

The reference is to the condemnation of Sauer as a Tory by the Revolutionary authorities and the total confiscation of his extensive real estate and possessions.

This is not the place to trace in detail the misfortunes experienced by Sauer II in the Revolution or to attempt to assess motivation and blame. As an elder among the Brethren (Dunkers), Sauer attempted a neutral position in the conflict; like them, he was not persuaded that rebellion against the monarchy that had granted them religious toleration and economic independence was legitimate. It is also probable that a political stance which had often put him into opposition to the Presbyterian bloc that came to lead the Revolution had left some scores to settle. Sauer also took a fateful step in 1777 when he left Germantown, the scene of bitter fighting, to find refuge for a time with three of his children in Philadelphia during the occupation of the city by the British army. Shortly before this, he had turned over his printshop to his sons Christopher Sower III and Peter Sower. Both threw in their lot with the British; as known Loyalists they had sought shelter behind the British lines. Another son, Daniel, had been given the papermaking mill, but this also was lost, despite his best efforts, in the thorough process of confiscation of Sauer's property. These events mark the end of the Germantown printshop of the Sauers, but not the end of printing by the Sauer family.¹⁴

Christopher Sower III and Peter Sower

The two sons of Sauer II re-established themselves as printers in Philadelphia under British control and soon became notorious because

of the partisan editorial content of their newspaper, *Der Pennsylvanische Staats-Courier, oder einlaufende Woechentliche Nachrichten* (1777-78). There was thus no other option for them than to leave Philadelphia with the withdrawal of the army in June 1778 and take up residence in New York. In that city Peter (1759-85) dropped out of publishing activity to study medicine; he later died as a victim of yellow fever while a physician on Cat Island in the West Indies.¹⁵

Christopher Sower III (1754-99), when not in attendance at army headquarters in New York or engaged in intelligence activities, continued with his printing. Along with two others, he issued another Loyalist-leaning newspaper, *The New-York Evening Post* (1782-83). His appeal to Germans in Pennsylvania and neighboring provinces (*Zuschrift*), written there, was one of the hardest-hitting polemics of the bitter war.

At war's end, he took his family to London to press his appeal for compensation from the Commission for American Claims. Success in this led to his resettlement in 1785 in St. John, New Brunswick, where he was appointed the king's printer and deputy postmaster-general for the province, holding the status of a brevet colonel. There he published *The Royal Gazette*, engaged in acrimonious political disputes, pursued petty professional vendettas, and sought to increase his personal fortune. At last wearying of this, he visited his brother Samuel in Maryland; while in the process of arranging for his family to join him there he died suddenly in 1799.¹⁶

Samuel Sower

The youngest son of Christopher Sauer II, Samuel Sower (1767-1820) was a persistent and ultimately successful participant in the publishing industry. In 1790 he set up a printshop in Chestnut Hill, north of Germantown. He had published a newspaper, *Die Chestnuthiller Wochenschrift*, and some eleven books by 1794 when he shifted his place of operation briefly to Philadelphia (where he also produced a newspaper), before moving permanently to Baltimore in 1795. His paper there was encumbered with the title *Der Neue Unpartheyische Baltimore Bote und Marylander Staats-Register*, possibly indicating that it incorporated earlier publications.

He was a publisher in Baltimore until 1804, at which time he focused his attention on type founding. When he secured the equipment of Justus Fuchs in 1806, he was able to bring back into the family some of the tools formerly belonging to his father. Sower was very active in his business, which was substantially funded by a silent partner. He won fame by casting the type font for the first Bible printed in diamond type, an extremely small size, previously considered impossible. His nephew, Brook Watson Sower I, the son of Christopher Sower III, worked for him as a printer. (The nephew had a son and grandson, Brook Watson Sower II and Brook Watson Sower III, who also pursued the printing trade. Other grandsons of Christopher Sower III were printers and newspaper publishers.)¹⁷

David Sower and Descendants

Although the fourth son of Christopher Sauer II did not become as well known in the printing guild as did Samuel, the achievement of David Sower (1764–1835) was not small. In 1799 he initiated the first newspaper in Norristown, Pennsylvania, *The Norristown Gazette* (later *The Norristown Herald*), which became one of the best known of local papers in Pennsylvania and still exists. It was also through David's family that the longest-lived line of the Sower printing dynasty continued.

In 1808 David Sower turned over the Norristown paper to his son Charles. This proprietorship continued until 1812. In that year, Charles Sower (1789–1820) printed an article describing the inept behavior of a militia company in Philadelphia. Members of the Irish-led militia took umbrage, traveled to Norristown, and wrecked the printshop to restore their offended military dignity. The upshot was that Charles sold the paper and moved to Maryland, where he issued *The Star of Fredericktown* for the short time before he died in 1820.

Back in Norristown, his brother David Sower, Jr. (1794–1862), repurchased the *Herald* in 1816 and built up the enterprise most energetically. He decided to sell it in 1834, and proceeded to develop a bookstore. An aggressive publisher as well, he was noted for a popular pocket lawyer (a compilation of useful state laws) that went through many editions, a music book which innovated through seven distinct characters for the seven musical notes, and other saleable imprints.¹⁸

The fifth generation of Sauers to enter the printing trade appeared in 1842 when David Sower, Jr., turned over his bookstore to his son Charles G. Sower (1821–1902), who had worked with his father in the Norristown bookstore for six years. Seeking larger things, Charles G. Sower expanded the bookstore business to Philadelphia in 1844. He then sold his interest in the Norristown store to his brother Frank in 1850, in order to concentrate on the city business. This went well, under a series of different names to incorporate the names of the junior partners, and the prosperous business was renamed the Christopher Sower Company in 1888. Sower and his partners were not limited to selling books; instead they became quite active in educational publishing. In the American centennial celebration held in Philadelphia in 1876, the Sower firm won several awards for its schoolbooks, as it did in another international conference held in Paris the next year.

Charles G. Sower was not only a successful publisher and book-seller; he also took a keen interest in the history of his family. His published works in this regard included an ingenious genealogical chart (1877) which presented the first checklist of the printed works of the first two Sauers. The chart identifies twenty-one printers among the first Sauer's descendants, not counting several others who worked in related trades. Charles G. Sower amassed a large number of Sauer imprints in his collection of rare books, many of which he deposited in the Library Company of Philadelphia.¹⁹

Conclusion

A complete story of the Sauer printing dynasty would also include the work of that large number of apprentices taken on by the first two Sauers in their Germantown printshop, a number of whom went on to become printers in their own right. An often told anecdote involving one of them, Gotthardt Armbruster, sheds light on the unselfish qualities of the Sauers. In 1748 Sauer I printed an announcement of Armbruster's intent to begin publication of a German-language newspaper in Philadelphia. Sauer not only encouraged his readers to subscribe to his competitor's paper, he also "begged the dilatory and dishonest subscribers who did not pay him for their papers" that they not serve Armbruster as they had him. At one point Sauer II warned subscribers who had not paid for many years that they should not take it amiss if they received a note reminding them to pay up.²⁰

In 1988, two-and-one-half centuries since Johann Christoph Sauer took the brave step of issuing his first publication, we can look back with appreciation and amazement at the man who began this printing dynasty. Not all will accept his religious posture as a separatist, his militant pacifism, or his political stance. But all should agree that in this "wise and much esteemed man" we see a man of integrity, of genius, and of lasting historical importance. His achievements cut across many fields and have won him lasting fame; still, the lasting lesson he leaves us is the impact that stubborn honesty and concern for the welfare of others can make in a divided society. Many of these same qualities can be identified in his descendants, an unusual number of whom became printers themselves. The story of the entire family deserves attention.

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Notes

¹ "William McCulloch's Additions to Thomas's History of Printing," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 21 (April 1921): 89-171. This was largely incorporated in Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America with a Biography of Printers and an Account of Newspapers*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the second edition (New York: Weathervane Books, 1970); the Sauer/Sower material is found on pages 28-31, 405-22, and elsewhere.

² Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Druckerfamilie Saur," in *Bilder aus der Deutsch-Pennsylvanischen Geschichte* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1885), reprinted in Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, eds., *The German Language Press of the Americas* (Munich: K. G. Saur, 1980), 3:167-229; Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., "Bibliography of the Sauer Family," (unpublished manuscript, 19 December 1987); Stephen L. Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers: Courageous Printers Who Defended Religious Freedom in Early America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1981); Armin Brandt, *Bau deinen Altar auf fremder Erde: Die Deutschen in Amerika—300 Jahre Germantown* (Stuttgart-Degerloch: Seewald, 1983), 151-55. Brief articles on members of the Sauer family are included in *The Brethren Encyclopedia* (Philadelphia and Oak Brook, IL: 1983-84), 1145-49; see also Anna Kathryn Oller, "Christopher Saur, Colonial Printer: A Study of the Publications of the Press, 1738-1958" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1963). A model for what is needed for Sauer studies is C. William Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing, 1728-1766: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1974).

³ Edward W. Hocker, *The Sower Printing House of Colonial Times* (Norristown: Pennsylvania German Society, 1948) and "The Founding of the Sower Press," *Germantown History* 2, no. 6 (1938): 137-55.

⁴ On the almanacs see, among others, Clair G. Frantz, "The Religious Teachings of the German Almanacs Published by the Sauers in Colonial Pennsylvania" (Ed.D. diss., Temple University, 1955); Russell W. Gilbert, "The Almanac in Pennsylvania German Homes," *Susquehanna University Studies* 2 (March 1944): 360-76 and "Sower's Almanac as an Advertising Medium," *American-German Review* 15, no. 1 (1948): 9-12.

⁵ Douglas C. McMurtrie, *A History of Printing in the United States*, vol. 2, *Middle & South Atlantic States* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 68-78 (originally printed in 1932); Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower, Sr., 1694-1758* (Philadelphia: Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, 1943), 3-4, 14; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 25-33.

⁶ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 407; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 37-44.

⁷ The most thorough discussion of these topics is in William R. Steckel, "Pietist in Colonial Pennsylvania: Christopher Sauer, Printer, 1738-1758" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1949); a recent account is in Longenecker, *The Christopher Sauers*. See also Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); Alan W. Tulley, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Early America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 107 (1983): 491-536; Marianne S. Wokeck, "A Tide of Alien Tongue: The Flow and Ebb of German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1683-1776" (Ph.D. diss., Temple University, 1983). On Radical Pietism, see F. Ernest Stoeffler, *German Pietism During the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973) and *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity*, ed. F. Ernest Stoeffler (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1976).

⁸ Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1967), 378-80.

⁹ "McCulloch's Additions," 151.

¹⁰ Thomas, *History of Printing*, 28-31; Charles Nichols, "Justus Fox: A German Printer of the Eighteenth Century," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 25 (1915): 55-69; Sinclair Hamilton, *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers, 1670-1870* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

¹¹ Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 74-75; Gerald C. Studer, *Christopher Dock, Colonial Schoolmaster* (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1967), 142, 159-71.

¹² Studer, *Christopher Dock*, 135-54; "McCulloch's Additions," 150.

¹³ From an address by Oswald Seidensticker to the Pionier Verein of Philadelphia, 26 May 1881, quoted in Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower, Printer, of Germantown* (Philadelphia: author, 1887).

¹⁴ The most complete recent description of these events is Willi Paul Adams, "The Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution," in *The Press and the American Revolution*, eds. Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1980), 151-228. See also Durnbaugh, *Colonial America*, 377-405, and Anne M. Ousterhout, *A State Divided: Opposition in Pennsylvania to the American Revolution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1987).

¹⁵ James O. Knauss, "Christopher Saur the Third," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 41, part 1 (1931); Adams, "German-language Press;" Alexander Waldenrath, "The German Language Newspapers of Pennsylvania During the American Revolution," *German-American Studies* 6 (Fall 1973): 43-56; Karl J. R. Arndt, "German-American Broadside and Imprints from the Time of the American Revolution," in *German Language Press*, eds. Arndt and Olson, 3:45-91; Timothy M. Barnes, "Loyalist Newspapers of the American Revolution, 1767-1783," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, n.s., 83 (1973): 217-40.

¹⁶ Carl Van Doren, *Secret History of the American Revolution* (New York: Macmillan, 1941); J. Russell Harper, "Christopher Sower, King's Printer and Loyalist," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 14 (1955): 67-109; W. G. McFarland, *New Brunswick Bibliography* (St. John, NB: Sun Printing Co., 1895), 73-74.

¹⁷ John J. MacFarlane, "History of Early Chestnut Hill," in *Philadelphia History* (Philadelphia: City Historical Society of Philadelphia, 1927), 3:115-17; Rachel A. Minick, ed., *A History of Printing in Maryland, 1791-1800* (Baltimore: Enoch Pratt Free Library, 1949), 99-110; Roger P. Bristol, ed., *Maryland Imprints, 1801-1810* (Charlottesville: Univer-

sity of Virginia Press, 1953); George G. Keidel, *The Earliest German Newspapers of Baltimore* (Washington, DC: author, 1927), Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 120-23.

¹⁸ Moses Auge, "David Sower: The Sower Family," in *Lives of Eminent Dead and Biographical Notices of Prominent Living Citizens of Montgomery County, Pa.* (Norristown: author, 1879), 388-401; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 115-18.

¹⁹ Charles G. Sower, "The Sower Publications," *The Pennsylvania German* 2 (1901): 89-93; Hocker, *Sower Printing House*, 119-20; *Who Was Who in America* (Chicago: Marquis, 1943), 1: 1158.

²⁰ Oswald Seidensticker, "Die deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungspressen während des vorigen Jahrhunderts," *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* 1 (1887): 276ff., reprinted in Arndt and Olson, *German Language Press*, 3: 417.

Brent O. Peterson

The "Political" and the German-American Press

The classic accounts of the German-American press attempt to explain its role by examining the manifest political content of German newspapers published in the United States; they ask, for example, what stand did the editors take on the question of slavery or America's entry into World War I? This kind of analytical framework ignores both popular journals like *Die Abendschule*, a weekly published in St. Louis from 1854 to 1940, whose fare was a mixture of serialized fiction, travelogues, and human interest stories, as well as the literature that invariably appeared in a special section of the overtly political journals. Using two stories published in *Die Abendschule* in 1880 as examples, I want to reexamine conventional notions of the apolitical function of literature using recent theoretical developments in the field of popular literature or, as it is known in the context of German literary studies, *Trivalliteratur*.¹ One question that can be answered in the process is whether *Die Abendschule* was merely "Ein deutsches Familienblatt für Belehrung und Unterhaltung," as its subtitle claimed, or if the literature it contained fulfilled what Jochen Schulte-Sasse has termed the "socio-psychological function of ideologically supporting readers' interpretive schemes or identities."² This article contends that only by expanding our notion of the political to include the social reproduction of norms and values within the aesthetic realm, while still looking at popular literature in its cultural, historical, and economic context, can we develop the framework necessary to assess the broad impact of the German-American press, not just its editorial positions.

In his history of *The German-Language Press in America*, Carl Wittke characterizes German-language newspapers at the turn of the century as follows: "The only distinctive feature of the German press, compared with typical American dailies, was the serial story and the section devoted to belles-lettres, known as the *feuilleton*."³ Aside from the apparently too obvious fact that German-American newspapers were printed in German and therefore provided their readers with a linguistic link to Europe at the same time as they helped shape a distinctive

German identity in the United States, the remark is significant for the conceptual scheme it reveals at the heart of Wittke's work. For if the novels, stories, and poems published in the German-American press are its one distinctive feature, one would expect an exhaustive analysis of their content and function. Instead, Wittke treats literature as an extraneous filler, whose sole purpose was to persuade readers to buy a paper in the hope that they would also read its editorial content—or, at least, browse through the advertisements for patent medicines and steamship tickets that were the real reason for the existence of a commercial press. Here Wittke carries on the tradition begun a generation earlier by the Chicago sociologist Robert Park, whose pioneering book, *The Immigrant Press and its Control*, contains but a single reference to the literature published in the foreign-language press in the United States: "The peasants [who comprised the majority of immigrants in Park's view] are sentimental; the editor prints poetry for them in the vernacular. He fills the paper with cheap fiction and writes loud-sounding editorials, double-leaded, so they will be easily read."⁴ The real content of the immigrant press is thus reduced to what is overtly political, and politics' relationship to the rest of the paper is merely coincidental, except when advertisers attempt to intrude.⁵

By examining the political positions espoused by various papers, both Wittke and Park hope to explain how readers were influenced by specific editorial content. For example, after a lengthy discussion of various election issues seen through the eyes of the German-American press, Wittke concludes: "In Wisconsin the Germans voted for Hayes in 1876 largely because their newspapers had convinced them that he was sound on financial matters."⁶ Studies of German-Americans in general, and of the German-American press in particular, abound with such statements, and unfortunately, both recent immigration history and the new social history have basically continued along Wittke's path. Wittke is therefore, for my purposes, symbolic of all those who have subscribed to his narrow definition of political content.⁷

The problem with this model is that it posits autonomous individuals, unfettered by ideology, rationally weighing alternatives and deciding freely on the merits of the arguments set before them. Even academics seldom make decisions on this basis, and there is little reason to believe that nineteenth-century German immigrants were any different. All behavior, even or especially political behavior, occurs in a historically specific, discursive framework, which sets the boundaries for what is thought to be legitimate or true. People's notions about how their world operates cannot be reduced to a series of rationally articulated beliefs; the planks in a party's platform, the issues of war and peace, and the problems of economic survival resonate as much in the people's hearts as in their minds. By speaking to those emotional needs, literature helped readers make sense of their world. If literature therefore provided immigrants with an interpretive orientation, even if only to compensate for the problems they experienced in their new environment, the traditional, but always implicit model of what constitutes the political in the German-American press is revealed to be so narrow that

it breaks down irreparably. This article is an attempt to challenge the act of exclusion that defines politics solely on the basis of overt content and thereby relegates literature to the margins, where a footnote or passing reference suffices to affirm its supposedly apolitical nature.

In order to demonstrate this contention I want to turn to the first narrative and look for its ideological or political content. The text is Wilhelm Ziethe's "Der Schlosser von Philadelphia," which appeared in *Die Abendschule* in three successive issues in August 1880.⁸ The story concerns one Amos Sparks, the city's most skillful locksmith, who is called upon to open a rich merchant's safe. It seems that the merchant, a man by the name of Drummond, has lost the key. Drummond's problem is that he needs the money in the safe immediately to pay a bill of exchange, otherwise he will lose his reputation, which is the key to his success as a businessman. Sparks quickly picks the lock and demands five dollars for his services. When Drummond complains about the fee, Sparks responds: "Sie sollten darum auch meine Arbeit nicht nach der Zeit schätzen, die ich darauf verwandt habe, sondern nach dem Werthe, den sie in Ihren Augen hat und haben muß" (770). Sparks then shuts the safe and demands ten dollars to open it again. Drummond has no choice but to pay. In the next episode, Sparks is seen late at night near the Pennsylvania Bank; when a robbery is discovered there the next day, Drummond sets the police after Sparks, who is the only Philadelphia resident able to carry out the deed. Sparks was actually following his wayward apprentice, the orphaned son of his own master. Once arrested, Sparks trusts his own reputation for honesty and refuses to testify for fear of compromising the young man, who is already endangered by "allen Versuchungen der großen Stadt" (771). Sparks is found innocent, but his reputation is ruined, and he gradually sinks deeper and deeper into poverty. Eventually the real culprit, a New York safecracker, is discovered; Drummond apologizes; and Sparks refuses to sue the bank for damages because: "Sein guter Name und seine Ehre waren ja gerettet, sein Geschäft blühte wieder auf und seine Familie befand sich ganz behaglich und zufrieden" (803). When he finally does get \$10,000 from the bank, he uses the bulk of the money to set up a fund "aus welcher nothleidende Meister und Gesellen des Handwerkerstandes unterstützt werden sollten" (803).

The question is why a story about a locksmith published in 1880 is political, i.e., what if anything is its ideological content? The answer is connected with the expansion and consolidation of the United States economy in the decades after the Civil War; industrialization meant that steam replaced human muscle, steel replaced iron, and large-scale enterprises, with their rational and hierarchical organizations, replaced small-scale production.⁹ For my purposes, however, the important variables are not the facts of economic development but the discursive precipitate of that process found in texts like Ziethe's.

The story's plot is structured by the opposition between Sparks and the merchant Drummond, an opposition that propels the narrative forward, because the semantic markers that define the two characters create an unavoidable conflict between two antagonistic worldviews. As

an artisan Sparks represents a precapitalist economic order, whose values are at odds with everything that Drummond stands for. Sparks is an autonomous, independent producer, whereas Drummond, for all his wealth, lives from others' labor and is nevertheless at the mercy of his creditors. Moreover, as Sparks admonishes Drummond, the artisan's unalienated labor is to be rewarded not according to the abstract, quantifying measure of time, but "nach dem Werthe, den sie in Ihren Augen hat und haben muß." Sparks is also characterized by the trait of family loyalty. Not only are Sparks's wife and three children named in the course of the exposition, but his difficulties with the law arise when he is unwilling to sacrifice his adopted apprentice's reputation for the sake of his own security. Unlike the locksmith's *ganzes Haus*, where work and family life are still united, Drummond's house is important only as the location of his safe.

If we examine the bundle of semantic markers that define Sparks, and by way of contrast, his adversary Drummond as well, namely the values represented by the autonomous individual, by unalienated production, by unquantifiable worth, and by the family, the resulting ideology is virtually synonymous with what Jackson Lears calls "antimodernism." For Lears, antimodernism couples the longing for an intact, organic community with the rejection of urban market society, which "undermined individual autonomy and promoted social interdependence. Ordinary people's livelihood depended increasingly on decisions made in distant cities, on circumstances largely beyond the individual's control."¹⁰ Men like Drummond, capitalists, and particularly merchants and bankers, were viewed as the chief villains in a system whose continual expansion threatened the existence of the class of independent producers who would have been reckoned to the old middle class in Germany. For them, and their counterparts in the United States, the threat of a gradual, or even sudden fall into the ranks of the proletariat was very real. When Jay Cooke's Philadelphia bank closed its doors in 1873, for example, the ensuing panic threw the whole American economy into a tailspin.¹¹ In the fictional world of *Die Abendschule*, however, traditional values triumph, and the bank is even forced to finance a fund for "nothleidende Meister und Gesellen." Seen against this background, "Der Schlosser von Philadelphia" is anything but apolitical entertainment.

This fairly direct connection with the world in which the story was published should not lead to the conclusion that a narrative's ideological content is necessarily so obvious.¹² One of the most widespread genres of popular literature in the nineteenth century was historical fiction. For German-Americans the fact that the historical narratives they read were often set in the heroic past of the German nation was no doubt an important means of fostering and cementing a specifically German identity. Germans in such stories regularly triumph over foreigners of some sort, often against the other ethnic groups Germans faced in the United States, and major figures from German history generally make an appearance, too. In addition, these stories reinforce the values analyzed above.

Louise Pichler's "Der Sohn der Wittwe," which was published in *Die Abendschule* in four parts during May and June 1880, is a good example of the genre.¹³ Set at the end of the twelfth century during the reign of Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa, the text is structured by two sets of oppositions: an apprentice swordsmith and his widowed mother on the one hand are pitted against the ruling countess and her ne'er-do-well son on the other. A month before the widow's son Guntram is to submit his *Meisterstück*, which would enable him to rebuild his father's decrepit workshop, he is drafted into the imperial army. Since he is the sole support of his mother, the order is illegal, but the power-hungry countess is unwilling to overturn it, because she was bribed by an official who wanted to protect his own son. Meanwhile, the young count, who has reached the age of majority, prefers "am kaiserlichen Hofe oder auf einer Turnierfahrt zu verweilen, als sich mit der Bewirtschaftung seiner Güter zu befassen" (564). On the imperial front Kaiser Barbarossa, although hard-pressed to defend his Italian territories, is unwilling to sell off his German possessions to raise money for mercenaries: "ich bin kein Kaufmann, der Seelen verschachert um Geld!" (581). Guntram, now a soldier because, as he puts it: "wenn der Kaiser so in Noth ist, dann Schande jedem, der die Waffen tragen kann und zurück bleibt" (582), eventually saves Barbarossa's life, while the rest of the army is defeated. In order to raise more troops Barbarossa needs the support of the Pavian nobility, who think him dead. Guntram helps him return there, but, instead of acting imperial in front of the assembled notables, Barbarossa embraces his wife in their presence, "während seine kleinen Söhne jubelnd des Vaters Knie umfaßten" (612). In the end Barbarossa conquers his enemies; the countess apologizes to Guntram, who brings news that her son is alive and ready to assume his position in the principality; and Guntram turns down a knighthood in favor of the house and workshop that the kaiser had initially promised him. As he explains to his mother: "ich habe ein eigenes Haus, darin Weib und Kind, die mich lieben, und dich—was sollte mir eitle Ehre? Meine Arbeit freut und nährt mich, darum danke ich Gott, der so viel Gutes an mir gethan und mich aufs Beste geführt hat" (616).

In spite of the seven hundred years that separate them, in ideological terms the two stories are virtually identical. The regressive utopia of "Der Schloser von Philadelphia" has simply been projected into a mythic past. Like Amos Sparks, Guntram is an artisan, and the semantic bundle that defines him in the narrative includes the same characteristics of autonomous individuality and support for the family, the latter again defined in terms of the *ganzes Haus*. Kaiser Barbarossa, with whom he shares those traits, adds the anticapitalist dimension; loyalty to his German subjects cannot be reduced to the money he needs for his Italian campaign. The young count, by way of contrast, is dependent on the court for his entertainment, and he neglects both his family and his profession. Unlike the kaiser the countess values a bribe more than the demands of justice and traditional law. The fact that Guntram's success

occurs in the medieval German past makes the antimodernism complete.

The text's final passage raises another ideological element that is characteristic of *Die Abendschule*, namely religion. Lears makes much of the decline of evangelical fervor and even the secularization of American culture in the late nineteenth century, but his focus is largely on high culture.¹⁴ However, I am convinced that traditional religion continued to play an important role in the ideological framework of the middle class, as well as the working class in the United States, if not in Germany. In any event religion was invariably important to the positive characters in the narratives published in *Die Abendschule*, which was loosely, though unofficially, connected with the forerunner of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod and always considered itself a Christian family journal. After he is arrested, Amos Sparks consoles his wife by telling her: "Der alte Gott in Israel lebt noch und er wird den Unschuldigen erretten und den Schuldigen schon an das Licht bringen" (786). In fact, the countess is undone by her reliance on secular power relationships, whereas Guntram's mother trusts in God. Religion is thus an additional semantic marker that helps to determine the oppositions at the heart of these two narratives.

It is important to reiterate the observation that such oppositions both structure the characters and propel the plots in these texts; the ideological component is not merely present as a series of motifs, nor is it relegated to commentaries made by the narrator. The distinction is important if we now briefly turn to the way that such narratives were read.

Every society delegates the transmission of norms and values to some institution. In Western culture that role was traditionally played by the church, but ever since the late eighteenth century literature increasingly replaced institutional religion as the major forum for the discussion of norms and values. From Gottsched to the early Schiller, literature was viewed as an instrument for critiquing and changing society. However, once the Enlightenment's pedagogic optimism proved untenable, and once the Romantics retreated to the esoteric world of art for its own sake, the function of inculcating norms and values passed from high literature to popular narratives—where the ideological content was far more conservative.

This is not to argue that popular narratives simply transmit ideology. Literature is seldom successful when plot merely serves as the occasion for a series of lectures or sermons—whether on morality or whaling; literature's preferred mode of operation is to represent norms indirectly. As we have seen, characters are constructed to embody particular traits, either positively or negatively, or to reveal these same traits through their actions. Moreover, if the reader has invested a certain amount of emotional energy in a character, i.e., identified with him or her, what that person says is far more meaningful than the narrator's asides. In fact, the most distinctive feature of both these texts is the centrality of a figure with whom the reader can identify. (Of course, this hypothetical reader is better off as a male; there are positive female characters, but

their roles are clearly subordinate.) Since both characters and plot are constructed with oppositions that define a particular world view, the act of identification necessarily involves the implicit acceptance of that character's ideological stance. Readers can take that step because of the parallels between the extra-literary world and the world of the text. The norms and values of "Der Schlosser von Philadelphia" and "Der Sohn der Wittwe" are to a large extent already present and internalized. Faced in their own lives by the same opponents as Amos Sparks and Guntram, namely by the process of industrialization and the discourse surrounding it, readers are given the chance to succeed vicariously. As Schulte-Sasse puts it: "... popular literature . . . fulfills the socio-psychological function of supporting readers' interpretive schemes or identities. It does so by providing an imaginary realm in which 'outmoded' norms and values are once again revitalized."¹⁵ The protagonists are successful in doing what their readers, against all odds, would like to believe possible in their own lives; Guntram and Amos Sparks were able to live out the ideology of the petit bourgeoisie fictionally in a world where those norms and values were increasingly threatened and irrelevant.

In conclusion I want to suggest that the literature contained in the German-American press, and indeed all literature, is intensely political. Thus when Wittke characterizes *Die Abendschule* by saying: "[it] preached conservative Americanism and devoted most of its space to American events, but avoided politics as a matter of principle. Essentially the paper was a literary family journal,"¹⁶ he deconstructs his own oxymoronic conclusion. In practice, by excluding those texts that do not deal expressly with political events, Park, Wittke, and their successors have defined away most of what is really political, namely the ideological frameworks within which elections, wars, and moral crusades take place. Wittke's characterization of *Die Abendschule* is wrong because it fosters an inadequate analysis of what is political and leaves German-American literature to the filiopietists.

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Notes

¹ For an overview see Jochen Schulte-Sasse, "Trivalliteratur," in *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte*, 2nd. ed. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1981), 4:562-83. In Germany *Die Gartenlaube*, a journal that was similar to *Die Abendschule*, has received the most attention from the scholars of popular literature; see, for example, Heidemarie Gruppe, "Volk" zwischen Politik und Idylle in der "Gartenlaube" 1853-1914 (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1976), and Anne-Susanne Rischke, *Die Lyrik in der "Gartenlaube" 1853-1903* (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1982).

² Jochen Schulte-Sasse, "Toward a 'Culture' for the Masses: The Socio-Psychological Function of Popular Literature in Germany and the U.S., 1880-1920," *New German Critique* 29 (1983): 85.

One could easily complement the more thematic analysis that Schulte-Sasse suggests with an explicit examination of the ideological function of narrative form. See, for example,

Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations of the Semiotics of Texts* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1979), especially 125-72.

³ Carl Wittke, *The German-Language Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 217.

⁴ Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and its Control* (New York: Harper, 1922), 72.

⁵ The "control" in Park's title refers to pressure exerted by Louis N. Hammerling in his efforts to manipulate advertising revenue through the American Association of Foreign Language Newspapers (see Park, 377ff.).

⁶ Wittke, 161.

⁷ See, for example, Steven Rowan and James Neal Primm, *Germans for a Free Missouri: Translations from the St. Louis Press, 1857-1862* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1983), which uses commentaries from the German press in an attempt to determine the role the Germans played in the struggle to keep Missouri in the Union. While their attempt to expand the sources available to American historians is admirable, and admirably well done, in my view, the difficulty is that Rowan and Primm cast their net too narrowly. As an indication of how easy it would be to compile a list of articles whose focus is just as restrictive I would cite Hubert Heinen, "German-Texan Attitudes toward the Civil War," and Rainer Sell, "Der Deutsche Pioneer-Verein von Cincinnati, Heinrich Armin Rattermann, and *Der Deutsche Pioneer*: A Nucleus of Nineteenth-Century German-America," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 20 (1985): 19-32, 49-60, respectively.

⁸ *Die Abendschule*, 13, 21, 28 August 1880, 769-72, 785-90, 801-3. Ziethe (1824-1901) spent much of his life as a popular pastor in Berlin. This raises the problematical question of the author's nationality, because, although "*Der Schlosser von Philadelphia*" was published in book form by the Pilgerbuchhandlung in Reading, PA, in 1895, it is unclear whether Ziethe was ever in the U.S. Before the advent of international copyright laws at the end of the nineteenth century pirating texts was the normal form of business for magazines. German-American publications regularly stole (or perhaps paid for) material from authors living in Germany, perhaps, because they were less of a gamble than unproven German-American authors. Initially, of course, there were also very few of the latter. In any case it might help to think of *Die Abendschule* as an institution with a certain historical continuity, in which an audience's needs were addressed, more or less successfully, by whoever wrote there; choosing to publish a German rather than a German-American author was also a statement in the discourse that constituted the identity of Germans in America. This would obviate the problem of the national origin of *Die Abendschule*'s authors at the level of ideology; those who spoke to the issues at hand, whatever their nationality, were printed. The important issue is, after all, how those popular narratives functioned for German-American readers.

⁹ Numerous economic histories relate the general outlines of this story, for example, Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 247ff.

¹⁰ Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), 34.

¹¹ See Zinn, 237. The involvement of prominent members of the Grant administration and of the congress in the Crédit Mobilier scandal earlier in that same year added to public sentiment against banks. The world depression that the U.S. was dragged into was triggered by a bank panic in Vienna.

¹² This is part of the mistake made by Dorothy Skårdal's *The Divided Heart: Scandinavian Immigrant Experience through Literary Sources* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1974). Skårdal contends that the fiction produced by immigrants has documentary value for social historians; she mistakenly believes that only those texts whose content can be "checked" against historical "reality" reveal anything about the life of immigrants.

¹³ Louise Pichler (1823-89), who apparently resided exclusively in Germany, was the author of numerous historical narratives. A subtitle claims that this story was "bearbeitet für *Die Abendschule*," but it is unclear if this means that it was commissioned by the journal or merely adapted by someone else. See *Die Abendschule*, 14 May-4 June 1880, 562-66, 577-82, 593-98, 609-16.

¹⁴ See, for example, Lears, 32-47.

¹⁵ Schulte-Sasse, 85.

¹⁶ Wittke, 180.

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Cultural Maintenance among the Volga Germans in Western Kansas

One of the more intriguing tasks confronting the student of ethnicity in the United States is to assess the dimension and the characteristics of the ethnic identity of specific immigrant groups. Representatives of ethnic groups invariably point with pride to the numerous activities of ethnic societies as evidence of the strength and vitality of the cultural heritage of their immigrant ancestors. Yet, mere membership in ethnic organizations or attendance figures at ethnic festivals are clearly inadequate to measure the extent to which the cultural heritage of immigrants has been maintained over the years. The following case study attempts to address the issue of cultural maintenance by examining one comparatively well defined group of Volga German Catholics who established a major area of settlement in Ellis and Rush counties in western Kansas.¹

Shortly after their arrival in western Kansas in the 1870s, the Volga German settlers proceeded to re-create, in a fashion, the kinds of communities they had left behind in Russia. Tied together by a "two-fold bond of religion and nationality," the settlers established a number of villages named after their former homes in the Volga region. These closely knit communities, located a comfortable distance from the city of Hays, were a major factor in preserving the cultural heritage of the immigrants.²

Another factor which appears to have contributed to the social isolation of the early settlers can be found in the somewhat mixed reception accorded to the Volga Germans by the established settlers. Even though they were numerically in a majority, the Volga Germans appear to have been plagued by "feelings of mingled superiority and inferiority" towards their German and their American neighbors.³ Established German settlers in the region wanted to have as little to do with these "Rooshians" as did many of the Americans, who generally

viewed them as inferiors even though they were soon impressed with the newcomers' frugality and dedication to hard work.⁴

The comparative social and geographical isolation of the Volga Germans clearly played a significant role in both delaying assimilation and in maintaining their cultural heritage. The various aspects of this cultural heritage have been described at length elsewhere; suffice it to say that its major characteristics were an intense religiosity, the use of German dialects, a fondness for music, an idealization of hard work, and a number of eighteenth-century German customs and traditions which had been modified to some extent by the long Russian experience.⁵

The first serious study of the degree of cultural maintenance among the Volga German settlers was conducted in 1942. This study showed that in the area of education the Volga Germans had fully adjusted to the American system. Native customs pertaining to home life as well as social customs in general had also been considerably modified by the American environment. In the crucial area of language maintenance, the author concluded that up until the period 1910-15 English remained definitely a language to be used only in the classroom. Some thirty years later, however, "the German spoken . . . [was] mixed with English and in some instances the children do not learn to speak the German language fluently, but they can understand it."⁶ This decline in the use of German is also reflected in the fact that a St. Joseph's *Leseverein*—a circulating library with a substantial number of German books—was formally disbanded because of an apparent lack of interest in 1928.⁷

The Germans from Russia as a whole have been characterized as a "singularly silent group, one that has preferred anonymity, because its ethnic character has brought it hostility and discrimination, especially during the two world wars."⁸ The Volga Germans in western Kansas are no exception: ridiculed once as backward and uncivilized Russians and, just a few decades later during the anti-German hysteria of World War I, attacked for being too German, they have until very recently made little or no effort to preserve their language and their cultural heritage.

Yet, the accelerating tendency to assimilate notwithstanding, a measure of ethnic consciousness and cultural maintenance has survived. In a keynote address to the recently founded American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR), the speaker argued that although the dialects and the culture of the Germans from Russia appeared doomed to extinction, the work of the AHSGR "has arrested this trend for the time being."⁹ While there is available a plethora of opinions on whether or not the Volga Germans in western Kansas are in the process of losing their cultural identity, specific data are not available. Those who argue that the demise of the Volga Germans as an identifiable ethnic group is imminent point to the declining population of the original villages, to the growing neglect of customs and traditions, and to the declining number of those who can speak German. Other observers, however, point to the cultural and educational activities of

local and regional Volga German associations, to the support given by such groups to scholarship programs for students of Volga German descent, to the establishment of archival collections on the history and culture of the Volga Germans, and to the numerous efforts of dedicated community leaders to revive and reinvigorate an admittedly declining ethnic consciousness.¹⁰

Useful as such observations on the degree of cultural maintenance among the Volga Germans may be, they are at the same time wholly impressionistic and, one suspects, occasionally the result of wishful thinking. In order to obtain a more reliable grasp of this issue, we devised a questionnaire consisting of seventy-one items designed to give some indication of (1) the knowledge of German and of the Volga German dialects, (2) the interest in the practice of folk music, and (3) the degree of awareness and practice of the traditional folk customs in the Volga German community.¹¹

The selection of subjects posed a series of problems and methodological issues. First of all the goal of representativeness was paramount. Above all else we wanted to be able to capture an adequate cross-section of the Volga German population, by age, sex, marital status, etc. Secondly it was hoped that a listing could be found or devised that would produce a random selection process making a generalization to the larger population possible. However, no such lists were readily available. Membership lists for the local AHSGR were available, but proportionately, this group is quite small. Church membership lists are not current (many have moved away and relatively high intermarriage rates make it difficult to track Volga German women, etc.). The best solution was to employ five "judges," i.e., local people with considerable knowledge and involvement with people of Volga German descent. These judges identified several clusters (local AHSGR society, church groups, bingo groups, school and college groups, work groups and community groups) which were then requested to participate in the study. It was explained to all potential respondents that this was a study of Volga Germans only. There was a high degree of consensus among the judges and the respondents polled that the clusters chosen were typical and representative of the local Volga German population. As the profile of respondents will later show, the goals of representativeness and relative proportions were met in terms of religion, gender, age, education, occupation, marital status, and arrival date of their ancestors. Judgment samples are, by definition, non-random; however, the considerable knowledge of the local population, the clusters chosen, and the resulting profile assure the authors that the respondents are typical, and consequently, allow generalization to the larger population with the appropriate precautions.

The questionnaire was administered to 213 self-identified Volga Germans. The respondents ranged from about sixteen to over seventy, with the various age groups reasonably well balanced. Some 60% of the respondents were female, 40% were male. Only in the case of religious affiliation was there a pronounced imbalance with 85% being Roman Catholics and 10% belonging to one of the Protestant denominations.

This apparent imbalance, however, parallels the overwhelming number of Volga Germans in this area who are Catholics.

On the subject of language maintenance the survey confirmed the widely held belief that familiarity with Volga German dialects is comparatively low in the age group under thirty. In this group, less than half could speak or understand one of the dialects whereas, in the age group over fifty, more than 90% of the respondents indicated that they could speak or understand a dialect. In families where both spouses were of Volga German descent, facility with dialects was considerably higher than in "mixed" marriages. The fact that Roman Catholics scored higher in this category seems to reflect the greater degree of community cohesion in the Catholic villages.

Given the relatively high percentage of individuals with some degree of fluency in the dialects—the survey indicated that overall some 70% could speak or understand one of the dialects—it seemed surprising that less than a fourth actually used a dialect more or less regularly when conversing with Volga German friends and neighbors. While dialect usage was more pronounced in the age group over fifty, it was altogether negligible in the age group below forty. One might, therefore, conclude that the demise of the dialects is indeed only a matter of time.

In view of the fact that 96% of the respondents indicated a desire to keep the Volga German heritage alive and that a nearly equal percentage believed that the maintenance of the German language was one important means to that end, one might expect that parents would encourage their children to enroll in German language classes at the high school or college level. However, this expectation turned out to be unfounded. Among parents under the age of forty, only half encouraged their children to study German. In the age group over sixty, by comparison, nearly three fourths of the parents encouraged their children to study German. The educational background of parents, furthermore, appeared to have the opposite effect of what one might expect: Parents with college degrees were less emphatic in encouraging their children to study German than were parents with less education. At the same time college-educated parents felt strongly that the customs and traditions of the Volga Germans ought to be kept alive. Foreign-language enrollment in area high schools is in keeping with the results of the survey. For example, in the largest high school in the two-county area, the enrollment in German language classes is only about one fourth of the enrollment in Spanish.¹²

The gap between the rhetoric and the reality in the area of language maintenance is equally pronounced in other areas, such as interest in the history and culture of the Volga Germans. Thus 57% of the respondents claimed to make efforts to keep themselves informed about the history and the traditions of the Volga Germans. Yet 78% attend none or only a few of the activities sponsored by the local chapter of the AHSGR which, in the past, have included presentations of folk music, folk dancing, slide shows, and other programs of cultural and historical interest. In fact, only 18% of the respondents in this survey were members of the AHSGR and 70% admitted to never reading any of the

features or articles in the *Journal* of that organization, nearly all of which are written in a popular vein and are readily available at a number of locations. In fact, the survey showed that the higher the prestige of the respondents' occupation, the less likely they are to read the *Journal*.

General interest in the history and culture of other groups of Germans from Russia, such as the Black Sea Germans, appeared to be fairly low, especially in the age group under fifty. Curiously though, interest in the history of other German-Americans—the Texas Germans and the Pennsylvania Germans were offered as examples in the survey—appeared comparatively high, especially with the younger respondents. Even in the age group over fifty, the level of interest in these German-Americans was nearly twice that of the interest displayed in other groups of Germans from Russia.

Throughout their history, the Volga Germans have taken great pride in their many folk songs and in their musical ability. There is still an active *Liederbund* in Hays, and one of the local newspapers as well as the AHSGR *Journal* frequently feature articles on folk music, complete with texts and musical notations. Indeed, 93% of the respondents considered the maintenance of the folk songs as important to the survival of their cultural heritage, while three fourths indicated that they were familiar with the songs. Even in the age group under thirty, interest appeared to be relatively high although only about half of that age group claimed to be familiar with a number of songs. But "being familiar" also meant—in the age group under thirty—that less than 20% actually knew the words and the melody. By comparison in the age group over sixty, nearly 90% knew the words and the melody of a number of popular songs. The number of songs known, familiarity with the words and the melodies, and singing Volga German songs are most closely associated with being female, being older, and having a moderate level of education. The higher-status occupational groups tended to know the fewest number of songs.

The discrepancy between the belief in the importance of folk songs and in their actual usage should be noted: Less than a fourth of the respondents in the age group under fifty actually sing them at home, apparently largely on festive occasions. Again, individuals with a college education overwhelmingly agreed that the folk songs were crucial to the survival of their cultural heritage, yet only 16% knew the words and the melodies. Given the obvious connection between some degree of familiarity with the language and the ability to sing or understand at least some of the songs, it seems odd that even in the college-educated group only some 30% agreed to watch German language lessons if they were to be offered on the local PBS television station.

As to the maintenance of customs and traditions, the general picture by now is a familiar one. An overwhelming majority want to maintain the traditions, but 62% also think that with the disappearance of the present older generation of Volga Germans the customs will die out altogether. Here again, age appears as the crucial factor. While over 90% in the age group under thirty feel that traditional folkways ought to be

Summary Table of Associations among Major Variables¹

Item	Age	Sex	Marital Status	VG Spouse	Religion	Education	Occupation	Date Arrival of Ancestors
1. Ability to speak Volga German dialect	.57**	--	.34**	.40**	--	-.24**	-.39**	.39**
2. Ability to understand the Volga German dialect	.49**	--	.35**	.39**	--	-.33**	-.47**	--
3. Ability to understand High German	.37**	--	--	-.28**	--	--	-.37**	--
4. Ability to read High German	.18**	--	--	--	--	--	-.66*	--
5. Ability of children to speak Volga German dialect	.48**	--	--	.62**	--	-.45**	-.67**	--
6. Ability of children to understand High German	.55**	--	--	.57**	--	-.45**	-.66**	--
7. Ability of children to read High German	.35**	--	--	.62**	--	--	-.66**	--
8. I've studied/plan to study German	-.28**	--	--	-.27**	--	.36**	.41*	--
9. Told/plan to tell children to study German	.26**	--	--	.35**	--	--	--	--
10. Have friends who speak the Volga German dialect	.49**	--	--	.42**	--	-.42**	-.41**	--
11. Speak Volga German dialect with my friends	.57**	--	--	.32**	--	-.44**	-.45**	.39*
12. Know history/culture of Volga Germans	.28**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
13. Know history/culture of German-Americans	.25**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
14. Know history/culture of other Germans from Russia	.26**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
15. Member of AHSGR	.37**	--	--	--	.16*	--	--	--
16. Attendance at Sunflower Chapter of AHSGR	.34**	--	--	--	.19*	--	--	--
17. Germ. lang. important for maintaining VG heritage	.12*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
18. Familiarity with Volga German songs	.40**	--	--	.33**	--	--	-.38**	--
19. Knowledge of words/melodies of VG songs	.52**	--	--	.32**	--	-.37**	-.38**	--
20. Encourage family to sing Volga German songs	.35**	--	--	.26*	--	-.35**	--	--
21. VG songs with religious meaning more important	.28**	--	--	--	--	--	.37*	--
22. VG songs are important for maintaining heritage	.28**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
23. Number of Volga German songs familiar with	.50**	--	--	.34**	--	--	-.35*	--
24. Frequency of singing Volga German songs	.39**	.24*	--	.25*	--	--	--	--
25. Belief that VG customs should be maintained	.17**	.20*	--	--	--	--	--	--
26. Encourage family members to observe VG customs	.30**	--	--	.32*	--	--	-.44**	--
27. Number of Volga German customs familiar with	.47**	--	--	.32*	--	--	-.38**	--

28. Number of VG customs observed in family	.15**	--	--	--	--	--	--	.36**
29. Belief in the significance of religious customs	.25**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
30. Can dance a Volga German <i>Hochzeit</i>	.31**	.23*	--	--	--	--	.39**	--
31. Can dance a Volga German waltz	.25**	.21*	--	--	--	.38**	-.44**	--
32. Number of Volga German food items familiar with	.29**	--	--	--	--	.36**	-.42**	--
33. Frequency of preparation of Volga German foods	--	--	--	--	--	.32**	-.35**	--
34. Taught/plan to teach children to prepare VG foods	.48**	--	--	--	--	.26**	--	--
35. Primary interest in VG activities is genealogy	.21*	--	--	--	--	.47**	-.68**	--
36. Belief that VG center their lives around the church	.15*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
37. Belief that Volga German customs will die with the current older generation	.17*	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
38. Willingness to participate in study of VG dialects	.11*	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.33**
39. Type of Volga German literature familiar with	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	-.36**
40. Frequency of reading the <i>AHSGR Journal</i>	.34**	--	--	--	--	--	-.41**	--

¹Measures of association: Pearson r , Cramer's V , or the contingency coefficient depending on the level of measurement.

*Statistically significant at the .05 level.

**Statistically significant at the .01 level.

maintained, only half in that age group are encouraging their family members to observe them. As to the popular Volga German dances—here the waltz wins with five percentage points over the *Hochzeit*—the age group over thirty appears to be quite adept with over 90% being able to perform that feat. But in the group under age thirty, only about half of the respondents are able to dance a waltz or a *Hochzeit*. The prospects for the survival of Volga German foods appear to be somewhat better; 40% of the respondents still prepare Volga German dishes weekly and, more importantly, some 75% of those above age thirty are teaching their children how to prepare Volga German dishes. Among the better educated and higher-status Volga Germans there was familiarity with fewer kinds of foods and this group was also less likely to teach their children how to prepare the special dishes.

From the variety of data collected in this survey, there emerges a profile of a "typical" Volga German: forty-four years old, Catholic, married to another Volga German, most likely a high school graduate and a farmer, craftsman, or a housewife. Typical Volga Germans are more likely to understand than to speak a dialect and are more likely to understand than to read standard German. Generally they will not have studied German, and their children will not speak a Volga German dialect nor will they read or understand standard German, even though they have allegedly been encouraged to take German lessons. Typical Volga Germans are likely to have friends who speak a local dialect, but they are less likely to use the dialect regularly when speaking with them. Typical Volga Germans have not visited either Germany or Russia and they do not correspond with friends or relatives there. They will probably claim to have some knowledge of the history or culture of Germany. They are not likely to be members of the local chapter of AHSGR, especially if they are young, and they will rarely attend any functions of that organization. While they feel that the German language as well as the folk songs are important in the cultural maintenance process, they are unlikely to study the language. They will hardly ever sing Volga German songs and they will not encourage their family to do so either.

Typical Volga Germans feel that the traditions of their people ought to be kept alive. They tend to be familiar with more customs (an average of eight) than they actually practice (an average of five). They are interested in their family trees, see themselves as hard-working, as victims of discrimination, and as people who center their lives around the church, especially if they are over forty-five years of age. They will most likely not read books or journals on the Volga Germans, and they tend to be primarily familiar with local rather than with nationally or internationally known Volga Germans.

While the respondents in this survey were on the whole most cooperative, there is also a tendency on the part of some Volga Germans to complain that "outsiders" do not know or do not appreciate Volga German culture. At the same time there is some reluctance to share it with "outsiders." One example of this reluctance is the fact that only nineteen percent of the respondents indicated a strong willingness to

participate in a study of Volga German dialects when more than two thirds indicated that they spoke one of the dialects. Another factor contributing to a certain reluctance to open up to "outsiders" may derive from the concerns of self-identified culture bearers that empirical studies may result in "improper" images of the group, a phenomenon which is quite common in the literature on the problems of cultural maintenance of minority groups.¹³

The answer to the question of whether the Volga Germans are in the process of losing their cultural identity involves a small dilemma. On the one hand there is strong evidence that their cultural heritage, especially language, is rapidly eroding. On the other hand, there is equally strong evidence of a pronounced desire to maintain the culture. However, the behavioral changes necessary to counteract the erosion of the cultural identity, are not, or to take an optimistic view, are not yet in evidence. This optimism is further tempered by the data, which clearly reveal that the more highly educated professional groups, which are generally so vital in the leadership and financial sponsorship areas, are the least knowledgeable, practice the fewest number of customs, are not speakers of the local dialects, and tend to believe that the Volga German customs will probably die with the current older generation.

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Notes

¹ Norman E. Saul, "The Migration of the Russian-Germans to Kansas," *The Kansas Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1974): 51-52.

² The major settlements were Liebenthal, Catherine, Herzog (Victoria), Munjor, Pfeifer, and Schoenchen. See also Sister Marie Eloise Johannes, *A Study of the Russian German Settlements in Ellis County, Kansas*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Sociology, vol. 14 (Washington, DC, 1946).

³ *Ibid.*, 143.

⁴ Lee Pendergrass, "Journalistic Perceptions of the Volga Germans in Northwest Kansas, 1876-1910," TMs, Ethnic Studies Collection, Forsyth Library, Fort Hays State University, Hays, KS.

⁵ Timothy J. Kloberdanz, "The Volga Germans in Old Russia and in Western North America: Their Changing World View," *Anthropological Quarterly* 48 (October 1975): 214-15.

⁶ Johannes, 101.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁸ Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Khrushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Winnepeg, MB: Marian Press, 1974), iv.

⁹ Adam Giesinger, "Keynote Address: Now is the Time!," *Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia* 4 (Fall 1981): 6.

The founding of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia (AHSGR) in 1968 appears to have provided the impetus for the formation of numerous local chapters, among them the Sunflower Chapter in Hays, Kansas. The Sunflower Chapter was founded in 1979; its membership has fluctuated considerably from a high of about 250 to a low of about 75 members at present.

¹⁰ Symptomatic of this latter attitude is the appearance of a recent history of the Volga Germans under the title *Wir wollen Deutsche bleiben*. The book is written in English. See

George J. Walters, *Wir wollen Deutsche bleiben: The Story of the Volga Germans* (Kansas City, MO: Halcyon House Publishers, 1982).

¹¹ For a summary of the results of the questionnaire see "Summary Table of Associations among Major Variables."

¹² Enrollment in German language classes at the high school in Victoria where German is the only foreign language offered approximates about 18% of the student body.

¹³ Milton M. Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origin* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); William N. Newman, *American Pluralism: A Study of Minority Groups and Social Theory* (New York: Harper and Row, 1973).

Marion Lois Huffines

Lexical Borrowing and Linguistic Convergence in Pennsylvania German

Lexical borrowing is the most obvious of linguistic convergent behaviors, and it is common in all instances of language contact. The borrowing of vocabulary items and phrasal patterns is in itself a simple process of substitution which may leave the grammatical systems of the borrowing language unaffected. But nonnative lexical material can also establish new linguistic models and affect other components of the native grammar. The borrowing language converges toward the contact language on the basis of these newly established models.

The purpose of this study is to document the distribution of English vocabulary words across Pennsylvania German speech communities and to view that distribution within the context of linguistic convergence. Three areas are of concern: 1. the distribution of English borrowings across Pennsylvania German communities; 2. the effect of morphological integration; and 3. the influence of borrowing on syntax and discourse behavior. It will be argued that in language contact lexical borrowing initiates and drives the process of convergence. As borrowing becomes more obvious, speakers also begin to question the integrity of the borrowing (minority) language. Extensive borrowing may consequently lead speakers to adopt the dominant language for all their communicative needs.

Procedures

The observations below are based on data from interviews with 32 native speakers of Pennsylvania German: 13 nonplain (nonsectarian), 10 Mennonites and 9 Amish. All informants are bilingual. They are classified into three groups:

Group N: Nonplain native speakers of Pennsylvania German. The nonplain native speakers of Pennsylvania German range in age from 35 to 75 years and live in the farm valleys of southern Northumberland, northern Dauphin, and western Schuylkill counties. 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 M: The Mennonites. The Mennonite group consists of members of an Old Order Mennonite community, also called "Team Mennonites."

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.

The Mennonites and Amish (the plain or sectarian sample) range from 24 to 65 years of age. All except one individual were born and raised in Lancaster County but currently reside in Union County, Pennsylvania. Because the plain speakers moved to Union County as adults, one may question whether the displacement itself plays a role in their receptivity to borrowed forms. All plain informants maintain contact with their home Lancaster County communities. Plain groups also live apart from the main society, regardless of their location. Because of their continued relationship to Lancaster County and their separateness from nongroup members in Union County, it is unlikely that the displacement affects the linguistic development of the sectarian sample. The Mennonites and the Amish speak Pennsylvania German for daily discourse within the family and community. Both groups are characterized by horse and buggy transportation, distinctive dress, and limited education to the eighth grade.

The interviews were carried out from September 1985 to January 1986. Each interview lasted one-and-one-half hours and consisted of three parts: free conversation, translation of English sentences into Pennsylvania German, and description of pictures. The topic of all three interview tasks centered on domestic activities typical of families in rural farm communities. Only one segment of the picture description task was designed to elicit specific vocabulary items; therefore the lexical data for this study have been drawn from all three parts of the interview.

I. Lexical Variation in Pennsylvania German

Lexical variation within Pennsylvania German exists apart from apparent English influence. Generally, the nonplain differ from the plain, but there are examples where the nonplain and the Mennonites differ from the Amish (see table 1).

Informants report that on occasion lexical differences cause misunderstandings. In such a case, each group tends to believe that the form used by the other group is "more German." This lexical variation seems to have existed at the time of settlement and reflects regional provenience. The Reed and Seifert *Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German* (1954) maps some of these and many other examples. (See also Seifert 1946, 1971; Reed 1957.) Such lexical variation contributes toward subgroup identification among the Pennsylvania Germans, and speakers of one subgroup often report of other subgroups: "They speak a little different Dutch, but I can understand them."

Table 1
Distribution of PG Lexical Variants

Translation	PG Vocabulary	N	M	A
'smell' (vb)	<i>schmacke</i>	0	7	7
	<i>rieche</i>	8	0	0
'loud noise'	<i>Zucht</i>	12	0	0
	<i>Yacht</i>	0	6	2
	<i>laut (mache)</i>	0	0	6
'be afraid'	<i>bang sei</i>	8	0	0
	<i>sich fariche</i>	0	7	9
'leaf'	<i>Blaat</i>	10	8	0
	<i>en Bledder</i>	0	0	3
	<i>Laab</i>	0	2	4
'cry' (vb)	<i>brille</i>	9	6	0
	<i>heile</i>	0	1	8
'shovel' (n)	<i>Schipp</i>	8	0	0
	<i>Schaufel</i>	(1)	10	9
'bark' (vb)	<i>gauze</i>	10	14	14
	<i>blaffe</i>	6	0	0
'(sit) down here'	<i>do hie/her</i>	9	0	2
	<i>do anne</i>	0	7	6
'sit (down here)'	<i>hocke</i>	9	7	0
	<i>sitze</i>	0	0	8

Other lexical variation indicates the encroachment of English into the Pennsylvania German lexicon. The literature dealing with English loans in Pennsylvania German is long and varied. Much of it attempts to determine the level at which borrowing has occurred. Rauch (1879, iii-iv) estimates that from 18% to 20% of all words in Pennsylvania German are English in origin. Lambert (1924, ix-x) places the estimates from 0% to 12% or 15%, depending upon the writer or speaker and the topic. Buffington (1941, 67-68) estimates 2.5% to 5% English loans in Pennsylvania German popular newspaper prose; he counts 6% English loans in the Pennsylvania German of six women at a quilting party and 7% in the informal conversation of younger Pennsylvania German speakers at a local hotel. Enninger (1979, 47) places English borrowings in the Pennsylvania German writings of an Old Order Amish scribe to the Amish newspaper *Die Botschaft* at 7%. Knodt (1986, 56) counts 14% English loans in the data elicited by direct questioning from Old Order Amish informants in Delaware. Buffington and most recent investigators assert that early estimates of English loans in Pennsylvania German are inflated. They also emphasize that loans from English have had little effect on Pennsylvania German morphology and, as Reed (1948, 244) suggests, "that future studies will reveal more extensive influence in the field of syntax" (cf. also Schach 1951, 267).

The purpose here is not to pursue the percentages of English loan words in Pennsylvania German. While the frequency of borrowing often affects speakers' attitudes toward the borrowing language, lexical substitution per se does not affect the application of native language linguistic rules. As will be argued below, the linguistic code of the borrowing language is affected by recurring (and reproducible) patterns, and these patterns may involve a single, even infrequently borrowed item.

Direct borrowing of English words into Pennsylvania German is realized to varying degrees in the speech of members of the three groups in the sample (see table 2).

The first fifteen examples indicate that English words replace Pennsylvania German words more frequently among plain groups than nonplain, especially in the speech of the Amish in this sample. The Pennsylvania German vocabulary items *Iems*, *Ent*, *Eechel*, *Debbich*, and *schlachde* appear not to be used in the plain communities; *schleise*, *ham*, *schwinge*, *picke*, *but*, *Daeds*, *farm/Blatz*, and the pattern (*Geld*) *mache* replace Pennsylvania German counterparts more frequently among the plain, especially in the speech of the Amish. Although nonplain also make such replacements, there are no instances of nonplain replacing *deel* by *some* or *awer* by *but*, and the nonplain vary in the use of *gaunsche/schwinge*, *Debbich/Gwilt*, *coat/Rock*, *schlachde/butschere*, *arig/really*, *Iems/meal*, *gheere/belonge*, and *Hof mehe/Graas mehe*. The nonplain (Group N) show variation within their group while the plain (Groups M and A) each tend to opt for one variant. If some members of the nonplain group respond with the English borrowing, other members of the same group know and use the Pennsylvania German counterpart. For the Mennonites and Amish, this is less often the case. Other lexical items vary in the speech of members of all three groups: *viel* and *a lot* are used variably to translate 'a lot' and *bis*, *by*, and *an* are all used to translate 'by' as used in the phrase 'to be at work by eight-thirty'.

The number of examples is limited, but the variation among the three groups reflects patterns of convergence which are evident in other components of the grammar. Among nonplain speakers, Pennsylvania German is dying, but it shows less evidence of convergence to English than the Pennsylvania German spoken by the plain groups. (See Huffines 1986 for convergence patterns involving the verb aspectual system, and Huffines 1987b for convergence patterns in the case system.) Among the nonplain, Group N, the lexical variation is typical of a stage of language death: some speakers forget a word and substitute a borrowing; but the native word is still present in the community's native speaker lexicon, and it occurs variably in the speech of individual speakers. This generation of native speakers is the last in this nonplain community. The borrowed items will not be passed on. In the nonplain group, individuals often accommodate their English surroundings by means of lexical borrowing, but if such accommodation becomes too apparent, members of Group N simply switch to English. In such cases, borrowing initiates the switch, but the motivation for the switch has more to do with a speaker's intolerance for borrowing than with an

Table 2
Distribution of PG and Eng. Loan Variants

Translation	PG Vocabulary	N	M	A
'ham'	<i>Schunke</i>	8	8	4
	<i>ham</i>	1	2	5
'acorn'	<i>Eechel</i>	8	1	0
	<i>acorn</i>	2	9	9
'duck' (n)	<i>Ent</i>	8	(1)	0
	<i>duck</i>	1	10	9
'meal'	<i>Iems</i>	9	0	0
	<i>meal</i>	7	11	15
'quilt' (n)	<i>Debbich</i>	7	0	0
	<i>comfort</i>	3	4	0
	<i>Gwilt</i>	5	8	6
	<i>Deck</i>	0	3	2
'pick (flowers)'	<i>robbe</i>	6	2	1
	<i>picke</i>	2	5	6
'parents'	<i>Eldre</i>	10	13	4
	<i>Daeds</i>	0	1	10
'farm' (n)	<i>Bauerei</i>	33	18	6
	<i>Blatz</i>	0	17	15
	<i>farm</i>	0	2	10
'earn (money)'	<i>verdiene</i>	7	4	2
	<i>(Geld) mache</i>	0	2	4
'butcher' (vb)	<i>schlachde</i>	4	0	1
	<i>butschere</i>	4	7	8
'really' (adv)	<i>arig</i>	10	8	1
	<i>really</i>	5	29	40
'swing' (vb)	<i>gaunsche</i>	4	7	0
	<i>swinge</i>	5	0	7
'slice' (vb)	<i>schneide</i>	7	6	4
	<i>schleise</i>	2	4	4
'some' (adj/pro)	<i>deel</i>	44	68	28
	<i>some</i>	0	12	40
'but'	<i>azwer</i>	193	94	68
	<i>but</i>	0	41	36
'belong'	<i>gheere</i>	10	14	15
	<i>belonge</i>	10	0	0
'coat' (n)	<i>Rock</i>	3	2	2
	<i>Wammes</i>	0	2	6
	<i>coat</i>	8	7	5
'mow grass'	<i>Hof/Hefli mehe</i>	5	7	7
	<i>Graas mehe</i>	5	0	0
	<i>lawn mehe</i>	2	0	0

automatic (subconscious) linguistic force driven by word and phrasal collocations. For speakers of minority languages, extensive borrowing is often proof of the inadequacy of their language (cf. Hill and Hill 1977, 61).

Among the Mennonites and Amish (Groups M and A), English variants are being passed on to subsequent generations as part of their variety of Pennsylvania German. In that transmission, the Pennsylvania German item is lost and the English counterpart takes its place. New words are borrowed rather than invented by using native lexical items and derivational morphemes. In minority languages in contact, coinage and derivational processes often become unproductive and seem to be beyond what speakers are willing to do. Pennsylvania German has also long been severed from its European German roots, and today's Pennsylvania German has no productive relationship to European German to obtain lexical elaboration. The obsolescent variety of standard German used by Mennonites and Amish fills only liturgical functions. Plain communities use English borrowings to accommodate their surroundings without switching to English or inventing new Pennsylvania German forms.

II. Morphological Integration

For most linguists, the incorporation of a borrowed word into the morphological system signals full adoption, and the form is often no longer perceived by speakers to be nonnative. The enveloping of nonnative material by native inflectional and derivational morphemes legitimizes the borrowed word and gives it a "hometown" feel, as it were. In Pennsylvania German, such legitimizations are legion (cf. Reed 1948; see examples in list 1).

List 1

Morphological Integration of English Borrowings

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1. der Jake un ich hen *gestart farme*
'Jake and I started farming.'
 2. s waar yuscht en *boringer* Job
'It was a boring job.'
 3. mer *watche* sei chance
'We watch his chance.'
 4. sie is en *share* mit ihr friends
'She is sharing with her friends.'
- (Note: *en* is a phonological reduction of *am*.)
5. s is ordlich gut *ausgeturned*
'It turned out rather well.'
-

Forms which lack this morphological disguise, either because they resist adoption or because the native language does not mark the grammatical category, are more obvious borrowings (see list 2).

List 2
Borrowings without Morphological Marking

1. Ich hap verleicht mei *eighth grade* faddich gemacht
'Maybe I finished my eighth grade.'
 2. mer sin no in die Schul gange mit well die ganz *neighborhood*
'Then we went to school with, well, the whole neighborhood.'
 3. s is allfatt kumme wann s Hoi *ready* waar
'It always came when the hay was ready.'
 4. nau sell is was ich es menscht *remember* devun
'Now that is what I remember the most of it.'
 5. mir hen sell *different* geduh
'We did that differently.'
-

In addition to occurring without morphological integration, borrowed lexical items often bring their own morphological endings along as baggage. In this way simple individual lexical substitutions introduce recurring and reproducible morphological patterns (see list 3).

List 3
Borrowings with English Morphological Markers

1. mer ware *acquainted* mit alli selli Leit
'We were acquainted with all those people.'
 2. waar ich no bei some *neighbors* gewest
'Then I was at the neighbors' [house].'
 3. mer hen sie menscht *frozen*
'We mostly froze them.'
 4. wann die kinner in die Schul gen far ihr *lunches*
'When the children go to school for their lunches.'
 5. no hat ar *farming* iwwer gnumme
'Then he took over farming.'
-

These nonnative endings serve as new models which directly or indirectly penetrate the native system and may ultimately alter morphological paradigms, resulting in faulty morphological forms in the speech of native speakers (see list 4).

List 4
Faulty Morphological Marking

1. mer dun practically all unser vegetables *frier* or can
'We freeze or can practically all our vegetables.'
2. far *ihr* lunches
'for their lunches'
3. mit *ihr* friends
'with her friends'

4. Unser yinschter Bu hat sei Grossdadi *gebsucht*
'Our youngest boy has visited his grandpa.'
5. no sell is gfrore awer net *canned*
'Then that is frozen but not canned.'

The following description from an Amish woman leads one to ask how much longer this community can continue to absorb borrowing and the resultant convergence into its speech:

Sie dun ihr pigs un ihr beef / ya / sie dun some un ar dudd aa balonies mache un sie dun de Fleesch / sie dun de Fleesch schteh losse far a certain amount of Zeit / nau net lang verleicht en Daag adder so mit alli seasonings drin which sie hen en certaini recipe defar

'They do their pigs and their beef. Yes, they do some and he also makes balonies, and they do the meat, they let the meat stand for a certain amount of time. Now not long, perhaps a day or so with all the seasonings in it for which they have a certain recipe.'

(Note: *de Fleesch* is an error in gender agreement.)

Borrowing can progress from a single lexical item and its morphological endings to that item's usual collocations and then extend to longer stretches of discourse as the following series of sentences illustrates:

1. sell is *pretty well* faddich da September
2. s hap ich *well filled* mit Erbse Welschkann
3. ich hap unser freezer *pretty well filled with vegetables*

While it is clear that lexical items can "trigger" (cf. Clyne 1972a) a language switch, which the last example arguably may be, the borrowed item itself influences lexical slots beyond its usual collocations and creatively expands the linguistic options for filling those slots.

Morphological integration cannot mask the frequency with which extensive borrowing occurs. Speakers react to the English stems and words when they recognize them, and the recognition reinforces their perception that their minority language is so heavily dependent on English that it is hardly worth the risk of "ruining" their children's English by speaking Pennsylvania German to them. As nonnative inflectional and derivational endings recur, they can disrupt native paradigms and themselves become productive beyond nonnative material. Similarly, collocations of borrowed items may expand well beyond the grammatical and semantic fields associated with the item itself. In this case, the borrowing can initiate a language switch through an extended series of borrowed collocations from the contact language.

III. Lexical Influence on Syntax and Discourse Behavior

Stretches of discourse composed of frequently borrowed items and their collocations provide models for new syntactic options. Such modeling can be clearly seen in the influence which the borrowing of

English adverbs and conjunctions has on Pennsylvania German word order.

Adverbs usually occur in a sentence position as governed by Pennsylvania German rules:

1. *lately* hen mir en Kuh ghatt
'Recently we had a cow.'
2. ich bin *usually* gange far der Dadi helfe
'I usually went to help daddy.'
3. mer hen *really* en lot gelannt in die Schul
'We really learned a lot in school.'
4. ich hap s *anyhow* gut schwetze kenne
'I was able to speak it well anyhow.'

Occasionally a collocation is strong enough to resist the Pennsylvania German rule or is loosely enough connected to the Pennsylvania German sentence to operate outside of it:

5. sie *really* gleicht s draus
'She really likes it outside.'
6. *Of course* ich hap die Arwet geduh
'Of course I did the work.'

Borrowed conjunctions tend to occur with English word order:

7. *unless* sie wrappe es far uns
'Unless they wrap it for us.'
8. *because* der Jake hat sell so oft immer welle
'Because Jake always wanted that so often.'

The relative pronoun *which* normally operates in accordance with the Pennsylvania German relative clause rules:

9. *which* mer really gleiche
'Which we really like.'

But that rule does not apply in all cases for *which*:

10. *which* unser Heemet is nau
'Which is our home now.'

Word order with the conjunction *but* varies; both dependent and independent word orders are possible:

11. *but* sie yuse es far sell
'But they use it for that.'
12. *but* sin mer abkumme devun
'But we got away from it.'

Lexical items borrowed from English also appear at the discourse level in Pennsylvania German. The use of English *well*, *now*, and *why*, as well as the counterpart to the ubiquitous English "you know," Pennsylvania German *weesch*, occur in Pennsylvania German discourse as they

do in English. Often called discourse markers (Schiffrin 1987), these forms are essentially devoid of lexical meaning; they act instead as discourse facilitators, communicating to the listener information about the discourse itself. They mark the pace of turn-taking, establish coherence between utterances, and verify the listener's participation. Clyne (1972b) reports a similar use of English discourse markers in the German of German-English bilinguals in Australia. In Pennsylvania German, English discourse markers operate independently of other syntactic structures and do not affect word order in the clause to which they are attached (see examples in list 5).

List 5 Borrowed Discourse Markers

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1. *well* mer hen die Millich faahre misse
'Well, we had to haul the milk.'
 2. *well* mer hen als en lot fun ghatt
'Well, we used to have a lot of fun.'
 3. sis en lotti Arewet *weescht* in aa Summer
'It's a lot of work, you know, also in summer.'
 4. ich duh s menscht vun unser Gleeder naehe *weescht* as mer weare
'I sew most of our clothes, you know, that we wear.'
 5. *now* wann mer beef gebutschert hen
'Now when we butchered beef.'
 6. *now* mer gleiche net soviel buckwheat Mehl
'Now we don't like so much buckwheat flour.'
 7. wann der Offe anyhow uff hascht *why* is es kee difference
'When you have the oven on anyhow, why there is no difference.'
 8. sidder s ich gheiert bin *why* mei Mann sei Family sie hen Sei gebutschert
'Since I've been married, why my husband's family they have butchered pigs.'
-

By occurring in positions which are outside the discourse by virtue of their function to comment on the discourse, these markers create lexical slots which speakers can reinterpret as viable syntactic positions. These simple borrowings have the potential to bring about syntactic restructuring. (See Huffines 1986 for a similar restructuring in the sectarian use of the Pennsylvania German progressive.)

Adverbs, conjunctions, and discourse markers form a very small part of the total number of items borrowed from English into Pennsylvania German. However, these items appear in positions which are sensitive to specific Pennsylvania German grammar rules, rules which contrast with those of English. The English borrowing renders the application of the native Pennsylvania German rules uncertain, and the uncertainty effects linguistic variation, the prerequisite of linguistic change.

Discussion

Linguistic convergence is a cumulative process which often begins with lexical borrowing. Borrowing, which in some cases is more apparent than frequent, affects speakers' attitudes toward the language and its use: If lexical importation appears to be frequent, speakers deem their language an unworthy mixture and despair of its maintenance. One commonly hears: "If they use so much English in their Dutch anyway, why don't they just speak English?"—a statement heard most frequently to refer to the Amish by Mennonite and nonplain Pennsylvania Germans and reflected in Amish apologies for how they speak Dutch. That the plain borrow English vocabulary items more frequently than the nonplain, seems to result from language usage patterns: In plain communities switching to English is inappropriate. Because the plain maintain Pennsylvania German for daily discourse, they exploit English linguistic resources to supplement Pennsylvania German. In nonplain communities frequent borrowing is not as necessary because nonplain speakers switch languages.

The extensive morphological integration of English borrowings does not camouflage for speakers/listeners the extensiveness of the borrowing from English. On the contrary, morphological integration into Pennsylvania German does not prevent importation of English morphological marking or the disruption of native paradigms. Syntactically, single recurring borrowed patterns influence native constructions far more than the number of different borrowed items. Compared to nouns, for example, adverbs and conjunctions are rarely borrowed, but while the borrowing itself may seem to be of little consequence, English adverbs and conjunctions intrude on Pennsylvania German precisely at those sentence positions which are regulated by Pennsylvania German syntactic rules. Similarly, the discourse marking, which so closely parallels that of English and also borrows English markers, places these items in rule-sensitive positions. Such borrowings obscure the applicability of the Pennsylvania German rules and set precedents for new native usages.

Borrowing initiates linguistic convergence and is the vehicle by which linguistic influence due to contact obtains. When borrowed items occupy syntactic positions where corresponding native forms would not occur, native rules are compromised and become variable. One would expect frequent borrowers to exhibit more convergent patterns in their speech than do those speakers who borrow less. This is, indeed, the case for the sample under consideration. The sectarians, who borrow more frequently than the nonsectarians, place, for example, past participles in independent clauses more frequently in nonfinal position (see table 3; cf. Huffines, forthcoming).

The placement of English borrowings rather than the frequency interrupts the syntactic analysis necessary to apply Pennsylvania German syntactic rules appropriately. If speakers analyze syntax on the basis of lexical cues, borrowed forms in critical syntactic slots will result in altered syntax. Speakers in contact situations seem readily to compre-

hend a familiar (though borrowed) syntactic construction without objecting that it occurs in the wrong language. Bilingual speakers in contact situations are also notorious for their inability to identify which language they are speaking.

Table 3
Position of the Past Participle in Independent Clauses

Group	Total Number of Participles	Number Nonfinal	Percent Nonfinal
N	788	143	18%
M	587	176	30%
A	453	173	38%

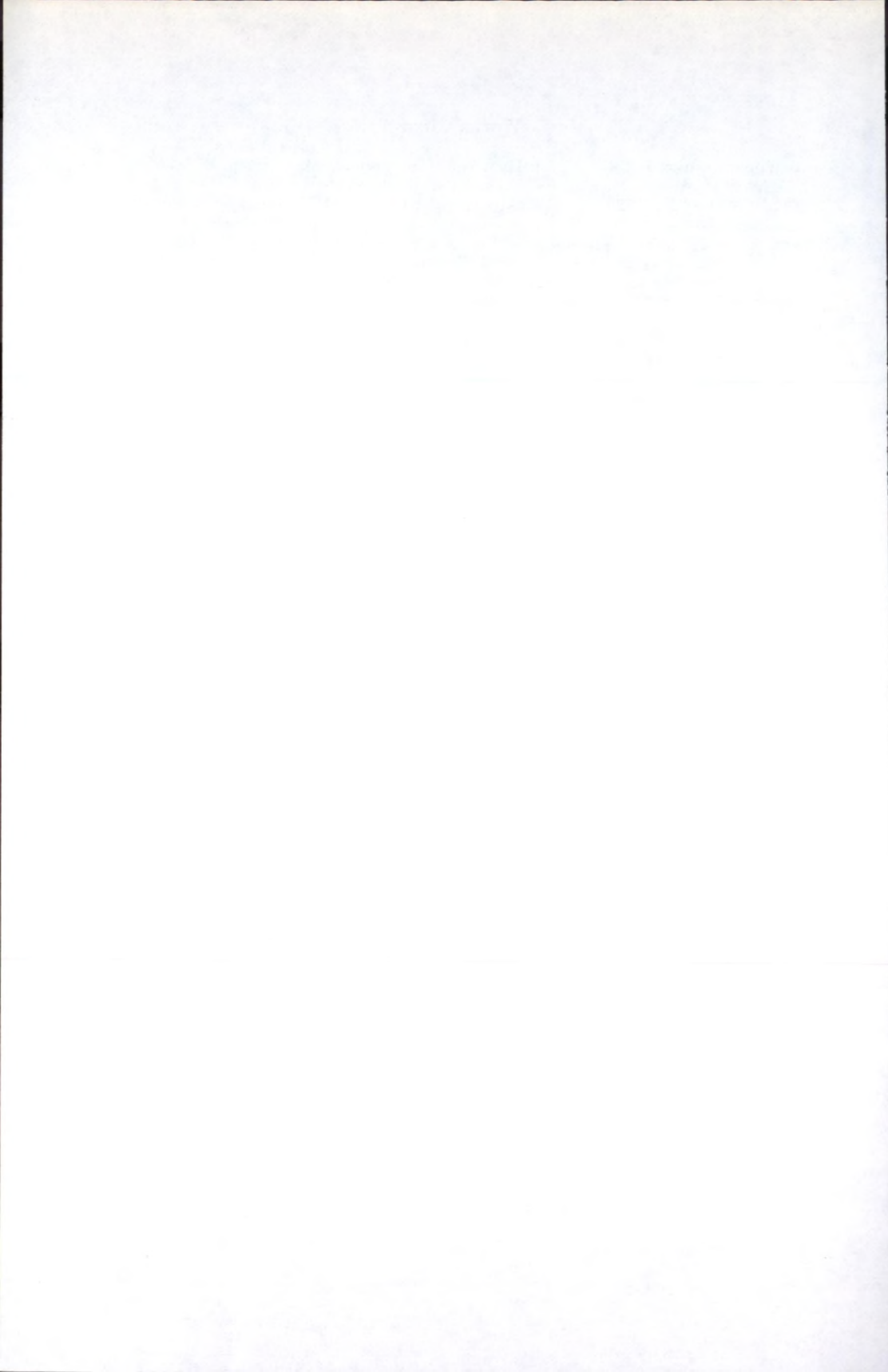
Borrowing directly affects second-language learners in minority language communities. These speakers have little opportunity to test syntactic options. Nonnative (nonsectarian) Pennsylvania German speakers, i.e., native English speakers who learn Pennsylvania German as a second language, receive convergent formulations as input. Because of their minimal exposure to regularly spoken Pennsylvania German, they are likely to re-analyze the native-speaker Pennsylvania German rule and incorporate the new pattern into their variety of Pennsylvania German (cf. Huffines 1987a). Even the two youngest native (nonsectarian) speakers, for example, place past particles in independent clauses in nonfinal position at a rate (39%) twice as frequent as that of the older speakers. Nonnative speakers and younger native speakers come to use a variety which contrasts sharply with that of the other native speakers.

In language contact, individual borrowed vocabulary items initiate linguistic convergence by creating opportunities for new syntactic options and re-analysis of native rules. More frequent borrowers exhibit more convergence; younger speakers and second-language learners also acquire re-analyzed rules and have almost no access to the conservative native speaker norms. In addition to facilitating linguistic convergence, borrowing is an emotional issue, and sensitivity to borrowing varies from community to community. As extensive borrowing becomes apparent, speakers approach a threshold of tolerance for borrowings and affected stretches of speech. Beyond this threshold, discourse in Pennsylvania German becomes problematic for speakers who evaluate it as containing more English than appropriate. This evaluation often results in the rejection of Pennsylvania German and regular use of English.

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**A Would-be Whig Ascendancy of Fashion:
Francis J. Grund's *Aristocracy in America*
as a Satirical Account**

Far from the straightforward "travel account" which it is usually taken for, Francis J. Grund's *Aristocracy in America* is actually a principled and partisan satire on the very possibility of an American aristocracy. It superficially bears the marks of that popular early-nineteenth-century genre in which Europeans presented observations on life and manners in the United States, and a number of American historians have relied on it in precisely that fashion.¹ Others, however, have seen more in the work without fully recognizing Grund's intent. George Probst, who edited the work's first American edition in 1959, considered it an engaging and perhaps exaggerated conversational commentary illustrating the impossibility of inequality in American life, while Robert Berkhofer, Jr., maintained that in the form of an orthodox travel account it expressed Grund's disappointment with the Democratic Party under Martin Van Buren.²

But *Aristocracy in America* is a complex and witty book that straddles many boundaries. Travel accounts of the early nineteenth century, as Berkhofer has noted, were part of a larger European dialogue about liberalism and reform, a dialogue in which Grund's place is only now beginning to be appreciated.³ A committed democrat, he produced two such works. The first of these, *The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*, he published in England, Germany, and the United States in 1837, while *Aristocracy in America* saw print two years later only in England and Germany.⁴ Both works were intended to counter accounts by English conservatives. In addition, Grund was engaged in American political dialogue as a partisan politician and journalist—a pro-Jackson Democrat when he wrote these two books—and he closely identified his domestic Whig opposition with the self-selected would-be aristocracy upon which English writers relied for information. *Aristoc-*

racy in America speaks to both of these dialogues simultaneously through its stinging critique of Grund's political enemies.

On occasion, in orthodox travel account fashion, Grund does offer some observations on key topics, including the nature of the American political system and anomalies in relations between men and women that had, he thought, a corrosive effect on American life. Far from forming the bulk of the book, however, these reflections take little space. The book's central purpose, guided by his understanding of American politics, is to skewer the self-proclaimed American aristocracy through satire. Using the observations of a fictional Author and the Author's reported conversations, both overheard and with jaundiced observers, Grund mounts a vicious attack on his enemies. One of his major satiric thrusts, striking at a point of particular concern in Jacksonian America, aims at the undue prominence of women and skewed domestic relations among the "aristocracy."

Grund's background is important in understanding *Aristocracy in America*. He was one of the relatively small number of German-speaking intellectuals who migrated to the United States before 1848. The son of a Catholic furrier, he was born in the Bohemian mountains northeast of Prague in 1805.⁵ As a young man, probably between about 1822 and 1825, he studied mathematics and philosophy at the Vienna Polytechnikum and the University of Vienna and was particularly gifted in languages and mathematics. His views on aristocracy and the proper role of women in polite society, an implicit counterpoint to the American would-be aristocracy's practice throughout *Aristocracy in America*, clearly owe much to his knowledge of such society in Austria. Sometime in the mid-1820s Grund left Vienna for the New World; one source places him in Rio de Janeiro in 1825.⁶ Upon his arrival in the United States in 1827, Grund earned his living by teaching mathematics and modern languages in Boston, and he published several school textbooks between 1830 and 1834.

He first tasted political life in October 1834, when he spoke to a crowd of German voters in New York—by his own account, an electrifying performance—in favor of William Seward, the Whig candidate for governor. Within seven months, however, he changed his allegiance. He later campaigned among the German community for Martin Van Buren, the Democratic nominee for president and heir apparent to Andrew Jackson. A German-language campaign biography of Van Buren numbers among his efforts in that direction, and his two commentaries on American life date from Van Buren's administration. Shortly before publishing these works Grund had forsaken education for a full-time career in politics; in about 1834 or 1835 he took up political journalism, and from about 1846 he served as a Washington correspondent for newspapers in Philadelphia, where he had moved in 1836 and lived for most of the year, and in Baltimore. During his political career he switched parties and factions several times in an apparent effort to gain government offices. In 1840 he turned his support back to a Whig candidate once again, favoring William Henry Harrison (whom he had campaigned against in 1836), and four years later changed parties for a

third time. This time he remained a Democrat until 1863, although deeply involved in factional politics within the party. In 1863 he dramatically renounced his political allegiance and joined the Republican Party.⁷

This behavior recently led two historians to label him a "political weathervane" and to excoriate him as "a prototype of the chameleon or trimmer" and "blood brother" to the Vicar of Bray.⁸ But Grund's party-switching was no more extreme than that of many others in the period, and it has recently been argued that his own views remained consistent while the parties' positions on important issues changed. In any case, party loyalty by itself was no virtue for Grund, who wrote that political action was only "the shortest distance between two given points."⁹

In his broadest political principles, the commitment to a liberal self-governing republic, he seems very close to those of other German-speaking liberals such as Francis Lieber and Charles Follen, for whom Boston and Boston society were a magnet in the period. He differed from the others in his enthusiastic embrace of American partisan politics and mirrored the bulk of German-Americans by affiliating mainly with the Democratic Party. His vigorous support for slavery also set him apart from fellow intellectuals and increasingly from the German-American community, which turned to the new Republican Party during the crisis of the 1850s.¹⁰

It is important to bear in mind that both *The Americans* and *Aristocracy in America* are products of a partisan journalist's first years in the trade, and moreover appeared during his brief first affiliation with the Democratic Party. He arranged to have *The Americans* published during a trip to Europe in late 1836 and 1837. It appeared in 1837 in Europe and the United States and received favorable notices in Britain and from Charles Sumner in the *North American Review*. *Aristocracy in America*, completed sometime after the spring of 1838, was published late in 1839 in London and in Germany, but was never published in the United States in Grund's lifetime.¹¹ Both of these works, but especially *Aristocracy in America*, bear strong marks of his affiliation with the Democratic Party. Choosing, for whatever reasons,¹² to side with the Whigs in 1840, Grund could afford to let *The Americans* pass as old news, and during that campaign season he worked as an editor for two Philadelphia Whig newspapers and also wrote a German campaign biography of Harrison. But he could not even contemplate releasing the other work because of its vituperative attacks on Whigs. As a partisan political journalist he had unleashed tremendous satirical energy in this second book.

Aristocracy in America combines straightforward evaluation of certain aspects of American life with a biting satire of the pseudo-aristocracy, and is the more complex and interesting of the two books. In part, however, it elaborates on themes and statements put forward in the earlier work. In *The Americans*, Grund addressed himself to several misconceptions about America, and by implication about a reformed Europe, arising from the narrow view that certain English travelers expounded; his particular *bêtes noires* were Mrs. Trollope, Basil Hall, and Thomas Hamilton, who berated Americans as narrow, uncultivated, and

money-minded.¹³ Grund defended Americans not by pointing to the youth of their society, which he thought a spurious argument, but by pointing out differences between the United States and Europe that the others overlooked.¹⁴

One major difference he noted was that American society was much more varied because of its extent and its origin: "Society, in America, is composed of a great number of heterogeneous elements, and the conventional standard, therefore, is less fixed than in any part of Europe" (TA, 1:2). Attempts to fix or make judgments according to a single standard, as pseudo-aristocrats did, he therefore thought ludicrous.

In addition to this geographical distinction, Grund asserted a more far-reaching socio-political difference. The United States was a nation of middling people:

America is really what Hamilton calls the city of Philadelphia—*médiocre par excellence*; her political institutions depriving her of the splendour of a throne—the focus of polite society in Europe; but, at the same time, saving her from the pernicious influence of an idle and turbulent mob—the destruction of public morality and virtue. The manners of Americans, therefore, are as far removed from the elegance of courts, as they are from the boorishness of the lower classes in Europe; and, perhaps, equally free from the vices of both. (TA, 1:4)

Although it had no aristocracy or court, the United States equally lacked Europe's desperate poverty, a happy circumstance often overlooked by Tories. This "mediocrity" was the key to understanding American manners. It, along with democratic government and institutions stemming from English origins, accounts for many of the traits which other travelers objected to. Such characteristics include Americans' conceit about their system of government, their seriousness, their hyperactivity, and above all, "their unhallowed custom of talking about trade and traffic" (TA, 1:14).

But the European critics who had not recognized this central fact of American life were not merely mistaken in their assessments, they had been actively misled. They had drawn their conclusions from the conversation of a particular set of Americans who boasted of their aristocratic ways. If "it has always been the fault of European writers to compare American manners, and especially those of the coteries styled 'aristocratic,' to the polished ease of the higher classes of Europe," and thereby to reflect negatively on American life, they had been encouraged by those very coteries to do so (TA, 1:3). Moreover, their opinion of the people at large derived from those coteries and was in fact nothing more than "the stale reiteration of some evening's conversation, coloured by the partisan spirit of politics and religion" (TA, 1:26).

Grund saw these coteries as very pernicious groups. They claimed to be aristocratic, but in America, where primogeniture had been abolished and wealth was impermanent, no genuine aristocracy ever could develop. Without hereditary wealth, special privileges, or legal power to

direct the lower classes, aristocracy was impossible, and people were foolish to think it could exist in the United States of Grund's time.

Nevertheless, a certain group of people persisted in claiming that "there was a great deal of aristocracy" in the country which Europeans habitually missed seeing. Grund's rejoinder is worth quoting at length:

Now I have remained nearly fifteen years in the United States; but I have never been able to discover this aristocracy; nor its trappings, power, influence, or worshippers. I have, assuredly, known a variety of fashionable coteries,—at least what in America is called fashionable;—composed of highly respectable merchants, literary and professional men, politicians and others, who, it was evident, considered themselves the nobility and gentry of the land; but they never had the courage of avowing their sentiments and pretensions in public; and have, of late, been as much excluded from the government of the country, as they avoided being confounded with the rest of their fellow citizens. (TA, 2:391)

Mere pseudo-aristocracies, then, these coteries lacked real power and instead tried to counterfeit it through the power of fashion.

Women were a major force within fashionable coteries; where pretension flowered, it was tended by them. As Grund elaborated,

Coteries there always were, and always will be, in large cities; but they need not necessarily be connected with power. In America, moreover, they exist, principally, among the ladies; there being, as yet, but few gentlemen to be called "of leisure," or exclusively devoted to society. The country is yet too young . . . to leave to the fashionable drawing-rooms other devotees than young misses and *elegants* [sic] of from fourteen to twenty years of age. (TA, 1:21-22)

Fashionable society—Grund's coteries—involved largely women and boys. Its pecking order was not based on power, learning, or any real distinction but on fashion; he later pictured this group as morbidly afraid to mix with the lower classes because of ". . . the total absence of any exterior distinction between themselves and the lower orders, which could point them out as objects of particular respect and reverence" (TA, 1:51).¹⁵ The conversation and bearing of these fashionable circles claiming a bogus aristocracy, which had so influenced the British travel writers, would be Grund's targets in his next book. There, he would mount a spirited satirical attack against these would-be aristocrats.

Aristocracy in America is a complex and engaging book whose principal aim Grund states with tongue in cheek, clearly signaling his satirical intent, at the beginning of his "Introduction." Posing as the "editor," he explains that he wants merely to correct a grievous oversight:

Numerous works have already been published on "American Society;" but its peculiar tendency towards *Aristocracy*, its talents, resources,

and prospects, have never been more than generally and superficially dwelt upon. . . . This is a great fault. The Americans have, as they repeatedly assure Europeans, "a great deal of Aristocracy," and, in general, a very nice taste for artificial distinctions . . .

The Author of these pages seems to have made it his study to bring those hidden gems to light, in order to vindicate his adopted country from the reproach of *equality* and *barbarism*, indiscriminately heaped upon it by the Tories of all countries, and especially by the *great* Tories of England. (AA, 3)

A comparison of this passage with those cited from *The Americans* is instructive and clearly signals the central satirical thrust of the book.

Within the overarching framework of partisan satire, which will be discussed below, Grund as the "Author" allows himself direct observations on several topics in the manner of orthodox travel writers. Many of them reflect on his own career, while some were first explored in *The Americans*. Two of particular importance are those on American women and relations between the sexes, and those on political principles. Both are seen principally from a European perspective.

Like many other Europeans, Grund saw fundamental distortions in relations between the sexes of respectable Americans, and his Author speaks directly to the reader about them rather than through his more usual device of reported conversations. Remarking the utter awkwardness of men when women are present, he lays the behavior to "something radically wrong in the composition of American society" that puts both sexes on a false footing with each other. Social convention, he notes, puts women in a totally opposite position in public to that in their own homes and families, and one which also forbids any "exercise of discretion" by men. Ladies in public had to be waited on incessantly: helped into carriages, helped with their boots, their shawls, their shoelaces, led up and down stairs, have candles lit for them. "On every occasion they are treated as poor helpless creatures who rather excite the pity than the admiration of men," and because men were obliged to attend on women in the normally servantless social world, they naturally found feminine company "irksome." Grund would far prefer that men could exercise discretion and pay special attention only to those they liked; this lack of allowable discretion made women tyrants in public.

Because of the rules requiring indiscriminate attention, "an American *salon* exhibits nothing but generalities of men and women, in which no other merit is recognized but that which belongs to the sex." Specifically, "whenever an American gentleman meets a lady, he looks upon her as the representative of her sex," who receives his attentions as such and not for herself. Most unfortunately this pattern prevails within marriage as well, making true friendship or companionship between man and wife impossible. "How seldom is she the intimate friend of her husband, the repository of his secrets, his true and faithful counsellor," he laments. In sum, "American ladies are worshipped; but the adoration consists in a species of polytheism, in which no particular

goddess has a temple or an altar dedicated to herself" (AA, 39-40). Grund as a European finds this convention of polite society repugnant and as a Jacksonian Democrat finds it dangerous, as will be seen below.

Another important set of observations, those on the American political system, appear repeatedly throughout the book and underlie Grund's political satire. Some of those observations serve Grund's own career view; an example is his assessment of Washington, D.C., as an intellectual capital. In every other city talk revolves around business and the views expounded are very parochial, but in the national capital these limited horizons expand, and talent and intellect, rather than money, rule society. "Literary and professional men . . . find their level only in Washington," where "the mass of property is really so small in proportion to the intellect that governs it, as to leave a large balance in favour of the latter" (AA, 252). An intellectual *engagé* like Grund could feel at home nowhere else in America, despite his own view that politicians as a group had little knowledge of or interest in the principles of republican government as against any other. A party leader could not worry about right and wrong, but only about the public's understanding of right and wrong; "when a new question is proposed, he thrusts out his *feelers*, to feel the public pulse" (AA, 243).

No leader could, however, rely on newspapers either to sound or shape public opinion. Newspapers act only as partisan instruments and achieve an effect by their sheer numbers rather than through well-reasoned argument. Paradoxically, given the partisan bitterness of American newspapers, "there is scarcely a paper in any of the large cities of the United States which has a decided political character—advocating some great historical principle" and making an intellectual appeal to that political principle as well as to the emotions (AA, 192). Unpopular truths must find men of independent means as champions, but editors, who rely on advertising revenue rather than subscriptions, can hardly fit that description (AA, 193-94). Perhaps for this reason, political journalism, as a correspondent informs the Author in conversation, is an amusement, not a trade, and the fun consists in being on the winning side. "'There is such fun in being on the side that beats. . . . To carry a whole State 'smack, smooth, and no mistake!'" But no one enjoys losing, and so "'if you study our politics, you will always find that our most 'talented men' desert a party just before it is going to break up'" (AA, 228). It would be hard to find a more convincing rationale for Grund's own career trajectory: Unable to make a living by arguing for grand principles, he could form tactical alliances with either party as the need arose.

On one prime article of Democratic faith *Aristocracy in America*, paralleling *The Americans*, makes no compromises. Once again Grund presents the issue as the Author's own reflections rather than as a reported conversation. Grund's author sees a self-selected "aristocracy" of wealth persistently attempting to capture the government for its own ends:

The old Federalists have not given up *one* of their former pretensions . . . they have become more cautious . . . because they now *fear* the people . . . the wealthy classes are in no other country as much opposed to the existing government; and . . . no other government can be considered as less permanently established, or more liable to changes, than that of the United States. And this state of danger the soft speeches of the Whigs try to conceal from the people by directing their attention almost exclusively to the financial concerns of the country. (AA, 131)

Federalists-turned-Whigs, attempting to capture the government for a monied would-be aristocracy, rely on their wealth as a means of rewarding talent and turning it to their purposes; "talent loves to be rewarded, and in republics, as well as in monarchies, naturally serves those who are best *able* to reward it." They also use ridicule (often in the partisan press) and exclusion from fashionable society as weapons against the "cause of democracy." Against this array of weapons, Democrats have only the public offices at their disposal, and so Whigs attack public patronage viciously. Grund's Author trusts to the good sense, wisdom, and moral outlook of the people to prevent the triumph of mere wealth (AA, 132-33).

The book's first section ends with a further Authorial reflection on the pseudo-aristocracy of wealth.¹⁶ He retires for the night with this train of thought in his mind, and dreams that a conquering army from the Western states has overrun New York or Philadelphia and established laws "written in blood." Pseudo-aristocratic "leading citizens" attempt to buy the "gallant leader's" clemency, but he sternly rebukes them, saying

"Fools that ye were to wish for artificial distinctions! Know that the origin of every aristocracy is the sword, not the purse. . . . You have claimed the purse for yourself, and now the sword shall take it!" (AA, 135)

These reflections give the partisan satire of *Aristocracy in America* its center, energy, and bite.

The essential argument underlying Grund's satire can be stated relatively baldly. It holds that the United States was historically and essentially a democratic nation ruled by public opinion, which the Democratic Party represented best. Resisting this fundamental principle of political life, groups of wealthy men and women persistently sought to install a government on different and opposed principles. Their claim to distinction and aristocracy was part of this effort. However, because they did not and never could possess real attributes of aristocracy, they were no more than snobbish coteries, both ludicrous and vicious, and founded merely on evanescent mercantile wealth or even on speculative credit. The new Whig Party of 1834 was merely the current incarnation of aristocratic principles formerly embodied in Federalism and National Republicanism, and deserved scourging to protect the common people and their political democracy.

The partisan satire, aimed at undercutting both the bogus aristocracy and the European conservatives who relied on and criticized it, begins in the book's "Introduction." Grund as "the editor" writes that he has come to issue the Author's book after running into his old acquaintance, the seventh (and non-inheriting) son of an obscure Westphalian baron, early one morning. Recognizing each other, the two decide to chat at a Turkish coffee shop. The formerly impecunious, now prospectively rich, nobleman had written some sketches during an earlier political career. Since then he got rich in the China trade, married the daughter of an insurance executive ("the young lady having fallen in love with him at a party"), and became respectable. "He has since had two children by his wife, and a clerkship by his father-in-law," and has sworn to write no more except in the line of business or to his father-in-law. The gentleman wants Grund to publish his sketches without letting anyone else know. As he declares, "I am a married man, related to one of the most aristocratic families in town, with the prospect of inheriting a fortune. I must not quarrel with my bread and butter." He especially wishes to have his flirtations excised, not particularly for his wife's sake, "but my father-in-law, and the public—." Grund gallantly agrees and refuses all talk of recompense, commenting that "it will be as much as you can do to pay your wife's mantuamaker" (AA, 4-7).

Besides providing an amusing and sarcastic rationale for the book itself, the introduction also showcases Grund's skill in creating fictitious conversations and the characters he needs to advance various positions. The German nobleman "was once a sporting character; but is now a sedate, moral, religious man, scarcely to be told from a real American." But he is in mufti, and really takes a detached, if not jaundiced, view of Americans when he lets his hair down with Grund. Readers can be prepared for more of the same in the book itself, and they have the advantage of knowing that their supposed Author is or was a true aristocrat "whose family dates back to the eighth century" and can therefore observe the American "aristocracy" from a position of knowledge, but one who has not scrupled at marrying for American money. No one can seriously doubt, however, that the seventh son of the Baron von K-pfsch-rtz, so perfect for Grund's purposes, did not exist (AA, 3).

The fictional quality of Grund's characters and of the book's many conversations, though not usually recognized, is important to his overall satirical strategy in pursuing his argument.¹⁷ No one can seriously believe in either "the Author" or Grund's reported conversation with him. Similarly, no one can seriously believe in the Author's conversants, who materialize all too conveniently. In the first part of the book, an account of fashionable society in New York, the Author shares observations with a pair of Southern gentlemen, both of them trenchant observers and critics of Northern society. Later, in Boston, the Author meets by chance a native Bostonian who entrusts him with his ironic view of life there, but only when the two are alone; a Bostonian must be careful of his reputation, after all. Still later, having just mentally praised the Southern gentry, our diarist is treated to a Carolinian of similar temperament who remembers him from a stagecoach ride between

Baltimore and Washington, and the two commiserate on Bostonians' mealy-mouthed public behavior. Other characters are equally just beyond the limits of believability, but serve Grund's purposes.¹⁸

Similarly, the conversational strategy itself allows him a great deal of freedom; it lets him convict the pseudo-aristocracy directly and indirectly while slightly softening the blows. It allows him to demonstrate the fatuity of his subjects by having their conversations expose their own venality all unaware. It also enables him to put some of his most stinging critical remarks in the mouths of Americans, albeit "outsiders;" the only sustained criticism made by the author in reported conversation concerns economic affairs. Self-indictment might seem more convincing to European readers, and criticism from Americans more palatable to American readers. Grund uses this strategy to plant satirical barbs in two primary ways. In one, his Author converses with interlocutors who are detached enough from wherever they are to offer judgments on local society. In the other, the Author quotes overheard conversations among the "aristocracy" very much like the conversations Grund believed earlier English observers had been involved in.

The first two chapters, centering on a trip to Staten Island, serve as an introduction to the American pseudo-aristocracy, to Grund's methods in satirizing them, and to the major themes of his criticism. He excoriates their hatred of the United States and its institutions, their slavish imitation of European fashions, their kowtowing to foreign aristocracy, their love of artificial distinctions, and their disdain for the "lower classes" to whom they are actually so close. Women appear prominently in his satires as over-powerful figures.

A discussion of the first episodes will convey the flavor of Grund's attack. Chapter one opens with the Author strolling along with two Southern friends down Broadway one hot summer morning; they proceed to the Bowling Green where cool breezes await them. This locale provides the occasion for a conversation on the willingness of fashionable New Yorkers to throw away comfort in order to imitate foreign fashion; they have lately moved to the West Side, where the air and views are far less pleasant. As one of the Author's companions observes, "This our people imagine to be a successful imitation of English taste" because fashionable Londoners live in the West End. American aristocrats also fear contact with ordinary people, again to their own detriment. "The people follow their inclination, and occupy that which they like, while our exclusives are obliged to content themselves with what is abandoned by the crowd" (AA, 10).

The little group takes the ferry to Staten Island and there joins a roomful of men who happen to represent different parts of the Union and different aristocratic professions. Besides the German and his two Southern friends, there are a Baltimorean, a lawyer/litterateur, a Bostonian, a New Yorker, a Philadelphian, a Virginian, and a young man just returned from France. This cast of characters exhibits a veritable showcase of pseudo-aristocratic faults. They condemn politics and politicians, despise abolitionists, Thomas Jefferson, and universal suffrage, and cannot abide living in the United States. The Philadelphian

blames Jefferson for " 'introducing that vilest of curses, universal suffrage,' " which forces them to mingle with the lower orders. As the New Yorker declares, " 'Who the d-l would scramble up among a parcel of ragamuffins in order to exercise a privilege shared by every pauper! I would as lief do common militia duty.' " They much prefer society in England and France, though in England, unlike France, they would have to " 'put up with the society of the middle classes' " (AA, 15-16).

Nor do these men care for American women, whom they castigate as pretentious, imperious, and vapidly interested only in amusing themselves. The returnee from France, however, is willing to put up with one woman who " 'is worth a hundred thousand dollars if she is worth a cent; and she has sworn never to marry, except an European or an American who has remained enough in Europe to become civilized.' " The dandy prepares for half an hour for his assignation, even over-tightening his tie in order to give color to his complexion! The lawyer, too, is revealed as a drone incapable of earning a living, as are most of his group; " 'all the law business is done by half-a-dozen vulgar upstarts who come here from the country, and whom the public, God knows why, is taking into favour.' " At this juncture the Author, stepping out of his reporter role, reflects on the remarkable fact that men in a society ruled by chance should lust for " 'aristocratic distinctions' " more than in countries which have a historical aristocracy (AA, 20-22).

Opportunities for further observation present themselves on the ferry ride back to Manhattan. The ferry stops to board and land passengers of a ship newly arrived from London, and the ferry riders evaluate the ship's cabin passengers, disparaging some and fawning over the titled English. The women aboard the ferry are the most active in drawing social distinctions. Remarks begin as a gentleman aboard the ferry asks the ship's captain who is aboard his ship; the man's wife comments on the social standing of those the captain names. Mrs. ***, for example, is " 'The wife of that vulgar auctioneer that wanted to outdo everybody,' " while an unrelated Mr. *** is " 'that grocer who made fifty thousand dollars in a coffee speculation, and has ever since been trying to get into the first society; but did not succeed on account of that blubber-faced wife of his.' "

English voyagers are subjected to the same appraisal. The collected company gasps in appreciation of Lady *** and her daughter, the men even using binoculars for a better view, and duly appreciates Captain ***. Lord ***, a single young nobleman, likewise draws favorable notice, even though he is judged to be a liberal because he was seen talking to the ship's engineer. But several gentlemen of Manchester, Liverpool, and London, all in the cotton business, are not worth knowing. As the appraising wife declares, " 'business people, I presume,—full of pretensions and vulgar English prejudices.' " Dismissive of cotton magnates, the party equally fears contact with the ship's steerage passengers and forms tight groups, with women packed in the center, to intimidate them as they walk on deck. One with the temerity to speak to an American cabin passenger is humiliated, and the American, trying to impress Lord *** with his refinement, finds himself

quietly but firmly upended by the aristocrat. The exchange culminates with the American's assertion that the United States is young but that it "can challenge history for a comparison," only to be met with the reply, "Just so" (AA, 23-28).

This performance provides the German nobleman and his companions abundant opportunity for comment on Americans' treatment of aristocrats, which follows as soon as the ferry lands. All agree that fashionable people fawn. When the German tries to defend them by pointing to the novelty of real aristocrats, a companion replies, "'If their wonderment and toad-eating were confined to dukes and earls, I would willingly pardon them; but . . . by continually talking about nobility, they imagine themselves to belong to it'" (AA, 29). Common people, they agree, sometimes react too negatively to aristocrats, but all three find that more palatable because more in keeping with an unfolding national character.

The themes explored here recur through much of the book as the Author travels in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington and presents a barbed satire of those who would be aristocrats in a democratic nation. Fatuous and vicious conversation of these self-proclaimed aristocrats combines with jaundiced appraisals by outsiders and reflections by the Author. Informants are almost always ironically detached, while the Author himself is straightforwardly sincere and disarmingly candid until part three, in which he becomes extremely partisan in his appraisal of parties and politicians. In many of these caricatures, women play a leading role as purveyors of the bogus aristocracy.

Pseudo-aristocratic hatred for democratic American institutions laces the conversations. In after-dinner talk in New York, for example, the author quotes a Bostonian lawyer who excessively admires English ways and manners and therefore holds the rest of American high society in contempt. Fashionable Americans, he maintains, are well-known throughout Europe as enemies of liberal institutions. "'Their presence in any country can only serve to chill the ardour of the liberals Our fashionable society is capable of curing the maddest [European] republican of his political distemper'" (AA, 50). In another instance, a fashionable New York City lady attempts to woo an upstate Democrat to the other side. Declaring her pride in America's republican institutions, she nevertheless complains that "our people go too far in their liberty" and hopes that the assemblyman does not represent the rabble who act on a "ridiculous notion of equality." Unable to budge him from this defense of democracy, immigrants, and General Jackson, she cuts him mercilessly as a buffoon: "'I want no better proof of the justice or injustice of either principle *than the comparative respectability of the men who advocate it.*'" This woman, like other Whig aristocrats, could not abide the institution of democratic equality (AA, 106-11).

Hatred for their own country's institutions is balanced by a slavish devotion to European fashion, or what passes for it. In Boston, the Author's guide, his "cicerone," directs his attention to a concert. The performers are all said to boast extravagant approvals from the capitals

of Europe, a claim the Author recognizes as absurd puffery. His guide agrees but assures him that these claims are the rule in Eastern cities, "the judgment of the higher classes in matters of taste confirming, without a single exception, the verdict pronounced by the connoisseurs of Europe," actual or claimed (AA, 159). At an earlier New York performance of "Othello" the fashionable part of the audience can talk of nothing but the superiority of English actors. Asking who is playing Iago, a woman in one of the boxes is told, "'Only one of our *ordinary Americans*. We have not had a decent *Iago* since Kemble left us.'" The latter, an Englishman, knew how to play "tipsy *gentlemen*, while our actors only play the part of drunken blackguard," according to the lady. Forest, the American in the title role, has "much improved" through a tour in England (AA, 77).

Closely related to the rage for European fashion is the kowtowing to titles. One recommendation in Forest's favor, for example, is that "the first nobility went to see him" (AA, 77). After-dinner conversation in New York dwells on this trait, introduced by the Anglophilic Bostonian. Both English and Americans fawn excessively on royalty, "but the American will outdo the Englishman. He will be twice as humble before ribands and stars" (AA, 47). This view meets with general recognition, even as involving speakers and men of letters; as an English doctor declares, "however fiercely they may extol republican institutions in their writings, they all sink the republican in company with lords and ladies" (AA, 57).

Grund inserts a running joke on this theme revolving around use of the aristocratic particle "de" (which was used by many Germans when giving their names in English). Early in the book, the Author is introduced "without the 'de,'" to a circle of fashionable New York girls, who continue talking without taking any real notice of him (AA, 34). Arriving in Boston later, he receives a polite but distant welcome because of his own request that letters of introduction omit the offending particle (AA, 151). At a Washington hotel he gives his name as Mr. ***, "taking care to omit the 'De'" so as not to pull rank, and must of course share his room (AA, 226). Finally, despite his best efforts, he is introduced at a Washington party as "*Monsieur DE ****," upon which the young debutantes begin eyeing him appraisingly and speculating about his marriageability and wealth (AA, 270-71).

Pseudo-aristocratic subservience to European fashion and titles reflects a deep hunger for artificial distinctions which manifests itself throughout fashionable society. Women and girls work hard to maintain these distinctions. At a party in New York, a new girl becomes the butt of audible remarks when she enters with a country boy. One girl declares, "'I never saw her before in my life, I am sure; do *you* know her?'" while another remarks of the girl's dress, "'I am sure it's not worth seventy-five cents a yard.'" Other comments follow about her rural swain, and the exchange culminates when one fashionable girl declares, "'I hope she isn't going to dance; if she does, I shall leave the room'" (AA, 85).

The gnawing hunger for artificial distinctions extends far beyond the first circles of respectable society, and married women work very hard to satisfy it. Fashionable wives and daughters of even modestly successful men are particularly anxious for status; as described by the Anglophilic Boston lawyer, they must have their own carriages, live in more expensive houses than they can afford, give lavish parties without inviting old friends, cultivate officers and aristocrats, and tour the fashionable springs. Daughters cajole their parents into overdressing them so they can rise in the fashionable world and leave their origins behind after seventeen; a young lady's debutante party marks "the commencement of her formal separation for life from all her early friends, relatives, and often her own parents'" (AA, 44-46). All social circles with pretensions to gentility make elaborate calculations of rank, according to the Bostonian "cicerone" (AA, 188-89). And such distinctions extend even into the churches, as the Author instances directly. In New York, the respectable Roman Catholics maintain their own small church in order to exclude poorer Catholics, often their own servants; "those poor devils who cannot afford to pay for a pew must be content to seek the Lord elsewhere *among their equals*" (AA, 89).

Beneath this search for artificial distinction, or coordinate with it, the Author emphasizes the bogus aristocracy's powerful disdain for ordinary people and for the notion of equality with them. Echoing sentiments quoted earlier, the Author's Southern friend in New York parodies the love of genteel Americans for the presence of royalty. "What privilege," he quotes them as saying, "is it to shake hands with the President of the United States?—every blackguard, dressed in boots, can do the same," as any "journeyman mechanic" in ordinary work clothes can attend a White House party (AA, 56). Such reflection, as above, is often pointedly partisan and targets the Whigs by name. Men of this party, explains the "cicerone," though they are "just one or two steps removed from the masses, think themselves beset by dogs, and are continually kicking for fear of being bitten" (AA, 170). The Author himself observes that Whigs, invited to Democratic banquets in Boston and Philadelphia, happily downed the food and drink but strode off muttering "It's no use for these people to imitate *us*; you cannot make a gentleman out of a democrat'" (AA, 102). And fashionable behavior in itself often expresses this "aristocratic" disdain for common people, as with the fashion for moving to Manhattan's West Side in imitation of London. In reflecting on the dance scene mentioned above, in which the unknown girl is mercilessly cut, the Author recalls a vivid earlier instance of this fear of contact with the masses which injured him to that pitiful scene. Girls of fashion in Philadelphia wait before taking their walks "until the dinner-hour of 'the common people,' when they would be sure of having the sidewalk to themselves" (AA, 89).

Thus Grund has his Author and other characters mock the American pseudo-aristocracy for several aspects of its behavior, and the criticism of fashion is a form of partisan journalism, for the Whig Party, according to the Author and to Grund himself in *The Americans*, represents the political expression of a would-be aristocracy of money attempting to

establish its rule by controlling fashion. Making their craving for fashion ludicrous undercuts their political ambitions and their stature as reliable sources for European readers. The bulk of *Aristocracy in America* is made up of such reported incidents and conversations designed to satirize this group from a Jacksonian Democratic perspective.

A very significant element of Grund's satire is its emphasis on the role of women as fomentors and supporters of aristocratic pretension. Women offer cutting social appraisals, attempt to seduce well-meaning country representatives into the Whig Party, demand extravagant styles of dress and home, and mercilessly mock a new arrival. The prominence of such reported behavior in satirical contexts indicates that this picture of women's role was not straightforward reportage. Rather, Grund meant to use the central participation and leadership of women, one of the major sources of dislocation in "aristocratic" society, as a weapon. One major charge against the Whigs as portrayed in *Aristocracy in America* was that women were in charge.

To a certain extent, Grund's view of women in these coteries reflected and spoke to a European perspective. His central contention that the United States could not have any real aristocracy only makes sense from that point of view, so that when his Author or a conversant criticizes female extravagance, the criticism derives partly from the view that a middling class ought not to deny its own identity and source of prosperity, those "simple, manly, moral, industrious habits of the great mass of the people,—habits which alone have won them the respect of the world" (AA, 87). And the contrast between these women and those of a true aristocracy could only weaken this group's claims to preeminence in European eyes.

But in a fundamental and very powerful sense Grund's expressed views on pseudo-aristocratic women are also highly partisan and speak to a central concern in nineteenth-century American life. The family, many have recognized, occupied a special place in an increasingly threatening world. Even as it lost economic purpose it gained psychic importance as a refuge, and women's place in this order became increasingly problematic.¹⁹ But, as Michael Paul Rogin has argued, a central aim of the era's voluminous literature on the subject was to preserve the authority of men within the family and ultimately in society at large.²⁰

Grund's attention to aristocratic women speaks to that fear. As viciously as he caricatures their behavior, he is careful to lampoon only the women of the coteries. Other groups of women, particularly in the West, merit approving mention rather than scorn. At a New York dinner, for example, the author's Southern friend carefully circumscribes his strictures. "'I do not speak of the great mass of our women . . . much less of the wives and daughters of our Western settlers, who, Heaven knows, are as busy and industrious as the best German housewives'" (AA, 53).

One particular incident, small in itself, describes the Author's ideal of the proper role of women in a good democratic family, and thereby offers an explicit counterexample to that of coterie women. Traveling in

the Mississippi Valley, with the nearest inn an hour or more away, the Author and a cousin pass the house of a farmer and his wife who are just setting out to buy stores at a market town. Although the travelers do not wish to put the farming couple to any trouble, the latter insist on preparing and serving dinner as a duty of hospitality; as the farmer declares, "'Oh, I assure you, gentlemen, I never suffer myself or my wife to be troubled either by strangers or friends; we merely discharge our duty.'" Once having served them, the couple must leave, and the farmer orders his daughter to tend to their guests (AA, 87-88).

This scene of "sincerity, honesty, confidence, frankness, and unostentatious hospitality" presents a tableau of democratic domestic relations. The family shares freely without grudging or calculation, expecting no return or obligation on the travelers' part despite having taken extraordinary pains. The farmer, making all decisions for his wife and family, interrupts their activities and plans and commands the labor of his wife and daughter on his sole authority. His wife prepares dinner without demur at his offer, although apparently with his help, and his daughter attends to his guests as bidden. Moreover, except for a final farewell offered after her husband's own, the wife does not speak; her farmer husband speaks for both of them.

While this scene's immediate contrast is with a wealthy New Yorker's parodied hospitality, the visible pattern of domestic relations contrasts sharply with that of the would-be aristocracy. In this unpretentious idyllic household the woman submits to her husband's decisions and pronouncements, as the daughter submits to her father. The reader knows without being told that this household boasts no frippery and that the farmer tolerates no rudeness. These people are what they are, without apology and without fancied attempts at fashion. They form a complete contrast with the class at the center of the book, and one of the most telling differences is that the women of this family speak only when appropriate and do as they are bidden; male authority remains secure.

Grund's attention to the problem of woman's place meshes with the other themes of his satire to present a strong indictment of Jacksonian America's bogus aristocracy of money and fashion. His wish to savage this group—coming as it did from a European liberal and an American Democrat—stemmed from his knowledge of its false status and of the damage its pretension and ambition could do to his favored cause in both the United States and Europe. *Aristocracy in America*, building on *The Americans*, blends Grund's two perspectives in a telling satire.

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Notes

¹ Francis Joseph Grund, *Aristocracy in America: From the Sketch-Book of a German Nobleman* (London, 1839; New York, 1959). It was published simultaneously by Cotta as

Die Aristokratie in Amerika: Aus dem Tagebuch eines deutschen Edelmanns (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1839). All further references, abbreviated AA, are to the 1959 Harper Torchbook edition, the first American publication, and will be included in the text. All italics are in the original.

For citations see, among others, Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-Class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven and London, 1982), 62, 116, 195; Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, rev. ed. (Urbana and Chicago, 1985), 10, 13, 17, 25-28; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The United States 1830-1850* (New York, 1963), 350. Fred Somkin recognizes the fictional status of the Authorial character, but accepts his concerns as derived from genuine experience, in his seminal *Unquiet Eagle: Memory and Desire in the Idea of American Freedom, 1815-1860* (Ithaca, 1967), 37.

² George Probst, "Introduction," AA, vii-xiii; Robert Berkhofer, Jr., "Introduction" to the reissue of Grund's *The Americans in their Moral, Social, and Political Relations*, 2 vols. (London, 1837); 2 vols. in one (Boston, 1837; repr. New York, 1968).

There are several likely reasons for the book's neglect, beginning with its contemporary publication only in Europe. In addition, Grund's reputation in the United States as a partisan political writer considerably outweighed his reputation as an impartial observer; few European authors of travel accounts involved themselves as deeply in American politics. In those battles, Grund generally rubbed fashionable circles the wrong way for reasons that will become apparent. Another factor in the book's neglect is probably its classification by librarians under the rubric "Social life and customs," where it is grouped with travel books.

³ Berkhofer, "Introduction," *The Americans*, v-vi. For Grund's role, see Maria Wagner, "Francis J. Grund neu betrachtet," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 21 (1986): 115-26.

⁴ *The Americans* was also published by Cotta: *Die Amerikaner in ihren moralischen, politischen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen* (Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1837). Further references to the 1837 London edition, abbreviated TA, will be included in the text.

⁵ Sources on Grund's life include H. A. Rattermann, "Francis Joseph Grund," *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke* (Cincinnati, 1910), 10:69-80, in which his birthplace is stated as Klosterneuburg, a town near Vienna; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1933), 23:131, which gives his birthplace as simply "Germany"; *Dictionary of American Biography* [DAB] (New York, 1944), 21:362-64, which repeats Klosterneuburg as his birthplace. His birthdate is variously given as 1798 or 1805. Grund himself was deliberately foggy on these details, but Holman Hamilton and James L. Crouthamel have established 1805 and Reichenberg (now Liberec, Czechoslovakia) beyond reasonable doubt in their "A Man for Both Parties: Francis J. Grund as Political Chameleon," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 465-84.

⁶ *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 23:131.

⁷ This party switch indirectly cost him his life, as biographers report in varying manners. Shortly after he announced it, a demonstration for the prospective Democratic candidate General George McClellan ended at McClellan's mother's house nearby. Because the paraders also stopped at his own house to vilify him, Grund apparently feared the mob would attack him and dashed to a police station. The fright and exertion led to a fatal stroke that night. See Hamilton and Crouthamel, "Man for Both Parties," 481; DAB, 21:363; Berkhofer, "Introduction," TA, xxi-xxii.

⁸ Hamilton and Crouthamel, "Man for Both Parties," 466.

⁹ Wagner, "Grund neu betrachtet," 116-17; Grund to Georg Cotta, 20 January 1846, *ibid.*, 117 ("der kürzeste Weg zwischen zwei gegebenen Punkten"). On the general question of partisan behavior of political figures during this period see Edward Pessen's discussion in *Jacksonian America*, 171-96.

¹⁰ On the reception of German liberals and liberalism in Boston see Frank Freidel, *Francis Lieber: Nineteenth-Century Liberal* (Baton Rouge, 1947), 50-57. On Lieber's own views, see Freidel, *Francis Lieber*, *passim*; Lieber, *Manual of Political Ethics*, 2 vols. (Boston, 1838-39). Most pre-1848 German intellectuals' politics were Whiggish but not all were politically active; Lieber, primarily known as a political philosopher and reformist, was solidly allied with Whigs but only gradually became active in partisan politics beginning in the 1840s. Follen took up abolitionism, which placed him much closer to reformist Whigs

than to the Democrats. It is possible that Grund's relations with the German and pro-German intellectuals of Boston had some bearing on his switch to the Jacksonians.

¹¹ It could not have been finished earlier because the text refers to Daniel Webster's 12 March 1838 speech on the sub-treasury (AA, 170; *Works of Daniel Webster* [Boston, 1851], 4:424-99).

¹² Wagner suggests that Grund disagreed fundamentally with Van Buren's positions on the questions of federal finances and Texas annexation ("Grund neu betrachtet," 116).

¹³ Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1829); Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1833); Frances M. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 2 vols. (London, 1832).

¹⁴ *Aristocracy in America* grants that youth excuses the Western settlements, but maintains that the general concentration on money-making in the Eastern states is directly chargeable to the tastes of leading people. Given the wealth of these areas and their contact with European centers of science and literature, any deficiencies in refinement "can only be because there is no real taste for them, and because other pursuits are more sure of securing the respect of society" (253).

¹⁵ The balance of *The Americans* discusses Americans' relations with foreigners in their own country, the arts, education, Americans' peculiarly idealistic and personal form of patriotism, the West, commerce and transportation, the South, the defense establishment, and politics. The chapter on the South includes a spirited defense of slavery, and the final chapter enunciates a manifest destiny argument for American expansion into Texas and South America.

Grund's praise for Jackson and the Democratic Party is fulsome, based on the proposition that Democratic principles accorded best with the national character, and "consisted in making every power of the state immediately dependent on the people" (2:385). He continued in a later passage:

The democratic party have developed more union and strength than any previous one in power. They have reconciled the south with the north, and preserved the integrity of the union. They have in every instance upheld the law and subjected states and individuals to the proper authority of Congress. They have, at the same time, abstained from any undue and unconstitutional interference with the internal regulations of the states, and procured justice for all that were injured. (2:392)

¹⁶ It is likely that this scene ends the first volume of the London edition as well; the Torchbook edition is all in one volume.

¹⁷ Probst, in his introduction to the Torchbook edition, seems unsure just how literally to take the book. He refers to Grund's talents for observation and social satire while seeming to recognize the conversation format as an artifice, but also labels Grund "The Jacksonian Tocqueville" (implying an independent and reflective chronicler sympathetic to the Democrats), and seems content to view the book as a lampooning of an overly self-important class, but without other purposes in mind ("Introduction," vii-xiii). Somkin, as mentioned, recognizes the Author as a fictional character throughout (*Unquiet Eagle*, 37).

¹⁸ Southerners: AA, 9-135; Bostonian: 140-90; Carolinian: 195-201.

¹⁹ See esp. Nancy F. Cott, "The Cult of Domesticity" in *Root of Bitterness: Documents of the Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott (New York, 1972), 113-77, and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1830* (New Haven, 1977); Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," *American Quarterly* 18 (Summer 1966): 151-74; Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973).

²⁰ Michael Paul Rogin, *Fathers and Children: Andrew Jackson and the Subjugation of the American Indian* (New York, 1975), esp. 63-72, 274-79.

Walter Struve

German Merchants, German Artisans, and Texas during the 1830s and 1840s

In *Birds of Passage* Michael Piore writes:

To tap the rural population, a much more extensive institutional structure is required, a structure that consists of intermediaries that can help the potential migrant obtain the necessary documents, advance the requisite funds, and arrange transportation. Before this institutional structure is established somebody must have acquired a sufficient understanding of the labor market in the industrial country to make the institutional structure viable. . . . It is the initial middle class migrants who perform this function.¹

Piore is describing migration from less to more industrialized areas, primarily during the twentieth century, but his thesis can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to migration from Germany to America during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Some migrants came from towns, not simply villages and the countryside. Until the Civil War, migrants did not go from a preindustrial society to an industrial society, but rather from one preindustrial society to another preindustrial society, or from one industrializing society to another. Some of the migrants became farmers in the New World, where they often attempted to perpetuate or reconstitute a rural world they could not maintain in Germany.² Other migrants entered the rural or urban labor market in America. The institutional structures that guided migrants from one continent to another became elaborate on both sides of the Atlantic. These structures included the shipping lines, railroads, and immigration commissions familiar to us from the literature on nineteenth-century immigration.

Examining aspects of these structures in a situation in which they were being developed for the first time, this article explores the role of merchants and artisans in migration to Texas. The literature on Germans in Texas has been preoccupied with the migration of peasants or

agriculturalists and the role of the so-called *Adelsverein* (*Verein zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas*) in getting them there during the 1840s.³ Artisans and merchants have been neglected. Is it possible that much German migration to Texas during the nineteenth century consisted of artisans, and that much of this migration was steered, even during the 1840s, not by the *Adelsverein*, but by other Germans, among whom merchants played a strategic role? The evidence available for the present article permits a positive answer to the first question, but only a tentative answer to the second.

Ship passenger lists are too often seen simply as a genealogical pastime. Nineteenth-century passenger lists of Germans departing from German ports routinely noted the occupations of males aged eighteen and over, even though United States law did not require this information.⁴ A perusal of passenger lists for North American ports from the 1820s to 1850 reveals large numbers of German artisans. As is to be expected in view of the number of merchants in Germany, merchants appear much less prominently on the passenger lists, which record agricultural or artisanal occupations for most Germans. We can distinguish two major groups among these merchants: first, those on business journeys; second, men trained as merchants, often from merchant families, but without firms of their own. They were going to America in the hope of becoming merchants, perhaps with the expectation of engaging in transatlantic commerce.⁵

There was good reason for business trips to the New World. Transactions with the Americas were attractive and growing. The American Revolution had opened up the possibility of extensive direct commerce between the Americas and Germany. After the Napoleonic Wars this potential, aided by anti-colonial revolutions in Latin America, gradually became a reality. By 1830 one third of Mexico's export-import business was in German hands.⁶

Many lesser merchants and many apprentices in Germany had difficulty finding employment in a still largely agrarian society. Freedom of trade, meaning freedom to enter any occupation, was not fully established in most of Germany until 1869. Guild and other restrictions on access to occupations remained. To become a merchant in a town a man had to be a citizen of that town, but even most of its residents were not citizens. Citizenship usually presupposed ownership of a house in town. Also, the prospective merchant had to pay a fee to become a burgher entitled to conduct trade. Efforts to weaken these restrictions met vigorous opposition, led in many areas by men who saw their livelihoods jeopardized by competition,⁷ as well as by those wishing to avoid social conflict.⁸

A specific example will serve to illustrate the obstacles to opening a business in Germany. There was a family of merchants named Giesecke, some of whom settled on the Lower Brazos River in Texas.⁹ In Germany the family was neither rich nor poor, but compared with most Germans of the era the Gieseckes were well off. They lived in Bockenem, a small town in the Hildesheim district in the southern part of the Kingdom of Hannover. Giesecke was a merchant with interests in several branches

of trade, including textiles. He had four children, three sons and a daughter. His wife came from a better situated patrician family in Elze, a small town not far away. Her ancestors included merchants, a court apothecary, and Lutheran pastors. She had several sisters; her only brother died at twenty-one. A married, but childless sister lived in Elze. Family property without a direct male heir was clustered there. After Frau Giesecke's father died in 1820 her husband paid a sum of money to become a citizen of Elze. Herr Giesecke must have assumed that he or his sons would share in the property of his wife's family in her birthplace. His oldest son was then eleven, the youngest five. As the sons became older, they were apprenticed in Bockenem, Elze, Bremen, or elsewhere—at least one of them in textiles. They had family contacts in merchant circles in Bremen through relatives, including a brother of the childless uncle by marriage.

In 1831 Herr Giesecke died in Bockenem. His widow applied to the municipal authorities in Elze for permission to open a textile business there. She intended to move back to her birthplace. The shop was to be located in an old family dwelling in Elze near her sister and brother-in-law. Although the town fathers in Elze wanted to grant Frau Giesecke's request, they had to obtain the sanction of royal officials in the district office in Hildesheim. These officials wanted to deny her application on the grounds that there was no room for another textile business in a town with a population of 1800. The town fathers replied that the livelihoods of other merchants would not be hurt: There was no textile merchant at the end of town where Frau Giesecke's family lived, and the other people who had applied for textile concessions had withdrawn their requests. Furthermore, added the town fathers, the widow Giesecke had only modest properties, consisting mainly of fourteen acres of gardens, meadows, and tilled fields; her son, who had learned the textile business, would take over the shop.

After months of backing and filling, the district authorities in Hildesheim finally granted Frau Giesecke's request. Among the considerations weighed were: the need to prevent an oversupply of merchants and destructive competition among them; the desirability of sustaining a family of local repute; the maintenance of the business in this family. The Gieseckes were fortunate, but only one of the three sons had been taken care of.

Becoming a merchant in a large city like Bremen was very expensive. In the 1820s citizenship with the right to conduct business in Bremen cost four hundred *Reichsthaler*. That was about twice the amount required to support a craftsman's family in a small town for an entire year.¹⁰ There were other direct and indirect costs of taking over an existing business or founding a new one: acquiring a house and business premises; establishing a household; obtaining stock. During the 1820s such expenditures often appeared wildly speculative, for corrosive pessimism about the future of Bremen's commerce lingered.

In a small town like Elze, or even a somewhat larger one, citizenship and commercial rights could be had for a much more modest sum, but there were still the other basic costs of establishing a business.

Confronting such obstacles, many German merchants went abroad. In 1844-45 nine German firms had branches in New Orleans, and sixty-two in New York.¹¹ Most of the people working in these offices were employees, not partners. Some of the employees, as well as other would-be merchants and some partners, eventually established firms in America, where freedom of trade facilitated the opening of new firms. Some successful merchants, and many who failed, stayed in America. Germany exported part of its surplus of merchants.

The decline of the German linen industry was one of the forces propelling merchants and others abroad.¹² Among the merchants who went to America were many who successfully extracted their capital from this decaying industry and utilized it to reestablish themselves in America. Once again, the objective was not so much to become rich as to gain a degree of security that no longer seemed attainable in Germany. The less developed conditions of Texas offered this possibility. The merchants who went there probably had proportionally less capital and fewer other resources than those who went to older population centers.¹³ Inadequate capital was a general problem plaguing immigrant merchants in frontier communities.¹⁴

All three Giesecke brothers spent some time in Texas. The middle brother probably arrived first, already before the Texas War of Independence of 1836. He and the youngest brother, who arrived in the late 1830s, were partners in a general store and engaged in export-import business with Germany, but they fought bitterly. Their partnership soon dissolved. The youngest retained the store, the middle brother became a small planter. The oldest brother visited Texas at least once, staying perhaps two years in the early 1840s. Although he returned to Germany, he continued to have business dealings involving Texas.

From 1840 to 1846 some ten thousand Germans streamed into Galveston. Many came under the auspices of the organized colonizing efforts of the *Adelsverein* and departed for the interior. A goodly number remained in the Gulf region and in the rapidly developing port of Galveston. Many of these Germans in Texas were artisans.

Germany had an even larger surplus of artisans than merchants. Artisans were displaced by the growth of industrialization, the mechanization of production, the decay of the guild system, and a relative decline in the number of masters. German tailors, bakers, cabinet-makers, carpenters, butchers, wheelwrights, millers, turners, shoemakers, saddlers, and members of many other crafts traveled throughout Europe in search of employment.¹⁵ Paris was the mecca of German artisans in the 1830s and 1840s, but while its numerous small shops engaged many of the eighty thousand or more Germans there, other artisans went overseas.¹⁶ As has been well established, artisans constituted a disproportionate segment of German emigrants in the 1840s and 1850s. For example, although artisans made up only about 6 percent of the population of Hesse-Darmstadt in 1846, they provided nearly 40 percent of the emigrants.¹⁷ Guidebooks for German emigrants touted the opportunities for artisans in America. A large proportion of the craftsmen in American cities such as Boston, New York, Buffalo, Pough-

keepsie, Jersey City, Philadelphia, Chicago, Milwaukee, Detroit, South Bend, and St. Louis were Germans by the middle of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ Van Ravenswaay's thorough treatment of German crafts and architecture in Missouri documents the presence of numerous German artisans there at midcentury.¹⁹

We lack a similar general work for Texas, but many a guidebook pointed artisans toward Texas.²⁰ Attempting to justify the subtitle of his book on Texas, "Primarily for Peasants and Craftsmen," Ottomar von Behr claimed that he had come into contact in America "almost solely with peasants and craftsmen."²¹ Traugott Bromme singled out Texas as a desirable place for members of two "estates," farmers (*Landwirte*) and craftsmen, to settle.²² Perhaps attracted by descriptions of Texas and the shortage of craftsmen near the frontier, and encouraged by merchants like the Gieseckes, many German artisans arrived in Texas during the 1840s. There some of them escaped, for the time being, the mechanization and industrialization that threatened them in Germany.

At one point in 1845 Charles Giesecke in Texas beseeches his brother in Germany: "Send me a distillery hand, but no depraved students!"²³ Charles is alluding to a young man sent earlier from Germany. Hoping to expand a small distillery he has established, Charles wants a cooper and a distiller. "Send me two capable chaps. . . . I'll give them a wage they'll be satisfied with."²⁴ Although the Republic of Texas levied substantial import duties on spirits, there were no distilleries of any size in Texas.²⁵ But the annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845-46 brought plans like those of Charles Giesecke to naught. The Texas market was opened up to the products of the smoking, steam-powered, whiskey-making behemoths of the Mississippi Valley. Texas was no enduring haven from the consequences of industrialization.

There are other indications of the Gieseckes' guiding craftsmen to Texas. The brothers in Texas engaged a German who made cigars for the Galveston market. He was still making cigars in 1844 when Hermann Seele, the son of a master baker in Hildesheim, arrived shortly before his twenty-first birthday. Hildesheim was the administrative and commercial center of the district from which the Gieseckes came. Young Seele was thus a *Landsmann* of the Gieseckes in the narrower sense, but he had little to recommend himself to them. He had the misfortune to have been highly educated and have served as the tutor to an aristocratic family in Germany, rather than as an apprentice to a craftsman. Knowing of the Gieseckes before leaving Hildesheim, or hearing about them enroute to or in Galveston, he set out Easter week for Brazoria in the Lower Brazos River area. He found an evening of music, song, and good fellowship, but to his chagrin no employment.²⁶ Seele soon went to the *Adelsverein* settlement in New Braunfels, where he opened the first school. There was a suitable occupation for him in this new German town, and he became a prominent member of the community.

Advertisements and emigration agents as well as travel guides directed the flow of emigrants. Fritz Giesecke, the brother who returned permanently to Germany, advertised his services as early as 1846 as an "emigrant agent" in a Hildesheim area newspaper. He ran one of

several emigrant services in small towns in the district. In the city of Hildesheim alone there were some dozen private emigrant agencies.²⁷ In July 1846 Fritz Giesecke's advertisement boasted of "three-masted ships with copper-clad hulls." He listed departure dates for the coming three months from Bremen bound for New York, Baltimore, New Orleans, and Galveston.²⁸

An advertisement by an ignorant or unscrupulous agent in this same newspaper asserted that fifteen to twenty dollars per day could be earned in America.²⁹ The shortage of craftsmen and laborers in America tended to drive up wages, but not to such dizzying heights.

The store operated by Edward Giesecke in Brazoria did not flourish after the dissolution of the partnership, but the brothers' links to German artisans continued. According to the census of 1850 a German ropemaker, probably from the Hildesheim district, lived in the house of Edward Giesecke. Many a small German merchant may have acted as an unofficial emigration agent.

Brazoria County, where the Gieseckes lived, was an overwhelmingly rural area with large plantations. The Gieseckes' store was in the county seat—one of the few towns in the county. Most of Brazoria County's 4,841 inhabitants in 1850 were slaves. Only 1,329 whites lived in the entire county. There were few Germans—only forty-five males over age eighteen, to which we might add two German Swiss. A mere 7 percent of the white population were Germans, or the spouses and children of Germans. The overwhelming majority of the German men were craftsmen—thirty-six in all. In addition, four of the Germans listed without an occupation were probably craftsmen too. The leading occupation was carpentry (seventeen men) followed by barrel making. There were seven coopers, and a scattering of other craftsmen: a bricklayer, two wheelwrights, two tailors, two butchers, a shoemaker, the ropemaker, and three gardeners.³⁰ Here in Brazoria County we have a striking instance of the disproportionate occupational distribution of German immigrants. German agriculturalists were discouraged by the predominance of slave plantations. German professionals were discouraged by the relatively small German population and its dispersal. Artisans and other Germans who became artisans in America were attracted to Brazoria County.

The situation in Galveston was somewhat different. According to the census of 1850 Galveston County had a free population of 3,500, of which almost half, 48 percent, were foreign born. Fourteen percent of the foreign born were artisans, and over half the artisans were Germans. As late as 1860, 45 percent of Galveston's artisans had been born in Germany.³¹ As might be expected in a port town, the German population was much more diverse than in Brazoria County. Although many craftsmen resided in Galveston, there were also many Germans at the extremes of the social structure: on the one hand, laborers; on the other, merchants and a few professionals. Five physicians and eleven merchants were among the non-artisan Germans in 1850. Less than half (43 percent) of the German men aged eighteen and over were artisans. The distribution of artisan occupations was also different from Brazoria

County. For example, although carpenters (32) were by far the most common German artisans in Galveston, there were many cabinet-makers (12). There were also many shoemakers (22), but few coopers (only 2). The luxury trades in Galveston were well represented by Germans: two goldsmiths, a silversmith, a watchmaker, a confectioner, an upholsterer, and a piano maker. Other artisans were engaged in other occupations not represented in largely rural Brazoria County: four printers, a bookbinder, ten painters, three bricklayers, and a brick-mason.³²

We lack good records for the debarkation of artisans in Texas during the Republic, but an indication of their proportions among German immigrants to Texas can be found in figures for the arrival of artisans in Galveston from Europe in 1846–50.³³ In 1846 8 percent of the Germans arriving in Galveston from foreign ports were artisans. A peak of 19 percent was reached in 1849, and the proportion remained high in 1850 with 16 percent.³⁴ Other statistics help us to comprehend the dimensions of this flow of artisans and their overrepresentation among German immigrants: it has been estimated that in the late 1840s the population of Germany consisted of a low of 4 percent artisans in one area, and a high of 8 percent in another.³⁵ The proportion of artisans among immigrants to Galveston far exceeded these values.

Although many artisans went to Galveston, there is a distinct possibility that over a period of several decades even higher proportions of artisans went to more developed areas such as New York, Baltimore, and Charleston. In the older cities there may have been more opportunities for them. Understandably the existing studies are concerned with the proportion of Germans in various occupations among the entire population, not among arriving immigrants or arriving immigrant Germans.³⁶ It is unlikely, however, that many parts of the United States had a higher proportion of German artisans than Brazoria County in the 1840s and 1850s, and perhaps some other rural areas of the South during the nineteenth century.

Practitioners of certain trades were drawn to specific areas of America at certain times. Passengers from the Hildesheim area arriving at Baltimore and New Orleans from 1834 to 1840 were predominantly artisans, although many agricultural laborers and rural serving women also came.³⁷ During the 1840s Texas attracted a broad spectrum of artisan occupations. These include all of the crafts mentioned above, as well as weavers, masons, basketmakers, brewers, and numerous others. However, a preliminary study of Galveston's immigrants finds that the city received disproportionate numbers of artisans in certain occupations. For example, although in 1850 a mere 0.25 percent of the passengers from foreign ports entering the United States came through Galveston, 7 percent of the butchers, 8 percent of the bakers, and 12.5 percent of the millers landed in Galveston.³⁸ Guidebooks and merchants may have drawn some types of artisans to Texas in large numbers, at least for a few years. Studies of United States ports exploiting the rich resources of the passenger lists are necessary to arrive at firmer conclusions.

Surviving government records for the early stages of emigration from the Hildesheim district to America mention only 240 people emigrating in 1834. Eleven years later the number had increased sixfold to 1,437—and this may be simply for the first half of 1845.³⁹ In 1834 few people emigrated officially, and the number who left surreptitiously was probably not much larger. Of course, the names of merchants or would-be merchants such as Charles Giesecke, who probably left Germany in the early 1830s, are unlikely to appear in emigration records; many merchants departed on business, not as emigrants. Unfortunately we do not have occupations listed for emigrants in the surviving official records for the Hildesheim district. We have only the numbers for each locality beginning in 1834. However, a published account describes six males, all young, who left that same year for America from one town and its environs in the Hildesheim district. As is characteristic of the early stages of emigration from an area, most of the men were petty bourgeois of the sort described by Piore as "initial middle class migrants." Only one was an artisan, a journeyman cabinetmaker. The others were shop assistants and educated candidates, or potential candidates, for public positions: a student of theology, a candidate for a position in the school system, two shop or merchant helpers, and a man who had been a clerk in an apothecary.⁴⁰

Much more work is needed on the occupations of nineteenth-century migrants and the mechanisms by which they selected their destinations. It is reasonable to assume that the older big cities attracted many impoverished artisans, as well as some wealthier ones, while new cities like Galveston near the frontier attracted artisans both with and without capital, but we need more evidence.⁴¹ The existing studies of immigrant occupations concentrate, with few exceptions, on the period after 1850, and list occupations in America, not Germany.⁴² Studies are needed that bring together data from German censuses, passenger lists, and American censuses.

Although Southern plantation districts generally attracted few Germans, a rapidly developing and well-publicized area such as the coastal region of East Texas drew more Germans. Yet such an area did not attract a cross section of German immigrants. As we have seen, the overwhelming majority of the Germans settling in Brazoria County in the 1840s were, or became, artisans.

We need to know much more about the role of emigration agents in Germany and their relationship to German businessmen in America during the antebellum period.⁴³ The evidence assembled by this article does no more than suggest the plausibility of the hypothesis that German merchants on both sides of the Atlantic played a major role in emigration to Texas. Demonstrating their role adequately will require further research.

What about the question of retaining as well as recruiting artisans? Did merchants expect to hold artisan immigrants in a labor-scarce market, as later entrepreneurs such as beer brewers attempted to avoid conflict with their employees, by emphasizing their common ethnicity?⁴⁴ Did merchants think they would be able to retain artisans

because of shared German cultural or regional loyalties? We know that the recruitment of artisans was not confined to Germans. Many British artisans, perhaps even a larger proportion than that of German artisans, came to nineteenth-century America. But much more work will be required before we can make well-grounded comparisons with Germans. We know more about the recruitment of British artisans entering American industry than the recruitment of British artisans in handicraft occupations in America.⁴⁵

There are also questions about changes in the motivations of German merchants. Did they begin in the New World looking for security, but become more demanding? Do attempts to recruit labor indicate a shift whereby merchants emphasized profit over security? Did merchants become much more risk oriented? Did they enter unfamiliar businesses, as Charles Giesecke did, becoming a distiller on the side, because they now sought great profits?

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Appendix

German-Born Artisans in Brazoria County and Galveston, 1850⁴⁶

Brazoria County

17 carpenters⁴⁷

7 coopers

3 gardeners

2 wheelwrights

2 tailors

2 butchers

1 ropemaker

1 bricklayer

1 shoemaker

36 total (Does not include four Germans in households headed by artisans and likely to be artisans.)

Galveston (Galveston County excluding Dickinson's Bayou)

32 carpenters

1 ship carpenter

22 shoemakers

12 cabinetmakers

10 painters

8 tailors

8 bakers

1 baker and grocer (master baker?)

7 butchers

5 gunsmiths

5 mechanics

4 wheelwrights

1 wheeler

4 cigar makers
 4 saddlers
 4 printers
 3 brickmasons
 1 bricklayer
 3 blacksmiths
 2 coopers
 2 sailmakers
 2 barbers
 2 tanners
 2 tinners
 2 iron moulders
 2 goldsmiths
 2 gardeners
 1 wagon maker
 1 wool dyer
 1 upholsterer
 1 silversmith
 1 confectioner
 1 watchmaker
 1 bookbinder
 1 piano maker
 159 total⁴⁸

Notes

¹ Michael Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge, 1980), 138. This article is a revised version of a paper presented to the Eleventh Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies at the University of Kansas, 23-25 April 1987.

² See esp. Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt: Eine Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1982).

³ See esp. the excellent study by Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin, 1966).

⁴ The passenger lists in the National Archives are conveniently available on microfilm. Some are cited below.

⁵ We lack a general study of the worldwide migration of German merchants in the nineteenth century.

⁶ Walter Struve, *Die Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte von Auswanderung, Handel und gesellschaftlichem Wandel im 19. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim, 1983), 35.

⁷ See, e.g., Jörg Jeschke, *Gewerberecht und Handwerkswirtschaft des Königreichs Hannover im Übergang 1815-1866: Eine Quellenstudie* (Göttingen, 1977), 35-36; Reinhard Oberschelp, *Niedersachsen 1760-1820: Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Kultur im Land Hannover und Nachbargebieten*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1982), 1:152-53.

⁸ See, e.g., Gustav von Gülich, *Über den gegenwärtigen Zustand des Ackerbaus, des Handels und der Gewerbe im Königreiche Hannover* (Hannover, 1827), 81. Gülich proposed measures to limit the number of people in the *Kaufmannsstand*. Linde argues that the industrialization of the Kingdom of Hannover was retarded by conservative opposition to reform and guilds opposed to freedom of occupation (Hans Linde, "Das Königreich Hannover an der Schwelle des Industriezeitalters," *Neues Archiv für Niedersachsen*, Heft 26 [1951] 413-43).

⁹ See W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, passim. This book supplies documentation for the Gieseckes and other matters discussed in the present article.

¹⁰ Diedrich Saalfeld, "Handwerkereinkommen in Deutschland vom ausgehenden 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts" in Wilhelm Abel, ed., *Handwerksgeschichte in neuer Sicht* (Göttingen, 1970), 74.

¹¹ W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 35–36.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20–21. A recent study of the Düsseldorf area suggests that emigration rates were highest from towns and villages with early forms of industrialization (Steve Hochstadt, "Migration in Preindustrial Germany," *Central European History* 16 [1983]: 195–224). For recent discussions of the German textile industry, including the concept of protoindustrialization see Hans Mottek et al., *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Deutschlands*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1959–75), 2: 107; Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, *Industrialisierung vor der Industrialisierung: Gewerbliche Warenproduktion auf dem Lande in der Formationsperiode des Kapitalismus* (Göttingen, 1977). See also two incisive critiques of the last work: Hans Linde, "Proto-Industrialisierung: Zur Justierung eines neuen Leitbegriffs der sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 6 (1980): 103–24; D. C. Coleman, "Proto-Industrialization: A Concept Too Many," *Economic History Review*, 2d series, 26 (1983): 425–48.

¹³ A partial exception to this generalization is the Kauffman family in Galveston. Arriving in Texas during the late 1830s the Kauffmans probably brought more capital than the Gieseckes. The Kauffman family later became one of the great merchant families of Galveston, but for the first two decades in Texas their resources were circumscribed. In 1850 Julius Kauffman owned real estate valued at \$4,500. He and other German merchants in Texas still operated on a modest scale compared to the wealthy American firms of Robert Mills and McKinney & Williams (see Kauffman and Runge Records, Rosenberg Library, Galveston; W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 54, 66–67, 88, 92n, 97–100, 102, 124n, 126–27).

¹⁴ See Kathleen Neils Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1835–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 117.

¹⁵ In a provocative article Klaus Bade has recently argued that the *Wanderzwang*, the requirement that journeymen seek work in another place than that where they were trained, was introduced in the eighteenth century as a means of relieving pressure on overcrowded occupations and ensuring adequate work (*Nahrung*) for local artisans (Klaus J. Bade, "Altes Handwerk, Wanderzwang und 'gute Polizey': Gesellenwanderung zwischen Zunftökonomie und Gewerbereform," *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 69 [1982]: 1–37).

¹⁶ Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling* (Baton Rouge, LA, 1950), 19.

¹⁷ Bruce C. Levine, "In the Heat of Two Revolutions: The Forging of German-American Radicalism" in Dirk Hoerder, ed., "Struggle a Hard Battle": *Essays on Working-Class Immigrants* (DeKalb, IL, 1986), 21. On the general issue of artisan emigration and its motivation see Dirk Hoerder, "An Introduction to Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies, 1815–1914" in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes during the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, CT, 1985), 6.

¹⁸ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* (New York, 1949), 214–17; Theodore Hershberg et al., "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities: A Collaborative Inquiry," *Historical Methods Newsletter* 7 (1974): 197, 214; Dean R. Esslinger, *Immigrants and the City: Ethnicity and Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century Midwestern Community* (Port Washington, NY, 1975), 84; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 67, 69, 73, 95–113; Bruce Laurie, Theodore Hershberg, and George Alter, "Immigrants and Industry: The Philadelphia Experience, 1850–1880" in Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family, and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1981), 109; Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City 1800–1860* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 192–94; Hartmut Keil, "German Workers in Nineteenth-Century America: Working-Class Culture and Everyday Life in an Urban Industrial Setting" in Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh, eds., *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred Year History*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1985), 1: 191; Bruce C. 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, IL,

1983), 164. Conzen (73) provides a table that conveniently brings together the results of several studies of cities. Bretting's statistics are derived from Ernst.

¹⁹ Charles van Ravenswaay, *The Arts and Architecture of German Settlements in Missouri: A Survey of a Vanishing Culture* (Columbia, MO, 1977), esp. 301-9.

²⁰ A study of the New Braunfels area observes that the second largest occupational group among young immigrant Germans consisted of artisans and craftsmen. The largest occupational group was wagoners and laborers (Lauren A. Kattner, "Growing Up and Town Development: Social and Cultural Adaptation in a German-American Town" [M.A. thesis, University of Texas at Dallas, 1987], 17).

²¹ Ottomar von Behr, *Guter Rath für Auswanderer nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Texas: Vorzüglich für Landleute und Handwerker nach eigener Erfahrung geschrieben* (Leipzig, 1847), iii.

²² Traugott Bromme, *Neuestes vollständigstes Hand- und Reisebuch für Auswanderer aus allen Klassen und jedem Stande nach den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Bayreuth, 1846), 303.

²³ Quoted in W. Struve, *Republik Texas, Bremen und das Hildesheimische*, 144.

²⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 136.

²⁵ A German artisan who sought distillery work was disappointed by Texas in 1840. He complained that most spirits in Texas were produced in the United States (Friedrich Höhne, *Wahn und Überzeugung: Reise des Kupferschmiede-Meisters Friedrich Höhne in Weimar über Bremen nach Nordamerika und Texas in den Jahren 1839, 1840 und 1841* [Weimar, 1844], 195). Höhne's engagingly written book belongs to the large body of anti-emigration literature, more particularly to the literature warning artisans not to fall prey to the wiles of emigration propaganda. Everywhere Höhne ventures in America he is robbed, cheated, or otherwise victimized. "Mein Metier als Kupferschmied hatte hier [in Texas] noch nicht gewurzelt, eben so wenig war in einer Brennerei Beschäftigung zu finden" (*ibid.*).

²⁶ Hermann Seele, *Die Zypresse und Gesammelte Schriften: Eine Legende aus der Zeit der ersten deutschen Ansiedlungen in West-Texas* (New Braunfels, TX, 1936), 47.

²⁷ H. Knösel, "Vor Hundert Jahren ausgewandert," *Alfelder Zeitung* (Alfeld), 11 Jan. 1965.

²⁸ *Hildesheimer Zeitung*, 31 July 1846.

²⁹ Knösel, "Vor Hundert Jahren ausgewandert."

³⁰ The above figures are derived from V. K. Carpenter, ed., *The State of Texas: Federal Population Schedules: Seventh Census of the United States*, 4 vols. (Huntsville, AR, 1969), 1: 209-27. See also appendix to this article.

³¹ Adam Struve, "Economic Mobility among Foreign-Born Artisans in the Antebellum Lower South: The Case of Galveston, Texas," (Unpublished TMs, 1986), table 1. As noted below, I am also indebted to my son Adam for other material on immigrant artisans in Texas.

³² Carpenter, *The State of Texas*, 2: 757-807. My statistics do not include rural Dickinson's Bayou, which, although part of Galveston County, was enumerated separately. In the remainder of the county, which includes some rural areas, there were 366 German-born men aged eighteen and over. Of these, 207 were non-artisans or had no occupation listed; 159 were artisans. See also appendix to this article.

³³ Unfortunately two important reference works with lists of German immigrants do not specify occupations: Chester William Geue and Ethel Hander Geue, *A New Land Beckoned: German Immigration to Texas, 1844-1847* (Waco, TX, 1966); Ethel Hander Geue, *New Homes in a New Land: German Immigration to Texas, 1846-1861* (Waco, TX, 1970).

³⁴ Adam Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants, 1846-1850" (Unpubl. TMs, 1985). This essay exploits recently published passenger lists: Galveston County Genealogical Society, *Ships Passenger Lists: Port of Galveston, Texas, 1846-1871* (Easley, SC, 1984).

³⁵ Hermann Aubin and Wolfgang Zorn, eds., *Handbuch der deutschen Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, 1971-76), 2:324, cited in A. Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants."

³⁶ See, e.g., Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City*, 78, 85, 95, 164, 214; Hershberg, "Occupation and Ethnicity in Five Nineteenth-Century Cities," 174-216; Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee*, 95-113; Keil, "German Workers in Nineteenth-Century America," 191.

³⁷ National Archives. Microcopy 255: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Baltimore, 1820–1891. Microcopy 259: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans, 1820–1902. Microcopy 272: Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at New Orleans: Quarterly Abstract, 1820–1875.

³⁸ A. Struve, "Artisans among Galveston-Bound Immigrants." The statistics for the United States were calculated from William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States* (New York, 1856).

³⁹ Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv. Hannover. Hann. 80 Hildesheim I E Nr. 212, Bd. 2.

⁴⁰ Johann Georg Friedrich Renner, *Aus der Geschichte der Stadt Osterode am Harz* (Osterode am Harz, 1777), 74. The first edition appeared in 1833. The six men were "ein Kandidat der Theologie, ein Schulamtskandidat, zwei Kaufmannsdiener, ein Apothekergehilfe, ein Tischlergeselle."

⁴¹ Seeking to generalize, Conzen suggests that "before 1860 the specialized markets of eastern port cities attracted skilled and commercially oriented Germans, while competition from Irish laborers sent unskilled German job hunters to the newer midwestern cities." Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans" in *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, ed. Stephan Thernstrom (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 414.

⁴² See the works cited in note 18 above. Ernst's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863* is an exception, but his earliest occupational statistics by nationality are for 1855. The U.S. passenger lists record occupations that emigrants had entered in Germany. The American studies indicate occupations in the United States. For example, Hutchinson finds that the German-born formed a large proportion of the men in "specialized and skilled trades" in the United States in 1870, but we cannot assume that most or even many of these men had been artisans in Germany. A man in a "specialized" or "skilled" trade in America may not have been an artisan in Germany. E. P. Hutchinson, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1850–1950* (New York, 1956), 90.

⁴³ We desperately need a study of emigration agents. Such research might be conducted effectively at the regional level. Agnes Bretting is at work on a general study tentatively entitled "Die Auswanderungsagenturen in Deutschland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: Ihre Funktion im Gesamtauswanderungsprozeß" to be published by Steiner (Wiesbaden) in its series "Von Deutschland nach Amerika" edited by Günter Moltmann. Although containing only scanty material, the following provide useful suggestions or approaches in the interim: M. L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607–1860: A History of the Continuing Settlement of the United States*, paperback ed. (New York, 1961), 194, 198, 244, 290; Rolf Engelsing, *Bremen als Auswandererhafen 1683–1880* (Bremen, 1961), 45–48; Hans Fenske, "Die deutsche Auswanderung in der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Öffentliche Meinung und amtliche Politik," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 25 (1973): 228; Franz Josef Pitsch, *Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen Bremens zu den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen, 1974), 193. Unfortunately, the indexed references to artisans in an important new guide to Bremen's archives are not promising: Peter Marschalck, ed., *Inventar der Quellen zur Geschichte der Wanderungen, besonders der Auswanderung, in Bremer Archiven*, Veröffentlichungen aus dem Staatsarchiv der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, Nr. 53 (Bremen: Selbstverlag des Staatsarchivs der Freien Hansestadt Bremen, 1986).

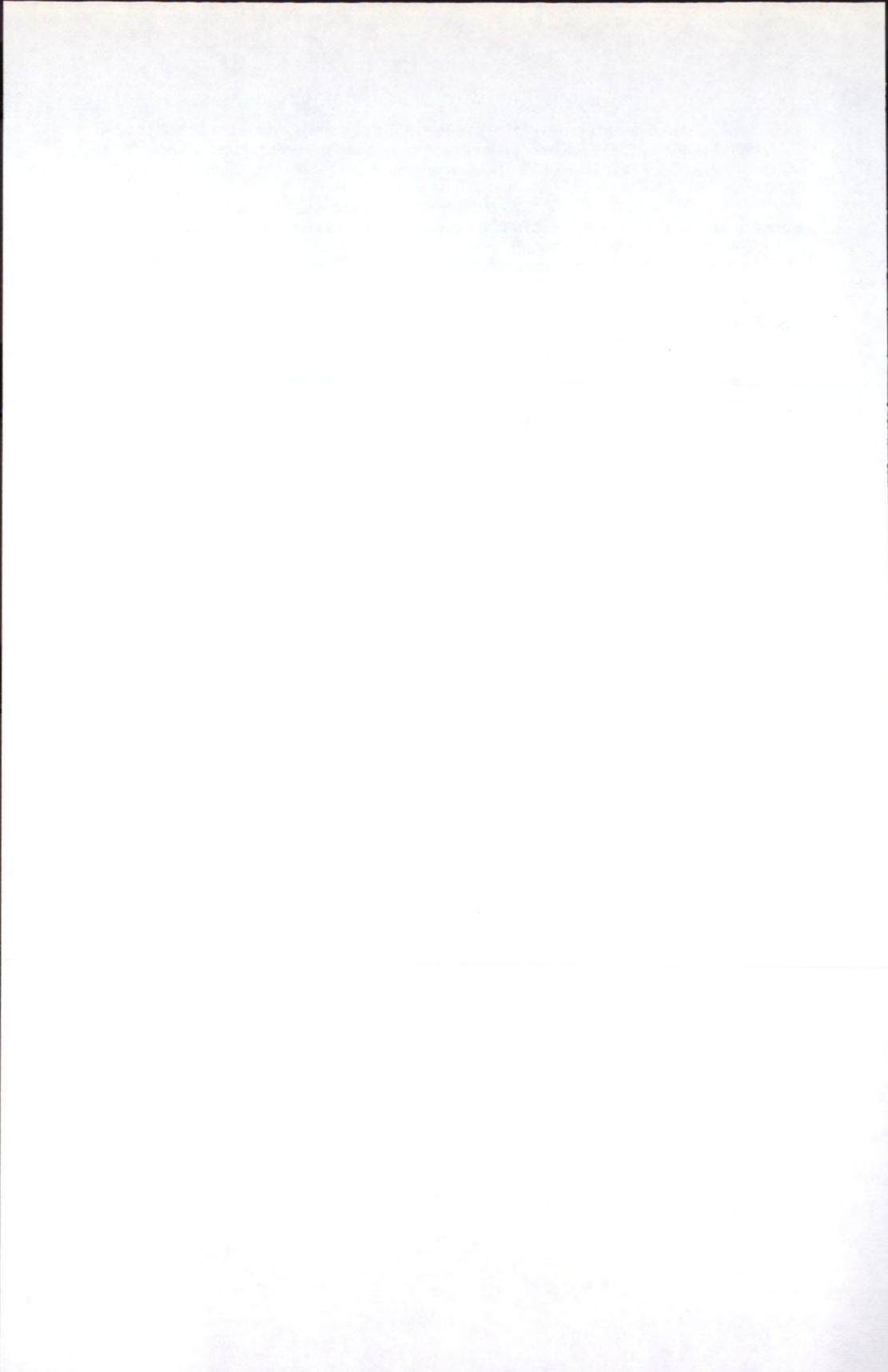
⁴⁴ See, e.g., Hermann Schlüter, *Brau-Industrie und Brauarbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Cincinnati, 1910).

⁴⁵ See esp. Charlotte Erickson, "Tramping Artisans: Immigrants in Industry," pt. 2 of *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America* (London, 1972).

⁴⁶ Source: Carpenter, *The State of Texas* 1: 209–27; 2: 757–807. Only men aged eighteen and over are included.

⁴⁷ Includes two German Swiss.

⁴⁸ Includes a few German Swiss. Does not include men with no occupation listed but living in artisan households.



George Fenwick Jones

The Salzburger Mills: Georgia's First Successful Enterprises

The Georgia Salzburgers were a tiny fraction of the many Lutherans who left Salzburg in 1731 rather than forsake their Protestant faith. Whereas the bulk of the exiles settled in East Prussia and Lithuania at the invitation of Frederick William, the "Soldier King" of Prussia, many remained behind in the imperial free cities of southern Germany, where they took whatever employment they could find.¹

During the following year a group of philanthropists in London, calling themselves the Trustees for Establishing a Colony in Georgia, made grandiose and idealistic plans for founding a settlement just south of South Carolina as a haven for the poor of England, a bastion against the Spaniards in Florida, and a source of raw materials for the home industries. The new colony was also to be a refuge for persecuted Protestants, because all of Protestant England pitied the exiles from Salzburg.²

To reach the Salzburgers, the trustees consulted Samuel Urlsperger, the senior Lutheran minister in Augsburg, who was himself a descendant of earlier Protestant refugees from Austria. Although the expulsion was practically over by 1733, Urlsperger succeeded in recruiting a few stragglers still passing through Augsburg and other exiles who had settled in nearby Protestant towns. The first group, or "transport," of Salzburgers was organized at Augsburg in August 1733 and put in the charge of Baron Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck, a young Hanoverian nobleman, who conducted them down the Main and Rhine to Rotterdam. There were only fifty-seven souls in this party.³

At Rotterdam the Salzburgers met their pastors, Johann Martin Boltzius and Israel Christian Gronau, two instructors from the Francke Foundation in Halle; from Rotterdam they proceeded to Dover and Savannah. The first Salzburger transport arrived in Savannah on 12 March 1733, when the colony of Georgia was just a year old. James Edward Oglethorpe, the chief authority in Georgia, placed the newcomers on a spot some twenty-five miles northwest of Savannah, an

area chosen mainly for military considerations. The spot, named Ebenezer, appeared fertile; and von Reck returned to Europe with glowing reports. Soon a second transport was underway under the conduct of Jean Vat, a Swiss from Biel; but, when they arrived at Ebenezer a year later, they found things in a deplorable condition, the area being sterile, unhealthy, and inaccessible.

By the time von Reck returned to Ebenezer with a third transport, this time mostly religious refugees from Upper Austria and Carinthia, Ebenezer was a disaster: Two crops had failed, sickness and death were rampant, and supplies could be brought up from Savannah only through superhuman effort. Boltzius, who had stood by Oglethorpe's decisions so far, at last agreed with Vat and the Salzburgers that the location was untenable, and, in a personal confrontation, he forced Oglethorpe to let the surviving Salzburgers move to the Red Bluff on the Savannah River.⁴ There, although the third transport had arrived sick and without supplies, progress was made as soon as the land was allotted.⁵ John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, George Whitefield, the great evangelist, and other Englishmen were astounded by the speed at which huts were built and the forests cleared and planted. By 1737 the Salzburgers were producing enough corn for their own needs.

The Gristmills

The first Salzburgers had brought iron hand mills to Ebenezer for grinding their grain. Although there was no crop the first year and woefully little the next, these hand mills scarcely sufficed for the Indian corn the Salzburgers raised or received as rations. After the third transport arrived, the situation became even worse, for they had to share the older settlers' inadequate mills. On 8 May 1736 Boltzius wrote in his journal that the new arrivals were subsisting on salted meat and Indian corn, which they could not grind properly because the wretched iron mills kept breaking.⁶ His journal for that year contains numerous other complaints about the scarcity, inadequacy, and difficulty of repairing these hand mills.

On 28 January 1738 the Salzburgers obtained three iron mills just imported from England, also an iron wheel by which the mills could be driven faster; but, despite the new and faster iron mills, grinding with them was too slow and laborious and did not grind flour fine enough for the sick. As a result, they greatly desired stone mills, even if manually operated. On 4 October 1737 Boltzius reported that, at the request of Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen, the Court Chaplain in London, the trustees had donated a fine pair of millstones. He went on to say that there was a skilful carpenter among the Salzburgers, apparently Georg Kogler, who was going to build a compendious stone mill to be driven by two men.

By 20 November 1738 the millstones promised by the trustees had arrived and the mill had been built.⁷ While the flour from it was of excellent quality and adequate for the sick, the grain first had to be ground on the iron hand mills, thus making the process doubly tedious.

Besides that, it took two men an entire day to grind only one bushel of flour, as Boltzius reported on 3 April 1739. It was clear that the Salzburgers would need a power-driven mill if they were ever to plant European grains such as wheat, rye, oats, and barley, since these hard grains could not be ground profitably by hand. It was precisely the European grains that Oglethorpe wished the Salzburgers to plant, no doubt wheat for his English troops and oats for his horses and Highlanders.

To encourage the planting of corn, rice, and other grains, the trustees had promised a corn-shilling, a subsidy of one shilling on every bushel of grain;⁸ for it was obvious that, for military reasons, the colony had to become self-sufficient in foodstuffs. Boltzius advised Oglethorpe that even the subsidy would not encourage the planting of hard grain unless there were a power-driven mill to grind it; and he assured him that Ebenezer was the correct spot for the mill. Ebenezer was on a navigable river and therefore accessible for all the colony. The Salzburgers also had a trained miller, skilled carpenters, and willing and unspoiled workers. Boltzius gave these and other arguments in a long letter to Oglethorpe dated 3 April 1739, in which he mentioned that the mill would cost only a fraction of what the trustees had invested in the sawmill they had built at Old Ebenezer, which had just been completely destroyed by high water, as Boltzius recorded on 1 Sept. 1739.⁹

During his collection tour of 1740 in England and New England, Whitefield collected £76 for the Salzburgers, more specifically for them to build a church, for which he also brought a bell and hardware.¹⁰ Boltzius, as a Christian divine, knew he should put service to God before service to mammon; as a realist, however, he knew that Georgia and the Salzburgers needed a mill more than a church and that he would ingratiate himself better with Oglethorpe by building the former. Convinced by Boltzius's arguments in favor of a mill, Oglethorpe donated two millstones. On 14 April 1740 Boltzius sent the large boat down to Savannah to fetch them, not at all sure that the boat was strong enough to hold such a heavy cargo. His long entries for 14 April and 1 July show how deeply concerned he was about building the mill and doing it soon, one reason for haste being his fear that the Lord Trustees might decide to rebuild their destroyed sawmill at Old Ebenezer. This may suggest that he was already toying with the idea of building a sawmill as well as a gristmill, but it may just mean that he had been counting on the timber and hardware salvaged from the trustees' ruined mill.

On 24 June 1740 Boltzius wrote that the Salzburgers were willing to work three weeks without pay for the common good but that Kogler was hesitating to give up his farming as long as there was only Oglethorpe's £12 to depend on. Even though the people had expressed a willingness to work without compensation, Boltzius continued to harangue them with both Christian and economic arguments, as recorded on 1 July. A spot had first been chosen on a small creek, as Boltzius mentioned on 3 April 1739, but a better site was found on the farm of Josef Leitner, a Salzburger settled on Abercorn Creek. While inconvenient for the

inhabitants of Ebenezer proper, this location well suited those on the plantations along Abercorn Creek, who were now the chief grain producers. Most important, the navigable stream would make the mill accessible to people living elsewhere in the colony.

Abercorn Creek, henceforth called the *Mühl-Fluß*, or Mill River, had once been a channel of the Savannah River, being separated from the other channel by Abercorn Island just below Ebenezer. In time, the head of Abercorn Creek had nearly silted up, so that the northern tip of Abercorn Island almost touched the mainland. When the Savannah River was low, little water flowed from the main channel into Abercorn Creek, with the result that the creek was usually sluggish. Once the Salzburgers had discovered Abercorn Creek and had removed a few log jams, they could row from Savannah to its mouth with the aid of the flood and then continue the rest of the way on almost still water. This navigational facility was a prime factor in choosing Abercorn Creek and a major reason why, later on, so many planters from both Purysburg and Savannah were pleased to bring their grain there, as Boltzius recorded on 14 January 1741.

To get a head of water, the Salzburgers built a dam across Abercorn Creek a short distance from where it flowed out of the Savannah River and at a point where it made a wide semicircular bend. From the dam they dug a millrace straight to the mill and then on to Abercorn Creek again at a point below the bend. The water behind the dam was somewhat higher than the mill and therefore flowed down the millrace with enough momentum to turn the wheel. This mill, like those that followed it, was driven by water passing under, not over, the wheel; for the dam was not high enough to send the water over the wheel.¹¹

Work on the new mill was formally begun on 20 August 1740 with humble prayers for divine help, and on 26 August Boltzius remarked what a joy it was to see his congregation working so loyally. Boltzius was still doing token work on the church to pacify Whitefield, who had to account to his donors; but the major effort was made in throwing up the dam, digging the millrace, and building the mill. When the new mill was struck by high water on 9 September, it withstood the test, even though the soft soil had to be reinforced with branches and Spanish moss, according to Boltzius' report of 8 November. At this time the Salzburgers were also busy building a stamping or pounding mill in order to remove the hard outer husk from their rice and barley and thus make them marketable.¹² The success of the pounding mill greatly pleased the trustees. By 16 December Kogler could grind six bushels of flour in twenty-four hours with even the lowest water. Kogler was the most competent person to serve as miller; but he was soon replaced, his talents as a carpenter being too valuable for such an undemanding task. Struck by Kogler's selfless devotion, Boltzius commended him to the trustees for a compensation.¹³

On 27 April 1741 Harman Verelst, the trustees' accountant, wrote to Boltzius to say that they would donate £77 which, added to Oglethorpe's £12, would cover the £89 costs. Kogler and another skilled carpenter, Stephan Rottenberger, received "Christian" wages; but their

helpers worked without pay in return for future use of the mill, and therefore construction had to be suspended during the planting and harvesting seasons.

Although the mill had been completed in 1740, Boltzius seems to have appreciated its great value only at the beginning of the next year. On 3 January 1741 he wrote that he was "so overwhelmed by the benefaction the Lord had given" to the congregation that he "wrote a long letter to Gen. Oglethorpe about its quality and great usefulness." He further declared that "the mill is now capable of grinding night and day" and that he was sending Oglethorpe a barrel of flour as a sample. This letter well summarized the work as it had been performed the previous year and informed Oglethorpe of the many difficulties that had arisen and how they had been overcome. Boltzius took the promised barrel of flour down as far as Savannah on 7 January yet later discovered that it was still there waiting to be forwarded.

On 14 January 1741 Boltzius also offered to deliver flour to James Habersham, formerly the schoolmaster but now the manager at Bethesda, Whitefield's orphanage just south of Savannah. This flour was to cost only six shillings per hundred pounds, including transportation, whereas people were then paying eight shillings for coarse rye flour brought down from New York. On 16 January Boltzius stated that the Ebenezer mill had caused a sensation in Savannah and had made the people there say that God was with the Salzburgers. Production was soon doubled by the acquisition of sack cloth, as Boltzius wrote on 10 January. This sack cloth was not for making flour sacks, but for use as a sieve. At that very time the Savannah River was overflowing its banks, yet Kogler and his helpers successfully kept the soil of the dam from washing away.

Meanwhile, although expenses had somewhat exceeded the original £89, they were still only a fraction of the £1,000 purportedly squandered on the trustees' sawmill at Old Ebenezer. In his journal entry for 16 January 1741, Boltzius mentioned that further expenses were incurred by unforeseen events, and in his entry for 6 February 1741 he explained the steps taken to remedy the trouble. By 11 March the mill was functioning again despite the high water, and the miller was grinding excellent flour "from the smallest rice (which is called Negro Rice)" and which cost only half as much as regular rice. Leaks continued to appear during the spring of 1741 but were finally stopped.

Martin Hertzog, the servant at the Ebenezer orphanage, had been a miller by trade; yet he hesitated to serve in that capacity because he would have to leave the orphanage, where his soul was safer. In those days millers were suspected and hated everywhere in Europe, where every honest miller was said to have a golden thumb. Popular humor said that the millers had the fattest swine, implying that they stole their clients' grain to feed their own hogs; and Chaucer's dishonest miller Symkyn was no worse than millers of German popular fancy.¹⁴ Some medieval writers saw that the outrageous fees demanded of the peasants were actually forced on the millers by the landlords, who had a monopoly on the milling and could require their peasants to use their

mill regardless of unfair charges. The miller's life was not really a happy one, despite what "the Miller on the Dee" would have us believe. When Hertzog declined the position as miller, Thomas Bichler, a more ambitious man, assumed the position on 14 January 1741. From the Salzburger he demanded only two quarts of flour per bushel, or only a sixteenth part, which was a far cry from what they had had to pay back in Salzburg. From strangers he demanded four pence per bushel, a price so low that people brought him grain all the way from Augusta and Frederica.

Because of the demands made on the mill, it was clear that it could use a second pair of millstones. In his letter of 3 January 1741 to Oglethorpe, Boltzcius not only related how industriously the Salzburger had built the two cypress and oak walls to contain the earth of the milldam, but he also indicated that there would be enough water flowing through the millrace to turn another pair of stones, such as the ones then lying idle in Savannah. Boltzcius' hint about the Savannah millstones must have borne fruit, because on 25 March he wrote to Oglethorpe thanking him for them. Apparently other stones were ordered too, for Captain John Lemon of the *Loyal Judith* brought over "one pair Cullen Stones 2 feet 2 inches Diameter for the Corn Mill at New Ebenezer."¹⁵

Captain Lemon also brought the fourth and last transport of Salzburger, thus increasing both the need and the forces for developing the mills.¹⁶ On 5 December 1744 Boltzcius requested the timber and hardware remaining at the trustees' ruined mill at Old Ebenezer, and by 9 April 1745 Boltzcius could report that a small house had been completed, as well as a pounding mill for rice and barley.¹⁷

In a letter of 2 August 1745 to Verelst, Boltzcius gave a very positive description of the state and usefulness of the mill. He went on to praise the Lord for this benefaction and to invoke His blessing for both the English and German donors who made it possible.¹⁸ Boltzcius next reminded Verelst that the latter had requested an estimate for a pounding mill, and now that it was completed he hoped that the trustees would remit the £50 the Salzburger still owed and apply it to the new pounding mill. He also mentioned that the waterworks were in such good condition that they could also run a sawmill.¹⁹ The success with the waterworks was due in part to Georg Dressler, a Palatine from Savannah, who was experienced in hydraulic work and was a willing worker.

Although the gristmill sufficed for most of the year, it so happened that the river was usually at its lowest just when the European grains ripened and were brought to the mill for grinding. For this reason Boltzcius desired to build still another mill. He asked the trustees for two new stones, which they provided along with horse collars.²⁰ Before the end of 1747 the Salzburger had dug a ditch eight feet wide and a thousand feet long to bring additional water from the Savannah River to the mills on Abercorn Creek. At about this time Chrétien von Münch, a wealthy Augsburg banker and benefactor of the Salzburger, sent Kogler a copy of Leonhard Christoph Sturm's treatise on mill building.²¹

Joseph Avery, the new English surveyor, helped him with his blueprints. By 11 December 1750 he was also receiving expert assistance from Josef Schubdrein, a Palatine from Nassau-Saarbrücken who had arrived the previous year.

Small coins being scarce in the colony, Kogler began issuing scrip, with the mill as backing, which passed as legal tender in Ebenezer and could be converted to regular currency for use elsewhere.²² Because clients arrived without appointments, they often had to spend the night while waiting for their grain to be ground: For example, on 20 December 1749 there were six men from the German and Swiss town of Vernonsburg on the White Bluff just south of Savannah, with a large cargo of grain.²³ To house such strangers, a guesthouse was built and operated by Ruprecht Kalcher, the former manager of the now defunct Ebenezer orphanage.

In 1748 the Salzburger received new millstones. By November 1749 the mills were self-supporting and providing a modest income, even though only one of them could operate all year.²⁴ On 29 November 1750 Boltzius requested some more millstones for a "bolting Flower Mill," which were to be 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, the lower stone 12 inches thick and the upper one 10 inches. Verelst wrote on 27 April 1751 that the request had been granted.²⁵ By 4 September 1750 Boltzius could claim that the Ebenezer mills had encouraged other people to plant the much desired wheat and rye and to bring it to Ebenezer for grinding.²⁶ In October of 1750 a large transport of Swabian immigrants joined the Salzburger at Ebenezer, and they were followed by two more Swabian transports in the next two years. Some of them were settled on the Blue Bluff some five miles upstream from Ebenezer, and by now the Red Bluff, the White Bluff, and the Blue Bluff were all occupied by German-speaking people. Boltzius decided to put the third pair of millstones, received that same year, not on the Blue Bluff as originally planned, but alongside the older two mills and at a lower level so that they could be used even when the river was at its lowest.²⁷

By this time Bichler had died, having become rich and then poor again. He was succeeded in 1752 by Johannes Flerl along with Ruprecht Zimmerebener, two industrious Salzburger.²⁸ After Captain Peter Bogg had brought a shipload of indentured Palatines to Georgia as servants for the Salzburger in 1749, most of the unskilled work at the mill was done by them.²⁹ From this time on the gristmill flourished and remained Ebenezer's most profitable venture until surpassed and even subsidized by the later sawmills.

The Sawmills

As previously noted, Boltzius's letter of 2 August 1745 mentioned the possibility of building a sawmill. At Old Ebenezer one of the Salzburger's most difficult tasks had been to cut boards, since they had decided to build planked huts like those in Savannah rather than log cabins. In this task they were helped somewhat by fourteen Negro sawyers lent to them by Paul Jenys, the speaker of the house in South

Carolina; but the slaves' service had been hardly satisfactory: They had frequently run away, one of them had stabbed another, and another seems to have committed suicide.³⁰ In those days boards were sawed by two men, one above and one below, who strained on a ripsaw. When the Salzburgers abandoned Old Ebenezer in 1736, much against Oglethorpe's will, he required them to leave all boards behind. That meant that the sawing had to start all over again, this time without outside help. Nevertheless, by the time Wesley visited New Ebenezer one year later, enough boards had been sawed, without any Negro help, to build some sixty huts.³¹ Needless to say, the Salzburgers desired a power-driven sawmill.

Boltzius's decision to press for a sawmill may have been furthered by a delayed gift of all the boards remaining from the trustees' defunct sawmill at Old Ebenezer. On 1 August 1745 Verelst promised that the trustees would donate the timber chains from their former sawmill as well. On the following 16 February they so ordered, at which time they also sent cables from England.³² On 12 June they resolved to give the Salzburgers the "six Brasses" from their sawmill, which were then in the storehouse in Savannah, but there is no explanation of what the "Brasses" were.³³ On 11 November of the same year the trustees resolved to remit £50 still owed by the Salzburgers to Oglethorpe for the cornmill, and they also gave the Salzburgers not only the timber from their sawmill but also the iron work, which was already in the Salzburgers' safekeeping. As a result of these gifts, the Salzburgers quickly constructed their sawmill, which was functioning well by 20 January 1746 and could cut one thousand board feet in twenty-four hours. On 18 July 1747 Benjamin Martyn, the trustees' secretary, wrote to Colonel William Stephens, the President of the Council in Georgia, that they were pleased that the Salzburgers had brought their sawmill to perfection and hoped that such an example of industry would impress the other colonists.³⁴

Because the banks of the millrace had now settled, the Salzburgers had far less difficulty with the sawmill than they had had while building their cornmill. However, when the river was very low, there was not enough water to turn the wheel. When the river was too high, the water backed up behind the wheel as high as in front of it, thereby bringing it to a standstill. Consequently, Boltzius thought of the ambitious scheme of digging a ditch some fifteen hundred feet long to raise the water in the millrace by about two feet.³⁵

By 13 April 1747 Martyn had written to Chrétien von Münch that the trustees were going to allow the importation of rum to Georgia from the West Indies in order to gain a market there for the Salzburgers' lumber.³⁶ On 8 October 1748 Boltzius wrote to the president and council in Savannah to remind them how much the trustees desired the Salzburgers to export lumber. In this letter he stated that the greatest obstacle in their way was the lack of a wharf at Savannah. It was an expensive and backbreaking task to carry the lumber up and down the steep bluff, but there was nowhere to store it at the water's edge. That was regrettable, because ships often arrived unexpectedly in need of a

cargo of lumber at just the time that Abercorn Creek was too low to raft it down from the mill. Rafting was a difficult task at best, taking four men four days to raft ten thousand board feet from the mill to Savannah. By 6 July 1749 the trustees had recommended that the council approve the wharf.³⁷

Soon after Boltzius had been granted space for a wharf, he won a contract to supply timber for the new church in Savannah with his low bid of five shillings per hundred board feet. On 29 February 1748 he wrote a long letter to Verelst concerning the lumber cut for that purpose. To lift the lumber up the steep bluff, Boltzius requested that another crane be built at the waterfront like the one operated in Causton's time by the Palatine servants.³⁸ The construction of the church must have been proceeding slowly, for on 22 May 1750 the builder requested a large number of boards. In all this endeavor Boltzius was greatly aided by Habersham, the former manager of Whitefield's orphanage and now an enterprising merchant and assistant president of the council, who was urging the Salzburgers to export lumber rather than be subsistence farmers.³⁹

Because of the success with the sawmill, Boltzius soon desired a second one, as he mentioned frequently in his letters and journal.⁴⁰ Perhaps he expressed the need and possibility of a second sawmill best in his entry for 26 March 1750, which tells much about the mill situation and also sheds light on Boltzius's unusual economic insights. Boltzius explains that a new sawmill would help cover the expenses of maintaining the gristmills in those periods in which they were inoperative. It would be inexpensive to build, because they would not have to pay an outside engineer, as had been the case when they had to call on Joseph Avery, the English surveyor-engineer, to help with the previous mill.

In his entry Boltzius explained that, because the new site was at the water's edge under a bluff, the wagons could go up the hill empty and bring their loads downhill to the mill. When the river was high, the finished lumber could be rafted down to Savannah. Boltzius assured his readers that the Salzburgers would have no difficulty in selling all the boards they could produce because of their high quality. He then gave details about the prices the lumber fetched and the wages the workers and rafters could earn. In addition, the sawmill would not deplete the forests, because unlimited forests were found along the Savannah River.

Boltzius was unable to sell his cypress at Port Royal, where the price was high, because South Carolina passed a tariff against Georgia lumber.⁴¹ Despite that disappointment, work continued on the new mill, being helped by the trustees' gift of hardware, which Boltzius considered enough for three sawmills. By 26 April 1751 he could write Martyn that the new mill had been completed and that the mill dam, which was two hundred feet long and had cost nearly £100, furnished a good road along the way from Ebenezer to Goshen, the most recent of Ebenezer's dependencies. Boltzius's success was owed in part to his exporting only the heart wood, the slabs and the outside boards being sold locally at a cheaper rate.⁴² As in the case of the gristmills, the sawmills depended partly on indentured labor, such as that of Johann

Heinle and his wife, who had arrived on the *Charles Town Galley* in 1749. Indeed, since so many of the original Salzburgers had died, the success of the mills depended on the addition of the Palatine servants of 1749 and the three Swabian transports of 1750, 1751, and 1752.

Perhaps the greatest detriment to the sawmill operation was not inundation or Carolina tariffs, but human deceit. During the timber boom a con-artist named Jacob Friedrich Curtius moved to Ebenezer, a persuasive man who boasted of wealthy relatives in Philadelphia and who wished to invest in the lumber business. Boltzius does not tell what tactics this man used against his honest but gullible partners: We merely learn that he soon departed with the cash while leaving considerable debts. Much chagrined, Boltzius mentioned this theft numerous times in his journal and in his correspondence, until the trustees at last made good the loss. Curtius, or Kurtz as he called himself less formally, turned up later in Philadelphia as a wealthy newlander and wine importer sporting silk clothes and silver buckles but disinclined to pay his debts. Boltzius sent affidavits for his arrest, but there is no record that they were effective. This was a major reason that Bichler had died as a poor man.

By this time von Münch, who had been elected a Georgia trustee, had become engaged in the lumber business in Ebenezer, where he and his three sons and his son-in-law had each received a grant of five hundred acres.⁴³ Von Münch's commercial optimism is surprising in view of England's strict mercantilistic policies which he apparently hoped to circumvent. In any case, he seems to have lent, at no interest, some £200 worth of merchandize, which was to be sold at a shop next to the mill, the proceeds to be applied to the construction of the mill. This public shop was run by Johann Georg Meyer, with the help of an indentured Palatine servant named Johann Adam Treutlen, who later became Georgia's first elected governor.⁴⁴

When the trustees were accounting on 12 June 1752 to their successors, the Lord Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, about the state of the colony they were surrendering to the Crown, they reported that a "Considerable Trade for Lumber is now carried on with the West Indies, to the great Benefit of the Province in General, and in particular of the Saltzburghers who have two good mills at Ebenezer."⁴⁵ For the next seventeen years the mills, particularly the sawmills, remained the glory of Ebenezer and of Georgia. It is ironic, therefore, that they also contributed to Ebenezer's downfall.

When Boltzius died in 1765, his first assistant, Hermann Heinrich Lemke, was failing fast. The sponsors in Germany saw that the widespread and growing ministry was too heavy a burden for the third pastor, Christian Rabenhorst, who had arrived in the 1752 with the third Swabian transport. Consequently, they sent Christian Friedrich Triebner to share the load. Triebner, a vain and ambitious man, had erroneously assumed that he was to be Boltzius's successor and therefore first in command, although this had been neither said nor even intended. To establish himself politically, the new minister married a daughter of the late Pastor Gronau and thus became a brother-in-law of Johann Caspar

Wertsch, who had married another of Gronau's daughters. Wertsch had arrived in 1749 as an indentured servant. Like Treutlen, he had served his time as schoolmaster and storekeeper until becoming the other leading inhabitant of Ebenezer.

Politically secure, Triebner denounced Rabenhorst and accused him of trying to misappropriate the mills. His letters to Germany took effect, and orders came for him to take charge of the mills. Being better informed than the patrons in Germany, the millboard in Ebenezer knew that Rabenhorst had acted correctly, and they refused to obey the command. The grants and donations for the mills had been assigned to Boltzius to facilitate surveillance by the trustees. When he felt too old for the responsibility of operating the mills, he passed their possession on to Lemke, who later passed it on to Rabenhorst.⁴⁶

This rift between the two pastors probably reflected the growing rivalry then developing between Wertsch and Treutlen. The congregation was soon divided into two factions, each led by a pastor and an influential citizen. The struggle became so bitter that Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, the venerable patriarch of the Pennsylvania Lutherans, had to visit Savannah to reconcile the two feuding parties. After careful investigation and many emotional meetings he judged in favor of Rabenhorst, and the mills were rented out to a tenant against Triebner's objections. This situation continued into the Revolution, after the Whig Party had taken over the colonial government without resistance from the British authorities.

Triebner's turn came when Colonel Archibald Campbell recaptured Savannah from the rebels at the end of 1777, causing Treutlen and the other rebels to flee from Ebenezer. Triebner welcomed the conquerors and dined at the colonel's table. Yet, despite his loyalty to the Crown, he could not prevent the British from cutting through the milldam so as to bring their boats closer to Ebenezer. Thus both the gristmills and the sawmills were left to deteriorate. By the time the war ended, they were too far gone to be revived, and thus ended the Salzburgers' two major industries.

Some may be amazed that Boltzius, as a man of the cloth, could perform so well economically while putting his spiritual duties first. This can be explained by the fact that he was a faithful student of the Francke Foundation, a charitable institution that recognized the needs of the body and attempted, as far as possible, to be economically self-sufficient. To gain self-sufficiency, the foundation operated a printing press, an apothecary, and other enterprises, all of which had repercussions in Ebenezer. In fact, Renate Wilson has convincingly shown that the economy of Ebenezer, centered at first around the orphanage, was designed as a replica of the Halle institutions.⁴⁷ Because of Ebenezer's economic success, the English in Savannah knew that the Lord was with the Salzburgers.

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Notes

Abbreviations:

AN = *Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Saltzburgischen Emigranten . . .* (Halle, 1745ff.).

CR = *The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia*, ed. Allen D. Candler, vols. 1-19, 21-26 (Atlanta, 1904-13), vols. 20, 27-39 in typescript at Ga. Dept. of Archives, now being republished by University of Georgia Press. Already published, vols. 20 and 27 (1977), 28 (1976), 30 (1985).

DR = *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants . . .*, ed. George F. Jones, et al. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1968ff.).

¹ The story of the expulsion is well told in Gerhard Florey, *Bischöfe, Ketzer, Emigranten: Der Protestantismus im Lande Salzburg von seinen Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Graz: Böhlau, 1967).

² For founding of Georgia, see Kenneth Coleman, *Colonial Georgia* (New York: Scribner, 1976).

³ For details about the Georgia Salzburgers, see George F. Jones, *Salzburger Saga* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984).

⁴ See George F. Jones, "The Secret Diary of Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 53 (1969): 78-110.

⁵ Their supplies had been inadvertently sent to Frederica instead of to Ebenezer.

⁶ To minimize documentation, dates have been substituted as far as possible for footnotes. All facts dated from 1734 to 1750 but not otherwise documented are found in AN and DR under the pertinent date. DR also includes matter deleted from AN by Urlsperger.

⁷ For a description of mill, see DR 4:237, note 185.

⁸ Three years later the Salzburgers finally received £169 for their 1739 crops.

⁹ CR 30:333.

¹⁰ CR 22 II:298, 420.

¹¹ See fig B in AN 3:74, reproduced in *Salzburger Saga*, plate 16 (see note 3). This picture was engraved by Tobias Conrad Lotter of Augsburg.

¹² CR 22 II:420, CR 31:7.

¹³ CR 22 II:465. On 27 April the trustees asked how he might best be aided (CR 30:337).

¹⁴ See George F. Jones, "Chaucer and the Medieval Miller," *Modern Language Quarterly* 16 (1955): 3-15.

¹⁵ CR 30:380.

¹⁶ See George F. Jones, "The Fourth Transport of Georgia Salzburgers," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 56 (1983): 3-26, 52-64.

¹⁷ CR 24:223. By "small house" Boltzius is probably referring to fig. C in illustration mentioned in note 11.

¹⁸ CR 24:373.

¹⁹ CR 24:219, 374.

²⁰ AN 3:259-60; CR 2:481.

²¹ AN 3:259-60; AN 317:561. Its title was *Vollständige Mühlen Baukunst . . .* (Augsburg, 1718), AN 3:11, 18; AN 3:855.

²² AN 3:150.

²³ AN 3:609. Vernonburg had the only other operative mill in Georgia, a rice stamping mill built by the Swiss settler Michael Burckhalter from Lützelflüh in Canton Bern (*The Journal of William Stephens, 1743-45*, ed. E. Merton Coulter [Athens, GA, 1959], 60), AN 3:793, 833.

²⁴ CR 3:276; AN 3:662.

²⁵ CR 31:487; CR 26:74; CR 31:487. See also 26:54.

²⁶ CR 26:53, 261.

²⁷ CR 26:261. It is not clear why the stones, and not just the millwheel, had to be lower.

²⁸ Samuel Urlsperger, *Amerikanisches Ackerwerck Gottes* (Augsburg, 1755), 190, 205.

²⁹ Jacob Kaup and his wife and Johann Balthasar Zoller were the first mill servants (CR 26:50). Zoller soon absconded to the Congarees in South Carolina (CR 26:311).

³⁰ See DR 1, index under "Negroes."

³¹ DR 4:xii.

³² CR 31:7. This mill had two sets of saws (CR 25:118). See CR 24:219, 220, 374 and also CR 2:469.

³³ CR 1:488.

³⁴ CR 1:488, 31:74. AN 3:47, CR 31:74. On 24 March 1746 Verelst wrote to Stephens, "You did well to assist Mr. Boltzius with the Timber Chain he wanted, and you cannot recommend your Selves more to the Trustees Favour, than by encouraging and countenancing him and the Saltzburghers under his Care, who are become an Example of Industry worthy of Imitation of every Inhabitant of Georgia" (CR 31:152).

³⁵ See Boltzius's letter of 5 Jan. 1748 to Vernon (CR 25:255).

³⁶ CR 31:157.

³⁷ CR 25:322; AN 3:654. See note 7 and CR 25:385.

³⁸ CR 25:273, 338; CR 25:275, CR 25:259.

³⁹ AN 3:679. See his letters of 19 Dec. 1750 and 2 Jan. (OS) to Martyn (CR 26:102, 115).

⁴⁰ He mentioned it no less than eighteen times in his journal between 1744 and 1751 (AN 3:9, 11, 18, 19, 21, 27, 47, 52, 168, 259, 371, 561, 562, 596, 662, 849, 855, 944).

⁴¹ CR 26:75; AN 3:856.

⁴² CR 26:197; CR 26:199; CR 26:74. In 1739 there were 168 survivors from the first three transports, who are listed in DR 6:325-34. During the building of the mills, the number of inhabitants rose from 249 to about 1,000. See chapter 3 of Renate Wilson, "Halle and Ebenezer: Pietism, Agriculture and Commerce in Colonial Georgia," Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1988.

⁴³ CR 1:489, 31:80. See his letter of acceptance with his account of his merchandizing (CR 25:261-64, CR 1:567, 2:518).

⁴⁴ CR 1:489, CR 25:14, 224. Boltzius later asked the trustees to compensate him (CR 25:273, CR 26:73). Meyer had arrived in 1750 with the first Swabian transport. See George F. Jones, "Johann Adam Treutlen . . ." in *Forty Years of Diversity: Essays on Colonial Georgia*, ed. Harvey H. Jackson and Phinizy Spalding (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1984), 217-28.

⁴⁵ CR 33:581.

⁴⁶ A copy of this letter is reproduced in Mühlenberg's detailed account of the Triebner-Treutlen struggle, *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, ed. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia, 1942-48), 2:584-686.

⁴⁷ See note 42.



Gerd Alfred Petermann

**Friends of Light (*Lichtfreunde*):
Friedrich Münch, Paul Follenius, and the Rise of
German-American Rationalism on the Missouri Frontier**

In the fall of 1835 a Protestant missionary preacher in his mid-twenties, Dr. Johann Gottfried Büttner, by coincidence visited the area fifty miles west of St. Louis, where Gottfried Duden had lived for several years and had written his famous *Report on a Journey to the Western States*.¹ The area surrounding Duden's farm had already developed into a formidable colony of mostly highly educated German immigrants, Rousseauists as well as radicals, rivalled in its scope only by the "Latin Settlement" near Belleville, Illinois.² With this visit the foundation was laid for a series of theological and religious controversies which lasted to the pre-Civil War years and in which Friedrich Münch emerged as one of the leading, if not *the* leading, German-American rationalists. When he died, nearly eighty-three years old, at the end of 1881, he had written six books and pamphlets as well as innumerable articles, essays, and reviews on the subjects of theological rationalism, educational ethics, and modern materialism.³ By the mid-1850s his fame (as *Far West*) as publicist and politician was so well established that he was urged to leave his retreat in the pristine Lake Creek Valley near Dutzow, Missouri, to enter the presidential campaign of 1856 and rally the support of the German-American vote for John C. Frémont. He subsequently gave speeches, along with Friedrich Hecker, in the major Eastern cities (in New York's Music Hall to an audience of at least ten thousand).⁴ During the crucial Civil War years he was a senator in the Missouri legislature, a "Charcoal" who disregarded the threats to his life voiced by the pro-slavery faction in his immediate neighborhood.⁵

In the fall of 1816 Münch had entered the Hessian state university in Gießen as a student of divinity, where he became involved in the political activities of Charles Follen's radical group of *Burschenschafter*, die "Schwarzen." After he had passed the theological examinations in December 1818, he became tutor and vicar, and then served as assistant

minister in the parish of his father, a Protestant pastor in the remote Upper Hessian village of Niedergemünden, Münch's birthplace. After his father's retirement in 1825 Münch took over the parish. Discontent with the hopeless state of affairs in Germany, he retired from his post in 1833 and joined Paul Follen(ius), his longtime friend and political ally, in founding the liberal, ill-fated Gießen Emigration Society. After this society had disbanded upon arrival in the United States in mid-1834, they both settled down in the immediate vicinity of Duden's farm (Follenius actually bought Jacob Haun's farm, where Duden had composed most of his *Report*). Follenius died in 1844, after his attempt to establish a political paper, *Die Waage*, in St. Louis had failed.⁶ In politics and religion he, the former noted court advocate and political dissident, and Münch shared the same convictions and closely cooperated in the religious disputes and controversies to come.

In the missionary report Büttner had submitted to the *West Pennsylvanian Classis* (*Hochdeutsche Reformirte Classical-Synode von West-Pennsylvanien*) in 1836, he expressed his disappointment about the fact that Münch, the former Protestant minister, was unwilling to form a congregation and recommended instead to meliorate the repulsive conditions of public education in order to enable the young generation to become educated and capable members of this state.⁷ Büttner's account of his visit so infuriated Münch that he wrote a reply for the *Anzeiger des Westens* of St. Louis, which already had published a repudiation of another missionary report. This was Münch's first theological contribution in the United States and it contained all the tenets he would explicate and defend in greater detail in later years.⁸

Münch holds against Büttner, first of all, that the individual has inalienable and indispensable rights in the so often abused area of religion. The right to subjectivity (already inferable from the evident religious and denominational pluralism) and to self-consciousness. Religion is accordingly conceived as an originaive, productive, and continuous critical effort directed towards the edification of one's self and others, teleologically understood on a historical scale as ever increasing perfectibility and actual perfection of the religio-ethically determined human being. Religious matters thus become the self-interpretation of the individual in his relationship to the Supreme Being, the universe as well as the society.⁹ The implied fundamental conceptual separation and distinction between church or any ecclesiastical organization and Christianity leads to a general, emancipative notion of Christianity which not only supersedes its traditional institutional, denominational confines, but legitimizes the subjective spiritual and religious independence beyond and opposed to institutional fettering and restriction. Münch subjects creedal systems and religious customs to historicity: They are merely the incidental robe of religion, human invention fashioned after the varying course of time from which they emerged; and the busy activities of clerics tend to obstruct the unaffected, joyous development of spirit and mind by antiquated forms, presented as the essence of religion, forms in which spirit and life have died away. The light of reformation had dawned in Germany, but its

task remained unfinished and high-spirited men of modern times again revealed the errors that remained. Their voice, says Münch, expressing the simple truth clearly and candidly, might be heard to hinder the (religious) party which replaces with stale bigotry and obsolete forms what it lacks in the true spirit of religion.

Münch's theological and religious position is part of what had been perceived at that time as a second *reformatio*, brought about by enlightenment and modern scholarship which aids and fosters the dismantling of all dogmatic, obscurantistic and mystical additions which engaged, enfeebled and adulterated true religion, genuine Christianity.

In this vein, Münch entered the ongoing controversy published in the columns of the *Anzeiger des Westens* in 1837 involving an anticlerical German-American farmer in the Bonhomme Bottom near St. Louis, to whom Socrates was more religious than the entire clergy, and Pennsylvanian synods.¹⁰ For Münch religion is an essential attribute of the individual, a matter of the *entire* individual, providing him with the faculties of perception (*Erkennen*) and thinking. These make the religious ideas accessible to him, faculties which must be nurtured and developed. At the same time religion is a subject of the heart (*Gemüt*) which bows to the feeling of infinity in devotion. In this respect religion touches aesthetics, the realm of the beautiful, and insofar it requires a form according to the rules of aesthetics. This capability allows the individual, through knowledge and education, to scrutinize the historical in the religious development, to subject the dogmata and maxims to his philosophical, the religious forms to his aesthetical judgment. In this regard any coercion and limitation was alien to original Christianity.

From this point of departure Münch adds the organizational aspect as a decisive element to his intervention in the controversy, which later would become a focal point of the religious battles waged by the rationalists against traditionalists trying to establish synodal church bodies in eastern Missouri. The completion of a sterile system of dogmatic and scholastic induration and incrustation during the medieval era as well as the introduction of the Trinitarian doctrine (by coercive means), ridiculing common sense, meant the beginning of the end of true religion and Christianity. When the farmer of the Bonhomme Bottom generally criticizes synodal corporations as means of undue tutelage of free congregations and their members by domineering clergy, Münch concedes that any ecclesiastical corporation would have served a good purpose had they kept up light and spiritual freedom among their brethren in order to convey and secure the fruits of the progress of scholarship in their former homeland and had they prevented the "unworthy from seducing the guileless through deception and folly." Münch would not yet combat the synods on principal grounds (as institutional encaging opposed to subjective freedom). He adds, however, as a reply to the announcement of a "Verteidiger der christlichen Kirche" from Pennsylvania to unite in the battle against free thought (*Freigeisterei*) and infidelity, an appeal to the like-minded to ally themselves for the sake of light and truth to unitedly stem the tide of clerical pretension and nonsense.¹¹

This controversy doubtlessly had a polarizing effect on the existing, mostly loose-knit congregations and the religiously aware in general.¹² At that time the *Anzeiger des Westens* was, after all, the only regional German-American newspaper and as such a powerful communicator. At the same time, however, the controversy was indicative of the strong sentiment prevailing among German-American pioneers hostile to any ecclesiastical organization remotely resembling the state churches in the German principalities, perceived by many as despicable means of coercion and domination. A quotation from the report of a Lutheran missionary from Pennsylvania, Henry Haverstick, who had visited numerous German settlements in Illinois and Missouri in 1835-36, submitted in English, exemplifies this fact:

I had frequent opportunities in St. Clair county [IL] to observe how strong is the prejudice, how deep-rooted is the distrust, evinced by very many German emigrants in reference to gospel-ministry in general. Accustomed in their native land to a union of church and state, and hence accustomed to regard the ministry as an essential part of that system of oppression under which they groaned . . . they too often retain their ancient prejudices. . . . I was often compelled to hear their expressions of concern about ecclesiastical bondage, and even to bear the smart of insinuations against the purity of motive on the part of those, who were sending missionaries to the west. Very many could not or would not believe that our missionary operations were dictated by the pure spirit of gospel charity; on the contrary they boldly expressed their belief that some plan had been devised to bind the people through such an agency with ecclesiastical fetters.¹³

This antisynodal sentiment was accompanied by a rather subliminal fear of a monarchic restitution in the United States comparable to that in France, due to the existence of a "slaveholder aristocracy" and certain weaknesses of the republican system. A restitution which might be aided by synods, generally perceived as favoring the conditions of the Old World, including those of a church-supervised school education. Haverstick, who also discovered "scoffers at religion" in the "Duden Settlement," had already disapprovingly stated in his report that the "spirit of revolutions, fostered by rank infidelity, had compelled not a few of them to fly to this western land." He also voiced his concern about the refusal of German-Americans in St. Clair County, Illinois, to subject the education of their children to any ecclesiastical control.¹⁴ The reply of the "Verteidiger der christlichen Kirche" defames the "enemies of positive religion" as "Demagogen," entirely in the spirit of Metternich and German princely authorities. An equally anti-democratic spirit is exhibited, for example, in the depiction of ecclesiastical conditions in the United States given a few years later by a representative of the "Kirchenverein des Westens," Karl L. Daubert, in a lecture held in Hamburg, Germany. In this lecture he rejects the unrestricted freedom of the press, disparages rationalists at random as Jacobins and radicals, deplores the involvement of laymen in the formation of new congrega-

tions, and blames the prevalence of indifference in church matters on the separation of state and church. This unexpected sentiment of a synodal emissary of the American republic caused an unsuspecting Hamburg journalist to write a highly critical article about this lecture which was reprinted by the *Anzeiger des Westens* without the usual editorial comment. In regard to Daubert's views on the separation of state and church he caustically remarks: "It is exactly this separation of state and church, so tremendously contrasting with the patriarchal and police state of the present, which does not suit Mr. Daubert."¹⁵

Thus the politico-religious conflicts surfacing in the second half of the 1830s derived their dynamics and intransigency from the oppressive conditions in Germany (where the state churches were ultimately governed by princes): as an immense desire to be spared from any synodal or even ecclesiastical tutelage and bondage, as expressed in a sizeable number of rationalist, free-religious or at least presbyterally organized, independent congregations among the frontier communities and settlements, as well as in individual "indifference" towards churches or any compulsory religious practice. The following passage from a letter written to a friend in Germany in 1843 by a former Catholic who had settled as a farmer with other members of the Gießen Emigration Society in St. Charles County, Missouri, might illustrate the latter attitude:

. . . for some people it would in many a respect be awkward in regard to religion; the old ladies in Velmede [Westphalia] would certainly make the sign of the cross upon themselves and consecrate themselves if they heard that I never go to church, eat meat three times a day during lent, that my children are not even baptized, etc.; and still I intend to end up in the same heaven as those who diligently observe all this priestcraft [*Pfaffenmachwerk*]; I for my part live this way like the ancient patriarchs and pray in the great book of nature, live, as always, upright and honestly and do not care much about the fairy-tale of original sin. . . .¹⁶

In addition, no restraints whatsoever existed for former ministers like Friedrich Münch or his brother Georg. As one main reason, besides the political, Münch gave for his founding of the Gießen Emigration Society (together with Follenius) and his subsequent emigration the increasing contradiction between his position as pastor, preaching according to the principles of rational Christianity (*vernünftiges Christentum*), and the official neo-orthodox stand of his superiors who distinctly enough warned Münch's flock of his infidelity. He preferred to be a freely elected "teacher of religion" rather than a "decreed, hypocritical priest."¹⁷ At the onset of the controversies, Münch had already served as rationalist "teacher of religion" in his own free congregation at Dutzow, Missouri, about which he states in a contribution to the *Deutsche Schnellpost* of New York in 1851:

Perhaps the oldest of such [free] congregations in America is the one founded by myself and several like-minded many years ago here in the

free West, which now consists to a greater extent of such members who, through our endeavor, were wrenched from the fetters of the old orthodoxy.¹⁸

At the same time he had preached in several communities, both German-American and Anglo-American, in his area, a fact which not only heightened his awareness of the religious needs on the frontier which he directed towards rationalism, but it also accelerated the process of polarization in this area, in which some congregations chose him as a preacher or, in one instance, a larger faction decided to join his congregation in Dutzow.¹⁹ He refused, however, to exclusively take over a parish and remained true to his ideal of an independent Latin farmer for the rest of his life.²⁰

The second phase of religious and theological controversy among German-Americans on the Missouri frontier began with the founding of an Evangelical synod in October 1840, the *German Evangelical Church Conference of the West* (*Deutscher Evangelischer Kirchenverein des Westens*). This controversy lasted for several years and led ultimately to the founding of a veritable rationalist organization. The name "Kirchenverein" or "Church Conference," avoiding any synodal connotation, was clearly a concession to the antisynodal and, to a lesser degree, anti-ecclesiastical sentiments among a remarkable number of German-Americans in the West.²¹ In December 1841, more than a year after its founding, Münch revealed the existence of this synod in their midst in an article he wrote for the *Anzeiger des Westens* under the pseudonym "Photophilos" (Friend of Light). He voices his deep concerns about the religious and political consequences of the formation of a synod in the West which, according to his understanding, threatened the spiritual freedom and independence of that region, so far spared from any "priestly assumption."²² He is particularly worried about the articles of the statutes demanding educational control, implying coercive supervision over schools which members of the "Kirchenverein" had already tried to implement; and also about the article on the Old and New Testaments, in which they, as the word of God, are declared the sole guideline of belief and of all ministerial endeavors. As if, maintains Münch, the books called Bible represented a consistent system of dogmata from which a coherent creed of and for all could be deduced. To state that the entire Bible were the word of God is, in Münch's eyes, sheer madness. How could one confuse the most imperfect beginnings of religious ideas (in which the Mosaic God is concerned about the mode of the weaving of a robe or the clipping of a beard) with the most perfect state of development (in which Christ taught to revere God in spirit and truth)! He asks the "Kirchenverein" whether they really believed that the "Welt- und Lebensansicht," the philosophy of our times, were compatible with that which is partially expressed in documents of such old times. Is not the attempt made here to return to medieval subservience and obscurity?

In a series of poignantly polemic articles a "Friend of Pure Christianity" and a "Compatriot," both pseudonyms of Paul Follenius, came

to the aid of Münch.²³ In one of these articles, published in the *Anzeiger* in early 1842, he analyzes the statutes and criticizes in particular the exclusion of fundamental rights of the laymen, the co-optation clause which reserved the right to accept clerical members, to examine and ordain candidates, and to control the finances, to pastors alone. He resents the fact that the seven founding pastors ("Synodal-Herren") were trying to assume any tutelage in their area modelled after the distorted Christianity in Europe:

Did we escape the European misery, did we choose the freest land on earth as our home in order to voluntarily bow ourselves here under the most disgraceful servile yoke which human ignorance and malice can devise, namely the yoke which is not imposed upon the body but upon the noblest part of the human being, his reason and his religious belief?²⁴

The main concern behind this pungent condemnation was evidently that the forming of a synod would be an incipient step towards an encroachment of spiritual and political liberties, which finally would lead to a new all-encompassing and thought-stifling authoritarianism, the putting to an end of all individual and societal progress. This rather gloomy assessment determined the dispute into the following year. Especially the reminder that it was the unholy alliance between the dynastic state and the church which prevented any human progress in Germany, caused an enormous turmoil in the young communities and their independent-minded congregations. In addition, an anonymous "Observer on the Femme Osage" warned against tolerating the intrusion of "depraved pietistic rabble trimmed at German missionary factories and Eastern synodal schools" into the innermidst of families. And he reminded the participants in this heated controversy that Münch had already emphasized, in his reply to Büttner's account in early 1837, the necessity to unite the forces of the friends of enlightenment and reason to "build a strong dam against the machinations of the darklings [*Finsterlinge*] and hypocrites."²⁵

The year 1843 saw tumultuous events in many congregations of the area, in particular the dismissal and more or less forced removal of Philipp Jacob Heyer, one of the seven charter members of the "Kirchenverein des Westens" from his parish near St. Charles, Missouri. The incidents surrounding the dismissal of Heyer, contemptuously referred to in this controversy as the "president of the St. Charles Synod" (i.e., the "Kirchenverein") and his ensuing unsuccessful libel suit against the editors of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, Wilhelm Weber, and the *Antipfaff*, the watchmaker Heinrich Koch, were extensively covered in the *Anzeiger* and other papers for almost a year.²⁶ In the same year, Eduard Mühl moved the semi-monthly *Licht-Freund*, founded in Cincinnati in 1840, to Hermann where the first Missouri issue appeared in August 1843, the last presumably in May 1851.²⁷ Not only was the title of this journal programmatic, it also alluded to the movement of the "Lichtfreunde" in Germany, a movement closely watched by German-American rationalists. Although the *Licht-Freund* basically preserved its non-regional

character, it developed within a short period of time into an important communicator and organizer for the rationalist cause in the area, and for years remained one of the few religiously oriented papers in German in the region, along with Heinrich Koch's anticlerical and "anti-Latin" *Antipfaff* (1842-45), the organ of the strictly orthodox Saxon Lutherans, *Der Lutheraner*, which commenced publication in late 1844, and Georg Scho's short-lived German-Catholic *Der Freisinnige* (1846-47), all of which were published in St. Louis.²⁸

It was in particular the sound contributions, reflecting a thorough familiarity with past and present German Bible scholarship, from the pen of Münch who became coeditor in 1846, which helped the *Licht-Freund* attain the highest standard of all rationalist periodicals of the time period and let Münch emerge as the leading theologian of German-American religious liberalism whose writings conspicuously contrasted with, for instance, Samuel Ludvigh's loud and more or less simplistic *écrasez l'infame* line exhibited in his *Die Fackel* and his lectures.²⁹ In addition to essays in the area of contemporary Bible criticism, the *Licht-Freund* published a series of articles on comparative history of non-Christian religions, critical contributions on denominational orthodoxy, on obscurantism and mysticism, American sects, extracts from David Friedrich Strauß's *Das Leben Jesu*, polemic articles about Ludvigh and his *Fackel*, documentary contributions about German-Catholicism ("Deutschkatholizismus") and, last but not least, on popery.

The first Missouri issue contained an introductory article by its editor, Mühl, in which he proposed the founding of an association of the "Friends of Light" in order to further the cause of enlightenment and edification according to the spirit and insight of modern times. Münch immediately responded to this proposal and supported it.³⁰ Follenius followed suit and published an elaborate essay on the necessity, character and structure of such a prospective organization, which also included the suggestion to utilize the *Licht-Freund* as its organ. This essay is one of the most interesting documents of the consolidating frontier rationalism.³¹ As the rationalist creed can solely be based on the spiritual and intellectual self-determination of the individual, which thus makes him superior to any restrictive "positive religion," any union of rationalists has to be founded on grounds of a higher *natural law*. Although a synod is a perfectly legal enterprise according to positive law, its "unlawfulness" (*Widerrechtlichkeit*) is sufficiently exposed by the fundamental fact that it abrogates the innate and inalienable right of religious self-determination based on insight and decision of oneself. Therefore any union of the religiously free must not be similar to the synodal type of organization, as Mühl, the editor of the *Licht-Freund*, had suggested, it has to be completely *dissimilar* in order to let its enlightening and thus emancipating potential fully and freely evolve. A synod-like union would inevitably lead to self-perpetuation and exclusivity with their alienating and anti-emancipative effects which would tend to turn the members into a servile following. Above all, such a rationalist association has to be a "medium" of instruction and continuous education for its members in order to achieve and secure

their spiritual superiority which solely guarantees victory over delusion and the "tricks of the darklings." An association based upon the free, non-coercive unity in striving would, last not least, provide for the exchange of views and for a vivid spiritual life not possible in dispersion.

The central tenet of such an association is education, closely associated with the teleologically oriented concept of historical progress. Follenius defines the role of the educated in reference to the counterideal to the German scholar, Benjamin Franklin: he unselfishly dedicated all his endeavors to the people, to his fellow-men—an aspect he already delineated a decade earlier. In developing the concept for the colony of a rejuvenated Germany west of the Mississippi, he stated in a letter that it would be the educational task of the learned class to serve the masses to overcome their disgust at religion decreed by the state which has nothing to offer, neither to heart nor mind, by restituting the true "religion of Christ" (*Christusreligion*).³² Although the references to church history and the alliance of throne and altar in the Old World dominate approach and organizational suggestions in this essay, Follenius also evaluates the situation in the United States which he perceives as one of half-liberation: the people are politically free, but in regard to religion still in slave-shackles.³³

Follenius's elaboration paved the way for the founding of the rationalist association of the counties of St. Charles, Warren, and Franklin, in east Missouri. In April 1844, thirty-eight charter members, "Friends of Religious Enlightenment," gathered in Augusta on the Missouri and passed resolutions which served as a program. A majority voted for the name *Verein vernunftgläubiger Christen* and elected a standing committee as executive between the regular meetings, one committee member each for the three county subdivisions of the "Verein."³⁴ Eduard Mühl, editor of the *Licht-Freund*, attended the third meeting in October to announce the founding of a fourth group in Hermann, Gasconade County, and expressed their wish that "the friends of religious enlightenment might associate in other areas as well . . . to combat the grasshopper army of the darklings." They also presented resolutions which included statements against all titles as contradicting the republican spirit, against the aristocratic pretension of the "priest guild," a warning of the synods, and a commendation of the *Anzeiger des Westens* of St. Louis for its stand against the "Eastern synods."³⁵

The program of the "Verein" which was first presented to the public in the *Licht-Freund* three weeks later, explicitly states that this association was not to form another religious sect, but that its efforts were rather directed at sectarianism and that it was opposed to all hostilities and all branding as heretics which it perceived to be the very result of sectarianism. As main principles it was agreed upon:

- that for man as a rational being nothing can be considered as truth that contradicts the laws of rational thinking; and that educated reason (*Vernunft*), insuperable in itself, shall be the judge over everything offered as teaching or dogmata;

- the belief in a Supreme Being, as creator, steward and preserver of the universe; the hope of an *immortal life* for the soul; the conviction that only through incessant striving for morality (*Sittlichkeit*) and spiritual perfection human destination can be achieved. And that these principles are the essence of all religion and the only incontestable religious teachings;
- that in the *original* and *unadulterated* Christianity these teachings are expressed in a convincing manner, and in the utmost accordance with educated reason;
- that the *forms* in which Christianity was partially introduced, do not concern its essence. The *additions*, through which irrationality (*Mißverstand*) and superstition distorted Christianity, contradict the original spirit of its teachings. And the admixture of everything specifically miraculous has to be attributed to a mode of conception incompatible with the state of education of our times.³⁶

The program reflects, to a certain degree, not only the apprehension of a possible synodal encroachment upon the communal life in the West, but also an uneasiness about the wave of revivalism and obscurantistic sectarianism which had already swept, in the wake of the economic crisis of the late 1830s and early 1840s, into the Western regions, an occurrence perceived as a fundamental negation of spiritual liberty and a threat to the progress achieved in modern times. As in Germany, religion could turn again into an encumbrance in the course of development towards a general realization of the free individual, the subjective freedom from any institutional fixation and lifeless religious traditions. On the other hand, the unearthed genuine Christianity, purified from the distortions of past eras and solely based on reason, provides for the spiritually independent and ethical-minded of modern times. Thus only genuine Christianity, from its beginnings free of tribal and national narrowness and limitations, and as such virtually a *universal* religion, is able to achieve the necessary congruity of individual thinking and acting to the solely legitimate *political* form of enlightenment, republicanism.³⁷

The year 1844 was also the year of torrential rains and immense floodings of the Missouri and the Mississippi which affected the health and economy of the entire region. The membership of the "Verein" grew gradually after these events.³⁸ A sizeable number of the members had an academic background and belonged to the category of the so-called Latin farmers, as Friedrich and Georg Münch, or were country physicians as Drs. Ruge, Engel, Ludwig, and Morgner. The other known members were craftsmen, farmers, and merchants. The former professor David Wilhelm Göbel was a part-time farmer, teacher, geodesist, and also continued his astronomical research, whereas Arnold Krekel, who had just begun his law studies, would become a noted politician and circuit judge.³⁹ Initially the meetings were predominantly educational and centered around lectures on religious subjects, most of them given by Friedrich Münch. There was, however, a more traditionally oriented faction within the "Verein" which was in favor of something more "solemn" than purely educational lectures. In March 1845 a majority voted for services with prayer, singing, and sermon, and

selected the Union Church in Augusta as future site of these services to precede the regular meetings. For the subsequent services, Münch agreed on preparing sermons or, in his words, lectures; with this term he avoided any association with ecclesiastical traditions which he abhorred.

From the outset of the "Verein," Münch was its preeminent intellectual figure, his theological and political acumen providing for an untiring guidance for the lesser educated. From his lectures on Bible criticism and the refutation of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures evolved a series of articles published in the *Licht-Freund*, which he expanded to two booklets published in 1845 and 1847 under the title *Ueber Religion und Christenthum*, the first of which was read by Münch in its entirety at a meeting of the "Verein."⁴⁰ The second booklet, much more elaborate and more clearly structured than the first, is devised as a critical guide through the central dogmata of orthodox Christianity, Catholic as well as Protestant, and intended to overcome the miraculous and supernatural elements and implications of these dogmata in order to reinstate, through "sensible scrutiny" and "reasonable deliberation," the "natural truths" and to reveal the universal spiritual and ethical ideals set forth by the *human model* (*Musterbild*) of Christ. In mid-1846 a German-Catholic congregation, a union of Catholics and Protestants led by Georg Scho, came into being in neighboring St. Louis, stating in a public address that "a religion based on reason [*Vernunft*] is the best companion of man on his path through life from the cradle to the grave."⁴¹ Evidently a reflex of the emergence of German-Catholicism in Europe and the United States, this second booklet also contains a section in which Münch specifically addresses Catholics, cautiously inviting them to join in a common effort to scrutinize inherited traditions in order to gradually regain, in full accordance with educated reason, the genuine and simple word of the founder of Christianity.

In the fall of 1846 Münch also contacted the radical Unitarian preacher Theodore Parker of Massachusetts, a friend of the late Charles Follen, to ask for help in finding an Eastern publisher for his book *A Treatise on Religion and Christianity*, Münch's only publication written in English. He composed it in 1845, after his previous attempts had failed to establish cooperative ties with William Greenleaf Eliot, minister of the Unitarian congregation of St. Louis, in jointly writing and publishing enlightening pamphlets.⁴² The "Verein" had already expressed its intention to encourage Anglo-Americans to join its ranks and Münch tried, beyond that, to provide a forum for winning over those who could not overcome the language barrier. To Parker he wrote:

Time demands that the friends of rational christianity, of whom there are thousands among my countrymen in this land, should *unite* as one *party* (not as one *sect*) regardless of the differences of language, in order to form one strong phalanx against the pretensions of the so-called orthodox churches. Our common aim is to establish what you call *absolute Religion* (universal, rational, or natural religion).⁴³

In the same context Münch made a futile attempt to cooperate with the *Herald of Religious Liberty* of St. Louis, a pluralistic Protestant weekly. Although it reprinted European articles on the development of German-Catholicism and Johannes Ronge's activities in particular, it was nevertheless opposed to rationalism and refused to publish an article on German rationalism by Münch. And he repeatedly, but unsuccessfully, proposed to Parker the publication of a religious periodical in English "devoted to the principles of Rational Christianity . . .—another *Friend of Light*."⁴⁴ His treatise was published in Boston in 1847 and expressly addresses an American audience, as it contains two introductory chapters on (German) rationalism, numerous references to the Universalist and Unitarian denominations as well as a critical examination of Universalist theology. Münch includes the credo of "genuine German Rationalism" in ten condensed "fundamental articles," two of which implicitly aim at the traditional (including contemporary Universalist) notions of the divine inspiration of the Scriptures and the miraculous:

8. Our holy books are to be interpreted according to the same rules applied to other remnants of antiquity.

9. All conceptions of *supernatural* events and performances are to be attributed to a deficiency of clear-sightedness in the observer, narrator, and believer, in taking the extraordinary for the miraculous.⁴⁵

In a similar vein Münch expressed his disappointment about the fact that his friend Charles Follen had become a Unitarian minister, especially that he did "not rid himself and his church of all remaining notions of *supernaturalness*."⁴⁶ And as the late Paul Follenius in his essay on a prospective association of rationalists, Münch includes in his treatise a warning of the perils of the lack of religious enlightenment for the continuance of the American republic:

The thread, by which human genius is fettered, is now Religious Prejudice In vain this people boast [sic] of their republican institutions and of being the freest nation on earth Yes, I see that thin thread gradually strengthen and become an iron chain, to shackle the spirit of this nation in such a manner as to render the blessings of their political independence illusory, and transfer the rich fruits of all their struggles into the hands of a—SELFISH PRIESTHOOD.⁴⁷

This political warning, which Münch had already outlined in a stump speech he held in English for the Democratic Party during the presidential campaign of 1840, developed into a leitmotif widely shared by liberal and radical pre-1848 immigrants which came to bear in their engagement in the Free Soil and early emancipation movements.⁴⁸ In regard to religious prejudice, however, Münch gives a much more lenient assessment a few years later when he states that the "free spirit of the West" manifests itself, for instance, in the fact that at least half of the Anglo-Americans there belong to the "big church," that is they neither belong to any confession nor participate in any religious practices, and esteem anybody who is righteous and hardworking whereas

the grossest religious stultification is upheld by those educated in Europe.⁴⁹

Based on the evaluation in his treatise, Münch and others also tried in 1846 to petition the state legislature to drop or modify some clauses of the strict Missouri Sabbath law banning all "worldly" activities on Sunday dear to German-Americans. A law which, according to Münch's detailed analysis, infringed upon the constitutionally guaranteed separation of church and state, which was an undue and partial attempt to decree religious conduct and a serious encroachment on the citizen's right to religious and spiritual self-determination. The St. Charles paper *Missouri Patriot* apparently characterized this petition as "Dutch Rationalists' and Infidels' boast" which prompted an indignant reply by Münch. In the same direction goes a sermon delivered before a German-American rationalist congregation "on the day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, set apart by President Taylor" in 1849. The impropriety of this act greatly incensed Münch as "being contradictory to the advanced spirit of the age, and particularly to all purer notions of the Supreme Being."⁵⁰

One of the highlights in the history of the "Verein" occurred in 1848 when the news of the March Revolution broke. Since the beginning of the dissenter movement in Germany, consisting mainly of the Protestant *Lichtfreunde* (Friends of Light) and the *Deutschkatholiken*, virtually all German-American papers had reported extensively about the spreading of this movement, particularly since the exhibition of the so-called Holy Robe (of Christ) in Trier in 1844, which caused a massive rupture within the Roman Catholic Church in Germany.⁵¹ At their annual meeting in April 1848, the "Lichtfreunde" (this is the name the members of the "Verein" now apparently preferred) agreed on a declaration in which they stated, for instance, that they believed "the work of rejuvenation only half-done if not all the fetters which so far encumbered the civil life, the unworthy fetters of the spirit, superstition and coercion, are broken forever." And they encouraged their brothers in Germany "to do away with obsolete dogmata, forms, and sect names arbitrarily forced upon them, and to remove everything that remained from the times of spiritual repression and to unite into a community of spiritually free men on the basis of reason and brotherly love."⁵²

The "Lichtfreunde" reconvened in July of 1848 to debate an appeal to the German people, authored by Münch, which specifically addressed the question of how to secure religious and spiritual freedom. "The combination of church and state power has ever been the ruin of the European nations" is one of the major points Münch makes, quoting the articles in the Missouri constitution concerning the separation of church and state. The ecclesiastical institutions should not be destroyed, emphasizes Münch, but it is the duty of the revolutionists to take away the material as well as spiritual pressures under which the entire people had suffered for too long a time. And he admonishes them to free the education of the youth from ecclesiastical limitations: "priests, dogmata, creedal confessions, and the teachings of sects have no business in school." The "enthusiastic religion," the "original, pure, simple, rea-

sonable teaching of Christ," must be given back to the people, replacing the obsolete dogmata and empty ceremonies which stem from a dark age which modern man should have outgrown. He also appeals to the "Friends of Light," German-Catholics, and Rationalists (*Vernunftgläubige*) to overcome fragmentation and to present in unison the "banner of spiritual freedom" to the people. This address was accepted by the assembled and sent to a daily in Frankfurt, the seat of the German National Assembly, in order to make heard what the "Lichtfreunde" in the "primeval forests of Missouri, on the border of the civilized world" had to give as support and advice.⁵³

This is also the last extant document of the "Verein." A missionary report from 1853, written by a member of the "Kirchenverein," states that the church in Augusta still had to be shared with the Rationalists.⁵⁴ It is, however, safe to assume that the "Verein vernunftgläubiger Christen" and its activities gradually subsided in the early 1850s. Münch continued to serve his free congregation in Dutzow, but he in particular was increasingly absorbed by his political activities and his writing and became a sought-after contributor to papers and periodicals (notably Eichthal's *Deutsche Schnellpost*, Heinzen's *Janus*, Esselen's *Atlantis*, Butz's *Deutsch-Amerikanische Monatshefte*, and the *Deutsche Auswanderer-Zeitung* of Bremen) as well as one of the noted German-American representatives of the Republican Party. He gradually devoted an increasing share of his time and efforts to immigration matters and agricultural and viticultural problems in order to improve and expand, as reformer strongly opposed to urban agglomeration, family-based farming and to eliminate slave-based agricultural ventures in Missouri.

He did remain, however, an ardent advocate of rationalism and continued to contribute to rationalist and free-religious journals like *Der Protestant* or, later, *Der Reformator*, as well as to the Reform Judaist *Die Wahrheit*.⁵⁵ He visited Ludwig Feuerbach, whose anthropology of religion was, in principle, congruous with Münch's rationalism, in Germany in 1859 and helped to propagate his *Theogonie* with a review for Dilthey's *Familienblätter* of New York.⁵⁶ He was particularly disconcerted about the growing influence of mechanistic materialism after the appearance of Ludwig Büchner's epochal *Kraft und Stoff* in 1855, and participated with numerous articles in the debate on materialism, which was led as pugnaciously as the simultaneous controversies ensuing the rise of the Republican Party. In 1871, he summed up his contributions to this debate in his book *Materialismus und Dualismus*, an assessment of the sensual as opposed to the spiritual view of life, in which he gave his support to unlimited scientific research until the boundaries of human perception be reached. He raised his objection, however, to the attempts of modern materialism to efface the necessary distinction between philosophy, the "science of the why and where-from" and life sciences to which the contents of the self-conscious ego are not accessible.⁵⁷

On this basis Münch contributed to the vivid discussions enveloping Büchner's well-publicized and successful lecture tour through the United States with a broadside of articles in the *Mississippi-Blätter* in which he defended free will and spirituality against biological determin-

ism, and in which he tried, for instance, to prove that Darwin's theory of evolution merely removes the *history* of creation, but that it is inconceivable without the assumption of a *causa efficiens*. And when Büchner, the German champion of materialism, evolutionary theory, free thought, and the emancipation of women, made his stop in St. Louis in the spring of 1873, Münch left his rural retreat in Warren County a last time to participate in the public debate about materialism versus idealism.⁵⁸

In the same year, in the introduction to his *Fünf Reden über Religion, Aberglauben und vernünftiges Menschenthum*, he encouraged the founding of associations to utilize this volume in order "to turn the great masses from misguided tools of folly into spiritually free men."⁵⁹ Not accepting the distinct formation of a dichotomous "Weltbild," he continued his efforts to bring rationalism and modern natural sciences, which had long outgrown the philosophy of nature, into harmony by devising a unique monistic cosmology in which the eternal "principle of life" of the universe, the spirit, is conceived as an immaterial ether filling the empty spaces between the atoms, representing the eternal material substance.⁶⁰ Thus, until his final years, Münch remained unbendingly true to his rationalist principles.

St. Louis, Missouri

Notes

¹ *Report on a Journey to the Western States of North America and a Stay of Several Years Along the Missouri (During the Years 1824, '25, '26, and 1827)*, ed. J. W. Goodrich et al. (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1980). First German edition: Elberfeld, 1829. Büttner gives an account of his visit to the "Duden Settlement" and his encounter with Follenius and Münch in his *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika. Mein Aufenthalt und meine Reisen in denselben vom Jahre 1834 bis 1841*, 2 vols. (Hamburg, 1844), 1:180-91. As to Büttner's biography, cf. *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller* (Hamburg, 1851), 465-67.

² The earliest account of the "Duden Settlement" in Warren County, Missouri, is given by Gustav Körner in "Ausflug in das Missourithal," which appeared anonymously from 25 February through 1 March 1834 in J. G. Cotta's *Das Ausland* (Munich). He made this trip in October and November 1833, after he had settled near Belleville, IL. Remnants of the Gießen Emigration Society, mostly Hessians and Altenburgers, settled in the vicinity of Duden's farm in late summer of 1834.

³ In addition to the publications mentioned later, Münch wrote *Geisteslehre für die heranreifende Jugend, zum Gebrauche für höhere Lehranstalten: Ein Buch für Lehrer und Schüler und alle Freunde des freien Denkens* (St. Louis, MO: Conrad Witter, 1872).

⁴ This campaign tour made banner headlines not only in the German-American but also in the Anglo-American press; cf., e.g., "Monster Mass Meeting of German Republicans," *New York Daily Times* [i.e., *New York Times*], 8 Oct. 1856.

⁵ The threat to hand Münch over to "Judge Lynch" voiced by a group of Southern sympathizers, among them two German-Americans, in January 1861 at a gathering in Marthasville, MO, was also reported by the Eastern press; cf. *Belletristisches Journal* (New York), 25 Jan. 1861.

⁶ Sketches of Follenius's and Münch's lives are contained in Friedrich Münch, *Gesammelte Schriften* (St. Louis, MO: Conrad Witter, 1902), 92-106 and 107-25. They first appeared in Münch's *Erinnerungen aus Deutschlands trübster Zeit: Dargestellt in den Lebensbildern von Karl Follen, Paul Follen und Friedrich Münch* (St. Louis, MO, and Neustadt

a. d. H., Germany, 1873). There Münch erroneously gives the end of 1819 as the date of his theological examinations with which he completed his studies.

⁷ Büttner attended the conference May 1836. Extracts of his second missionary report appeared in *Verhandlungen der West-Pennsylvanischen Classical-Synode der Hochdeutschen Reformirten Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-America* (Grünsburg [i.e., Greensburg], PA: J. S. Steck, 1836), 25–28. His remarks about “Münch,” i.e., Münch, are on p. 26.—In later years Münch himself contributed to a great deal of confusion in giving an erroneous account of his controversy with Büttner. In a draft from Feb. 1878 entitled “Dr. Büttner” (Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois Library, Urbana) Münch not only gives 1834 instead of fall 1835 as date of the visit, he also states that Büttner had published in an article in the *Anzeiger des Westens* an “entire mess of bitter accusations” to which he, Münch, had replied in the same paper. Münch, however, in his reply (*Anz. d. W.*, 25 March 1837) expressly refers to Büttner’s second missionary report contained in the proceedings mentioned above, in which he airs his disappointment, but no accusations. Heinrich Armin Rattermann included an edited version of Münch’s draft in his essay “Friedrich Münch: Der Nestor der deutschamerikanischen Geistespiioniere” which first appeared in *Der Deutsche Pionier* 14, and later in Rattermann’s *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke* (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1906–14), vol. 11, *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Biographikon* [. . .] (part 2) 149–90 (on Büttner, 168–70), in which he freely mixes fact with fiction. Neither did Büttner hunt Münch up to urge him “to return to the service of dogmatism” nor did a “newspaper feud” (*Zeitungskrieg*) concerning religious subjects take place. Also Rattermann’s characterization of Büttner’s account of his encounter with Münch in *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, 185–87, as malicious is unfounded. William G. Bek, in his liberal adaptation of Rattermann’s essay, “The Followers of Duden” (17th article), *Missouri Historical Review* 19 (Oct. 1924): 114–29, confuses matters even further when he mixes up the newspaper controversy between Münch and Büttner in two German emigration papers decades later with the religious exchange of 1836–37. In addition, Büttner was not a Lutheran, as Münch stated, but a Reformed ordained missionary preacher and a protagonist of the union of Reformed and Lutherans who urged the West Pennsylvanian Classis, then in favor of such a union, to establish parishes in the West as a preemptive measure against the spreading of orthodox church bodies. It seems that Münch confused Büttner with Haverstick, a Lutheran missionary, who visited the “Duden Settlement” about three months after him. Haverstick’s report indicates that he was ill-prepared for an encounter with “scoffers at religion.” He met Büttner in St. Louis in 1835 and attests to his liberal views; cf. H[enry] Haverstick, “Missionary Report,” *Minutes of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Pennsylvania* (Easton, PA, 1836), 33.

⁸ *Anzeiger d. W.*, 25 March 1837.

⁹ Cf. in this context the repudiation of Haverstick’s (quoted as Haberstick) missionary report by an anonymous rationalist from St. Clair County, IL, published in the *Anz. d. W.*, 12 Nov. 1836, in which religious self-determination is defended along a similar line. It might have inspired Münch’s reply to Büttner.

¹⁰ The first article appeared 27 May 1837, a reprint of which in the *Adler des Westens*, Pittsburgh, came to the attention of “Ein Vertheidiger der christlichen Kirche aus Pennsylvanien,” who wrote a reply for the *Freiheitsfreund*, Chambersburg, PA, reprinted in the *Anz. d. W.*, 15 July 1837. The “Farmer in the Bonhomme Bottom,” in turn, published a second “epistle” in the *Anz. d. W.*, 29 July, assuming that the West and East Pennsylvanian Classes or “West and East Gothic Synods” were behind the article in the *Freiheitsfreund*. The “Farmer in the Bonhomme Bottom” was definitely not a “simple farmer” as he suggests in his two “epistles,” but most likely Follenius’s friend Ernst Karl Angelrodt, a noted liberal from Thuringia who was, as the brothers Roebing, a member of the Muehlhausen Emigration Society. He had settled in the Bonhomme Bottom close to the Missouri River in 1832. Cf. G. Körner’s account of his visit there in his “Ausflug in das Missourithal” and also his *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818–1848* (Cincinnati, 1880), 307–8. This assumption is also supported by the facts that Angelrodt, like Follenius, attacked the plebeian anticlerical Heinrich Koch (cf. *Anz. d. W.*, 3 Sept. 1842), and that he, as Prussian consul in St. Louis, submitted a highly unfavorable report in 1853 about the seminary of the “Kirchenverein des Westens” near Marthasville, MO, about to be expanded with royal Prussian support. He described the seminary as a disreputable “Winkelschule” led by questionable characters like an ex-Jesuit and a

"bankrott gewordener Kleinkrämer." Cf. Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis, MO: Eden Publishing House, 1939), 308.

¹¹ "Ein Wort in Bezug auf den Streit zwischen dem Farmer im Bonhomme Bottom und den Pennsylvanischen Theologen," *Anz. d. W.*, 9 Sept. 1837.

¹² Although the polarization within the frontier congregations reached its peak after the founding of the "Kirchenverein des Westens" in 1840, there were instances like that in the Offenburg Congregation, Femme Osage, St. Charles County, served by Hermann Garlichs, a pietistic pastor of Bremen, where already the attempt to include a provision in the rule of the church to join a synod in the future created an enormous resistance and hostility among the parishioners towards their pastor. Cf. *Erinnerung an den Ehrwürdigen Hermann Garlichs* (New York: 1865), 33-34.

¹³ Haverstick, "Missionary Report," 32. His orthography is retained.

¹⁴ Haverstick, "Missionary Report," 34, 31, 32. Garlichs's diary and the account of his life equally breathe an anti-democratic spirit, cf., e.g., *Erinnerung*, 47-49; the statutes of the "Kirchenverein des Westens" called for ecclesiastical supervision of schools as well. And still in 1856, Münch deplores the support the depraved "aristocratic" slaveholding system was receiving from the German-American *Pfaffenblätter*; cf. "Missouri und Frémont," *Anz. d. W.*, 18 Sept. 1856.

¹⁵ *Anz. d. W.*, 15 July 1843; the original article appeared in the *Hamburger Literarische und Kritische Blätter*. Daubert was on a fund-raising trip through Germany for his congregation in Louisville, KY. J. G. Büttner, who had returned to Germany in 1841 and completely readjusted to the conditions there, supported Daubert in his contemptuous depiction of the freedom of the press in the U.S.

¹⁶ Letter from Franz C. Hillenkamp to schoolmaster Lorenz Schulte in Velmede, Germany, dated St. Charles, 4 May 1843. Hillenkamp (1801-69) was very likely a teacher prior to his emigration. Letter in possession of Georg Hartmann, Marburg, Germany.

¹⁷ "Die Gießener Auswanderungsgesellschaft," *Der deutsche Auswanderer* 1 (1847): col. 548. In this context Münch also mentions that rationalist theology was still being taught at the state university in Gießen, whereas at the same time, for instance, an orthodox catechism and gowns for clergy were introduced. He also refers to the upheavals which shook the German churches in the 1840s, sufficiently demonstrating that he was not alone with his feeling of uneasiness.

¹⁸ *Deutsche Schnellpost* (daily edition), 31 July 1851. With this contribution Münch entered into the ongoing factional dispute in the Freie Gemeinde of New York.

¹⁹ One sermon in English in Münch's handwriting, probably from 1837, is preserved at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Over the years, Münch served several independent congregations in Warren and St. Charles counties, MO, among them Charrette Township, Marthasville, Femme Osage, and Dutzow, apparently on an irregular basis and partially competing with Garlichs of Femme Osage, like Münch originally a "follower" of Duden. Since Münch, however, was disinclined to take over any parish, it seems that some alternation among rationalist and pietistic preachers took place. Regional antagonisms must also be taken into account. The Low German-speaking Reformed from the former "Grafschaft Tecklenburg," northwest Germany, felt more at ease with Garlichs of Bremen, whereas the liberal-minded "Altenburgers" of central Germany seem to have joined Münch's congregation. Garlichs mentions in his diary, quoted in *Erinnerung*, 34, that a faction of his congregation joined Münch's congregation in Dutzow; cf. also Schneider, *The German Church*, 136. No account from Münch himself exists for these years, roughly 1837-46. In his brief autobiography he included, on the advice of Theodore Parker, in his *A Treatise on Religion and Christianity* (Boston, 1847), IV, as well as in his "Die Gießener Auswanderungsgesellschaft," col. 564, he states that he preaches in one or two rationalist congregations founded by him and his brother Georg. In an editorial note in *Der deutsche Auswanderer* 1 (1847): col. 676, it is stated that both brothers were "rationalist preachers" of two congregations. Cf. also the marriage records of Warren County, MO, of this time period, referring to F. Münch as minister of the German congregations on Lake and Charrette Creeks, to G. Münch as minister of the German congregation "up the hill."

²⁰ Cf. Münch's "Kritik der 'Sagengeschichte einer deutschen Auswanderungsgesellschaft,'" *Der Deutsche Pionier* 1 (1869-70): 190, and also Schneider, *The German Church* 120, note 32. Schneider, exceedingly biased in favor of the "Kirchenverein des Westens," follows the innuendos Garlichs had expressed in his reply to Münch, *Anz. d.*

W., 18 June 1842, in which he indirectly accused Münch of pursuing selfish interests, i.e., trying to take over his parish. Münch, in turn, repudiated this accusation, emphasizing that he so far had provided for his livelihood with his own hands and that he would do so in the future; *Anz. d. W.*, 20 Aug. 1842. Garlichs actually left Femme Osage in 1846, after he had exhausted his source of income in Germany, since he felt that his congregation was not able to provide him with sufficient means; cf. *Erinnerung*, 37–39. He subsequently became a Lutheran minister in Brooklyn, NY.

²¹ The "Kirchenverein" chose this English translation of its name. About the "Kirchenverein" in general, cf. Schneider's *The German Church*. As to the antisynodal tendencies, cf. also *Erinnerung*, 32–36, and John W. Flucke's purely hagiographic *Evangelical Pioneers* (St. Louis and Chicago: Eden Publishing House, 1936), 58. Missionary reports of members and associates of the "Kirchenverein" in eastern Missouri to the American Home Missionary Society written in the early 1850s still deplore this fact and the prevalence of "infidelity" in entire German settlements. Cf. the reports of H. C. Werth, 1 July 1853, and Friedrich Birkner, 18 March 1853. Original reports at Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans; Schneider's typed transcripts at Eden Theological Seminary, Webster Groves, MO, are inexact.

²² "Eine deutsche Synode im Westen der Vereinigten Staaten," *Anz. d. W.*, 18 Dec. 1841. The statutes consisted of 17 articles passed by seven charter members on 4 May 1841. Among them Garlichs and Philipp Heyer, pastor of the Friedenskirche near St. Charles. Münch revealed his pseudonyms, "Photophilos" and "Ein Unparteiischer," in the *Anz. d. W.*, 20 Aug. 1842.

²³ "Ein Freund des ächten, von Pfaffen unverfälschten, Christenthums," *Anz. d. W.*, 12 March, 23 April 1842. Later he switched to "Euer Landsmann," *Anz. d. W.*, 20 Aug. 1842, referring to his previous articles. As Münch, Follenius tried to avoid any personal bickerings by using various pseudonyms.

²⁴ *Anz. d. W.*, 12 March 1842.

²⁵ This "Beobachter an der Femme Osage," St. Charles County, dealt mainly with the moral wrongdoings of Heyer; *Anz. d. W.*, 21 Jan. 1843. The "Observer" was possibly Julius Mallinckrodt, subsequently a charter member of the "Verein vernunftgläubiger Christen." ²⁶ Cf. also *Erinnerung*, 41–43, and Schneider's *The German Church*, 121–26, 135–36, and also 129, note 48.

²⁷ No. 1 of vol. 4, the first Hermann issue, appeared on 23 Aug. 1843. About Mühl, cf. Siegmar Muehl's recent essay "Eduard Mühl: 1800–1854 . . .," *Missouri Historical Review* 81 (1986): 18–36. The *Licht-Freund* was not, however, cease publication upon completion of its fifth volume (21 May 1845) as stated by Muehl and others. S. Ludvig's *Die Fackel* 4 (15 June 1850): 160, contains an article about the issue of 20 May of the *Licht-Freund* (probably the last issue of vol. 10), and a survey in the *Anz. d. W.* (weekly), 29 Feb. 1851 [i.e., 1 March], "Der Stand der deutschen Zeitungsprese in den Ver. Staaten," still lists it as a rationalist bi-weekly. No issues, however, after May 1845 are extant. Five polemic articles in *Der Lutheraner*, six in *Die Fackel*, and a reprinted article in the *Anz. d. W.*, 8 Oct. 1847, which all appeared after the alleged demise of the *Licht-Freund*, allow at least a partial reconstruction of its content.

²⁸ The "Kirchenverein" did not start its *Der Friedensbote* until 1850. *Der Freisinnige* appeared from Nov. 1846 through May 1847 (cf. *Anz. d. W.*, 20 May 1847), published by L. F. Volland, former publisher of *Der Missouri Demokrat*, St. Louis. As to Scho's connection with the German-Catholic congregation, see below. Ironically, *Der Lutheraner* was printed by the pro-rationalist *Anz. d. W.* for several years.

²⁹ Several statements by Münch suggest that he became coeditor in 1846 (i.e., vol. 7, or possibly even vol. 6 [1845–46]); cf., e.g., his "Die Gießener Auswanderungsgesellschaft," col. 564, and his letter to Theodore Parker, 23 Sept. 1846, in which he states, "Latterly, I became the co-editor of a German religious paper, the 'Lichtfreund' . . ." Massachusetts Hist. Society, Boston. In 1844–45 Münch criticized Ludvig, then speaker of the Rationalist Association in New York, in a series of articles in the *Licht-Freund*, apparently contributing to his dismissal; cf. *Licht-Freund*, 7 May 1845, and *Die Fackel* 5 (1851): 223, Ludvig's final statement on his dismissal. The last exchange in this controversy took place in 1850.

³⁰ "Verein der Lichtfreunde," *Licht-Freund*, 25 Oct. 1843. In it Münch also refers to the similar proposal he made in the *Anz. d. W.*, 9 Sept. 1837.

³¹ "Religioese Vereine betreffend," signed P. F., 8 and 29 Nov. 1843. It includes also some legal aspects Münch illuminated in his intervention in the dispute between the "Farmer in the Bonhomme Bottom" and the Pennsylvanian synods, *Anz. d. W.*, 9 Sept. 1837. His next and last contribution before his death appeared under the same title on 7 Feb. 1844. In it he deals with several other contributions concerning the founding of a rationalist association.

³² Letter to an anonymous friend, 23 Feb. 1833, probably the wife of the Privy Councillor Isaac Friedrich Müller, a physician of Hesse-Homburg, later a leading member of the Gießen Emigration Society who, however, did not emigrate. Sammlung Adam, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

³³ His organizational principles closely resemble those of the dissenter movement in Germany. Cf. Jörn Brederlow, "Lichtfreunde" und "Freie Gemeinden": *Religiöser Protest und Freiheitsbewegung im Vormärz und in der Revolution von 1848/49* (München and Wien: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1976), and Friedrich W. Graf, *Die Politisierung des religiösen Bewußtseins: Die bürgerlichen Religionsparteien im deutschen Vormärz: Das Beispiel des Deutsch-katholizismus* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 1978).

³⁴ Münch published an account of the founding meeting on 9 April in the *Licht-Freund*, 1 May 1844, including the resolutions passed by the charter members and the original name proposal, "Verein der Vernunftgläubigen," changed by a majority to "Verein vernunftgläubiger Christen." Münch included a revised version of the "program" in his *Ueber Religion und Christenthum*, Zweites Heft (Hermann, 1847), 50-51, but again used the originally proposed name, adding "Rationalisten" in parentheses. In the last extant minutes, from 30 April 1848, the name "Lichtfreunde" is used. The first standing committee consisted of Arnold Kregel, St. Charles County, Dr. Carl Ruge, Franklin County, and Friedrich Münch, Warren County. The minutes are held by the Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.

³⁵ A report of this meeting and the resolutions of the Hermann group appeared in the *Licht-Freund*, 6 Nov. 1844; cf. also the minutes of the "Verein" for 26 Oct. Cf. also the ads for rationalist publications in the *Anz. d. W.*, 11 Dec. 1841, and later, including the *Licht-Freund* and the fourth edition of Strauß's *Das Leben Jesu*. The *Anz. d. W.*, 27 Apr. 1843, and later, contained a recommendation of Mühl and his *Licht-Freund* by its editor, Wilhelm Weber.

³⁶ Based on Münch's article in the *Licht-Freund*, 1 May 1844.

³⁷ Münch first developed this aspect in his previously mentioned article in the *Anz. d. W.*, 9 Sept. 1837.

³⁸ The meetings scheduled for August 1844 had to be cancelled since most members were sick; cf. *Licht-Freund*, 9 Oct. Follenius also fell victim to the feverous illnesses following the flood. He died on 3 Oct., after he had returned to his farm from St. Louis. The minutes of 30 March 1845 mention that 11 new members signed up, bringing the membership to about 50. The meetings, however, were open to the public.

³⁹ Göbel, one of the leaders (*Vorsteher*) of the Gießen Emigration Society, became a leading member of the "Patriotischer Verein" in St. Louis, founded at the end of 1846. The *History of St. Charles, Montgomery and Warren Counties, Missouri* (St. Louis, 1885; repr. St. Louis: Paul V. Cochrane, 1969), 105, devotes two paragraphs to A. Kregels "peculiar," i.e., rationalist, views. Dr. C. Ruge was also the author of a brief universal history, *Kurze Uebersicht der Weltgeschichte* (St. Louis, 1873).

⁴⁰ On 30 March 1845; cf. minutes of this meeting. Both booklets were printed at Mühl and Strehly's *Licht-Freund* press in Hermann, MO. Their full title is *Ueber Religion und Christenthum: Eine Aufforderung zu besonnener Prüfung, an die Deutschen in Nordamerika*, "Heft 1," 1845, "Heft 2," 1847. The second booklet was financed by the "Verein." Münch remarks in his autobiography (*Gesammelte Schriften*, 120-21) that several free congregations, which existed for a long time, were formed as a consequence of the publication of these booklets. Pastor Otto Fürbringer's "Der Rationalismus und die Bibel," a voluminous repudiation from the orthodox side, appeared in *Der Lutheraner*, 6 Sept.-15 Nov. 1845.

⁴¹ "Aufruf der freien deutschen katholischen, d.i. allgemeinen Kirche in St. Louis," *Die Deutsche Tribüne*, 5 Aug. 1846. As the *Licht-Freund*, this congregation used the words of Paul, "Prüfet Alles und das Gute behaltet," as its motto. The names of the 16 charter members and of its preacher, Georg Scho[berlechner], are given in this public address.

⁴² Münch's letter is dated Marthasville, MO, 23 Sept. 1846 (cf. note 29). An abridged version of Parker's reply, dated West Roxbury, 12 Oct. 1846, is contained in Octavius Brooks Frothingham, *Theodore Parker: A Biography* (Boston, 1874), 255–56. Münch states in his second letter to Parker, 12 Nov. 1846, that Charles Follen had recommended W. G. Eliot to him, but Münch "found his views rather too narrow" and felt that Eliot seemed disinclined to continue the intercourse. The full title of Münch's book is *A Treatise on Religion and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Rationalism: An Appeal to the Common-Sense of All who Like Truth Better than Error* (Boston: B. H. Greene, 1847).

⁴³ Cf. the revised version of the "program" in Münch's *Ueber Religion und Christenthum* (1847), 51. The citation is from Münch's letter, 12 Nov. 1846; Münch's emphasis. Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

⁴⁴ *Herald of Religious Liberty*, vols. 1–4, 1844–48. Quoting from its liberal prospectus, Münch states in a sarcastic note in this *Treatise*, 33, that the chapter titled "Rationalism" was originally written for this journal.—Münch's proposal is made in his letters from 12 Nov. 1846 and 29 Dec. 1847; Münch's emphasis. Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

⁴⁵ *A Treatise*, 38–39.

⁴⁶ Letter to Parker, 23 Sept. 1846; Münch's emphasis. Similarly in his "Das Leben von Dr. Karl Follen," *Gesammelte Schriften*, 70. Cf. also his correspondence in Heinzen's *New Yorker Deutsche Zeitung*, 9 Oct. 1851.

⁴⁷ *A Treatise*, 87; Münch's emphasis.

⁴⁸ Münch's speech, dated 1 Aug. 1840, was probably held in Warren County, MO. Manuscript at Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.

⁴⁹ Correspondence, *Deutsche Schnellpost* (daily edition), 1 Aug. 1851.

⁵⁰ This petition, written by Münch, appeared in English and German in the *Anz. d. W.*, 24 Oct. 1846, signed by Münch and "like-minded friends." Münch's draft as well as the manuscript of his reply to the *Missouri Patriot* are held by the Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis. Münch's sermon is mentioned in his letter to Parker, 18 Aug. 1849 (Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston); it is not clear whether he refers to his own congregation at Dutzow or possibly to the "Verein."

⁵¹ In vol. 5 of the *Licht-Freund*, the last extant, six articles appeared between Nov. 1844 and May 1845 on the events following this exhibition, the last of which, a letter from Germany, characterized German-Catholicism as "a German national revolution" (21 May 1845). Even *Der Lutheraner* felt necessitated to publish a critical article about this subject (24 Jan. 1846), based on an article in the *Deutsche Schnellpost*.

⁵² The minutes of 30 April 1848 mention only the passing of this declaration, which is contained in Münch's manuscript, "Aufforderung an das deutsche Volk." Two slightly varying manuscripts are held by the Mo. Hist. Soc., St. Louis.

⁵³ One manuscript contains the addition in Münch's handwriting "Für die Oberpost-amtszeitung in Frank[furt] / andere deutsche Blätter sind um Abdruck ersucht." It is signed by Fr. Münch, D. Göbel, Dr. Ludwig, Dr. Engel, and H. Schaaf.

⁵⁴ George Maul's missionary report to the American Home Missionary Society, dated Augusta [MO], 22 March 1853 (Amistad Research Center, New Orleans). Surprisingly Münch does not mention the existence of the "Verein" as such or any of its activities in his autobiography.

⁵⁵ The short-lived weekly "paper for thinking Christians," *Der Protestant*, edited by the rationalist preacher Dr. Ernst Hugo Krebs in St. Louis, appeared probably from Jan. to May 1859 (i.e., vol. 1, no. 17). In Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732–1955: History and Bibliography* (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1961), 267, it is erroneously listed as organ of the "Altlutheraner." The polemic articles in *Der Lutheraner* are, ironically, the only source which provides some information about the character of this weekly; cf. vol. 15, nos. 9–19. Münch's book *Fünf Reden über Religion, Aberglauben und vernünftiges Menschenthum: An die Deutschen in Nordamerika* (Bremen: Karl Tannen, and St. Louis: C. Witter, 1875) was first serialized in the monthly *Der Reformator*, edited by C. Lohmann in Detroit and Adrian, MI, 1872–73(?). Cf. Münch's brief article "Fünf Reden von Fr. Münch," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 5 (1873–74): 257–58. *Die Wahrheit*, was edited by the rabbi Dr. Solomon Hirsch Sonneschein in St. Louis in 1871. He suspended its publication upon completion of its first volume due to lack of support.

⁵⁶ Cf. his letter to L. Feuerbach, dated Marthasville, MO, 30 March 1860, in which he mentions his review and the attention it had received. An abridged version of the letter

appears in *Ausgewählte Briefe von und an Ludwig Feuerbach*, ed. Wilhelm Bolin, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1904), 2:242; original in Universitäts-Bibliothek München. No issues of vol. 3 (1859-60) of the *Familienblätter für die Vereinigten Staaten*, edited by Dr. med. Karl Dilthey, seem to be extant.

⁵⁷ *Die sinnliche und geistige Lebensansicht, oder Materialismus und Dualismus, beleuchtet vom Standpunkte der heutigen Wissenschaft: Ein Buch für denkende Leser* (Philadelphia: F. W. Thomas & Söhne, 1871). Münch refers to it in a contribution to the *Mississippi-Blätter* (Sunday supplement of the *Westliche Post*, St. Louis), 16 Feb. 1873, "Idealismus vs. Materialismus," continued as "Friedrich Münch" on 23 Feb.

⁵⁸ Münch's articles appeared from 16 Feb. through March 1873.

⁵⁹ P. vii. The introduction is from Jan. 1871.

⁶⁰ Cf. "Der Urstoff und das Lebensprinzip des Weltalls," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Monatshefte* 1 (1864): 3-9; and also "Ist der Weltraum leer?" *Der Amerikanische Agriculturist* (New York) 29 (1870): 345. With his contributions (1865-82) to this monthly, Münch reached a considerable audience. Although Münch does not mention the Berlin physicist Philipp Spiller (1800-1879) in these essays, it seems that he is indebted to Spiller's teachings. Münch, in "Monismus und Dualismus," *Gesammelte Schriften*, 283-85, states that he corresponded with him, and also, in a letter to H. A. Rattermann, 28 Apr. 1875 (Ill. Hist. Survey, University of Illinois Library, Urbana), that his "Naturphilosophie" was close to Spiller's. This interest of Münch, the Kantian, might have been sparked by the Kant-Laplace hypothesis and Diderot's atomism. Cf. also "Der Weltäther als Gott und Weltseele," about Spiller's theory, *Mississippi-Blätter*, 6 Apr. 1873, presumably by E. Preetorius.



Edith Toegel

**Margaret Fuller, Bettina von Arnim,
Karoline von Günderode: A Kinship of Souls**

In January 1842, as editor of the transcendental journal *The Dial*, Margaret Fuller wrote in an essay entitled "Bettine Brentano and her Friend Günderode":

I have been accustomed to distinguish the two as Nature and Ideal. Bettine, hovering from object to object, drawing new tides of vital energy from all, living freshly alike in man and tree, loving the breath of damp earth as well as that of the flower which springs from it, bounding over fences of society as easily as over the fences of the field, intoxicated with the apprehension of each new mystery, never hushed into silence by the highest, flying and singing like the bird, sobbing with the hopelessness of an infant, prophetic, yet astonished at the fulfillment of each prophecy, restless, fearless, clinging to love, yet unwearied in experiment—is not this the pervasive vital force, cause of the effect which we call nature? And Günderode, in the soft dignity of each look and gesture, whose lightest word has the silvery spiritual clearness of an angel's lyre, harmonizing all objects into their true relations, drawing from every form of life its eternal meaning, checking, reproving, and clarifying all that was unworthy by her sadness at the possibility of its existence. Does she not meet the wild, fearless bursts of the friendly genius, to measure, to purify, to interpret, and thereby to elevate? As each word of Bettine's calls to enjoy and behold, like a free breath of mountain air, so each of Günderode's comes like the moonbeam to transfigure the landscape, to hush the wild beatings of the heart and dissolve all the sultry vapors of the day into the pure dewdrops of the solemn and sacred night.¹

Fuller's description is worth citing at length because it captures perceptively and poetically the different natures of the two German women, and the "two modes of life," as Fuller called them. Essayist, critic, feminist, and a major intellectual force in her own right, the American Margaret Fuller (1810–50), was quite taken with the two German women

whom she knew only by name and through their works, especially through Bettina von Arnim's epistolary account of her friendship with Karoline von Günderode (1804-6), *Die Günderode*, published only in 1840.² Fuller's admiration for this work was so persistent that she included in the *Dial* article her own translation of about one fourth of the letters from von Arnim's book which was intended to be the first of four long installments. Later that same year, her friend Elizabeth Peabody published Fuller's translation in a thin volume entitled *Günderode*. As it happens, Margaret Fuller never finished the entire translation project, probably because it did not receive the public acclaim she had hoped for and because she was overburdened with her own work. The translation was continued and completed in 1861 by Minna Wesselhoeft who as a young girl lived next to the Fuller house in Cambridge. Although there is no clear indication in the text that two different translators were involved in the project, Russell Durning, citing Thomas W. Higginson, suggests that "the first letter on page eighty-six in the 1861 edition marks the end of Margaret's portion of the translation. The break occurs in the middle of a letter from Bettina to Karolina."³

Stimulated by her own enthusiasm and fascination for German, Margaret Fuller was able to read and review German literary texts as a very young woman. As early as 1834 she began her first serious translation from German, Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*, as well as other major texts by Goethe and Schiller.⁴ But even before that, Fuller and her close friend and fellow Germanophile James Freeman Clarke, did various short translations in an effort to better understand and analyze the foreign texts.⁵ Yet Fuller was aware of the difficulty of undertaking with a limited knowledge of German a serious translation project like the Bettina von Arnim epistolary novel particularly since the text was unconventional and full of emotional outbursts typical in the private "correspondence" of two young women. In fact the problematic nature of this work is in part in its very nature. Although literary histories refer to Bettina's *Die Günderode* as a thinly veiled autobiography in the form of a *Briefroman*, it is obviously neither, since Bettina created all the letters herself more than thirty years after Karoline von Günderode's death. The autobiographical elements of the work are simply the spontaneous expressions of a young and talented woman, fictionalizing recollections of a past tender friendship. During the intervening years, between the loss of Karoline in 1806 and the composition of her novel in the mid-1830s, Bettina had lived a full life: marriage, the birth of seven children, the loss of her husband Achim von Arnim in 1831, financial and health problems within the family, and along the way, a growing determination to be a woman writer and a respected member of the intellectual elite of her time. This is the sense behind Ingeborg Drewitz's incisive description of *Die Günderode* as "ein Stück Bildungsgeschichte Bettines . . . die sie zum Modell verdichtet hat."⁶ In the opening sentence of her "Translator's Preface" to *Correspondence of Fräulein Günderode and Bettine von Arnim*, Margaret Fuller alludes to these aspects and to her response:

This translation is offered to the public with diffidence, for the task is one of great difficulty. The original is not a work subject to the canons of literary criticism, but a simple product of private relations. . . . The exact transmission of thought seems to me the one important thing in a translation. . . . In translating, I throw myself, as entirely as possible, into the mood of the writer. . . . The style thus formed is at least a transcript of the feelings excited by the original.⁷

To be sure, there are occasional problems with Fuller's translation, some having to do with the inherent differences of syntax and sentence structure of the two languages. Bettina makes regular use of compound nouns and long, complex sentences, quite natural in the style of a native speaker, lending as they do a personal touch of spontaneity and intimacy to the "correspondence." In the first letter, although Fuller's "prattling spirit" is an acceptable translation of "Plaudergeist," it does not reveal the airy and childlike tone so typical of Bettina von Arnim in this work. Similarly, in the same text, the underlying irony in "Hauptursach," referring to Bettina's cousin's long nose is lost in Fuller's overly weighty translation of "true reason." There are occasional mistakes, like the translation of "run" for "verlaufen," and at times Fuller adds a word to promote general understanding but which diminishes the unique playfulness of the original. Finally, Margaret Fuller's use of *thee* and *thou* does not correspond to Bettina's colloquial dropping of the final *e* on nouns and on first-person verb forms, which produces an overall tone more literary and formal than the original, especially of course for contemporary readers. In spite of these shortcomings, of which Fuller herself was aware, her acquaintance and critic Higginson thought that "Margaret Fuller's first part of these letters is perhaps the best piece of literary work that she ever executed."⁸ Fuller was clearly committed to it, even at a time when she was overburdened with the editorship of *The Dial* (1840-42), and with the organization of the very successful Boston "Conversations" which she conducted from 1839-44. Even if incomplete, this translation did preoccupy Margaret Fuller for several years during an important period of her intellectual and creative maturity, shortly before her fateful departure from the United States for Europe in 1845.

In retrospect, Margaret Fuller's attraction to the two heroines in *Die Günderrode* seems to fit into a particular moment of her life. Although outwardly a rather ebullient and intellectually aggressive woman who challenged the male intelligentsia of her native New England (especially her friend and collaborator Emerson), Fuller was the only prominent American woman of her generation engaged intellectually on a grand scale. Yet, Perry Miller has suggested that she was in fact torn between her heart and her intellect.⁹ In the same perspective, Mason Wade claims that "for all her success in a cause that was dear to her, and for all the adulation she received from her circle, Margaret was not very happy during the years of the Conversations. The emotionalism of her nature had no profound fulfillment."¹⁰ Margaret Fuller's own journal and letters confirm this view. In a typical example of her state of mind, she

writes in her journal in the summer of 1844: "With the intellect I always have, always shall, overcome; but that is not half of the work. The life, the life! O, my God! shall the life never be sweet?"¹¹ During these years Margaret Fuller was an isolated figure in a demanding intellectual environment where there were few, if any female writers with whom to associate, and no precedents of a feminine tradition in America that might have provided guidance and support. Pointing to the Brontës, George Eliot, and to Fuller's fellow American Emily Dickinson, Paula Blanchard stresses the fact that

many of the literary women of the last century . . . did not work alone in the midst of society, but succeeded either by withdrawing from it altogether and living virtually as hermits, or by being fortunate enough to find men who would fulfill for them the protective and supportive role usually assigned to literary men's wives.¹²

Yet, Margaret Fuller insisted on "living the intellectual life of a man and the social life of a woman," a fact which caused continuous frustrations and hardship. It was in this state of mind that she turned eagerly to the lives and letters of European writers who she felt were more in tune with her character and her temperament and whose lives became models for her. She was particularly attracted to the writers in France and Germany.

It is important to recall here that, her own disposition aside, Margaret Fuller had had an unusually thorough education as a young child which, in a sense, predisposed her to classical foreign authors and motivated her to acquire the language skills to read them. The oldest of eight children, Margaret Fuller was educated privately by her ambitious lawyer father Timothy Fuller who apparently put intellect first and had little concern for his daughter's emotional needs.¹³ Realizing early Margaret's intellectual potential, the father appears to have viewed her education as his own personal achievement in a life otherwise filled with disappointments and thwarted political aspirations. Margaret was taught to read English and Latin at a very early age. She taught herself German, and in her early twenties, around 1832, she was beginning a serious course of study of Goethe, Schiller, Novalis, Jean Paul, and other German Romantics. It was for Goethe however that Fuller felt the greatest and most lasting admiration, and he remained the uncontested source of intellectual inspiration in her youth.¹⁴ Although some of her contemporaries, and in particular Emerson and Thoreau felt disenchanted with Goethe, feeling that he fell short in his "messianic role of the visionary artist," Fuller never waived in her respect for him.¹⁵ In a letter to James Freeman Clarke in 1832, she refers to Goethe's *Wahlverwandtschaften*, and was an early champion of a novel considered scandalous by many.¹⁶ Predictably, Fuller was naturally taken with Ottilie's courage and strength of character. By renouncing her love, Fuller thought, Ottilie showed her ability "to instruct others" in determination and discipline, two qualities of character which she admired greatly and which she herself personified to perfection. Twelve years later, and still

under the spell of her admiration for everything German, Margaret Fuller wrote in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845): "Germany did not need to learn a high view of Woman; it was inborn in that race."¹⁷

Fuller's interest in German letters was both intellectual and emotional. The remark from a letter in 1835, "I fear I am merely 'Germanico,' and not 'transcendental,'"¹⁸ suggests that she aligned herself and felt emotionally closer to the German spirit than to that of her own American generation of intellectuals and literati. From her own experience in and around Boston and Concord, Margaret Fuller felt that the social and intellectual climate in Germany was more open and more favorable to women than in her home country. Furthermore, the fact that in her *Günderode*, Bettina von Arnim discusses with considerable ease and understanding such sophisticated authors as Goethe and Hölderlin indicated to Margaret Fuller that German culture had allowed women to progress further in literary sophistication. In her *Dial* article on *Die Günderode* we read: "Let him who has seated himself beneath the great German oak, and gazed upon the growth of poesy, of philosophy, of criticism, of historic painting, of the drama . . . pick up these little acorns which are dropping gracefully on the earth, and carry them away to be planted in his own home" (321).

From at least the mid-1830s, Margaret Fuller began to idealize German Romantic literature, in part because she perceived it as a body of letters emerging out of a society that valued the talents of women and was more intellectually respectful of their feminine difference. Beyond the lasting admiration for Goethe and Fuller's continued interest in other male German writers like Schiller and Jean Paul, there was an increased attraction to German women writers in the late 1830s. The two women Margaret Fuller felt closest to were Bettina von Arnim (1785–1859), younger sister of Clemens Brentano, and Karoline von Günderode (1780–1806), the young canoness, and a respected Romantic poet in her own right.

Margaret Fuller had probably read Bettina von Arnim's novel shortly after its publication in Germany in 1840 because she mentions it in a letter to W. H. Channing in the same year. What must have struck Margaret Fuller immediately upon reading *Die Günderode* was the two German women's unique sense of friendship. Fuller herself had an unusually strong need and appreciation for friendship, and the strong bond between the women in the novel touched her deeply. In her journal she noted in 1843, that love among the same sex "is regulated by the same law as that of love between persons of different sexes; only it is purely intellectual and spiritual. Its law is the desire of the spirit to realize a whole, which makes it seek in another being what it finds not in itself."¹⁹

Margaret Fuller found Bettina von Arnim's earlier fictionalized account *Goethe's Correspondence with a Child* (1837) very disappointing, expressing as she thought, an emotional imbalance: "Excess . . . anywhere must lead to poverty somewhere . . . yet if there be not in the mind a counterpoising force, which draws us back to the centre in proportion as we have flown from it, we . . . are not vivified but

weakened by our love" (*The Dial*, 315). In her second book however, Fuller found that von Arnim had avoided that "excess," and she thought that the relationship of the two women in *Die G nderode* displayed the highest harmony of soul and intellect. Because of their different natures, the one "nature," the other "ideal," Bettina and Karoline formed a perfect balance which in its reciprocal effects resulted in a delicate and creative tension. Fuller writes: "The letters would be of great interest, if only for the distinct pictures they present of the two modes of life; and the two beautiful figures which animate and portray these modes of life are in perfect harmony with them" (*The Dial*, 318). The essentially poetic qualities which Fuller admired in the German women's relationship, the blending of "nature" and "ideal," touched her own romantic sensibilities. She saw them in the romantic mode of a Novalis whom she also admired and whose poetic perception of life, his "imperfection, and glow" made Margaret Fuller feel "as though I could pursue my natural mode with him" (*Letters*, 77). Thus ironically, in romanticizing their existence in their letters, the two women actually achieved a higher degree of reality. What the German critic Gert Mattenklott observed of Bettina von Arnim is exactly what attracted Margaret Fuller: "Die Lebenskunst dieser Frau, die darauf gerichtet war, die Freiheit ihres Empfindens, Denkens und Handelns durch Exaltation zu gewinnen."²⁰

In addition to the temperamental ties between them ("nature" and "ideal"), Margaret Fuller was also impressed with the fact that the two German women complemented each other on an intellectual level, the third "mode" so important to the American writer. Learning, and acquiring knowledge was an important part of their relationship, and one which Fuller found particularly apt since it elevated the emotional friendship to the higher intellectual level the great German Romantics sought. Consciously aware of her own lack of such a friendship, Fuller was all the more attentive to the positive impact such a relationship can have on both partners, and on what its existence in society reveals of the state of culture at that time. Fuller wrote: "And not only are these letters interesting as presenting . . . an ideal relation realized, but the high state of culture in Germany which presented to the thoughts of those women themes of poesy and philosophy as readily" (*The Dial*, 320). Thus, the German "correspondence" presents not only an ideal private relationship, but it reflects as well a model intellectual, cultural climate. In this ambience, the talented Bettina relates family and local anecdotes, as well as the inexplicable tragedy of H lderlin's life and the political vagaries within German society.

Often, the more educated, but in Bettina's novel, inherently more cautious Karoline von G nderode assumes the position of teacher, guiding and channeling the diverse energies of her exuberant pupil. Bettina, on the other hand, more intuitive and less constrained by conventional thinking, urges her friend to be more imaginative and forceful. Thus, while G nderode counsels her friend to dedicate more time and energy to her study of history, Bettina replies that book learning induces lack of imagination, "eine versteinerte Welt." While

Karoline wants to prepare Bettina by training and strengthening her intellectual faculties, "was sich im Geist ereignet, ist Vorbereitung einer sich ausbildenden Zukunft,"²¹ Bettina tries to convince the more reticent friend of the values of learning through living, "Geist einatmen, wodurch ich lebe, den ich aber auch wieder ausatme, und nicht einen Geistballast in mich schlucken, an dem ich ersticken müßt" (*Die Günderode*, 285). For the natural, free-spirited Bettina, the realm of the imagined is part of her existence, "keine Absonderung der Phantasie von der Wirklichkeit." Thus, in this highly intellectualized period of German letters, Bettina von Arnim stresses the return to and the reliance on the self, the inner world as counterbalance to reality. Her alter ego Karoline, allows her to develop her own self, but Bettina also sees herself in Karoline. The format of the epistolary novel lends itself particularly well to this ongoing presentation and elaboration of the self which is so important to the German Romantic literary temperament.

Bettina's insistence on the self manifests itself clearly in their "Schwebereligion," which emerges early in their relationship. The basic tenet of this ethic lies in the ongoing development and strengthening of the self, while protecting it against external pressures and influences. Bettina's advice to her friend Karoline is both poetic and specific:

Auch über die Verkältung hinweg im Nachtwind wie im Sonnenschein sein eigener Herr bleiben, das muß ein Gesetz unserer schwebenden Religion sein. . . . Ein jeder muß ein inneres Heiligtum haben, dem er schwört . . . jeder soll neugierig sein auf sich selber und soll sich zutage fördern wie aus der Tiefe ein Stück Erz oder ein Quell. (*Die Günderode*, 164, 169, 172)

This notion of self-reliance must have struck Margaret Fuller's imagination for it is one of the major issues that recurs in the latter sections of her justly famous *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, originally published in a shorter version in the *Dial* in July 1843, only one-and-a-half years after her essay on *Die Günderode*. In the following citation one hears a clear resonance that could have come from Bettina von Arnim: "What woman needs is not as a woman to act or rule, but as a nature to grow, as an intellect to discern, as a soul to live freely and unimpeded to unfold such powers as were given her when we left our common home."²² The emphasis here, not on power per se, but on woman's "nature" and "intellect," also recalls the original "modes of life" Margaret Fuller had appreciated in the von Arnim-Günderode relationship: "nature" and "ideal." A woman's task is to promote the nature and ideal of her own femininity that distinguishes her from the male, and Margaret Fuller would add that this femininity should be developed through learning and the intellect. On this particular point alone, the kinship between Margaret Fuller and Bettina von Arnim is particularly close, keeping in mind that the American woman also admired the German society that permitted the growth of women's "nature" and "ideal."

This attitude was surely a motivating factor in the organization and realization of her Boston "Conversations," a series of public seminars

held during this time. The topics of these seminars, given primarily for women, emphasized education, reading, and developing the intellect. These "Conversations" were also closely related to the famous literary piece in the July 1843 issue of the *Dial*, "The Great Lawsuit: Man Versus Men; Woman versus Women," which was later expanded into *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845). Paula Blanchard writes:

This article, the most radical feminist document yet produced in America, brings together the liberal thought she had distilled from years of study and the bitter contradictions and disillusionment she had experienced, not only in her own life but in the lives of literally dozens of other women who had confided in her as in no one else.²³

One of her intentions for organizing the "Conversations" for the women of Boston was

to systematize thought, and give a precision and clearness in which our sex are so deficient, chiefly I think, because they have so few inducements to test and to classify what they receive. To ascertain what pursuits are best suited to us in our time and state of society, and how we make best use of our means for building up the life of thought upon the life of action.²⁴

Clearly, her ambitions for these meetings were high, and according to contemporaries, her topics of discussion (literature, philosophy and politics) were intended to stimulate her female audience to begin to prepare intellectually for the future. In fact, Margaret Fuller held strongly to the view of the nineteenth century as a starting point after which women would be integrated more equally into society. In all of her writing at the time, and in the Boston "Conversations," one of the implied goals was to renew the place and function of women in American society. Her interest in translating *Die G nderode* for an American audience was part of this thrust.

Of *Die G nderode* she wrote in the *Dial*: "We feel that this book, with all its singular beauty of detail, presents to us but a beginning" (349). The collage effect of Bettina's novel, with a kind of mixed literary effect, interweaving letters, poems, some intellectual and philosophical prose, and even a short play, all of this suggests openness and a model of the various kinds of writing women could aspire to. In an essay from 1978 on Karoline von G nderode, Christa Wolf referred to Bettina von Arnim's novel, and the friendship it describes as "Verk rperung einer Utopie."²⁵ Although the word "utopia" does not occur in Margaret Fuller's writings on Bettina or on women, it is implicit in her hopes and expectations for women beyond the nineteenth century. This ideal which she felt to be alive in the German Romantic women, and which seems to have haunted Margaret Fuller particularly during the early 1840s, was undoubtedly reinforced through her reading of Bettina von Arnim. For Fuller, the book is a symbol for the achievement of a generation of women who courageously look to the future. Christa Wolf

sees the work and its author as representative of other women at the time who bear witness to the oncoming changes:

Der Briefwechsel der Günderröde ist ein Zeugnis dafür. Frauen, die es fertigbringen, ihre eigene Lage zu reflektieren—ein Vorrecht, das wie jedes Privileg seinen Preis hat. . . . sie lehnen ab, was die Hierarchie verlangt. . . . Beinahe voraussetzungslos, auf Ideen nur, nicht auf soziale, ökonomische, politische Gegebenheiten gestützt, sind sie dazu verurteilt, Außenseiter zu werden.²⁶

And in *Die Günderröde*, as if to echo Margaret Fuller's own hopes, Bettina's final lines to Karoline read: "Alles Werden ist für die Zukunft, ja, wir nähren uns von der Zukunft, sie begeistert uns.—Die Zukunft entspringt dem Geist wie der Keim der nährenden Erde" (365).

When Bettina von Arnim published this work in 1840, the situation in Germany had changed considerably, compared to the time during which the original "correspondence" had taken place (1804–6). Among other events, there had been the revolution of 1830, and the *Vormärz* retaliation which had changed much of the mood and conditions of German life. The optimism of the young Romantics had given way to political persecution, including frequent surveillance and imprisonment of young intellectuals. In these difficult times, the celebrated Bettina von Arnim became the center of attention for many young political dissidents, and her Berlin apartment became a gathering place for discussion of social and political issues. Margaret Fuller was also active in social causes in Boston in the 1840s while a member of the transcendentalist group. She was also naturally attracted to the idea of the salons Bettina von Arnim had animated in Berlin in the late 1830s, and which "had long given women of intelligence, wit, and sympathy an influential role with men of letters and politics, a role unknown in America."²⁷ At the time when Fuller did her partial translation of *Die Günderröde*, it seems clear that she was restless and that she felt isolated in her own country. The years between 1840 and 1845 were marked by feverish work including her major publications *Summer on the Lake* (1843) and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. She yearned to go to Europe, a plan abandoned once before due to her father's death, and so by 1845 she was more than eager to leave. She arrived in England in 1846, visited France in 1847, and later that same year reached her final destination, Italy.

Although Margaret Fuller seems not to have paid particular attention to the inscription Bettina von Arnim had added to her novel in 1839, dedicating it to the students of the *Vormärz* period and infusing it with strong political overtones, the fact remains that Margaret Fuller, like her German counterpart, adopted a political, even a revolutionary attitude when she joined Mazzini's forces in Italy in 1848. Clearly Margaret Fuller had been influenced by her understanding of the two German women, their unusual, often courageous and uncompromising attitudes toward life, their openness to new ideas, and finally their actions which were not "talk but life," which is just what Henry James remarked about Margaret Fuller.²⁸ These were the qualities that were at the heart

of the extraordinary intellectual attraction of the American transcendentalist to the two German Romantics. Margaret Fuller said about Bettina von Arnim and Karoline von Günderode that their relationship "is founded on no illusion, but a parallelism of lives that was written in the stars" (*The Dial*, 349), an ideal relationship Fuller was probably searching for, and in vain, during her "American" years.

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Notes

¹ Margaret Fuller, "Bettine Brentano and her Friend Günderode," *The Dial* 2 (1842; rpt. New York: Russel & Russel, Inc., 1961), 318-19. Subsequent citations from this article will carry the page number reference immediately following the quotation.

² The Günderode family spelled its name with two r's. Since the sixties, critics have returned to the original spelling.

³ Russell E. Durning, *Margaret Fuller: Citizen of the World* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969), 115.

⁴ For a thorough discussion of Fuller's translations into German, see *ibid.*, 101ff.

⁵ For more on this point, see Paula Blanchard, *Margaret Fuller: From Transcendentalism to Revolution* (rpt. New York: Addison-Wesley, 1987), 67.

⁶ Ingeborg Drewitz, *Bettine von Arnim* (rpt. Munich: Wilhelm Heyne, 1982), 188-89.

⁷ Margaret Fuller and Minna Wesselhoeft, *Correspondence of Fräulein Günderode and Bettine von Arnim* (Boston: T.O.H.P. Burnham, 1861), v.

⁸ Thomas W. Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli* (rpt.: New York, London: Chelsea House, 1981), 192.

⁹ Perry Miller, *Margaret Fuller: American Romantic* (New York: Doubleday, 1963), xiii.

¹⁰ Mason Wade, *Margaret Fuller: Whetstone of Genius* (New York: Viking Press, 1940), 79.

¹¹ R. W. Emerson, W. H. Channing, and J. F. Clarke, *Memoirs*, 2 vols. (1859; rpt. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1884), 1:237.

¹² Blanchard, 130-31.

¹³ On this subject, see *ibid.*, 47.

¹⁴ For a detailed study of Margaret Fuller's interest in Goethe, see Frederick August Braun, *Margaret Fuller and Goethe* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1910), and Durning, 89ff.

¹⁵ See Martin Christadler, "German and American Romanticism," *American-German Literary Interrelations in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Christoph Wecker (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1983), 23.

¹⁶ *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth, 3 vols. (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1983), 1:letter no. 74. Subsequent citations from this edition will carry the letter number reference immediately following the quotation.

¹⁷ Margaret Fuller, "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*, ed. Mason Wade (New York: Viking Press, 1941), 138.

¹⁸ Higginson, 141.

¹⁹ Emerson, et al., 1:283.

²⁰ Gert Mattenklott, "Romantische Frauenkultur: Bettina von Arnim zum Beispiel," in *Frauen-Literatur-Geschichte: Schreibende Frauen vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Hiltrud Gnüg and Renata Möhrmann (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1985), 128.

²¹ Bettina von Arnim, *Die Günderode*, ed. Elisabeth Bronfen (Munich: Matthes and Seitz, 1982), 73. Subsequent citations from this book will carry the page number immediately following the quotation.

²² Margaret Fuller, "Woman in the Nineteenth Century," 125.

²³ Blanchard, 160.

²⁴ Emerson, et al., 1:325.

²⁵ Christa Wolf, "Der Schatten eines Traumes: Karoline von Günderrode—Ein Entwurf," in *Lesen und Schreiben: Neue Sammlung* (Darmstadt and Neuwied: Luchterhand, 1980), 225–83.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 236.

²⁷ Bell Gale Chevigny, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (New York: The Feminist Press, 1976), 25.

²⁸ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and His Friends*, excerpted in Joel Myerson, *Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1980), 132.



Karla Lydia Schultz

"Think: You Could Become an American . . .": Three Contemporary German Poets Respond to America

For generations of Europeans, America has been both literary topos¹ and promising new habitat. We may recall, for example, Goethe's envious tribute across the ocean:

not bothered by strife
while living your life
not torn internally
by futile memory,²

or remember angry young Heine's relief when thinking of the New World: ". . . even if all of Europe should turn into one single dungeon, there still would exist one hole to make one's escape: America. And thank God—the hole is even bigger than the dungeon."³ Neither, as we know, ever set foot on the American continent.

More recently, America has become a place to be visited and a force to be confronted. The dream has become a text to be analyzed. I will turn to a most traumatic time in the history of America's image, the late 1960s to mid-1970s. The following views by three contemporary German poets, expressed at the height of the Vietnam War and shortly thereafter, show an ambivalence that ranges from longing to wariness to condemnation, from loving recall to detached observation to political statement. All three writers arrived in the role of academic visitor (two from the Federal Republic of Germany, one from the German Democratic Republic), yet each in his way relinquished this role to take a stand: one to embrace the America of the everyday, one to rebuke a power-hungry colossus, one to examine the moonscape of what he calls "the other planet."

In a poem that appeared right after his visiting lectureship at the University of Texas in 1975, Martin Walser concludes: "So I admit: I can't reconcile this capitalist America about which the globe rumbles and the concrete America that I experienced."⁴ Throughout, the poem

treats the rift between an official America of power politics and media smog and an unofficial one of friendly temporariness and wide, perpetual skies. In sharp contrast to this double vision stands the unequivocal indictment by Hans Magnus Enzensberger, who declares in an open letter to the president of Wesleyan University seven years earlier: "I believe the class which rules the United States of America, and the government which implements its policies, to be the most dangerous body of men on earth."⁵ Located somewhere in between is Günter Kunert's futile attempt to capture America's truth. Like Walser a visiting professor in Texas (1972-73), he concentrates on America's surfaces, ponders its visual impact: "That which is American . . . has an atmospheric quality, something that surrounds one without lending itself to exact definition. One only *thinks* one knows the places where it is present" (emphasis mine).⁶

Significantly, these views take on their own, appropriate form. Enzensberger's "Open Letter" is a public statement, sharp and determined in tone, whereas Walser's poem, "Attempt to Understand a Feeling," is a very personal, lyrical reflection. Kunert's travel vignettes alternate between poetry and prose. I will turn to Enzensberger's letter first, not only because it precedes the other two confrontations, but because its analysis, though dating from 1968, has gained renewed meaning in light of current United States policy in Central America.

The occasion for Enzensberger's letter is his resignation from his fellowship, a grant he feels he can no longer accept in light of a growing conviction: that an intellectual's thoughts are compromised by contradictory actions. For him, a continued stay as the official guest of an institution whose government is embroiled in an aggressive, imperialist war, would be just such a compromise. His letter, at the risk of appearing ungrateful, affirms that the personal is the political. Enzensberger enumerates the defense mechanisms he sees at work in his immediate surroundings, in academia. Inside the university, as well as outside of it, these mechanisms have become the tools of intellectual trade—not just in the United States, but, in a telling manner, especially there. They are excuses to shut one's eyes, justifications for a politics of unmitigated power.

The first defense mechanism Enzensberger cites operates on the semantic level. While many of the sexually charged words formerly regarded as obscene have become socially acceptable, politically charged words such as "imperialism" and "exploitation" have been tabooed. The result is a neurotic use of euphemisms that tries to cover up the political situation in truly obscene fashion.

The second defense mechanism employs the "mental-health" approach. A critical assessment of United States policies and procedures in terms of class interests is considered paranoid. Basically, so the defense argument goes, the powerful in this country are people like everyone else. However, because they are in a responsible position, they are also more informed, more knowledgeable, more farsighted than the rest. To accuse them of special interests, it is argued, is simply the sign of an unhealthy obsession.

The third defense mechanism mixes simplistic scare tactics with broad generalizations. It also takes the offense by accusing the accuser of communist propaganda. Such an operation, Enzensberger writes, is as irrational as it is inaccurate. It lumps together the most disparate concerns as expressed, for example, "by Greek liberals and Latin American archbishops, by Norwegian peasants and French industrialists" (32). An imaginary vanguard of "Communism" is invoked; highly differentiated issues based on particular histories, geographies, and economics are reduced to their alleged common denominator: being a threat to freedom and therefore to America.

Most Americans, Enzensberger submits, do not know what they look like to others. He himself lays no claim to being an outsider, to belonging to the injured and innocent. As a German, he is aware of the look that others place on the guilty, regardless of whether their guilt stems from inheritance, association, or deed:

. . . most Americans have no idea of what they and their country look like to the outside world. I have seen the glance that follows them: tourists in the streets of Mexico, soldiers on leave in Far Eastern cities, businessmen in Italy or Sweden. The same glance is cast on your embassies, your destroyers, your billboards all over the world. . . . I will tell you why I recognize this look. It is because I am German. It is because I have felt it on myself. (32)

Striking parallels exist between the American situation of the 1960s and the situation in Germany two generations earlier: racial discrimination and persecution (often in the guise of patriotism), governmental support of counterrevolutionary wars, and alarming increases in the armament budget. Obvious differences concern a mind-boggling potential to destroy the world many times over and, hand in hand with an ever more refined technology, the subtlest means yet to integrate, hence suppress, voices of opposition. The American system, unlike the earlier German one, can afford to do without overt censorship and repression, because the freedoms it offers are sold at the price of institutional integration of dissent. Alibis for a good conscience are easy to come by.

Enzensberger's analysis is a harsh one. It allows for little or no movement within the system. He therefore wants to extricate himself as much as he can—not by returning to Europe, but by turning to a country where a revolution has taken place. "I have made up my mind to travel to Cuba and to work there for some time. This is hardly a sacrifice on my part; I just feel that I can learn more from the Cuban people and be of greater use to them than I could be to the students of Wesleyan University" (32). He perceives America as a massively united state, a powerful totality that ultimately grants only the "love-it-or-leave-it" choice to those who inhabit it.

A determination to take a stand, with words as well as with action, permeates the letter. A well-known poet, Enzensberger is not after publicity; he wants to provoke necessary yet rarely posed questions, especially among political-minded intellectuals like himself: ". . . my

case is moot by itself, of no importance or interest to the outside world. However, the questions which it raises do not concern me alone" (32). In line with his position, Enzensberger will not publish poems until well into the seventies. Instead, he gives speeches and interviews, writes articles, a documentary play, a novel about anarchy. Eventually, though, he will distance himself from this letter, that is, from its activist gesture. In retrospect, he will feel that he should have left America quietly, or better: thought better about accepting his fellowship in the first place. Mere gestures, he will say, neither make for good politics nor good writing.⁷

Martin Walser's lyrical recollection of his American visit, "Attempt to Understand a Feeling," also poses a question, but an open-ended one. The remembrance of his encounter with America takes the form of a search. The poem begins by probing a feeling. The history of this feeling is traced to concrete experiences and sensations, while its impulse, pursued in a series of questions, goes toward something distant and unknown. "Attempt to Understand a Feeling" searches the past for the future:

Who will explain to me my homesickness for America?
 What must make up the tone that reaches from here to Texas and lasts as
 long as the lovely sky there?
 What am I to do with the splendid oaks, the cedars, countless, that have
 begun to take root again in my mind?

 Was it the unrelenting heat?
 Was it the roads that always reached to the horizon?

 Could my homesickness for America be a homesickness for the future?
 (61)

Together with the sensations of landscape, vegetation, and climate, the speech sounds and constructs of the people are recalled:

How can I handle the immortal phrases from the supermarket, which
 still are imbued with the Southern tinge of the lips from which they
 came? Why does the gas station remain with me as though it were done
 by Michelangelo? (59)

The cultured stance of the European turns to self-irony; strange impressions become stranger yet through inadequate comparisons. Walser's search is propelled by incongruity. Formally, this is reflected by the loose structure of the poem. The eleven unrhymed stanzas or sections are of unequal length, alternating between poetry and prose, point and counterpoint, bodily sensation and critical insight:

Didn't the renowned New York paper make me shudder by its slanted
 indifference?

Didn't the Mexican who built my apartment pay for my rent being so low?

.....
Maybe I am susceptible to beautiful weather.

.....
Maybe it's most of all the effect of the distance from here. (60)

The pivotal term of Walser's poem is "distance." The land where "bend after bend of the Mississippi glistens up under the airplane wing," where trucks pass on the interstate with a "Pentecostal roar," where Tennessee "chases the sun with so many hills" is of a geographic expanse that is incomprehensible to the European eye, whether in reality or in recollection. America, seemingly so open to the stranger, is not only vast; it presents itself quite impenetrable in its material and ideological density. The visitor remains removed, though perhaps sees more keenly because he sees differently. There is the new urban architecture, asserting itself in "the concrete scarf that Houston wears"; there is the ritual of combative sports, where football stars "thrust their great strength on the ball disappeared at the bottom of the pile," and there is—irreconcilable contradiction to America's open skies and horizons—"the cloud cover, produced daily by the communications industry and by the entertainment industry" (61).

There is also the distance within the culture, among its own people, which is cultivated as an illusion of nearness. It appears in the historical costume of celebrations and parades ("the brass band . . . like on the postcard from 1910"), in the sugary homeliness of chain restaurants ("the pancake house on the interstate"), and in the eroticized advertisement of capital: "Was it the girl on TV, who lets slogans from Franklin Savings & Loan melt totally on her lips?" (60). It also appears and is experienced as a false identification with the powerful and socially dominant, who present themselves as near and familiar: "Did I not have a fraternal feeling for Nixon and Agnew . . . ?"

The counter-concept to distance that moves Walser's poem is his experience of an invisible yet tangible idea: democracy. The pervasiveness of this idea, the vistas it opens, make Walser pursue his question, make him wonder about his longing for America. He calls on the most American of American poets, Walt Whitman, who envisioned freedom arising from a great land:

Maybe I came upon your Democracy, Walt Whitman, in bars, lecture halls, department stores, and on beaches.

.....
All of America is the periphery for a center that is not a capital city with imperialistic stucco, victory column, parade grounds, Immortality Boulevard. The center for which America is the periphery is the idea that will also overcome capitalism: Democracy. (61)

Although an intellectual himself, Walser distances his experience from the theoretical criticism of his peers. He makes no reference to social

groups and conditions he does not know. His recollection goes toward the actual people he met. He defends the particular, the everyday, the vast and motley middle class:

I was in the big small towns on Sundays and weekdays, always in the middleclass, nowhere did I meet the plastic people that the intellectual has to come across in America. (62)

He senses something new underway in the behavior of these people. He is encouraged, for example, by the easy-going worship of many and small gods—the stars of the media industry. These “gods” are the most humanlike yet in history, because they are man-made and recognized as such. He detects in their popularity, their fleeting stardom, a theology with a new direction: “yes, mankind finally wants to worship itself.” There is hope in this theology of temporary gods, since the hells it creates promise to be temporary as well. Differently put, as people realize that they create their conditions, they will realize also that they can change them. “I am captivated by America’s hells that need less theology to operate than any other hells in the world: so they seem more easily done away with” (62).

Temporariness and uncertainty, finally, are the criteria that distinguish America from Europe in Walser’s poem. While in the America of his remembered vision “nobody is quite sure of himself,” Europe, the old country, seems to tinge everything with “ceremonious self-assuredness.” Satiated with a tradition where everyone and everything has its place, where social hierarchy is hewn in stone, it is “a vainglorious funeral culture,” a culture where greed and the status quo go hand in hand with an oft-rehearsed pessimism. “One gets old and rich but talks incessantly about dying.” Perhaps it is not the real America after all, perhaps it is the America that Europe lacks, which prompts Walser to end his poem with the wish to forget and be able to hope. He ponders the invigorating sensation of natural and human energy that his visit has left in him:

I’d like to be in Virginia, the land of the leaves, to forget,
I’d like to be in Texas and learn how to brag,
I’d like to be far away. (62)

Walser’s and Enzensberger’s opposing views bring out the contradictions that America presents to the world: a politics of aggressive imperialism, yoked to the daily-lived promise of a future. While Enzensberger condemns the politics, Walser tries to capture the promise. One, by deciding to make a point, leaves out shadings and differentiations; the other, by including them, is led to a declaration of love. One draws a picture of America within the world, the other of America within. The letter addresses a public figure; the poem engages in a dialogue with a self. The forms prescribe their constraints.

Neither of the poets comes to see America innocently; both bring to it their post-Second World War West-German perspective. Enzensberger perceives the United States as a continuation and intensification of a

socio-political tradition that wreaked havoc in Europe; he indicts a historically all too familiar, capitalist rationality that now threatens to destroy the Third World, and possibly everyone. From this perspective, the central line of Walser's poem, his hopeful and future-directed reminder, "Think: you could become an American," takes on an ominous tone.

Yet from the context of the poem, the same line emerges as utopian, as an encouragement to move toward the future with liberating uncertainty. There is no mention of America the colossus, or America the threat. Invoked is a country of beauty and energy, of hard-to-fathom contradictions and preoccupied, easy-going people. The United States, in this light, does not figure as the continuation of a European tradition but as a qualitatively different habitat: "America, as though for always temporary." Its landscape invites forgetfulness to set hope free.

But does this not also imply an escape? Walser's line suggests the questionable notion that history can be overcome by geography, that the temporary will yield to space. For example, how are we to read Walser's wish: "I'd like to be on the Rio Grande, mix Apache echoes with those of Auschwitz"? Does this mean that the vast American land can muffle the accumulated sounds of history like so much receding thunder? America, though often considered as such by Europeans, is not a getaway. Still, "Think: you could become an American" is a line that has been energized by the dreams of generations of immigrants, by the dream of what might be possible. Read against Enzensberger's "Open Letter," it is also a line that reminds us that America's promise is tied inextricably to its politics.

Günter Kunert's response to America seems to represent the dystopian counterpart to Walser's vision, yet also differs importantly from Enzensberger's indictment. It is neither expressly political nor personal. On the surface, his collection of prose vignettes, *The Other Planet*, as well as his sequence of travel poems, remain detached observations. There is no political claim, no individualized feeling. Instead, the surface of a moonscape is evoked:

All these stone cubes, barren
or embellished, seem
a geometric excrescence
of the rocky ground, without content
. . . Manhattan is empty.⁸

In Kunert's poems, all of America appears empty, ancient, marked by the traces of a thoroughly accomplished reification. People appear rarely. If they do, they are masklike puppets, patterned after the stereotypes of the media industry:

There arrives the car of the sheriff,
there appears a belly, sanctified by the colt,
from beneath the Stetson the pale
and plump sphere poses as head.⁹

An eerie silence shrouds a landscape that is hostile to humans. It is best left alone, traversed by car, perceived through windows. Inscribed in it there are signs that nature, transgressed against, will triumph in the end:

The blood of dead armadillos
on the road often forms
signs
read by no-one since no-one stops
since no-one dares
since
most vital the fear
that he will lose himself
who sets on the plain into the void
his feet.¹⁰

Kunert alternates in his observations between the stance of the surveyor of a lost continent and the child lost in a magic theater. "The true America," he writes in one of his vignettes, "the real one, or what we consider as such, is an image that dissolves, only to reveal a new image that in turn is fixed neither by constancy nor validity." Since America, for him, spells radical otherness, we might ask whether Europe, then, provides the *terra firma*, is the land of direction and the future. One of his commentators submits that his portrait of a barren American landscape implies as counter-image the plentiful, socialist garden cultivated by the German Democratic Republic.¹¹

Kunert gives an answer of sorts in a later essay, "Das Amerikanische." He locates that which is American on the margin of the general, optical impression. It resides along the artificial seam where civilization and nature meet—not in harmony, but in contradiction.

It is the opposition and permanently crass contradiction between that which we call by the aestheticizing term "landscape" (always thinking an invisible gold frame along with it), and the buildings not accepted by the landscape, structures to which it remains shut. A stark dissonance, unknown in Europe, forms the basis for the visual environment.¹²

Kunert does not make a value judgment but, in the course of the essay, suggests the notion of *Ungleichzeitigkeit* (a lag between material conditions and consciousness) or, to adapt Ernst Bloch's concept to Kunert's context, the difference between the conditions of nature and a superimposed technology. The evident break between the two shows what in Europe, due to geography and history, either has been reconciled, or covered over and repressed.

What Walser praises as encouraging temporariness, Kunert characterizes as the defensive-aggressive invasion of an inimical land. It is not the downtown areas he has in mind (they appear firmly in place like those in Europe), but the shack-type architecture on the edges of cities or in the middle of nowhere. He cites this sprawl for economic and historical reasons, not out of aesthetic concern. Each of these shacks,

whether large or small, industrial or commercial structure, fast-food or motel chain, is in competition with the land, signifies a tenuous triumph. Each carries besides its actual sign the invisible sign of a devil-may-care attitude: "Who cares what happens after I'm gone—life and profit are now." Nature is viewed in entirely utilitarian terms. There is no connection to it if it cannot be used, cannot be exploited.

The fact that capitalism is at work offers only half the explanation. Kunert reminds his readers of American settlement history. The settlers and pioneers, by and large, were people without privilege, refugees, desperados, criminals, the poor—in short: people shortchanged by their societies. Their psyche was marked by existential insecurity, by the will to survive. These traits Kunert detects in the buildings of their descendants, visual reminders of a rough history: "Naked products of utilitarianism in the face of a land that, for the most part, is more formidable, always more expansive than the European landscape; spread out forbiddingly, remote, and in its nature appropriate only to its natives, not its settlers" (80).

Nonetheless, the conclusion Kunert draws in his essay strikes a hopeful note. He detects a "coming-to-self-consciousness" in America, relatively free of ingrained conventions. Young Americans, after the lost war in Vietnam and after failed United States missions at world salvation, are turning to what is truly American, what has stayed dormant throughout a falsely reassuring ideology: the ancient, unresolved tension between man and nature. They are beginning to examine its dynamic, its pitfalls and its promise. The tension, unlike its settled European version, is still in motion. It thus constitutes "one of the unsettling deep structures, on which so much that may come about in this strange country rests" (82).

It is not clear from these remarks whether Kunert means that America will eventually catch up with Europe, or whether the future, stagnating in Europe, belongs to a land he calls "the other planet." He is both attracted and repelled by it. Significantly, he ends his travel reports with an epilogue on why he almost would have been an American himself, telling of the short-lived emigration of his grandfather.

In light of his prose, should we then discount the dystopian vision of his poems? The poem "Downtown Manhattan on Sunday Afternoon" presents a challenging example. It plays out a futuristic fantasy, staged between and above Enzensberger's politically motivated rejection and Walser's nostalgic embrace. It also, we might add, serves as negative foil to yet another American vision, the image of plenitude that Ingeborg Bachmann, on the occasion of her academic visit to the United States in the 1950s, evokes in *The Good God of Manhattan*: "And people felt alive, wherever they went, felt part of this city—the only one they ever invented and designed for each of their needs. This city of cities, which received all in their restlessness and agony, in which everything could come to pass."¹³

In Kunert's version, the quintessential American city appears as a void:

All these stone cubes, barren
 or embellished, seem
 a geometric excrescence
 of the rocky ground, without content,
 or preserve behind innumerable windows
 countless pupated creatures
 or merely dried-up folk wrapped
 in plastic foil.¹⁴

Should we interpret the poem's measured enumeration of human absence, of technological indifference, of alienation and reification, as the backdrop to the idea that America still awaits discovery? Sunday afternoon, when the business district, the heart of the city, goes dead, when the inhabitants are elsewhere to satisfy their real and conditioned needs, is not a time. It is a figure of absence. The planet is suspended. In the poem, Manhattan's population has disappeared to populate the moon: "Now they are / all up there, and Manhattan is empty." It may happen, Kunert continues,

after everything has happened already, that some day
 someone from somewhere
 discovers this area between East River and Hudson
 and arrives here and lands.

From such post-historical perspective, the line, "Think: you could become an American," ominous in Enzensberger's context, promising in Walser's, takes on a radical openness: it remains blank.

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Notes

¹ From Goethe to Brecht, there is hardly a major German writer who did not address America at some time or other. See especially Sigrid Bauschinger, Horst Denkler, Wilfried Malsch, eds., *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt—Nordamerika—USA* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975).

² Erich Schmidt, ed., *Goethes Werke in sechs Bänden* (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, n.d.), 1:254. (Unless otherwise noted all translations by Karla Lydia Schultz.)

³ Oskar Walzel, ed., *Heinrich Heine: Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig, 1910-20), 4:303.

⁴ The English translation of "Attempt to Understand a Feeling," by Leslie Wilson, appears in A. Leslie Wilson, ed., *Dimension: A Reader of German Literature Since 1968* (New York: Continuum, 1981), 59-62. The German, "Versuch, ein Gefühl zu verstehen," is found in *Tintenfisch* 8 (1975): 27-30. Quotations are from *Dimension* and hereafter indicated by page numbers included in the text.

⁵ Hans Magnus Enzensberger, "On Leaving America," *The New York Review of Books*, 29 February 1968, 31-32. The German version is "Offener Brief," in Joachim Schickel, ed., *Über Hans Magnus Enzensberger* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1970), 233-38. Quotations are from *The New York Review* and hereafter indicated by page numbers included in the text.

⁶ Günter Kunert, *Der andere Planet: Ansichten von Amerika* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1975), 32.

⁷ See Karla Lydia Schultz, "A Conversation with Hans Magnus Enzensberger," *Northwest Review* 21, no. 1 (1983): 145-46.

⁸ Günter Kunert, "Downtown Manhattan am Sonntagnachmittag," in *Verlangen nach Bombarzo: Reisegedichte* (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1978), 49.

⁹ Günter Kunert, "Truth or Consequences," in *Reisegedichte*, 44.

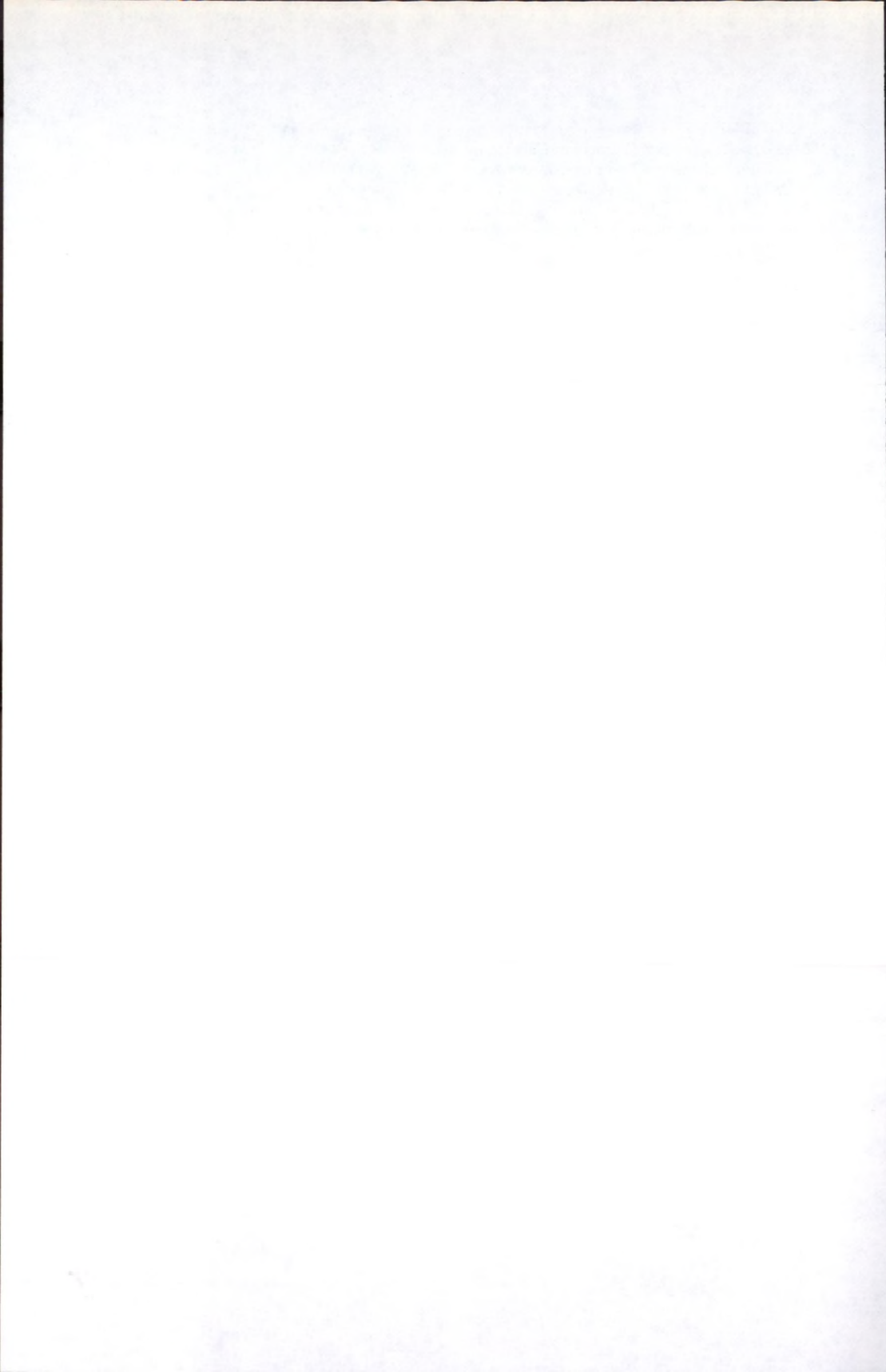
¹⁰ Günter Kunert, "Unterwegs nach El Paso," in *Reisegedichte*, 45.

¹¹ Jack Zipes, "Die Freiheit trägt Handschellen im Land der Freiheit: Das Bild der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika in der Literatur der DDR," in *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur*, 345.

¹² Günter Kunert, "Das Amerikanische," in *Ziellose Umtriebe: Nachrichten vom Reisen und vom Daheimsein* (Berlin und Weimar: Aufbau-Verlag, 1979), 77.

¹³ Ingeborg Bachmann, "Der gute Gott von Manhattan," in *Gedichte. Erzählungen. Hörspiel. Essays* (München: R. Piper & Co., 1964), 204. This and the preceding two passages give a most colorful, vibrant description of a new day in New York.

¹⁴ Günter Kunert, "Downtown Manhattan am Sonntagnachmittag," in *Reisegedichte*, 49-51.



Don Heinrich Tolzmann

The Society for German-American Studies: The First Twenty Years

As the Society for German-American Studies celebrates its twentieth anniversary in 1988 it is altogether appropriate to look back on its development and history. The Society was formed in 1968 as an informal interest group for those involved in the field of German-American studies. In 1977 it was reorganized as a non-profit corporation in the state of Ohio. A number of factors led to its formation in 1968, its subsequent reorganization in 1977, and to its substantial growth since that time.

The growing interest in German-American studies in the 1960s and 1970s reflected broader trends and interests in American society, such as the resurgence of ethnicity and the rediscovery of immigrant "roots." For German-Americans this ethnic revival had special significance, since once again there was public recognition of the German heritage in the United States. The German-American heritage in the first half of the twentieth century has been referred to as a heritage deferred because of the world wars and the resultant anti-German *Zeitgeist* of that era, but in the second half of this century the German-American heritage has been referred to as a heritage fulfilled, since German-Americans are now, and have been since the 1960s, exploring, celebrating, and revitalizing America's German heritage.

Aside from the ethnic revival, a number of special events occurred, which have proven to be beneficial to the German-American heritage, and especially to the Society. During the American Bicentennial in 1976 there were numerous conferences, publications, and local celebrations, many of which discussed and investigated the role of the German-Americans not only in the American Revolution, but also in the building of the nation. In 1980 the United States Census collected information about the ethnic ancestry of Americans for the first time. From the census data we learned that the German element was equal to that of the English element, and that, with the additions of the other German heritage groups (Swiss, Austrians, Alsatians, Luxemburgers), the Ger-

man element was the largest ethnic group in the United States. In twenty-three states of the Union German-Americans constituted at least twenty percent of the population, and this percentage was even higher with the addition of the other four German heritage groups. These statistics made an impact not only on German-Americans and those involved in German-American studies, but also on public officials and politicians. The point was clear: German Americans constituted the major ethnic group in the United States. In 1983 the German-American Tricentennial was celebrated with great fanfare across the country. Coming after the 1976 American Bicentennial and the news about the magnitude of the German element, the Tricentennial was of tremendous importance for German-Americans, especially because it was so widely celebrated throughout the country. It brought into focus not only the national, but also the international significance of the field of German-American studies. All of these factors and events underscored the fact that to understand American history, one has to understand the story of America's largest ethnic element. They also provided a climate that proved most beneficial for the establishment of the Society for German-American Studies.

Within this context, another factor brought those people who were involved in the field of German-American studies together, and necessitated the formation of their own society in 1968. This was the editorial decision of the *American-German Review* made in the 1960s to shift its focus to European German affairs excluding, for the most part, German-Americana.

The *Review*, published by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation in Philadelphia, commenced publication in 1934. It was a popularly written journal with an emphasis on European German affairs, but also with coverage of German-Americana. Established in the post-World War I era, it called itself "American-German," rather than "German-American" in an attempt to emphasize its Americanism. The *Review* came to be regarded as the central organ of publication for German-American studies, especially since it published the annual Americana-Germanica bibliography. Because of its slick format and popular style it attained a sizable readership consisting of the interested German-American public as well as scholars.

In the 1960s the editorial policies of the *Review* changed with what can be viewed as decidedly negative results. In the 1960s and 1970s there were, as we have noted, the beginnings of the well-known ethnic revival. Just as this interest was coming to the fore and beginning to take effect, the *Review* made the decision to exclude German-Americana from its pages, thereby alienating those involved in this field. The first sign came in 1966 when the last installment of the Americana-Germanica bibliography was published. Articles on German-Americana became fewer and fewer. However, it was not until 1968 that its editorial policy was explicitly stated as follows: "We are now steering away from German-American history (except for articles of very unusual interest and pertinence)." The emphasis in the future would be on contemporary events in the European German states. Unfortunately, the *Review*

continued on this new course, and due to this, as well as various internal problems within the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation, ceased publication in 1970. By excluding German-Americana, and then ceasing publication the *Review* had, however, done German-American studies in essence a favor, because it forced all those interested in this field to get together, talk, and eventually form the Society for German-American Studies.

In 1968 Robert E. Ward wrote to me stating that the *Review* had "sadly neglected German-Americana of late," and invited me to join in establishing the Society for German-American Studies. I and others had come into contact with Ward in three ways. Ward, then chairman of the Modern Languages Department at Youngstown State University, was engaged in compiling an anthology of German-American poetry, *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika*, which was published in 1969. In the process of compiling this work he came into contact with most of the German- and Austro-American authors, many of whom resided in New York. They were interested in forming an organization and establishing an organ of publication; many of them had also written for the *Review*. Ward also attracted the attention of interested parties through the many articles he wrote for the German-American press regarding German-American studies. Finally, at various conferences Ward found that there was a group of people who always seemed to lament the fact that there was no organization for those interested in German-American studies.

Within this context Ward launched the Society in 1968, and commenced publication of a *Newsletter*. This was followed in 1969 by the Society's new journal, *German-American Studies*, as the organ and medium of publication for articles, essays, and reviews dealing with German-American history, literature, and culture; it should be noted that it was not called "American-German Studies."

The first issue of the journal contained articles on H. A. Rattermann, H. H. Fick, German-American literature, and ten poems by German-American authors. Its contents reflected the interests of the original founding group. They consisted in the main of *Germanisten*, who were primarily interested in literature, and German-American authors, who were mainly interested in a place where their prose and poetry could be reviewed and published. While they are the ones who formed the nucleus of the new Society, they could not have succeeded without the inspiration and leadership of Robert E. Ward.

German on his mother's side, Ward was born in a Cleveland German neighborhood in 1937 and learned *Schwäbisch* from his mother and his grandparents. German-Americana was not only an academic study area to him, but something he had grown up with, lived, and loved. And this was true of many who joined with him in founding the Society. He studied German at Baldwin-Wallace College with John R. Sinnema, the first treasurer of the Society. He continued his studies in German at Indiana University and received his doctorate from Vanderbilt University. Ward served as president of the Society from 1968 to 1979, and clearly gave it the leadership it needed in its formative years.

As the interest grew in the field so did the recognition of the various research needs within the field. This found expression in Ward's *A Proposal on Behalf of the Preservation of German Culture in the U.S.*, published in 1973 by the Society. This proposal recommended, first, the establishment of a German-American foundation to support educational projects and research work, similar to the old Carl Schurz Foundation, and, second, the creation of an institute for German-American research.

These and other related topics were discussed at the Symposium on German Culture in America and Ohio, which was held in Cleveland in October 1973 and coordinated by Ward. This meeting offered the first real opportunity for Society members to gather and discuss the general and specific issues facing the field.

At this time plans were underway among Society members for the forthcoming celebration of the American Bicentennial in 1976. Two conferences held in the fall of 1976 proved to be important milestones in the history of the Society. In October the Symposium on German-American Literature and Culture was held at the University of Kansas, coordinated by Erich A. Albrecht and J. Anthony Burzle. Discussion there centered on the need for a formal organization which would serve the interests of those in the field. This discussion was continued in November at the Symposium on Immigrant Literature and German-Americana held at the University of Cincinnati, and coordinated by Don Heinrich Tolzmann and Jerry Glenn. It was at this meeting that the Society was reorganized as it exists today; this included reorganization as a non-profit organization in the state of Ohio. It was also decided to henceforth schedule regular annual meetings and symposia and to publish a more substantial newsletter on a quarterly basis.

The first and second annual meetings and symposia (1977-78) were held at Baldwin-Wallace College under the direction of John R. Sinema. This provided a good and solid foundation for the Society's annual meeting schedule. Meetings since then have been held at the following locations: St. Olaf College (1979), the University of Missouri-Columbia (1980), the Institute for Texan Cultures in San Antonio (1981), Fort Hays State University, Kansas (1982), the University of Pennsylvania (1983), the University of Wisconsin (1984), University of Nebraska-Lincoln (1985), the University of Cincinnati (1986), the University of Kansas (1987), and at Millersville University of Pennsylvania (1988). With each successive year the annual meetings and symposia have increased in size and quality, and promise to do so in the future.

In 1979, after eleven years of service, Ward decided to step down from the position of president, and La Vern J. Rippley was elected to that office. During his term the Society took another big step forward. It was decided that we should launch a new annual publication to replace the *Journal*, which had been published since 1969. The *Journal*, originally entitled *German-American Studies*, became the *Journal of German-American Studies* in 1976, when it absorbed the *German-American Genealogist*, published and edited by Ward from March 1975 to May 1976. The *Journal* ceased publication in December 1980 with volume fifteen. The final issue contained a comprehensive index which listed nearly four hundred

items that had been published in the *Journal*, including articles, essays, bibliographies, reviews, notes, and original German-American literature. The *Journal* had fulfilled its role both as an organ for publication as well as a foundation for future work. It is now available on microfilm from University Microfilms. The successor of the *Journal* was the *Yearbook of German-American Studies* with J. Anthony Burzle as editor and Helmut E. Huelsbergen and William D. Keel as associate editors. Since its first appearance the *Yearbook* has included the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana," a comprehensive list of books, dissertations, journal articles, and reviews in the field, compiled under the direction of Steven M. Benjamin. The new *Yearbook* received critical acclaim in a wide variety of journals, and established an outstanding reputation as the principal organ of publication in the field. The 1985 *Yearbook* contained a five-year index reflecting the diversity and growth of German-American studies. The index was compiled by Burzle during the last year of his editorship, after which he was succeeded by Huelsbergen and Keel who then became coeditors.

The other Society publication, the *Newsletter*, was edited by Ward from 1968-78 on an occasional basis. This was followed by the *Bulletin* from 1979-81, edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann, and then by the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter*, edited since by La Vern J. Rippley. The *Newsletter*, like the other SGAS publications, has also steadily increased in size and grown in quality.

The SGAS publications are of course of great importance to the Society. To support our major publication, the *Yearbook*, a Yearbook Endowment Fund has been established at the University of Kansas. A recent improvement in the *Yearbook* has been the inclusion of a book review section, edited by Jerry Glenn. Other publications which have been discussed as possibilities for the future, include a popular journal similar in format to that of the old *American-German Review*.

After Rippley's term of office (1979-81), it became my pleasure to serve the Society as president. It seemed to me that the Society had reached a certain plateau and had accomplished some of its goals. Since 1981 a number of things have been done to build on this base. First, we have launched a Yearbook Fund Drive with the goal of reaching \$100,000. We have a long way to go, but a solid start has been made. Second, a membership drive was begun under the direction of our Secretary/Membership Chairman, Robert E. Coley, which has increased our membership five-fold since 1981. The Society now has a substantial and diverse membership from coast to coast, as well as overseas, especially in Germany. Third, an affiliate drive was begun to attract related institutes, societies and organizations. In this regard the Society aims to provide national leadership in serving as an umbrella organization, and is proud to have several affiliates, such as the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin, the Max Kade German-American Document and Research Center at the University of Kansas, and the German Heritage Society of Greater Washington, D.C.

As an indication of the increased diversity of the Society's activities we only need to look at the role it played in the proclamation of 6 October 1987 as the first national German-American Day. This resolution was first presented by Ruth Reichmann at the 1986 annual meeting in Cincinnati, after which a German-American Day Committee was appointed. This campaign, which was conducted in concert with German-American local, regional, and national organizations and societies, met with success. A similar resolution was passed by Congress for 1988. This work brought us into close cooperation with the other major German-American national organizations. What I would like to see develop is an annual meeting between the leaders of these organizations so that there can be greater communication and cooperation among all those who are involved some way in German-American affairs. Clearly the Society has a leadership role to play here, and contributions to make.

At present a major concern is the teaching of German-American studies. Although we have established a solid organization, excellent publications, and the field has been recognized as a field for study and research, we find that there are all too few courses and programs available for students. We have, therefore, appointed an Educational Task Force, chaired by Ruth Reichmann, which has prepared guidelines for the introduction of German-American studies into the curriculum at all levels. We need more courses offered at the college and university level, and also in secondary and elementary schools. In the latter schools we would like to see courses, or units of courses, which focus on the German heritage of the immediate community, region or state. We have the publications, the membership, and the expertise. All we need to do now is to translate this into action, and into the curriculum.

In conclusion, let me sum up the accomplishments and achievements of two decades with reference to the past: Twenty years ago we did not have a national organization. Twenty years ago we did not have annual meetings and symposia. Twenty years ago we did not have the publications, the *Yearbook* and the *Newsletter*. Twenty years ago we did not have a Yearbook Endowment Fund. In addition we have celebrated an American Bicentennial, the German-American Tricentennial, and the first two of the annual German-American Days to be celebrated nationally. We have goals for the future of the field of German-American studies. We have had goals in the past, and we have reached them. The German Pioneer Society of Cincinnati claimed as its motto: "Willenskraft Wege schafft," or "where there's a will, there's a way," and I know this is true for us also. May the Society ever look back with pride upon its past, and look forward with confidence to its future.

University of Cincinnati
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Appendix
Publications of the Society
for German-American Studies

1. Newsletters

SGAS Newsletter, 1968–78 (Editor: Robert E. Ward).

Bulletin of the Society of German-American Studies, 1979–81 (Editor: Don Heinrich Tolzmann).

Society for German-American Studies Newsletter, 1981– (Editor: La Vern J. Rippley).

2. Journal and Yearbook

German-American Studies, 1969–76 (Editor: Robert E. Ward)

Journal of German-American Studies, 1976–80 (Editor: Robert E. Ward).

Yearbook of German-American Studies, 1981– (Editor: J. Anthony Burzle, 1981–85; Editors: Helmut E. Huelsbergen and William D. Keel, 1986–).

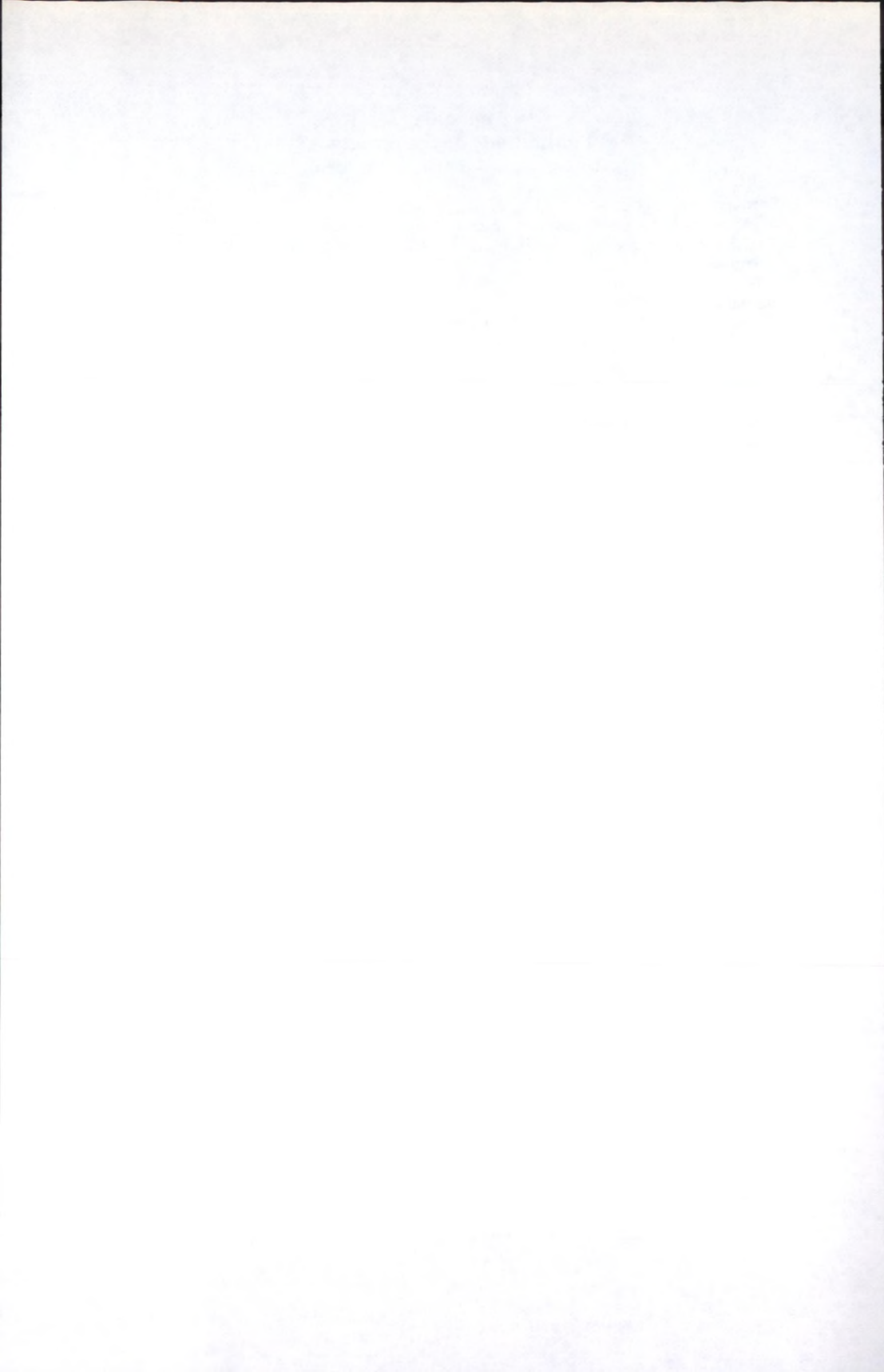
3. Report

Robert E. Ward, *A Proposal on Behalf of the Preservation of German Culture in the U.S.*, 1973.

4. Indexes

Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Journal of German-American Studies, 1969–80: An Index," *Journal of German-American Studies* 15, nos. 3–4 (1980): 75–94.

J. Anthony Burzle, "The Yearbook of German-American Studies, 1981–85: An Index," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 20 (1985): 199–203.



Gerd-J. Bötte
Werner R. Tannhof

**Germanica-Americana 1729–1830 in den Bibliotheken der
Vereinigten Staaten und der Bundesrepublik Deutschland:
Ein Überblick über die wichtigsten Sammlungen
zur frühen deutschsprachigen Druckkultur in Amerika**

Seit dem Ende des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts, als Oswald Seidensticker die erste und bislang leider einzige umfassende Bibliographie zum ersten Jahrhundert des deutschsprachigen Drucks in den Vereinigten Staaten vorlegte,¹ hat das wissenschaftliche Interesse an den vielfältigen Manifestationen der deutschsprachigen Druckkultur in Nordamerika erfreulicherweise nicht abgenommen; eine Fülle von Spezialbibliographien und Detailuntersuchungen illustriert eindrucksvoll die Aktualität dieses Themas.

Doch wer immer auf diesem Gebiet geforscht hat, weiß auch um die Schwierigkeiten und Probleme, die sich einer solchen wissenschaftlichen Arbeit in den Weg stellen. Solange Seidenstickers verdienstvolle Arbeit nicht durch eine dringend gebotene neue detaillierte Bestandsaufnahme der Germanica-Americana von 1729–1830 ersetzt ist, stellt auch der Zugang zu den relevanten Sammlungen für die interessierte Fachwelt ein nicht zu übersehendes Problem dar.² Hier will der vorliegende Aufsatz, wenn schon nicht Abhilfe schaffen, so doch zumindest Hilfestellung leisten, indem die Verfasser versuchen, einen Überblick über die quantitativ und qualitativ wichtigsten Germanica-Americana Sammlungen zu vermitteln und darüber hinaus auch einige praktische Handreichungen zu geben.

Von wenigen Ausnahmen abgesehen stehen hier also nicht die einzelnen Druckwerke mit ihren bibliographischen Detailinformationen im Mittelpunkt, sondern vielmehr die eingehenden Kommentare zu jenen Bibliotheken und Privatsammlungen, die über herausragende Spezialbestände an frühen Germanica-Americana verfügen und somit einen Besuch oder Forschungsaufenthalt lohnen. Die Verfasser hoffen, mit diesem kleinen Vademecum allen einschlägig Interessierten in ihren

Forschungen auf dem weiten Feld des deutschamerikanischen Drucks von Nutzen zu sein. Eine Liste der besprochenen Institutionen ist, alphabetisch geordnet nach den von der Library of Congress vergebenen Sigeln, als Appendix angefügt.

In das letzte Quartal des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts fällt nicht nur der Beginn der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit dem frühen Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten, sondern auch die erste Blütezeit bibliophiler Beschäftigung mit dieser Materie. Zu Beginn einer Beschreibung der wichtigsten heute öffentlich zugänglichen Germanica-Americana-Sammlungen verdienen daher zunächst jene Bibliophilen Erwähnung, deren umfangreiche Privatbibliotheken vielfach erst den Grundstock der einschlägigen Sammlungen in den einzelnen Bibliotheken gelegt haben.³

Für das neunzehnte Jahrhundert ragen zwei Namen heraus: Abraham H. Cassel (1820–1908),⁴ dessen Sammelleidenschaft fast schon als Bibliomanie bezeichnet werden darf, und Samuel W. Pennypacker (1843–1916),⁵ dessen Teilsammlung der deutschamerikanischen Drucke bis zur Revolutionszeit fast vollständig in die Bibliothek der Historical Society of Pennsylvania gelangt ist, während das übrige Material nicht geschlossen verauktioniert wurde. Hatten Cassel und Pennypacker noch umfassend Germanica-Americana zusammengetragen, so konzentrierte sich das Interesse von Ammon R. Stapleton (1850–1916)⁶ und Julius F. Sachse (1842–1919)⁷ auf die Literaturproduktion einzelner religiöser Gruppen, wohingegen Charles G. Sower (1821–1902)⁸ seine Sammeltätigkeit vorrangig auf die Druckerzeugnisse seiner Vorfahren in Germantown, Pennsylvania, und Philadelphia ausrichtete.

In der ersten Hälfte des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts erwarben Henry S. Heilman (1838–1911),⁹ Harvey Bassler (1883–1950),¹⁰ Claude W. Unger (1882–1945),¹¹ Raymond W. Albright (1901–1965),¹² und Henry S. Bornemann (1870–1955)¹³ umfangreiche Bestände, die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg auf öffentliche Institutionen übergingen, während für die Zeit nach 1945 die Namen Wilbur H. Oda (1892–1961),¹⁴ und George Allen stehen, denen es in nur wenigen Jahren gelang, eine außerordentlich große Anzahl von Druckwerken auf hohem Qualitätsniveau zusammenzutragen.

Daß diese Tradition pennsylvanisch-deutscher Bibliophilie noch heute lebendig ist, beweisen die beiden derzeit wichtigsten Privatsammlungen: die einige tausend Bände zählende Bibliothek von Donald R. Hinks, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, und die mit einer großen Zahl von Unikaten bestückte sogenannte Roughwood Collection. Doch früher oder später werden auch diese Bücherschätze den Weg antreten, den bisher alle Privatsammlungen gegangen sind: den in eine öffentliche Institution.¹⁵

Richtet man den Blick nun auf die öffentlich zugänglichen Bibliotheken, so wird man schnell feststellen, daß sich die überwiegende Zahl der wichtigen Sammlungen von Germanica-Americana des achtzehnten und frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts im Bundesstaat Pennsylvania befindet. Da sich das Zentrum des deutschen Drucks der Kolonialzeit

und der jungen Republik eindeutig für dieses geographische Gebiet festmachen läßt, verwundert diese Konzentration der heute noch nachweisbaren Bestände jedoch keineswegs.

Eine "Rangfolge" der bedeutendsten Sammlungen müßte nach unseren Kenntnissen wie folgt aussehen:¹⁶

1. Historical Society of Pennsylvania (PHi) und Library Company of Philadelphia (PPL)

Obwohl es sich um zwei voneinander unabhängige Institutionen handelt, sind sie doch räumlich und bibliotheksorganisatorisch eng miteinander verbunden.¹⁷ Die gedruckten Germanica-Americana-Bestände beider Sammlungen sind im Katalog der Library Company nachgewiesen und auf einer Ebene im Magazintrakt dieser Bibliothek untergebracht.

Die Materialsammlung der Historical Society basiert auf dem Erwerb der frühen Titel aus der Pennypacker-Sammlung sowie den deutschsprachigen Publikationen aus den privaten Beständen von A. H. Cassel. Für die Frühzeit des deutschen Drucks bis etwa zur Revolutionszeit ist hier nicht nur für den Bereich der Monographien, sondern auch für die Literaturgattungen Zeitung, Einblattdruck und Almanach eine einzigartige Sammlung vorzufinden.

Die Provenienz der deutschsprachigen Bestände der Library Company läßt sich auf die drei Einzelsammlungen von Sower, Oda und Allen zurückführen. Der zeitliche Schwerpunkt der Sammlung liegt auf der Periode nach der amerikanischen Revolution; gattungsmäßig handelt es sich vorwiegend um monographische Literatur, wobei auch das Kleinschrifttum der verschiedenen Pressen in Philadelphia in großer Zahl vertreten ist. Auf diese Weise ergänzen sich die Bestände beider Bibliotheken in idealer Weise—beide zusammen verfügen wohl über den wichtigsten Materialfundus auf diesem Gebiet: insgesamt können circa 1900 Besitznachweise der Literatur bis 1830 für beide Institutionen geführt werden.

Der durch eine ungewöhnlich genaue und detaillierte bibliographische Beschreibung gekennzeichnete alphabetische Katalog der Verfasser und Sachtitel in der Library Company verzeichnet wie gesagt ebenso die monographischen Bestände der Historical Society, einschließlich der Almanache. Darüber hinaus bietet die Library Company dem Benutzer eine—unvollständige—Druckortekartei sowie einen separaten Katalog ihrer Zeitungen und Periodika, während die Historical Society zusätzlich über eine chronologisch geordnete Kartei der Einblattdrucke sowie über ein—veraltetes und unvollständiges—Verzeichnis der Zeitungen in ihren Räumlichkeiten verfügt. Für die letztere Literaturgattung sind die einschlägigen Zeitungsbibliographien vorzuziehen, in die die hier relevanten Bestände der PHi komplett eingearbeitet sind. Für Spezialisten dürfte schließlich der Kurztitelkatalog der Cassel-Collection interessant sein, der einen Schubkasten am Ende des alphabetischen Katalogs umfaßt.

Die Historical Society verfügt darüber hinaus auch über den wohl besten Bestand an Sekundärliteratur zum deutschen Frühdruck in den USA, den der Benutzer aber leider nicht separat erschlossen vorfindet.

Noch unter dem Direktorat von Edwin Wolf begann die Library Company damit, auch ihre deutschsprachigen Bestände an das zur Zeit laufende North American Imprints Project (NAIP), der völligen Neubearbeitung der Nationalbibliographie von Charles Evans, zu melden.

2. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA (MWA)

Daß sich die zweitwichtigste Sammlung deutschsprachigen Schrifttums in Worcester, Massachusetts, befindet, mag zunächst überraschen, erklärt sich

jedoch aus der Geschichte der American Antiquarian Society, deren heutiger Bestand in erheblichem Maße auf die Sammlung von Isaiah Thomas (1773–1819) zurückgeht. Als einer der bedeutendsten amerikanischen Verleger des späten achtzehnten und frühen neunzehnten Jahrhunderts hat Thomas nicht nur die Druckerzeugnisse seiner Kollegen umfassend gesammelt, sondern sich auch wissenschaftlich mit seiner Zunft beschäftigt: Seine Geschichte des Buchdrucks in den Vereinigten Staaten, insbesondere die biographischen Anmerkungen auch zu deutschamerikanischen Druckern und Verlegern, ist noch heute ein Standardwerk auf diesem Gebiet.¹⁸

Aufgrund der guten finanziellen Ausstattung der Bibliothek wurde der deutschsprachige Teil des Bestands bis heute weiter ergänzt, so im Jahre 1908 mit dem Ankauf von frühen Americana aus der Pennypacker-Auktion oder zwei Jahre später durch die Erwerbung der William J. Campbell-Sammlung, von deren ca. 1000 Philadelphia-Drucken aus der Zeit von 1750–1800 ein nicht unbeträchtlicher Teil Germanica-Americana gewesen sein dürften. MWA verfügt heute—insbesondere für die Literaturgattungen der Zeitungen und Almanache, aber auch im Bereich der Einblattdrucke—über herausragende Bestände, deren zeitlicher Schwerpunkt zwischen 1790 und 1820 liegt.¹⁹ Da Kinderbücher seit geraumer Zeit zum Sammelgebiet gehören, ist diese bei den Pennsylvania Germans so beliebte Literaturgattung sehr gut repräsentiert. Im monographischen Bereich—Kleinschrifttum eingeschlossen—verfügt wohl nur die Library Company of Philadelphia über ähnliche Quantitäten nach der Revolution.

Die Katalogverhältnisse in Worcester werden sich so lange als schwierig erweisen, bis die retrospektive Bestandserschließung und Katalogkonversion per EDV abgeschlossen ist. Als erster Einstieg für die Suche nach monographischem Material kann (bis zum Erscheinungsjahr 1820) der sogenannte Imprints Catalog, für die Publikationen ab 1821 der sogenannte General Catalog benutzt werden. Das im Rahmen des North American Imprints Project (NAIP) katalogisierte Material der vor dem Jahr 1801 erschienenen Titel kann der Benutzer zwar nicht selbst, aber mit Unterstützung des Bibliothekspersonals durch eine Datenbank-Recherche im Verbundsystem RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network) ermitteln; die retrospektive Katalogkonversion der übrigen monographischen Bestände ist noch in den Anfängen begriffen und hat erst wenige Systemgruppen erfaßt. In der NAIP-Datenbank von RLIN sind auch die Almanache—wie auch im konventionellen Zettelkatalog—enthalten, während sie für den Zeitraum nach 1800 leider nicht mehr umfassend im MWA-Katalog nachgewiesen werden können. Der gesamte Bestand an Einblattdrucken ist digitalisiert und wiederum über RLIN *on-line* recherchierbar. Der Bereich der Zeitungen ist ausgezeichnet dokumentiert, wenn auch der Zettelkatalog ab Erscheinungsjahr 1821 nicht mehr umfassend alle Besitzangaben nachweist. Darüber hinaus ist im Rahmen des sogenannten CONSER-Projekts der gesamte Zeitungsbestand der MWA über das Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) abfragbar. Trotz aller Bemühungen der Bibliotheksleitung sind bisher immer noch rund 45 Teilsammlungen unkatalogisiert (darunter auch deutschsprachiges Material nach 1820 in den Sachgruppen *Catechisms*, *Music*, *Primers* und *School Books*). Ein sehr nützliches Hilfsinstrument stellt schließlich die ausgezeichnete Druckerkartei dar, die nicht nur die jeweiligen Publikationen, sondern auch biographische Notizen und Sekundärliteratur verzeichnet.

3. Free Library of Philadelphia (PP)

Die Bestände der Free Library sind aufgrund einer sehr systematischen Erwerbungspolitik zusammengeführt worden.²⁰ Angefangen mit dem Kauf der Henry S. Bornemann-Collection, über spätere Ergänzungen aus der Oda-
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Sammlung bis hin zum Erwerb der L. B. Kuhn-Sammlung ist es der Rare Books-Abteilung dieser öffentlichen Bibliothek gelungen, insgesamt siebenunddreißig der über fünfzig Stätten mit deutschen Pressen zu dokumentieren. Daß dabei der religiöse Charakter der Druckwerke besonders zum Ausdruck kommt, unterstreicht den repräsentativen Wert dieser Sammlung. Bemerkenswert ist vor allem der in die Hunderte zählende Bestand an Einblattdrucken, einer Literaturgattung, die sich in den letzten Jahren einer stärkeren Aufmerksamkeit durch die Fachwelt erfreut, im Bereich der deutschsprachigen Publikationen jedoch bislang nur rudimentär angegangen worden ist. Gestützt auf die Rosenbach Collection, findet sich hier auch die bedeutendste Kinderbuchsammlung für die deutschsprachige Literatur des achtzehnten und neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.²¹

Die Katalogverhältnisse in der Rara-Abteilung dieser öffentlichen Bibliothek sind leider mehr als schwierig: Während die deutschsprachige Jugendliteratur in einem separaten alphabetischen Katalog der Kinderbücher—mit ausführlichen Annotationen über die enthaltenen Illustrationen—verifizierbar ist, existiert für die monographische Literatur nur eine äußerst rudimentäre *shelf list* von geringem bibliographischen Wert; die hervorragende Einblattdrucksammlung ist dagegen gar nicht katalogisiert. Da aber das Material separat nach Druckorten und innerhalb dieser Ordnung weiter nach Erscheinungsjahren aufgestellt ist, kann der Benutzer durch die Arbeit am Regal das Fehlen eines adäquaten Katalogs einigermaßen gut ausgleichen. Hilfreich hingegen ist, daß die vorhandene Sekundärliteratur zusammen mit dem Quellenmaterial aufgestellt wird.

So unterstreichen auch die Bestände der Free Library, daß Philadelphia nicht nur das Zentrum des deutschsprachigen Drucks im achtzehnten und beginnenden neunzehnten Jahrhundert war, sondern auch heute noch den überwiegenden Teil der überlieferten Germanica-Americana in seinen zahlreichen Sammlungen beherbergt, wie die Besitznachweise für insgesamt rund 2500 deutschsprachige Titel bis zum Erscheinungsjahr 1830 eindrucksvoll belegen.²²

4. Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, PA (PLF)

Die Fackenthal Library des Franklin and Marshall College besitzt die vierte wichtige Sammlung von frühen deutschsprachigen amerikanischen Publikationen, die vorrangig auf die später von Harvey Bassler weitergeführte Privatsammlung von Claude W. Unger zurückgeht.²³ Bassler übertrug die Sammlung der Pennsylvania German Society, die für die Unterbringung in den Räumlichkeiten von Franklin and Marshall sorgte. Die von dieser Gesellschaft im Jahre 1948 vorgelegten Pläne zur Errichtung einer Zentralbibliothek der Pennsylvania Dutch sind allerdings im Beziehungsgeflecht von Franklin and Marshall College, Pennsylvania Dutch (später: Folklife) Center,²⁴ Pennsylvania Folklife Society und der besagten Pennsylvania German Society nie realisiert worden. So verblieb das gedruckte Germanica-Americana-Material nach einer gerichtlichen Entscheidung im Jahre 1954 in der Bibliothek von Franklin and Marshall College, erhielt aber bis in die 1980er Jahre hinein—trotz einer Reihe von Initiativen—keine adäquate katalogmäßige Erschließung.²⁵ Zudem wurden Teile der Sammlung in den Jahren 1957, 1969 und 1981 verkauft oder sie gingen durch unsachgemäße Unterbringung verloren.²⁶ Die Diskrepanz zwischen dem aktuellen Bestand und dem ursprünglichen Umfang der Sammlung wird bei der Durchsicht der vermutlich von Wilbur H. Oda angelegten *shelf list* deutlich. Insgesamt beherbergt Franklin and Marshall bis zum Erscheinungsjahr 1830 ca. 930 Monographien (einschließlich Kleinschrifttum), ca. 250 Einblattdrucke und über 200 Almanache.²⁷

Nichtsdestoweniger finden sich hier in exemplarischer Weise die Druckerzeugnisse der *rural presses* von Lancaster, Reading, York, Allentown etc., die das sozio-ökonomische und kulturelle Leben der Pennsylvania Germans widerspiegeln.

It is fair to say that the collection represents the general day-to-day concerns of the German-Americans as they faced their new environment and became adapted to it. Naturally, they viewed daily life from a *Weltanschauung* based on a reverence for God. This carried over into their political and cultural activities. There are Bibles, devotional books, almanacs, as well as practical works and controversial pamphlets. Hymn books and mystical poetry abound. Sectarian views (Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, Ephrata Brethren, etc.) are well represented.²⁸

Sinnfällig wird dies durch das stark vertretene Kleinschrifttum und vor allem durch die Einblattdrucke, gedruckt von den deutschen Pressen in der umliegenden Region für den unmittelbaren Bedarf der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung.²⁹ Die Einblattdrucksammlung von Franklin und Marshall College gehört zusammen mit der in der Free Library of Philadelphia zum Besten in diesem Bereich.

Zur Zeit existiert nur ein bibliographisch unbefriedigendes Standortverzeichnis des nach Druckorten und weiter nach Erscheinungsjahren geordneten Materials; Almanache und Einblattdrucke sind nicht katalogisiert.

5. Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, PA (PHaH)

Außerordentlich stark engagieren sich die Kultusbehörden des Bundesstaats Pennsylvania—unter Federführung der Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission—seit circa fünfzig Jahren auf dem Gebiet der Pflege der überlieferten Kulturgüter.³⁰ Eine wichtige Rolle spielen dabei die Bemühungen um die Bewahrung der Druckerzeugnisse der Pennsylvania Germans.

Das Staatsarchiv selbst hat in den 1970er Jahren die kleine, aber äußerst wertvolle Sammlung von Julius F. Sachse erworben,³¹ beläßt aber in seiner Förderpolitik die entsprechenden Materialien in dezentraler Aufstellung: So verfügt das Kloster Ephrata (PEpCI)³² ebenso über eine kleine Spezialsammlung wie die Bibliothek der Harmony Society (PAmO) in Ambridge, Pennsylvania; auch im Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley (PLLVM) befindet sich eine über hundert Stücke umfassende Sammlung. Parallel dazu pflegt auch die Staatsbibliothek in Harrisburg (P) seit Beginn des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts eine Germanica-Americana-Sammlung, aufgebaut zunächst aus Geschenken und Käufen aus der Pennypacker Collection, heute erweitert durch Erwerbungen aus Nachlässen.

Die Katalogverhältnisse vor Ort sind äußerst unterschiedlich: Während im Staatsarchiv durch ein ausgezeichnet gearbeitetes Findbuch der Zugang zu den einschlägigen Stücken gesichert ist, benötigt man sowohl in Ephrata als auch in Ambridge die ausdrückliche Genehmigung der dort Verantwortlichen, um die meist unvollständig oder gar nicht katalogisierten Bestände direkt am Regal einsehen zu können. Der sehr unvollständige alphabetische Verfasser- und Sachtitelkatalog im Pennsylvania Farm Museum läßt auch hier die Arbeit am Regal angeraten erscheinen. Die Rare Books-Abteilung der Pennsylvania State Library hingegen verfügt über einen chronologischen Katalog der Drucke vor 1850 nach der von Seidensticker gewählten Ordnung. Ebenso steht dem Benutzer ein Führer zu den pennsylvanischen Zeitungsbeständen zur Verfügung.³³

6. Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA (PHuJ)

Die im Jahre 1907 von Martin G. Brumbaugh (1862–1930), dem damaligen Präsidenten des Juniata College und späteren Gouverneur von Pennsylvania, geäußerte Behauptung "... no man who attempts to write a history of Pennsylvania or of the German population of America can do so without coming to Huntingdon" mag zum damaligen Zeitpunkt durchaus seine Berechtigung gehabt haben, ist aber heute aufgrund der Zahl und der Qualität anderer Sammlungen nicht mehr zutreffend.³⁴ Nichtsdestoweniger ist das Juniata College durch die Erwerbung großer Teile der Cassel-Sammlung und durch den Nachlaß von Brumbaugh selbst auch heute noch eine Fundgrube für eine ganze Reihe von Raritäten. Dies gilt besonders in bezug auf die frühen Saur-Drucke wie auch für die Literatur der Church of the Brethren insgesamt.³⁵ Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist aber auch die dortige Almanach-Sammlung mit rund 220 Titeln, darunter fast 40 Rara oder Unika.

Die Bibliothek verfügt zwar über einen Kreuzkatalog, aber die Regalordnung nach Ort, Drucker und Jahr ermöglicht dem Interessierten in der Regel einen schnellen und umfassenden Zugriff auf die monographischen Bestände. Einblattdrucke, Almanache und das sonstige Kleinschrifttum sind hingegen—bislang—nicht katalogisiert.³⁶

7. Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA (PSt)

Die Pattee Library der Staatsuniversität von Pennsylvania verfügt wohl deshalb über eine wichtige Sammlung von Germanica-Americana, weil sie quasi als "Nebenprodukt" der Aktivitäten für die sogenannte Shelley Collection entstanden ist: Hier werden in umfassender Weise englische Übersetzungen deutscher Literaturwerke zusammengeführt, deren Qualität inzwischen internationales Niveau erreicht hat.

Der Kauf der Ammon R. Stapleton Collection Mitte der 1970er Jahre hat den Wert der Bestände insofern erhöht, als die Stapleton-Sammlung eine ganze Reihe von Unikaten bzw. Rariora aufweist, vornehmlich jedoch durch den Nachweis evangelisch-lutherischen und reformierten Schrifttums gekennzeichnet ist.

Neben einem Sonderkatalog der ca. 2000 vor 1830 erschienenen Drucke—geordnet nach Ort, Drucker und Titel—verfügt die Bibliothek zusätzlich über eine Kurztitelliste der rund 600 Stapleton-Titel, die darüber hinaus separat magaziniert sind und somit dem Benutzer direkt zugänglich gemacht werden können.

Die Pattee Library besitzt übrigens eines der ganz wenigen Exemplare von Georg Michael Weiss' religiöser Streitschrift *Der in der Americanischen Wildnusz . . . herum wandelte [sic] und verschiedentlich angefochtene Prediger* (Philadelphia: Andrew Bradford, 1729), des ersten nachweisbaren deutschsprachigen Druckwerks in Nordamerika.

8. Library of Congress, Washington, DC (DLC)

Die "Nationalbibliothek" der Vereinigten Staaten erwirbt Americana systematisch schon seit dem Direktorat von Ainsworth R. Spofford (1865–97), nach Erscheinen von Charles Evans' nationalbibliographischem Verzeichnis mit der besonderen Betonung des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts.³⁷ Vor allem durch den *Federal Copyright Act* von 1790 sind über die United States District Courts nicht nur die Titelblätter, sondern vielfach auch die entsprechenden Publikationen selbst in den Bestand dieser Bibliothek gelangt.³⁸

Da die deutschsprachigen Bestände im Rare Books Department weder thematisch erschlossen noch systematisch aufgestellt sind, lohnt sich ein Besuch—trotz der angedeuteten Quantitäten—nur für denjenigen, der spezielle

Titel bei bereits vorhandener Kenntnis des Nachweises sucht.³⁹ Dazu kann man den Kreuzkatalog dieser Abteilung ebenso heranziehen wie eine (allerdings nur auf spezielle Anfrage erhältliche) unvollständige, chronologisch geordnete *shelf list*. Von besonderer Bedeutung ist aber auch das hier untergebrachte Material des Copyright Office mit den entsprechenden Titelblättern und handschriftlichen Bandkatalogeinträgen.

9. Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia (PPLT)

Demgegenüber stellen die Bestände des Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia eine Spezialsammlung von außergewöhnlicher Qualität für den Nachweis des Schrifttums der sogenannten *church people* der Pennsylvania Germans dar. Vor allem die evangelisch-lutherische, aber zum Teil auch die deutsch-reformierte Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten ist mit ihren Publikationen nachhaltig dokumentiert.⁴⁰ Dabei handelt es sich nicht nur um das recht zahlreich publizierte musikalische Literatur- und Liedgut, oder um die Synodalveröffentlichungen beider Konfessionen, sondern auch um wertvolles Kleinschrifttum deutscher Pressen in Philadelphia: Die Helmuth Collection ist hierfür ein Beispiel.⁴¹

Während die monographische Literatur und die Sammelwerke (inkl. Synodalverhandlungen) über den Kreuzkatalog erschlossen sind, kann auf das Kleinschrifttum nur durch einen persönlichen Besuch im Archiv zugegriffen werden, da die entsprechenden Drucke—und so auch die erwähnte Helmuth-Sammlung—mit den Manuskripten zusammen archiviert, aber leider nur zu einem Bruchteil katalogisiert sind. Ferner sei auf die wenigen, aber sehr seltenen Stücke hingewiesen, die die Trinity Lutheran Church in Germantown hier als Dauerleihgabe deponiert hat.

10. Schwenkfelder Library, Pennsburg, PA (PPeSchw)

Die zehnte hier zu erwähnende gewichtige Germanica-Americana-Sammlung ist in der Schwenkfelder Library zu finden, deren Bestände—ähnlich wie die der Fackenthal Library in Lancaster—vorrangig durch das (Klein-)Schrifttum der *rural presses* im östlichen Pennsylvania geprägt sind.⁴² Besonders mit Einblattdrucken ist diese Sammlung hervorragend versehen; dies gilt nicht nur für das gedruckte Material, sondern genauso für den reichhaltigen Bestand an sogenannten Fraktur-Handschriften.

Die Katalogverhältnisse erweisen sich in Pennsburg insofern als schwierig, als für das gebundene Material nur ein unvollständiger, handschriftlicher alphabetischer Katalog vorliegt, während die Zeitungen und das Kleinschrifttum insgesamt nicht inhaltlich erschlossen sind. Zudem ist die in den Katalogen nachweisbare Literatur durch laufende Katalogüberarbeitungen teilweise nicht mehr am angegebenen Standort vorzufinden.

11. Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA (PBMA)

Obwohl es sich hier um eine Spezialbibliothek für die Archivierung, Sammlung und Erschließung des Literaturguts der religiösen Gruppe der Moravians (oder auch United Brethren) handelt, verdient diese Institution deshalb eine Erwähnung in der Liste der "Top 12" Germanica-America-Sammlungen in den Vereinigten Staaten, weil die Moravians in rein quantitativer Hinsicht wohl als die druckfreudigste religiöse Gemeinschaft betrachtet werden können.⁴³ Hunderte von vierseitigen Texten für liturgischen Gesang, darunter viele Unikate, sind hier nachweisbar, die den Kirchen- und Musikhistorikern bislang entgangen sind. Zudem verfügt dieses Archiv über einen fast kompletten Satz der Losungen und Lehrtexte in der amerikanischen Version, wie er wohl nirgendwo sonst vorzufinden sein dürfte.

Während die Sammelwerke und Monographien (mithin das gebundene Material) noch katalogmäßig erfaßt sind, liegt das gesamte Kleinschrifttum unerschlossen und unsortiert in Kisten verstaut über das gesamte Magazin verstreut. Wer hier arbeiten möchte, sollte von vornherein die zeitlichen Planungen daran ausrichten.

12. Goshen College, Goshen, IN (InGo)

Die Mennonite Historical Library ist—ähnlich wie Bethlehem für die Moravians—von zentraler Bedeutung für den Nachweis des frühen Literaturgutes der Mennoniten in den Vereinigten Staaten.⁴⁴ Nur die Sammlung des Eastern Mennonite College (ViHarEM) in Harrisonburg, VA, verfügt über annähernd ähnlich gute Bestände an deutschsprachiger Literatur.⁴⁵

Obwohl Primär- und Sekundärliteratur dieser für das Deutschtum in den USA wichtigen religiösen Gruppe schon detailliert bibliographisch nachgewiesen sind, wurden die deutschsprachigen Publikationen doch nirgendwo systematisch verzeichnet.⁴⁶ Während Almanache und Zeitungen in keiner nennenswerten Zahl vorhanden sind, ist der größte Teil des relevanten mennonitischen Schrifttums (Monographien, Liedersammlungen, Gesangbücher,⁴⁷ Pamphletliteratur)—fast vollständig nachgewiesen in einem alphabetischen Katalog—hier vorzufinden. Der Einblattdrucksammlung ist hingegen von der Forschung bislang wenig Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt worden. Die Bibliothek in Goshen ist auch insofern für den Forscher von Interesse, als die Bestände, vor allem durch Geschenke und Nachlaßerwerbungen, laufend ergänzt und komplettiert werden.

Aus den anderen Bundesstaaten, in denen sich zumindest vorübergehend deutsche Pressen befanden, verdienen die folgenden Sammlungen eine kurze Erwähnung:⁴⁸

North Carolina: Moravian Music Foundation (NcWsMM) der Vereinigten Brüder in Winston-Salem. Obwohl die Bestände an Literaturgut dieser missionsorientierten Glaubensgemeinschaft im Archiv von Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, wesentlich umfangreicher sind, läßt sich in Winston-Salem sehr genau die Entwicklung der einzelnen frühen deutschen Pressen in North Carolina studieren, die bisher mit nachweisbaren Druckerzeugnissen der Fachwelt fast völlig unbekannt geblieben sind.⁴⁹ Auch hierbei handelt es sich um rund hundert—zum beträchtlichen Teil unikat—vierseitige liturgische Texte, die von den Pressen in Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Lincolnton und Salisbury im Auftrag der Brüdergemeinde gedruckt wurden.

Ohio: Historical Society of Ohio (OHl). Kleinere Spezialbestände finden sich für mennonitische Literatur in der Musselman Library des Bluffton College (OBIC) sowie für Schriftgut der Reformierten Kirche im Heidelberg College, Tiffin (OTifH).

Virginia: Alderman Library der University of Virginia (ViU), Charlottesville; darüber hinaus ist hier noch die Bibliothek der Historical Society of Rockingham County, Harrisonburg (ViHarHi) sowie die Spezialsammlung des dortigen Eastern Mennonite College (ViHarEM) zu nennen.⁵⁰

Maryland: Historical Society of Maryland, Baltimore (MdHi). Trotz der starken Repräsentanz deutscher Pressen in diesem Bundesstaat finden sich weder in Hagerstown noch in Baltimore selbst nennenswerte Bestände.

Für die folgenden Bundesstaaten lassen sich weitere kleinere Sammlungen aufführen, deren spezielle Bestände zusammengenommen interessant und wichtig erscheinen:

Massachusetts: Houghton Library der Harvard University (MH-H) in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Über beträchtliche deutschsprachige theologische und

medizinische Spezialbestände verfügen aber auch die separaten Institutsbibliotheken des Andover-Harvard Theological Seminary (MH-AH) und der Francis A. Countway Library of Medicine (MBCo).

New York: Die New York Public Library (NN) verfügt über relativ wenige Unikate, bietet aber zahlenmäßig ein nicht unerhebliches Druckmaterial; der Schwerpunkt liegt eindeutig auf dem neunzehnten und zwanzigsten Jahrhundert.⁵¹

Delaware: Neben dem gedruckten Material in der Bibliothek des Winterthur Museum (DeWint) ist vor allem die umfangreiche und qualitativ herausragende *fraktur collection* von Belang.⁵²

Rhode Island: Obwohl die John Carter Brown Library (RPJCB) in Providence in erster Linie Americana-Germanica sammelt und vor allem inhaltlich differenziert erschließt, weist der vollständigste chronologische Katalog knapp 200 deutschsprachige Titel nach.⁵³

New Jersey: Zu nennen wären die Firestone Library (NjP) der Princeton University sowie die Sammlung des dortigen Theologischen Seminars, die allerdings nicht das Niveau des Andover Theological Seminary von Harvard erreicht.⁵⁴

Michigan: Obwohl in Michigan bis 1830 nicht in deutscher Sprache gedruckt wurde, verfügt die William L. Clements Library (MiU-C) der University of Michigan in Ann Arbor wohl über die bedeutendsten Germanica-Americana-Bestände von allen in diesem kurzen Abschnitt genannten Sammlungen, die darüber hinaus laufend ergänzt werden.

Kalifornien: Hier verdient die Bibliothek des Huntington Museum (CSmH) in San Marino Erwähnung.

Abschließend sei auf die beiden wichtigsten bundesdeutschen Sammlungen auf dem Gebiet der frühen Germanica-Americana hingewiesen: Es handelt sich um das Stuttgarter Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen (GySIA) und die mit einem hervorragenden Altbestand ausgestattete Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen (GyGoN). Beide können unter rein quantitativen Gesichtspunkten betrachtet mit keiner der hier beschriebenen amerikanischen Sammlungen konkurrieren—die Stuttgarter Bibliothek, deren Bestandsschwerpunkt ohnehin auf der Zeit nach 1800 liegt, verfügt über rund fünfunddreißig beachtenswerte Germanica-Americana bis einschließlich 1830, die Göttinger Bestände belaufen sich für den gleichen Zeitraum auf knapp fünfzig Titel.

Doch trotz dieser geringen Quantitäten lohnt ein kurzer Blick auf die Göttinger Sammlung, denn hier erwarten den kundigen Fachmann eine ganze Reihe ausgesprochen interessanter Rariora und Unika, unter denen die Druckerzeugnisse der Pressen von Christoph Saur, Sr., Gotthard Armbrüster, Benjamin Franklin und Johann Böhm in bemerkenswerter Dichte vertreten sind.

So findet sich in den Göttinger Magazinen nicht nur ein Exemplar der berühmten Germantowner Bibel,⁵⁵ von Christoph Saur 1743 als erste Bibel in einer europäischen Sprache in Nordamerika gedruckt, oder etwa Saur's im gleichen Jahr erschienene Auswahl Pennsylvanischer Gesetze,⁵⁶ die unter anderem auch William Penn's Gründungscharter der Kolonie enthält, sondern beispielsweise auch die Ausgaben seines *Hoch-Deutsch Amerikanischen Calenders* auf die Jahre 1739, 1740, 1745, 1747, 1750 und 1751. Darüber hinaus ist auch Gotthard Armbrüster mit den ersten beiden Ausgaben seines *Almanachs Neueingerichteter Amerikanischer Geschichts-Calender* für die Jahre 1748 und 1749 vertreten.⁵⁷

Um aber die Qualität der Göttinger Bestände etwas gezielter zu illustrieren, sei auf sieben Titel hingewiesen, die teilweise als Unika noch völlig unbekannt

bzw. in den einschlägigen fachbibliographischen Nachschlagewerken ohne Belegexemplar und daher häufig ungenau und fehlerhaft nachgewiesen sind.⁵⁸

So dürfte mit Interesse vermerkt werden, daß Christoph Saur, Sr., der wohl prominenteste deutschsprachige Drucker im kolonialen Pennsylvania, im Jahr 1744 eine zweite Auflage des Werkes *Die Nichtigkeit der Welt und des Zeitlichen Lebens*, eine von John Wesley verantwortete Kurzausgabe von William Laws *Practical Treatise upon Christian Perfection*, herausbrachte. Ist schon die erste Auflage, ebenfalls aus dem Jahr 1744, eine gesuchte Rarität,⁵⁹ so darf die in Göttingen vorhandene zweite Auflage mit an Sicherheit grenzender Wahrscheinlichkeit als Unikat angesprochen werden, das bislang in keiner Fachbibliographie verzeichnet ist. Das Titelblatt dieses Büchleins trägt den handschriftlichen Vermerk "Dr. Luther" und wurde am 1. Juni 1747 in der Bibliothek akzessioniert.⁶⁰

Gleichfalls aus dem Jahr 1744 datiert die bislang nicht verifizierte erste Auflage von Saur populärer Sammlung *Verschiedene alte und neuere Geschichten von Erscheinungen der Geister* (Evans 5503), die auch schon Mitte 1747 Eingang in die Göttinger Sammlung fand.

Aus der Germantowner Presse Saur stammt auch der *Psalter des Königs und Propheten Davids* . . . aus dem Jahr 1746 (Evans 5740). Da dem einzigen amerikanischen Exemplar in der Historical Society of Pennsylvania das Titelblatt fehlt und überdies Unstimmigkeiten im Hinblick auf Titelfassung, Paginierung und Buchschmuck den Schluß nahelegen, daß es sich dort um die vierte Auflage von 1762 handelt, dürfte das einzige derzeit bekannte Belegexemplar für Saur Erstausgabe in Göttingen zu finden sein. Auch dieses Exemplar ist mit dem Exlibris-Wappen Heinrich Ehrenfried Luthers versehen.

Während Seidensticker (27), Evans (5739) und der Saur-Bibliograph Felix Reichmann (76)⁶¹ gestützt auf einen Anzeigentext⁶² die Existenz einer sogenannten "Umgewendeten Bibel" nur vage vermuten können, vermag man auch in diesem Fall von Göttingen aus bestehende Zweifel und Unklarheiten zu beseitigen: Es handelt sich um das ebenfalls im Juni 1747 akzessionierte Bändchen mit dem verheißungsvollen Titel *Biblia, Sive Verbum Diaboli ad Suos Ministros, Apostolos & Successores in Mundo. Die Unheilige Schrift und Send-Brief des Allerdurchlächtigsten, Großmächtigsten und Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herrn Lucifers, des Gottes dieser Welt An seine Geist-lose, Ungöttliche und Anti-christliche Lehrer . . . Vorgestellet und zum Druck befördert im Jahr MDCLXVI von F. B. Zum zweiten mahl aufgelegt 1714 und nun auch zu Germantown gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1746*. Dieses allegorische Pamphlet stammt möglicherweise aus der Feder Friedrich Brecklings (1629–1711), eines streitbaren spiritualistischen Kritikers der lutherischen Kirche.

Noch ein weiterer Göttinger Titel vermag der Bibliographie der Saur-Drucke ein neues klärendes Mosaiksteinchen hinzuzufügen, nämlich Johann Hildebrands *Gründliche und Natur-gemäße Verhandlung von den Cometen und deren Erscheinung* (Germantown, 1746).⁶³ Sicherlich ist dieses sechzehnseitige, in amerikanischen Bibliotheken bislang nicht nachweisbare Quartbändchen mit einer halbseitigen Kometen-Illustration auf dem Titelblatt auch in inhaltlicher Hinsicht von einem gewissen Reiz;⁶⁴ fruchtbarer in diesem Zusammenhang jedoch ist ein Blick auf die recht verworrene bibliographische Lage. Ausgehend von Seidenstickers Eintrag ("Vom Cometen," 27) wurde mangels eines greifbaren Autopsie-Exemplars bislang angenommen, daß es sich bei diesem Titel um einen verschollenen Einblattdruck der Saur-Presse handeln müsse. Wie Saur kurze Einleitung zu Hildebrands Abhandlung jedoch erhellt, hat Saur einen solchen *broadside* selbst nie gedruckt:

Damit dem geneigten Leser die Ursache der nachfolgenden Schrift etwas leichter ins Gemüth falle, so wird berichtet, daß im vorigen Jahr 1745 dem Drucker hiervon ein Lied gesandt worden zu drucken, darinnen jemand seine Gedanken über den letzten Comet-Stern in Reimen gebracht hat; man war aber damals so beschäftigt, daß man keine Zeit dazu hatte; Es wurde aber hernach in Ephrata gedruckt, davon hat Johannes Hildebrand dem Drucker hiervon ein gedrucktes Stück gesand. . . .⁶⁵

Bei dem in Rede stehenden Ephrata-Druck handelt es sich zweifelsohne um die 1745 erschienene sechzehnseitige Schrift *Ernstliche Erweckungs-Stimm in ein Lied verfasst Ueber den so lang gestandenen und grosen Cometen . . .* (Evans 5586), so daß die Existenz eines *Kometen-broadsides* aus der Presse Saur's oder des Klosters Ephrata als wenig wahrscheinlich angesehen werden muß.

Ganz am Rande vermitteln die Präliminarien des Druckers auch einen Eindruck von den engen Beziehungen, die Saur nach Deutschland unterhielt, und von dem religiösen Impetus, der dieser Publikation zugrunde lag, denn im weiteren heißt es:

Dagegen sandte man ihm [i.e. dem Drucker C. Saur] einen Bogen, den man vorm Jahr aus Franckfurt empfangen hatte, darauf war ein Kupfer gestochen wie sich der letzte Comet von Anfang bis Ende hat sehen lassen; welches genau zugetroffen, mit dem wie man Ihn hier im Land gesehen hat. . . . es war eine Beschreibung dabey, wodurch der Hochgelehrte Mann vorstellte, daß der Comet nichts zu bedeuten habe; und gibt damit Ursach, daß die gottlose sichere Welt-Menschen fein sicher und ruhig seyn und bleiben mögen; deshalb ward der Autor bewogen im Nachfolgenden zu beweisen, daß des hochgelehrten Mannes seine Figur und seine Beschreibung vom Cometen beydes falsch sey.⁶⁶

Doch nicht nur die Saur-Forschung wird durch die Göttinger Bestände um neue Erkenntnisse bereichert—dies gilt auch für die Philadelphische Presse von Benjamin Franklin und Johann Böhm. Zum einen besitzt die Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek das einzige bekannte Exemplar der zweiten Auflage des *Kleinen Catechismus des Seel. Herrn D. Martin Luthers (Die Zweyte Auflag. Philadelphia/Druckts und verlegts Benjamin Fräncklin und Johann Böhm 1747)*.⁶⁷ Da sich schon für die erste Auflage (Evans 6349) kein Exemplar mehr nachweisen läßt, dürfte auch dieser Fund von beträchtlichem Interesse für die Franklin-Experten sein—dies auch insofern, als Miller in seiner exzellenten Bibliographie bezweifelt, daß Franklin im Impressum genannt sei und diesen Titel irrtümlich aus der Liste der Franklin-Drucke gestrichen hat.⁶⁸

Bislang völlig unbekannt ist zum anderen eine Predigt des reformierten Pastors Johann Dominicus Bartholomai mit dem Titel *Die Grosse Thaten des Herrn Seinem geliebten Zion aus dem Babel aus dem Papstthum Erlöseten erwiesen, Vor zwey hundert Jahr in den seligen Tagen der Reformation In der Evangelisch-Reformirten Gemeinde zu Tolpenhacken den 20 und 27sten November verkündigt aus Psalm CXXVI, v.1-3*, die gleichfalls im Jahr 1749 die Presse von Franklin und Böhm verließ. Bartholomai (1723-68), der 1748 nach Philadelphia kam, betreute die reformierte Gemeinde in Tulpehocken von 1748 bis zum Ausbruch einer Geisteskrankheit im Jahr 1751.⁶⁹ Die vorliegende Predigt dürfte seine einzige gedruckte literarische Hinterlassenschaft darstellen.

Diese knappen Andeutungen mögen belegen, daß auch die Göttinger Germanica-Americana-Sammlung für den einschlägig Interessierten keine *quan-*

tité négligeable darstellt, sondern zumindest für den frühen deutschen Druck eine ergiebige Quelle weiterführender Forschung ist.

Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek
Hannover, Federal Republic of Germany

Universität der Bundeswehr
Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany

Appendix

Liste der erwähnten Institutionen

CsMh	Henry E. Huntington Library, 1151 Oxford Rd., San Marino, CA 91108
DeWint	Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE 19735
DLC	Library of Congress, Rare Books Division, Washington, DC 20540
GyGoN	Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Prinzenstraße 1, Postfach 2932, D-3400 Göttingen
GySIA	Institut für Auslandsbeziehungen, Charlottenplatz 17, D-7000 Stuttgart 1
InGo	Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526
MBCo	Countway Library of Medicine, 10 Shattuck St., Boston, MA 02115
MdHi	Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument St., Baltimore, MD 21201
MH-AH	Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, 45 Francis Ave, Cambridge, MA 02138
MH-H	Harvard University, Houghton Library, Cambridge, MA 02138
MiU-C	University of Michigan, William L. Clemens Library, Ann Arbor, MI 48104
MoWe	Eden Theological Seminary, 475 East Lockwood Ave., Webster Groves, MO 63119
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, 185 Salisbury St., Worcester, MA 01609
NcWsMM	Moravian Music Foundation, 20 Cascade Ave., Winston Salem, NC 27101
NjP	Princeton University, Firestone Library, Princeton, NJ 08540
NN	New York Public Library, Fifth Ave. and 42nd St., New York, NY 10018
OBIC	Mennonite Historical Library, Bluffton College, Bluffton, OH 45817
OHi	Ohio Historical Society, 1985 Velma Ave., Columbus, OH 43211
OTifH	Heidelberg College, Beeghly Library, Tiffin, OH 44883
P	State Library of Pennsylvania, P.O. Box 1601, Harrisburg, PA 17105
PAmO	Old Economy Village, 14th and Church Streets, Ambridge, PA 15003
PBMA	The Moravian Archives, 41 W. Locust St., Bethlehem, PA 18018
PEpCl	The Ephrata Cloister, 632 W. Main St., R.D. 1, Ephrata, PA 17522
PEpHi	Historical Society of the Cocalico Valley, 249 W. Main St., Ephrata, PA 17522
PGL	Lutheran Theological Seminary, Abdel Ross Wentz Library, 66 W. Confederate Ave., Gettysburg, PA 17325
PHarH	Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, William Penn Memorial Museum and Archives, P.O. Box 1026, Harrisburg, PA 17120
PHi	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust St., Philadelphia, PA 19107

PHuJ	Juniata College, 18th and Moore St., Huntingdon, PA 16652
PLERCHI	Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Philip Schaff Library, 555 W. James St., Lancaster, PA 17603
PLF	Franklin and Marshall College, Fackenthal Library, P.O. Box 3003, Lancaster, PA 17604
PLHi	Lancaster County Historical Society, 230 N. President Ave., Lancaster, PA 17603
PLLVM	Pennsylvania Farm Museum of Landis Valley, 2451 Kissel Hill Rd., Lancaster, PA 17606
PLMHi	Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2215 Mill Stream Rd., Lancaster, PA 17602
PLT	Lancaster Theological Seminary, Philip Schaff Library, 555 W. James St., Lancaster, PA 17603
PMiLS	Ganser Library, Millersville University, Millersville, PA 17551
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia, Logan Square, Philadelphia, PA 19103
PPAmP	American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA 19102
PPeSchw	Schwenkfelder Historical Library, Pennsburg, PA 18073
PPG	German Society of Pennsylvania, Horner Memorial Library, 611 Spring Garden, Philadelphia, PA 19123
PPGHi	Germantown Historical Society, 5214 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19144
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107
PPLT	Lutheran Theological Seminary, Krauth Memorial Library, 7301 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19119
PSt	Pennsylvania State University, Fred Lewis Pattee Library, University Park, PA 16802
PU	University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library, 3420 Walnut St., Philadelphia, PA 19104
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, RI 02912
ViHarEM	Menno Simons Historical Library and Archives, Eastern Mennonite College, Harrisonburg, Va 22801
ViHarHi	Rockingham County Historical Society, 300 S. Main St., Harrisonburg, VA 22801
ViU	University of Virginia, Alderman Library, Charlottesville, VA 22904

Anmerkungen

¹ Oswald Seidensticker, *The First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1830* (Philadelphia, 1893). Zu Seidenstickers Biographie vgl. Lilian M. Evans, "Oswald Seidensticker, Bibliophile," *Pennsylvania History* 7 (1940): 8-19.

² Im Erscheinen begriffen ist die von Karl John Richard Arndt sowie Reimer C. Eck herausgegebene und von den Verfassern kompilierte Neubearbeitung von Seidenstickers Bibliographie, deren erste beide Bände in Zusammenarbeit mit der *Pennsylvania German Society* vermutlich unter dem Titel *The First Century of German Language Printing in the United States of America* erscheinen werden. Über das der bibliographischen Beschreibung zugrunde liegende Autopsie-Exemplar hinaus wird diese Bibliographie bis zu zehn weitere Besitzbibliotheken für einen bestimmten Titel nennen. Dies wird dem Benutzer in Einzelfällen sicherlich einiges an Orientierung über die Bestandslage in den USA vermitteln können, aber natürlich wäre es sowohl vom Anspruch, als auch von der praktischen Durchführbarkeit her vermessen gewesen, wenn man auf diesem Wege versucht hätte, gleichsam das Inventar der sich in amerikanischen Bibliotheken befindlichen frühen Germanica-Americana aufzustellen. In diesem Sinne darf der vorliegende Aufsatz auch nach dem vollständigen Erscheinen der Seidensticker-Aktua-

lisierung als, so hoffen wir zumindest, brauchbares und diese Bibliographie ergänzendes Hilfsmittel verstanden werden.

³ Kurzbiographien der meisten der im folgenden genannten Privatsammler finden sich bei Homer T. Rosenberger, *The Pennsylvania Germans, 1891–1965* (Lancaster, PA, 1966), 455–507.

⁴ Zu Cassels Biographie und Sammlung gibt es eine Fülle von Literatur; am aktuellsten und vollständigsten mit einer Diskussion des Forschungsstandes ist Martin L. Heckman, "Abraham Harley Cassel, Nineteenth-Century Pennsylvania German Book Collector," *Publications of the Pennsylvania German Society* 7 (1973): 105–224. Der deutschsprachige Teil der Cassel-Sammlung ist in die Bibliotheken der *Historical Society of Pennsylvania* und des *Juniata College* gelangt, während sich das englischsprachige Material auf die Sammlungen in Ashland, OH, Oak Brook, IL, Bridgewater, VA, und Huntingdon, PA verteilt.

⁵ Vom Umfang der Pennypacker-Sammlung zeugt der mehrbändige Auktionskatalog von Stan V. Henkels, *The Extensive Library of the Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1905–09). Nach Auskunft der American Antiquarian Society erwarb die Bibliothek im Jahre 1908 rund 300 Titel, einen nicht unbedeutenden Teil davon dürften deutsch-amerikanische Drucke aus der Zeit nach der Revolution ausgemacht haben. Zu Pennypackers Biographie vgl. *Dictionary of American Biography*, Allen Johnson, ed., 14: 447–48 sowie Hampton L. Carson, "The Life and Services of Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 41 (1917): 1–94.

⁶ Der reformierte Geistliche Stapleton hat sich darüber hinaus auch als Bibliograph betätigt und sich in mehreren Publikationen mit dem Deutschum in den Vereinigten Staaten auseinandergesetzt. Seine Seidensticker-Ergänzung "Researches in the First Century of German Printing in America (1728–1830)," *The Pennsylvania German* 5 (1904): 81–89, 183, 261–64 beruht zu einem Großteil ebenso auf seiner Privatsammlung wie "Early German Medical Publications in Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania German* 7 (1906): 174–76. Nachdem die Sammlung für ca. 50 Jahre im Keller der Tochter Stapletons der Forschung vorenthalten blieb, gelang dann der Pennsylvania State University Library in den 1970iger Jahren der Ankauf dieser Bestände.

⁷ *Sachsen German Sectarians of Pennsylvania: A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers, 1708–1800* (Philadelphia, 1899–1900) gilt auch heute noch zurecht als ein Standardwerk auf diesem Gebiet. Die Sachse-Sammlung war für mehrere Jahrzehnte in der Historical Society of the Seventh Day Baptists, Plainfield, NJ, untergebracht, bevor die Kultusbehörden von Pennsylvania diese wertvolle Spezialbibliothek für das Staatsarchiv erwerben konnten.

⁸ Vgl. die Übersichtsskizze zur Saur-Dynastie von Charles G. Sower, *Genealogical Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower, Printer of Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa.* (Philadelphia, 1887). Ebenso hat Charles G. Sower das erste bibliographische Verzeichnis der Druckerzeugnisse der Saur-Pressen der Kolonialzeit vorgelegt; vgl. hierzu "The Sower Publications," *The Pennsylvania German* 2 (1901): 89–93.

⁹ Zu Heilman vgl. Robert M. Kline, "Henry Snavely Heilman, Pennsylvania German Bibliophile," in *Intimate Glimpses of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Gettysburg, PA, 1965), 33–42.

¹⁰ Bassler war im Dienst der Standard Oil Company zu einigem Vermögen gekommen und hatte neben Germanica-Americana noch auf weiteren Gebieten (Naturwissenschaften, Technik) eine rege Sammeltätigkeit entfaltet. 1946 erwarb er für \$15000 die Unger-Sammlung, deren deutschsprachige Materialien er in der Bibliothek des Franklin and Marshall College deponierte. Sie gingen nach Basslers Tod in die Obhut der Pennsylvania German Society über, mit der Auflage, für die Katalogisierung und öffentliche Zugänglichkeit zu sorgen. Vgl. auch die biographischen Notizen zu Bassler von Walter Detch und Alfred L. Shoemaker in *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* 1, no. 25 (1950): 1.

¹¹ Der frühere Textilfabrikant und self-made Bibliophile, Genealoge und Antiquar Claude W. Unger hat nicht nur eine außergewöhnlich umfangreiche und wertvolle Germanica-Americana-Sammlung aufgebaut, sondern ist auch zusammen mit Thomas Brendle als Autor des Standardwerkes *Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-occult Cures* (Norristown, PA, 1935) hervorgetreten. Die biographischen Informationen zu Bassler und Unger sowie über die heutige Sammlung in der Fackenthal Library des Franklin and Marshall College entstammen unveröffentlichten Manuskripten, die uns Charlotte B. Brown, Archivarin am Franklin and Marshall College, freundlicherweise überlassen hat.

¹² Über den Verbleib der Albright-Sammlung konnte bisher nur wenig in Erfahrung gebracht werden. Einige wenige Einblattdrucke sind jetzt im Besitz von Roger E. Stoddard, Associate Librarian an der Houghton Library, Harvard University. Aber auch die Free Library of Philadelphia hat im Jahr 1965 einen Teil der deutschen Drucke gekauft. Nach Auskunft der American Bible Society, New York, ist der verbliebene Rest der Sammlung zumindest nicht für Albrights alte Wirkungsstätte in Myerstown, PA, nachweisbar.

¹³ Vgl. Ellen Shaffer, "Illuminators, Scribes and Printers: a Glimpse of the Free Library's Pennsylvania Dutch Collection," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 9 (1958): 18–27.

¹⁴ Erste Wahl beim Verkauf der Oda-Sammlung erhielt die Free Library of Philadelphia, aber ein nicht geringer Teil der Stücke ging danach in den Bestand der Library Company of Philadelphia über. Die Bedeutung dieser Privatsammlung verdeutlichen die bibliographischen Verzeichnisse Odas, die er, unter anderem auch auf der Basis seiner eigenen Bestände, im *Pennsylvania Dutchman* in den Jahren 1952–53 veröffentlichte. Oda plante wohl eine Neuauflage der Seidensticker-Bibliographie und hat bis zu seinem Tode an einem Manuskript gearbeitet, das später in die Verantwortung von Karl J. R. Arndt, Worcester, MA, übergegangen ist. Dieses Oda-Manuskript bildete dann auch die ursprüngliche Basis für das seit 1982 von der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen durchgeführte Katalogunternehmen *The First Century of German Printing in North America, 1729–1830*.

¹⁵ Über Umfang und Qualität der Privatsammlung des bekannten Historikers der Virginia Germans, Klaus Wust, ist den Verfassern nichts bekannt.

¹⁶ Eine kurze Beschreibung der wichtigsten Sammlungen pennsylvanisch-deutschen Kulturgutes insgesamt—also nicht nur der Druckkultur—findet sich in Rosenberger (s. Anm. 3), 508–62.

¹⁷ Als Beweis für die gute Kooperation beider Institutionen kann der Ausstellungskatalog angesehen werden, der anlässlich des Germantown Tricentennial 1983 von beiden Bibliotheken gemeinsam erarbeitet wurde: *Germantown and the Germans: An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts, Prints and Photographs from the Collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*.

¹⁸ Vgl. Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America, with a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison from the 2d ed. (Barre, MA, 1970).

¹⁹ Die American Antiquarian Society besitzt bis zum Erscheinungsjahr 1830 einschließlich ca. 550 deutsch-amerikanische Publikationen. Zusätzliche Informationen zur Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Sammlung und zu den Katalogverhältnissen verdanken wir Keith Arbor, ehemals Head of Readers' Services der AAS.

²⁰ Vgl. hierzu Shaffer (Anm. 13).

²¹ Vgl. auch die grundlegende Bibliographie von Abraham S. W. Rosenbach, *Early American Children's Books, with Bibliographical Descriptions of the Books in his Private Collection* (Portland, ME, 1933).

²² Zu den ca. 1900 Titeln, die in der Historical Society of Pennsylvania und der Library Company of Philadelphia nachgewiesen werden können, kommen allein 420 Stücke in der Free Library (größtenteils unikate Einblattdrucke). Die dritte Sammlung von Rang in Philadelphia ist in der—im folgenden noch an neunter Stelle beschriebenen—Bibliothek des Lutheran Theological Seminary (PPLT) untergebracht, während die der University of Pennsylvania (PU) und der American Philosophical Society (PPAmP) von untergeordneter Bedeutung sind. Dasselbe gilt für den kleinen Bestand der Germantown Historical Society (PPGHi). Obwohl der Sammelschwerpunkt der German Society of Pennsylvania, deren Bibliotheksgründung auf Oswald Seidensticker im Jahre 1867 zurückgeht, eindeutig auf der zweiten Hälfte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts liegt, beherbergt die Horner Memorial Library eine von der Fachwelt nicht zu vernachlässigende Anzahl von Druckwerken, darunter ca. 30 Rara und Unika der kolonialen Presse (und hier vor allem der Germantowner Saur-Dynastie). Nicht unberücksichtigt lassen kann man ferner das einschlägige Handschriftenmaterial, u. a. von Pastorius und anderen Persönlichkeiten deutsch-amerikanischer Abstammung. Leider ist die Zugänglichkeit der Sammlung durch eingeschränkte Öffnungszeiten und schwierige Katalogverhältnisse beeinträchtigt, insbesondere aber sind eine Reihe einschlägiger Titel, die noch von Seidensticker selbst und auch von anderen Bibliographen nachgewiesen werden, nicht mehr auffindbar. Auch der Restbestand des Archivguts der Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation ist—bisher zumin-

dest—für die Forschung nicht freigegeben und lagert verpackt in den Kellergewölben der Horner Memorial Library; der überwiegende Teil des gedruckten Materials war schon vor der Übergabe an die German Society of Pennsylvania verauktioniert worden.

²³ Das heute übliche Sigel wird mit "PLF" angegeben. In älteren Bibliographien findet sich eine verwirrende Vielzahl von Kürzeln: Oda verwendete "PDL" und "PLPDL" synonym; "CWU" (für Claude W. Unger) wurde ebenso benutzt wie "PLFM."

²⁴ Im Jahre 1949 gegründet von Alfred L. Shoemaker, J. William Frey und Don Yoder. Die enge Basis dieses neuen volkswissenschaftlichen Forschungskonzepts mit der Konzentration auf die Pennsylvania Dutch wurde gegen Ende der 1950er Jahre verlassen, sinnfällig dokumentiert durch die Titelländerung der von diesem Institut seit 1949 herausgegebenen Zeitschrift *The Pennsylvania Dutchman* in *Pennsylvania Folklife* sowie der institutionellen Umbenennung in Pennsylvania Folklife Center. Vgl. hierzu Don Yoder, "The Folklife Studies Movement," *Pennsylvania Folklife* 13 (1963): 43–56.

²⁵ Vgl. hierzu die unveröffentlichten Memoranden von Lyman H. Butterfield, "Report on the Unger-Bassler Manuscripts in the Franklin and Marshall College Library" (1. Okt. 1956) sowie von David McIlvaine, "The German-American Imprints Collection at Franklin and Marshall College: Preliminary Proposal for Cataloging and Preservation" (19. Mai 1978).

²⁶ Mitteilung von Charlotte Brown, Archivarin der Fackenthal Library, Franklin and Marshall College vom 24. März 1987.

²⁷ Gedruckte Bestandsverzeichnisse liegen vor von Marilyn M. Kramer und Elaine K. Pease, "Harrisburg Imprints from the German American Imprints Collection in the Franklin and Marshall College Library," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 85 (1981): 63–80, und Elaine K. Dugan und Marilyn M. Kramer, "Lancaster County Imprints from the German American Imprints Collection in the Franklin and Marshall College Library," *Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society* 79 (1975): 209–33.

²⁸ McIlvaine (Anm. 25), 3.

²⁹ Durch vier weitere Sammlungen bietet Lancaster, PA, einen Quellenreichtum, an dem ein wissenschaftlich Interessierter nicht vorbeigehen kann, denn die Druckerzeugnisse der großstädtischen Pressen in Philadelphia spiegeln nur einen, wenn auch gewichtigen Aspekt des frühen deutschen Drucks in den Vereinigten Staaten wider. Es handelt sich hier um das Lancaster Theological Seminary of the United Church of Christ (PLT) und die Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society, Philip Schaff Library (PLERChi). Während die erstgenannte Institution über einen Kreuzkatalog und einen systematischen Standortkatalog nach LoC-Klassifikation ihre gesamten Bestände nachweisen kann, empfiehlt sich bei einem Besuch der Bibliothek der Historical Society die Arbeit am Regal. Die deutschsprachigen Bestände der Lancaster Mennonite Historical Library (PLHi) sind katalogmäßig leider nicht erschlossen. Jüngeren Datums schließlich sind die regen Sammelaktivitäten der Ganzer Library der Millersville University. Das Spektrum deutschamerikanischer Pressen spiegelt sich in der Erwerbung einschlägiger und repräsentativer Titel aus der Zeit nach 1776. Auch die inhaltliche Erschließung genügt den Anforderungen der interessierten Fachöffentlichkeit.

³⁰ Hier ist vor allem auf zwei Projekte hinzuweisen: Das Kloster von Ephrata ist seit 1935 rekonstruiert worden und hat sich in der Zwischenzeit zum beliebten Ausflugsziel historisch interessierter Touristen entwickelt. Das Anwesen der sogenannten Harmonisten in Old Economy, heute Ambridge, PA, wird derzeit mit erheblichen finanziellen Mitteln zur Erforschung seiner kulturellen Leistungen unterstützt.

³¹ In älteren Bibliographien findet sich für die Sachse Collection häufig das Sigel ihres langjährigen Unterbringungsortes "NJPlaSDB" für Seventh Day Baptist Historical Society, Plainfield, NJ.

³² Für Spezialisten könnte auch die Bibliothek der Historical Society of the Cocalico Valley (PEpHi) interessant sein. Die ebenfalls in Ephrata beheimatete bedeutende Musselman-Privatsammlung ist in jüngster Zeit verauktioniert worden und existiert nicht mehr.

³³ *Pennsylvania Newspapers and Selected Out-of-State Newspapers*, Prepared by the General Bureau of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1976. Vgl. hierzu auch Glenora E. Rossell, ed., *Pennsylvania Newspapers: A Bibliography and Union List*, 2d ed. (Pittsburgh, 1978; rev., expanded and updated version of the 1st ed. edited by Ruth Salisbury in 1969.)

³⁴ Zitiert nach Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Abraham Harley Cassel and his Collection," *Pennsylvania History* 26 (1959): 332.

³⁵ Die einschlägigen Bestände des Juniata College für diese religiöse Gruppe sind komplett eingearbeitet in das Verzeichnis von Donald F. Durnbaugh und Lawrence F. Shultz, "A Brethren Bibliography, 1713-1963," *Brethren Life and Thought* 9, nos. 1-2 (1964).

³⁶ Die Katalogisierung der Altbestände des Juniata College wird zwar seit einigen Jahren unter der Leitung von William T. Parsons, Ursinus College, Collegeville, PA, betrieben, bisher ist aber noch kein Katalog publiziert worden.

³⁷ Charles Evans, *American Bibliography: A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States, 1639-1800*, 13 Bde. (Chicago, IL, 1903-35).

³⁸ Vgl. hierzu Frederick R. Goff, "The First Decade of the Federal Act for Copyright, 1790-1800," *Essays Honoring Lawrence C. Wroth* (Portland, ME, 1951), 101-28. Goff weist auf die besonderen Publikationsaktivitäten in der Stadt Philadelphia für dieses Jahrzehnt hin. Die Library of Congress selbst verfügt allerdings nur über relativ wenige Unikate an frühen Germanica-Americana.

³⁹ Neben dem Rare Books Department sind auch die einschlägigen Bestände der Manuscripts Division und der Newspaper and Current Periodicals Division im Madison Memorial Building zu konsultieren.

⁴⁰ Für einen Nachweis der Materialien der deutsch-reformierten Kirche in den USA sind ferner wichtig: das bereits genannte Theological Seminary in Lancaster, PA, sowie das Eden Theological Seminary (MoWe) in Webster Groves, MO. Über ausgezeichnete Bestände der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche verfügt auch das Lutheran Theological Seminary (PGL) in Gettysburg, PA. Die beiden evangelischen Seminare in Philadelphia und Gettysburg weisen zusammengekommen fast vollständig das publizistische Erbe dieser wohl wichtigsten Denomination unter den Pennsylvania Germans nach.

⁴¹ Eine herausragende Gestalt der nordamerikanischen evangelisch-lutherischen Gemeinde war Justus Henry Christian Helmuth (1745-1825); zu seiner Biographie vgl. Charles H. Glatfelter, *Pastors and People: German Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the Pennsylvania Field, 1717-1793* (Breinigsville, PA, 1980) 57f.; zu seinen publizistischen Aktivitäten Edward C. Wolf, "Justus Henry Christian Helmuth—Hymnodist," *German American Studies* 5 (1972): 117-47.

⁴² Ein gedrucktes Bestandsverzeichnis liefert Howard W. Kriebel, "Philadelphia Prints in the Schwenckfelder Historical Library," *Perkiomen Region* 9 (1931): 42-48. Über diese Glaubensgemeinschaft insgesamt: Howard W. Kriebel, *The Schwenckfelders in Pennsylvania: A Historical Sketch* (Lancaster, PA, 1904).

⁴³ Forschungsaufenthalte sollten grundsätzlich angemeldet werden. Die Bibliothek des Lehigh College in Bethlehem, PA, verfügt hingegen über keine nennenswerten Germanica-Americana-Bestände.

⁴⁴ Die Bibliothek ist seit einigen Jahren im Rahmen eines speziellen Katalogisierungsprojekts damit beschäftigt, ihre Kataloge zu digitalisieren, um die Bestände einem größeren Benutzerkreis zugänglich zu machen.

⁴⁵ Einen repräsentativen Ausschnitt der *broadside collection* bietet das Bestandsverzeichnis von Irvin B. Horst, "The Broadside Collection at the Menno Simons Historical Library: A Checklist," *Eastern Mennonite College Bulletin* (1967), 5-10.

⁴⁶ Vgl. Harold S. Bender, *Two Centuries of American Mennonite Literature: A Bibliography of Mennonite Americana 1728-1928* (Goshen, IN, 1929) und *Mennonite Bibliography 1631-1961*, comp. Nelson P. Springer and A. J. Klassen under the direction of the Institute of Mennonite Studies (Scottsdale, PA, 1977).

⁴⁷ Vgl. zum deutschsprachigen Liedgut der Mennoniten in den Vereinigten Staaten Ada Kadelbach, "Die Hymnodie der Mennoniten in Nordamerika (1742-1860): Eine Studie zur Verpflanzung, Bewahrung und Umformung europäischer Kirchenliedtradition" (Diss. Mainz, 1971). Bibliographisch interessant sind auch die—allerdings nur hektographiert vorliegenden—Zusammenstellungen des Privatsammlers Martin E. Ressler, "A Bibliography of Mennonite Hymnals and Songbooks 1742-1972" sowie "Hymnals and Songbooks Published by the (Old) Mennonites in America and Canada since 1742."

⁴⁸ Insgesamt lassen sich für zehn Bundesstaaten deutsche Pressen ausfindig machen: Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, New Jersey, New York, Indiana,

Massachusetts und Vermont. Darüber hinaus sprechen einige Indizien dafür, daß möglicherweise auch in Tennessee (Knoxville), South Carolina (Charleston) und Kentucky (Stanford) vor 1830 in deutscher Sprache gedruckt wurde, auch wenn es sich dabei nicht um permanente Pressen gehandelt haben mag. Wir verdanken diesen Hinweis Christopher L. Dolmetsch, Marshall University, Huntington, WV, der uns freundlicherweise einen Vorabdruck seines Vortrags "Researching Early German Printing in America's Southeast: Overcoming Years of Prejudice and Neglect" überlassen hat, der auf der Konferenz "A Symposium—The German American Press" des Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, Madison, WI (vom 7.–10. Okt. 1987) gehalten wurde.

⁴⁹ Vgl. hierzu erstmals zusammenfassend Christopher L. Dolmetsch, "German Printing Among the Carolina Moravians," *Moravian Music Journal* 29 (1984): 93–98.

⁵⁰ Über den deutschen Druck in Virginia liegen eine ganze Reihe von Arbeiten vor, wobei der bibliographische Nachweis der Drucke fast vollständig zu sein scheint. Am aktuellsten hierzu: Christopher L. Dolmetsch, *The German Press of the Shenandoah Valley, 1789–1854*, Studies in German Literature, Linguistics and Culture, vol. 4 (Columbia, SC, 1984). In dieser Reihe erschien als Bd. 1 auch die ausgezeichnete Arbeit von Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC, 1984).

⁵¹ Vgl. dazu Richard E. Helbig, "The German American Collection in the New York Public Library," *The Pennsylvania German* 9 (1908): 26–28 sowie ders., "New York Public Library: Its German American Collections," *The Pennsylvania German* 10 (1909): 63–66.

⁵² Vgl. hierzu den ausgezeichnet gearbeiteten und ungewöhnlich ausführlich illustrierten Band über die Germanica-Americana-Sammelschwerpunkte des Museums: *Arts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, ed. Catherine E. Hutchins (Winterthur, DE, 1983), darin vor allem den bisher wenig beachteten druckgeschichtlichen Überblick von Frank H. Sommer, "German Language books, Periodicals, and Manuscripts," 265–304.

⁵³ Um Mißverständnissen in der Terminologie vorzubeugen, sei noch einmal festgestellt, daß die John Carter Brown Library vermutlich die bedeutendste Sammlung an deutschsprachigen Schriften über Amerika besitzt; Else K. Kramers *Die wunderbare Neue Welt: German Books about the Americans in the John Carter Brown Library 1493–1840* (Providence, RI, 1988) bezeugt dies. In bezug auf die hier diskutierten Germanica-Americana, also deutschsprachige Schriften, die in den heutigen Vereinigten Staaten tatsächlich gedruckt wurden, ganz gleich worüber sie handelten, muß die RPJCB als interessante, aber eben doch kleinere Sammlung betrachtet werden.

⁵⁴ Besonders wertvolle Illustrationen aus den dortigen deutschsprachigen Beständen verzeichnet Sinclair Hamilton, *Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670–1870* (Princeton, NJ, 1958). Neben den bekannten und häufig in deutschen Publikationen nachweisbaren amerikanischen Vertretern George Gilbert oder William Mason sind hier unter anderem auch Christoph Saur, Sr., sowie besonders Justus Fox berücksichtigt.

⁵⁵ *Biblia, Das ist: Die Heilige Schrift Altes und Neues Testaments, Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung D. Martin Luthers, Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügeten vielen und richtigen Parallelen [sic]; Nebst des dritten und vierten Buchs Esrä und des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer* (Germantown, PA: C. Saur, 1743; Evans 5128). Wie andere der im Göttinger Besitz befindlichen Germantowner Drucke trägt auch dieser das Exlibris des Frankfurter Schriftgießers Dr. Heinrich Ehrenfried Luther, von dem Saur die für seine Druckerei dringend benötigten Frakturtypen bezog. Luther seinerseits erhielt zahlreiche Belegexemplare aus der Saur-Presse, die er an wichtige Bibliotheken und prominente Persönlichkeiten weitergab. Vgl. zu diesem Thema: Donald F. Durnbaugh, "Christopher Sauer: Pennsylvania German Printer: His Youth in Germany and Later Relationships with Europe," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 82 (1958): 316–40; Gustav Mori, *Die Egenolff-Luthersche Schriftgießerei in Frankfurt am Main und ihre geschäftlichen Verbindungen mit den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Frankfurt/Main, 1926) und 1776: *Independence: Die Amerikanische Revolution im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Druckwerke: Ausstellung der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen*, Arbeiten aus der Niedersächsischen Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen, Bd. 14 (Göttingen, 1976), Nr. 131.

⁵⁶ *Der Neue Charter: Oder Schriftliche Versicherung der Freyheiten, welche William Penn, Esq. den Einwohnern von Pensylvanien und dessen Territorien gegeben: Aus dem englischen Original übersetzt* (Germantown, PA: C. Saur, 1743; Evans 5271).

⁵⁷ Die Ausgabe für 1748 dürfte ein Unikat sein, die zweite Ausgabe für das Jahr 1749 ist sonst nur noch in der American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, nachweisbar.

⁵⁸ Eine annotierte Auswahl weiterer interessanter Stücke ist in dem bereits erwähnten Ausstellungskatalog der Göttinger Universitätsbibliothek zu finden (vgl. Anm. 55). Selbstverständlich sind die Göttinger Germanica-Americana-Bestände auch in die bereits erwähnte, demnächst vorliegende Neubearbeitung der Seidensticker-Bibliographie eingearbeitet.

⁵⁹ Lediglich die Pennsylvania State Library in Harrisburg, die Free Library of Philadelphia und die California State University in Northridge verfügen über weitere Exemplare.

⁶⁰ Vgl. Anm. 55.

⁶¹ Felix Reichmann, *Christopher Sower Sr., 1694–1758: Printer in Germantown: An Annotated Bibliography* (Philadelphia, 1943).

⁶² Vgl. *Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Berichte*, 16 August 1746.

⁶³ Evans, 5876; Seidensticker, 27; Reichmann, 77.

⁶⁴ Der Autor Johannes Hildebrand (1679–1765), seit 1739 mit der Klostersgemeinschaft in Ephrata verbunden, wendet sich explizit gegen rational begründete Theorien über das Phänomen der Kometen und interpretiert sie im traditionellen Sinne als Unglücksboten und Zeichen des der Menschheit drohenden göttlichen Strafgerichts. Sours kurzes Vorwort illustriert einmal mehr, wie tiefempfundene Frömmigkeit den Geist der Aufklärung bisweilen unterlaufen kann. Zur Biographie des Autors vgl. *The Brethren Encyclopedia*, Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed. (Philadelphia, 1983–84).

⁶⁵ Hildebrand, *Gründliche und Natur-gemäße Verhandlung*, 3.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Allein nachgewiesen bei Arthur C. Repp, *Luther's Catechism Comes to America: Theological Effects on the Issues of the Small Catechism Prepared in or for America Prior to 1850* (Metuchen, NJ, 1982).

⁶⁸ C. W. Miller, *Benjamin Franklin's Philadelphia Printing 1728–1766: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Philadelphia, 1974).

⁶⁹ Zur Biographie des Autors vgl. Glatfelter, 18.

Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
University of Cincinnati

English Influence on American German and American Icelandic.

By Stephen Clausing. *American University Studies, Series XIII, Linguistics, 3*. New York, Bern, & Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 1986. xix + 210 pages. \$34.50.

Clausing's book, which he labels in the preface "above all a *Forschungsbericht*," has a few appealing features. Chapters 8 and 9, which deal with gender assignment of English loan nouns in American German and American Icelandic, respectively, will be familiar to those who attended the sessions on language at the 1988 annual symposium of the Society for German-American Studies where Clausing read a summary of the two chapters.

Unfortunately, the book also displays a number of serious shortcomings. Perhaps, it would have been more advantageous for the reader if Clausing had stuck with the one real strength of his essay: those parts that are more in the nature of an annotated bibliography. But then that might have entailed more of a venture into such areas as those "sociolinguistic issues" that Clausing wants to avoid. But then, in the same paragraph he admits that "certain linguistic problems can only be properly understood in a sociolinguistic context" (xiv). This hedging is characteristic of the book. Another example is discussed below.

One particularly annoying aspect of the presentation is the frequent difficulty, or in some cases the impossibility, of knowing when Clausing's own interpretation of an issue is being presented or that of the particular author he is discussing. An example of this is the discussion on page 29 of the English loanword "shave" and *Auslautverhärtung* in Pennsylvania German. Is Clausing paraphrasing Frey's discussion or giving his own explanation for the medial unvoiced fricative in the Pennsylvania German infinitive form of the word /ʃe:fə/? Without a quick trip to the library, the reader simply cannot know. In any case, the relevant contrast in Pennsylvania German is between stop and fricative as in PG *hawwe* 'to have' and *ich hab* 'I have' or *liewe* 'to love' and *ich lieb, er-liebt* 'I love, he loves' (see Frey's *Grammar of Pennsylvania German*, 1985, 49-55). The morphophonemic alternation is between a bilabial voiced fricative and the corresponding stop. A similar alternation occurs with a voiced velar fricative and its stop counterpart (e.g., *lege* 'to lay' and *ich leeg* 'I lay,' Frey's *Grammar*, 50). The main reason, of course, why there is no "morphological alternation of v/f" is simply that Pennsylvania German, according to H. Kelz's *Phonologische Analyse*

des Pennsylvaniadeutschen (1969, 40), does not have a labio-dental voiced fricative, conventionally symbolized as /v/. It is not because /f/ would then alternate in word final position with intervocalic /v/ in the infinitive form, as Clausen claims. So much for a "structuralist" analysis of the facts which Clausen had promised in his preface (xv).

Another example of Clausen's at times self-contradicting hedging occurs in the discussion of case coalescence in Texas German, especially on page 64, where he gives a summary of what may be responsible for case coalescence: "English interference, the loss of case distinctions in the native dialects, and morphological decay." An earlier loss of case distinctions would hardly account for later losses in American German dialects. It would only account for the lack in the first place of the given distinction. What is not inherited cannot be lost. And what is morphological "decay?" A fall from a pristine state, as exemplified by perhaps that perfect model of grammar, classical Latin? I thought linguists used the terms "morphological reduction" or "simplification."

Clausen's book is perhaps most useful for its basic bibliography, but it is hardly worth its high price.

Indiana University

Peter Freeouf

A Pennsylvania German Anthology.

Edited by Earl C. Haag. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 1988. 352 pages. \$45.00 (cloth); \$14.95 (paper).

A Pennsylvania German Anthology is the first anthology ever compiled that attempts to encompass all of Pennsylvania German (PG) literature. Haag's anthology provides literary examples of original poetry, prose and drama by fifty-three PG writers. The texts are arranged chronologically. The first, Emanuel Rondthaler's "Maryets un Owets," was written about 1835 and first published anonymously in 1849 in the *Deutscher Kirchenfreund*. The final text is an excerpt from a 1977 play, "Wie es als waar," by the contemporary director and playwright Irwin R. Klinger. The chapter on Preston A. Barba (1883-1971) and his PG newspaper column "'S Pennsylvanisch Deitsch Eck," which appeared in the Allentown *Morning Call* from 1935-69, quite properly stands directly in the middle of Haag's anthology.

Haag presents us not only with an excellent anthology of a unique German-American literature but also with a cultural reader which reflects the daily lives of the Pennsylvania Dutch, albeit largely of yesteryear. The reader is afforded the opportunity to examine the nonsectarian segment of PG society—their deeply religious nature, their devotion to work, their honesty, their delight in leisure activities and their love of life.

This anthology features many of the dialect's most beloved writers and playwrights, such as Henry Harbaugh (1817-67), Thomas Hess Harter (1854-1933), Harvey M. Miller (1871-1939), Clarence F. Iobst (1894-1973), John Birmlin (1873-1950), and Paul R. Wieand (b. 1907). Haag, certainly our best authority on PG literature, has included additional writers and editors, who have also made important contributions to PG literature. Edward Henry Rauch (1820-1902) gets the credit for inaugurating the PG letter to the editor (1868) and thus the PG newspaper columns, which continue to appear (1988) in at least ten weekly newspapers in Pennsylvania and Ohio. The invalid Rachel Bahn (1829-1902), a distant relative of Henry Harbaugh, was probably the first published PG female poet. The writings of Astor C. Wuchter (1856-1922) have

recently attracted renewed interest. "Es Maehe mit der deutsche Sens" and "Es schaudert mich" by Eli Keller (1825-1919) present two dialect gems. Keller was of the generation of preacher-poets who wrote in English, Standard German, and PG. Abraham R. Horne (1834-1902), an early principal of Kutztown State Normal School (Kutztown University of Pennsylvania), first published his *Pennsylvania German Manual* in 1875, which is "today a valuable treasure of PG grammar, vocabulary, and literature" (85). Daniel Miller (1843-1913) published for forty years in Reading the *Standard German Republikaner von Berks*, for which he supplied a PG column, and the *Der Reformirte Hausfreund*, which he published for thirty years. In 1903 and in 1911 Daniel Miller published collections of his prose pieces together with selections from other PG writers. An excerpt from "Die Inschurens Bissness" (ca. 1880) by Ezra Grumbine (1845-1923) features the first PG play to appear in print. Grumbine's "Wendell Kitzmiller" column was first published in the *Lebanon Daily and Semi-Weekly News* in 1900, a newspaper which still carries a weekly PG column in its *Sunday News* edition. Charles C. More (1848-1940), "generally acclaimed as the most distinguished writer of PG fiction" (165), is represented by "'S Wasch Hellers ihre Grischtdaagszug" and "Der wiescht Mann vun der Flett," two of the most important short stories in PG. The writings of the violinist and symphony conductor Lloyd A. Moll (1879-1944) are rightly represented, with selections from his prose pieces "Am schwarze Baer," which were published by Barba in his *Eck* between 1935 and 1939. Of the 331 poems from the pen of Ralph S. Funk (1889-1969), eight appear in this anthology. Beginning in 1947 Pierce E. Swope (1884-1968) wrote a weekly PG column in the *Lebanon Daily News* and regularly wrote about life on the farm, his favorite topic. Haag has wisely included three examples from the weekly PG column of Clarence G. Reitnauer (b. 1900), "der Schtiwwelgnecht," who in 1966 upon the death of the Reverend William J. Rupp succeeded him as the regular PG columnist in the *Pennsburg Town and Country*. The late Ernest Waldo Bechtel (1923-88), who provided a weekly PG column for the *Ephrata Review* from 1970 to the time of his death, wrote and staged twelve PG plays and skits, and for a period of five years, beginning in 1975, together with his wife Irene, "die Minnie Schnaus," presented weekly PG television programs, is represented by two selections from his columns and by his two best poems, "Die gross Ladann" and "Der Mensch," the latter possibly the finest poem ever written in PG.

The editor's preface discusses some of the problems encountered in the preparation of such an anthology, including the availability of the literature and the decision to follow the Buffington-Barba orthography, of which this reviewer heartily approves. Haag rightly points out that with each year publications containing literature in PG are increasingly difficult to locate and "are protected more and more in rare book collections kept under lock and key" (13). The ten-page introduction offers invaluable insights into the history of literature in PG and the predictions that it had no future. Included is a fascinating discussion of the misunderstood nature of the PG dialect ("PG is no language and is fit for no use") and its relation to the dialects in Germany.

The reader will find the biographical and literary sketches which introduce each writer indispensable. These sketches and Haag's introduction are well documented with endnotes. A three-page bibliography lists many, but by no means all, of the important sources for PG literature. In lieu of a translation for each text in the anthology, which would have halved the number of PG texts provided, the editor has supplied a twenty-page glossary of dialect words and idioms used in the anthology. Since there are frequently severe limits of space in publications of this kind, we find that the editor has made excellent use of his 352 pages.

Haag includes in his anthology "the work of authors who have become the favorite of the PGs, and whose works have constituted the classics of PG literature through the years" (26). It is well that the reader is informed that the anthology holds but a small percentage of the entire body of PG newspaper columns, poems, prose pieces, and plays, for most of the Pennsylvania Dutch are quite unaware of the existence of this literature. We welcome the inclusion of samples of the work of five living writers: Wieand, Reitnauer, Weber, Druckenbrod, and Klinger. Bechtel died shortly before the anthology was published.

Without any question the Haag PG anthology constitutes one of the major publications in recent years dealing with PG literature. We wish it the widest possible reception, for it stands alone in the field.

Millersville University of Pennsylvania

C. Richard Beam

Tonlose Lieder.

By Robert L. Kahn. *Vergessene Autoren der Moderne, XXIV. Preface by Helmut Kreuzer; afterword by Käte Hamburger. Siegen: Universität-Gesamthochschule Siegen. 1986. 36 pages.*

It was not until eight years after his death that the poems of Robert L. Kahn (1923-70) were published, and at the time they attracted little attention. The present selection, which contains thirty of the original fifty-one poems, will enable individuals and libraries to fill a gap in their German-American holdings. The entire series, devoted to "forgotten modern authors" and published at the University of Siegen, deserves attention and support. (Other volumes published in 1986 include Michael Gorlin, *Märchen und Städte*, and Georg Kulka, *Aufzeichnungen und Lyrik*.)

Unlike the original volume, the reprint contains a preface and introduction that offer biographical information and an introduction to the poetry. Kahn was born in Nürnberg on 22 April 1923 to a wealthy Jewish merchant family. His father died in 1936 after his release from Buchenwald. His mother died in Auschwitz. In 1939 Kahn was sent to England with a children's transport and was later moved by the British to a Canadian prison camp. With the help of Jewish prisoners who organized classes, he finished high school. After the war a Canadian family enabled him to attend the University of Toronto. After earning his doctorate in German he became a college teacher and in 1962 he accepted an offer to join the faculty of Rice University.

It is significant that the pervasive theme of *Tonlose Lieder* is the ambivalent attitude toward his German homeland, whose language he uses to write about memories of his native city as well as about persecution. Surprisingly, for one who was in exile throughout the war, his exile experience does not appear as a poetic theme. The title, *Tonlose Lieder*, reveals the pain and suffering of the outsider who writes about the events in Germany in a subdued, soundless, tormented voice. A key poem of the collection, "mea culpa," which was not included in the otherwise carefully selected reprint, expresses the helpless screams of someone who cannot change what happened: "lacht stöhnt schreit / innerlich tonlos / suchenden blickes / trifft schweigende kühle / so wars / so ist's geschehen / trinkt / (bringst sich um)."

The poetry falls into three sections. The first, "omega," with its bitter and quietly despairing poems about lost time, death and the poetic word, is followed by "nürnberg wunderschöne stadt: ein zyklus," an ironic title in the context of the cycle, since the praise of the city leads to a deathsong ("grab-lied").

Nürnberg was not only the city of Hans Sachs and Albrecht Dürer, but also the principal center of the Nazi movement. Poems written in a contemporary, fragmented, nominal style appear next to those that use traditional folk song strophes, reminding the reader of the German cultural heritage. Kahn's changing of certain words reflects his cynical, socially critical attitude. The third cycle, "Da wo wir stehen," is pervaded by a tone of warning and an urgent appeal to our conscience to guard against any form of persecution and war. The poems become continually shorter as if the poetic voice that had called out in the beginning subsided and restrained itself under the pressures of its message.

Wright State University

Elfe Safriet

Die deutsche Mundart der Hutterischen Brüder in Nordamerika.

By Herfried Scheer. *Beiträge zur Sprachinselforschung*, 5. Wien: VWGÖ-Verlag, 1987.

Die deutsche Mundart der Hutterischen Brüder in Nordamerika by Herfried Scheer is the fifth volume in the series *Beiträge zur Sprachinselforschung*, published under the editorship of Maria Hornung. *MHB* is the first of the series to deal with a German dialect outside of Europe. *MHB* is a dictionary of selected vocabulary in the German dialect spoken by the Hutterites living in the Mid- and Northwest United States and the southwestern provinces of Canada. In the introduction, Scheer refers to his work as "Wörterbuch der hutterischen Mundart," a more appropriate title.

MHB contains the following sections: a brief introduction which relates the major migration movements of the Hutterites; explanations of the dictionary entry format and of the orthographic and transcription conventions; lists of abbreviations, symbols, and cited references; a bibliography; a brief explanation of *Hochdeutsch* and *Schriftsprache*; 320 pages of dictionary entries; and a final page which reproduces John Hostetler's 1974 map showing the distribution of Hutterite communities. The individual lexical entries contain phonemic transcriptions, selected grammatical and etymological information, and definitions in both German and English. These definitions offer important cultural information regarding Hutterite life, but the dictionary suffers from serious flaws which limit its usefulness in comparative linguistic investigations of German language islands outside of Germany.

The introduction provides a minimally adequate outline of the Hutterite migrations. Scheer does not locate the Hutterites within the larger context of the Anabaptist (*Wiedertäufer*) movement of the sixteenth century; he tells almost nothing of the beliefs for which they were persecuted, the differences which irreconcilably divide the group, or the mechanism of their isolation. The introduction establishes the Hutterite Tyrolean and Carinthian regional origins, but hardly helps the reader to understand why the Hutterites have remained a German *Sprachinsel*.

The "Anlage des Wörterbuches" does not describe Scheer's method of fieldwork, but Scheer maintains that he presents every word as it is spoken "im freien, mundartlichen Gespräch der Hutterer untereinander" (x). The greatest weakness of the dictionary is the inconsistency and subjectivity which pervade the presentation of linguistic detail. A few instances will help readers know what to expect.

The spelling of the lexical entries follows Standard German conventions if the word is similar to German, English conventions if the word is similar to English, and German or English conventions in double quotation marks if the

word is judged not German or English enough. Citation forms contain, for example, front rounded (umlaut) vowels and spellings indicating sounds in unstressed syllables which do not exist in the phonemic rendering. Scheer provides only the grammatical information which he believes necessary and likewise offers etymological explanations only if the forms diverge sufficiently from Standard German; no etymological information is given for English items.

The phonemic transcriptions also contain a number of inconsistencies: /w/ transcribes the English semivowel [w], the Bavarian-Austrian bilabial fricative [β], and the Standard German labiodental [v]. Scheer uses /o/ and "das sogenannte dunkle /a/," depending on how he believes readers will understand the word: "Wiedergabe der Wörter war, deren Lesbarkeit zu erleichtern, selbst wenn dadurch die Wiedergabe nicht konsequent durchgeführt wurde" (xvi). Lenes and fortes consonants are also not differentiated. Ease-of-reading is, of course, a matter of individual background, and judgments based on ease-of-reading criteria compromise the value of the dictionary for linguistic investigations.

The world-selection criteria are also questionable: "Bei der *Auswahl der Mundartwörter* wurden grundsätzlich alle jene übergangen, die dem hochdeutschen Wort entsprechen" (xiii, emphasis his). Function words, such as pronouns, prepositions, conjunctions, and verb particles are not included in any systematic way. *MHB* does not provide sufficient information to determine, for example, whether Hutterite German uses *um...zu* to express purpose or if it uses a variant of *für...zu* as does Pennsylvania German. *MHB* contains neither *um* nor *für* nor *zu* in a usage with infinitives. The user is left to wonder whether the form does not occur in the dictionary because it is too similar to Standard German or because it simply does not exist in the dialect.

Who can profit from *MHB*? Readers must know Standard German, English, and have some fleeting familiarity with Bavarian-Austrian dialects to take full advantage of *MHB* entries. The German and English definitions overlap, but Scheer provides far more information to the German reader (see example below). If the word of interest is included, the reader may, indeed, discover worthwhile cultural information. Speakers from southern Germany will recognize a familiar food in the entry *Maultasche*, the definitions of which read as follows:

1. Spezialgericht, Teigwarengericht mit einer eingefüllten Mischung von Bröseln, kleinen Stückchen Fleisch, Speck, Zwiebeln u. dgl. Die hutt Maultaschen werden oft zusammen mit leerer Hühnerfleischsuppe serviert. In manchen Teilen des obdt Sprachgebietes streiten sich die besten Köchinnen darüber, ob die "echten Maultaschen" besser mit oder ohne Spinat zubereitet werden müssen. Vgl *Wuchtel. 2. so wie hutt /tājn/ *'Tasche' neben der wörtlichen Bedeutung auch die übertragene Bedeutung 'Ohrfeige' hat, so hat auch /maultājn/ 'Maultasche' die zweite, übertragene Bedeutung 'Ohrfeige, Maultasche'

1. a special dish prepared from a dough with a stuffing of bread crumbs, small pieces of meat, bacon, onions, etc; 2. a slap in the face

Cross references are indicated by * but are not always mutual. Specialized usages in German or English are indicated by single quotation marks. The monolingual English reader will be further hampered in pursuing some cultural phenomena when, as in the example of the English borrowing *siren*, the specialized Hutterite usage is explained only in German.

The survival of Hutterite communities with their social organization based on the community of goods would seem improbable in the late twentieth century.

Hutterite attitudes and practices certainly merit closer scrutiny. *MHB* provides informative and important selected cultural insights into Hutterite life as reflected in their lexicon, and the volume is important for that contribution. While *MHB* is of limited use to linguists, it represents one of the few published dialect studies of the German dialect spoken by the Hutterite groups now living in North America.

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Hold Dear, As Always: Jette, a German Immigrant Life in Letters.

Edited by Adolf E. Schroeder and Carla Schulz-Geisberg. Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press. 1988. 309 pages. \$34.00.

Henriette or "Jette" Geisberg was an 18-year-old orphan with six younger siblings when she married the 33-year-old Dr. Bernhard Bruns in 1832. But she was from a secure upper-middle class background in Westphalia. Her father had been a tax collector and mayor of the town in which he lived. He had died only six months earlier. Jette's uncle Caspar Geisberg, an archivist in the city of Münster, became the children's guardian. After her marriage, Jette, one brother, and one sister continued to live in her late parents' house in Oelde, from which her new husband practiced medicine.

Shortly after their first child was born, Dr. Bruns caught emigration fever. In the summer of 1835, following Gottfried Duden's example, Bruns went to the wilds of central Missouri where he bought a tract of virgin forest along a creek. He returned to his family in January 1836. Jette was forced into a painful decision between her young siblings on the one hand, and her husband and what was thought to be best for the future of her child on the other. Her uncle thought she should have insisted that the family remain in Europe. For the rest of her life, Jette would wonder if her Uncle Caspar had been right. But by 2 November 1836, Jette, her husband, son, two brothers aged 20 and 17, a maid, and the latter's child were on the site where the German Catholic village of Westphalia, Missouri, would grow. Jette wanted very much to bring along her four other siblings, but some did not want to go, and the guardian would not allow the 9-year-old girl to go.

From 1836 until the year before she died in 1899 at the age of 86, Jette wrote letters containing as much anxiety as hope or joy to Uncle Caspar, Heinrich, the oldest brother to remain in Germany, and finally, to Heinrich's widow. The letters were saved by family members and are here smoothly translated, annotated, and augmented just enough with excerpts from Jette's autobiography.

Owing to his medical practice, Dr. Bruns was more economically advantaged than were most Latin Farmers. But in addition to her guilt, Jette withstood loneliness, repeated bouts of malaria, and the deaths of her first three American-born children from dysentery. She yearned to commune with other educated German women, and yet when middle-class Germans came to the area, she feared that they, and especially the women, would be unhappy. She watched one brother struggle mightily to support himself and his family as a farmer while the other brother went slowly mad before returning to Germany to spend the rest of his life in an asylum.

In 1853, the family moved to Jefferson City, Missouri's small state capital. Twice during the Civil War, the Jefferson City *Turnerbund* carried the casket of a fallen soldier into Jette's house. In 1862, it was her nephew Caspar, whom she

had helped raise, and in 1863 it was her son Heinrich, a young captain beloved by his men. The next year, Dr. Bruns, then mayor of Jefferson City, died. From the first years in America, loans, reimbursements, inheritances, and even foundation stipends had been transferred back and forth across the Atlantic between the Geisberg and Bruns families, often to Jette's discomfort. At her husband's death, Jette learned that he had been so lax in business matters that his creditors, her brother Heinrich in Germany included, would receive only a few cents on the dollar. Jette had to support herself and her youngest children by running a boarding house for radical German legislators. She enjoyed somewhat more economic security during her last two decades.

Although Jette often expressed pleasure with certain aspects of American life, the benefits seldom seemed to compensate her for the loss of her family and friends in Germany. In 1856 and again in 1882 she went back to Germany for lengthy visits. Both times she expressed considerable discontent after returning to Missouri. The whole collection of letters reminds one of how little is known about German-American immigrant women as people in their own right, apart from the men in their lives. To what extent were Jette's struggles typical? And if Jette's concerns were typical of women of her social class, to what extent did peasant and urban working-class women share these concerns?

Jette often referred to the great events of her times. She wrote of her concern for her family in Germany during the Revolution of 1848, the Franco-Prussian War, and Bismarck's *Kulturkampf*. The overland migrations to the west coast of the 1840s, the Civil War, and America's periodic financial panics affected Jette's family in the New World. Jette mentioned many prominent people, from Senator Thomas Hart Benton, whose son lived with the Bruns family, to Mathilde Anneke, whom Jette visited in Milwaukee. But above all, this collection of letters is about one woman's concern for the health, happiness, and economic security of her family—a family which was split in two by emigration—and about her struggle for happiness despite that split. What a remarkably persistent lady she was! What a remarkable collection of letters this is!

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Robert W. Frizzell

Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, and Dissertations

Stephen M. Benjamin, Donna C. Kauffman, and Renate L. Benjamin
in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the
Society for German-American Studies

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Abbreviations:

AA	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
AHR	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
CG	=	<i>Canadiana Germanica</i>
DR	=	<i>Der Reggebooge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
GQ	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
GR	=	<i>Germanic Review</i>
GSR	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
IHJ	=	<i>Illinois Historical Journal</i>
JAETH	=	<i>Journal of American Ethnic History</i>
JW	=	<i>Journal of the West</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NGTHS	=	<i>Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society</i>

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
SAR	=	South Atlantic Review
UP	=	Die Unterrichtspraxis
WHQ	=	Western Historical Quarterly
WJ	=	Werdenberger Jahrbuch 1988
YGAS	=	Yearbook of German-American Studies

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I. Supplements for 1986

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Transcription of Germantown Friends' Protest Against Slavery, 1688

This is to y^e Monthly Meeting held at Richard Warrell's.

These are the reasons why we are against the traffick of men Body, as followeth: Js there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life? How fearfull & fainthearted are many on sea when they see a strange vassel, being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea rather is it worse for them, w^{ch} say they are Christians; for we hear that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent; and that many of them are stollen. Now tho' they are black, we can not conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Colour they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, w^{ch} is right & reasonable; here ought to be likewise liberty of y^e body, except of evildoers, w^{ch} is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed w^{ch} are of a black Colour. And we, who know that men must not comitt adultery, some doe comitt adultery in others, separating wives from their housbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men. Oh! doe consider well this things, you who doe it; if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according Christianity? You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that y^e Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there y^e Cattel. And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither. And who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? Truly we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz: that christians have liberty to practise this things. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange

Countries, separating housband from their wife & children! Being now this is not done at that manner, we will be done it, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody. And we who profess that it is not lawfull to steal, must likewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible; and such ought to be delivered out of y^e hands of y^e Robbers & and sett free as well as in Europe. Then is Pennsilvania to have a good report, in stead it hath now a bad one for this sacke in other Countries. Especially whereas y^e Europeans are desirous to know in what manner y^e Quackers doe rule in their Province; & most of them do loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say, is done evill?

If once these slaves, (:w^{ch} they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters and mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom; as you have to keep them slaves?

Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, which at this time never was done, viz., that Christians such a Liberty to do so. to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie likewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Peñsilvania.

This is from our Meeting at Germantown held y^e 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivred to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Warrel's.

garret henderichs
derick op de graeff
Francis Daniell Pastorius
Abraham op Den graef.

at our monthly meeting at Dublin, y^e 30—2 mo: 1688 we having inspected y^e matter above mentioned & considered of it, we finde it so weighty that we think it not Expedient for vs to meddle with it here, but do Rather comitt it to y^e consideration of y^e Quarterly meeting; y^e tennor of it being nearly Related to y^e truth.

On behalfe of y^e monthly meeting.

Signed, P Jo: Hart.

This, above mentioned was Read in our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, The 4th of y^e 4th mo 88 and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting and the abovesaid Derick and the other two mentioned therein to present the same to y^e Abovesaid meeting it being a thing of too great A weight for this meeting to determine.

Signed by order of y^e meeting

Anthony Morris.

(Based on text in Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius: The Founder of Germantown* [Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908], 261-62.)

This is to ye Monthly Meeting held at Germantown
These are the reasons why we are against the traffick of men
as fellowsh. Is there any that would be done or traded at this
meeting? viz to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life
How fearful & fainthearted are many on this when they see a strange
vessel. being afraid it should be a Turk, and they should be made
and sold for Slaves into Turkey. Now what is this better done
as Turkey doe? yea rather is it worse for them, w^{ch} say they are christians
for we hear that ye most part of such Negroes are brought heathen
against their will & comfort, and that many of them are sold.
Now tho' they are black we can not conceive there is more liberty
to have them slaves, as it is to have they white ones. There is a
saying that we shall doe to all men, like as we will be done
our selves, making no difference of what generation, descent or
Colour they are. And those who steal or rob men, and those who buy
or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Con-
science, it is right & reasonable, here ought to be likewise liberty
of ye body, except of violence, w^{ch} is an other case. But to bring
men hither, or to rob and sell them against their will, we stand against
in Europe there are many oppressors for Conscience sake, and here there
are those oppressed who are of a black colour. Some men, whatever
that men must not commit adultery, some doe commit adultery in their
separating wives from their husbands and giving them to others
and some sell the children of those poor creatures to other men.
Oh! doe comfort well this things you who doe it, if you would be
done at this manner! and if it is done causing Chastity?
You surpass Holland & Germany in this thing. This makes
an ill report in those countries of Europe, where they hear off
that the ~~black~~ ^{all} ~~men~~ ^{people} here handel men like they handel there
ye ~~black~~ ^{all} ~~men~~ ^{people} here have no mind or inclination
to care hither. And who shall maintain this your cause, or
glad for it? Truly we can not do so except you shall
show us better things, viz that christians have liberty
to gratify this thing. Now what thing is the word can be
done worse towards us then if men should rob or steal us away
to sell us for slaves to strange countries, separating husbands
from their wives & children. Being now this is not one
that answers, we will be done. Therefore we contrast & are
against this traffick of men. And we are the people

The Germantown Protest against Slavery, 1688 (from Marion Dexter Learned, *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius: The Founder of Germantown* [Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1908], after p. 262).

that it is not lawful to steal man's liberty, and to purchase
such things as are stolen, but rather help to stop this evil
stealing if possible, and such ought to be delivered out of
ye hands of Robbers, & made free as well as in Europe.
There is Pennsylvania to have a good report in that it hath now a
bad one for this sake in her countries. Especially whereas ye
Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quakers
do rule in their Province, & most of them do look upon us
with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall
we say, is done well.

If these slaves (with this say we so wicked and stubborn men)
should join themselves, fight for their freedom, and handell their
masters & neighbours as they do handell them before, will these
masters & neighbours take the sword at hand & war against
these poor slaves, like we are able to blieve, some will not
refuse to do it. Or have these tigers not as much right to fight
for their freedom, as you have to keep them slaves?
You consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you
find it good to handell these blacks at that manner we afore
I suppose you kindly lovingly, that you may inform as true a

liberty to do so. to the end we shall be justified in this point
& justified likewise our good friends & acquaintance in our native
country, to whose it is a tedious or far full thing that we
should be handell from Pennsylvania.

This was from our meeting at Germantown this
ye 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivered to the Monthly
meeting at Richard Warrells garret kenderick

Edrick de Graaf
Francis Daniel Pastorius
Abraham de Dek graef

at our monthly meeting at Germantown ye 2. mo. 1688 we having inspected
ye matter above mentioned & considered it, we found it so weighty that we thought
it not expedient for us to handle it with pen, but to rather commit it to ye consideration
of ye Quarterly meeting & desire of it being nearly related to ye confederation
of ye Quakers of ye monthly meetings of ye Year

This above mentioned was Read in our quarterly meeting and
the matter of it was referred to ye 23. and 24. of the 3. month 1688
where it was considered and the above mentioned persons
were appointed to present this same to ye above mentioned
Quarterly meeting for their consideration & resolution

The Germantown Protest against Slavery, 1688.

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