

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 24

1989



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**YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES**

Volume 24

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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 North America. 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, M. Lois Huffines, Department of Modern Languages, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA 17837. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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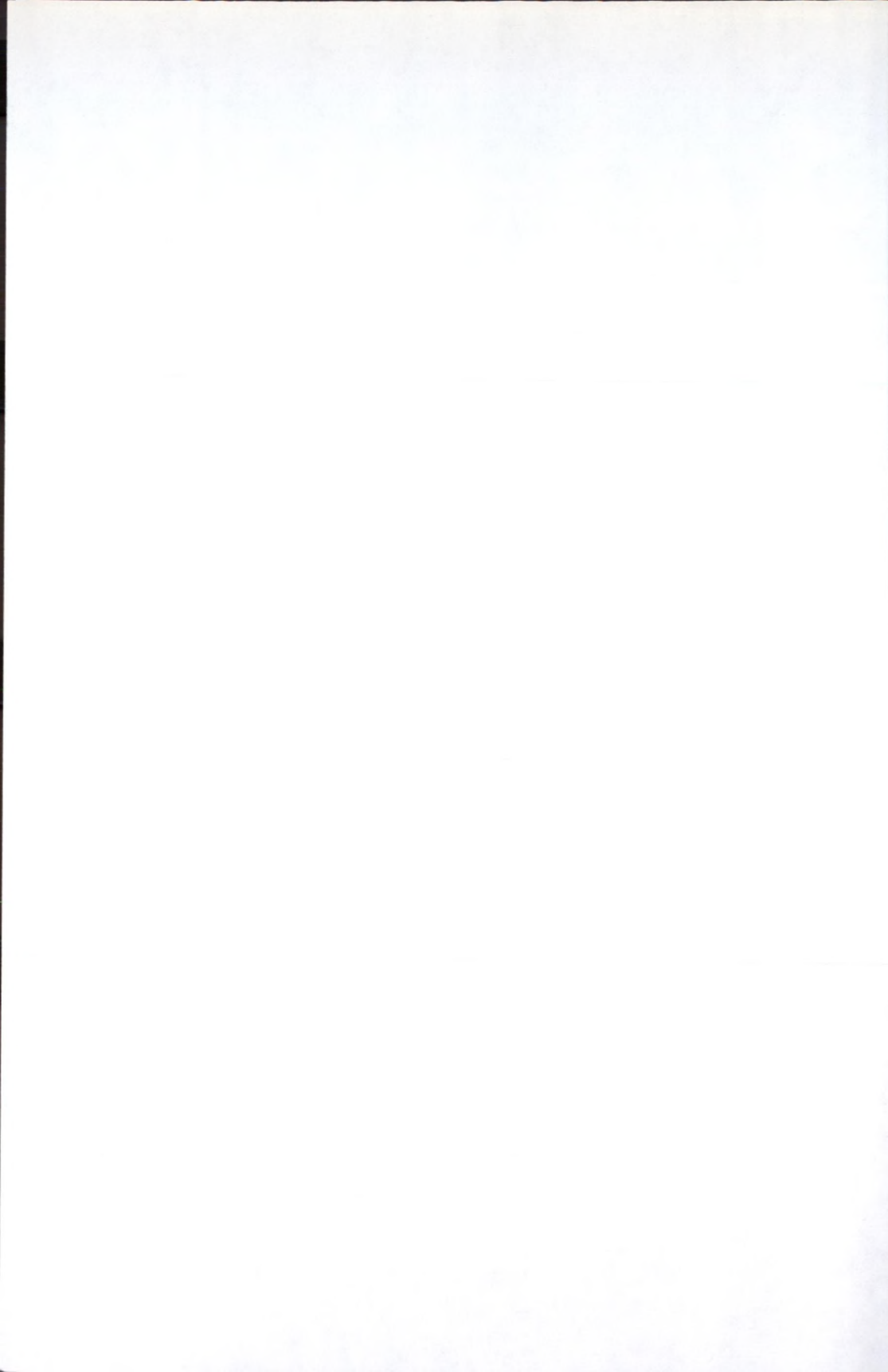
## YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

*From the Editors*   vii

### ARTICLES

**Henry F. Fullenwider**

*Paul Carus as an  
Intermediary of German Literature in the United States*   1

**Jerry Schuchalter**

*Charles Sealsfield's "Fable of the Republic"*   11

**Eleanor L. Turk**

*The Business of Emigration: The Role of the  
Hamburg Senate Commission on Emigration, 1850-1900*   27

**Peter Winkel**

*Skepticism Turns to Enthusiasm: Seventeen Letters  
Written by a German Immigrant in New Jersey to His Father  
in Hesse-Darmstadt between 1852 and 1859*   41

**Glen E. Lich**

*Survival and Succession:  
Immigrant Autobiography as Cultural Legacy*   59

**Walter E. Riedel**

*Exiled in Canada: Literary and Related Forms of  
Cultural Life in the Internment Camps*   73

**Rainer L. Hempel**

*Recent German Immigration to New Brunswick*   89

**Mark A. Hornberger**

*Germans in Pennsylvania 1800, 1850 and 1880:  
A Spatial Perspective*   97

**Robin L. Chambers**

*Chicago's Turners: Inspired Leadership in the  
Promotion of Public Physical Education, 1860-90*   105

**Linde Katritzky**  
*A Model Scientist: Lichtenberg's Views on Franklin* 115

**Kenneth C. Barnes**  
*The Missouri Synod and Hitler's Germany* 131

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

**Elfe Vallaster-Safriet**  
*Review Essay: Belles Lettres 1988* 149

*Reviews* 159

#### **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

**Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt**  
**in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee**  
**of the Society for German-American Studies**  
*Annual Bibliography of German-Americana:*  
*Articles, Books, and Dissertations* 183

*I. Supplements for 1987* 184

*II. Works Published in 1988* 191

*Topical Index* 203



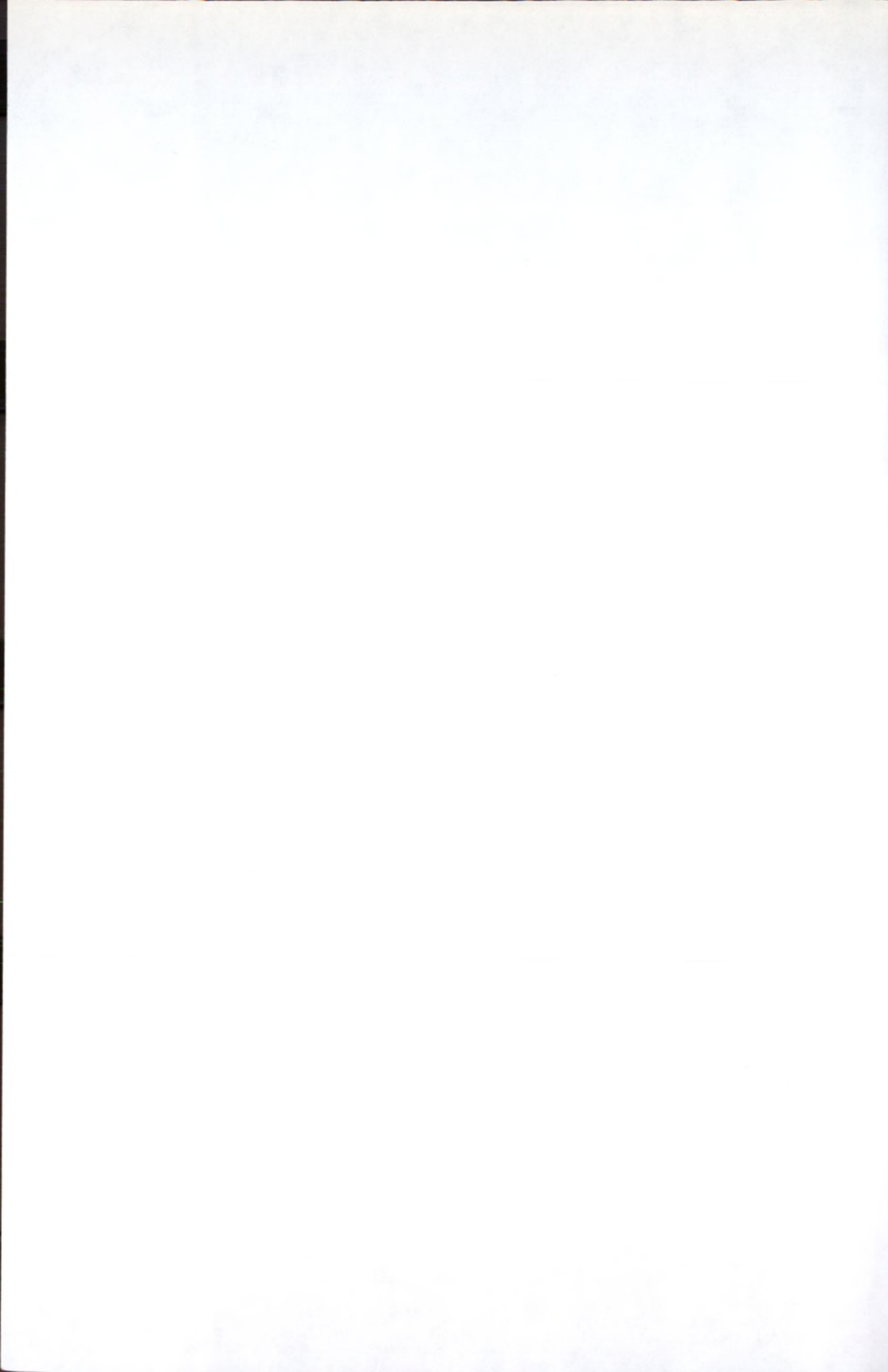
## FROM THE EDITORS

After eight years of untiring effort in compiling the "Annual Bibliography of German-Americana," Steven Benjamin, Renate Benjamin, and Donna Kauffman have decided to cease their bibliographic work for the Society in order to pursue other scholarly interests. We would like to take this opportunity to express our deepest appreciation for the significant and long-lasting contributions which Steve and his colleagues have made to the field of German-American Studies. Their successors as co-chairpersons of the Bibliographic Committee, Giles and Dolores Hoyt, join us in that expression of gratitude as well as in the wish for successful future endeavors for the Benjamins and Donna Kauffman. It goes without saying that our thanks and appreciation also are extended to those individual members of the Bibliographic Committee, past and present, whose careful scrutiny of sources from a variety of disciplines provides the basis for the compilation of the annual bibliography.

In addition to welcoming the Hoyts to the *Yearbook* team, we are happy to announce the appointment of Dr. Jörg Nagler, German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C., to the Editorial Board. The Institute, directed by Dr. Hartmut Lehmann, has done much in recent years to stimulate and support research in German-American Studies.

A list of the contributors to the "Yearbook Endowment Fund" for the year 1989 follows the "Topical Index" to the annual bibliography. Their support and encouragement is gratefully acknowledged.

*Max Kade German-American  
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at the University of Kansas  
Lawrence, Kansas  
December 1989*



Henry F. Fullenwider

**Paul Carus  
as an Intermediary of German Literature  
in the United States**

Upon hearing of Paul Carus's death on 11 February 1919, Professor Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois wrote the following words in the *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter*:

Among the scholars of German descent who during the recent decades, the period of greatest intellectual growth and achievement in our history, contributed the best of their intellect, their character, and their training to the development of higher American civilization, Paul Carus takes one of the foremost places.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this tribute, the eulogizer is probably better known in the field of German-American studies than is the man whose career was being so highly praised.

For some thirty years, Paul Carus (1852-1919) was editor of two successful, internationally circulated journals: *The Monist* and its less scholarly counterpart, *The Open Court*. In this function and as author of more than eighty-seven monographs and 1,200 articles, Carus was a very significant mediator of German literature and thought in the United States near the turn of the twentieth century. Born and educated in Germany (Dr. phil., University of Tübingen, 1876), Carus taught for several years in Dresden before emigrating to the United States in 1884. By 1887 he was living in New York where he was employed as coeditor of Zickel's *Novellenschatz und Familienblätter*. On 17 February 1887, only a few months after the appearance of the first issue of *The Open Court* in Chicago, its founder, the German-American industrialist Edward C. Hegeler, called Carus to become its editor. Under Carus's indefatigable and capable leadership this journal came to occupy an important place in American intellectual life as an international forum for the reception and discussion of current issues in philosophy, religion, psychology, politics, and literature. Its counterpart, *The Monist*, celebrated its centen-

nial in 1888 as one of the leading journals devoted to the philosophy of science. In measuring the extent of Paul Carus's achievement, it has been customary to see him as a cultural intermediary in the history of religion and philosophy<sup>2</sup> with each page of *The Open Court* and *The Monist* bearing witness to his long-term goal: the establishing of ethics and religion on a scientific basis. What has not yet emerged in the assessment of Carus's achievement is his keen awareness that literature is an important medium for the expression of ideas of a philosophical nature. In keeping with this awareness, Carus devoted considerable attention to a select group of German writers whom he wished to present to an American public as thinkers and as poets whose ideas were compatible with his own monist views.

Before exploring the role which German literature played in the fulfillment of Carus's goal in *The Open Court*, it is important to recall that the course which his periodical would later sail under his leadership had already been determined and expressed by its founder and financial backer, Edward C. Hegeler, in a series of articles which appeared in the very first issues of *The Open Court*. In its inaugural number, Hegeler expressed the hope that his readers would convince themselves "that the future of our souls, their preservation and evolution, lies in our posterity" (*OC* 1: 21). This notion, which strikes us today as an empty platitude, Hegeler owes in a much more specific way to the nineteenth-century novelist and journalist Gustav Freytag. According to Hegeler, this understanding of the immortality of the soul is the main idea of Freytag's novel *Die verlorene Handschrift*. Hegeler has in mind an extended passage in this novel in which Freytag has something to say about what we might call the great chain of knowledge as it is preserved in books. This passage concludes with the following statement:

So bildet der Inhalt aller Bücher ein großes Geisterreich auf Erden, von den vergangenen Seelen leben und nähren sich alle, welche jetzt schaffen. In diesem Sinne ist der Geist des Menschengeschlechts eine unermeßliche Einheit, der jeder einzelne angehört, der einst lebte und schuf, und jetzt atmet und Neues wirkt. Der Geist, den die vergangenen Menschen als ihren eigenen empfanden, er ging und geht jeden Tag in andere über.<sup>3</sup>

Later that same year, in the lead article of the 16 September 1888 issue of *The Open Court*, Hegeler set forth his concept of "soul" (*Geist*) in terms of Freytag's definition, and it is not surprising to discover that this view of existence was also, by logical extension, the driving motivation for the founding of the Open Court Publishing Company as the vehicle for Hegeler's own immortality.

When Hegeler died on 4 June 1910, Carus eulogized the career of his employer and benefactor by describing his philosophy of life in the following words:

Mr. Hegeler took great interest in psychology and found the key to its problems in the proposition, "I am my ideas." He argued that a man is

wherever his ideas are. Our ancestors survive in us, and we shall survive wherever future generations think our thoughts and act as we would have acted. He deemed it the highest duty of every man to work out his own immortality. In his own conception, though he has ceased to be with us in the flesh, he has not passed from us. He is with us in spirit, and his soul remains a potent presence so long as his work, his thoughts, his ideals will persist. (OC 24: 389)

Such words, particularly the final sentiment, when taken outside the context of Hegeler's admiration for Gustav Freytag, will inevitably recall the pat phrases which we have come to expect in every eulogy. Taken within that context, however, they reveal the fundamental impact which a single idea from Freytag's novel—that the future of our souls, their preservation and evolution, lies in our posterity—had on the founding of the Open Court Publishing Company and the journal which bears its name.

Under these circumstances, it was to be expected that Hegeler would immediately use the Open Court Publishing Company as an instrument for the popularization of the novel he so much admired. The format of *The Open Court* gave preference to brevity, and even longer articles rarely required more than several installments. The publication in installments of entire book-length works such as Freytag's biography of Martin Luther in English translation is almost unique. *The Open Court* presented to its readers only one work of fiction during its entire history: Freytag's *The Lost Manuscript*, which was issued in regular installments from December 1887 until September 1889. The only basis for such a deviation from general editorial policy, as Hegeler explained in a "Publisher's Note" announcing the publication of the first installment, was simply his wish to bring this work to as large an American readership as possible.<sup>4</sup> Freytag's novel is characterized in this note as depicting magnificently "the grand connection, which links the individual soul of a man to the souls of others—to the present as well as to the past and future generations" (OC 1: 641).

Although it would seem that Freytag had other purposes in writing *Die verlorene Handschrift*, he was not unsympathetic to Hegeler's point of view. This emerges clearly from a hitherto unpublished, carefully-phrased letter sent by Freytag from Wiesbaden to his enthusiastic fan in Illinois on 20 February 1890:

Hochverehrter Herr.

Was Ihnen, dem begeisterten Förderer freier Bildung der Roman, "Die verlorene Handschrift," zunächst empfohlen hat, war seine Sendung, welche einigermassen den hohen Gesichtspunkten entspricht, nach denen Sie die Lesestoffe der Zeitgenossen beurtheilen.

Dem Dichter freilich war nicht die Lehre, welche seinem Buche entnommen werden kann, die Hauptsache, sondern das freudige Gestalten von Characteren und von Ereignissen, welche durch die geschilderten Persönlichkeiten möglich und verständlich werden. Alles Einzelne fügte er unter dem Zwange einer poetischen Idee zu

künstlerischer Einheit. Jetzt aber darf ich Ihnen auch sagen, wie sehr ich mich der Überraschung freue, welche zwischen dem ethischen Inhalt der Erzählung und zwischen der Weltanschauung besteht, welche Sie durch Leben und Lehre verbreiten, und daß ich Sie mit herzlicher Hochachtung als Gesinnungsgenossen begrüße. Gustav Freytag<sup>5</sup>

Hegeler had asked Freytag to supply a dedicatory motto which Freytag enclosed with this letter. Designed to reflect Hegeler's understanding of the novel, it has the following text:

Ein tüchtiges Menschenleben endet auf Erden  
nicht mit dem Tode, es dauert in Gemüth  
und Thun der Freunde, wie in den Gedanken  
und der Arbeit des Volkes.

Wiesbaden. 20/2 90.

Gustav Freytag.

Publication by the Open Court Publishing Company of *The Lost Manuscript* in book form, with a translation of Freytag's motto on the title page, was completed later that same year.<sup>6</sup> In a "Publisher's Preface" to this edition, Hegeler provided his American readership with a series of remarks which Freytag had made in his *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (1887) in connection with *Die verlorene Handschrift*. He repeats the view, expressed in his *Open Court* article, "The Soul," that "we become aware of the invisible threads that interconnect our thoughts and the actions prompted by our thoughts. We observe the after-effects of our ideas and our deeds. Ideas live and develop not only in single individuals, but from generation to generation."<sup>7</sup> This notion of continuity of tradition was certainly one of the central tenets of that form of philosophical monism which Hegeler and Carus espoused and which breathes in various formulations throughout the first thirty years of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*.

In the three decades of his association with the Open Court Publishing Company, Carus wrote many hundreds of articles for publication in these two journals. Although most of these dealt with subjects in philosophy, psychology and religion, the background of Hegeler's interest in Gustav Freytag's *Die verlorene Handschrift* enables us to place in perspective Carus's efforts to popularize certain German literary figures in English translation and in easily understood articles of literary criticism.<sup>8</sup> Hegeler and Carus understood literature primarily as philosophy, as a vehicle for the transmission of ideas, and it is to the preservation and popularization of these ideas as a living tradition that Carus devoted his life's work.

Carus's Schiller studies provide a good starting point for an examination of Carus's interests in German literature. In these articles, Carus took the opportunity to discuss the problem of philosophical poetry in general in a way which reveals much about his assessment of other German writers. In a lengthy article entitled "Friedrich Schiller" (*OC* 19: 260-318), Carus acknowledged the controversial nature of the question "whether philosophical or scientific poetry is possible" (293); but since he was nevertheless satisfied that such poetry exists, the question

became moot. He was much more interested in the difficulty which philosophical and scientific poetry must overcome because it restricts its subject "to an extremely limited public." This is the reason why "philosophical poetry does not find the all but universal recognition of love songs" (293).

Poetry, for Carus, was not limited to meter and rhyme; nor was philosophical poetry simply rhymed philosophy. Poetry, instead, "is sentiment expressed in words; thus, anything that effects sentiment can become a fit subject of poetry." After rejecting all formal criteria in his definition of philosophical poetry, Carus put forth the following view:

A mathematical theorem and its demonstration are prose. But if the mathematician is overwhelmed with the grandeur and wondrous harmony of geometrical forms, of the importance and universal application of mathematical maxims, or, of the mysterious simplicity of its manifold laws which are so self-evident and plain and at the same time so complicated and profound, he is touched by the poetry of his science; and if he but understands how to give expression to his feelings, the mathematician turns poet, drawing inspiration from the most abstract domain of scientific thought. (293-94)

Having emphasized the role of sentiment and, secondarily, rhetoric in distinguishing between prose and poetry, Carus was free to lament that there are not enough mathematicians in the world to form an audience large enough to make the mathematician of poetic sentiments a real poet: "A poet," Carus argued, "is known as one only when he voices such sentiments as will find an echo in the hearts of large multitudes that recognize in him the prophet who can find words for that which they themselves feel but vaguely" (294). From this point of view, we can better understand why Carus devoted some of his energies to the popularization in the United States of the best German philosophical poetry: without a readership there is no such thing as a "real poet."

Carus's "Friedrich Schiller"—noteworthy also for a biographical sketch and his translations of several of Schiller's most enduring philosophical poems—took up the entire May 1905 number of *The Open Court* in commemoration of the poet's death on 9 May 1805. "Schiller's Religion," an article contributed by William H. Carruth, professor of German at the University of Kansas, arrived too late to be included in the May issue and was published the following month (*OC* 19: 321-36). Later that same year Carus used his May 1905 article as the basis for a monograph entitled *Friedrich Schiller: A Sketch of His Life and an Appreciation of His Poetry*.<sup>9</sup>

If not always as a reader, then certainly as a translator, Carus showed a pronounced preference for the terse, epigrammatic statement of poetic wisdom. This general predisposition is evident also in Carus's appreciation of the works of Wilhelm Busch. Although Carus was well aware of Busch's reputation as a humorist in such works as *Max und Moritz*, *Eduards Traum* particularly appealed to him on account of "its humor and satirical criticisms not less than for the truths it contains" (*OC* 8:

4266). In three installments, published in late October and early November 1894, Carus published in a free translation portions of this book in which Busch "presents to the reader a number of philosophical problems which he either solves in an aphoristic way, or, having touched upon them, passes by to other problems" (OC 8: 4266). This abridged translation was published in book form in 1909.

The year 1909 also saw the publication of *Angelus Silesius: A Selection from the Rhymes of a German Mystic*. This little anthology of epigrammatic verses was translated, as was Carus's habit with all of his translations of poetry, "in the original meter" from Johannes Scheffler's *Cherubinischer Wandersmann* (1657). Much of the introductory material, as well as most of the epigrams, had been previously published by Carus in two articles in *The Open Court* and in *The Monist*.<sup>10</sup> Again, as was his custom, Carus was at pains to make poems accessible which had either not been previously translated at all or which had been inadequately translated.

In view of Carus's repeatedly professed rationalism, the fact that he devoted time to mystical poetry is surprising and requires some explanation. At the beginning of the introduction to his *Philosophy as a Science* (1909), Carus announced as the aim of all his writings "the endeavor to build up a sound and tenable philosophy, one that would be as objective as any branch of the natural sciences."<sup>11</sup> Elsewhere Carus states explicitly that "the short cut taken by the emotions for the sake of rightly attuning the soul to God is a very helpful expedient by which those natures that lack intellectual power may gain a substitute for truth."<sup>12</sup> Why, then, in view of these and other explicit statements of opposition to mysticism, did Carus publish that same year a selection of Scheffler's epigrammatic verses as an example of German poetic mysticism?

Carus disarmed this question by positing two kinds of mysticism in a discussion published in *Philosophy as a Science*. Here he clearly desired to put as much distance as possible between philosophy, a rational undertaking requiring clearness of thought, and mysticism which, while laying claim to philosophical rigor, is nevertheless characterized by sentiment and haziness of thought:

Mysticism is banished from the domain of science, but science is not the only mode of approach to truth. There are other avenues which lead to the ideal realm; one is art, the other sentiment.

Art attempts to picture life *sub specie pulchritudinis*, viewing the world in the mirror of beauty. The mystic, however, is swayed by sentiment; he endeavors to feel the solution which he deems too deep for the intellect.<sup>13</sup>

Elsewhere, Carus attempts again to find some justification for mysticism as another legitimate path to truth. He seems to confirm that at least a certain kind of mysticism is very useful "as a short cut of sentiment to reach a truth which under the circumstances may somehow be unattainable by the intellect." But this positive assessment is contradicted in the same breath by the assertion that, "sentiment is no proper criterion of truth," for which reason "it appears that science will after all be



indispensable."<sup>14</sup> In the final analysis Carus leaves us with the wholly inadequate conclusion that "the best instance of a wholesome mysticism is the conscience of a simple-minded but well-intentioned man."

Compared with these three literary figures—Schiller, Busch and Scheffler—Johann Wolfgang von Goethe occupied a much more important place in Carus's intellectual life for obvious and compelling reasons. One of the main concerns of the Open Court Publishing Company during its early years was, as we have seen, the formulation and defense of its monistic philosophy. While being receptive to opposing opinions for the sake of furthering open discussion, Carus scanned the entire horizon of intellectual history in order to find support for his fundamental philosophical monism. One of the fruits of this search was the discovery in the United States of the scientific writings of Goethe and their popularization under the banners of monism and Darwinism. Soon after his appointment as editor of *The Open Court*, Carus began to examine Goethe's philosophical poetry from this point of view as well. While several German writers interested Carus as philosophical poets, only Goethe represented a philosophical point of view which was congenial to Carus's monism. In a brief article entitled "Goethe's Monism" in the 1 March 1888 issue of *The Open Court*, Carus found proof of Goethe's monism in the poem "Allerdings" and, in particular, in the lines:

Natur hat weder Kern  
Noch Schale,  
Alles ist sie mit einem Male.

Of course, this view of Goethe did not originate with Carus. Earlier German monists, led by the Darwinist biologist Ernst Haeckel, had embraced Goethe's unified view of nature, convinced that his scientific studies in plant morphology were seminal for modern biology. When Haeckel's monism became a popularized view of the world, influential Goethe scholars voiced their objections to the use which Haeckel had made of the great poet.<sup>15</sup> The monism which was so popular in Germany from about 1850 until 1880 was often in actuality a kind of disguised materialism in which all the facts of the universe are held to be explainable in terms of matter and motion. In response to this criticism, Carus proclaimed his allegiance to a rather broad view of monism which, for example, was able to accommodate spiritual knowledge without justifying such knowledge in terms of matter and motion. This distinction was made clear in a letter to Ernst Haeckel which Carus published on 17 September 1891:

You [Haeckel] confess monism but you identify the latter on the one hand with Goethe's and Spinoza's pantheism, on the other hand with Lange's and Büchner's materialism. In my opinion, Goethe's pantheism is radically different from Büchner's materialism. I am ready to accept the former but I cannot adopt the latter. Materialism as I understand the term attempts to explain everything from force and matter. Goethe

would never have considered sensations or thoughts as material things.

By monism I understand solely the unity of the universe. (OC 5: 2957)

Later that same year in a philosophical manifesto entitled "Immortality and Science," Carus characterized Goethe's view of life as "an harmonious and consistent monism" (OC 5: 3026). Carus's translation of the Goethean poem "Die Natur," first published in July 1894 (OC 8: 4135-36), as well as his translation of Goethe's "Teilen kann ich nicht das Leben" under the title "Always One" (OC 8: 2477), also stands within the context of Carus's efforts to appeal to the monistic tendencies in Goethe's thought in support of his own views.

Almost all of the articles which Carus wrote about Goethe, whether written specifically in connection with Carus's monism or not, were eventually incorporated into the monograph *Goethe with Emphasis on his Philosophy* (1915). A notable exception is "Goethe the Buddhist" which appeared in *The Open Court* on 5 March 1896. Here, as elsewhere, Goethe appears as the fountainhead of nineteenth-century thought; however Carus finds also in Goethe "striking examples of Buddhistic modes of thought . . . incredible though it may appear to those who persistently misunderstand the spirit of Buddhism." Goethe is

the Darwinist before Darwin, the prophet of monism and positivism, the naturalist among bards and the bard among naturalists. . . . He proclaimed the principle of genuine positivism, saying: "Das höchste wäre: zu begreifen, daß alles Factische schon Theorie ist." "Die Bläue des Himmels offenbart uns das Grundgesetz der Chromatik." "Man suche nur nichts hinter den Phänomenen: sie selbst sind die Lehre." (OC 10: 4833)

Carus musters several of Goethe's poems in support of this view. Most are not cited in their entirety, and almost all are unidentified. Except for three examples of verse translated by Bayard Taylor, J. S. Dwight and Edgar Alfred Bowring, respectively, the other samples are translated by Carus, including parts of "Eins und Alles" (the first stanza) and "Prometheus."

In spite of these and other frequent reminders of Goethe's congeniality to a philosophy of monism, Carus was able to appreciate his poetry in other contexts, but almost without exception only as expressions of profound thoughts or far-reaching moral principles. Very early we find a discussion of the *Xenien* which Goethe and Schiller had written and published in 1796. Carus gave first notice of his interest in these distichs in 1887 just after he had accepted the editorship of *The Open Court*. A sampling of three xenions was published the following year. However in 1894, Carus published an account of the literary controversy which surrounded them at the time of their initial publication and published over one hundred of them in his own English translation, not only because most of them had not been previously translated into English, but also because he viewed them as "gems of permanent value" which "reflect in a few words flashes of the deepest wisdom" (OC 8: 3940). These preliminary studies culminated in 1896 in

the publication in book form of a selection of *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions* in English translation "for the sake of making them, as they deserve to be, a part of English literature."<sup>16</sup>

Carus's *Goethe with Special Consideration of his Philosophy* (1915) assembled material from about a dozen articles published separately over a span of almost thirty years in *The Open Court* and *The Monist*. The book contained nothing new for the specialist then, nor does it now. Its value lies elsewhere. Though revision and reorganization of the articles for publication in book form had been envisioned as early as in 1909, the handsomely illustrated volume appeared at a time when public opinion in the United States was turning against the very cultural heritage which Carus sought to preserve. Some of the dramatic works and novels which captivated Goethe's contemporaries and which have fascinated modern readers, works such as *Götz von Berlichingen* and *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, are given only passing mention. The novel *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* is dismissed with outright disapproval. Though a great number of subjects relating to Goethe are discussed—his relation to women, his personality, and other matters pertaining to his biography—the main emphasis still rests on Goethe's "philosophy" as expressed in *Faust* and in his philosophical poems. As Carus states in the preface:

Though Goethe cannot be called a philosopher proper, though he had a positive aversion to philosophy as a specialized study, he may fairly well be called a philosopher in the broad sense of the term. He was a thinking man who had a definite world conception which dominated not only his particular life but also his poetry.<sup>17</sup>

The monograph on Goethe was Carus's last major undertaking on behalf of German literature, and a few scant years later he joined many other German-Americans in experiencing the sudden demise of German culture in the United States as a result of World War I. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that Carus's studies of German literature gave many of his readers their first introduction to major German philosophical poetry in English translation. In the case of Goethe, this poetry was transmitted and interpreted within the context of an important, if diffuse, philosophical system—namely monism—for whose discussion and dissemination the Open Court Publishing Company had been created.

University of Kansas  
Lawrence, Kansas

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Julius Goebel, "Paul Carus," *Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter* 18/19 (1918-19): 356.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. William H. Hay, "Paul Carus: A Case-Study of Philosophy on the Frontier," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1956): 498-510. Hay sheds light on Carus's various attempts to define his particular brand of monism (504-6). Carus consistently denied that his monism is a claim that there is only one substance. In his *Primer of Philosophy* (Chicago:

The Open Court Publishing Company, 1896), 50, Carus claims that "there is one law only in the world which in its purely formal relations is the condition of all uniformities in the world." For other discussions of Carus's thought see also Carl T. Jackson, "The Meeting of East and West: The Case of Paul Carus," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 29 (1968): 73-92; Donald H. Bishop, "The Carus-James Controversy," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 35 (1974): 509-20. For a discussion of Leo Tolstoy's appreciation of *The Open Court*, see Henry F. Fullenwider, "Leo Tolstoy and Paul Carus' *The Open Court*," *Russian Literature Triquarterly*, no. 22 (Summer 1988): 221-37.

<sup>3</sup> Gustav Freytag, *Die verlorene Handschrift*, vol. 1, part 1, of *Gesammelte Werke*, (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, and Berlin-Grunewald: Hermann Klemm [1915?]), 254-55.

<sup>4</sup> This "Publisher's Note" is reprinted in OC 4: 2628-30.

<sup>5</sup> This letter, available in a copy in Carus's hand, is preserved on microfilm in the very extensive Open Court Collection at the Morris Library of Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Although a letter from Carus to Hegeler dated 14 April 1890 indicates that Carus had written to Freytag acknowledging receipt of the letter and dedicatory motto, neither his letter to Freytag nor any subsequent correspondence between these three men has been found. A portion of Freytag's letter was published in English translation in the unpaginated "Publisher's [Hegeler's] Preface" to *The Lost Manuscript* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1890).

<sup>6</sup> The title page of Katherine M. Hewett's textbook edition of *Die verlorene Handschrift*, published in 1911 by Macmillan in New York, also has this motto.

<sup>7</sup> Cited from Hegeler's unpaginated "Publisher's Preface" to *The Lost Manuscript* (1890).

<sup>8</sup> On very rare occasions Carus published English translations of German lyric poetry, such as Mary Morgan's series of apparently unrelated German poems in English translation in five issues of *The Open Court* beginning in May 1889. Articles of literary criticism not authored by Carus, such as John Firman Coar's summary of eighteenth and nineteenth-century German literary history in two installments (OC 18: 733-60; OC 19: 227-43) were also very rare.

<sup>9</sup> Carus is referring to his article "Schiller as a Prophet" (OC 11: 214-20). Later Carus mentioned that an article entitled "Schiller the Dramatist" had also been incorporated into the monograph. However, I have been unable to verify that such an article was actually published.

<sup>10</sup> "Mysticism," *The Monist* 18 (1908): 75-110; "Angelus Silesius," OC 22: 291-97.

<sup>11</sup> Carus, *Philosophy as a Science* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1909), 1.

<sup>12</sup> Carus, "Introduction" in *Angelus Silesius: A Selection from the Rhymes of a German Mystic* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1909), xxi.

<sup>13</sup> *Philosophy as a Science*, 65.

<sup>14</sup> "Mysticism," *The Monist* 18 (1908): 82.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Rudolf Steiner, "Über den Gewinn unserer Anschauungen von Goethes naturwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten durch die Publikationen des Goethe-Archivs," *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 12 (1891): 191, 207. See also Steiner, "Zu dem Fragment 'Über die Natur,'" in *Das Journal von Tiefurt*, ed. Eduard von der Hellen, *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft*, no. 7 (Weimar: Verlag der Goethe-Gesellschaft, 1892), 393:

Als Ernst Haeckel zum Beleg dafür, daß Goethe einer der ersten Propheten einer einheitlichen (monistischen) Naturauffassung war, eine besonders charakteristische Arbeit desselben an die Spitze seiner "Natürlichen Schöpfungsgeschichte" stellen wollte, da wählte er den Aufsatz: "Die Natur". Hiemit ist aber gar nichts anderes ausgesprochen, als was Goethe selbst in hohem Alter, als ihm der aus seinem Gedächtnisse längst entschwundene Aufsatz vorgelegt wurde, für das Richtige gehalten hat.

I have touched on this question in my article, "The Goethean Fragment 'Die Natur' in English Translation," *Comparative Literature Studies* 23 (1986): 170-77.

<sup>16</sup> *Philosophy as a Science*, 67.

<sup>17</sup> Cited from Carus's unpaginated "Preface" to *Goethe with Special Consideration of His Philosophy* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1915).

Jerry Schuchalter

### Charles Sealsfield's "Fable of the Republic"

In the "Vorrede" to his first published work, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet* (1827), Sealsfield invoked a recent public symbol: the fiftieth anniversary of the American Declaration of Independence. The Jubilee of 1826 was a time of unbridled rejoicing, and Sealsfield leaves no doubt in the reader's mind as to the significance of this event. In true Jeffersonian fashion he declares it to mark "Die Feier des Sieges der Menschheit über Tyrannei, Aberglaube und Vorurtheil."<sup>1</sup> In the English version of the above-mentioned work, published in the same year, he enunciates the symbolic importance of this occasion even more clearly:

Fifty years have passed since the emancipation of the United States. This lapse of time has solved two great questions. It has exposed the fallacy of human calculations, which anticipated only present anarchy and ultimate dissolution for the new Republic, and it has established the possibility of a people governing themselves, and being prosperous and happy.<sup>2</sup>

Sealsfield was fortunate to witness this celebration. As someone eager to be initiated into the spirit of the new nation, he could actually experience the process of mythmaking at first hand. For after fifty years of national existence, the American people, Sealsfield observed, seemed to have reached that stage in their development, where they were intent on sanctifying their past, rendering immortal through public ritual, as one historian has described it, "the fable of the republic."<sup>3</sup>

The "fable of the republic" became Sealsfield's primary theme and obsession as well. In the same "Vorrede" he conjures up another symbol which belongs to this republican legacy. It is a hallowed custom, Sealsfield writes, for the President of the United States to go on horseback to the Capitol, tie his horse on one of its posts, and then after "a five hour conference," untie his horse and return home. This

apparent lack of pomp and ceremony on the part of a public leader is, in fact, another ritual which reveals the republican purity of the young commonwealth.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, amid this process of ritualizing that a certain disquietude emerges in Sealsfield's writing—a disquietude which has obsessed the republican tradition in general:

So ist noch immer das republikanische Verhältnis in den Vereinigten Staaten und so ist es in diesen Blättern dargestellt. Möchte es stets so bleiben!<sup>5</sup>

Sealsfield's paean to republicanism is, in fact, coupled with intimations of loss.

Sealsfield celebrates in his first book America's coming of age. Like many devotees of the republican tradition, he could point to all the skeptics who questioned America's ability to survive and assert that America had joined the family of established and powerful nations. The reasons for America's success were easy to fathom:

A sea-coast of three thousand miles, excellent harbours, important rivers, rising and emptying themselves into its territory, a rich virgin soil, a temperate climate, a population composed of the descendants of the first nation in the world, the sciences of the ancient, the experience of modern times transplanted into a new and susceptible soil, and both united to the most liberal constitution that ever existed, were certainly elements, which well-employed and well-directed, afforded reasons to anticipate future greatness.<sup>6</sup>

But apart from these very palpable reasons to explain America's rise, Sealsfield found another, even more important reason which was rooted in the mythic legacy of the young nation. The Washington cult is eagerly embraced by Sealsfield to account for America's coming of age:

The Union happily found a genius fully competent to give it this direction in—[sic] Washington. Ever the same at home, in the field and in the cabinet, he imperceptibly gave to the nation the impress of his character and his politics. A character more firm, more composed, and notwithstanding its simplicity, more dignified, than this statesman's can scarcely be imagined. There never existed a man who knew the true interest of his country better than Washington, or sought it in a simpler or wiser way.<sup>7</sup>

Like many Americans involved in mythmaking in the 1820s, Sealsfield found the core of Washington's legacy in the Farewell Address. Sealsfield accepted the basic precepts of republican philosophy. If America followed "the sacred trust" and remained true to the ideals of the Republic, then its "unparalleled prosperity" would be guaranteed. If, however, it deviated from Washington's "maxims," then its survival as a nation was at stake.<sup>8</sup> The ambivalent nature of the republican vision is clearly defined. Progress is inevitable and desirable, but it is also carefully controlled, only made possible by scrupulously adhering to a sanctified tradition.

Underlying this belief in the fragility of republics was an elaborate and long-established philosophy of history. Couched in classical theory and further developed by Machiavelli and then the Whig and County Opposition theorists, it became an influential doctrine in the American colonies' opposition to the British Empire. According to this doctrine, the British Empire was wallowing in corruption and vice. Manipulated by a small monied clique, it was attempting to despoil the foundations of the American Republic and replace it with its own insidious tyranny. The American Revolution (and later the American nation) was, thus, defined as a struggle to preserve the ancient liberties of the republican commonwealth and the British Empire. It was restorative and reformative rather than revolutionary.<sup>9</sup>

Sealsfield's early works reveal his attempt to adopt an American point of view. Above all, his continuous preoccupation with the theme of corruption in the republican commonwealth reflects a prevailing attitude in the National Period of perceiving Europe and America in a dichotomous relation—the former being the hotbed of decadence and vice and the latter being the ideal of innocence and promise.<sup>10</sup> The political landscape in 1826 lends itself easily in Sealsfield's opinion to the corruption theory:

Was die gegenwärtig herrschende Parthei (Adams und die Tories) betrifft, so ist sie eine Erscheinung der Zeit, die wieder verschwinden wird. . . . Sie muß, sie wird verschwinden, denn sie ist nicht auf festen Grund gebaut, und die Pflanze eines ausländischen Treibhauses, die in Amerika nicht gedeihen wird, nicht gedeihen kann.<sup>11</sup>

Despite Sealsfield's attempts to impress his European readership that he was an American writing about the New World from an American point of view, he frequently imposes European categories onto the American scene. In his discussion of the American party system, which he adds as a long footnote, he writes,

Die politischen Partheien in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika sind Demokrats, Federals, Torys.

Demokrats werden geheißen, die jedem Bürger, der das einundzwanzigste Jahr zurückgelegt hat, das Wahlrecht zugestehen, ohne Rücksicht, ob er liegendes Vermögen oder nicht besitze.

Federals, die das Recht zu wählen und gewählt zu werden blos dem Land- und Eigenthumsbesitzer (Freeholder) zuerkennen.

Torys werden die Anhänger Englands und die monarchistische Parthei überhaupt geheißen.<sup>12</sup>

Of course, in 1827 when *Die Vereinigten Staaten* was published there was no Tory party in the United States. Nor was there a Tory party after the Constitution had been ratified in 1789. There were Tory sympathies, but this was understandable, since the republican experiment was still new and uncertain, and old solutions, even when not entertained seriously, provided a certain amount of comfort. Hence Sealsfield's interpretation of American political parties mirrored more clearly the realities on the

Continent and even in England than in the United States. The struggles between the Monarchists and the Liberals epitomized the political landscape in Central Europe in the *Vormärz*. But when Sealsfield applies this to American politics, his analysis of the 1820s takes on fanciful tones:

We see, in short, the principle of monarchism developing itself in the United States; and though it is not attempted to establish it by means of a revolution which would assuredly fail, there is a design to bring it about by that cunning, cautious, and I may add, American way, which must eventually succeed, unless the spirit of freedom be sufficiently powerful to overrule these subtle preparations.<sup>13</sup>

It is undeniable that Sealsfield acquired an enormous amount of knowledge about the United States in a remarkably short time and believed devoutly in his republican mission. However, he shows at times a curious inability to distinguish between ideological bombast and party conflict. What was already developing in America at this time, as observers like De Tocqueville recognized, was a liberal consensus, with both parties understanding that increased democratization and economic development and opportunity conformed more closely to the needs of their constituencies and their grand design for America.<sup>14</sup>

Sealsfield's first two non-fiction works on America and his subsequent *Austria as It Is* (1828) provide the key to understanding his later fiction. *The United States of North America as They Are* (1827) celebrates his republican vision, and *Austria* embodies his anti-vision—his attack on European absolutism. In other words, Sealsfield attempts to present in his fiction the plausibility and efficacy of his ideas which were already established in his non-fiction works.<sup>15</sup> If in *Der Legitime und die Republikaner* (1833), as one reviewer noted, the legitimacy of the republican ideal is the central concern, in *Morton oder die große Tour* (1835) Sealsfield's republican vision is given a more lucid and more complete expression than in any of his later works.<sup>16</sup> The European readership should realize, along with Morton, that the creation of the republic was a unique event in human history:

Junger Mann! in diesem Wechsel liegt etwas Großes, etwas Erhabenes, etwas, das die Geschichtsblätter der Menschheit nicht zweimal aufweisen können! Es ist dieß der Triumph der amerikanischen Staatsphilosophie, der wahren und einzigen Staatspolitik, ächter amerikanische Staatspolitik, gegen welche die gerühmte Politik der Alten Tyrannei ist. Und das war die Politik eines Franklin, eines J\_\_\_\_n, Ihres Großenkels, ihre Schöpfung dieses prachtvolle Land, durch sie zur Triumphstraße erhoben, auf welcher die Humanität über die in uns inwohnende Selbstsucht den Sieg davon getragen hat.<sup>17</sup>

In fact, *Morton* can be interpreted as an allegory of republican virtue and corruption. On the one hand, there is Colonel Isling who symbolizes the Revolution, the Age of Washington and the Founding Fathers, and the credo of the Republic. On the other hand, there are



Lomund and "der alte Stephy" who represent Sealsfield's oft-vilified *Egoismus* and the emerging plutocracy. The allegorical elements are also embodied in landscapes: "Der Garten Pennsylvaniens" becomes the seat of the republican idyll, while Philadelphia and then London become the centers of corruption and tyranny. In this allegorical pattern, then, Morton symbolizes America—an America caught between its allegiance to its yeoman republican past and the temptations of the new world of commercial capitalism—the world towards which Sealsfield and other exponents of the republican ideal were so ambivalent.<sup>18</sup>

If Sealsfield depicts in his fiction his preoccupation with the threat to republican virtue, in his letters he reveals that he is equally obsessed with this theme. But here he is also concerned with a new threat to American innocence. It is not only the *Weltplutokratie* which is conspiring against the Republic. There were also forces from below—the scores of new immigrants who suddenly became a presence in American life in the 1830s and 1840s. In a letter to Brantz Mayer, a popular author of the time, dated two years after the publication of *Morton*, he writes,

I do not know your opinion about slavery having not read your last work Capt. Conot but such as it appears to me in Virginia I cannot help considering it in many respects as a safety valve warding off the deleterious influence of a too great influx of foreign population & keeping up that staunch republican sense, which distinguished the state of the Washingtons, Patrick Henrys, Jeffersons etc.<sup>19</sup>

The invocation of "keeping up that staunch republican sense, which distinguished the state of the Washingtons, Patrick Henrys, Jeffersons etc." shows that Sealsfield's fiction and his life were suffused by a central theme: the preoccupation with republican virtue. What distinguishes Sealsfield from other advocates of republican thought was his attitude to slavery. His belief that republican virtue was buttressed by the institution of slavery and the exclusion of immigrants clearly differs from the ambivalent spirit of Jeffersonianism and republicanism in general towards these issues.<sup>20</sup>

It is tempting to argue that Sealsfield's political vision exemplifies what Hartz calls the "Reactionary Enlightenment"—the attempt to establish—however chimerical—an alternative to Lockeanism and liberalism in America.<sup>21</sup> But this is to overlook the dual angle of vision which permeates all of Sealsfield's work. On the one hand, there is Sealsfield's American persona who quite plausibly—at least to his contemporaries—presents an American point of view, defining himself in opposition to the Old World. On the other hand, however, this American persona is continually being molded by his European sensibility, which subtly colors Sealsfield's perceptions and gives his American identity its somewhat exaggerated character.<sup>22</sup>

Hence to understand Sealsfield's *Amerikabild*, it is necessary to exhume the European background with which it is continuously interacting. To begin with, Sealsfield's political thought embodied many of the attitudes and values of Central European *Frühliberalismus*. His ideas

were formed by the excesses of Jacobinism on the one hand, as well as by disgust and disappointment over the failure of the Josephinian reform movement on the other hand. Despite his rhetoric, Sealsfield's vision was in many respects quite cautious and conservative. As Thomas Nipperdey writes,

Das Gesellschaftsbild der Liberalen war vorindustriell, nicht auf Wachstum und Dynamik, sondern auf Stabilität und Statik gerichtet, nicht auf Konkurrenz und Konflikt, sondern auf Harmonie unterschiedlicher Kräfte und Interessen. Das Ideal der Liberalen war eine Gesellschaft vieler kleiner Selbständiger, (Grund-) Eigentümer, Handwerker und Bauern, eine annähernd klassenlose Bürgergesellschaft, in der Talent und Leistung wie Herkunft und Erbe zum Ausgleich kamen; man hat mit Recht gesagt (Gall), daß das Ideal der Liberalen nicht die Gesellschaft des industriell-kommerziellen England, sondern die ausgeglichene Gesellschaft der Schweiz war.<sup>23</sup>

This helps to explain, in part, Sealsfield's so-called "quarrel with modernity"—his constant need to admonish against the forces besieging the Republic. For his Central European liberal perspectives were incapable of accommodating the new imperatives of the market economy and the political and economic demands of the dispossessed.<sup>24</sup>

Sealsfield, as is well known, was not very confident of the success of Central European liberalism. In the United States, however, he believed that the central tenets of liberalism had triumphed. It was in the United States of the eighteenth century, where Sealsfield found his political vision realized. The irrevocable breach with absolutism, the creation of a republic with established constitutional safeguards, the presence of a gentry class which was continuously being revitalized by democratic *aristoi*—these were the elements that were invoked by Sealsfield's Central European liberalism. In other words, it was in the Virginia of the Founding Fathers, in Madisonian constitutionalism, and in Jeffersonian agrarianism (and pastoralism) that Sealsfield believed his own utopian longings were given an eternally valid form.<sup>25</sup>

Since Sealsfield's republic was, in part, rooted in eighteenth-century values and concepts, this presented his vision with many difficulties. As Merrill Peterson writes,

Although democratic in many of its effects, the agrarian dogma was inherently conservative. From the beginning the anomaly of American politics was that the democratic tradition was the tradition of landed property.<sup>26</sup>

Jacksonian America, even if it did cling fondly to many of these symbols, was ultimately moving rapidly to destroy the ideal of a gentry republic. Of course, it is understandable how Sealsfield could project his admiration for aristocrats in democratic garb onto the American scene and convince himself that this was a viable synthesis.<sup>27</sup> In Europe the more clearly defined ideological positions would have made such a synthesis impossible. Hartz, in describing the contradictions inherent in agrarian

liberalism, also points to Sealsfield's dilemma: "What it meant, of course, was that the Mr. Hyde of an Edmund Burke was always struggling to explode beneath the Dr. Jekyll of a Thomas Paine."<sup>28</sup>

It is significant that Sealsfield attempted to find a way out of the gentry-republic dilemma. As the East was becoming more and more Europeanized (Colonel Isling was already curiously involved with "dem alten Stephy"), Sealsfield, like Frederick Jackson Turner at the end of the century, discovered in the concept of the frontier the possibility of sustaining his utopian vision. As Sealsfield's narrator in *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1835) explains,

So berühren sich bei uns die Endpunkte sozialer Stellungen, und runden in steter Reibung, in fortwährend wie im Kreisel umherrollender Beweglichkeit ihre wechselseitigen Härten und Ecken ab. Der Senatorsohn baut seine Hütte auf einem Stück Waldlande, das an die Besetzung des Sprößlings eines schottischen Viehtreibers anstößt, das Weib dieses, war vielleicht die Magd der Senatorstochter, die sie nun als Nachbarin begrüßt und ihre kleinen Dienstleistungen mit dankbarfrohem Entgegenkommen annimmt. So befördert bei uns gewissermaßen die Nothwendigkeit jenes republikanische Gleichheitssystem, das im Westen seine Wurzel ausbreitet, tiefer schlägt, während es im Osten, im Gewühle unserer Seestädte, bereits starke Stöße erleidet.<sup>29</sup>

The frontier, in essence, is a force of regeneration, preventing the Republic from succumbing to its hitherto known fate—corruption and decline. On the frontier, the Republic can be extricated from the cycles of history, given a new dimension in the apparently limitless space of the American West. It is interesting that Sealsfield tries to transform his ideal of the republic from a temporal concept to a spatial one. Sealsfield's "republikanisches Gleichheitssystem" can occupy a timeless middle ground, while decay can be staved off in a world no longer governed by the laws of history.<sup>30</sup>

But in this characteristically American metaphor of the frontier, Sealsfield's European sensibility again emerges. The American frontier and the Republic are metamorphosed into a *Biedermeier* idyll. Above all, in his invocation of the *Vaterhaus* symbol, Sealsfield reveals the standard *Biedermeier* "Vorliebe für die kleinen politischen und gesellschaftlichen Formen."<sup>31</sup> When the narrator in *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* exclaims, "Unsere Häuser in Louisiana sind wahre Republiken, wo Jeder freien Zutritt hat, bei Tage und so ziemlich auch bei Nacht," he suggests that the house has become the focal point of human community and the last refuge of civility and order in a world marked on the one hand by *Egoismus* and on the other hand by forces which are still only dimly comprehended.<sup>32</sup> As Sengle writes, "In der erweiterten Familie liegt die seelisch-geistige Grundlage der Biedermeierkultur."<sup>33</sup> Sealsfield's *Vaterhausrepublik*, apart from its tenacious defense of slavery, could be transplanted quite conveniently to what was seen as the idyllic valleys of the Rhine or the Danube.

The *Leitfigur* in Sealsfield's fiction is "der amerikanische Gentle-

man."<sup>34</sup> This figure fuses the diverse elements of Sealsfield's republican vision into a unified whole. Originally a republican idea at the heart of Jefferson's agrarian gentry polity, it becomes in Sealsfield's work juxtaposed with frontier ideology and *Biedermeier* imagery. Nathan, who could appear in any *Biedermeier* novel as the benevolent patriarch, is at the same time a Boone-like character who, to use Frederick Merk's term, is involved in the process of "state-making"—all of the size of the safe, extended family.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, "the fable of the republic," which at the Jubilee of 1826 has a progressive aura in Sealsfield's work, evolves ten years later into an outcry against the incursions of modernity. The republican vision was beginning to fade. The Jacksonians, whom Sealsfield had initially supported, had opened up the sluice gates of modernization. The forces that were ultimately to destroy the *Vaterhaus* and the Republic and to transform "the American gentleman" into an unscrupulous plutocrat had already been unleashed.<sup>36</sup>

Sealsfield's later letters tend to support this thesis. In these letters he emerges as a republican Cato inveighing against the dangers of corruption:

Der gegenwärtige Moralitätszustand in den V.St. ist ein gräßlicher. Vor mir liegt der Louisville Courier, der dreizehn Morde in den letzten 2 Jahren in dieser Stadt und Grafschaft aufzählt, und kein einziger dieser Mörder wurde auch nur im geringsten bestraft.<sup>37</sup>

It is one of the ironies of Sealsfield's life that while he bemoaned the loss of republican virtue, his investments in railroad stocks contributed to the emergence of monied interests which he and other republican theorists claimed was leading to the demise of the Republic. In this sense he was characteristically Jacksonian.

The Civil War provided the pivotal experience for Sealsfield and other devotees of the republican ideal. The Republic had failed paradoxically because it was successful. Success, according to this line of reasoning, leads to corruption, avarice, and the love of luxury. The independent citizenry would degenerate into a state of dependence and apathy. The result would be a temporary state of anarchy, followed by an insidious form of tyranny. That Sealsfield interpreted the Civil War through the prism of the classical republican ideal becomes manifest in his later letters. In 1861 he writes:

Eine Verschleuderung, eine Betrügerei—Corruption, die über alle Begriffe geht. Unser Volk wird durch eine harte Schule noch zu gehen haben—denn durch ein 80 jähriges Glück, einen 50 jährigen Frieden verdorben, verweichlicht, ist es in einem Grade faul geworden, wie es nur zur Zeit der römischen Republik unter den Sullas und Catilinas gesehen worden.<sup>38</sup>

In another letter written in the same year, Sealsfield writes, "Mein Land muß durch alle die Krisen durchgehen, die größeren Republiken in ihren Krankheiten zur Bedingung gestellt sind."<sup>39</sup>

There were, however, optimistic devotees of the republican ideal in America. In fact, there were those who believed that the drift to tyranny was not the ultimate fate of the American experiment. As John E. Crowley notes, Americans, steeped in classical theory, could come to other conclusions:

Given the lesson that societies changed in fundamentally similar ways, it may be paradoxical that the experience and wisdom of antiquity also suggested that history could be transcended—either through the deliberate restoration of society to an earlier phase of the cycle or even by an escape from history by the engineering of a timeless state in which change did not take place.<sup>40</sup>

The idea of a return to the “sacred trust” enjoyed a wide popularity in America before and during the Civil War. The belief in moral regeneration through a resurrection of republican traditions was thought to be vital if the nation were to survive. Partisan politics, mediocrity, moral laxity, mammon, and, above all, slavery were all offered as explanations for the country’s malaise. As Paul C. Nagel writes, “The war was construed as both a sign of God’s long-overdue wrath and of divine cleansing.”<sup>41</sup> Only an adherence to the republican pantheon could avert the fate normally prescribed for republics.

Sealsfield also regarded the Civil War as a “cleansing” of corruption and vice in the republican commonwealth. However, he differs from many of the American proponents of the republican ideal in his skepticism about a return to republican virtue. While influential contemporaries like Lowell and Emerson were pleading for a recrudescence of democracy, Sealsfield, in a letter written in 1861, proclaimed the demise of democracy in America:

Dann ist es nebst Reinigungsproceß zugleich Übergang zu anderer Staatsform. Bisher war Demokratie die für die V.St. nothwendige Bedingung. Volksherrschaft in ihrer vollsten Ausdehnung. Diese war Bedingung um das Land zu bevölkern. Es ist bevölkert worden, d.h. alle Elemente gute und schlechte—der ganzen Welt haben sich auf die V.St. geworfen, haben da Heimath und Herd gefunden, die sie ohne Volksherrschaft—wenn ein Monarch geherrscht hätte, nie gefunden hätten. Nun ist freilich die transatlantische Welt bevölkert, aber die Elemente dieser Bevölkerung heterogen, verdorben—lasterhaft, verbrecherisch zum Theil—diese Elemente haben zugleich die Crisis heraufbeschworen, eine Crisis, aus der das Land gesunder hervorgehen, aber unter der es auch in Theile zerbrochen (wie die Südamerikanischen Staaten) werden kann. . . . Es ist eine würdiges Studium für die Weisen. Mit der Demokratie hat es im Süden bereits ein Ende. Im Norden wird sie gleichfalls einer anderen Regierungsform weichen müssen. Sie hat übrigens ihre Bestimmung vollkommen erfüllt.<sup>42</sup>

It is interesting that Sealsfield again expresses ideas and themes that were an integral part of American ideology and mythmaking. According to republican doctrine, America could only preserve its institutions amid

an abundance of space, with the presence of a permanent frontier. Long before Frederick Jackson Turner published his famous thesis, Sealsfield suggests in this passage that the frontier no longer exists. The "transatlantic world" is inhabited, settled (*bevölkert*). The apparently limitless supply of free land, which made America unique, is no longer available, and as a result immigrants can no longer be easily absorbed into Sealsfield's idealized yeomanry. Hence the frontier acting as a safety valve, which was supposed to guarantee that republics did not degenerate into chaos and tyranny, could not necessarily be expected to perform its sacred task of preventing America from succumbing to European corruption.<sup>43</sup>

The form of government, which would emerge to supersede democracy after it had "served its purpose" of settling the continent, also preoccupied Sealsfield in his later years. In another letter written in 1861, Sealsfield alludes to the Civil War: "Dieser Bürgerkrieg, der Zwei Principe im Kampfe zeigt . . ." <sup>44</sup> These "two principles" have already been delineated in his fiction and in his early travel books. The first "principle" is embodied in the plutocracy, which he equates with the North. As Sealsfield writes in the above-mentioned letter, the Northern army consisted of the "Gold und Dollar jagenden Yankee."<sup>45</sup> As we know from *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1834) and *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (1839-40), the plutocracy had already established itself in the coastal states of the Northeast and, like the "Spinne" in *Morton*, was already planning to undermine the Republic. The only counterweight in Sealsfield's Manichean world view was the Southern patriarchy, which Sealsfield endowed with all the trappings of a *Biedermeier* idyll. That this form of society was doomed became increasingly clear to Sealsfield and explains the profound pessimism at the end of his life.

Perhaps the literary reception of Sealsfield's work when it first appeared illuminates his dilemma most acutely. From the very inception of his literary career, reviewers in Germany recognized that Sealsfield was committed, even obsessed with propagating his republican vision. One reviewer noted that Sealsfield was imbued with "ein etwas republikanisch-pedantisches Air."<sup>46</sup> Another critic remarked that Sealsfield was "ein feuriger Republikaner mit Haut und Haar, der über unser royalistisches und feudalistisches Europa bedauernd die Achseln zuckt."<sup>47</sup> Still one critic, in particular, casts light on the pathos of Sealsfield's life and work:

O könnten wir dem Verf. aus innerster Brust in seinen begeisterten Hoffungen auf die Dauer, auf die Unzerstörbarkeit dieser Institutionen, dieser schönen Früchte eines edlen Republikanism, beistimmen! Aber, aber, ach! sie ermangeln der Realität, diese süßen Träume; und die Schwärmerei eines jugendlich kräftigen Enthusiasm hält den kalten Blick der Reflexion, die Prüfung historischer Kritik nicht aus. Nordamerika muß und wird in der Monarchie untergehen: diese Phase politischer Umgestaltung ist in der Dinge Ordnung, und der erhabene Schwung keiner Idee, kein Gott, wird sie aufhalten. Traurige, eiskalte Wirklichkeit

den Flammen des Ideals gegenüber! Aber es ist so, und muß so seyn, und die Erde, nur noch Planet der Wandlung, gestattet die Fixität nicht, mit welcher sich die Ahnung des Höhern schmeichelt. Die Ausartung der Civilisation selbst, mit ihren unvermeidlichen moralischen und legislativen Folgen, wird die nordamerikanische Revolution herbeiführen; und die energische Hand des Monarchism wird dann wieder zusammenfassen müssen, was die allmählich immer lockerer gewordenen republikanischen Bande auseinander haben fallen lassen. Ein ähnliches Resultat liefert die Geschichte aller Zeiten und Völker; ehe der Sitteneinfalt und der Beschränkung in die engsten Territorialgrenzen nicht Dauer zugesichert werden kann, dürfen auch Republiken auf Dauer rechnen. Dieß hat schon Montesquieu behauptet; und, wie schmerzlich es ist, so etwas aussprechen zu müssen, Nordamerika, gleich der Schweiz, werden früher, oder später, den Beleg zu seiner Behauptung liefern.<sup>48</sup>

Sealsfield's grand preoccupation with the republic is suddenly unravelled as part of a general preoccupation in the *Vormärz* with the ideal political form: Is the republic a viable alternative to monarchy; has the monarchy lost its legitimation; must the contemporary republic conform to the cyclical pattern of the inevitable rise and fall of classical republics? That this critic had obvious monarchist sympathies only reinforces the thesis that Sealsfield was struggling not only to convince the middle classes of Central Europe of the viability of the republican alternative, but to some extent himself, since he and his culture were still not quite certain of the longevity and suitability of republics.<sup>49</sup> Hence the same critic, quoted previously, perhaps provided a literary epitaph which Sealsfield in his later years might have found appropriate, as he observed the Republic of Washington and Jefferson suffering through the cataclysm of the Civil War, seemingly following a timeless pattern which, as its culture believed, had been preordained:

Das, was ewig in Gesang soll leben,  
muß im Leben untergeh'n

und dieß soll hier ganz eigentlich von nordamerikanischer Republik und daraus hervorgegangener Lebensform gelten.<sup>50</sup>

Thus, Sealsfield's work is intimately connected with the transatlantic preoccupation with the virtuous republic which, as Pocock shows, has been a significant utopian model in the history of European thought.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, Sealsfield's adherence to the ideal of a virtuous republic, along with his invocation of the "myth of exodus" from a moribund Europe to a regenerate America in a Garden of Plenty, places him within the tradition of the first half of the nineteenth century when the republican ideal was regarded as a real alternative to absolutism in Europe. Further, the *Amerika-Mythos*, which, in fact, idealized immigration, was the most obvious solution to the problems posed by the resurgence of reaction and its attendant conflicts. After mid-century when new utopian models began to displace the virtuous republic and immigration as solutions to the crisis of modernization, Sealsfield's message became less appeal-

ing.<sup>52</sup> In America, however, the myth of a virtuous republic still continued to explain American nationhood and culture, and American writers, from the inception of the Republic onwards, composed jeremiads and anti-jeremiads in homage to this model. Sealsfield's achievement, then, fits somewhat ambiguously into the tradition of the republican jeremiad which still provides a mode of perceiving America and the world up to the present.<sup>53</sup> As Roland Berthoff writes, "Corruption—the sad corruption of republican virtue—has been the lament of Americans from Shays's Rebellion down to Watergate."<sup>54</sup> It is, however, in the work of a former Moravian monk pretending to be an American writer, where this plea for republican virtue temporarily found a popular transatlantic audience. Few writers have depicted these myths so painstakingly in their fiction as Sealsfield, and like many writers who have preached the jeremiad, Sealsfield was compelled to experience the same hope and the same despair.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, nach ihrem politischen, religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse betrachtet* (1827; reprint, Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1972), iii. *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* was completed in 1826, only three years after Sealsfield had arrived in America, and published by the renowned Johann Friedrich Cotta Verlag. As Arndt writes, Sealsfield regarded his negotiations with Cotta as an important step in fulfilling his political mission. In 1824 he already began a correspondence with Cotta, offering his services as a journalist. In order to establish his reputation in America, he had to achieve success in England, and a useful way of accomplishing this was to have publishing credits in Germany. After signing a contract with Cotta, Sealsfield left in the same year for London and soon reached an agreement with the equally famous publisher John Murray on the publication of his book, which he then used to promote his book in Germany and obtain a badly needed loan from Cotta (see Karl J. R. Arndt's introduction to *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, Olms edition, xviii–xxx).

<sup>2</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *The United States of North America as They Are* (1827; reprint, Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1972), v. *The United States of North America* and the second volume, *The Americans as They Are* were published in London in 1827. Arndt calls *The United States* "a free translation, or at most, in some parts a reworking of the first volume of *Die Vereinigten Staaten*" (pp. xxxix–xl of the introduction to *The United States*).

<sup>3</sup> The phrase "fable of the republic" is used by Merrill Peterson in *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1960), 5.

<sup>4</sup> Sealsfield, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>6</sup> Sealsfield, *The United States of North America*, 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–4.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 4–5. The Washington cult also finds its way into Sealsfield's fiction, most notably in *Morton oder die große Tour* (1835).

<sup>9</sup> This interpretation of the American Revolution is found in Roland Berthoff's essay "Independence and Attachment, Virtue and Interest: From Republican Citizen to Free Enterpriser, 1787–1837," in Richard L. Bushman, ed., *Uprooted Americans: Essays to Honor Oscar Handlin* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1979). See also Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776–1787* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1969).



<sup>10</sup> Rush Welter, *The Mind of America: 1820-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 34-35.

<sup>11</sup> Sealsfield, *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, iv.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>13</sup> Sealsfield, *The United States*, vii.

<sup>14</sup> Among the many works exploring this theme, see Richard Hofstadter, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Liberal Capitalism" in *The American Political Tradition and the Men Who Made It* (New York: Vintage Books, 1948), 56-85.

<sup>15</sup> Hartmut Steinecke persuasively discusses the relationship between Sealsfield's fiction and his non-fiction, showing how his fiction emerged from his non-fiction as part of his strategy of promoting "politische Aufklärung" in Europe. See Hartmut Steinecke, "Literature als 'Aufklärungsmittel': Zur Neubestimmung der Werke Charles Sealsfields zwischen Österreich, Deutschland und Amerika," in Herbert Zeman, ed., *Die Österreichische Literatur: Ihr Profil im 19. Jahrhundert (1830-1860)* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1982), 399-422.

<sup>16</sup> Reinhard F. Spiess notes the political vibrancy of the republican idea in the reviews of Sealsfield's *Der Legitime und die Republikaner: Eine Geschichte aus dem letzten amerikanisch-englischen Kriege* (1833; reprint, Hildesheim, New York: Olms Press, 1973): "Die Frage, ob die amerikanische Unabhängigkeitserklärung ein Akt des Hochverrats und der Mißachtung legitimer Rechte der britischen Krone darstellte, war keineswegs ausdiskutiert" (see Reinhard Spiess, *Charles Sealsfields Werke im Spiegel der literarischen Kritik: Eine Sammlung zeitgenössischer Rezensionen mit einer Einleitung herausgegeben* [Stuttgart: Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1977], 17-18).

<sup>17</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *Morton oder die große Tour* (1835; reprint, Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1975), 1:130.

<sup>18</sup> It is rare to find a work of fiction which so aptly illustrates the ideas presented by Henry Nash Smith and other students of American myth. *Morton* is almost paradigmatic in its rendition of the conflict between pastoral values and the values of a burgeoning commercial capitalism.

<sup>19</sup> Karl J. R. Arndt, "Newly Discovered Sealsfield Relationships Documented," *Modern Language Notes* 87 (1972): 461.

<sup>20</sup> On this vast question of the ambivalence of Jefferson to slavery, see again Richard Hofstadter, "Thomas Jefferson: The Aristocrat as Democrat," in *The American Political Tradition*, 22-55.

<sup>21</sup> Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America: An Interpretation of American Political Thought since the Revolution* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), 145-58.

<sup>22</sup> Friedrich Sengle also notes this dual angle of vision running through Sealsfield's work, but ultimately does not take Sealsfield's American persona seriously. Still, Sengle comments on the "Zwiespalt zwischen dem gebildeten, durch die böhmische Adelswelt geprägten Beobachter und dem republikanischen Ideologen" (see Friedrich Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit: Deutsche Literatur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Restauration und Revolution, 1815-1848* [Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1971-80], vol. 3, *Die Dichter*, 786).

<sup>23</sup> Thomas Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800-1866: Bürgerwelt und starker Staat* (München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1983), 297-98. That Sealsfield's societal model was based on this "liberal ideal" can already be detected in his first book when he describes his American utopia: "Überall blickt ein Wohlstand hervor, der solid ist, denn er ruht auf festem Grunde, dem unerschütterlichen Eigenthumsprinzipie des Einzelnen. Der rechtliche, kluge und thätige Mann lebt nirgends so gut, so frei, so glücklich, als in Amerika" (see *Die Vereinigten Staaten*, 201).

<sup>24</sup> Nipperdey's suggestive phrase, "Ambivalenz gegenüber der Modernität" sums up the difficult position of the Liberals in the Vormärz period in *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800-1866*, 298. Roland Berthoff's equally suggestive phrase "quarrel with modernity" reflects the predicament of many Jacksonians in the already-cited essay.

<sup>25</sup> Sealsfield unequivocally expresses his admiration for the Virginia Dynasty in *The United States*: "Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, whatever any of their opponents might object against their party principles, were men whose memory ought to be cherished by the people of the United States" (p. 7).

<sup>26</sup> Peterson, *The Jefferson Image*, 85.

<sup>27</sup> The curious dilemma of being an aristocrat in a liberal world was, as Hartz shows,

part of the grand illusion of the American South after 1830—an illusion which made it possible to be an aristocrat and a liberal at the same time (see *The Liberal Tradition in America*, 146–59).

<sup>28</sup> Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America*, 120–21. The question of Sealsfield's political vision is treated most severely by Peter Krauss in his dissertation, "Sealsfield Politicien: Etude sur les aspects et les attitudes politiques dans l'oeuvre et dans la vie de l'écrivain autrichien Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)" (Ph.D. diss., Aix, 1973). Sealsfield emerges from this work as an arch-conservative. This is, of course, a simplification and does not do justice to Sealsfield's dual angle of vision and his difficult liberal predicament. Steinecke's words are apt here: "Ohne Zweifel ist Sealsfield nicht die musterhafte republikanische Leitfigur, zur der ihn Teile der Vormärzpresse und einige spätere Interpreten machen wollten. Dazu ist weder seine Haltung in der Sklavenfrage noch seine Vorstellung vom 'Aristokratischen' im Demokratismus angetan, um nur zwei besonders problematische Komplexe zu nennen. Auf der anderen Seite schießt man jedoch weit über das Ziel einer ausgewogenen Würdigung hinaus, wenn man ein Idealbild demokratisch-revolutionärer Gesinnung entwirft und das Tun und Denken Sealsfields und seiner Figuren daran mißt" (see the already-cited essay, "Literatur als 'Aufklärungsmittel,'" 418).

<sup>29</sup> Sealsfield, *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1835; reprint Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1976), 230–31.

<sup>30</sup> This is perhaps the most distinctively American aspect of Sealsfield's thought—the symbolic construct of a hero in space, occupying a middle ground between the city and uncultivated nature. See the most recent application of Henry Nash Smith's approach to Sealsfield's fiction in Walter Grünzweig, *Das demokratische Kanaan: Charles Sealsfields Amerika im Kontext amerikanischer Literatur und Ideologie* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987), 69–87.

<sup>31</sup> Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, vol. 1, *Allgemeine Voraussetzungen—Richtungen—Darstellungsmittel*, 48.

<sup>32</sup> Sealsfield, *Ralph Doughby's Esq. Brautfahrt*, 249. One of the difficulties in discussing Sealsfield's work is to distinguish between his American persona and his European sensibility. The choice of the American South as his utopian model enhances this difficulty, since the American South, in its literary conventions and themes, as well as in its cultural and philosophical attitudes, reveals many parallels with *Biedermeier* culture. Above all, the symbol of the house evokes similar meanings in antebellum American culture as it did in *Biedermeier* Europe. See Edward Halsey Foster's concept of "idealized domesticity" in *The Civilized Wilderness: Backgrounds to American Romantic Literature, 1817–1860* (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 132–33. See also William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: George Braziller, 1961) on themes and motifs in Southern fiction. Their similarity to some of Sengle's categories is astonishing.

<sup>33</sup> Sengle, *Biedermeierzeit*, 1:57. Sengle employs another important term, "organischer Liberalismus," to describe a political attitude of the *Biedermeier* period, which again makes it easy to see how the antebellum South could be a congenial realm for Sealsfield's European sensibility.

<sup>34</sup> Sealsfield, *Nathan, der Squatter-Regulator, oder der erste Amerikaner in Texas* (1837; reprint, Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1977), 331. The exact quote is quite illuminating, uttered by Major Gale, one of Sealsfield's many mentor figures: "'Ich versichere Sie, kein glücklicheres Leben, als der amerikanische Gentleman, der mit seinem Nachbarn in Harmonie lebt, und Herr und Meister auf seiner Scholle und in seinem Haus ist. Er ist der einzig freie Mann auf Erden.'"

<sup>35</sup> Frederick Merk, *Manifest Destiny and Mission in American History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 4. Nathan's new settlement in Texas is described in the following way with an admixture of manifest destiny and *Biedermeier* Gemütlichkeit: "'Ich versichere Sie, es ist nicht mehr Riesenplan; mehr als zur Hälfte ist bereits realisiert. Die Niederlassung zählt über tausend Köpfe, ist ein förmlich eingerichteter kleiner Staat'" (p. 409 in *Nathan*).

<sup>36</sup> It cannot be emphasized enough how important Sealsfield's early non-fiction is for understanding his later fiction. Already in *The United States as They Are*, he describes quite clearly the constellation of forces in the Republic: "Though the United States exhibit a greater uniformity of manners than any other nation, yet there is still found a striking difference amongst them. In the Eastern seaports you will find the manners of a European metropolis, alloyed by the pride of wealth, which, as it is the only mark of distinction, is

not calculated to encourage courteous and social habits. In the central parts, from the Allegheny Mountains down to Cincinnati, a truly republican character is more than everywhere conspicuous. It is liberal, unassuming, hospitable, and independent" (p. 233).

<sup>37</sup> This letter is taken from the Albert B. Faust collection appended to his *Charles Sealsfield: Der Dichter beider Hemisphären* (Weimar: Emil Felber, 1897), 256.

<sup>38</sup> Faust, *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, 271.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 270.

<sup>40</sup> John E. Crowley, "Classical and Other Traditions for the Understanding of Change in Post-Revolutionary America: The Idea of Decline," in John W. Eadie, ed., *Classical Traditions in America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1976), 215.

<sup>41</sup> Paul Nagel, *This Sacred Trust: American Nationality, 1798-1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 156.

<sup>42</sup> Faust, 272-73.

<sup>43</sup> Among Alexander Ritter's contributions to Sealsfield scholarship is his discussion of Sealsfield's "gebrochene Utopievorstellung" in "Charles Sealsfield: Politischer Emigrant, freier Schriftsteller und die Doppelkrise von Amerika—Utopie und Gesellschaft im 19. Jahrhundert," *Freiburger Universitätsblätter* 75 (1982): 55. In an earlier work Ritter writes, "Der von Sealsfield sensibel aufgenommene Strukturwandel der amerikanischen Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft wird auch von anderen amerikanischen Dichtern ähnlich signalisiert. Die Vorstellung von der industriewirtschaftlich bestimmten Zukunftsgesellschaft kollidiert mit der pastoralen Idee von einer agrarwirtschaftlichen Gesellschaft der Bürger" ("Charles Sealsfields gesellschaftspolitische Vorstellungen und ihre dichterische Gestaltung als Romanzyklus," *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft* 17 [1973]: 412).

<sup>44</sup> Faust, 272.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>46</sup> Spiess, *Charles Sealsfields Werke im Spiegel der Literaturkritik*, 25.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>49</sup> The Republicans did not have undisputed ideological hegemony in the *Vormärz*. This factor, according to Nipperdey, was one of the principal reasons for the failure of the Revolution of 1848. The monarchist influence was still very much alive (see Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte, 1800-1866*, 669).

<sup>50</sup> Spiess, 68.

<sup>51</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975).

<sup>52</sup> The rise of socialism and nationalism in Central Europe after 1848 made the republican alternative embodied in the *Amerika-Mythos* seem less important.

<sup>53</sup> On the rhetorical tradition of the jeremiad in America see Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). Sealsfield's dilemma lay in the fact that he preached the jeremiad to Americans without proving beyond a reasonable doubt that he was an American and preached the jeremiad to German readers who, after 1848, were no longer unquestioning converts to the myth of America. As a "politischer Dichter" Sealsfield became a marginal figure.

<sup>54</sup> Berthoff, 99 (see n. 9).



Eleanor L. Turk

**The Business of Emigration:  
The Role of the Hamburg Senate  
Commission on Emigration, 1850-1900**

Give me your tired, your poor  
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,  
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,  
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:  
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

This poignant and beloved inscription by Emma Lazarus for the Statue of Liberty has, for a century, given Americans their primary images of the great transatlantic migrations of the nineteenth century: America, the religious refuge; America, the land of opportunity. Yet in celebrating our vision of the haven and hope seen through the "Golden Door," we usually overlook the equally important role played by the European doors through which the emigrants exited on their way to America. Just as the welcome required the United States to develop policies, practices and institutions capable of receiving the influx, the ports of embarkation had to learn how to manage the exodus. The purpose of this essay is to give insight into the efforts made between 1850 and 1900 by the great German port city of Hamburg to manage the "emigrant trade."

Prior to the modern era, Hamburg owed its prominence to its participation in the northern European trading network known as the Hanseatic League. With contacts stretching from Bruges on the English Channel eastward to Russian Novgorod, and from Cracow in Poland north to London, Oslo and Stockholm, the Hanseatic League made substantial contributions to European economic development from the thirteenth century onward. The focus of this trade, however, was on the Channel and Baltic ports, and inland along the great rivers which formed their hinterland.<sup>1</sup> The mighty Elbe River, which rises in the mountains north of Prague, Czechoslovakia, surges northwest through Germany to empty into the North Sea at the base of the Danish

Peninsula. Hamburg, on the east bank of the Elbe River sixty miles from the sea, had little agricultural hinterland to bolster its economy. However, it lay at the junction of a major east-west trade route with the mighty river. Accordingly, it benefited from both the magnitude of inland trade and the deep river channel, which could accommodate the largest ocean-going ships. Until early in the nineteenth century, therefore, Hamburg paid little attention to the New World.

Its historic prosperity had earned Hamburg the privileged status of a Free City. Under a constitution implemented in 1712, it was governed by a merchant Senate which excluded aristocracy from public affairs. It had survived the Napoleonic upheavals with this republic relatively intact. By the beginning of the nineteenth century its population of 100,000 ranked it the third-largest German city, behind Vienna and Berlin. It had its own municipal bank, founded in 1619, which was the only German bank with international ranking. Dependent on foreign trade for their thriving prosperity, the local merchants owned only about 150 of the estimated two thousand ships which annually used the port facilities. Hamburg had close commercial links to Scandinavia, and was the major port for British trade with the Continent. In addition to trade, Hamburg welcomed immigrants, was liberal in granting them citizenship, and, according to historian Hajo Holborn, "showed an unusual capacity for adopting new people into its communal life and public service."<sup>2</sup>

While Hamburg was building its prosperous trade, Germans from other regions of Central Europe had been emigrating to North America since the beginnings of European settlement there, mainly to secure religious freedom. Between 65,000 and 100,000 Germans migrated during the colonial period.<sup>3</sup> These early migrants embarked from French and English ports until the blockades of the Napoleonic period choked off traffic from the Continent in 1806.<sup>4</sup> As part of his imperial design, Napoleon then totally restructured Central Europe. In 1803 he erased the historic mosaic of over three hundred sovereign states, free cities and bishoprics allied in the Holy Roman Empire. Incorporating hundreds of small units within the lands of amenable German rulers, he redrew and rationalized the boundaries of the German states. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna accepted the permanent revision of Central Europe and established the German Confederation, an association of thirty-five princely states and four free city republics. Hamburg and the Weser River Hanseatic city of Bremen, the two major North Sea ports, each retained their free city status. Each was about to develop a whole new commercial orientation toward the Atlantic.

During the eighteenth century the mercantilistic policies of the colonial powers had prevented German merchants from developing trade with the Americas. And the possibilities opened by the establishment of the United States were quickly cut off by the hostilities of the French Revolution. However, when Napoleon overran the Iberian Peninsula, the Spanish colonies in South America refused to recognize his rule, and began the wars which led ultimately to their independence. The United States was eager to accord them diplomatic recognition. By 1825, Paraguay, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, Bolivia and the Por-

tuguese colony of Brazil were independent and eager to trade with Europe. And it was to these new nations of Latin America that the German merchants turned first in their pursuit of new markets. Bremen and Hamburg cooperated in establishing Hanseatic consulates in Rio de Janeiro (1817), Bahia (1820), Mexico and Port-au-Prince (1825), Montevideo (1827), Buenos Aires and Lima (1828), Valparaiso (1834), Havana (1837) and Guatemala (1841).<sup>5</sup>

Like trade, the flow of emigration had been revitalized by the opening up of the New World. The mercantilist policies of the various German states had led to laws prohibiting emigration, since population was considered a vital resource. Most of these policies, too, had disappeared during the imperial era. With restrictions eased, an average of 5,000 Germans per year emigrated between 1819 and 1829 to all countries. Between 1820, when the United States began reporting immigration statistics, and 1900, 5,010,248 Germans were reported to have entered the United States. Of that total, 4,494,335 immigrated between 1850 and 1900. Until 1854 the Irish were the most numerous immigrants to the New World. But in that year the gates of Central Europe opened wide, and until 1895 when the Eastern European emigration began, Germany provided more immigrants to the United States than any other European country or region.<sup>6</sup> However, the United States was not the only destination of the emigrants. During this same period at least an additional half million Germans left Central Europe for other regions of settlement, notably Canada, Latin America, and Australia.<sup>7</sup> In addition, large numbers of non-German emigrants, especially those from Eastern Europe, sailed from German ports to the New World.<sup>8</sup>

In the traditional Hanseatic trade, Bremen had a considerable disadvantage in comparison to Hamburg. Hamburg was the terminus of long and established land and water routes which provided easy access and low freight costs. However, the Weser River, on which Bremen was located, barely penetrated the northwestern German plain, and its shallow channels were frequently silted up. Prior to the development of railroads, goods had to be freighted in by cart, adding considerably to time and transport costs. Emigrants, however, had the advantage of paying their own way to the port of embarkation, and the Bremen Senate recognized the income potential of this passenger trade. In 1832 it enacted the innovative policy of requiring the shipping companies to provide emigrant passengers with sufficient food for the crossing. Bremen was the first West European harbor to provide such protection, and soon began to attract emigrants in great numbers.<sup>9</sup>

Hamburg was caught unprepared and made uncertain by the German overseas migration in the early nineteenth century. The initial migrations of the 1830s had utilized the Atlantic ports of Le Havre, Antwerp and Rotterdam, and Hamburg made no effort to attract this new business. In fact, in 1832 when Bremen began to enact legislation protecting emigrants, Hamburg tried instead to prevent emigrants from using its facilities. However, emigrant passage money helped ship captains finance trading expeditions to the Americas, and they began to favor the Weser River port. As a result, within a few years Hamburg

merchants experienced a 5 percent decline in their trade with the United States, while that of Bremen increased by 20 percent. The worthy Hamburg merchants, recognizing their mistake, took the necessary steps to recoup their losses, and from 1837 on began to enact legislation to protect emigrants and encourage them to begin their journey in Hamburg.<sup>10</sup> Thereafter, until the end of the century, Hamburg and Bremen were locked in fierce competition for the emigrant trade.

The merchant leaders of Hamburg initially thought in terms of establishing a Hanseatic colony. In 1841 Karl Sieveking, acting on his own without approval of the Senate, began private negotiations with representatives of the British New Zealand Company to obtain Chatham Island, off the southern coast of Chile, for ten thousand English pounds. He was able to attract modest support from other Hamburg merchants and shippers, notably the Slomans, Abendroths, Godeffroys and others. Sieveking envisioned a trading company, the "German Admiralty," which would manage the colony, and anticipated requesting Prussian assistance in providing military security. The plan was rejected by the Prussians, however, and sharply criticized elsewhere in Germany as impractical. In 1842 the British withdrew their offer to deal, and the colonization plan came to naught. Shortly thereafter, Hamburg's port facilities were destroyed by a major fire, and the city's energies focused necessarily on reconstruction at home rather than overseas development.<sup>11</sup>

The revolutions of 1848 generated Hamburg's next colonial initiative. Encouraged by the Frankfurt Assembly, which was trying to design a constitution for a united Germany, the "Colonization Association in Hamburg" was established in 1849 under the chairmanship of Senator Christian Schröder. It acquired four thousand square kilometers of land in the Brazilian province of Santa Catharina. The defeat of the German revolutionary movement in 1849 ended the hope of establishing a national colony in Brazil, so the project remained a commercial venture. Having lost the jump on North American emigration to Bremen, Hamburg regarded the Brazilian emigration trade as its especial concern. By 1868 it had sent eight thousand emigrants to settle the lands bought by the association. By 1886 there were approximately 100,000 German settlers in Brazil, concentrated in the southern provinces of Santa Catharina and Rio Grande do Sul.<sup>12</sup>

While the Hamburg merchants had been preoccupied with land colonies, the shipping interests were also examining the potential of the emigrant trade. In 1828 the first North American shipping line began to operate in Hamburg, although through the 1840s the majority of the North American traffic flowed through Bremen. Hamburg shipping interests began to consider the passenger trade, however. In March 1847 a stock corporation was founded by August Bolton, a ship broker, merchants Adolph Godeffroy and Ernst Merck, and shipping magnates Ferdinand Laeisz and Carl Wörmann. With the proceeds from investment and stock sales (limited to Hamburg residents), the corporation planned to acquire sailing ships and inaugurate the Hamburg-Amerika



shipping line. Although steam was just being applied to the Atlantic route, the infant corporation felt it could not afford the new technology without a government subsidy. In 1848 it purchased for 132,000 marks each the *Deutschland* and the *Nordamerika*, sailboats of 717 registered tons, providing space for two hundred emigrants and twenty cabin passengers. With these two ships the round trip to North America took forty-two days out and thirty days to return. The emigrant trade was so lucrative, that within the next five years the Hamburg-Amerika Line bought four more ships, and chartered a number of others. By the end of 1853 the corporation commissioned the construction of two steamships, without waiting for a government subsidy.<sup>13</sup>

Whereas the colonization projects and the Hamburg-Amerika Line were essentially commercial projects, the Hamburg merchants were also genuinely concerned with the more human aspects of the emigration trade. Their primary interest was managing the impact on the city of the increasing flow of emigrants to the port. The emigrants strained housing facilities; some were ill or indigent and needed care; all were at the mercy of aggressive and sometimes unscrupulous agents who sought to rent them rooms, and sell them tickets and supplies. To cope with these basic problems, and others that would arise, the merchants formed the Hamburg Association for the Protection of Emigrants, and under its auspices established an Information Bureau for Emigrants in 1851. Supported by the financial contributions of the merchants, the Bureau opened offices at the major railroad stations and other locations where emigrants congregated. It provided reliable information on the cost of rooms and provisions, passage prices and dates, and advised emigrants on the amount and types of provisions to take with them. However, as the number of emigrants increased, this task became increasingly difficult, especially since the Bureau had no official authority to discipline landlords or agents who bilked the emigrants. Accordingly, in 1854, a year in which the exodus of fifty thousand Germans strained the capacities of the port city, the Association requested support from the city senate. Early in 1855 the Hamburg Senate established an official Emigration Commission, composed of members of the senate and members of the Chamber of Commerce. The new commission was charged to continue the operation of the Information Bureau, and, in addition, to oversee and regulate those businesses involved in the emigrant trade.<sup>14</sup> In 1857 it responded to 17,835 inquiries at the railroad stations and 1,454 at riverfront docks, distributing over four thousand pieces of printed information. It had also made arrangements with thirty-seven landlords to provide approved lodgings for emigrants waiting to board ships.<sup>15</sup>

Henceforth, the Hamburg Emigration Commission involved itself in all aspects of the emigration trade. Appropriate to its origins, a primary concern was the welfare of the emigrants passing through the city. Regulation of housing for the transients was a major task, and one which had great significance for the development of the port. The Information Bureau continued to provide information on hotels and

prices, but the Commission now had authority to enforce compliance. A Commission poster on room and board prices, dated 1871, indicates how closely the landlords were supervised:<sup>16</sup>

**FIRST CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark, 10 Schillings. Includes:**

A good bed; Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables, baked meat; Afternoon—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Evening—coffee or tea with sugar and milk, white bread or, as substitute, some warm food.

**SECOND CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark, 4 Schillings. Includes:**

A bed; Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables and meat; Evening—coffee or tea with milk and sugar, white bread.

**THIRD CLASS: Price for adults: 1 Mark. Includes:**

Sleeping space (mattress); Breakfast—coffee with sugar and milk, white bread; Midday—soup, vegetables, meat; Evening—tea or coffee with sugar and milk, white bread.

The emigrants must specify at the outset the class of lodging they wish. For all classes the price includes the necessary room heat and light, sufficient for the coldest season, for a period of 24 hours. If the lodger wishes a variation of these accommodations, the price must be negotiated in advance.

. . . The above prices include provision of bedding, mattress, eating and drinking utensils for the duration of the stay.

Despite the rigorous supervision, the inkeepers had incentives to open their facilities to the emigrants. The most lucrative part of their trade came from brokering the ship tickets, for which they received the contract for providing the food and supplies needed by the travelers for the Atlantic crossing. By 1886, the ninety-mark ticket price could include up to forty marks worth of travel supplies, well justifying for the inkeeper the necessity of meeting the Commission's requirements for maintaining standards, accepting inspection, and posting prices.<sup>17</sup>

One of the greatest problems for the emigrants was arranging for their travel in the United States. On both sides of the Atlantic aggressive agents, called *Makler* in Germany and "runners" in the United States, hustled to sell railroad and canal tickets. They often misrepresented the actual cost, facilities and travel time, sometimes selling completely fraudulent tickets. Regulation of foreign agents became, and remained, a primary concern of the Emigration Commission. In its annual report of 1857 the Commission discussed the wisdom of a ban on the sale in Hamburg of tickets for land transportation in the United States. The ban had been established in June 1854 and strengthened in February 1856. However, the general agent of the Pennsylvania Central Railroad had appealed the decision, based on the claim that competitive railroads in New York had barred the Pennsylvania agents from selling tickets at the Castle Garden docks, thus denying emigrants access to a major route inland.<sup>18</sup>

To investigate this problem, the Commission had contacted the president of the German Society of the City of New York, an organization established in 1784 to "promote emigration from Germany, to assist immigrants in distress . . . and to spread useful knowledge." The German Society had been successful in counteracting the "runners" at Castle Garden, and its president served on the Immigration Commission established in New York in 1847.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of information provided by the German Society, the Hamburg Emigration Commission rejected the petition of the Pennsylvania Railroad agent, and voted to require ship captains to post notices of the ban as well as information about the regulated sale of land transportation tickets at Castle Garden.<sup>20</sup> In addition, the Commission began a registry of approved agents operating in Hamburg,<sup>21</sup> and investigated the activities of agents suspected of improper conduct of business.<sup>22</sup> In a similar manner it conducted a vigorous campaign against the sale of counterfeit American money by illegal money changers. In addition to maintaining vigilance in the city, the Commission placed warnings about this practice in twenty newspapers throughout southern Germany, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Prussia, paying Türkheim's agency to assure their insertion at least three times.<sup>23</sup>

Nor did the Commission hesitate to confront Hamburg firms in the interest of the emigration trade. For example, in December 1870 the Commission directed the Hamburg-Amerika Line to provide mattresses and eating utensils for its emigrant passengers. Investigation had shown that emigrants often failed to bring these bulky and heavy objects with them, and consequently were often sold bedding which was of poor quality, lumpy and unclean, leading to hygiene problems during the voyage. The Commission felt that the shipping line, buying large quantity of bedding wholesale, could best handle the problem, noting that Bremen had solved the problem in this way. Adolph Godeffroy, on behalf of the Hamburg-Amerika Line, argued that the majority of the emigrants came from Mecklenburg, Holstein and Pomerania, where only featherbeds were used; they would never accept the seagrass mattresses usually provided. Moreover, the mattresses would have to be discarded after each voyage, a needless waste of money. Nevertheless, the Commission's regulation prevailed.<sup>24</sup>

By the 1890s the flow of emigrants through the city became so great that the approximately two thousand lodging rooms available were insufficient to handle them. At first the Commission ordered the innkeepers to increase room occupancy by 50 percent, but that only increased the problem. In 1891, a year in which the Hamburg-Amerika Line had forty-five ships in service, undertaking 273 round trips for 125,997 passengers, the corporation management opened up temporary lodgings in some older ships it had retired from the Atlantic passage. This extended accommodations by another one thousand places. The Emigration Commission also commandeered unused buildings in the city, but this still did not handle the problem. In 1892 the Commission therefore ordered the Hamburg-Amerika Line to use land on its Ameri-

ka Dock in the harbor to construct barracks to handle emigrants in transit. Another 1,400 places were provided in this way. However, more than space needs dictated this solution. Increasingly, the transient groups were composed of Russian emigrants. In 1892 cholera had broken out in the Russian Empire; and to residents of Hamburg, concerned about the possibility of an epidemic, isolating the emigrants seemed an excellent solution. More barracks were built, and tracks laid to bring emigrant trains directly to the dock area. Ultimately, in 1901 the city deeded unused land in the Veddel area to the Hamburg-Amerika Line, which built an emigration facility complete with barracks, clinic facilities, Protestant and Catholic chapels, and even a synagogue.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to taking action on behalf of the emigrants, the Hamburg Emigration Commission also began to collect information about their activities in the United States. Its file contained annual reports from the German Society of New York, American government publications, and reports from the Castle Garden authorities, among other materials. These provided information such as land prices, the location of recent German settlers in the United States, statistics on employment of recent immigrants, average American wages for farmworkers and various trades, and lists of reliable lawyers in each state.<sup>26</sup>

While the Emigration Commission took genuine interest in the welfare of the travelers passing through Hamburg, its most vested interest was in developing the economic benefits of this traffic for the business community of the city. A major concern for the Commission was the competition with Bremen, which had gained, in Germany, the reputation as the best place for emigrants. This reputation was due not only to the early protective legislation passed by the city, but also because Bremen provided travelers with direct transportation to the United States. Hamburg shippers initially carried emigrants to Hull, England, where they traveled overland by train to Liverpool and then went on to Boston or New York by English ships. This indirect route, while less expensive and offering emigrants more frequent sailings, took longer and subjected the traveler to more stress. Indeed, in 1837 the Bavarian government issued a formal warning against the Hamburg indirect route, declaring that passengers there were "handled no better than Negro slaves."<sup>27</sup> The Hamburg-Amerika Line began providing direct emigration to New York in 1846, and from 1853 on arranged more direct than indirect passages. By 1874 almost all Hamburg emigrant trade was by the direct route. Yet Hamburg never fully overcame its earlier reputation.

To cope with this situation, the Hamburg Emigration Commission conducted a businesslike campaign to attract emigrants. In January 1866, concerned about a decline in emigrant inquiries, the Commission considered its "market." Most of the city's emigrant traffic came from the nearby eastern states, Mecklenburg and Pomerania, because Hamburg was the most convenient port. However, to increase traffic the Commission agreed it had to reach emigrants before they had selected a port of departure. They decided to send information detailing the

protective policies of the Emigration Commission to the other German governments, and also to place advertisements in south German newspapers, such as the *Schwäbischer Merkur*, reputed to have a wide following in the southern agricultural communities. As part of this campaign, the Hamburg-Amerika Line also placed ads promoting its service to New York, and the Sloman Line advertised its service to Canada and Brazil.<sup>28</sup>

The following year the commission flared in indignation at an article in the *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung* that the Prussian government had recommended Bremen as the best emigration port, due to its careful protection of the safety and interests of the emigrants. The Hamburg commissioners enlisted the help of the senate to contact the Prussian Ministry of Interior and point out that Hamburg offered the same excellent protection and provided an even wider selection of ships than Bremen, where opportunities for less expensive passage via England were not available. The Prussian ministry assured Hamburg that it had only distributed Bremen's information without endorsement, and agreed to circulate Hamburg's materials as well.<sup>29</sup>

Hamburg's independent management of emigration was affected by Prussia's competition with Austria for hegemony over the German states. The defeat of Austria in the Austro-Prussian War of 1866 dissolved the German Confederation headed by Austria. Under Bismarck's leadership, Prussia consolidated the states north of the Main River into the North German Confederation in 1867. Bismarck intended to appoint an agency to supervise emigration from the Hanseatic ports, but this plan ran into the strong resistance of both Bremen and Hamburg. Accordingly, he compromised, appointing a confederation commissar, without enforcement authority, to inspect emigration facilities and policies, and report on them to the central government.<sup>30</sup> Following the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 (during which a French blockade interrupted German emigration)<sup>31</sup> the German Empire was founded in January 1871. Under this new government an imperial commissar continued the practice of inspecting emigrant shipping in Bremen, Hamburg, and Stettin. Although no other formal emigration office was established until 1898, the national government made occasional efforts to control emigration policies. For example, German men were not allowed to emigrate if they had not fulfilled their military obligation. Also, in 1873 the government ordered that all emigration agents and representatives hold German citizenship; all others were to be excluded from the business. Hamburg reported that of all the city's agents promoting American land sales, only one, from Iowa, was not a citizen; the agent from Michigan had moved to Leipzig, and the Nebraska agent had returned to the United States in October 1872. All the ticket agents were Hamburg citizens.<sup>32</sup>

According to the statistics of the Hamburg Emigration Commission, some 2,516,285 emigrants departed through Hamburg between 1850 and 1900.<sup>33</sup> The average number of emigrants by decade provides a profile of the traffic:

**Table**  
**Emigrants Departing Hamburg by Decade**

Years	Average No. of Emigrants	Peak Year	Number
1850-59	23,851	1854	50,819
1860-69	30,607	1868	50,050
1870-79	39,454	1872	74,406
1880-89	87,643	1881	123,131
1890-99	70,075	1891	144,382

During this same period, the Hamburg-Amerika Line also grew and prospered. Its records indicated that it carried 2,227,820 passengers between 1850 and 1900. From its beginning in 1848 with two ships and two round trips to New York transporting 168 passengers, it increased in size to a fleet of ninety-eight ships in 1900, during which it made 419 round trips.<sup>34</sup> It survived serious competition from the Bremen Lloyd Line (founded 1857), the Hamburg Adler Line (founded 1872), the Hamburg Carr Line (founded 1884), and the Hamburg Hansa Line, which it took over in 1891. It expanded its routes as well. Until 1856 its ships made one crossing monthly, usually stopping at one British port (Southampton or Plymouth) and one French port (Le Havre, Boulogne or Cherbourg) en route. In 1866, with a larger fleet, the company began weekly crossings to New York, and put some ships in service on a New Orleans-Havana route. This service was extended to the West Indies in 1871; however, both routes were shut down due to the depression of 1873. After a period of financial difficulties, during which it paid no dividends for four years, the Hamburg-Amerika Line recovered its losses, reopened the West Indies route and began a new service to Mexico. After 1881 its ships sailed twice a week to New York from Hamburg. Service from Stettin was added in 1886. American service was extended to Baltimore in 1888, as well as to New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Boston in 1891.<sup>35</sup>

The Hamburg merchants and shippers had clearly prospered through the emigration trade. Just as important, however, the millions of emigrants who passed through the venerable port city had benefited as well. Because of their competition for passengers, Bremen and Hamburg enacted the first laws which guaranteed steerage passengers the "necessities of life" for their crossing; "on all other ships they were required to provide themselves with everything except fire and water."<sup>36</sup> Whereas the United States immigration authorities tried to control hygienic conditions on board ship by establishing minimum standards for steerage and cabin passengers on ships to American ports,<sup>37</sup> "[a]ll authorities agree . . . that in the first three quarters of the nineteenth century little was accomplished by legislation except at Bremen and Hamburg toward improving the conditions of transportation."<sup>38</sup>

The provision of free and reliable information, the regulation of

housing, provisions, and sale of tickets, and, ultimately, the establishment of complete port facilities for transit passengers may simply have been enlightened self-interest on behalf of the Hamburg city fathers. Certainly the growth of the Hamburg-Amerika Line reflects the business benefits to the city. Yet the Commission also established connections with the German Society of the City of New York, and the New York immigration authorities to assure proper reception for the Hamburg passengers. In retrospect, there can be little doubt that the emigration industry in Hamburg was managed by purposeful, principled businessmen and that it represented an unusually successful cooperation between commerce and government. The city benefited, the emigrant benefited. And in the long run, the United States benefited as well. The Germans arrived in time to man the new industries and open up the farmland of the Midwest and the Great Plains, bringing with them capital estimated at five billion marks to invest in land, tools, livestock and provisions.<sup>39</sup> Thanks to the Hamburg Emigration Commission, millions of these emigrants arrived not as huddled masses, but as free men ready and able to prosper in the New World.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Schildhauer, Konrad Fritze, Walter Stark, *Die Hanse* (Berlin, 1985); Jürgen Bolland, "Hamburgs Weg zur Großstadt," in *Hamburg: Großstadt und Welthafen* (Kiel, 1955), 131-41.

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<sup>2</sup> Hajo Holborn, *A History of Modern Germany 1648-1840* (New York, 1971), 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> Günter Moltmann, ed., *Germans to America: 300 Years of Immigration 1683 to 1983* (Stuttgart, 1982), 9.

<sup>4</sup> William J. Bromwell, *History of Immigration to the United States, Exhibiting the Number, Sex, Age, Occupation, and Country of Birth, of Passengers Arriving in the United States by Sea from Foreign Countries from September 30, 1819, to December 31, 1855; Compiled Entirely from Official Data: With an Introductory Review of the Progress and Extent of Immigration to the United States Prior to 1819, and an Appendix Containing the Naturalization and Passenger Laws of the United States, and Extracts From the Laws of the Several States Relative to Immigrants, the Importation of Paupers, Convicts, Lunatics, Etc.* (New York, 1856), 13-15.

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich Wehner, "Hamburgs Beziehungen zu Iberoamerika," in *Hamburg: Großstadt und Welthafen*, 315.

<sup>6</sup> Oscar Canstatt, *Die deutsche Auswanderung, Auswanderungsfürsorge und Auswandererziele* (Berlin, [1905]), 11, 51-53; United States Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States 1789-1945: A Supplement to the Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, DC, 1949), 34-36.

<sup>7</sup> F. Burgdörfer, "Migration Across the Frontiers of Germany," in *International Migrations*, ed. Imre Ferenczi and Walter F. Willcox (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1929-31), 2:333. Canstatt, who was Director of the German Colonial Society, provided considerable information on German emigration to lands outside the

United States during the nineteenth century, including chapters on Mexico, Canada, Central America, South America, Australia, Africa and Asia (cf. pp. 299-346).

<sup>8</sup> Birgit Gelberg, *Auswanderung nach Übersee: Soziale Probleme der Auswandererbeförderung in Hamburg und Bremen von der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, 1973), 38.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Helmut Washausen, *Hamburg und die Kolonialpolitik des Deutschen Reiches 1880 bis 1890* (Hamburg, 1968), 12-15.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> K. Thiess, "Die Entwicklung der Hamburg-Amerika Linie von 1847 bis 1901," in *Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, 3d ser., 21 (Jena, 1901): 817-18. These ships, built in England, were completed in 1855 and immediately chartered by the British and French governments as troop transports for the Crimean War.

<sup>14</sup> Gelberg, 13-15.

<sup>15</sup> Staatsarchiv Hamburg [hereafter: StAH], Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht über die Wirksamkeit des Nachweisungs-Bureau der Auswanderer-Behörde in Hamburg während des Jahres 1857," p. 27.

<sup>16</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, 2. Anlage, vol. 17 (1871).

<sup>17</sup> Gelberg, 21.

<sup>18</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht . . .," pp. 5-8.

<sup>19</sup> Rudolf Cronau, *Denkschrift zum 150. Jahrestag der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York 1784-1934* (New York, 1934), 72-74.

<sup>20</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII, vol. 2, IV, "Dritter Jahresbericht . . .," pp. 9-19.

<sup>21</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, 5. Register zu den Protokollen VII 3 und VII 4, vol. 1 of "Auswanderexpedienten und -agenten (Eisenbahn und Hafenvorkimnisse) 1855-1887."

<sup>22</sup> For example: StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 15, 1869, Anlage III, 1869 ["Texas-Liverpooler Dampfschiff Compagnie"]; VII 2, vol. 20, 1874, Protocolle Anlage ["Reichsangehörigkeit der Auswanderungs-Agenten"]; IV E, I 3 ["Amerikanische Siedlungsgesellschaft Missouri, Kansas und Texas Trust Co.'], 1899.

<sup>23</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, Protocolle Anlage, 1871, "Warnung für Auswanderer, betreffend Nordamerikanisches Papiergeld." 29 September 1870.

<sup>24</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, Protocolle Anlage, 1871, *Bremen Courier*, 26 November 1870, p. 4; Godeffroy, 6 December 1870; Emigration Commission to Godeffroy, 31 December 1870. 116. Gelberg, 21-22.

<sup>25</sup> Thiess, 825; Canstatt, 110-113; Gelberg, 21-25.

<sup>26</sup> The following are a representative sample: StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 15: "Annual Report of the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York for the Year Ending December 31, 1868" (New York, 1869); Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17: 1871 "Jahres-Bericht und Mitglieder-Verzeichnis der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York für 1870;" "Jährlicher Bericht des Castle Garden Arbeits-Bureau [1870];" "Chart of the United States Law Association and Collection Union: Containing the Name of a Reliable and Responsible Lawyer in Every County of the United States," no. 7 (New York, 1871); "Special Report on Immigration accompanying Information for Immigrants Relative to the Prices and Rentals of Land, the Staple Products, Facilities of Access to Market, Cost of Farm Stock, Kind of Labor in Demand in the Western and Southern States, etc., etc. to which and [sic] Appended Tables Showing the Average Weekly Wages Paid in the Several States and Sections for Factory, Mechanical and Farm Labor; the Cost of Provisions, Groceries, Dry Goods and House Rent in the Various Manufacturing Districts of the Country in the Year 1869-1870 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1871). [This report was translated into German by the United States Government Printing Office in 1872. Cf. VII 2, vol. 19, 1873, Anlage II B, 1873.]

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in Canstatt, 119.

<sup>28</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 12, 1866: I.C. 24 January 1866 Brehmer. I.C. 1866 Bericht.

<sup>29</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 13, 1867, Anlage A: "Abschrift *Allgemeine Auswanderungs-Zeitung*, Rudolstadt 16 Mai 1867, No. 20." "Bericht, J. Ch. Brehmer," 21 Mai 1867. "Extractus, Protocolli der Deputation für das Auswandererwesen," 28. Mai



1867. Gobert, Hamburg, den 31. Mai 1867. "Abschrift, Hanseatische Gesandtschaft No. 137," Berlin, 5 Juni 1867.

<sup>30</sup> Hans-Georg Schönhoff, *Hamburg im Bundesrat: Die Mitwirkung Hamburgs an der Bildung des Reichswillens 1867-1890* (Hamburg, 1967), 67-68.

<sup>31</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 17, 1871: "Jahres-Bericht und Mitglieder-Verzeichnis der Deutschen Gesellschaft der Stadt New York für 1870" (New York, 1871) reported cessation of immigration from the Elbe and Weser between the middle of June and the end of September.

<sup>32</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, VII 2, vol. 20, 1874: R.C.A. No. 338B, Berlin, 10 Juli 1873. VII 2, vol. 20, 1874, Protocolle Anlage: Bericht, 2 August 1873.

<sup>33</sup> StAH, Auswanderungsamt, I E I 8, Statistisches, Allgemeine Überschrift.

<sup>34</sup> Thiess, 825.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 818-20.

<sup>36</sup> Thomas W. Page, "The Transportation of Immigrants and Reception Arrangements in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Political Economy* 19 (1911): 737.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bromwell, Appendix, 189-225.

<sup>38</sup> Page, 743.

<sup>39</sup> Canstatt, 214, provides statistical data on the percentage of Germans who own their own farms in sixteen agricultural states; p. 44, calculates the basis of German wealth conveyed to the United States at from 400 to 1,200 marks per emigrant.



Peter Winkel

**Skepticism Turns to Enthusiasm:  
Seventeen Letters Written by a German Immigrant  
in New Jersey to His Father in Hesse-Darmstadt  
between 1852 and 1859**

One week after his arrival in New Jersey, Christoph [Christoph] Farnkopf called the country "unhealthy" and vowed "not to stay here."<sup>1</sup> Nine weeks later he declared America "a land of rascals because there is no government and police" (III). But eighteen months after arriving he informed his family in Hesse-Darmstadt, that he "had decided to stay in America, because . . . [it] is a free country, one can do his business any way one wishes . . . and I do not pay taxes as in Germany" (VII).

The first few years for this twenty-three-year-old man in New Jersey were as confusing and complex as for any immigrant trying to decide in a new environment if he should remain in the New World or return "to Old Germany." The confusion was compounded by a multitude of factors which made this case a peculiar one. Farnkopf had departed his homeland illegally, leaving behind a sweetheart with an illegitimate child as well as his own prosperous father; he had brought with him money and found work immediately in New Jersey.<sup>2</sup> Christoph Farnkopf apparently had not left to escape economic misery or social injustice, but to avoid criminal prosecution. He settled in an area populated by Hessians and maintained close contacts with immigrants from his hometown. The confusion reflected in his early letters underlined the complexity of his case. Christoph Farnkopf was not an ordinary immigrant. Beginning with his first letter he vacillated about his true intentions. Yet within two years he decided to make New Jersey his home, to raise a family and to establish himself in business.<sup>3</sup>

This study will examine the gradual adjustment of Christoph Farnkopf to life in New Jersey based on his letters to his family in Hesse-Darmstadt and on the existing public records in New Jersey and in Hesse. The early letters tell of his frustrations in America, yet also show

his ambitions to improve his economic conditions. The later letters speak of the misunderstandings between his family in Germany and himself and of his success in settling in an alien world.<sup>4</sup> The study will also trace this growing discontent with his relatives. Finally we will answer the question as to whether New Jersey provided the expected golden opportunity for him and his family.

Christopf Farnkopf was born in Waldmichelbach, a small village south of Darmstadt, on 7 August 1829.<sup>5</sup> His father Martin was a successful master stonemason who had his own quarry. Christopf's mother, née Reinhard, died in 1839. Martin remarried in 1842, but his second wife, née Weber, died within three years. He did not marry again. Martin Farnkopf's death certificate listed eight surviving children in 1869, two of them living in North America. His assets represented a monetary value of 1,494.38 gulden. But he did not leave a will.<sup>6</sup>

Judging from his letters to his father and siblings, Christopf must have learned a trade involving stone cutting in Waldmichelbach but had not applied for the master examination (VII). Apparently he did not serve in the military, since his name is not to be found in any of the registers. However, he might have paid a substitute to serve in the army in his place, or he might have won the lottery and thus avoided service. Unfortunately, no evidence could be found to support either thesis. The Farnkopfs were Catholic, which however did not prevent Franziska, Christopf's younger sister, from marrying Sebastian Haid, a Protestant. Neither intermarriage nor religious ceremonies of different denominations were unusual in Waldmichelbach. Religious tolerance appeared to be common in the village.

Christopf Farnkopf was a popular and hard-drinking man. Friends asked him to witness marriages and to be a godfather for a baby boy. His signatures show a clear script and suggest a literate and strong-minded individual. The high number of illegitimate children registered in the birth record books of the Catholic and Evangelical churches in Waldmichelbach indicates a degree of promiscuity. Christopf Farnkopf must have felt a special relationship to Barbara Ackermann. On 3 February 1852 she gave birth to a boy and at the baptism Christopf admitted responsibility for the child.<sup>7</sup> Yet they did not marry. When he left in September 1852, the reader of his first letter might assume that Barbara and son Michael were the cause for his departure to North America. In later letters, however, Christopf Farnkopf urged Barbara to join him in New Jersey and his fervent pleas give evidence of a concerned and loving man.

On 8 September 1852 Christopf Farnkopf and Johannes Adam Roth left home rather abruptly, boarding a ship in Mannheim, a city south of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, traveled on the Rhine to Rotterdam, transferred to another ship bound for Hull, England, and then went by rail to Liverpool. On 16 September 1852 Farnkopf and Roth and 612 other passengers left for North America and arrived in New York on 17 October 1852. Their main complaints were not their sick days and the stormy weather, but the 596 Englishmen and Irishmen (II) on board with whom Farnkopf and Roth could not converse. Perhaps this encounter

with English-speaking persons foreshadows his habit of close association with Hessians during the first few years in New Jersey.

In their first letter written on 14 September 1852 in Liverpool, England, Christopf Farnkopf and Johannes Adam Roth implied there had been a possible illegal act committed by them when they expressed fear whenever the police boarded the ship carrying them from Mannheim to Rotterdam, "now we will be handed over" (I). There were probably two stops, Worms and Mainz, within the boundary of their home principality, where officials had the right to demand identification papers from the passengers including exit visas, which Farnkopf and Roth did not have.

Young men fleeing the law in mid-nineteenth-century Germany did so for a number of reasons: draft evasion, criminal acts, political involvement, disillusioned husband or an unwed lover with an illegitimate child.

The last reason can be dismissed immediately, because Christopf in a separate note attached to the first letter to his father and siblings instructed them not to forget his sweetheart and to visit his seven-month-old child. Also he asked them to show the letter to the Ackermanns. Judging from these remarks and other comments including his invitation to Barbara in subsequent letters to join him in Hoboken, it is clear she and the baby were not the cause for his sudden departure. Also, why then would Roth join him in the escape? The marriage and baptism records of neither of the Waldmichelbach churches list Roth during this period as husband or father. However, it appears that the men's escape was not only secretive but also so abrupt that they were unable to make appropriate arrangements. They seemed to have been hiding, since they had not heard of invitations to the weddings of two friends (III).

The haste of the departure seems to have been caused by an illegal or political act rather than a moral lapse. Hesse-Darmstadt was also absorbed in the political turmoil and violence caused by the Revolution of 1848 that prevailed throughout Germany for several years. A new government introduced reforms in the grand duchy, giving hope to thousands of economically depressed subjects. Yet when the revolution was lost, its leaders were persecuted by the returning establishment, and this contributed to an exodus of revolutionaries. Christopf Farnkopf, however, was not part of the political unrest, since the registers of convicted rebels including those in absentia do not contain his name.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, Christopf did not immediately participate in political life in New Jersey, unlike so many forty-eighters, who assumed an active role in American politics as soon as they arrived in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps the most common cause for illegal emigration in Germany was to avoid military service. Written announcements displayed in town halls and newspapers in Darmstadt listed not only those who were summoned to the draft boards, but also men who purchased their military freedom by paying others to serve in their place. A close examination of existing military records indicating emigration of soldiers

without permission submitted in 1852 by Hessian regiments to the Interior Department in Darmstadt shows no listing of Farnkopf and Roth. Furthermore the list containing the names of men who were of draft age or soldiers and who had left the county of Lindenfels without receiving permission from the authorities in 1852 does not show these two names.<sup>10</sup> While the available newspapers do not include the critical years of 1848 to 1850, those which exist for later years list neither Christoph Farnkopf nor Johannes Adam Roth.<sup>11</sup> There is also the age of Christoph to consider. In 1852 he was twenty-three years old and past the normal draft age. He should have either completed his military service by 1852 or been serving. Men born in 1829 were drafted before 1852.<sup>12</sup> Neither draft evasion nor desertion seems to have been the reason for this sudden departure.

The second reference to his fleeing occurs in his letter dated 28 December 1852, when he informed his father that a friend from Waldmichelbach had informed them that their departure had been unwarranted: "And we discovered that our escape was unnecessary. All went well with that *matter*, which we appreciate" (III). Again, newspapers of this period do not mention any infractions or commutations involving these two men. And the above citation cannot refer to Barbara Ackermann. "Die Sach" ("the matter") can neither apply to draft evasion nor a major criminal violation. These charges would be too serious to be labeled simply "the matter." Rather it seems it might have been a mischievous prank perhaps bordering on a petty crime which could have been settled out of court.

In all of the first three letters from the two men and later his own letters there is only one direct reference to an illegal act. Farnkopf referred to the situation "about the stones" and "even if it did not turn out to the best, he would return" (IV). Had he stolen stones with Johannes Adam Roth? Were those urgent appeals to his father pleas to pay off the victim? Since the crime must have occurred in the summer of 1852, and neither the court records nor the newspaper articles mention any criminal acts committed by these two, it is possible that theft was the underlying cause for this illegal emigration.

Yet the good news in December 1852 was short-lived, because somewhere later he was informed of an investigation and on 4 December 1853 he asked his father directly about the matter:

I want to know how the investigation is progressing. Sebastian said as soon as I arrived in Waldmichelbach the police would arrest me and hand me over to the courts and I might be confined for a half year as well as have to pay expenses. (VI)

The shortness of his possible prison term suggests that Christoph Farnkopf was neither a political activist nor a draft dodger. The sentences for treason issued in 1852 ranged from seven to fourteen years.<sup>13</sup>

At the end of January or beginning of February 1854 Martin Farnkopf must have gone through much trouble to take care of "the matter,"

since on 22 March 1854 Christopf thanked his father for having taken care of this matter "so that I can return to you," and at the end of the letter he asked his father "to send the bill for the trouble you undertook. I and Adam will pay for it" (VII). Martin had sent two letters to his son: 17 January and 8 February 1854. The former arrived on 17 March and the latter on 21 March. Christopf answered the second one immediately on the following day suggesting that he had not responded to the first. This implies that the good news arrived in the second letter and the matter had been settled during the period between the time the two letters had been written. But it was too late. Christopf Farnkopf had already decided to make New Jersey his home.

Hoboken in 1852 had attracted many Germans including Hessians. It is not possible to determine the exact number of persons from Waldmichelbach in Hoboken and surrounding areas because of incomplete and missing records and the illegal emigration of some. Not all Germans were listed in the Hoboken city directories, including Farnkopf and Roth, and the applications for naturalization and census records of 1860 list only Hesse-Darmstadt or Germany as place of birth. A similar void exists among the death and birth certificates in Hudson County. Legal emigration from Waldmichelbach to North America is not documented prior to 1852. From 1852 to 1860 an average of twenty persons per year, including children, left the village after securing permission from the government.<sup>14</sup> These figures do not include men such as Farnkopf and Roth who fled secretly because of dubious activities or criminal involvement which might lead to the government's refusal to grant the exit visas. Every citizen wishing to emigrate from Hesse-Darmstadt was required to apply for an exit visa and to prove that he or she owed no debts. In addition, males had to prove that they had fulfilled their military obligation.<sup>15</sup> By 1852 both legal and illegal emigrants from this village had settled in New York and New Jersey. A network of communication among these people from Hesse-Darmstadt existed to announce the coming of new arrivals and to help them find work and lodging. When Farnkopf and Roth arrived in New York City on 17 October 1852, they were greeted by several friends and their arrival was celebrated with other former residents of Waldmichelbach with beer. The bacchanalian festivities lasted for five days while they were staying at a friend's house in New York until they were assured work in Hoboken (II). Such receptions of and attempts to find work for Waldmichelbach friends were repeated several times later, and judging from Farnkopf's letters these were common practices among the former residents (III and IX).

Welcoming new arrivals by renting a boat to approach the steamships was not uncommon (IX). Once they had landed, the first hours were spent drinking beer, reading letters, and listening to the news from the village. The first two major objectives of any immigrant were to secure employment and to find lodging. Neither Farnkopf nor the persons he mentioned in his letters encountered any difficulty accomplishing these objectives. Christopf's brother-in-law, Sebastian Haid, for example, was welcomed by Farnkopf on his arrival in New York on 17

November 1853 and "we . . . drank to our health until the next day" (VI). They then went to Hoboken, where Haid stayed with him for eight days "until he found employment" in a quarry (VI). In each case it was the Waldmichelbach connection that provided the initial shelter and employment.

The closeness of the former residents is mentioned throughout the letters.<sup>16</sup> In the March 1854 letter he listed all the people who had visited him or whom he had seen lately. A strong closeness among the immigrants from Waldmichelbach must have existed, a relationship of support and encouragement. They were never alone. Michael Reinhard, Christopf's cousin, either visited them in Hoboken every other Sunday in 1853 or Christopf and Adam went to his house (V). The trip itself did not constitute a hardship since the ferryboat connections between Hoboken and Manhattan were frequent and convenient. In Farnkopf's quarters they met with others from the village. In one letter Christopf asked his father for the address of Christopf Voss who apparently was living nearby. A reference in a later letter showed that Farnkopf did contact Voss (II). This request seemed unusual since they seemed to know the address of everyone from Waldmichelbach living in Hudson County. Others lived within walking distance from Farnkopf's house (VII). One Sunday during the middle of July 1856 they had a house full of friends (XIV). The letter listed over ten persons and spoke of congeniality and sharing of letters from the old country.

At Christopf's first place of work he found two other men from his hometown (II). Others later joined this business, including his brother-in-law and another former resident of Waldmichelbach, Franz Stai. The latter seemed to be an embarrassment to the Hessians. Farnkopf called him mean and insolent, and eventually Stai was fired (VII and XI).

Why did Christopf Farnkopf settle in Hoboken? In Waldmichelbach he had worked with stone in his father's quarry and his sudden departure was also apparently related to stone. Several quarries were located in and north of Hoboken, and they employed Germans. The Waldmichelbach connection offered job opportunities to these two men who were working with two others from Waldmichelbach, Joseph Arnold and Nickolaus Kollmar, in the same quarry (II).

Farnkopf's inability to speak English apparently forced him to accept a lower-paying job. He would later advise his relatives and friends in Hesse to learn English, if they were planning to emigrate to the United States. Farnkopf had acquired the skills for his trade, but his expertise was apparently not enough in October 1852, and he had to perform a lesser job to meet his financial expenses for room and board. Prior job training in Germany must have been another major concern, since he advised his Hessian friends to come prepared. A third piece of advice to would-be immigrants was to avoid arriving in autumn, since work opportunities were limited during the winter season, forcing immigrants to accept mediocre jobs, as he had done.

Christopf Farnkopf left home to avoid criminal prosecution. Was this flight a permanent one or did he intend to return to Waldmichelbach to his family and to Barbara Ackermann and their son? Farnkopf in his first



few letters sent mixed signals home. From Liverpool he wrote: "We now say good-bye, good-bye to our homeland and we are now seeking another homeland, namely America . . . until we see each other again" (I). Certainly his father with a thriving business would not come to America, and considering Christopf's legal status he could not return immediately. Is this hope of a reunion an indication of the insignificance of his troubles in Hesse? Or is it merely an expression to alleviate any sorrow or anger among his relatives?

In their first letter from Hoboken Christopf and Adam sent confusing signals to their parents. The two men were critical of what they called the unhealthy climate, and expressed fear that the winter would be severe. The moderate summer temperatures and the cold rather than severe winter of Hesse sharply contrasted with the weather in New Jersey. Otherwise the letter is filled with positive reactions including a lengthy description of the available food, implying that in Hesse they ate considerably less. As usual, they boasted about beer drinking. Their letter exudes enthusiasm about New Jersey and the job opportunities they expected in the spring. Their urging Sebastian Haid to emigrate, and their reports of others' decisions to stay in North America, indicate two optimistic men who anticipate a great future in New Jersey. They closed their letter: "Dear parents, we repeat do not worry about us, we are in good spirits and do not wish to be in Germany right now" (II).

About nine weeks later they reported about their good health and their satisfaction about being in America: "We still like it here" (III). Yet they had one criticism:

Christmas we spent happily drinking beer. But the Americans work like any other day and so also do many Germans; that we consider incorrect, because America is a land of rascals because there is no government and police. (III)

The passage shows how politically naive these men were and supports the previous contention that they were not involved in the Revolution of 1848. Were they objecting on religious grounds? Christopf's letters never include Biblical or religious references. Religion and church are never mentioned in his letters. On another level, however, these lines explain the anger of English Protestants in New Jersey toward Germans who drank too much.<sup>17</sup> The political naiveté of Farnkopf is also reflected in the absence of any references to the political and social environment of Hudson County. The New Jersey Know-Nothings, who achieved their political apex in the election of 1856,<sup>18</sup> and the riots in Newark in 1854 are never mentioned in his letters.<sup>19</sup>

One could explain this outburst as a reaction by a homesick man celebrating Christmas away from home for the first time, yet there are other indications of a longing for Germany. At the time of writing Christopf and Adam were unemployed and had spent their savings to pay for room and board ("things are not good"). But there is no anger coming from these lines; rather, the earlier optimism is repeated here: "but everything will be different in the spring, then we can earn

money." This letter reveals two calculating men aspiring to improve their lives and prepared to struggle to achieve their goals. In a previous letter Martin Farnkopf had told them that life in Germany was also good. Their response was succinct: "You wrote that we had our America in Germany, which is not true, because we never had it so good in Germany" (III). Ten weeks after their arrival, even though unemployed, these two men exuded optimism and confidence. Perhaps in a mood of depression during the holidays, they informed their parents on 28 December 1852 that they might return "in two to three years." Only if business were poor would they leave New Jersey earlier. This letter is filled with mixed signals that may have been deliberate.

By May 1853, Adam Roth and Christopf Farnkopf were no longer living in the same boarding house in Hoboken. Christopf gave no reason. But he did inform his father that he would visit Germany during the coming winter and that he wanted to take his brother Michael back with him to New Jersey. Work was plentiful in his business and "one can earn a pretty penny." He did not object to the hard work of spending eleven hours at the quarry, because "we live the way we want to" and "here we drink more beer than water in Germany." Christopf was again employed in the stone business (IV). He saw the opportunities and was willing to work hard to realize them.

In his next letter, 4 September 1853, Farnkopf repeated his intention to return to Germany in late 1853 in order to allow him to save more money and come to Waldmichelbach with more than he had left with one year earlier. Adam Roth and Nickolaus Kollmar would accompany him. But a major change had occurred. His return would be a permanent one. The heat of the summer and illnesses cause him to call America "an unhealthy country and I would not like to remain here, because one is not sure of one's life in the summer." It was his health that concerned him and temporarily caused him to doubt chances for personal betterment (V).

On 17 November 1853 his brother-in-law, Sebastian Haid, arrived in North America bringing with him the bad news that Christopf was being investigated. This date is important, since in the previous letter Christopf had predicted his departure by now. Why had he postponed his return? With the arrival of fall Farnkopf examined his life in terms of work, earnings and food. Relief from the smoldering heat allowed him to reassess the practical aspects of his new homeland.

On 4 December 1853 Farnkopf announced his change of heart about a return to Germany to visit his relatives over the winter. His indecision becomes apparent upon reading these two letters. There was probably no reason for him to leave New Jersey, except for the temporary frustration about the heat. Lack of money could not have been a factor, because in this letter he included a check for \$20 for his infant son (VI).

The following spring he received the good news of being able to return to Hesse-Darmstadt. But he had decided to remain in New Jersey. His arguments are convincing and reflect a positive and optimistic attitude toward his new homeland:

I have considered everything. If I go home I will have a difficult time in becoming a master, and without this certificate one cannot accomplish much in Germany. . . . because here one can make a living in many different ways. Here is a free country, one can do his business any way one wishes and what I own is mine. And I do not have to pay taxes as in Germany. If you think about it one lives here like in heaven when compared with Germany. . . . here one can live without worries. (VII)

This excerpt reveals much about Christopf Farnkopf, Hesse-Darmstadt and his new environment. He had not left to escape economic misery, since he must have completed his journeyman requirements and was eligible to apply for the master's program, a process which led to economic stability and social status. Yet the last step demanded a vigorous involvement, living away from home, and arduous work before receiving the master's certificate. The calculating Farnkopf was apparently not willing to subject himself to this exhausting process, since he anticipated greater economic benefits and social recognition in New Jersey. Fewer commercial restrictions and a prospering economy were the motivations for remaining in New Jersey. Freedom to move and to change work without governmental interference convinced Christopf Farnkopf to look forward to a more expansive future in 1854, only two years after his arrival in New Jersey. His arguments went beyond work, abundance of food, and economic freedom. There was also a personal reason for staying. Shortly before his 22 March 1854 letter, Farnkopf had received a communication from Barbara announcing her plans to arrive during the following summer. Besides her companionship and his anticipation of seeing his son, he had practical reasons for welcoming her. She could do the laundry for which he was currently paying. His room and board would not increase because of her, and he also wrote that he would not have to go to strangers anymore (VII). Unfortunately, he did not elaborate this point. Another reason for staying was probably the camaraderie that existed in Hoboken.

The 22 March 1854 letter represented a definite break with his past and a determination to commit all his energies to his new homeland. Christopf Farnkopf had decided to become an American. That fall he applied for naturalization in Jersey City and four years later, on 1 November 1858, he became an American citizen.<sup>20</sup>

While Christopf enjoyed the friendships of his fellow immigrants from Waldmichelbach during the initial years and maintained close contact with them, including joining a *Turnverein* (VIII), he seemed to separate himself very gradually from them. His letters after 1856 contain fewer references to friends from Hesse-Darmstadt. Definite changes had occurred in the life of Christopf Farnkopf. Although not a decisive reason, naturalization was one indication. In 1856 he did not report to his father so extensively about Germans as previously. In November 1856 he signed his letter in Latin script for the first time, and he began using English words in his letters to his family.

Apparently he had learned sufficient English by 1854 to approach

county officials to give him a death certificate for Johannes Adam Roth, who had drowned during the summer (VIII). This accident had required an investigation by the sheriff in order to issue a certificate. The process was lengthy enough to require Christopf to take off from work. He later charged Roth's parents for this service. He must have spoken well enough to have accomplished this task, since his bill to Roth's parents did not mention an aide or translator (XI). In later letters he used "rent" and "money" rather than the German equivalents (XV).

Another reason for the claim of a sufficient mastery of English by Christopf is his and Nickolaus Kollmar's decision to start a business in 1856. The stone business probably could not be limited only to German-speaking builders and future home owners, the way a neighborhood bakery could, for example. Farnkopf and Kollmar needed a market beyond the German-speaking population, and in order to extend their business, they had to speak English. At the same time as he was mastering English and doing business with non-Germans, a separation from his ethnic identity occurred.

Until March 1853 he lived with Roth in the same boarding house and then, for unexplained reasons, they separated. The following year on 17 August 1854 Barbara Ackermann and their child arrived. Young Michael, however, died within eight days, leaving them both in deep shock, especially Barbara, who for several weeks was unable to function normally. They finally married and on 3 February 1856 another boy was born.<sup>22</sup> Yet this important event was mentioned by Christopf almost in passing at the end of the letter: "I don't know any other news than that we have a new baby boy . . . who is quite healthy and cheerful" (XV).

Family disputes had developed both in North America and in Hesse-Darmstadt. Beginning in 1856 the letters become shorter, reveal fewer personal matters, and end in 1859 bringing the written correspondence between father and son to a sorrowful finale.

Christopf had arrived in New Jersey with savings inherited from his mother.<sup>22</sup> He first cut stone for low wages barely covering his living expenses and not allowing him to save any money. But six months later he doubled his weekly salary (IV) and by September 1853 he saved one hundred gulden in two months (V). Farnkopf was proud of his earnings and throughout the coming years he stressed the hard work and improving the quality of his life, such as buying clothing for two hundred gulden.<sup>23</sup>

The seasons were extreme for this German coming from a temperate climate. He compared New Jersey's fall with Germany's summer. In two letters he described the heat in Hoboken. The heat was so unbearable that on some days in 1853 fifty to sixty persons died of heat stroke (V). And the following year they worked from sunrise until 10 or 10:30 in the morning, rested for several hours and returned later in the afternoon. At night they could not sleep because of the heat. Farnkopf suffered much from the heat, but second-hand reports to his father that his son was resting too much infuriated Christopf more than the heat:

I believe I make the most out of it as any one else, to make it short, no

worker is in the position to work at noon in the summer under the sky. And you wrote that you had informed yourself. . . . I would like to know these blockheads who speak this way. (IX)

With his savings from New Jersey and financial contributions from his father and Barbara's family, Christoph Farnkopf was able to buy land in Guttenberg within four years after arrival.<sup>24</sup> On 21 October 1856 he purchased his first undeveloped lot with Kollmar, although the deed does not list Christoph.<sup>25</sup> On 29 November 1856 he informed his father that "I and Kollmar started a business . . . we bought a quarry . . . because the rent was too high." They first rented the land and realized that purchasing would create more profits since "there was work for three years." In his letter Christoph mentioned the sales price of \$600, while the deed stated \$140.<sup>26</sup> Perhaps they had bought an existing business and paid also for good will and equipment. Initially they employed fifteen persons but with the arrival of winter they had to lay off five men.

They struggled through the winter and "desperately needed money for the business." But his father's "check arrived in the nick of time . . . and still we survived." Optimism and commitment emerge from this letter. There is neither doubt nor pessimism; on the contrary he saw a bright future for them and "I am not going to switch with you. I would not sell my part of the business for less than 2,000 dollars." Perhaps his enthusiasm was exaggerated, since they had bought the business five months earlier for only \$600. He even wrote his father that he is not "bragging" (XVI). Unfortunately, this was the last letter dealing with his business. On 11 July 1857 he and Kollmar bought two adjoining lots for \$400, holding joint title with their wives. The value of the two lots increased by almost 50 percent in less than nine months.<sup>27</sup>

In considering Christoph's financial involvement, a number of questions arise. His letter indicated success in his new business, but there is no evidence of a commercial enterprise owned by Farnkopf and Kollmar during this period. The public records do not list them.<sup>28</sup> On 20 November 1857, four months after the last purchase, they sold the three lots for \$1,000.<sup>29</sup> Were they real estate speculators in a developing town? Or were they victims of the depression of 1857, which had a severe impact on the growing industries of New Jersey?<sup>30</sup> Their three lots would remain with the purchaser until after 1873. What motivated them to sell? Was there a rift between the two? It could not have been lack of work, since the area was still growing. In his last letter to his father, Farnkopf mentioned neither work nor the business. Letters from Sebastian and Franziska Haid to Waldmichelbach indicated prosperity for Christoph, but there were no specific references to his wealth.<sup>31</sup>

On 25 August 1858 he purchased a lot with a house on Hudson Avenue in Guttenberg, four blocks from his former business.<sup>32</sup> This became the residence for the Farnkopf family until 1873. There was one more acquisition within the period under consideration. On 11 June 1860 he bought two additional undeveloped lots on Herrman Avenue, in Guttenberg.<sup>33</sup> Had he become a land speculator?

The year 1854 was a pivotal year for Christopf Farnkopf. He was reunited with his sweetheart, married her and established a family in Guttenberg. His personal and professional life was gratifying and promised a success story for this immigrant. Another factor seemed to contribute also to a fulfilling life, the arrival of his sister, the first member of his family to join him in Hoboken. In almost every letter Christopf had wished to be with his family, now she was in New Jersey. She and Barbara arrived on the same ship on 17 August 1854 (IX).

Greed and gossip seemed gradually to cause a rift between sister and brother. The tension emerged several months after the arrival of his sister Franziska, who joined her husband, Sebastian Haid, in Hoboken in August 1854. Sebastian, a carpenter by trade, had first found work as a stonemason with Christopf. When his wife joined him one year later, they apparently lived together with Christopf and Barbara. Then tension, which, judging from later letters, was caused by financial differences, eventually led to a separation of the two families. "We do not live together anymore. It would not be good for siblings" (XI). Franz (Franziska's nickname) and Sebastian were envious of Barbara and Christopf. Sebastian was not only performing a task for which he was untrained, but he also received lower pay. Within one year they moved to New York after the Farnkopfs rented space in Guttenberg (X). This new town, carved out of North Bergen in 1853, welcomed new settlers within its borders.<sup>34</sup> Did Farnkopf seize the opportunity to improve his lifestyle in 1855? Or did they move further north to evade Franz and Sebastian? Had the Farnkopfs been subsidizing the Haid's living expenses? There seems to be an affirmative response to these questions. In his 21 April 1856 letter, Christopf assumed that his father's silence is caused by Franz's scolding her brother in her letters: "Is it perhaps because of my sister and my brother-in-law. They probably scolded me because I did not share everything with them" (XIII).

Aggravating the family feud, Christopf accused his sister and two siblings in Waldmichelbach of stealing money from their father (XVI). The friction between brother and sister finally climaxed in 1859, when Christopf rejected Franz as sister and called Sebastian "Mr. Haid," in his last letter to his father. Christopf's attack was also directed against his father, who had listened to his sister and former residents of Waldmichelbach without asking him about the truth. His father's silence about Christopf's family infuriated the son, forcing him to call his father biased, and he concluded the letter: "In reference to news you can read about it in my wife's letter to her sister Katharina" (XVII). On 12 December 1857 the Haid's informed their parents that they talked and drank with the Farnkopfs at friends' houses but no longer visited each other.

What had happened in those seven years that caused a permanent separation between father and son, and brother and sister? Christopf Farnkopf had always expressed a loving and concerned feeling toward all members of his family by wishing them well and inquiring about their health. After he established himself he advised some to come over. He was particularly interested in having his brother Michael come to

Hoboken (IV). Michael never came. Christopf also encouraged his sister Franz to join her husband and, of course, while still struggling himself, he advised Sebastian to emigrate. Christopf was an optimistic and hard-working man. Perhaps his enthusiasm toward his work and his new country alienated the Haidts, who were confronted by hard times during their first year. Later letters to their families confirm the difficulties experienced by this family, including sick children, high doctors' bills, and a rebellious son.<sup>35</sup> It seems the Farnkopfs' success contributed to the disillusionment of the Haidts and their envy caused the isolation of Christopf.

Farnkopf's letters indicated that he experienced a gradual increase in wealth by saving, buying land, and purchasing a quarry with a fellow immigrant from Waldmichelbach. But how rich was he? The 1860 census listed him as a quarryman (and all birth and death records of his children during the 1850s and 1860s do so as well). Furthermore, the census showed him owning no real and personal property. Why did he lie? Although the legal owner of two lots and a house, he told census takers on 10 July 1860 that he owned no real estate and had no personal assets.<sup>36</sup> Why did he deceive the census officials? Did the memories of Hessian tax collectors remind him of an unpleasant incident? Was he evading taxes? The answers seem to be affirmative and might lead one to understand his answers on the 1860 census.

Although interested in socializing with people from his village and apparently maintaining a German lifestyle, he did become a naturalized citizen on 1 November 1858, slightly more than five years after arriving in the United States. While there are no statistics on how many Germans were naturalized in the 1850s, his step proved his belief in settling permanently in New Jersey and his faith in this country. He had applied for naturalization in 1854, two years after settling in New Jersey, and this application indicated no intended permanent return to Waldmichelbach.

His strong belief in this country did not emerge immediately after he received his first job in Hoboken. To the contrary, his feelings toward North America were initially negative, but his trust and conviction in the values of this nation changed within eighteen months after his arrival. Christopf Farnkopf eventually conveyed confidence in and optimism toward New Jersey.

Christopf Farnkopf was not driven by economic circumstances or political conditions, when he fled Hesse-Darmstadt with his friend in 1852. The twenty-three-year-old man appeared ambitiously enterprising, and he sought economic betterment and developed a personal confidence in New Jersey. Being literate and possessing a small inheritance gave him an advantage over many other immigrants. Although eventually permitted to return to Waldmichelbach, Christopf Farnkopf and his wife and children chose Guttenberg as their home to seek economic prosperity and social acceptance. When he wrote his last letter to his father in 1859, Christopf had already purchased a house, was employed as a skilled quarryman, and had saved money through land

speculation. He earned his economic success through vigorous work and responsive dealings with the market. He became a naturalized citizen and learned English. In his early years in Hudson County he lived in German-speaking areas with other persons from Waldmichelbach. However, social mobility had infected most Germans in Guttenberg and by 1870 only three German families remained in his neighborhood.<sup>37</sup>

In the end, Christopf Farnkopf's circumstances must have changed. A decline in health is indicated by his use of a mark rather than his signature on later documents. And his financial stability must have deteriorated, as his death certificate lists him as a "laborer." He died of "consumption" on 28 February 1873,<sup>38</sup> and four years later his widow's house was sold at a public auction by the county sheriff.<sup>39</sup>

In any case, Christopf Farnkopf had certainly achieved economic success during the first ten years in New Jersey. He had improved his lifestyle and could confidently claim a better life than if he had stayed in Hesse. For Christopf Farnkopf, New Jersey proved to be, at least for a while, the land of golden opportunity.

*Trenton State College*  
Trenton, New Jersey

#### Appendix Letters

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I	Liverpool	14 September 1852	C.F. + A.R.
II	Hoboken	5 November 1852	C.F. + A.R.
III	Hoboken	28 December 1852	C.F. + A.R.
IV	Hoboken	15 May 1853	C.F.
V	Hoboken	4 September 1853	C.F.
VI	Hoboken	4 December 1853	C.F.
VII	North Hoboken	22 March 1854	C.F.
VIII	North Hoboken	16 July 1854	C.F.
IX	North Hoboken	18 September 1854	C.F. + B.[A.]
X	Guttenberg	13 May 1855	C.F.
XI	Guttenberg	19 June 1855	C.F.
XII	Guttenberg	30 September 1855	C.F.
XIII	Guttenberg	21 April 1856	C.F.
XIV	Guttenberg	2 August 1856	B.[F.]
XV	Guttenberg	29 November 1856	C.F.
XVI	Guttenberg	18 March 1857	C.F.
XVII	Guttenberg	17 March 1859	C.F.

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C.F. = Christopf Farnkopf, A.R. = Adam Roth, B.A. = Barbara Ackermann, B.F. = Barbara Farnkopf



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> This study was made possible through a grant from the New Jersey Historical Commission and a stipend and released time from Trenton State College. I would like to thank the two institutions for their generous assistance. No project could be successful without the advice and help from individuals, only two of whom I want to name and thank here, Else Winkel and Helmut Jockel. Mrs. Winkel helped me in transcribing the letters written in German script. Mr. Jockel first showed me the seventeen letters and later contributed in many ways to this research. My thanks are also extended to the staffs of the New Jersey Archives in Trenton and of the Hessian Archives in Darmstadt, Federal Republic of Germany.

During my research in the summer of 1986 in the Hessian Archives in Darmstadt, Mr. Jockel informed me of the existence of seventeen letters written by an immigrant in New Jersey to his father in Hesse-Darmstadt during the mid-nineteenth century. My first task was to transcribe them from German script into modern German, and then translate the seventeen letters into English. I have assigned Roman numerals to the seventeen letters, in the order of the dates they were written. The numbers appear within the text. The photocopies of these original letters are in my possession. The originals can be found under call number G 28 Waldmichelbach F 134.

<sup>2</sup> Examining the existing official emigration lists of Hesse-Darmstadt located in the Hessian State Archives, I concluded that most of the single men who left Germany were penniless and unskilled. I plan to document this finding in a paper in which I will compare the lives of Hessian immigrants in Hesse and New Jersey in the mid-nineteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> Seventeen letters have survived, and they are located in Martin Farnkopf's death record file in the Hessian Archives in Darmstadt, West Germany. The first three letters were written by Christopf but addressed to his family as well as to the family of Johannes Adam Roth, his friend from home who had emigrated with Christopf. Both signed these three letters. Letter XIV was written by Barbara Ackermann, Christopf's wife, to her family. The letter found its way into Martin's file because of financial transactions he had performed for the Ackermanns. Other letters were written and lost or ignored, since both parties complained about unanswered questions contained in these missing letters. No letters written by the Farnkops and Ackermanns to their children in New Jersey have survived. My query about Christopf Farnkopf's descendants published by the *Newark Star Ledger* (NJ) did not produce any positive results.

<sup>4</sup> Christopf Farnkopf's spelling varies during these seven years. I will be consistent with the spelling. Christopf signed sixteen out of seventeen letters with "pf" as well as a receipt in 1851. His father's death certificate also listed Christopf as a surviving son "in Amerika." His last letter written in 1859 showed a new spelling "ph." American clerks wrote his name "Christopher" on deeds, US Census forms, and his death certificate. Other variations of names and towns exist. The names of his acquaintances Christopf Voss and Nickolaus Kollmar are spelled with "pf" and "ck," respectively. The current spelling of Christopf's hometown is Wald-Michelbach. Farnkopf's later residence in New Jersey also was spelled differently. I chose the present version: Guttenberg. Whenever possible, I render the modern spelling.

<sup>5</sup> Hessisches Staatsarchiv, Darmstadt (HSA,DA), *Pfarrbuch der katholischen Pfarrei, Waldmichelbach, 1829*, 5.

<sup>6</sup> HSA,DA, call number: G 28 Waldmichelbach F 134.

<sup>7</sup> HSA,DA, *Geburts = Protocoll für die katholische Kirche zu Waldmichelbach für das Jahr 1852*, 3.

<sup>8</sup> HSA,DA. An examination of the *Darmstädter Zeitung* of this period and the public conviction notices, "Straferkenntnisse der Gerichte der Provinz Starkenburg," do not list Farnkopf or Roth.

<sup>9</sup> One of several books: Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-eighters in America* (Philadelphia, 1952).

<sup>10</sup> HSA,DA, Abteilung Ministerium des Innern, Verzeichnis 11, Konvolut 54. This microfilm contains the correspondence of the Department of Justice and the county administrations regarding secret emigration and the lists of secret emigrants between May and December 1852. There is a total of nine microfilms of nineteenth-century documents of the Grand-Ducal Ministry of Justice, which had been filmed by the Library of Congress in

1934. These original materials were destroyed during World War II. The nine microfilms are now available in the Library of Congress (James Madison Building) and the HSA,DA.

<sup>11</sup> I examined the *Darmstädter Zeitung* for this period.

<sup>12</sup> See n. 10.

<sup>13</sup> See n. 8.

<sup>14</sup> HSA,DA, Official emigration lists for Kreis Lindenfels, G 15 Heppenheim J 8. For example, on 17 June 1854 twelve persons from Waldmichelbach received permission to emigrate, including Barbara Ackermann and her son Michael, and Franziska Haid (Christopf's sister) and her two sons.

<sup>15</sup> HSA,DA. There are many administrative notices dealing with emigration published by the Grand-Ducal Department of Justice and sent to the county administrations or local municipalities during the 1850s, e.g., Reminder no. 7, dated 11 March 1853. Emigration was obviously a major concern of the government. Administrators warned of illegal emigrants avoiding the military service or paying their debts, and instructed the governing bodies to prevent such emigration. There also seemed to be a great concern for the health and welfare of the emigrants, and laws were passed to assure the emigrants' safety and well-being.

<sup>16</sup> Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston, 1973), 152-79.

<sup>17</sup> Various articles of this period in the *Sentinel of Freedom* (Newark) refer to the excessive drinking habits of German immigrants: 26 December 1854, p. 3, and 7 May 1850, p. 3.

<sup>18</sup> Irving S. Kull, ed., *New Jersey: A History* (Philadelphia, 1930), 3:751-52. For a general account of Nativism and German-Americans see La Vern J. Rippley, *The German Americans* (Boston, 1976), 186-90, and Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*.

<sup>19</sup> William Starr Myers, *The Story of New Jersey* (New York, 1945) 2:330, and the *Newark Sentinel of Freedom*, 4 September 1854. This paper also covered riots between Germans and Irish immigrants, and it is difficult to understand how Farnkopf could have missed these mob actions.

<sup>20</sup> Genealogical Society, Hudson County, Clerk's Office, Declaration of Intention and Petition for Naturalization, Roll 1, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> New Jersey Vital Statistics, Hudson County, Birth Records, Reel 14, P.

<sup>22</sup> HSA,DA, call number: G 28 Waldmichelbach F 134.

<sup>23</sup> Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration, 1816-1885* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), 160, fn 21: "The Gulden was worth \$.38. . . ."

<sup>24</sup> In several letters Christopf Farnkopf refers to receiving money from his father and the Ackermanns. These contributions were probably settlements for future inheritance claims.

<sup>25</sup> Genealogical Society, Hudson County, Register of Deeds, L 50, p. 672. All future references to Hudson County Deeds will be indicated with "Deeds."

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Deeds, L 62, p. 180.

<sup>28</sup> I checked the deeds and commercial records of this period in the Administration Building of Hudson County in Jersey City, and I did not find any references to Farnkopf or Kollmar owning a business.

<sup>29</sup> Deeds, L 64, p. 207.

<sup>30</sup> Kull, 2:584-87. See also John T. Cunningham, *New Jersey: America's Main Road* (Garden City, New York, 1976), 151-53.

<sup>31</sup> There are also original letters written by Franziska and Sebastian Haid to Martin Farnkopf. G 28 Waldmichelbach F 134. The photocopies of these originals are in my possession. A reference to Christopf Farnkopf's well-being is found in a letter written by the Haid on 4 May 1864, for example. The Haid letters are much more personal than those by Farnkopf. The former discuss in detail their own life and seem to express a greater concern for their family.

<sup>32</sup> Deeds, L 70, p. 342.

<sup>33</sup> Deeds, L 95, p. 32.

<sup>34</sup> By 1860 most of Farnkopf's neighbors were Germans, ten years later, only a few Germans remained in the neighborhood. They had been replaced by Irish families. See also Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted*, 145-51.

<sup>35</sup> Haid's letter dated 4 May 1864.

<sup>36</sup> 1860 Census Population Schedules, New Jersey, Hudson County, North Bergen Township, p. 123.

<sup>37</sup> 1870 US Census Population Schedules, New Jersey, Hudson County, Union Township, pp. 18-21. Also in G. M. Hopkins, *Combined Atlas of the State of New Jersey and the County of Hudson* (Philadelphia, 1873). The map of Guttenberg showing the names of property owners indicates few Germans living in Christoph Farnkopf's neighborhood at the beginning of the 1870s.

<sup>38</sup> New Jersey Vital Statistics, Hudson County, Death Records, Township of Union, Roll 36 AV, p. 515.

<sup>39</sup> Deeds, L 316, p. 607.



Glen E. Lich

### Survival and Succession: Immigrant Autobiography as Cultural Legacy

Now I am seventy-nine years old . . . the last remaining member of my family. I can no longer read what I write, but my inner thoughts have become all the clearer. Otilie Fuchs Goeth

The German literature of nineteenth-century Texas constitutes an important part of the whole body of utopian thought about the American West, though much of it has long been inaccessible because it was untranslated or out of print. Despairing of gradual social evolution at home and called to order by Fichte's admonition to practical and productive idealism, the generation of German intellectuals who wrote this literature became acquainted with Texas through a variety of travel books as a "transatlantic Germany" where they would be free to realize their ethical and socioeconomic, if not political, ideals.<sup>1</sup> One of the earliest of these books was a novel about Texas published in 1841 by Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl), whose works may be studied both as American and as German novels. Sealsfield's *Kajütenbuch* (1841; *The Cabin Book*, 1844) proclaimed Texas a "vestibule of the Lord's temple," a land "where love affairs are got up overnight and become marriages in the morning." The kind of America that stood "for the progress of all civilization," Texas was a promised land to be won, if at all, through the marriage of the right men to the right land.<sup>2</sup> In its recurrence to this metaphor, which Annette Kolodny traces throughout Western American literature,<sup>3</sup> this novel foreshadows *Was Großmutter erzählt*, a significant woman's narrative first published seventy-four years later in 1915 and translated for publication in English as *The Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*.<sup>4</sup> Like Sealsfield's panoramic *Kajütenbuch*, this autobiography from the time of the German colonization of Texas is a part of two literatures.

Otilie Fuchs Goeth's narrative is one of the principal landmarks that explain the mid-nineteenth-century German colonization in central Texas from the point of view of women. This narrative, like many of the

others by women, shows the author's willingness to meet the demands of a new situation: to see or perceive practically rather than ideologically, to insure survival and then succession, to start with the things at hand and to cook or sweeten them to tastes cultivated in a more refined world, to trade momentarily quality for quantity, and then—in this largely unmediated, except as translated and republished, retrospective—to act on the past and the future through words; and through stories of marriage, gardening, cooking, and clothing to engage in myth-making every bit as aggressive as Sealsfield's. Goeth's autobiography shows that women and men saw themselves as "new people"—uprooted in a positive way and happy to assume roles and do things for which their heritage had only partly prepared them. Yet the writing also shows that youthful radicalism can, perhaps usually does, turn into reactionary old age.

Ottilie Fuchs Goeth (1836–1926) began writing these memoirs in 1908 at the age of seventy-two. When she finished after seven years, her narrative spanned over a century and reflected, in and through her life, the ebb and flow of German culture in Texas. An indispensable document, prefaced by a poem in which a son entreats her to write, the memoirs open with a vignette showing Goeth as a work-worn "old Texan without training."<sup>5</sup> She reverts then to Mecklenburg—like other colonists she did not become a *German* until the unification in 1871, by which time she was, of course, long since an American—where she remembers a "childhood of such happiness that even today [she recalls] it only with deep joy" (1). Migration, she continues, "marked the beginning of life's seriousness" (1). What she missed most after coming to Texas in 1845 was the "beautiful garden with its spacious playground surrounded by apple trees, with a large and small arbor containing tables and benches, lovely flower beds marked off by dainty boxwood hedges, to say nothing of the numerous kinds of berries" (1–2). Her first Christmas in the New World "seemed a little meager in comparison" (2) with the "paradise" she had imagined Texas to be. Parents, she suspected, "did not take the sorrows and disappointments of those first years in what was still wild country too seriously, because they hoped and trusted that gradually everything would be easier and better" (2). Children could not see past the present into the future. But they could remember and regain. The memoirs are punctuated by Goeth's recovery of the youthful garden and her exultation in every strawberry, cherry, apple, plum, and pear harvested in Texas.

Apart from the aside about the garden, Goeth cannot talk about her childhood and migration until after she paints a picture of her grandparents' generation—in Mecklenburg—tracing first the maternal, then paternal lines of her mother's merchant family from Rostock, then following her father's clergyman father from education through marriages to prominence in the church. Successions and transmissions of character, values, talents, and books were more important in her childhood memories than the actual legacies of jewelry, properties, and fortunes largely lost or left behind. Grapes from Spain, the fellowship of meals, resentment of the tyranny of Napoleon, memories of the Greek

Revolution for which one grandfather outfitted two soldiers, and stories from Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, and Cooper either were important to Goeth at the time or grew, during her years in Texas, to the significance accorded them in her memoirs. Goeth never clearly addresses this parallax, though she admits that she is writing of the Mecklenburg she left in 1845 partly in light of the Germany she and her husband returned to visit in 1892.

Her analysis of her parents and their heritage of the Enlightenment and Romanticism carries over to the New World: not only in the way she came later to remember them as immigrants, but also in her understanding of cultural, economic, and political relationships. With Gotthold Ephraim Lessing and James Fenimore Cooper as preceptors, she seems to have cultivated understandings, particularly those relating to the social fabric, that one could see entire persons through the parts of their lives, and likewise that the individual life was a continuum that does not snap together in its final meaning even at death but continues to mean and to change as long as it is remembered. Her husband's later political career, for instance, receives summary attention in comparison with his innovations in agriculture or his approach to life and law enforcement, not just, as one could quickly assume, because she was not in the state capitol to see him. She often incorporates into her story events, issues, and places where she was absent by embedding a family member's eyewitness account, usually a letter or a photograph, much as she collects the heritage of the past through the lives and readings of her ancestors.

Primarily from her father, who was like his father a minister, Goeth claimed the heirlooms of German literature, music, and thought. In basing his concept of America on Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*, even going so far as to call himself Hawkeye, and in publishing a thinly veiled autobiographical novel in 1842 as a program for correcting the social ills he saw in the church, her father offered the family a purposeful but precarious transition into the world of commerce and politics. The mother's family had experienced rising and falling fortunes, and the mother is the parent Goeth depicts as provider and steward. Both families were an admixture of cultural patriotism and social justice, half descended from the Old Testament Abraham and half from Dr. Faustus (21, 26, 40, 158, 198, 208, 213). The father brought beauty, direction, and meaning to the migration (21). The mother helped make it possible (22). And Goeth described herself as "a kind of Christmas fairy" who attracted good luck to the move (13).

While Goeth's Mecklenburg afforded a harmonious way of life, bounded by the sacraments, the community, and the seasons, her parents sensed an increasing lack of "freedom and life" in the present and equity in the future (21). Her parents' decision to migrate made, Goeth describes the family's incremental leave-taking, preparations for dealing with deficiencies they expected in Texas, and psychological uprooting. August Hoffmann von Fallersleben dedicated a song entitled "Star of Texas" to commemorate the family's departure from the "curse of ancient tradition, | And of obsolete blind faith" (33). While the poet

foresaw "the day of reconciliation and exaltation" (33-34) on the faraway fields of Texas, Goeth confessed herself to have been of two minds:

Well do I remember my apprehension as we boarded [the] fearsome crate which was to carry us into The New World. . . . Our former home and happy childhood lay behind us, soon to be followed by more serious times. Yet we were cheerful. There was no lack of singing, everyone attempting to encourage the other, with many a secret tear falling into the waves. We hurried toward the setting sun, the magic West beckoning, as we wondered what the future held in store. (37)

Going to a new frontier in 1845 was, Goeth alleged, no easier than the migration of the first Europeans to America had been centuries earlier. Though she later alludes twice to the Germanic *Völkerwanderung* (63, 131), her outlook in 1845 apparently derived from the study of English language and American colonial history to which the father subjected them before departure. This sense of history, recalled in old age but attributed to a ten-year-old, is consistent with the views of other migrants, men and women, who viewed Texas from afar as a golden free land and themselves as participants in a great drama.<sup>6</sup> The "reality," she states simply, "was a bit different" (1). Of the Texas coast, she says, "they had imagined it otherwise" (38). Galveston particularly disappointed them. How disappointing is revealed in a statement reflecting views years later, when—after saying "my good parents made the right decision, and I believe all of the Texas descendants will agree with me in this"—she adds, pausing perhaps longer than the typesetter's regular spacing between sentences suggests: "Possibly a few may have wished for something else" (21, cf. 69-70).<sup>7</sup>

Like most of the immigrant tales, Goeth's account of the weeks and months after arrival is filled with description and narration, while little space is devoted to reflection and interpretation. After the newness had worn off and perhaps the shock been dulled and after familiarity with the new setting permitted evaluation, Goeth resumes the balance that her writings before and after the migration reveal. That the sea voyage, landing, and trek inland differ stylistically from the preceding and subsequent passages, when, after all, they were written about the same time, attests either to Goeth's narrative craft, which she says she had not, or to the fidelity of her memory, both of which—fidelity and memory—she never openly questions, seemingly confident of the essential oneness of self, story, and design.

Gradually Goeth's mental handwriting—the backside of the embroidered text—starts to reveal itself. Upon arrival in Texas, the family encountered an American phrenologist who undertook a scientific examination of young Goeth's head. She later wrote:

I do not recall how the examination turned out, but one thing I do remember is that he presented me with a whole pound of candy, which I joyously divided amongst the children. Candy was a rarity in Texas at



the time, so perhaps I may regard the doctor's present as a favorable prognosis that the head of a little German girl would enable her to adapt herself to Texas conditions. (39)

Or at least, she says, that was the omen she eventually found in the story, imagination being better than reality (40). But good luck and an active, working imagination are not the only threads in Goeth's needlecraft. Life in the Mecklenburg parsonage, she had written earlier, had been characterized by funerals, and indeed Goeth had written so profoundly of funerals that at one point she apologized and changed the subject to baptisms (19-20). Within the first year after their arrival in Texas, Goeth recurred, albeit briefly, to the theme of funerals when she described the death of her oldest sister Lulu, the young wife of Wilhelm von Roeder from the neighboring farm. "This was to be the first grave of a dearly beloved one in Texas. So soon then, we were bound to this country in such a way that, as Wilhelm von Humboldt put it, we associated home with two worlds" (50). Thus ends the symbolic journey and approximately the first fourth of Goeth's memoirs in which she had mentally and spiritually crisscrossed the Atlantic several times in a manner no doubt reminiscent of the original literal tearing away. And thus she reveals the backside of her story: good fortune, death, and the hope of having more of the one than of the other. Goeth claims at several points that she never learned or had the time to play cards. But she seems to have had little doubt about the gamble and stakes of life. That she never once speaks such words directly, even when death strikes arbitrarily and whimsically around her, shows a courage and fortitude matched only by her intelligence and will. And thus too her writings reveal one of the central themes of Texas literature: the kind of go-for-broke playing off of loss and gain that runs through Texas fiction all the way to *Lonesome Dove*.

Goeth's first years in Texas were seasoned by pleasant and unfettered conversation, fortunate weather, and the abundance of the vast prairies: "all . . . free, the soil virtually begging for a hand to cultivate it" (40). But Texas was exotic, strange, and curiously blessed. Things that had been overlaid by centuries of tradition in Germany were laid bare in Texas—whether furniture, houses, clothing, manners, or hospitality. Some of that immediately struck her as good. There was, she recalled, not yet any racial prejudice between blacks and whites, Germans and Anglos. But manners were often amusing, even to a young German girl. Goeth's first Fourth of July—the first after statehood—left a colorful impression, particularly of the speaker's wife, a woman "of considerable stature," who wore "a muslin dress with large flowers printed on it and fanned herself with an enormous fan made from the tail feathers from a turkey" (49).

Goeth's father, when he was not writing letters or seeding the Texas breezes with thoughts to be carried to Mecklenburg, was learning to follow a furrow, teaching music, tuning pianos, leading a quartet, observing the Texas scene, and eventually professing at Baylor in Independence (41-51). When the family could entertain the prospect of

securing a piano and could break away from more established areas, and when, largely through the father's fluency in English, they obtained title to some bounty land on the Colorado River in the hill country, the clan moved west as the front-runners of a cluster migration of families associated since their arrival in Texas and now intermarried. As in Germany, Goeth's mother took charge of home life—to include supervision of home building, which was, to be sure, executed by the sons who were, Goeth wrote, "now grown to young manhood and exuberantly made the most of nature's bounties which the surroundings offered in lavish spender."

The springs never ran dry, and the lack of grass for grazing sheep and cattle was unknown. On the contrary, one had to struggle to prevent the great carpet of flowers from rolling down the surrounding hills to completely smother the vegetables. Our kitchen was well supplied . . . from our garden virtually the year round. . . .

My brothers built boats to go fishing in the river, teeming with trout, so-called catfish, and dozens of other creatures inhabiting the watery depths. On Sundays it was a favorite pastime to go boating on the river lake. It was normally very calm, but in the springtime was occasionally transformed into a foaming icy sea by the water rushing down from the upper Colorado. Mighty oaks growing along the banks were uprooted and carried along by the raging red flood, a grand display of the water's force. We stood on the banks watching the spectacle in utter fascination as we had never imagined anything like it in our old homeland. As we had lived in the flat land of Mecklenburg, we knew neither hills nor high places. Thus the near hills with the Shovel Mountain and the Packsaddle looked like real mountains to us, and to this very day are still referred to as such. How interesting all this was for us, the pecan trees, the clear creeks, the many beautiful springs. The magic of Texas was beginning to unfold before us. (55)

Goeth, the good-luck fairy, as idealistic as both her parents and with her father's foresight and mother's practicality, regretted that there were not means to store, save, and transport the abundant power and rich produce of nature. For always the thought of the unpredictability of good luck was with her, as when in the succeeding pages she narrated the story of a brother who, with his dogs, took on one of two mountain lions. His powder having gotten wet in the pursuit, the boy finally doubly charged his last shot, stunned the animal, and thus survived (57-58).

The harmony of this little hunting story with Goeth's account of her marriage cannot be ignored. Goeth's husband, she wrote, was not a perfect Don Carlos but was at least named Carl, read Schiller, and sang a part and played instruments needed in family ensembles. They married on Goeth's father's birthday in 1859, and with the outbreak of the Civil War, two years later moved into a small log cabin behind Goeth's family home where, her husband performing alternative service, the Unionist family evaded white "fire-eaters" and—through sheer good luck—

avoided contact with Indians. All about them people died. Goeth's depiction of the atrocities to which German families were subjected by secessionists and then confederates reveals how many of the German women dealt with the war, the absence of men and threat of hostility, and economic exigencies. Fence-building and transport slowed precariously at just the time when German dispersal into the higher hill country was leading to combined farming-ranching adapted to regional weather and terrain. And her account shows that the war reinforced for Goeth and her husband a relationship similar to what Goeth later attributed to her parents at a time as early as their life in Mecklenburg. Goeth's sphere reached far beyond the house and yard depicted in German literature and lore; she assumed for her parents the role of the absent sons. Security, management of resources, and continuation of life in the small community on the frontier fell to the women. And not only survival, but also succession. Goeth herself said the war years gave her "the opportunity to become better acquainted with the intellectuality of [her] father, and also with his views on religion and his striving for religious freedom and enlightenment."

This was a great inspiration to me, particularly as so little informative material was available. The harbors were blocked; nothing was coming in, not even *newspapers*. One could only surmise what was going on at the battle sites, and no one knew whether reports were based on facts or rumors. One turned again to the classics, Goethe, Lessing, Schiller, Shakespeare, as well as Jean Paul. People borrowed literature from one another. The German families traded books. What one did not have, the other probably had. It was impossible for me to read Schiller during this war period, having read him so avidly as a young girl, and not wishing to destroy those impressions. (77-78, italics added)

Paper had to be hoarded, ink made, and news gleaned from all available sources. Not only was contact broken with Germany and the educated world, but money dropped as taxation rose, and women "turned again to spinning and weaving in order not to go about in rags" (78). But the important thing is that, along with the resumption of these folkloric domestic skills, women functioned in roles of successorship, early the pattern on this frontier and perhaps not surprising in comparison to westering Americans but innovative in comparison with the social and political background of these Germans.

Cut off from her newspapers, five meals a day, and coffee, Goeth may seem to suffer superficial hardships. And there may be some of that. But the atrocities, martial law, and terror were real and are widely documented. There seems more to Goeth's account of the war. Anglos, whose ignorance caused this war and these hardships, experienced only the physical dangers. The Germans endured those too, as well as cultural deprivation. Yet the culture was not only a way to contrast her family from the Anglo-Americans—whom a century later the Germans still derogatorily called "biscuits," "drifters," or "whites." And it was not only a way to talk about matters not expressed openly. It was an

operating legacy to the Goeth progeny: to know that life was complicated and difficult, and that culture fostered connectedness, as well as identity and values.

After all, the same Goeth, who had just written that the wilderness was the perfect sounding board for the finest creative works of a cultured people (69), wrote, ten pages later, that "the destruction of the splendors of the South" was "horrible and yet exciting" (78).

After the war, while Southerners got tit for tat, Goeth and her husband prospered in sheep raising, extended their landholdings, diversified, and built a large limestone house that was a landmark of the region. Goeth excused all the work and hardship of these years—Reconstruction and the closing of the frontier—by saying that, thereafter, they "lived very comfortably" and "could make things pleasant for . . . beloved guests" (101). Her parents celebrated their golden wedding anniversary. The first of several dance halls was built. Song and shooting festivals took place with regularity. Tutors fresh from Europe (one had acted before Louis Philippe) were engaged for the schools. Mills thrived, bringing money and attracting commerce to the community. A store and post office were established. Law enforcement and legislation by Goeth's husband were enlightened. The young generation enjoyed writing poetry and music, an anthology of incidental pieces revealing the extent to which they communicated through song. And scientific agriculture, a German *Selbstverständlichkeit*, reached its height in bringing forth prosperity from the hill country just before a new drought cycle started.

By their neighbors the Goeths would not have been viewed as particularly successful, though possibly they were considered unusually happy. Goeth herself, writing with grandchildren and great-grandchildren in mind, described a typical day:

You children who grew up in the city tend to imagine life on a ranch as either more romantic or more monotonous than it actually is. In any case one needs an abundance of humor in order to remain well balanced. Each day brings its new tasks and additional responsibilities, so that one is never really finished. One had to get up early in order to prepare breakfast, for this was not the simple affair that it was in Germany. Bacon had to be fried, eggs boiled, coffee prepared, and then the assembled family served at the table, while one was constantly running back to the kitchen for more food to satisfy healthy appetites. When the men had finished eating, lunches had quickly to be packed into little buckets, for some of the men did not come home for lunch. There was scarcely time to have a bite oneself. Now all the dishes had to be washed, the churning had to be done, the laundry could not wait, and all too often the boys came running with torn trousers and a skinned knee which Mother should quickly heal with kisses, she being only too glad that it was not a snakebite. The baby in the cradle awakens. . . .

All too fast, the morning was gone. Perhaps the midday meal was ready, but because it had been wash day it was on the simple side. But clomp, clomp, we hear horses. A company of Rangers on the trail of

Indians has arrived. Everyone jumped to action. The riders unsaddled, washed and took care of the horses. Quickly Carl had a mutton ready for roasting. There were vegetables and fruits and with it all a glass or two of the fiery Texas wine; instead of the simple meal, we had a small banquet. All tasks were abandoned for the day.

On another occasion one Sunday, cousin Heinrich Fuchs came for a visit. He was wearing a stiff-front shirt, all shiny and elegant behind his long full beard. Then it happened. The beard fell into the soup, and either it or the shirt had to be sacrificed. "The scissors!" demanded cousin Heinrich, and the beard was sacrificed for the sake of his vanity. (91-92)

"Fortunately," Goeth added, her own brood "wore simple clothing. Shoes and socks were worn only on the coldest days of winter. . . . Many things had to be overlooked in those days when there was so little to be had, and one had almost no help" (92).

After the death of Goeth's sister Lulu in 1847, Goeth's narrative had stayed mostly in Texas, with only occasional comparisons and contrasts with Germany. Her thoughts returned to her former home, however, during the Franco-Prussian War and the unification which followed it in 1871. The "renewal of the German Reich at Versailles" was "difficult to fathom, and one feared to be imagining it."

Still it was true and probably the reality of it was more meaningful than the papers related. Germany was an empire as large and as grand as in the days of the Hohenstaufen. Young dreams had been fulfilled. Old people were glad to have survived long enough to have experienced it, even those living in Texas, where so many had fled from their fatherland, because the geopolitical timepiece of Germania had run too slowly. (94-95)

She then added: "There were various interesting developments for us when Germany became a large and powerful nation. One could now be called a 'German' rather than as formerly a Mecklenburger, a Bavarian, a Hessian, or otherwise" (95). Observing then that the number of Germans coming to Texas had increased greatly after the Civil War and that everywhere in the 1870s was evidence to "German industriousness and culture" (95), she reflected at length on the birth of their sixth child (in all there were eight, of whom six survived), born right after the unification:

"During this important era . . . our son Edward William was born. He was given the name of the great reformer, Edward Baltzer, whom we so greatly admired, as well as the name of the emperor of the newly established Reich. My unforgettable father, who seemed to have regained impetus through the stirring events, always called our big handsome boy the 'Little Emperor.' He was always the largest and strongest of our five sons. To our joy he decided to remain on the ranch and soon became his father's right hand. Apparently he also inherited his father's great sense of humor. (95-96)

And with a thin but possibly portentous transition, she moved forward five years to discuss her husband's trip to the centennial celebration in Philadelphia and his continuation to New York. The fruits of this trip, which had cost a hundred sheep, were a portrait photograph of her husband, a set of encyclopedias, and a globe. Then she embedded into her 1909 text a page she had written on 4 July 1876:

"Even as I wonder today in which way our descendants may celebrate the 200th anniversary of this great republic, some grandchild, one hundred years hence, may wonder how his grandparents and great-grandparents might have celebrated this day one hundred years before. In order to gratify any such interest, I shall as best I can give a brief picture of how things look today.

"I would not be spending the day in such quiet contemplation were it not that my husband, Carl Goeth, has gone to . . . Philadelphia. Our two oldest children . . . have gone . . . to attend a simple 4th of July celebration held at a beautiful grove on the Double Horn Creek. Gaily they drove away in a large farm wagon, all loaded with children and big water melons. . . .

"In the South, unfortunately, the Centennial is not generally observed. It is mainly the Germans who mark the occasion with festivity and ceremony. . . .

"I anticipate, that is we anticipate, having many descendants so that our struggles and ambitions for an independent and meaningful life will continue to bear fruit. After one hundred years have gone by, you dear ones will scarcely understand what it meant for your ancestors to emigrate to Texas at a time when there were virtually no intellectual, or even physical refinements available there, giving up in Germany a relatively comfortable life in order to insure that the future generations might have a life free of worries, such as would have been impossible over there without private means. Mother and Father Fuchs both grew up in genteel homes where servants were employed, but they remained indefatigable, as only the well-bred can be, in face of all such difficulties that settling in Texas brought with it. Although they might have enjoyed an easier life in Germany, they never regretted their emigration to Texas." (96-99)

Depth and length of commentary clearly show which side of the Atlantic was, and had long been, home for Goeth. And the only other time her narrative returns to the Old World for more than passing observation was during the trip she and her husband made to Germany in 1892. Though filled with details—estates, cousins, graves, operas, urban design, agriculture, sheep raising, her husband's home in Wetzlar, and Wilhelmian culture—these several pages (113-18) are singularly superficial, and what they describe can hardly be called a journey in comparison with the one of 1845-46.

Ottilie Fuchs Goeth's *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother* is a remarkable autobiography, not alone in the fact that it spans over a century without even covering the last eleven years of the writer's life!

And the book's obvious purpose to serve as a guide into the future adds years to the already ambitious sum that Goeth claims alone in her title. Her work reminds one that her world and culture were supposedly patriarchal. Goeth expatiates on the subjects of fathers and mothers and generations, finally closing her book with the father whose dreams paved a precarious road to Texas. Wives and mothers cast long shadows, as do husbands and fathers. But those cast by grandfathers are even longer. And when you are a German grandmother, an *Oma*, "the last remaining member of [the] family" (213), yours is finally the longest of all, for there is much that now only you can tell about the "complete harmony and consideration" (214) in the perfect marriage that assures survival and succession; and you know—from experience—that "even a Schiller transplanted into the wilderness would be unable to establish strong roots" unless able to satisfy practical as well as idealistic aspects of life. From this vantage of authority, an *Oma* affirms, as Goeth the matriarch affirms, that "an understanding of [such] practical aspects of life must be implanted and fostered at an early age. Only then does life become meaningful and young people can become useful members of society" (192). Becoming a useful citizen of the world, living meaningfully, and establishing strong roots seem to be the rhetorical compass of this very old woman schooled in her Goethe and Cooper. Her life a nearly perfect model for Susanna Egan's *Patterns of Experience in Autobiography*—"inevitability of purpose, innocence to experience, heroic journey, maturity, and confession"—and a refutation of the negative myths cited in Carol Fairbank's *Prairie Women*,<sup>8</sup> she is the cult figure of her clan. In that garden, "Papa said" walks behind "Oma wants."

Rhetorical analysis of Goeth's very socially grounded memoirs suggests that interpretation of a folk group whose family leaders wrote such literature differs only in some respects from literary biography which Leon Edel describes as a search for "the figure under the carpet, the evidence in the reverse of the tapestry, the life-myth of a given mask" through which every author reveals personal codes.<sup>9</sup> If we believe that at least a portion of the group emotions that produced this writing may be recovered and may be found to have relevance, then we must approach this immigrant literature just as we would material culture, trusting that reconstruction may be generally accurate even while erring in some details.

Analysis of the content, structure, cadence, and style of these domestic writings intimates much about not only the authors but also the so-called "inside song" about the culture they address.<sup>10</sup> The party line of the women's texts is survival, succession, and moral authority.<sup>11</sup> Because the women were, for varying reasons, the last of the immigrants to write, they gave the plot, aesthetic, beauty, and validity to a history once told by others but now told by the women about themselves. Their *fiction*—and we do well to remember that that word is associated etymologically with *dough*—is the culture. In "Tales of the Grandmothers," Ingeborg McCoy asserts that women were the true purveyors of this culture.<sup>12</sup> But far more important is the alliance these women affected with culture, much like the alliance between women

and the church that Ann Douglas traces in *The Feminization of American Culture*, in order to revise the past and chart the future. In that regard, Sealsfield may have written the bestseller; women published the critical edition.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See Glen E. Lich, "Goethe on the Guadalupe," in *German Culture in Texas: A Free Earth*, ed. Glen E. Lich and Dona B. Reeves (Boston: Twayne, 1980), 29-71. The early nineteenth-century German view of the New World progressed through three historical stages dominated, in turn, by writers, artists, scientists, philosophers, and politicians. Dreams of building a model homeland in the New World, of making a corporate fresh start, led to colonization efforts by, principally, the *Gießener Gesellschaft* (1830) to St. Louis and the *Adelsverein* (1842), a league of nobles founded with strong German and British and Belgian (Coburg family) support to establish a "new Germany" in what was then a fledgling Republic of Texas. See Johann Heinrich Siegfried Schultz, *Die deutsche Ansiedlung in Texas: Besonderer Abdruck einer Reihe des Unternehmens des Vereins zum Schutze deutscher Einwanderer in Texas besprechender Artikel aus dem Rheinischen Beobachter* (Bonn: Encke, 1845), 6-10, 16-19, 21, 39, 53, 55-56, and 60 for a definition of this "new Germany." See also Glen E. Lich, "Rural Hill Country: Man, Nature, and the Ecological Perspective," in *Eagle in the New World: German Immigration to Texas and America*, ed. Theodore Gish and Richard Spuler (College Station: Texas A&M University Press for the Texas Committee for the Humanities, 1986), 26-46.

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<sup>2</sup> Charles Sealsfield, *Das Kajütenbuch* (1841; reprint, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1982, with an introduction by Alexander Ritter) had numerous printings and editions in German and English. The citations come from Charles Sealsfield, *The Cabin Book*, trans. Sarah Powell (New York: St. John and Coffin, 1871; reprint, with foreword by Glen E. Lich and afterword by Alexander Ritter, Austin, Texas: Eakin, 1985), 13, 14, 15, 18-23, 31, 72-73, 238. Defining Texas as *the New World* under the "Regency" of God, Sealsfield warns too that it is a "wide field" and "no favor" will be given. See also A. Leslie Willson, "Another Planet: Texas in German Literature," in *Texas and Germany: Crosscurrents*, ed. Joseph B. Wilson, Rice University Studies, vol. 63.3 (1977), 102. See also Walter Grünzweig, *Charles Sealsfield*, Western Writers Series, vol. 71 (Boise State University, 1985), 26; and Wulf Koepke, "Charles Sealsfield's Place in Literary History," *South Central Review* 1 (1984): 54-66.

<sup>3</sup> See Annette Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975) and *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984).

<sup>4</sup> *Was Großmutter erzählt* was first published in San Antonio in 1915. A translation was published in limited edition by Irma Goeth Guenther in 1969.

<sup>5</sup> Otilie Fuchs Goeth, *Memoirs of a Texas Pioneer Grandmother*, ed. and trans. Irma Goeth Guenther (Burnet, Texas: Eakin, 1982), 1. All subsequent citations from this translation will be given parenthetically in the text. Otilie Fuchs was born 27 February 1836 in Koelzow, Mecklenburg, daughter of Pastor Adolf Fuchs and Louise Fuchs, née Ruenker. Her parents migrated under the auspices of the *Adelsverein* in 1845-46. After her marriage to Carl Goeth, originally from Wetzlar, Otilie Fuchs Goeth rose to a position of leadership in a large extended family that included farmers, ranchers, teachers, physicians, politicians, lawmen, linguists, writers, and an inordinately large number of musicians. By no means among the wealthiest landowners, the Goeth and Fuchs families were and today still are culturally prominent in the German-Texas hill country. The translator, Irma Goeth



Guenther served as a translator and interpreter during World War II and from then until her retirement as a professional violinist and violist with the San Antonio Symphony and other orchestras and ensembles. She and her husband reside in Austin, Texas.

<sup>6</sup> This image is associated with the writings of Emma Murck Altgelt (1834-1922) who came to Texas in 1854 from Düsseldorf (see excerpts from Guido Ernst Ransleben's translation of Altgelt's *Beobachtungen und Erinnerungen*, in Crystal Sasse Ragsdale, *The Golden Free Land: The Reminiscences and Letters of Women on an American Frontier* [Austin, Texas: Landmark, 1976], 132-55). This citation that Ragsdale also incorporates into the title of her anthology is from "Schilderungen aus texanischem Leben" (p. 134).

<sup>7</sup> In a discussion in September 1983, Minetta Altgelt Goyne of the University of Texas at Arlington mentioned that, while editing the Civil War letters of the von Coreth family in Texas, she was struck by formulaic expressions and stories in the writings of the Coreth men. "Did the stories of beautiful girls left behind in order to migrate to Texas mask assessments of life in Texas, of spouses one may have had to 'settle for' in Texas, and of what one might have otherwise become?" Goyne asked. Goyne's ancestor, Emma Murck Altgelt, had written that many young nobles, scientists, and intellectuals in Texas "often married daughters of farmers or laborers" (Ragsdale, 142) in order to insure thrift, practical acumen, and even survival. Altgelt herself and several other German women writers had fled (they report) from Germany in order to avoid stifling but proper marriages. While men later pined, women declared themselves happy, though there is an element in their writings of Jane O'Reilly's thesis in *The Girl I Left Behind: The Housewife's Moment of Truth and Other Feminist Ravings* (New York: Macmillan, 1980). Goeth's sentence may reflect these ambivalences.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Susanna Egan, *Patterns of Experience in Autobiography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); and Carol Fairbanks, *Prairie Women: Images in American and Canadian Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), 5-9.

<sup>9</sup> Leon Edel, "The Figure Under The Carpet," in *Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art*, ed. Marc Pachter (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1918), 24-25.

<sup>10</sup> This is what one critic has called the "inside song." Compare Cornelia Meigs, et al., *A Critical History of Children's Literature* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 4-5; Mabel Major and T. M. Pearce, *Southwest Heritage: A Literary History with Bibliographies*, 3d ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), 15-16; and Alice Walker, "In Search of Our Mother's Gardens": "And so our mothers and grandmothers have, more often than not anonymously, handed on the creative spark, the seed of the flower they themselves never hoped to see: or like a sealed letter they could not plainly read."

<sup>11</sup> See Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Frontier Women: The Trans-Mississippi West, 1840-1880* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979), 20-21. Cf. Elizabeth Hampsten, *Read This Only to Yourself: The Private Writings of Midwestern Women, 1880-1910* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982).

<sup>12</sup> Gish and Spuler, 209-20.



Walter E. Riedel

**Exiled in Canada:  
Literary and Related Forms of  
Cultural Life in the Internment Camps**

A collection of writings and drawings entitled "Gay and Serious Poetry and Songs of My Internment 1940-1941" contains the following cartoon drawing: A young internee, with a distraught facial expression and holding his registration book in his hands, is shown sitting on a mound of earth tightly surrounded by a barbed wire fence in a vast and empty landscape. The mound carries the inscription "Canada." A similar message is expressed by Carl Weiselberger in one of his autobiographical short stories written during his internment in Canada. He perceives the world of the prisoners held in the barbed wire compound somewhere in a Canadian forest as a cage, and their lives as an "absurd theater," in which nameless and defenseless refugees driven from country to country act out their meaningless roles (Weiselberger 1981, 64, 81; Riedel 1983). The drawings and the writings belong to a small, yet significant body of special exile art. The literature in question comprises writings by Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany and Austria who had sought refuge or asylum in Great Britain before World War II, but were interned as enemy aliens after the outbreak of hostilities. Nearly three thousand of them were later transferred to Canadian camps; they were located in New Brunswick (Camp "B" in Little River), Quebec ("L" in Quebec City, "T" in Trois Rivières, "I" on the Ile aux Noix in Montreal, "N" in Sherbrooke, "A" in Farnham), and Ontario ("Q" in Monteith, "R" in Red Rock). The story of how Britain, in the wake of the fall of Holland, Belgium and France interned some thirty thousand German, Austrian and Italian nationals—among them Jewish refugees—has been told in Britain by Peter and Leni Gillman (1980) and Ronald Stent (1980); in Canada by Paula Draper (1978), Eric Koch (1980) and Harry Rasky (1981). Irving Abella's and Harold Troper's study *None is Too Many* (1982) on Canada's closed-door immigration policy to Jews completed the social-historical chapter of these "accidental immigrants."

Though historical, political and sociological aspects of the internment of the so-called "enemy aliens" have received a great deal of attention, the creative literature (in its widest sense) written in these camps has only just begun to be critically assessed. Claims have been made that within the barbed wire compound, "without liberty," literature or culture in general "can neither be maintained nor grow" (K[rämer] 1941, 5). Yet H. G. Adler, a writer who experienced exile in a Nazi prison camp, states the opposite view in his address entitled "Dichtung in der Gefangenschaft als inneres Exil" (1980). Adler witnessed how even in the prison camps of the Nazi state, wherever there was a semblance of privacy, artistic activities—literature, drawing or painting, music, theater—were practiced. He claims that these activities served individuals' "cultural needs" and suggests that we may interpret their writings as an expression of their personal resistance, their "statement of inner exile" (Adler 1980, 22–23). Not only in the prison camps of the Nazi state has the occurrence of literary, artistic, or other cultural activities been documented; the internment camps in Britain, Canada and Australia are also cases in point, suggesting that literature or, more generally, intellectual activity of a cultural nature, may be seen as having a specific function for the exiles or internees. Michael Seyfert's study, appropriately entitled *Im Niemandsland: Deutsche Exilliteratur in britischer Internierung: Ein unbekanntes Kapitel der Kulturgeschichte des Zweiten Weltkriegs* (1984), which deals mainly with internment camps in Britain, begs the question of the Canadian component of this chapter. By focusing briefly on themes and imagery of literary and related artistic expression from Canadian internment camps, I hope to show the functional value of this artistic expression in the internees' coming to terms with their internment, a measure which Koch has convincingly described as a "wartime blunder."

The existence of a significant body of literature written by Jewish refugees in Canadian internment camps was not generally known until recently. Yet during the relatively short period between 1940 and 1942, a great deal was written in the camps: poems, short stories, diaries, a manuscript of a novel, at least one anthology, as well as some selections written retrospectively after release from internment. The main problem researchers face still lies in locating and collecting this literature. Writings of camp inmates were subject to censorship, and opportunities for publication within the camps were very limited. Though most camps had camp newspapers or periodicals, they included only a few literary selections. A great deal of what internees wrote was read or recited to fellow internees and later remained hidden in drawers and suitcases. Some of these writings survived in manuscript form and found their way into special archives (Weiselberger's papers are now in the McPherson Library in Victoria, BC; Koch's and Charles Wassermann's papers are in the Ethnic Archives of the National Library of Canada in Ottawa). Some selections were set to music and survived as camp songs. Other writings were published long after the internees were released (Henry Kreisel's *Diary of an Internment* [1974] and selections in *Another Country* [1985], Weiselberger's *Auswahl seiner Schriften* [1981], and *Zum Olymp*,

wenn ich bitten darf: Zwölf Dichterkameen [1982]). Taken as a whole, this literature clearly belongs to the larger context of exile and exile literature, which, in the light of recent research, recognizes that exile is not a strictly limited period from 1933 to 1945 (Helmut F. Pfanner 1986), that it does not just pertain to an intellectual elite (Frühwald and Schieder 1981, 16), that writings by exiles have a very special authenticity deriving from the very experience of exile (Vordtriede 1968, 558) and that, with respect to exile literature, literary quality or merit may be considered secondary to the question of significance or of function of these writings for the writer as well as for his fellow exiles.

The essence of the internee's exile experience is best expressed in the musings of a Jewish protagonist in Richard Friedenthal's novel *Die Welt in der Nußschale*, a work which moved Seyfert to call his study of literature from the British internment camps *Im Niemandsland*: "We are nobody. . . . For the British, who interned us, we are Germans, for the Germans we are . . . well what are we for the Germans?" (Seyfert 1984, 6). Wolfgang Bretschneider, an internee in a Canadian camp, echoes a similar sense of lack of belonging and a feeling of isolation. One of his poems complains of the Canadian commandant angrily telling a well-known and once respected internee, Dr. G. Heckmann, a philosophy professor from Göttingen, "You're a nobody" ("So war's"). Common to the myriads of exiles who, in the wake of Hitler's rise to power, had to leave their own country and seek refuge wherever they could find it, are the loss of their homeland, their family, their profession and livelihood, their very identity and the feeling of loneliness and isolation in a foreign land. What makes their exile experience a special case is the fact that in their country of refuge, England, they were put behind barbed wire, transferred to camps in Canada and detained for two years before their status was changed to that of "refugee" and they could be released.

Koch's portrayal of the fate of the refugees who were "deemed suspect," shows that life in the internment camps, though not pleasant, was bearable; it was at any rate preferable to what could have been. After all, the refugees were alive, far removed from the arena of war (to the chagrin of some); they were well-fed and, as time passed, their educational, intellectual and recreational needs were well looked after through the efforts of the YMCA Prisoner of War Aid, the Red Cross and other relief organizations. Schools or universities with educational, cultural and recreational programs were organized in practically all camps; they provided a welcome relief from the very real boredom and stupor of the routines of camp life. Yet despite all this, the harsh reality of the camp remained: the barbed wire, the armed guards, the monotonous camp routines, the loss of family and friends, the total lack of privacy, the uncertainty about the outcome of the war and the question of how long they would remain incarcerated. This explains why so many succumbed to feelings of resignation or of depression; some internees called it "internitis."

It is no surprise that for these incarcerated men between sixteen and sixty years of age, the reality of the camp and their attempts to come to terms with their experience is central to their writing. Indeed the barbed

wire compound is a central symbol for their existence; from its perspective they perceive their world within as well as without the compound. In rhymes, ditties, anecdotes, songs and playlets, the camp—in tones ranging from serious to humorous, satiric and sarcastic—is portrayed as a human cage. It is a world cut off by wire and bayonets from the world outside, a world of rumors, uncertainty and organized monotony, consisting mainly of everyday routines of camp life: roll call, keeping the camp clean, preparing meals, eating, sleeping, walking along the fences for exercise. Camp regulations written in fractured and unretranslatable German, such as "Regulierungen vom Obersten G. Dorval Kommandant von das Konzentrierung Camp" or the "Kriegsgefangenen Lager 'B' - Bekanntmachung" (Nielsen 1977, 190-91, 216-17) give an impression of the humorous linguistic ineptitude of the captors which glossed over the seriousness and absurdity of the "cages" they controlled:

- 1) Es ist streng verboten die Stachelzaun der Lager umringen binnen 25 fusz (9 meters) nahekomen. 2) Die Schildwachen Befehl haber einmahl werdardufen mit das Worte: "Halt or I fire," und darauf schieszen. 3) Wann eine Kriegsgefangene ist werdageruft, er wird halten, die Hände aufheben und der Gebot der Schildwachen abwarten.

These are followed by other rules in Double Dutch regarding saluting of guards, camp administration, mail, smoking, escape attempts, punishment, etc.

Passing the time while waiting to be released became the major preoccupation of the internees during a course of events happening far-away and beyond their control. In a poem entitled "Im Rattenloch von Warth Mills," Alfred Becker reflects his feelings in language and imagery reminiscent of German Expressionism and of Rilke's "Panther": Becker compares himself to a caged animal prowling along the barbed wire fence, disquieted, angry, lying in wait, in a nauseating place where he has heard shrieks of desperation and longing that emerge from the dreams of his fellow inmates. Rilke's existential poem depicts the caged panther into whose pupil an image from the outside only sometimes enters and goes through the tense stillness of the limbs until it ceases "to be," in the heart. For his part, Becker unsettled by a girl's smile that finds its way to him, thinks of her and wonders if she, too, hears his voice in his nights of loneliness.

Weiselberger refers to the internees' caged existence with similar imagery. His short story "Kain und Abel in Kanada" provides a vivid description of the meaning of imprisonment. The barbed wire of the compound is strung from post to post, the tops of which are set at an angle; they remind Weiselberger of gallows and of death:

Genau 483 Galgen . . . Und an jedem Galgen hing—unsichtbar—eine Leiche, etwas, was man verloren hatte, das Leben, das richtige Leben—können, die Arbeit, der Beruf, Erfolg, das Haus, in dem man gewohnt hatte, eine liebgewordene Bequemlichkeit, ein Mensch, den man lieb

hatte, die Heimat—sie selbst, die Gefangenen, hingen daran, die traurigen Schatten ihrer selbst. An jedem Galgen hing etwas . . .

(Weiselberger 1981, 63)

For Weiselberger life in the barbed wire compound was a kind of "absurd theater" and the inmates were "ridiculous and tragic marionettes moving restlessly before never-changing scenery and a backdrop of grey wooden huts, brown earth and dark green forests" (1981, 64). He refers to their life as a caged existence "between barbed wire and camp latrine" (1981, 81).

The entire range of events beginning with Hitler's rise to power and the consequences for these Jews—persecution, flight to England, internment, transfer to Canadian camps, etc.—forms the subject of their writings. Many of the titles are indicative of the thematic focus on the barbed wire cage and of its meaning of isolation, and of lack of belonging: "Internierung" (Gert Baumgart), "Wie ich interniert wurde" (Robert Brückner), "Kempton Park" (Walter Schechner), "Douglas, Isle of Man" (Baumgart), i.e., names of camps in Britain or their equivalents in Canada: "Trois Rivières" (Baumgart); "Hebräische Geschichte der Internees," and numerous others.

Much of the rather heterogeneous literature from the internment camps in Canada, as Seyfert pointed out for Britain, is concerned with seeking self-understanding and reestablishing identity (Seyfert 1984, 65ff.). As Germans unwanted by Germany, but interned and deported by those from whom they had sought asylum, these imprisoned outsiders had a need to ask for reasons and to attempt to reestablish for themselves and the world outside who they were. In a poem entitled "Freiheit," Robert Turgel asks the question why he, who had no part in Hitler's Germany and fled, should be interned, why he had to leave his wife, his children, his homeland; and he prays that the time until he will be free again may pass quickly. "Draht, Draht, Draht," a poem by Robert Unger, describes how the ubiquitous barbed wire has changed their lives into stupefying, grey monotony with a sense of loneliness and isolation that he calls "ein rostig abgestelltes Sein." Images of rails, the railway and of railway stations ("The Last Station" by Lothar Seewald), are used to refer to this isolation. Becker's "Song vom Nebengleise" deals with the journey and sojourn of the internees, who have been shunted onto a side-track.

Many internees felt a need to distance themselves from those responsible for their state of affairs. Sometimes this need finds expression in feelings of hate and revenge, as for example in Weiselberger's short story "Weekend im Hotel Braunau," where he lets a flood wipe out, even though only for a moment, the hated Nazis who had gathered there (unpubl. ms. in Weiselberger Collection). Some internees responded to this need by consciously seeking a new identity; the best example, Kreisel, resolved in the wake of these events to change his medium of expression from German to English and consciously to embrace the new identity that comes from immersing oneself in the new language and culture (Kreisel 1982, Riedel 1986).

The internees' attempts to understand the reasons and events leading to their internment and to come to terms with their absurd existence in the camps led inexorably to the essential question of their Jewishness. Weiselberger observes in one of his short stories that the world had made it so difficult for the Jews to be simply human beings ("Gebot," unpubl. ms. in Weiselberger Collection). The eternally wandering Jew, homeless, persecuted, fleeing from country to country, is a central protagonist of much of this literature: We encounter him in Weiselberger's short story, "Kain und Abel in Kanada." Cain has the legendary mark upon his forehead; he is restless, driven from one thing to the next, persecuted, fleeing from his enemies and from himself, desperate, rebellious, with a clenched fist, longing for and dreaming of freedom and life elsewhere, but in a cage, even in the New World: "Wie ein ewiger Wanderer, ruhelos, wandert er durchs Lager und kann es nie erwandern. Ein hoher, schwarzer Schatten, Kain, der Wanderer, der Ewige Wanderer—Kain—" (1981, 69-70).

In literature written retrospectively, Kreisel and Weiselberger have used the well-known literary motif of the lost shadow to portray the exile experience. In his radio play *He Who Sells His Shadow* (originally published in 1956), an adaptation of Adalbert von Chamisso's novella *Peter Schlemihl*, Kreisel relates the shadowlessness of his protagonist to the experience of loss of identity and consequently of being considered as an outsider. Kreisel's Schlemihl is without a shadow, "different, an alien" (Kreisel 1985, 218), a "stranger upon the earth, an exile, cut off at the root from his fellow men" (Kreisel 1985, 212), "judged," "marked like Cain" (Kreisel 1985, 222-23); he is clearly related to the wandering Jew, rootless, homeless, shunned, condemned and persecuted. Weiselberger repeatedly resorted to this same motif of being shadowless in newspaper articles (e.g., "Ottawa Citizen," 11 Oct. 1947) as well as in explaining the purpose of his cameo portraits of German and Austrian writers. It is significant in this context to note that he wrote these in Canada in order to reestablish and clarify for himself his affinity to an intellectual tradition that had been "perverted and betrayed" (Vordtriede 1968, 570) during the time of the Third Reich (Weiselberger 1982).

Significantly, however, the thoughts and longings of the internees transcend the barbed wire compound. They are directed either to things and events from their past which give them hope—their homeland, friends, or more generally to an idealized former chapter of their lives, or else to the future: release from imprisonment, freedom and a new beginning. Weiselberger's internee protagonists Cain and Abel think of their former lives: Cain, an author, is described as having a clenched fist, as being desperate, willing to end his life, because his "work," "the fruit" which gave meaning to his life, had been destroyed in the book burning organized by the Nazis; Abel, also a writer from the Old World who had lost everything, begins, in contrast, to write anew, despite all adversity. And in his short story "Die Geige," Weiselberger describes Internee No. 412, Klaus, an artist, a gifted violin player, who before his internment had played in concerts in Germany and England. He waits



desperately for his violin, which had been following him from camp to camp but never reached him:

Die Geige. Wenn er sie nur hätte! Spielen. Wieder spielen können. Sich hinwegspielen über alles, über den Stacheldraht, über die dumpfen Massenschlafhütten, das Einerlei dieser Massenausspeisung an den langen rohen Holztischen dreimal täglich, über diese Gierigen, Böswilligen, durch lange Haft Verrohten und Verbitterten. (1981, 104)

In a number of poems, Becker has successfully created a mood of both pain and longing through use of imagery. In "Kleines Herbstlied," falling leaves remind him of death and dying, but the songs of the winds symbolize his dreams and longings. In "Oktobertag am St. Lorenzstrom," a real image, a woman passing the barbed wire before a peaceful landscape panorama of the pastel colors of the changing leaves of fall and the blue color of the horizon, is contrasted with an imaginary one: a woman left behind in war-torn Europe. And in "Es sang die sanfte Geige," the magic tune of a violin, for a moment, brings life back into the compound in the form of images remembered from the past. In "Über dem dunklen Strome," the images of the St. Lawrence River, of the steamers going eastward, direct the poet's thoughts and feelings homeward to his sweetheart in war-torn Europe. However, despite his sadness, of which Becker says in "Traurigkeit zur Nacht," that it falls on him at night from the ceiling in heavy, viscous drops, he resolves to sing his new song ("Neues Lied"), which, like a falcon, defiantly rises over the stormy seas and will bring victory. In a sophisticated poem entitled "Möwenflug," Becker captures the flight of a seagull in order to portray his own longing for freedom.

The internees' most intense longing is for release. Internee No. 725 in Weiselberger's short story "Internee Julius Caesar" dreams of freedom. In his dream, the Quebec-stove of the camp hut, against which two internees had leaned some wheels, reminds him of a steam locomotive whose wheels suddenly began to turn; he dreams

... daß er und die anderen Gefangenen ihre Betten, so wie sie dastanden mit Matratzen, Decken und Eßnäpfen und Löffeln an die Ofenmaschine ankoppelten und dampfend aus der Hütte fahren, quer übers Lagerfeld, durch den Stacheldraht hindurch, in die Welt, in die Freiheit hinaus, nach Amerika hinüber, geradewegs bis an den Fuß der Freiheitsstatue von New York. (1981, 74)

Feelings of longing for freedom are expressed in the same symbolism in a drawing by E. Reich in which an internee behind a strand of barbed wire looks at the distant Statue of Liberty and the American flag ("Gay and Serious Poetry").

Literature and related art forms served a functional purpose in the camps. Most of it was written with an audience in mind or performed before an audience. Audience involvement or participation by way of recitation in word, song or dramatic performance not only served as entertainment but also helped to raise the prisoners' joint awareness or

consciousness by creating among them a feeling of solidarity which contributed to making the absurdity of life in the camp more bearable. In addition to the poems which were read or recited before groups of internees, a significant number of poems and rhymes describing the internees' experiences contained refrains that involved the audience directly in a collective response. A humorous rhyme by Sawady describing in several stanzas the events leading to internment and life in the camp contains the refrain "Und dennoch haben wir uns köstlich amüsiert." Another poem by Bretschneider dealing with the same well-known sequence of events calls for the joint refrain "Ja, wir sind ja auch in Kanada." Another, entitled "Freut euch des Lebens," also by Sawady, is a parody of a popular German folksong and contains the refrain "Freut euch des Lebens, wenn ihr auch hier interniert. 'Sist alles vergebens. Solang der Humor nicht krepirt." German folksongs not only served as a useful basis for parodies but also easily assured audience participation. The well-known "Weißt du wieviel Sternlein stehen?" occurs in a Canadian internment context as "Weißt du wieviel Internierte sind zur Zeit im Lager 'R'?" A parody of Heine's "Lorelei" by an anonymous writer begins with the remark "Ich weiß nicht, was soll es bedeuten, daß ich in Kanada bin" and concludes with an observation about the absurdity of this confinement. A camp song entitled "Lagerlied von Seaton" (Text: Corvin; Music: Landsberg) contains a significant refrain with a message, a call to tough it out:

Kopf hoch! Das hier wird vorübergehen.  
 Wie Wolken und Regen und Windeswehn!  
 Ein Tag hier wird der letzte sein!  
 Tor auf! Wir marschieren in die Freiheit hinein!  
 Nach Hause, Kamerad!  
 Die Pause, Kamerad, ist vorbei!

("Gay and Serious Poetry")

The best-known camp song was Freddy Grant's "You'll get used to it" which he had written and sung in Huyton and which became popular in Camps "Q" and "N" in Canada and was sung by everyone including the guards (Koch 1980, 94). This humorous song, too, contains a simple, unsentimental message of encouragement. Clearly, participation in group recitations and in songs not only contributed to overcoming the real boredom and stupor in the camps; it had for many a kind of therapeutic function in preventing feelings of resignation, sentimentality, brooding and depression.

The humorous songs mentioned above are but a small part of a larger whole: namely, the importance of musical and theatrical performances in general in the camps. For example, Camp "B" had an unusual number of musically talented inmates, among them Helmut Blume, who much later became dean of music at McGill University, as well as the noted pianist John Newmark. Regular concerts with programs of compositions by Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Chopin and numerous others took place in the camp. Blume commented in retrospect on

the importance of music in the camps: "We had concerts, and I think that in this particular atmosphere and environment of uncertainty and fear, music helped a great deal to reestablish a kind of balance and a kind of hope" (Rasky 1981, 37-38).

Closely related in function was the entire gamut of theatrical activity in the camps, ranging from performances of plays by well-known writers to the writing and performing of the prisoners' own plays and skits. The Eric Koch-Files (National Library, Ottawa) contain evidence of camp performances of the following plays: Goethe, *Faust*; Schnitzler, *Der grüne Kakadu*; Shaw, *The Man of Destiny* and *Androcles and the Lion* (Camp "B"). This latter play was described in an introduction by the internee Newmark as showing "people in their fears, hopes and weaknesses" and was said to contain a message for the internees in its last words, spoken by Androcles himself: "No cage for you, and no slavery for me." (Koch-Files, vol. 1). Furthermore Emmet Lavery's *The First Legion* was performed in Camp "N." In the camp newspaper *The Stackeldraht* [sic] (Nov. 1941), performances of Hofmannsthal, Chekhov and Wilde are mentioned. Two original dramatic texts by Paul Dornberger (*The Last Chance* and *Der junge König*) are mentioned in the literature (Seyfert 1984, 67), but the texts seem to have been lost. I have received a manuscript of a playlet by Richard Hoff which clearly recognizes its functional value as humorous entertainment and pastime in a camp where people do not know what to do with time. It is entitled "Rotkäppchen," and is modeled on the Socratic dialogue. It shows a group of internees investigating the practical application of the Socratic dialogue in a camp where everyone has time and is silently waiting for it to pass. When one of the speakers begins half a minute late, it raises the question whether, after wasting half a minute, it is still worthwhile beginning at all. After half an hour of attempting to define the nature of the word "little," as in the Little Red Riding Hood of the title, the outcome is one of apparent pointlessness, a comment on how time has been wasted in a situation where time does not matter anyway: "So?— Das hätten Sie uns aber wirklich gleich zu Anfang sagen können statt uns hier eine ganze Stunde aufzuhalten."

Weiselberger's short stories contain a surprisingly high number of references to games, skits or psychodramas that the internees thought up or played. In his story, "Internee Julius Caesar," Weiselberger comments on both the motives and the significance of such games:

... sie wollten heraus, sie wollten sich herauswickeln aus diesem ewigen Einerlei, aus diesem ewigen Gefangenenband, sie wollten aus ihrer eigenen Haut heraus, irgendwie, und sei's auch nur im Spiel, sich verwandeln, ein anderer werden, ein völlig anderer. (1981, 75)

Internee No. 801, who entertains his fellow internees with surprisingly convincing impersonations of Julius Caesar, forgets to put down the right hand he had raised in salute at roll call so that for his provocative gesture he is locked up by the guards.

Another story of an impersonation game, "Der Mann mit den

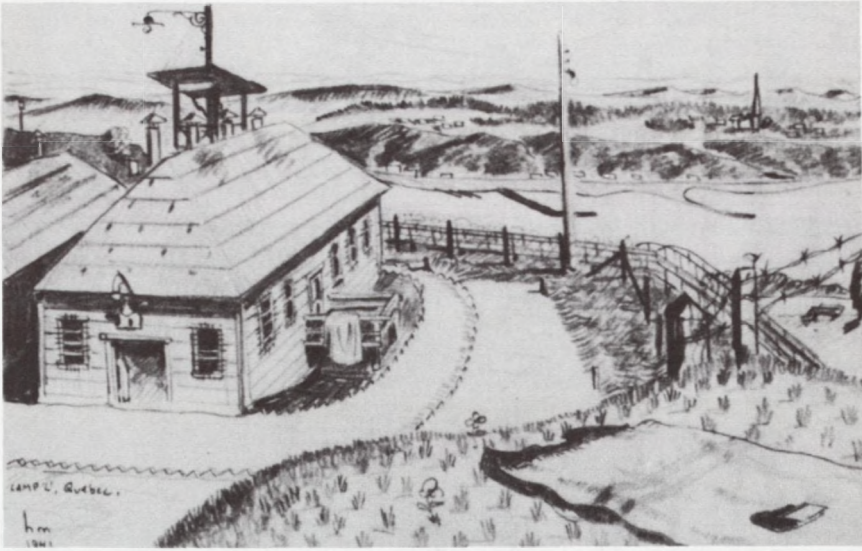
tausend Gesichtern" by Weiselberger, also expresses the internees' longing to be elsewhere, "in another world . . . far from here, in a world without barbed wire, and without watchtowers and machine guns, without mass sleeping-huts, without roll-call" (1981, 84). The highlight is a stage-show with Chamaeleoni, a versatile improviser, who could convincingly assume the faces of people as different as Charlie Chaplin, Hitler, Churchill, or even a statue of stone or marble. The second part is a fantasy in which Chamaeleoni actually impersonates the sergeant at the camp gate so convincingly that the camp gate is opened before him and he experiences for a few moments his dream of freedom. He describes it with these words:

Frei . . . endlich frei sein . . . die breite Straße hinunter, durch den Wald nach der Grenze, nach Amerika hinüber . . . New York . . . Chicago . . . wiederum ein Mensch sein . . . auftreten . . . Geld verdienen . . . in den Zeitungen stehen . . . auf großen Plakaten . . . Chamaeleoni, Chamaeleoni, der Mann mit den tausend Gesichtern. . . . (1981, 91)

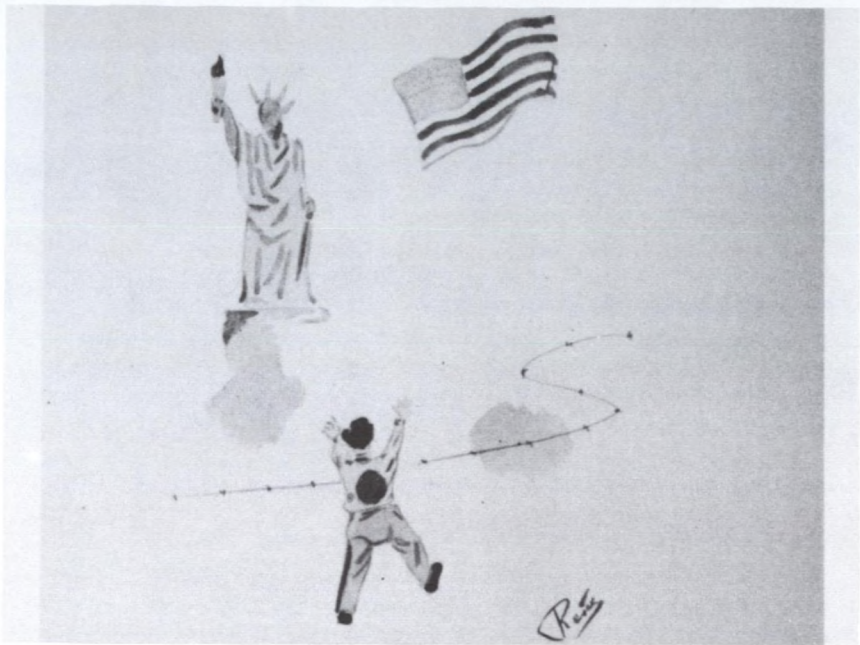
However, after only a few hours of freedom when he recognizes that the world beyond the barbed wire is a totally foreign world, he returns willingly to the familiarity and security of the compound.

Weiselberger's use of the game motif in situational comedies underlines perhaps the most important ingredient of the prisoners' attempts to come to terms with the absurdity of life in the camps. Humor provides a way of looking at things from another perspective that makes potentially destructive experiences bearable. Many of the artistic statements cast a deliberately humorous light on the absurdity of their situation. A cartoon drawing from the camp anthology mentioned earlier conveys the message of the absurdity of the internee's experience from a perspective which reveals not a small measure of black humor: It is a picture in two parts; part one shows a pathetic little human figure with its head hanging low—evidently a refugee—being marched away by two officers in SS uniforms; the variation below shows the same pathetic figure being marched away again, this time by two sprightly-looking guards armed with bayonets and clad in Canadian military uniforms. Another example is Prinz's "Chanakkagedicht." It is a humorous, satiric look at the fate of the Jews in the context of internment. He interprets their exodus from a country with a vision of more *Lebensraum* to a Promised Land which is both reminiscent of Canaan in name, and also a land of plenty ("und alles gibt's im Überfluß: Schnee, Nordlicht, Chipmunks, Chlor und Seife"). Their misfortune is considered more as good fortune, and all of it happened without their having had to pay a cent for their passage or their board and lodging; on the contrary, a form of free entertainment with bayonet scenes was thrown in to boot: "Und man genießt als Operette die aufgepflanzten Bajonette."

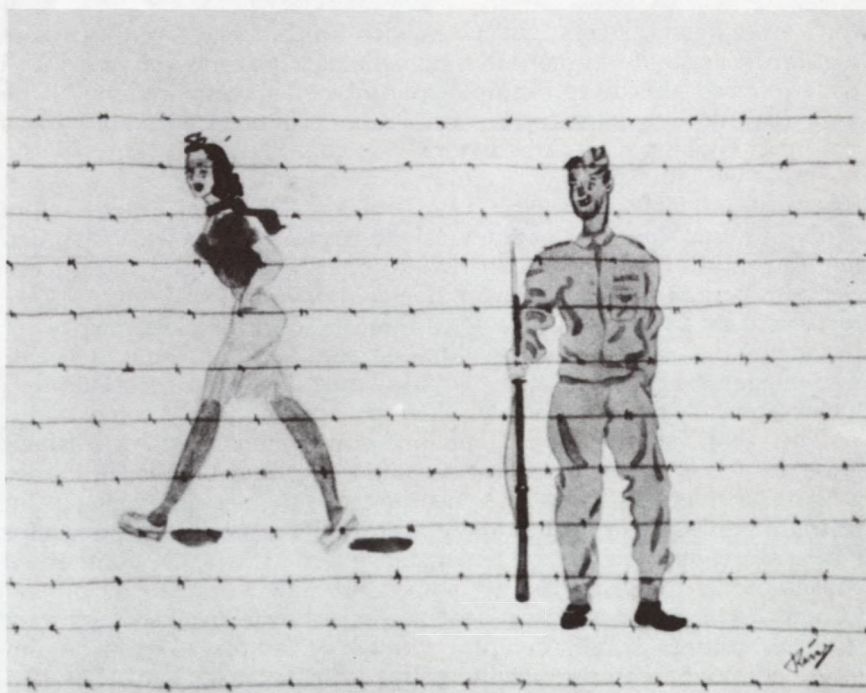
Healthy interned males (only) from sixteen to sixty years of age developed their own sexual fantasies, longings and frustrations. How they dealt with them, too, ranges from sincerely expressed longings for



Drawings from Canadian Internment Camps, 1940-41.



Drawings from Canadian Internment Camps, 1940-41.



Drawings from Canadian Internment Camps, 1940-41.

their sweethearts, lovers, and wives, whom they had had to leave in war-torn Europe, to humorous treatment in word, song or drawing. I have referred already to examples of sincere expression; some of the more realistically explicit and beautiful dreams underlie such art work as "Woman Walking Past Barbed Wire," Reich's "Nude At Sunset" and his nude who found her way into the camp bunk bed. Perhaps one of the most original fantasies in this context is Seewald's poem "Ein Wunschtraum," a vision of a new island paradise called Isle of Women (an analogy to the Isle of Man, where one of the biggest internment camps was situated). In the poem, Seewald proclaims that internees are to be sent by government decree to this island for the sole purpose of producing the next generation: "Mit Leib und Seele bei Tag und Nacht/ Zu schlagen die Erzeugerschlacht," until they die "aus Über-Zeugung" which ironically translates as both "overprocreating" and "conviction."

The second stanza of the "Lagerlied von Seaton" contains a salient message: "Das Trauern, das hat niemals Sinn, und Lachen tut immer gut." The internees knew the meaning of laughter as a relief from restraint and as a survival strategy against the absurdity of the camp. Perhaps no one knew this better than a certain Mr. Cohen, an internee considered as the camp fool by some, but as a wise man by others. Cohen was the target of a great deal of mischief by fellow internees: they stole his mattress, bombarded him with water and played tricks on him to the point where things finally became unbearable for him. He called everyone together and tersely announced "Wenn ihr nicht sofort aufhört, verlasse ich das Lager" (Nielsen 1977, 196). Humor, as a strategy in coming to terms with, indeed as a means of surviving internment, deserves a study of its own.

The literature from the fortunately brief interlude of internment in Canadian camps, along with related forms of artistic expression in drawing, music and theater, forms a record of internees' experiences and their attempts to come to terms with the absurdity of the events in a turbulent time. The arts had a functional purpose in the prisoners' search for meaning. They were a significant component in a process of reaching self-understanding, reorientation, and of surviving the adversities of the camp; they also served as a preparation for a new beginning. Weiselberger interpreted the internees' attempts at literary expression as a modern variation of the well-known Boccaccio motif, in which people fleeing from the plague shut themselves off and passed their time by telling stories. This motif could be extended to refer to their entire search for meaningful intellectual activities, including their educational programs and endeavors. Indeed many internees, by their own admission, derived formative influences and benefits from human and intellectual encounters in the camps, influences that were to determine many of their goals and indeed the orientation of their entire lives. Rasky's CBC documentary "The Spies That Never Were," which focused on the internees in retrospective interviews, shows that the internees considered internment as an unfortunate interlude at the time, but that in retrospect they bear no grudge against Canada, for it was for many a period of enforced reflection, of intellectual activity, of searching for and



defining their goals. A disproportionate number of internees, especially of the younger generation, went on to studies at universities and later made significant contributions to intellectual life in Canada and the United States in the arts and the sciences (Koch 1980, Draper 1983). As far as literature is concerned, such former internees as Henry Kreisel, Carl Weisberger, Anton Frisch, Eric Koch and Charles Wassermann have made a contribution to the literature of Canada in both English and German (Riedel 1984, Gürtler [in press]). The "accidental immigrants" have indeed enriched their country despite the restrictive immigration policies of those times.

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Rainer L. Hempel

## **Recent German Immigration to New Brunswick**

When a wave of immigrants landed in North America, there were usually very definite, clearly identifiable reasons why these newcomers undertook such a drastic step as to break the age-old bonds with country, customs and language, to entrust their fate to the uncertainties of an ocean voyage and later to a new life in an unknown land. It was not only a thrust from Europe but also a need in and lure from the North American continent, i.e., active recruitment in Europe to attract desirable settlers, which brought immigrants to the New World. This was true in the early history of Canada, and remains so today.

When the British wanted to create a counterbalance to the Catholic French presence in the Maritime Provinces of Canada, they founded Halifax, but the British colonists who arrived in 1749 to settle the land and supply the necessary provisions for the military were unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup> Governor Cornwallis suggested instead that Swiss and German Protestants be recruited who had such a good reputation and who had been credited with success in the development of Pennsylvania by Lord Halifax and Governor Shirley of Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> By using an agent, John Dick, the English recruited about two thousand Germans and brought them to Nova Scotia. Most of them did not have the funds for their own passage, but could pay it off by working for the British in road and fortification construction. After three years they founded the town of Lunenburg (or Lüneburg), which was for many years an almost purely German community.

About twenty years later, still in the midst of the Seven Years' War, the British again made efforts to attract settlers to fill the vacant lands and marshes,<sup>3</sup> from which the French Acadians had been expelled upon their refusal to swear allegiance to the British King. Rather than encourage people to settle directly, as in the case of Lunenburg, British government officials opted to grant land to companies which in turn were responsible for settling it.<sup>4</sup> The promise of land attracted a number of settlers from Pennsylvania who had come to North America to begin a

new life, only to find that good inexpensive agricultural land was becoming scarce after the middle of the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

There were several other larger groups of immigrants who came to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick.<sup>6</sup> Let it suffice to say, however, that the desire of immigrants to come to Canada, may it be for religious, economic, or political reasons, was almost always accompanied by an equal desire in North America to have these settlers.

At the end of World War II Canada became very attractive for a large number of impoverished refugees. After Canada opened up its borders to German nationals in the fall of 1950, almost half a million Germans came to Canada over a period of about twenty years.<sup>7</sup> With the German economic recovery and Canada's restrictive immigration laws of the 1970s, this flood was reduced to a trickle. Over the last few years German-speaking immigrants have again been coming to Canada, and to New Brunswick in particular, but for very different reasons than before. The Maritimes were left behind in the general development of Canada. Although this is not a matter which the local population would readily acknowledge, it is nevertheless true that many of the young and enterprising people, those from farms, and professional and skilled people have been leaving the province for the last sixty years, abandoning those who are content with things the way they were and are.<sup>8</sup> The result is that unemployment is high, wages are low, and land is relatively inexpensive.

New Brunswick, which would cover about two-thirds of the area of West Germany, has a population of a little more than six hundred thousand. It is of little surprise then that people from the German-speaking countries view this land as a veritable heaven.

Whereas immigration is a federal matter, provinces have some influence as to the type of newcomer whom they accept into their territory.<sup>9</sup> For example, industrial Ontario might want to attract different immigrants than those desired by New Brunswick.

For some time now the province of New Brunswick, through its Department of Commerce and Technology, has been actively promoting this province in Europe in an effort to attract what is called the "business immigrant." This does not mean that immigrants interested in tourism or farming are not welcome, but it does mean that the Department of Commerce and Technology is actively recruiting because of the special needs of this area. This activity is the result of the realization that industrial development in New Brunswick is limited and that input is needed. It is part of a larger effort to develop this province industrially and economically.

The attraction to set up a business in New Brunswick is the promise of support to the venture up to a maximum of 50 percent of a total of \$150,000. It is clearly intended to attract the small businessman, whose trade employs the largest number of people in relation to the dollar value invested.

Germany does not view this loss of tradesmen and entrepreneurs to Canada as a brain drain, as does Canada when qualified people move to the United States, but as an investment in the future. As Tony Lampart

of the New Brunswick Department of Commerce and Technology points out: "Germans are outward-looking. In order to prosper they must make sure that Germans settle outside. This guarantees that German equipment will be purchased at a later stage, because Germans have a tendency to stay with German equipment." Particularly the government of Baden-Württemberg holds the view that every German entrepreneur abroad means orders in the future. There are thus not only no hindrances to leaving the country but there exist powerful reasons to get away from the pressure and fierce competition of an economy that has been saturated for years and can only expand outwardly. In Canada these businessmen can concentrate on their strengths and develop more easily.

Although business prospects are important for these recent immigrants, other factors play a significant role in their decision to settle in Canada. About half of the business projects have a political component; namely, fear of creeping socialism, increasing power of the unions and above all, fear of a Russian move into western Europe. As people of some means they are not prepared to wait for the last plane to leave, as one immigrant interviewed pointed out, "which will only be for the big shots anyway."

A very large component in the decision to come to New Brunswick is the different lifestyle there. Whereas many prospective immigrants realized that they would do better economically in British Columbia and Ontario because of the better infrastructure, they also recognized that living in the industrialized area of Ontario, the "Golden Horseshoe" around the western part of Lake Ontario, would not be so much different from living in Germany. The rural setting, the wide open spaces, the seemingly endless forests, the deserted beaches, the tranquillity and pace of life; in short, the quality of life in New Brunswick was and is a powerful attraction to Germans who are harried by an overpopulated land, deafened by jets at tree level and affected by every pollutant imaginable. These immigrants feel like all the ones before them that there is no future for their children in their homeland.

Whether these newcomers decided to come on their own or under the auspices of the Department of Commerce and Technology, they visited Canada on one or more occasions previous to their settlement. There were some preconceived notions about New Brunswick but in general these immigrants were fairly well informed. There is a marked difference between these recent arrivals and those who came during the mass exodus of the 1950s and early 1960s, the main one being money. They do not come hat in hand as displaced persons but as self-assured settlers who know they have something to contribute and that they are wanted. By far the largest percentage of these immigrants is successful and stays in New Brunswick. Their investment here goes into the tens of millions of dollars. In the following, several of the recent immigrants will be used as case histories to illustrate the above general remarks:

1. Heinz and Helga Skiba<sup>10</sup> from northern Germany gave three main reasons for wanting to come to Canada: The uncertainty in Germany

regarding the environment and possible military or other catastrophe; an unsatisfactory, office-oriented work situation for Mr. Skiba as an engineer, and the lack of opportunity to live and shape their lives as individuals in a mass society. The German dream of a little farm on which to spend one's leisure time, to plant a few vegetables, to have a few horses, etc., is realizable only for the wealthy few. Mr. Skiba had his profession, he wanted to change his lifestyle. At the trade fair in Hannover he came into contact with a representative of the government of New Brunswick, the Department of Commerce and Technology. He was deeply disappointed at the news that Canada and New Brunswick would not accept him as an engineer, but only as a businessman setting up his own company. After a great deal of soul-searching he decided to visit the eastern part of Canada with the vague idea of perhaps establishing himself in beekeeping, which was his hobby in Germany. He discovered that only two honey companies were set up in New Brunswick and that 80 percent of the honey was imported from outside the province. He decided that this was enough of an opening to attempt his business venture. Mr. and Mrs. Skiba bought a large parcel of land in a remote part of the province and built their dream house. Since no financial support from the Department of Commerce and Technology was forthcoming, at least during these first crucial years, they had to make do with their own resources. There were many unforeseen difficulties, one of them being supplies. Whereas the Canadian beekeeper has to build his own boxes for the hives, there are thirty-seven different kinds of boxes ready for the taking in Germany. Wild animals, namely bears, ripped apart twenty beehives in the first year of operation. There were difficulties with the language and selling their honey in large enough quantities to make a living. It occurred to them one day that no one in the Maritimes seemed to make use of a by-product of honey-making, i.e., beeswax. They embraced with enthusiasm the old Bavarian tradition of crafting candles and wax ornaments. At first they simply copied Bavarian designs, but now they incorporate more and more local motifs, dyes and materials. The Skibas blend beautifully into the New Brunswick craft scene, which boasts the highest number of artisans and craftspeople on a per capita basis in all of Canada. Mr. Skiba is full of praise for the various agencies of the provincial government, notably for Lampart, and New Brunswickers in general, for their advice and assistance, although it is only recently that he has received financial assistance under the business development program.

2. A project of quite a different magnitude was initiated by Dr. Hans Westner and his wife, Dr. Dorothea Westner.<sup>11</sup> Her Ph.D. is in social work and his in brewing. Their dream was to set up a brewery, but since there were already eight hundred of them in Bavaria alone, where they came from, there was no chance in Germany. Besides nobody, not even a Ph.D. in brewing, can crack the age-old barriers of the guilds, which only allow master brewers to brew.

Although Canada has its own large breweries, they use chemicals to

hasten the brewing process and increase the shelf life of the beer. Dr. Westner intended to produce his beer according to the Bavarian purity law of the year 1519 which permits no additives and preservatives. The incentives to come to New Brunswick were government grants and the absence of a small brewery of this kind in the province. The push factors from Germany were the stresses of business competition and daily life. Because of the large initial investment needed—in excess of \$150,000—Dr. Westner had to apply to a different program, a federal one. Although promises of up to 50 percent government participation were given, this was reduced to 25 percent because of austerity measures introduced shortly before submission of the application and after a great deal of preparatory work and money had been invested. Dr. Westner was forced to seek financial support at this late date. Since banks and other lending institutions considered the production of beer too risky a venture, the dream of a family brewery was shattered when a partner had to be taken on. Dr. Westner was also critical of the way in which the reduced grant was paid out. It was made available only in stages after different officials such as the development officer, the evaluation officer, the claims officer and the audit officer had become involved. The last payment was made thirty days after commercial production had commenced. The value of the brewery is estimated at about one million dollars.

3. Mr. and Mrs. Esser<sup>11</sup> came to Canada with four of their children in order to farm. The difference in land prices in Germany and Canada provided the necessary push-pull momentum. Mr. Esser owned some land in Germany. The rest was rented to run his riding stable with forty-four horses, his farm with twenty-five milk cows and fifteen head of cattle. His rented land was becoming smaller and smaller because the owner was parceling it off and selling it as building sites. Mr. Esser and his family would have had to abandon his small farm in any case, in order to set up somewhere else, but a larger farm could have run into a million deutsche marks. In this state of indecision he saw an advertisement in a farm newspaper about farms for sale in New Brunswick for a fraction of the cost. He came to see on his own but could not decide, so on a second trip he and his wife made plans to sell their farm in Germany and buy a larger one in New Brunswick. There were no political reasons, or fears of war or the "Russians," but it was simply felt that Germany was getting too small, too expensive and too hectic. They were like many other immigrants under the impression that they could make a living through farming, a mistake which they realized all too soon, especially since they only had enough money to buy ten dairy cows and a cream quota rather than a lucrative and expensive milk quota. Mr. Esser had considered resurrecting his old profession as a baker as a fallback position if things did not work out as planned. He began experimenting with North American varieties of flour to bake bread in his wife's kitchen stove. His products—rye bread, white bread, buns, tortes and pastries—were so good that he soon had to invest in a pizza oven. Demand has grown in such a way that he had two modern

bake ovens shipped over from Germany. His bread is baked in the European tradition without additives. It never occurred to him to ask for help from the government.

4. Mr. and Mrs. Marks<sup>13</sup> came to New Brunswick with their now three teenage children seven years ago. They were looking for a change in lifestyle and are now living on a farm. In Germany Mr. Marks had worked himself up to a very responsible position in an importing and exporting company with an annual turnover worth billions. His personal budget was one billion United States dollars. Since the company was doing business around the globe, its activities never really shut down but simply switched from Hamburg to New York, from there to Singapore, from where Mr. Marks picked up the strings again when he entered his office in Hamburg and turned on the computers. After two colleagues died unexpectedly on the job and a holiday was ruined on account of unstable market conditions which caused him to stay in his office instead of going on vacation, the decision was made that something had to change. To work for a smaller firm or a bank was not a realistic alternative, for people with a certain expertise are channeled into certain positions. There was the possibility of retiring for a few years or building something up as a family venture. Competition and land prices even in Ireland, which they considered for a while, ruled out any such "retirement" or "new project" in Europe. Because of their previous knowledge of the English language—e.g., Mrs. Marks is a qualified translator in English—only English-speaking countries were seriously considered as their future home. Although Australia, New Zealand and the United States fit into that category they were rejected either because of their distance from Europe or their lack of social protection. Canada was selected because of its good reputation with regard to its ecology, international relations and its basics in social services. Its relative proximity to Europe, at least of its Maritime Provinces, was also an advantage, for the Marksés did not want to lose contact with Europe completely. Ontario was rejected since it seemed too much like Europe and the Prairie Provinces were too extensive and limitless. New Brunswick was chosen because the people were friendlier than elsewhere and the Marksés sensed, not just on account of the name, an old-country spirit and flavor. They bought a farm as a rural residence and to be self-reliant with regard to food, not as a means of earning a living. Mr. Marks had been granted landed-immigrant status on the basis of his managerial and entrepreneurial talents and his willingness to start a business. His plan to build a greenhouse and go into the sale of plants, shrubs and trees was dropped because the market was saturated. He then became a co-founder of a window manufacturing company which continues to be very successful but from which he withdrew for personal reasons. The Marksés are integrated members of the community and are still working their farm, teaching their children important lessons about nature, the spirit of cooperation and contribution, the work ethic and the value of education. They are still actively searching for a project in which they as a family can become involved.



5. Roland and Annemarie DeBerti<sup>14</sup> came from Switzerland. They had sold their wholesale and retail pet business in Thun in order to set up a model farm in New Brunswick. The availability of inexpensive land, the underdeveloped state of the province, the possibility of making a positive impact and the geographical position and condition of land close to the ocean were strong pull factors for coming to New Brunswick. The push factors were to some extent personal, but they included overcrowding and the high price of land in Europe.

Because of their background and education the DeBertis were eminently qualified to contemplate such a project. Their readiness to experiment with new approaches and to expend effort and money, their insight into the interdependency and interrelationship of different life forms and the balances they strike, their eagerness to serve others and to give them direction by way of this venture, yet at the same time their recognition of the special make-up of the area in which they lived, all these made this couple a prize acquisition for this area.

When arsonists set fire to the one-and-one-half-century-old house which they had wanted to renovate after their arrival from Switzerland, they built a new one which architecturally blended into the area but which contained the latest in ecologically-sound amenities. A large lean-to greenhouse provided almost year-round fresh vegetables. They shipped in a new kind of purebred cattle and milk cows. They had sheep, goats, pigs, ducks, geese, ordinary chickens and those that are disagreeable to rats, and due to the variety of natural fertilizers at their disposal, a beautiful garden with fruit trees, expertly pruned, and cross-pollinated by their own bees. They had a large pond dug out which they were planning to stock with fish. The system was marvellously interrelated. They were almost completely self-sufficient with respect to the everyday needs of life. Excess food such as the different kinds of cheeses, eggs, smoked or fresh meats, honey, etc., was sold. Although the project came to an untimely end when Mr. DeBerti was killed in a hunting accident in the fall of 1986, it showed, nonetheless, the feasibility of raising certain types of cattle in the Maritime climate; cattle that have a higher percentage of meat than other types, and it showed above all that good techniques can make farming productive once again in the Maritimes.

Although the provincial and federal governments stipulate that immigrants must have the necessary entrepreneurial skills as well as financial means to apply them to self-generated projects, the attraction of qualified persons certainly has priority, as financing can be secured elsewhere if necessary. Many immigrants had to change their projects, on the basis of which they were admitted, when they were confronted with the realities of the new country, but the expectation that a certain type of person would be successful has been fulfilled. These new arrivals are contributing in tangible ways to the society which they entered, not just in terms of wealth but also in the quality of life, bringing over traditions from their European homelands, adapting them to their new environment and making a needed contribution. Whether

these contributions can be sustained remains to be seen, but there seems to be a wider acceptance of them, not limited to linguistic groupings.

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Sackville, New Brunswick

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Winthrop Pickard Bell, *The "Foreign Protestants" and the Settlement of Nova Scotia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), 9-12.

<sup>2</sup> Bell, 11.

<sup>3</sup> Proclamation by Governor Lawrence of Nova Scotia of October 1758 that the time was right "for the peopling and cultivating . . . the lands vacated by the French as every other part of this valuable province" (Public Record Office, C.O. 217, XVI, p. 311).

<sup>4</sup> Bell, 9.

<sup>5</sup> Christopher Moore, *The Loyalists* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1984), 15.

<sup>6</sup> Hartmut Froeschle, *Die Deutschen in Kanada* (Wien: Ekart Schriften, 1987), 10-34, gives a concise summary of these groups.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-32 (the net gain due to remigration to Europe was about 250,000).

<sup>8</sup> The Maritime Provinces have only recently been able to arrest the net loss in the population that has persisted for many years.

<sup>9</sup> Tony Lampart, Project Executive, Department of Commerce and Technology, Government of New Brunswick, P.O. Box 6000, Fredericton, Canada, E3B 5H1. Much of the following information regarding New Brunswick's activities to attract the "business-immigrants" and its stipulation for persons to qualify as such comes from this source.

<sup>10</sup> Heinz and Helga Skiba (interview 1988), Petitcodiac, New Brunswick, Canada, E0A 2H0. All persons interviewed have given permission to publish their names and addresses.

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Dorothea and Dr. Hans Westner (interview 1988), 103 Henderson Avenue, Riverview, New Brunswick, Canada, E1B 4B6.

<sup>12</sup> Hans Esser (interview 1988), Baie Verte, New Brunswick, Canada, E0A 2K0.

<sup>13</sup> Günter Marks (interview 1988), RR#3, Port Elgin, New Brunswick, E0A 2K0.

<sup>14</sup> Roland and Annemarie DeBerti (interviews and meetings in 1985 and 1986), former residence: Fort Road, Port Elgin, New Brunswick, Canada, E0A 2K0. See also the article by J. A. Burnett, "Self-Sufficient Homestead," *Atlantic Insight* (September 1986), 33-35.

Mark A. Hornberger

### **Germans in Pennsylvania 1800, 1850 and 1880: A Spatial Perspective**

According to the literature on the spatial distribution of ethnic groups in early Pennsylvania, writers repeatedly refer to the Germans, Scotch-Irish, and English as being dominant.<sup>1</sup> The focus of this study is on one of those ethnic groups, the Germans. If one were to survey people on the street as to where the Germans are found in Pennsylvania, the most likely answer would be Lancaster County, yet scholars know that Germans are not now, nor have they been in the past, limited to Lancaster County. What was or is the spatial distribution of Germans in Pennsylvania? Since the determination of the distribution of Germans in Pennsylvania today would be a difficult and time-consuming task, we need to revert to the past to provide us with clues to the distribution both then and now.

German ethnic identity for this study was based upon a classification of surnames. It was necessary to find a source of surnames according to townships and boroughs to provide the basis for mapping the distribution of Germans in the state. The sources of data meeting the requirements were the manuscript census schedules. When this study was begun, the only available manuscript census schedules were those from 1790 to 1890. Three census dates—1800, 1850, and 1880—were chosen from that time period. The year 1800 was picked to provide an early dimension to the study, 1850 was selected because this census is the first in which place of birth for heads of household was recorded, and 1880 became the final census because it was the latest date for which the manuscript census schedules were accessible. Most of the 1890 manuscript census schedules had been destroyed by fire and those from 1900 forward were each sealed by law for seventy years.

The use of surnames as a method of determining ethnic affiliation is supported by numerous writers. Buck and Buck argue that one can determine approximately the number of people in a particular ethnic group by using surnames, and Fairchild states that surnames are indicators of national origin and the error in their use is slight. Assisting

in the classification of surnames are sources such as Smith's *Dictionary of American Family Names*, and studies by Garland and Barker.<sup>2</sup> This study deals strictly with those names that were determined definitely to be German. Admittedly this eliminates some German names such as Mueller, Schmidt, and Braun that were translated to Miller, Smith, and Brown, and it is noteworthy that very few people named Mueller, Schmidt, and Braun were listed in the manuscript census schedules used in this study. The term "German" as used here also includes those people with German surnames that came from Switzerland and Austria.

With data selected from the three time periods and a procedure for determining who was German, it became apparent very quickly that to classify all the surnames on the manuscript census schedules for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania would be an overwhelming task. I decided that a random sample would be taken for each minor civil division within each county. The sample size was large enough to give results with an accuracy of 95 percent with a range of plus or minus 3 percent. Random number tables were used to select the surnames to be classified within each minor civil division, since most of the census enumerators had numbered consecutively the surnames for the heads of household in their census district. For those manuscript census schedules not so ordered, numbers were assigned to the surname for each head of household.

Most surnames, handwritten by census enumerators, were quite legible and presented no problems. There were, however, a few that were very difficult to decipher, but the study was not greatly affected by poor surname legibility, and the surnames of one ethnic group were not rendered illegible more often than others. Furthermore, the diligence and conscientiousness of census enumerators is not questioned although, as in all federal census taking, some people were missed. Their numbers were, however, statistically unimportant.

What distributional patterns did surnames produce for the years 1800, 1850, and 1880 respecting Germans in Pennsylvania? The table below shows the percentage of Germans for the three census periods for each county existing in those specific years with the exceptions of Potter and Susquehanna counties where, because of later settlement, no 1800 or 1810 material exists; the 1830 and 1820 censuses respectively were substituted in order to give as early a view as possible of the distribution of Germans in the remote northern and northeastern sections of the state. According to the table, the core of German settlement was in the southeastern and south central part of the commonwealth. As one moves away in all directions from this densest German settlement region, the percentage of Germans in the population declines (see maps 1, 2, and 3) except for Somerset County. This trend reflects the diffusion principle of time-distance decay; that is, the farther one moves from the hearth area (core) in both time and distance, the fewer the people from the hearth area. This pattern is also related to a migration principle which holds that most people move short distances.<sup>3</sup>

The table also reveals a tendency for the percentage of Germans to increase through time in those counties farthest from the core area,

**Table**  
**Percentage of Germans in Pennsylvania Counties**

County	1800	1850	1880	County	1800	1850	1880
Adams	28	49	44	Juniata	--	33	36
Allegheny	5	12	28	Lackawanna	--	--	14
Armstrong	6	24	25	Lancaster <sup>c</sup>	46	45	51
Beaver	2	16	18	Lawrence	--	11	13
Bedford	21	33	32	Lebanon	--	63	62
Berks <sup>c</sup>	52	60	61	Lehigh	--	69	62
Blair	-- <sup>d</sup>	34	33	Luzerne	8	17	18
Bradford	--	5	7	Lycoming	11	32	33
Bucks	17	29	32	McKean	--	3	10
Butler	3	22	25	Mercer	3	12	16
Cambria	--	30	36	Mifflin	10	30	33
Cameron	--	--	12	Monroe	--	44	41
Carbon	--	31	41	Montgomery	40	39	33
Centre	16	30	31	Montour	--	33	34
Chester	7	12	14	Northampton <sup>c</sup>	67	52	50
Clarion	--	27	28	Northumberland	22	40	40
Clearfield	--	20	20	Perry	--	38	40
Clinton	--	27	33	Philadelphia	12	16	22
Columbia	--	37	36	Pike	--	16	25
Crawford	4	8	12	Potter <sup>a</sup>	1	4	16
Cumberland	18	37	38	Schuylkill	--	36	37
Dauphin <sup>c</sup>	54	48	47	Snyder	--	--	61
Delaware	4	4	4	Somerset	46	48	49
Elk	--	41	33	Sullivan	--	21	25
Erie	3	11	21	Susquehanna <sup>b</sup>	2	2	3
Fayette	7	14	14	Tioga	--	7	8
Forest	--	--	22	Union	--	55	49
Franklin	11	39	41	Venango	3	12	14
Fulton	--	30	28	Warren	7	3	9
Greene	4	9	12	Washington	6	7	7
Huntingdon	17	24	24	Wayne	12	10	17
Indiana	--	18	18	Westmoreland	14	25	24
Jefferson	--	20	24	Wyoming	--	9	11
				York <sup>c</sup>	50	52	51

<sup>a</sup> Data from the 1830 census.

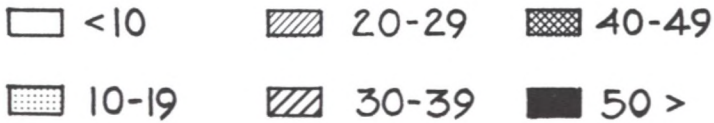
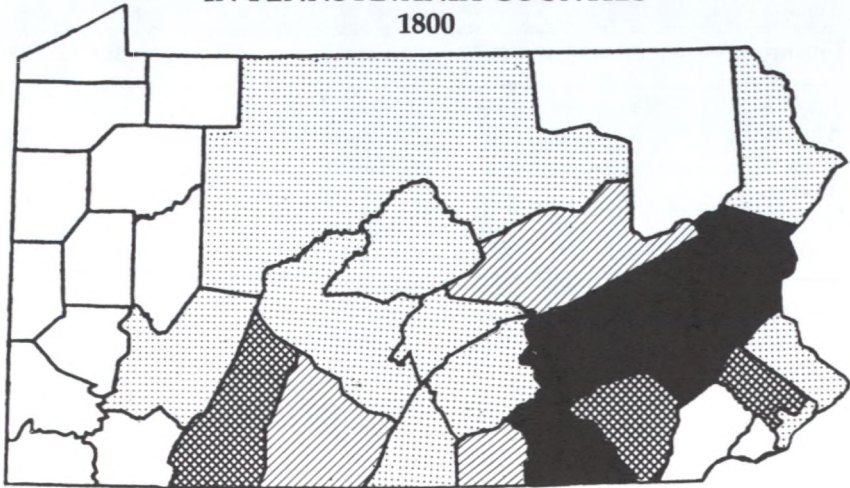
<sup>b</sup> Data from the 1820 census.

<sup>c</sup> A county in the original hearth area of German settlement.

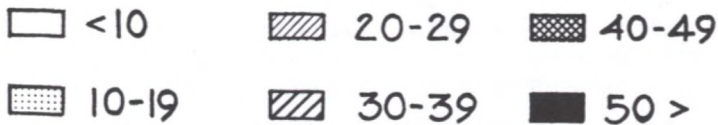
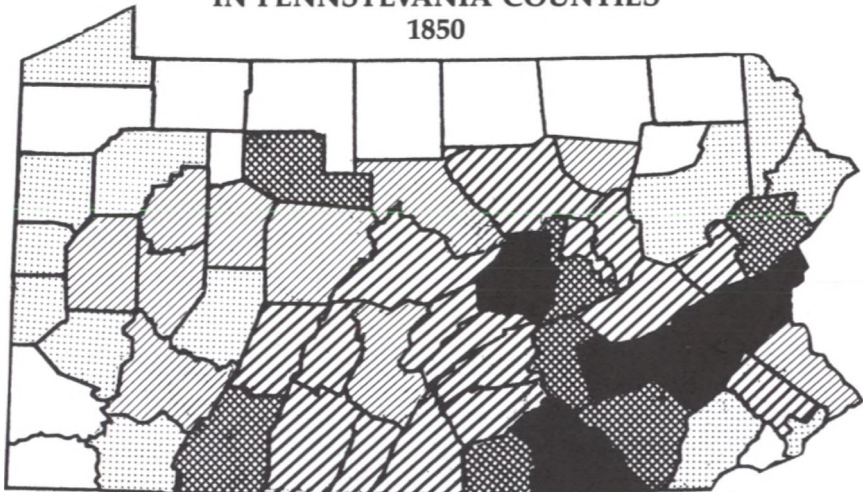
<sup>d</sup> County did not exist as a separate entity on that date.

while a few counties within or adjacent to the hearth area tend to decline. This readjustment is probably due to movement of new groups such as the Irish and some from Eastern and Southern Europe into the core and the consequent migration of Germans into counties farther from it.

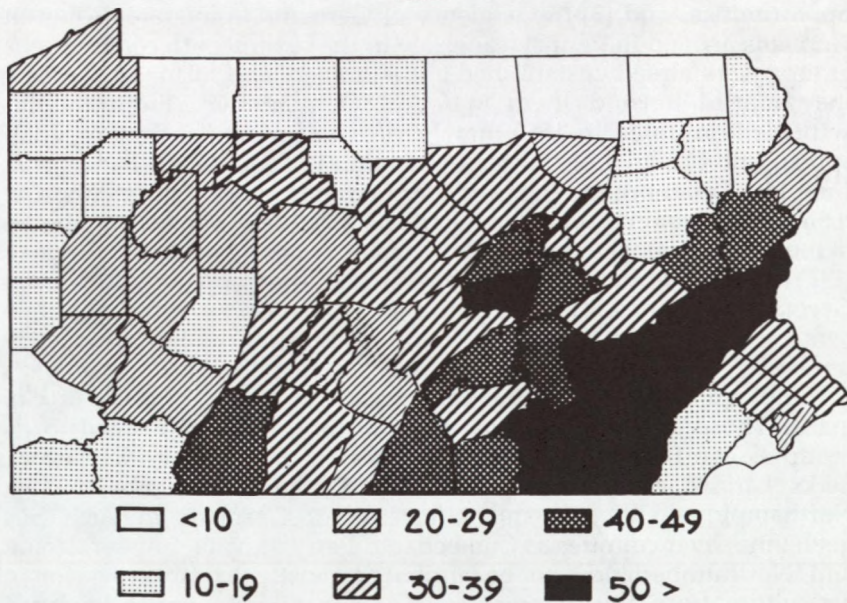
PERCENTAGE OF GERMANS  
IN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES  
1800



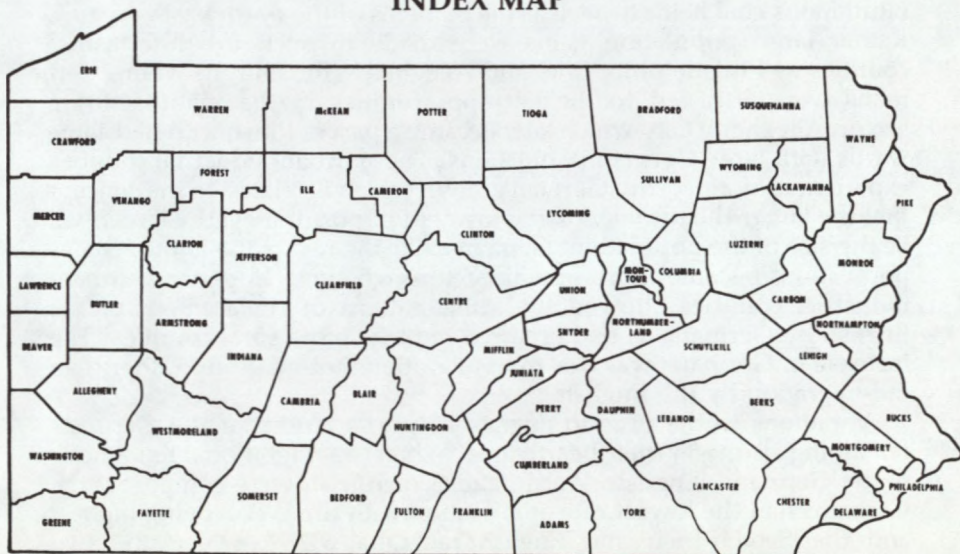
PERCENTAGE OF GERMANS  
IN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES  
1850



## PERCENTAGE OF GERMANS IN PENNSYLVANIA COUNTIES 1880



## COUNTIES OF PENNSYLVANIA INDEX MAP



Three factors appear to have had major influence on the dispersal of Germans within Pennsylvania: (1) their time of arrival and their original area of settlement, (2) their attraction to certain areas by employment opportunities, and (3) the tendency of Germans to migrate. When the Germans arrived in Pennsylvania late in the seventeenth century, other groups were already established in the immediate Philadelphia area so they moved beyond them to found Germantown. From the first settlement founded in 1683, now part of Philadelphia, they gradually spread into the area of the present counties of Lancaster, Berks, York, Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, and Northampton which became the German hearth region from where Germans eventually spread into the rest of the state. As movement into new areas was taking place, the Germans still remained dominant in that core area as they apparently do today. Germans were steadily immigrating to Pennsylvania with large numbers coming in the mid-1800s following spasms of European social unrest.

Employment opportunities influenced the spatial location of Germans. Those areas in the state suitable for farming appealed to the group as can be seen by their concentration first in counties such as Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, York, Adams, Lehigh, Northumberland and Northampton. The subsequent increase of Germans in such Susquehanna River counties as Cumberland, Perry, Juniata, Snyder, Union, and Northumberland can be attributed mostly to an expansion of agriculture from the adjacent southeast into these fertile lowlands. Farming, however, was not the only occupation of the Germans. Prior to the arrival of Eastern and Southern Europeans, the Germans were an important element in the mining labor force in both the anthracite and bituminous coal fields as well as the oil fields of the northwest counties. Rather large population gains were made in such urban-industrial counties as Philadelphia, Erie, and Allegheny (Pittsburgh) where Germans were attracted to the job opportunities in the manufacturing sector. Allegheny City which later became a part of Pittsburgh had some wards with large German populations. These urban-industrial counties experienced noteworthy German growth which is related to the concept that the larger the number of employment opportunities, the larger will be the size of the population. Germans, like the rest of the United States population, became more urbanized through time. In general, urban-industrial counties showed the same pattern of replacement of the English by Germans as had occurred in other more rural counties. The increase in Germans was due to in-migration by that group rather than out-migration by the English.

Variations in the urge to migrate help to account for the Germans remaining strong in their hearth area. When the migrational tendencies of the Germans, English, Welsh, and Scotch-Irish were compared, the Germans had the lowest rate of migration with the Welsh being highest and the Scotch-Irish and English rates halfway between the two extremes. Migration of Germans needs to be examined much more carefully to determine whether the growth of the German population outside the hearth area was due to migration directly from Germany,



from other states, or from within Pennsylvania. Certainly, not all the growth in counties beyond the hearth area can be accounted for by natural increase.

Generally, the German population gains tended to be highest in locations known as areas dominated by English settlement such as across the northern tier, the southwest, and southeastern Pennsylvania. In Lancaster County, for example, Germans, notably Amish and Mennonites, had lived among the English since their arrival in the early 1700s.

Comparing all three maps it is apparent that the original core not only remains intact but gradually expands to the north. Some of the original core counties do decrease in the percentage of Germans they contain but still they retain high percentages of this particular ethnic group. One must, however, be careful for some of these changes have resulted from a division of the original counties. One such example is Union County which in 1850 was 55 percent German; in 1855 the southern half was separated as Snyder County and it was this section that evidently was strongly German.<sup>4</sup> In 1880, Snyder County was 61 percent German but in what remained of the original Union County the percentage slid to forty-nine, likely about what it had been in 1850 since the average percentage of the two counties in 1880 was fifty-five. Certainty is possible only with data from the 1860 and 1870 censuses.

One must also bear in mind that this is a generalized pattern. If the data here were mapped at the township rather than the county level, a more exact distributional pattern would emerge. In Lancaster County, for example, the southeastern and southern townships were more Scotch-Irish than German but the maps imply that in each of the county's forty-odd townships and boroughs the Germans comprised 40 percent or more thus obscuring the ethnic variations that actually occurred. These ethnic variations meant that there were differences in cultural traits (language, religion, and food preferences, for instance) between Germans and Scotch-Irish.

The German distributional pattern in Pennsylvania is partially explained in this study but much remains to be done for a fuller understanding. Among research topics for the future are: an analysis of the source areas for German migrants that came to Pennsylvania, investigation of when Germans became the dominant ethnic group within a county, the mapping of Germans at the township and city ward level, the current status of the hearth area, and the distribution of Germans after 1880. The 1900 manuscript census schedules are now available (the 1910 will be shortly). An analysis of these materials should provide additional insight into the distributional pattern of Germans in Pennsylvania.

Once the distributional pattern is mapped on a minor civil division basis, the location of Germans could be compared, for example, with detailed maps of voting patterns, population characteristics, and religious affiliations to see what relationships, if any, exist among these. Because there are differences in the migrational propensity of ethnic groups can one then assume that there are other differences as well?

Since Pennsylvania is one of three major cultural hearth areas within the United States, such analysis of cultural diversities might be most revealing in explaining how Pennsylvania's cultural characteristics—such as the German—influenced the development of the nation.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Wayland F. Dunaway, *The Scotch-Irish of Colonial Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), 3; Stevenson W. Fletcher, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840* (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950), 1:40; Paul A. W. Wallace, *Pennsylvania: Seed of a Nation* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 59.

<sup>2</sup> Solon L. Buck and Elizabeth H. Buck, *The Planting of Civilization in Western Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1939), 152; Henry P. Fairchild, *Immigration: A World Movement and Its American Significance*, rev. ed. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), 56; Elsdon C. Smith, *Dictionary of American Family Names* (New York: Harper and Row, 1956); Robert Garland, "The Scotch-Irish in Western Pennsylvania," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* 6 (1923): 65-105; Howard F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Populating of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1931 (1932)* 1:107-407.

<sup>3</sup> Mark A. Hornberger, "The Spatial Distribution of Ethnic Groups in Selected Counties in Pennsylvania—1800-1880: A Geographic Interpretation" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State University, 1974), 207-31.

<sup>4</sup> Others include Dauphin-Lebanon and Northampton-Lehigh. John H. Long, ed., *Historical Atlas and Chronology of County Boundaries, 1788-1980*, vol. 1 (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1984).

Robin L. Chambers

### **Chicago's Turners: Inspired Leadership in the Promotion of Public Physical Education, 1860-90**

During the month of November 1889 a conference held in Boston brought together the most famous advocates of several systems promoting physical education for the American schools (Barrows 1889). An editorial published the following month in *The Gymnasium* described the meeting as ". . . the first serious attempt to introduce physical development in the public schools" (LeGarde 1889, 1). This assessment was seconded by Jesse F. Williams who wrote in 1926 that the Physical Training Conference marked ". . . the beginnings of physical education in the schools of the United States" (286).

The role of this conference in the development of the American system of physical education has been continuously cited by sport historians (Pesavento 1966; Kroll 1971; Spears and Swanson 1978), despite the fact that years earlier several cities had established physical education programs which developed from and responded to the needs of their unique populations (Hartwell 1893). This study describes in detail the efforts of the Chicago turners and various educational leaders who initiated the city of Chicago experience as a forerunner, not a follower, of the Boston conference.

#### **Initial Efforts by the Board of Education**

In 1859, more than three decades prior to the Boston conference and only seven years after the Chicago *Turngemeinde* (German-American Social and Gymnastic Union) was established (Hofmeister 1976), turner and education leaders in the city of Chicago began to call for a system of physical training in the public schools (Dupee 1859; Haven 1860). Charles A. Dupee, principal of the high school, wrote that the amount of time which students spent in their studies was so great as to endanger their health. He suggested that time should be set aside for activities which would parallel the values of the German turner system and which might bolster the effects of the present marching and recess activities.

He stated that ". . . one cause of the power of endurance of the German students is found in the fact that physical exercise constitutes so considerable a portion of their education" (1859, 75).

Based on the knowledge of what was occurring in other cities, it was suggested that physical exercise could improve the health of the students, for it was viewed as a remedial cure for those youths who suffered from such conditions as mental fatigue, shoulder stooping, wan complexion, and enfeebled physical constitution (Wells 1860). Thus German community and school leaders urged that a department be formed to supervise the much needed exercises. It was proposed that these exercises should mirror many of the activities being conducted in the local *Turnverein* fraternities (Dupee 1860).

In 1860, after much discussion, the Chicago school board suggested that a program of physical culture be adopted for elementary students. This program, named "Free Gymnastics," was based on the exercises published for the regular course of study for primary schools in Oswego, New York. It was adapted for Chicago through the committee work of two school principals, a high school teacher and "three lady teachers" from the Chicago public schools (Wells 1861, 68).

There were twenty-seven exercises in all, designed to be performed while either sitting at one's desk or standing by the side of the desk (Dore 1861). They consisted of directed breathing exercises with calisthenics or marching to the accompaniment of singing or repeating verses of poetry. The exercises were led by classroom teachers for a period of three to five minutes, as often as once every half hour (Wells 1861). The students exercised by moving their arms and legs, marching in place or changing positions, on command and by a special count (Pesavento 1966). Although other systems had been attempted, including Dr. Dio Lewis's bean-bag tosses (Wells 1862), the marching and calisthenics were deemed by the committee to be the best suited for Chicago's youth (Dore 1861).

All primary and grammar school children participated in the exercises, which, according to Chicago Superintendent William H. Wells, made the Oswego and Chicago schools unique. With the exception of these two cities, no other school system in the country was known to have introduced a thorough course of exercise as a part of an obligatory daily routine (Wells 1862).

Physically exercising the students for the health-related benefits which the participants accrued, was promoted by board of education members and teachers alike. Examples given were that the exercises apparently reduced the fatigue of studying, rejuvenated the students and kept them alert (Dore 1861). Although the exercises were considered beneficial, there was some discussion about the most appropriate time during the school day for the exercises to be conducted. President of the Board, John C. Dore, suggested that the exercises be confined to the morning, noon and afternoon recess sessions (1861).

The discussions were concluded in March 1861 when the board of education implemented a graded and sequential program of instruction for all of its regular course work (Wood 1881). Prepared by the

Superintendent of Schools, William H. Wells, and supported by District Superintendent, Ella Flagg Young, orderly exercises which fostered physical strength and development became a part of the daily elementary and primary levels' in-class school activities (but without academic credit). The support for these exercises was well grounded, as Wells and various board members traveled to other cities (such as Cincinnati) to witness new developments in German-influenced gymnastics instruction (Wells 1864).

During the next few years, as Wells began to prepare for retirement (in 1866), his efforts primarily focused on delineating the general curriculum (for elementary, primary and secondary schools). Young continued her efforts on behalf of physical education at the lower levels. Eventually, she not only promoted physical exercises for all grades, but she also spoke at many city-wide and national forums on the benefits of physical activity for school-aged children (Young 1906). Her efforts to maintain a program and to provide additional adequate space for physical activity were rewarded in 1862, when the plans for a new building, the Haven School, located in the heavily German populated South Division, included a gymnasium, with three additional rooms to be built in the basement specifically for recreational purposes (Board of Education 1863). This work culminated in 1867, when the newly erected W. H. Wells school was specifically constructed with a basement room to be used as a place for recreation for boys during inclement weather (Committee on Buildings and Grounds 1867).

### **The Turner Influence and the Board's Concerns**

The board of education continued to support the notion of physical training, but whether or when the exercises were performed was left to the discretion of each classroom teacher. Eventually, few teachers led the exercises on a regular basis. Members of the *Turngemeinde*, concerned with this condition, brought the matter to the attention of the board of education (Board of Education 1866). Specifically, they pressured the board to focus their efforts on the upper level and to hire an exercise "specialist" for the secondary students according to *Die Staatszeitung* (Chicago) dated 6 September 1866 (Board of Education 1866). Although concerned about the added expense, the board consented to allow a special teacher on campus (Committee on High School 1866).

The board was amenable to the idea of a specialist, since earlier, in 1859, an open-air, outdoor gymnasium had been erected by male students for the sum of \$100 (with apparatus donated by parents). Although the equipment was heavily used, only one teacher (Charles Dupee, who later became principal) had been willing to supervise the exercises during recess (Dupee 1860). Many of the students had played on the apparatus without instruction, which at times had led to injuries (Committee on High School 1866).

The suggestions of the turners and fear of student harm convinced the board to hire temporarily an exercise specialist as part of an educational experiment. The specialist, an instructor from a local *Turn-*

*verein*, was to introduce the turner method at the high school level during the upcoming spring and summer semesters in 1867 (Pickard 1868).

At the conclusion of this "experiment," reports submitted to the board attested to the high attendance and improved physical health and strength of the general student body. But the board felt compelled to cancel the continuation of a paid teacher, pleading financial constraints (Brentano 1868). The burden of meeting the instructor's part-time salary was deemed too much.

Although the board's failure to make the necessary funds available for an exercise specialist held back the continued development of high school level physical education, the need was still publicized. J. L. Pickard, superintendent of schools in 1868, suggested that students from the Normal School (the teachers college) should become specially trained in the methods of systematic physical culture. That way, ". . . thorough instruction could be given, in some well balanced system, to all the classes of the High School" (Pickard 1868, 196-97).

Pickard's plan for implementing a program which specifically trained general educators in physical culture was short-lived. In 1871, fifteen school buildings, most of the board of education's records and the curriculum burned during the Great Chicago Fire (Pickard 1872; Howatt 1946). In rewriting it, the board added a physiology-anatomy exam requirement for all student-teachers as a concession (Pickard 1873). Although this could be construed as an initial effort to promote physical health concerns, no other considerations were put forth for the provision of special teachers for the high school until 1885 (Sullivan 1877).

Meanwhile, at the lower levels, the board began requiring that classroom teachers supervise not only physical education within the classroom setting but also the recreation taking place on the school grounds. According to the board of education's "Duties of Teachers," the supervision was to take place before and after school and during all recess periods (Board of Education 1874).

### Revival of School Gymnastics

Efforts to integrate physical education as part of the curriculum continued for fifteen years at a slow pace as the citizens of Chicago rebuilt the city (Pickard 1872; Board of Education 1886). Then, in 1884-85, as Chicago began to stabilize, a revived impetus for the reintroduction of a system of physical culture in the schools was created through the joint efforts of turners and turner-influenced board members.

This breakthrough was the culmination of many factors which gained momentum and eventually contributed to the turners' educational and social influence in Chicago. For instance, by 1884, Germans residing in Chicago numbered 209,631 (Hofmeister 1976), accounting for roughly one-third of the total foreign population (Ulrich 1885). Beside the sheer number of first and second-generation Germans, they influenced much of the politics in the city, through strong labor unions

(Townsend 1927), numerous German-language newspapers and active participation in local matters (Chambers 1987). German influence can be documented by such examples as a second-generation German appointed as school board president in 1867 and the fact that, by 1870, a total of eleven German-born aldermen had been elected to Chicago's city council (Hofmeister 1976).

The revival of school-based physical education in 1885 was specifically spearheaded on three fronts by the influence of Germans. First in importance, Dr. Ernest Fuchs (1885), a physician consultant to the board and a turner member, reported to the board that there was an increasing number of children developing myopia. Dr. Fuchs called for frequent breaks during study time, which should be spent in physical activity. Second, Adolf Kraus (1884), president of the board of education and a turner member, and his predecessor on the school board, James Doolittle (1885), began to promote the concept of physical health as a requirement for optimal intellectual health. They both believed that Americans largely ignored physical development, especially in the public schools of large cities (Doolittle 1885). Third, local turner societies, which were led by adult second-generation forty-eighters (Ulrich 1885; Spears and Swanson 1978), decided to promote physical education at all levels in the public schools (Kroll 1971). In Chicago, they urged the board to establish a regularly scheduled exercise program, to be led by a specialist (Kopp [n.d.]).

Once again, bowing to public pressure as they had almost twenty years earlier, the board of education appointed a "Special Committee on Physical Culture." This committee consisted of various community leaders, one of whom was Louis Nettlehorst, president of the Chicago *Turngemeinde* (Kopp [n.d.]; Pesavento 1966). The committee's main mission was to develop a program of practical gymnastic instruction, based on the turner calisthenic model, which could be conducted by regular classroom or special gymnastic teachers in the public school aisles and corridors (Pesavento 1966).

The committee implemented a pilot program at Ogden School (which was located in the same neighborhood as the turner hall) with Henry Suder, teacher of physical education of the *Turngemeinde*, as instructor. Little is known of Suder's early life. It is believed that he was born in Eckernförde, Germany, in 1851. Later, after emigrating to America, he attended the Normal School of the North American Gymnastic Union in Milwaukee.

Shortly after Suder was hired, Suder and his students demonstrated a gymnastic and calisthenic program and its adaptability to the school setting, in the absence of gymnasia. As a result, in January 1886, the board appointed a committee on physical education to hire an instructor to oversee the introduction of this program in four grammar schools. Again, Henry Suder was called upon (Special Committee 1886; Kopp [n.d.]).

Six months later, in June 1886, by request of the principals and teachers of the four schools and of local physicians who had been invited to visit the sites, the board agreed to introduce the turner

method of physical education into all forty-eight elementary schools. Henry Suder was promoted to the position of supervisor of physical culture. Eight special teachers (seven of whom had been turner-trained at the Normal School of the North American Gymnastic Union in Milwaukee) were appointed. The eighth special teacher to be named was Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, grandson of "Father Jahn," the originator of the turner system in Germany. Each of the teachers were to visit six schools twice a week and teach calisthenics and marching (Special Committee 1886; Kopp [n.d.]).

This special committee on physical culture made four recommendations, which were also accepted by the board. These included that simple exercises be required activities in all grades, that special equipment be purchased (four hundred pairs of dumbbells and wooden wands), that Suder be hired to oversee all classroom teachers' physical education activities (at \$1,000 per annum), and that the school day be increased by twenty minutes on the days when exercises were to be conducted by the special teachers of physical culture (Board of Education 1886).

One of Suder's first duties, as directed by the board, was to oversee the adoption of the new program of gymnastic instruction. In order to insure that all students were being instructed in a similar fashion (either by the classroom or the special teacher), Suder designed a manual specifically written for elementary level teachers (Kopp [n.d.]; Suder 1886). The manual contained fifty sequential beginning exercises (or calisthenics), with explanations, purposes and counts for all movements (Suder 1886). This was just the beginning of a program which was later to include gymnastics, tactics, dancing, and breathing exercises.

Early in 1887, Louis Nettlehorst and the special committee members also recommended the expansion of physical culture to the primary grades. By a unanimous vote of the board, four more special teachers were hired to visit all twenty-four schools twice a month (Board of Education 1887a; Board of Education 1887b; Pesavento 1966).

Following Nettlehorst's and Suder's initial successful efforts, the board of education decided to support District Superintendent Young's recommendation to appoint an exercise specialist for the high school level. In May 1889 within two and one-half years of Suder's initial involvement, less than two years since the first Association for the Advancement of Physical Education Convention meeting (where C. G. Rathman, a turner, proposed that the association promote the inclusion of exercise for all schools) (Kroll 1971), and several months before the Boston conference, Henry B. Camann (a former turner instructor) was hired as a full-time director and special teacher of physical education for the high school (Kopp [n.d.]). His duties included providing one period of instruction per week, per student, for all students in the three existing high schools in Chicago (Board of Education 1901; Kopp [n.d.]; Pesavento 1966).

This was followed by other significant events. For example, in January 1889 physical culture was extended to the primary grades, with special teachers hired to supervise all classroom teachers' physical



education activities (Howland 1889). In 1890, North-West Division High School was erected in the heaviest area of German-American population. William Kopp, one of the first special physical culture teachers to be hired (in 1886), was named to supervise the first fully equipped school gymnasium in the city (Pesavento 1966). Finally, in September 1891, physical culture was extended to all of the schools in the annexed districts of Chicago (Suder 1892).

### **Entrenchment of School Physical Culture**

Coinciding with the developments taking place in Chicago, outstanding physical training specialists and educators, the majority of whom came from Boston, New York or other east coast cities, were attending the Physical Training Conference in Boston (Seaver 1889). The general recommendations of this meeting were to adopt a program which would not require much time, money, equipment, or many specially trained teachers, and could be conducted in the classroom setting (Suder 1902).

These conference proposals did not influence the developments in Chicago, where events had taken the board far beyond the modest Boston recommendations. By 1889, the hiring of Camann initiated a period of financial commitment by Chicago for the inclusion of physical education as part of the curriculum at all school levels (Barrows 1889). In addition, shortly after Camann assumed his duties (1890), the first secondary level gymnasium was erected on the grounds of North-West Division High School and Henry Suder was promoted to supervisor of physical culture for all of Chicago's schools. During the remainder of Suder's tenure (which lasted until 1913), he published three more exercise manuals and insisted that a gymnasium be provided for each newly erected high school (Williams 1926).

By 1890—only one year after the Boston conference—Chicago's commitment to physical education as a valued, integral part of the total education curriculum (Special Park Commission 1901) was clearly well beyond the Boston recommendations. In a sense, the Boston conference leaders' suggestions followed rather than led what Chicago had already achieved.

These Chicago efforts continued unabated (Pesavento 1966) and by 1900, physical education began to be divided into specialty areas with different emphases reflecting national trends (Suder 1901). The sections consisted of light gymnastics (with a Swedish influence), heavy gymnastics (totally German) and recreative gymnastics (Suder 1901).

Physical culture reached a peak in the 1890s when \$22,866.65 was appropriated for special teachers and equipment for the program by the board in 1892 (Board of Education 1893). By 1895, all elementary schools were equipped with apparatus (Pesavento 1966). During this time, special teachers provided lessons to high school students once a week for periods of twenty minutes to one hour. In the grammar schools, lessons were given twice a week for ten minutes and in the primary schools, lessons were given twice a month for ten minutes. The lessons

were taught by the special teachers of physical culture (the majority of whom were turners) at certain intervals, and when they were not available, classroom teachers were required to supervise daily practice of the activities (Suder 1892).

### Conclusion

The turners' influence on the school board's policies toward the hiring of an exercise specialist cannot be overstated. In 1867 and again in 1885, their pressure made the difference (Townsend 1927; Pesavento 1966). The political influence of the Germans established physical education, mirroring the activities of the *Turnverein*, as a valued and entrenched part of the curriculum of the Chicago public schools (Seaver 1889).

Chicago's early physical culture efforts were not self-consciously "American." By 1900, however, the curriculum had been revitalized and improved many times during its forty-year history and could have served as the "American" model for other communities. For Chicago schools, the Boston conference's recommendations, therefore, were more the recognition of an ideal realized than a call to action.

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### A Model Scientist: Lichtenberg's Views on Franklin

In Germany, as elsewhere in Europe, Benjamin Franklin was admired as the foremost representative of the New World, as a man of learning and harbinger of new attitudes and aspirations. Georg Forster, in his *Erinnerungen aus dem Jahr 1790*, declared passionately:

Es ist nicht denkbar, daß ein Europäer, der sich nur einigermaßen um die Schicksale seiner Gattung bekümmert, diesen Namen und den davon unzertrennlichen Ruhm nicht kennen sollte. Der Stifter des Nordamerikanischen Freistaats, der Erfinder des Blitzableiters, der Wohltäter seines Vaterlandes, der Freund und Bruder des Wilden und des Weisen, der humanste Mensch und der glücklichste von allen, die im achtzehnten Jahrhundert zu Mitarbeitern am großen Vollendungswerke menschlicher Glückseligkeit auserkohren waren, hieß Benjamin Franklin!<sup>1</sup>

To promote his humanitarian ideals, Forster selected and described in his *Erinnerungen* twelve portraits and twelve prints of exemplary contemporary personalities and events. Only Benjamin Franklin is represented in both series. As birth had provided him with no special advantage and he, above all others in the public eye, had earned his many distinctions through intrinsic merit, Forster found in him his universal model and predicted confidently, that "so lange das Menschengeschlecht der Macht des Beispiels bedarf, wird dieser Name leben und wirken."<sup>2</sup>

A naturalist who with his father had accompanied Captain Cook on his second voyage of discovery, Forster was, like Cook and Franklin, a Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and well able to appreciate Franklin's scientific achievements. More than anything, however, he valued his contributions to the concept of human dignity and individual freedom. Depressed by the narrow restrictions which the small and fragmented German principalities imposed on their subjects, Forster shared the aspirations of the American and French revolutions, and

Franklin, the man of peace and good sense, who gained his goals through reason and with peaceful dignity, was to him living proof that enlightenment can lead to liberty and progress:

Vernunft—und nur durch Vernunft mögliche Tugend, also wieder nur Vernunft und nichts als Vernunft—ist der Zauber, womit Benjamin Franklin den Himmel und die Erde bezwang; Vernunft ist die Tyrannenbändigerin, der einst die runde Erde das ewige Triumphlied zujauchzen wird. Vernunft ist das Element, worin das Menschengeschlecht allein seine Bestimmung erreichen kann.<sup>3</sup>

If Forster mainly celebrated the historical and heroic aspects of the self-made commoner who had "torn lightning from heaven and the scepter from tyrants,"<sup>4</sup> his friend and colleague, Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, emphasized Franklin's scientific achievements and his general human and humanitarian traits, and wisely refrained from entering political controversy. While Lichtenberg's attitude towards the emerging American republic changed from contempt in the seventies, and the "hope in the early eighties that the British might still be victorious" to benign equanimity, his view of Franklin as a scientific paragon underwent no transformation. To him Franklin was the "exemplary man of learning,"<sup>5</sup> whose methods and aims merit as much attention as, if not more than, his results.

Lichtenberg saw Franklin not as a unique heroic figure, but as "one who had a great deal of common and uncommon nature in him,"<sup>6</sup> and as a prominent member of the select group of individuals to whom humanity owes instruction and progress. The methods and procedures of such people, Lichtenberg was fervently convinced, must be studied, copied, perfected, and perpetuated for the continuing good of mankind. In his view, his own astronomy professor, Tobias Mayer (1723-62), belonged to this category, as did Captain James Cook, men whose personal and scientific integrity and versatility he held in particularly high regard, and whom he judged as never motivated by the hope of personal gain and aggrandizement, but by an unquenchable thirst for knowledge which led their interests into many different directions and drove them to continuous thought and study.<sup>7</sup>

Whatever attracted his attention, Lichtenberg considered within a complex context. Consequently he judged the first scientist of international renown to emerge from the New World against the background of his particular conditions, about which he was exceptionally well informed. As Harold von Hofe points out, "the American themes in the works of Lichtenberg are unusually diversified and copious for his era, . . . American subjects are explored in large numbers in a variety of essays and letters," and Lichtenberg displayed "vast knowledge of New World history from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century."<sup>8</sup>

As "Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Göttingen"<sup>9</sup> and the leading German authority on electricity, Lichtenberg obviously took a keen professional interest in Franklin's scientific work, especially in his experiments concerning the nature of electricity and

lightning, which are often quoted in his notes and letters. Unfortunately no communications to English correspondents have come to light, and there is no record of any actual meeting between Franklin and Lichtenberg, who, during his second stay in England (1774-75), moved in the same scientific circles as Franklin. They shared not only their interests, but also friends and acquaintances, such as the Forsters<sup>10</sup> and Joseph Priestley, who at the time lived at Lord Shelburne's London residence, which both Franklin and Lichtenberg frequented.

Notes and letters, especially those to Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus, professor of natural history in Hamburg, and Franz Ferdinand Wolff, author of a *Compendium zum Vortrage in der Experimentalnaturlehre*, discuss only Franklin's stature and work, primarily that on electricity. Reimarus erected the first lightning rod in Germany and published the standard works in this field. As Lichtenberg regarded them highly, he refrained from scientific writing on the subject himself.<sup>11</sup> To the *Göttinger Taschen Calender*, which he edited and mainly wrote from 1777-99, he contributed, however, an article "Über Gewitterfurcht und Blitzableitung" in 1794. Educating and involving the public by making science accessible to everybody was to Lichtenberg, as to Franklin, of prime importance, and his amusing and partly playful explanations of electricity in the almanac did, indeed, much to defuse the widespread terror of thunderstorms.<sup>12</sup>

In his own lifetime Lichtenberg was famed for his electrical experiments, and a significant proportion of his professional work was carried out in fields which Franklin had opened, especially research with lightning rods,<sup>13</sup> and kites. The latter technique had been pioneered by Franklin, whose initial attempts to duplicate the European procedure of "drawing the electric fire from clouds by means of pointed rods of iron erected on high buildings" had been frustrated by Philadelphia's lack of a prominent steeple.<sup>14</sup> Such practical resourcefulness characterized all his projects, and Lichtenberg greatly admired it. He himself gained much local fame, not to say notoriety, by applying and developing Franklin's weather kites. A description in a letter of 1778 to Johann Andreas Schernhagen, a high official in Hannover, who was himself keenly interested in physics, recounts with wit and humor some of the risks and adventures inherent in these innovative experiments.<sup>15</sup>

Lichtenberg observed Franklin's progress astutely and with the intention: "Franklins Erfahrungen zu erklären. Andere ähnliche Versuche zu machen" (C 331). Careful investigation, which proceeds step by step, takes related problems into consideration, and builds only on carefully accumulated facts, was Lichtenberg's own ideal, and he honored in Franklin a scientist who practiced and promoted these principles. Thus, when he formulated the aphorism: "In der Gabe alle Vorfälle des Lebens zu seinem und seiner Wissenschaft Vorteil zu nützen darin besteht ein großer Teil des Genies," he had Franklin in mind for he added: "Franklin mit den Fliegen in Madeira" (J 1547). During this famed incident, Franklin revived seemingly expired flies in the sun after their long journey from London to Virginia in a Madeira bottle, not by mere chance, but because he had already scrupulously

observed and investigated related phenomena, because the connection and transition between life and death was for him, as for Lichtenberg, a subject of particular fascination.<sup>16</sup> Lichtenberg admired here what he so often recommended himself: observation of facts to which normally no attention is paid, and their integration into the macrocosm.

Closely after the remarks on Franklin and genius follows a definition of a truly great man:

Den Mann nenne ich groß, der viel gedacht und gelesen und erfahren hat, und der alles, was er gedacht gelesen und erfahren hat, bei jeder Sache die er unternimmt also auch bei jedem Buch das er schreibt vereint zum besten Zweck anzuwenden weiß, alles so anschaulich darzustellen, daß jeder sehen muß was er selbst gesehen hat. (J 1559)

While the description fits Franklin, it also demonstrates that Lichtenberg was not motivated by personality cult, but tried to define valid standards. These he found personified in Franklin's universality, application, concern for progress and improvement, persistent fact finding, as well as in his sober modesty. If he therefore accepted his opinions and conclusions, it was not from mere bias, as is sometimes implied,<sup>17</sup> but because he could respect Franklin as a scientist, and as a man of good will, good sense and moderation. This evaluation shows in the motto he took from Franklin's letters:

Opinions are continually varying, where we cannot have mathematical evidence of the nature of things; and they must vary. Nor is that variation without its use, since it occasions a more thorough discussion, whereby error is often dissipated, true knowledge is increased and its principles become better understood and more firmly established. (J 431)

The same letter yielded the reminder

that men are in general such careless observers, that . . . [one] should never build an hypothesis on any thing but clear facts and experiments, or it will be in danger of soon falling . . . like a house of cards. (J 433)

Phrases which struck him as particularly well turned and memorable, Lichtenberg copied in full and in their original language. These English quotations are therefore further indication of his esteem, not only for Franklin's thoughts, but also for the manner in which they were delivered.

Lichtenberg was not alone in noting the merits of Franklin's style, for the American's popularity, even as a scientist, owed much to his exceptional command of the language. As Richard E. Amacher records: "Numerous writers have commented on Franklin's excellence as a stylist in writing scientific exposition," and he quotes Sir Humphry Davy's opinion: "The style and manner of the publication on electricity are almost as worthy of admiration as the doctrine it contains."<sup>18</sup> Lichtenberg himself worked all his life to acquire and perfect his literary expertise, aiming to combine, like Franklin, sagacity and perception with clarity and a simplicity which could open the world of science even



to the untutored. It is for his success in expressing complicated thoughts in accessible and memorable language, often in witty aphorisms, that he is now mainly remembered.

Though Franklin was his model in so many ways, Lichtenberg practiced also in regard to him what he preached continuously as a general rule in his lectures and recommended to friends: utmost caution in accepting anything that cannot be tested experimentally and goes beyond "das Zeugnis der Sinne." Errors even by Aristotle, Descartes, Boerhaave and the "fast übermenschliche Newton" convinced him of this necessity, and therefore he recommended testing also in Franklin's case.<sup>19</sup> Nor did he accept without challenge all the praise heaped on the celebrated American, for he recorded and documented that Franklin had by no means been first to notice the effect of oil on troubled waters (F 594). Franklin himself, incidentally, never laid claim to this priority, but emphasized that his close observation had initially been inspired by "Pliny's Account of a Practice among the Seamen of his Time." It was the attention given by him, however, which sparked scientific interest in the phenomenon—eventually leading to the understanding of surface tension—for it was hoped the procedure might assist ships in distress.<sup>20</sup>

When Lichtenberg formed different opinions, he usually emphasized that in arriving at his conclusions, Franklin had lacked facts or methods which had since become available. Such tolerance was, however, nothing more than the application of rules which Franklin himself adopted and frequently voiced, as in his *Experiments and Observations of Electricity* ([4th ed., London, 1768] 469): "If we propose our objections modestly, we shall tho' mistaken deserve a censure less severe, than when we are both mistaken and insolent." Lichtenberg excerpted the adage (KA 295), and the attitude was so congenial to him, that he is specially noted for his cautious statements in the subjunctive.<sup>21</sup> He presented his own work in the same spirit, explaining facts: "wenigstens nach unseren JETZIGEN Kenntnissen, die Franklin damals noch nicht hatte." As Lichtenberg kept always in mind that scientific results will inevitably be improved and superseded, mere facts or details would never satisfy him, and he demanded: "nicht bloß fragen wie hängt alles in *dieser* Wissenschaft zusammen, sondern wie verträgt es sich mit dem Ganzen?"<sup>22</sup>

Himself a thinker who delighted in distilling ideas and observations into quotable aphorisms, Lichtenberg appreciated Franklin's flair for expressing himself succinctly and to the point. To gain this skill, Franklin had worked persistently and systematically, as he describes in his *Autobiography*. Impressed by the fluent and persuasive diction of *The Spectator* of which the third volume had fallen into his hands, he schooled himself on Addison's eloquent prose. Wide and thorough reading followed, including Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, and besides Bunyan, authors like Locke, Shaftesbury, Collins, Pope, Defoe, Richardson and Young.<sup>23</sup> Franklin's own satiric inclinations were particularly stimulated by Swift. His almanac, first published in 1732 under the name of Richard Saunders and hence commonly known as *Poor Richard's Almanack*, was introduced to the public with a prank

modeled on Swift's satiric attack on almanacs in the *Bickerstaff Papers*, where a "Prediction for the Year 1708" forecasts the death of John Partridge, "the Almanack-maker" who had aroused Swift's particular ire. "I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules," Swift solemnly announced, "and find he will infallibly die upon the 29th of March next, about eleven at night, of a raging fever." When poor Partridge indignantly protested that no such event had taken place, Swift based his defense on the premise that "no man alive ever writ such damned stuff," and declared: "without entering into criticisms of chronology about the hour of his death, I shall only prove that Mr. Partridge is not alive."<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, Franklin announced in his first "Preface," that he was emboldened to publish his own almanac only because his chief competitor, a Mr. Titan Leeds, was due to die by his forecast, made at Mr. Leeds's request, "Oct. 17, 1733, 3 ho., 29 m., P.M.," while "by his own calculation he will survive till the 26th of the same month."<sup>25</sup> By introducing this slight uncertainty, Franklin added not only special interest, but gave himself ample opportunity for later elaboration.

At the same time he also followed the example of Addison, who had begun his immensely successful *Spectator* by introducing to his readers the various fictitious correspondents, whose diverging viewpoints and social positions enabled him to offer contrasting critical opinions. The very first sentence in the *Spectator* combines this effective strategy with the mild and pleasant satire with which Addison engaged attention:

I have observed, that a Reader seldom peruses a Book with Pleasure, 'till he knows whether the Writer of it be a black or a fair Man, of a mild or choleric Disposition, Married or a Batchelor, with other Particulars of the like nature, that conduce very much to the right understanding of an Author.<sup>26</sup>

By choosing as his mouthpiece the "excessive poor" Richard Saunders, and providing him with an "excessive proud" wife, meddlesome enough to interfere in the writing, Franklin followed Addison's effective prescription, and created a character that fascinated his own intended public not less than the elderly Sir Roger de Coverley with his assorted acquaintances that of Addison. Both characters in their completely different ways are close enough to their imagined audience to elicit recognition and sympathy, yet they also induce feelings of amused superiority, and thus captivate the reader all the more. The impoverished Richard at once introduces an element of satire, for who, if not he and his spouse, should benefit from his plentiful maxims commending an industrious, pious and profitable life. Parallels to Socrates and Xanthippe manifest that Franklin's fictive characters, though simple, are far from simplistic. The odd couple also allows Franklin to indulge in the occasional provocatively masculine statement, because he has Mistress Saunders to denounce it and provide forceful counterarguments.

Franklin addressed his almanac mainly to the unlearned and practically illiterate. Following the advice of Horace to be both *dulce and utile*, he

endeavoured to make it both entertaining and useful. . . . And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighbourhood in the province being without it, . . . [he] considered it as proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common people, who bought scarcely any other books.<sup>27</sup>

He spiced his wisdom, however, in various ways with fun and irony, so when he explains the Latin: "Bis dat qui cito dat: He gives twice that gives soon; i.e. he will soon be called upon to give again" (1752).

Such humor, and the submerged levels of satire and literary insinuation, insured that his publication became also popular among the learned and sophisticated, not least in Europe. Among these were Lichtenberg and his distinguished correspondent, the anatomist Samuel Thomas Sömmering. Lichtenberg concludes some for him uncharacteristically disparaging remarks with the English comment: "As soon as You have read this Letter, to the Devil with it, as poor Richard says."<sup>28</sup> For full appreciation of the appropriate use of an American quotation, it has to be recalled that he spoke of Christian Friedrich Michaelis, son of the famous orientalist, and the designated successor of Sömmering in Cassel. Michaelis had been a medical officer with the Hessians, and had just returned from North America, from where he had sent a communication to Georg Forster about American fossils, a subject in which Lichtenberg himself was greatly interested, and to which Franklin had significantly contributed. The report contains nothing new, apart from the gratuitous information that Michaelis had inspected specimens which were unobtainable to Buffon and the London anatomist Dr. Hunter, and that he was given intelligence which Hunter and Lord Shelburne, with whom Franklin had cordial personal relations, had been unable to obtain. He neglected, however, to communicate their nature.<sup>29</sup>

Lichtenberg's allusion seems to refer to Franklin's "Preface" for his twenty-fifth and last almanac of 1758. This contains the famous diatribe "Father Abraham's Speech," also known as "The Way to Wealth," a breathless accumulation of worthy adages, which Father Abraham quotes "as Poor Richard says," to arouse in his compatriots dedication to thrift, work and self-sacrifice, and render them eager to pay heavier taxes. Negative comments on Franklin's almanac are usually based on this passage only, which was often independently reprinted. Bruce Ingham Granger, on the other hand, comments: "The skill with which Franklin shaped his proverbial borrowings suggests that by the time he launched the *Almanack*, in his twenty-seventh year, he was on his way to becoming one of the great makers of the English sentence."<sup>30</sup> Taken in full context, Franklin was neither narrow-minded, one-dimensional nor humorless. Father Abraham's passionate testimony to the Protestant work ethic is offset by the delightful conclusion:

The People heard it, and approved the Doctrine, and immediately practised the contrary, just as if it had been a common Sermon; for the Vendue opened, and they began to buy extravagantly, notwithstanding all his Cautions, and their own fear of Taxes.

To which Poor Richard resignedly adds:

However, I resolved to be the better for the Echo of it; and though I had at first determined to buy Stuff for a new Coat, I went away resolved to wear my old One a little longer. *Reader*, if thou wilt do the same, thy Profit will be as great as mine.<sup>31</sup>

One of Lichtenberg's own aphorisms, written in 1775 towards the end of his second stay in England, contains a cautionary response to such thrift: "Wenn die Menschen plötzlich tugendhaft würden, so müßten viele tausende verhungern" (E 213). Whether he wrote this, and other statements which relate to adages in Franklin's almanac, in response to *Poor Richard* must remain speculative, for Franklin had gathered his sayings from many sources, as Poor Richard revealed at the end of Father Abraham's harangue in his unpretentious way: "not a tenth Part of this Wisdom was my own which he ascribed to me, but rather the *Gleanings* I had made of the Sense of all Ages and Nations."

Before overhearing Father Abraham's abundant quotations, Poor Richard complains that: "no other Author has taken the least Notice of me, so that did not my Writings produce me some solid *Pudding*, the great Deficiency of *Praise* would have quite discouraged me," but Lichtenberg's familiarity with the American almanac is not only demonstrated by the single reference to "poor Richard" in his letter to Sömmering of 12 July 1784. He used several of Franklin's almanac techniques and adapted them for his *Göttinger Taschen Calender*, particularly a policy which Franklin had adopted in 1748, when, "to endeavour some Improvement," he began to extract information from the accounts of the *Royal Society* to familiarize his readers with the problems and achievements of contemporary science. In England, Edward Cave had also introduced such information into his *Gentleman's Magazine*, "accounts of new discoveries, mathematical and astronomical problems, methods for curing worms or the bites of mad dogs."<sup>32</sup> Like Lichtenberg after him, Franklin seized on anecdotal incidents to capture attention for his own more sober and serious observations. Thus he stimulated awareness of health care (1752, 1756) by reporting cases of longevity. Lichtenberg wrote an article on this theme for the *Göttinger Taschen Calender* for 1793, "Hupazoli und Cornaro," but his interest in the possibility of improving life expectation had started much earlier.<sup>33</sup>

Using the same methods and themes would prove nothing beyond common interests and sources. However, the influence on Lichtenberg's *Taschen Calender* is evidenced by specific use of Franklin's work. For instance, to a narration concerning "Lieutenant Riou," who refused to abandon ship when struck by an iceberg off the Cape of Good Hope, Lichtenberg attached the maritime precautions and suggestions for enhanced safety on board ship which Franklin had worked out on his

several sea voyages.<sup>34</sup> Both scientists wrote on comets and other celestial bodies as part of their calendar trade. These and other observations they presented in ways designed to stimulate readers to take action themselves, and to enlarge their public's perspectives and understanding, they offered comparisons with the thought and usage of other times and places. Franklin's description of the Chinese method for manufacturing paper belongs in this category. This information was also passed on to Lichtenberg's readers with due acknowledgements.<sup>35</sup>

Franklin, mindful of his largely uneducated audience, confined himself mainly to simple hints on health and personal hygiene: a cure for fevers (1749), methods to prevent heartburn (1756) and to secure houses from lightning (1753). Lichtenberg's *Taschen Calender* operated on a much more sophisticated level. Assorted items from *Poor Richard* were used, but the topics were extended and elaborated. Lichtenberg's amusing, but nevertheless serious inquiry: "Warum hat Deutschland noch kein großes öffentliches Seebad?" was one of various articles devoted to orientate the public towards health-related issues, and it started the fashion of seaside resorts in Germany. Wolfgang Promies calls Lichtenberg therefore the "erste deutsche Schriftsteller, der die räumliche und geistige Distanz der deutschen Zeitgenossen zum Meer und Seebad mit ein paar Federstrichen überwand."<sup>36</sup> Lichtenberg only recommends immersion, which had become fashionable in England, while Franklin had already "from a child been ever delighted with" swimming, "had studied and practised all Thevenot's motions and positions," and, characteristically, added some of his "own, aiming at the graceful and easy as well as the useful." While in London in 1724-26 he practiced this healthful exercise to the astonishment of bystanders, and a nobleman even tried to engage him to instruct his sons.<sup>37</sup>

A later proposal in the *Göttinger Taschen Calender*, "Das Luftbad" (1795), deals more directly with Franklin's own habits. Here Lichtenberg recommends exposing the naked body regularly to fresh air, and to soften the shock of such a startling and eccentric suggestion, he discloses: "daß Franklin, dessen flüchtigste Äußerungen immer mit Respekt gehört zu werden verdienen, ein großer Freund von dem Luftbad gewesen ist."<sup>38</sup>

The practice had already been commended by Addison, who declared on Wednesday, 8 July 1713, in *The Guardian* (no. 102): "I am always beating about in my thoughts for something that may turn to the benefit of my dear countrymen." He then suggested: "A man should take care that his body be not too soft for his climate; but rather, if possible, harden and season himself beyond the degree of cold wherein he lives." As an example of such stoicism he quotes the inhabitants of Nova Zembla, who "go naked, without complaining of the bleakness of the air in which they are born." Rather than encouraging his readers to follow this example, Addison advises them to try cold baths. Franklin adapted both techniques to his personal use, though not without submitting them to rigorous tests.<sup>39</sup> His belief in the benefit of fresh air led to his much noted investigations into causes and possible cures for smoke-filled rooms, which he summarized in a letter to Dr. Ingenhousz,

published in 1785 and known as "Letter concerning Chimneys." To deal with the problem thoroughly, he searched for examples from many countries, among them China, and while he lectured on the proper methods to construct chimneys, he took the opportunity to call those misguided who "are as much afraid of fresh air as persons in the hydrophobia are of fresh water. I myself," he confesses, "had formerly this prejudice, this *areophobia*, as I now account it, and dreading the supposed dangerous effects of cool air, I considered it as an enemy, and closed with extreme care every crevice in the rooms I inhabited."<sup>40</sup>

The pleasure with which Lichtenberg read this account is described in a letter to Reimarus, where he particularly praises the spirit

ohne den alles Wissen . . . Flickwerk ist . . . und den man sich leider nicht geben kann, ich meine den alles durchaus mit wohlthätiger Kraft belebenden bon sens, der mir z.B. Franklins Schriften zur unterhaltendsten Lektüre macht, sie mögen nun die Einrichtung eines neuen Freistaats oder die Kur von rauchenden Kaminen betreffen.<sup>41</sup>

When Lichtenberg read in August 1793 in the *European Magazine* the letter in which Franklin had summarized his geophysical theories to the Abbé Soulavie in 1782, he deplored that this ingenious hypothesis of the formation and nature of the earth had not been published with Franklin's other papers.<sup>42</sup> He therefore summarized, explained and expanded Franklin's ideas for the *Taschen Calendar* of 1795 in an essay entitled "Geologische Phantasien," and acknowledged his source in the subtitle: "Franklins Geogenie." The letter, now known as "Conjectures concerning the Formation of the Earth," though read to the American Philosophical Society on 21 November 1788, was not printed until 1793, when the third volume of the *American Transactions* appeared after long delay. From then on its merits began to be widely recognized.

In the "Conjectures" Franklin aspires to merge the results of his own scientific experiments with the discoveries of astronomy and the newly emerging geophysic sciences into a unified theory of the universe. He surmised that "changes in the superficial parts of the globe seemed . . . unlikely to happen if the earth were solid to the centre," and "therefore imagined that the internal parts might be a fluid more dense, and of greater specific gravity than any of the solids we are acquainted with." As he assumed "all the elements in separate particles being originally mixed in confusion and occupying a great space," before the formation of the earth, he called this dense fluid compressed air. He also argued that a shift of "the permanent Magnetism of this globe . . . occasioned the rupture of its shell, the submersions and emersions of its lands and the confusion of its seasons," and that the rule applying to the earth might also be valid throughout the universe. Lacking opportunity and techniques to test this vision, he called it modestly "my fancies concerning the manner of forming the rest of our system." The Abbé Soulavie was himself an acknowledged geologist, and after apologizing to him for having "given a loose to imagination," Franklin commends the Abbé's own "method of philosophizing, which proceeds upon

actual observation, makes a collection of facts, and concludes no farther than those facts will warrant."<sup>43</sup> Franklin, whose "fancies" take careful account of all the facts available at his time, usually followed this method himself, but like Lichtenberg, he was also farsighted enough to look beyond the fragmentary and limited scientific discoveries of his time.

In his essay, Lichtenberg understands "Phantasien" in Franklin's sense, and Promies underlines how the expression corresponds to Lichtenberg's own "spezifische heuristische Methode, alles allem anzuprobieren, um dadurch womöglich auf neue Entdeckungen zu geraten."<sup>44</sup> To start with, Lichtenberg rejects mere phantasies, unfounded assumptions which contribute nothing "für die Geschichte der Erde, doch für die Geschichte des menschlichen Geistes." He elaborates his subtle, but biting criticism of mere wishful thinking with various examples, notably that the fossils from the Ohio, the same which young Michaelis had seen and described, had been regarded as the molars of fallen angels by a Frenchman.

Useful phantasies are to him the visions of people with well-stocked and penetrating minds; of Milton, for instance, and of Bacon besides Franklin, "Menschen, in deren Kopf sich alles sucht und findet und paart, und läge es auch anfangs eine ganze Kopfsbreite auseinander."<sup>45</sup> Such imagination alone can achieve the creative combination of facts, which seem to others unrelated and even irrelevant, until a genius recognizes their significance.

To Lichtenberg the conjectures of Dr. Franklin, "eines Mannes von Keplerischem Adel," were such a vision. He had recognized Franklin's capacity for unifying diverse subjects already in 1782, when he commended to Rambert "die edle Einfalt der Franklinschen Theorie."<sup>46</sup> Nor were Franklin's speculations entirely a surprise to him. In the "Geologische Phantasien" he points to similar trends in the thoughts of other persistent thinkers, such as Milton, or Bacon, and in a notebook compiled between 1765 and 1771, he had excerpted from Flögel's *Geschichte des menschlichen Verstandes* (p. 33) an idea of Newton, which supports Franklin's conjecture: "Alle Materie der Weltkörper ließe sich vielleicht in einen Kubik-Zoll zusammen bringen" (KA 266).

In an age where hopeful and youthful enthusiasts everywhere regarded inspiration as an innate gift of every "Originalgenie," Lichtenberg agreed so emphatically with an English writer's austere definition of a genius that he copied his statement and underlined a sentence:

I cannot find . . . in my own notion of the term (Genius) above two or three names with which it can agree; and when I have named Aristotle, Bacon and Newton, I am nearly at the end of my catalogue. *An all comprehending mind, that sees every object on every side, sees the different relations* (and to an ordinary observer, contradictory) that it bears to other things, we contemplate, seems to me alone worthy of the name. (J 478)

Lichtenberg himself added sparingly to this list, but that in his view Franklin measured up to these exacting standards is shown by several of

his pronouncements on the American scientist, thus when he states in the "Geologische Phantasien": "Den Anfang unserer *geologischen Phantasien* wollen wir mit der eines Mannes von Keplerischem Adel machen, mit Doktor Franklins."<sup>47</sup> He found his favorable opinion reinforced and confirmed in the *Autobiography*.

The German translator, Gottfried August Bürger, was a friend of Lichtenberg, and they both lived in the house belonging to the printer when Lichtenberg received a copy of the *Autobiography*. He felt so buoyed up and spiritually refreshed by the "Lektüre eines wahrhaft großen Mannes," that he recorded the exact date of the event (12 January 1793).<sup>48</sup> Franklin's wish to share his thoughts and experience coincided with his own ideals of public duty, and "the humorous self-criticism" to which David Levin called attention,<sup>49</sup> was a form of self-discipline he practiced himself. That Franklin had "learned to modulate his own voice so as to instruct his readers without seeming to do so," and that the didactic intention of his narration was not to amass wealth or fame, but to place "the story of his success into a context of failure"<sup>50</sup> were features which Lichtenberg particularly appreciated, as he showed in his commentaries on Hogarth's prints, many of which appeared in the *Taschen Calendar*. Respect for such traits moved Lichtenberg to suggest as a profitable topic for an essay: "zu bitten, daß doch große Männer ihre Art zu studieren bekannt machten; eigentlich die Art wie sie ihre Meisterwerke verfertigt haben" (L 186). "Groß" to him was only he who worked not for selfish ends, but, like Franklin, with the common good in mind.

True to his usual approach, Lichtenberg did not rely on Franklin's testimony alone. Soon afterwards he also immersed himself in Milon's account of Franklin, noting that Franklin owed much to Kinnersley, regarding his electrical discoveries, and that it was Silas Deane, who arranged "den glücklichen *coup*," the treaty between France and the United States (J 1178).<sup>51</sup>

In the epitaph he composed for himself, though it was not used on his grave, Franklin combined two more of Lichtenberg's special interests: printing—of which as friend and tenant of the publisher Johann Christian Dieterich he, too, was an expert—and the concern about existence after death, "Ewigkeit." Lichtenberg therefore duly recorded the verses late in 1777:

The body of/ Benjamin Franklin, Printer/ (like a cover of an old book/ its contents worn out/ and stript of its lettering and gilding)/ Lies here, food for the worms;/ yet the work shall not be lost/ For it shall (as he believed) appear once more,/ in a new/ and most beautiful Edition,/ corrected and revised/ by the author. (F 738)

Lichtenberg took a comprehensive view of Franklin and lauded him, like many of his contemporaries, as an example to scientists as well as to mankind. This public image has not remained unchallenged, and Franklin's *Autobiography* has since been interpreted as successful manipulation, presenting a constructed personality that was not quite real. As



"David Levin keenly observes . . . Franklin's autobiographic pose of homely simplicity . . . tends to disarm the reader, to put him too much at ease."<sup>52</sup>

Lichtenberg was not easily disarmed. His judgments were the result of tenacious study and balanced assessment of information from quite diverse sources. The range of his interests, if not the scope of his activities, was as wide and varied as Franklin's, and like him he was dedicated to science, and concerned with mankind. He, too, had pondered the motives and needs of the poor, and had "stood before kings."<sup>53</sup> His professional reputation among contemporaries rested primarily on expertise in fields which Franklin had opened to science, and he was, like him, a fellow of the Royal Society. His posthumous fame was achieved by mastery of language, acquired by a resolution and persistency matching that of Franklin, and he had studied the same authors to whom Franklin attributed his literary fluency. Lichtenberg was thus ideally placed to take into account all aspects of a man, who left his mark on such different areas of endeavor, and to recognize, as much as is humanly possible, the real person behind the masks. His views of Franklin should therefore be appraised with care and due consideration.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Georg Forsters Werke, vol. 8, *Kleine Schriften zu Philosophie und Zeitgeschichte*, ed. Siegfried Scheibe (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1974), 274-75.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 8:310.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 8:312. The Latin epigram, re coined for Franklin: "Eripuit coelo fulmen, mox scepra tyrannis."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 8:309.

<sup>5</sup> Harold von Hofe, "Lichtenberg and America," in *Vistas and Vectors: Essays Honoring the Memory of Helmut Rehder*, ed. Lee B. Jennings and George Schulz-Behrend (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 118.

<sup>6</sup> Nathaniel Hawthorne's description, quoted from James A. Sappenfield, "Benjamin Franklin," in *A Sweet Instruction: Franklin's Journalism as a Literary Apprenticeship* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973), 7.

<sup>7</sup> Georg Christoph Lichtenberg, *Schriften und Briefe*, ed. Wolfgang Promies (München: Carl Hanser, 1967ff.), 1:J 247. The number of Lichtenberg's notes follows this edition. For Lichtenberg's method of assessment compare his character study "Einige Lebensumstände von Capt. James Cook größtenteils aus schrift. Nachrichten einiger seiner Bekannten gezogen" (1780), in *Schriften und Briefe*, vol. 3 (1972), 35-62.

<sup>8</sup> Harold von Hofe, 114, 119.

<sup>9</sup> He is thus described on the proposal for his election to the Royal Society of London, 15 November 1792.

<sup>10</sup> Georg Forsters Werke, vol. 12, *Tagebücher*, ed. Brigitte Leuscher (1973), 19. Forster knew Franklin already when invited to dine on 9 Oct. 1777 with M. le Roy, host to Franklin at Passey, near Paris.

<sup>11</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:831. Johann Albert Heinrich Reimarus (1729-1814) published *Vorschriften zur Anlegung von Blitzableitern* (1778) and *Neuere Bemerkungen vom Blitz* (1794).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:130-37.

<sup>13</sup> Wolfgang Promies, *Lichtenberg in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten* (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1964), 88-93.

<sup>14</sup> Letter to Peter Collinson, 19 October 1752, read at the Royal Society, 21 December 1752, in *The Works of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Jared Sparks (Chicago: Townsend MacCoun, 1882) 5:295.

<sup>15</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:342–43.

<sup>16</sup> *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 20 vols., ed. William B. Willcox (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976). Franklin reported the incident in April 1773 to Jaques Barbeu-Dubourg, starting with the comment: "Vos observations sur les causes de la mort, et les expériences que vous proposez pour rappeler à la vie ceux qui pariossent tués par le tonnerre, montrent également votre sagacité et votre humanité. Il paroît que la doctrine de la vie et de la mort en général est encore peu connue" (189–90).

<sup>17</sup> E.g., Franz Mautner, *Lichtenberg: Geschichte seines Geistes* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1968), 25: "Doch verfährt Lichtenberg hier höchst parteiisch; Forschern, die er persönlich schätzt, wie Franklin oder Deluc, billigt er das Recht zur Hypothese zu, den ihm unsympathischen wirft er vor, unbeweisbare Hirngespinnste als Wissenschaft auszugeben."

<sup>18</sup> Richard E. Amacher, *Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), 144.

<sup>19</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:598–99 (to Franz Ferdinand Wolff, 30 December 1784).

<sup>20</sup> *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 20:464–74; cf., e.g., R. Patterson, "Explanation of a singular phenomenon, first observed by Dr. Franklin, and not hitherto satisfactorily accounted for," in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia, 1793; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprints, 1966), 13.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Albrecht Schöne, *Aufklärung aus dem Geist der Experimentalphysik: Lichtenbergsche Konjunktive* (München: Beck, 1982).

<sup>22</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:603.

<sup>23</sup> *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. Albert Henry Smyth (New York: American Book Company, 1907), 60–63, 65, 71, 101.

<sup>24</sup> Jonathan Swift, "The Bickerstaff Papers," in *Gulliver's Travels and Other Writings*, ed. Miriam Kosh Starkman (New York: Bantam Books, 1981), 454, 459, 469; Benjamin Franklin, *Poor Richard's Almanack*, Foreword by Phillips Russell (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1928), xi–xii; Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible* (New York: B. Franklin, 1977), 158–60. The correlation to Swift was established by John F. Ross ("The Character of Poor Richard: Its Source and Alteration," *PMLA* [1940]: 785–94).

<sup>25</sup> *Poor Richard: The Almanacs for the Years 1733–1758*, by Richard Saunders, *Philom.*, intr. Van Wyck Brooks (New York: Paddington Press, 1976), 3–4.

<sup>26</sup> Addison, Steele and others, *The Spectator in Four Volumes*, ed. Gregory Smith (London: Dent [1907], 1979) 1:3 (Thursday, 1 March 1710/11).

<sup>27</sup> *Autobiography*, 169.

<sup>28</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:565 (letter to Samuel Thomas Sömmering, 12 July 1784).

<sup>29</sup> Christian Friedrich Michaelis, "Herr Stabsmedicus Michaelis an Herrn Prof. Forster, über das große unbekanntes Thier in Nordamerika," *Göttingisches Magazin der Wissenschaften und Litteratur*, ed. Georg Christoph Lichtenberg and Georg Forster, 3, no. 4 (1783): 871–74. Cf. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, ed. L. W. Labaree, 14:25–29: "List of Fossils Sent by George Croghan to the Earl of Shelburne and Benjamin Franklin" (Printed in *The Royal Society, Philosophical Transactions* 57, pt. 1. For the Year 1767 (London, 1768), 467.

<sup>30</sup> Cf., e.g., Sappenfield, 5, 122, 124, 170; Bruce Ingham Granger, *Benjamin Franklin: An American Man of Letters* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964), 71.

<sup>31</sup> *Poor Richard: The Almanacs*, 277–85.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 143–46; on p. 147 he also introduced "the famous Astronomer Copernicus" to his readers, about whom Lichtenberg wrote a treatise, posthumously published in 1800 (*Schriften und Briefe*, 3:138–88). Copernicus had also figured in other almanacs, and a diagram in John Foster's Cambridge almanac for 1675 "called 'A figure of the Visible World according to the Opinions of Copernicus' may have been the first woodcut in American almanacs" (Stowell, p. 47); James L. Clifford, *Young Sam Johnson* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1955), 186–87.

<sup>33</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 3:467–87; "Kommentar zu Band III," 225.

<sup>34</sup> *Göttinger Taschen Calender* (1791), 167–71; "A Letter from Dr. Benjamin Franklin to Mr. Alphonsus le Roy, Member of several Academies at Paris, containing sundry Maritime

Observations," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* (Trans. Am.), vol. 2, no. 38, (1785), 294-329.

<sup>35</sup> "Description of the process to be observed in making large sheets of paper in the Chinese manner, with one smooth surface. Communicated by Dr. B. Franklin," *Trans. Am.*, 3:8-10; "Wie die Schinesen ihr großes Papier verfertigen," *Göttinger Taschen Calendar* (1796), 169-71.

<sup>36</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 3:95-102 (1793); Wolfgang Promies, "Der Deutschen Bade-Meister: Georg Christoph Lichtenberg und die Wirkungen aufgeklärten Schreibens," *Photoin: Mitteilungen der Lichtenberg-Gesellschaft*, 4 (1981): 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Autobiography*, 106-9.

<sup>38</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 3:126.

<sup>39</sup> One of them was "to try the different Quantities of Perspiration for an Hour sitting naked and another Hour warmly cloathed." Franklin prevailed upon a young physician to pursue "the experiment for eight successive days at all Hours, and [he] constantly found the Perspiration near double in the Hours he was naked" (*The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 20:103).

<sup>40</sup> "A Letter from Dr. B. Franklin to Dr. Ingenhouz, Physician to the Emperor, at Vienna," *Trans. Am.*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1785), 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 4:831 (1792); cf. Promies, *Lichtenberg*, 111: "Eigentlich vervollkommnete Lichtenberg bei sich selbst jene Tugend, die er am Typ des schreibenden Gelehrten wie Franklin bewundert hat: in allem, was er schrieb, bei allem was er vor Augen hatte, den bon sens mit schöner Lesbarkeit zu vereinen."

<sup>42</sup> *Trans. Am.*, 3:1-5; *Schriften und Briefe*, 3:115.

<sup>43</sup> *Trans. Am.*, 3:4-5.

<sup>44</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, "Kommentar zu Band III," 50.

<sup>45</sup> *Schriften und Briefe*, 3:112 (quoted in *Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américaines ou Mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Espece Humaine*. Par Mr. de P\*\*\*\* [Cornelius de Pauw, 1739-99], London, 1771, 2 vols. I, 400, from *Essai sur l'origine de la population de l'Amérique* par E. T. II p. 2, Amsterdam 1767), 113-14.

<sup>46</sup> *Schriften und Briefe* 3:115; 4:429.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 3:115.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:814-15, J 1150.

<sup>49</sup> Sappenfield, 188.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 204, 213.

<sup>51</sup> Milon, "Denkwürdigkeiten zur Geschichte Benjamin Franklins," (St. Petersburg, 1793), quoted in *Georg Christoph Lichtenbergs Aphorismen*, ed. Albert Leitzmann, Viertes Heft: 1789-93, Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts (1908), Lichtenstein: Kraus Reprints, 1968, Anmerkungen, 320, n. 1153.

<sup>52</sup> Sappenfield, e.g., 33, 47, 122, 132, 182, 194, 214.

<sup>53</sup> *Autobiography*, 148. Franklin's father "frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon, 'Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings'." Lichtenberg had been the personal guest of George III in his palace at Kew on his second journey to England (1774-75).



Kenneth C. Barnes

## The Missouri Synod and Hitler's Germany

How should a German-American respond to the Nazi regime in the 1930s? This was a pressing question for Lutherans of the Missouri Synod whose loyalty had been questioned during World War I. Historians have described how most German-Americans, after a few months of ambivalence in 1933, made clear their opposition to Nazi policies and their attachment to American democratic values. Only a small minority was attracted to the *Deutschamerikanischer Volksbund*, a front for Nazi activities in the United States.<sup>1</sup> Leaders of the Missouri Synod, like most other German-Americans, did not join Nazi organizations, and they touted their loyalty to America. However, with their strong German identity and conservative political attitudes, some of them expressed not just ambivalence but actual support for Nazi political goals through the 1930s.

Of the large religious denominations containing German-Americans in the 1930s, the Missouri Synod was perhaps the most self-consciously German. German Catholics in the American setting were mixed into an ethnically diverse church dominated by a largely Irish and Italian episcopacy. German Lutherans were divided into three large groups. The American Lutheran Conference, strongest in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and the Dakotas, was a federation of German, Danish, Swedish and Norwegian Lutherans. The United Lutheran Church of America, with its greatest strength on the eastern seaboard, had grown out of the largely eighteenth-century German migration to the English colonies. By the 1930s these Lutherans had by and large entered the American cultural mainstream. The Missouri Synod (officially named the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and Other States) was founded in the mid-1800s by Saxon immigrants in the Midwest and maintained into the twentieth century a strong German identity. With its use of German as the language of worship and instruction in its extensive parochial school system, the Missouri Synod was probably the least assimilated German religious group in the American setting with the exception of smaller groups such as the Amish.<sup>2</sup>

War between the United States and the fatherland had been especially wrenching to the Missouri Synod. Missouri Synod leaders tried valiantly to convince the public in 1917-18 that its "German" identity was a matter of religion and culture, not politics. But the anti-German hysteria overwhelmed the church's self-defense, and the Missouri Synod began quickly to abandon its use of the German language. For example, in early 1917 only one-sixth of Missouri Synod congregations held at least one service a month in English, but by the end of 1918, three-quarters were doing so.<sup>3</sup>

Given the questions about their loyalty in World War I, one might expect the leaders of the Missouri Synod to clearly distance themselves from the politics of National Socialism in Germany in the 1930s. In the social context of America in the 1930s it would be more acceptable for Missouri Synod leaders to display sympathy for fellow Lutherans suffering in the church struggle (*Kirchenkampf*) which resulted from the Nazi *Gleichschaltung* of 1933. But instead of political estrangement with German policies and theological ties with fellow Lutherans across the Atlantic, the opposite was actually the case. Support for Germany came from political sympathies of Missouri Synod leaders, not from any feelings of theological or religious affinity for German Lutherans. Throughout the 1930s they supported most Nazi policies while they continually criticized developments within the church in Germany.

This essay examines the public statements and commentary about Nazi Germany made by Missouri Synod leaders in four journals published between 1933 and 1945: the *Lutheran Witness*, *Der Lutheraner*, the *Concordia Theological Monthly*, and the *Walther League Messenger*. The *Lutheran Witness* claimed on its masthead to be the official organ of the Missouri Synod. Like the *Concordia Theological Monthly* and *Der Lutheraner*, it was published by Concordia Publishing House and edited by members of the faculty of the Concordia Seminary in St. Louis. Most of the editorial commentary in the three journals in particular came from professors Martin Sommer, Theodor Graebner, W. Arndt, Theodor Engelder, J. T. Mueller, and Ludwig Fuerbringer. The *Lutheran Witness* and *Der Lutheraner* were newsy weeklies with similar content for the English or German speaking reader. The *Concordia Theological Monthly*, with articles in both German and English, was a more scholarly theological journal intended for pastors which did, however, contain many news items and editorials about current political and ecclesiastical developments in Germany. The *Walther League Messenger* was not an official organ of the Missouri Synod, even though the Walther League, a Lutheran youth society, was endorsed by the Synod and officially recognized at the 1920 synodical convention. Its editor was Walter A. Maier, a professor at Concordia Seminary and pioneer of radio evangelism. In the 1930s and 1940s, Maier was arguably the most well-known and influential Lutheran in America. His radio program, "The Lutheran Hour," at its peak in the late 1940s, was broadcast to a weekly listening audience of twenty million in fifty-five countries.<sup>4</sup>

This study examines the statements of some influential leaders of the Missouri Synod. I will not attempt to estimate the degree to which these

editors and professors molded church opinion, nor can I determine the degree to which their views reflected those of the members in the pews. One can only assume that the views of church leaders somewhat approximate those of the laity. This is, however, a risky assumption as the recent history of the Missouri Synod indicates. In 1973, increasing attacks from certain quarters that seminary professors were too liberal and inadequately representative of the church at large precipitated a walkout of faculty in St. Louis and the formation of a rival seminary called Seminex. A schism in the church resulted.

In the church press in the 1930s there were no charges of a "liberal" professoriat and little evidence of dissension in the church body on political issues. Missouri Synod leaders publicly endorsed Luther's teaching of the separation of the temporal and spiritual kingdoms. In other words, the church should stay out of politics and vice versa. The journals were highly critical of political preaching in other denominations. They identified political and social activism on the part of the church with the social gospel and theological liberalism. As the *Concordia Theological Monthly* said, it is not the duty of the pastor to tell his people what ticket to vote for.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, the pages of the Lutheran journals expressed clear and unmistakable positions on a variety of political issues, one of which was Nazi Germany.

In 1933 the church press enthusiastically welcomed Hitler's rise to power. Soon after his accession Walter A. Maier praised Hitler as a natural-born leader who understood the true needs of Germany. In his editorial entitled "Hitler Shows the Way," Maier lauded Hitler's rejection of communism, his attacks on immorality, and the intense national feeling he brought back to the German people.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, the *Lutheran Witness* welcomed the Nazi regime with an editorial "Germany Teaches Us a Lesson." The lesson learned from the Nazis was the proper method of dealing with communists, noting that after the *Reichstag* fire, toleration of communism in Germany had ended.<sup>7</sup> *Der Lutheraner* defended the infamous book burning in Berlin of April 1933 as a sign of Hitler's opposition to Bolshevism, and as an indication that what was previously tolerated would be no longer.<sup>8</sup> Hans Kirsten, a pastor of the Lutheran Free Churches in Germany who wrote regularly for the *Walther League Messenger*, thanked God for sending Hitler to deliver the German people from Bolshevism. Instead of curbing freedom, Kirsten viewed Hitler as restoring German freedom by destroying Marxism and wresting the country from the terrible clutches of postwar chaos.<sup>9</sup>

Like many conservatives in America and Great Britain, Missouri Synod leaders supported the German repudiation of the Versailles Treaty. Throughout the 1930s Walter A. Maier praised Hitler's denunciation of Versailles and his plan for independent economic development (autarky) for Germany. In 1935 Hans Kirsten lauded the restoration of the Saar region to Germany after its sixteen years of French control. Maier blamed the disintegration of peace in Europe in the later 1930s, not on Hitler's aggressive demands, but instead on the postwar peace settlement which had stripped Germany of her dignity.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the *Lutheran Witness* printed an article by a German Free Church pastor

living in London, W. M. Oesch, who argued that many Englishmen viewed Germany as restoring the balance of Europe which had been destroyed by Versailles. Germany's political tenets, he argued, were well capable of solving the national problems of Europe because of the emphasis on respect for the national identity, the *Volkstum*.<sup>11</sup>

Throughout the 1930s synodical leaders also approved of the campaign for law and order which was associated with Hitler's *Gleichschaltung*. In the *Lutheran Witness*, a layman from Kansas City who had spent three months in Germany in 1936, praised the great changes that had taken place since Hitler had become chancellor, specifically the revived national unity and respect, the orderliness, and rejuvenated economy.<sup>12</sup> The *Concordia Theological Monthly* refuted an anti-Nazi editorial in the *Christian Century* which had emphasized human rights violations in Nazi Germany. The journal labeled the editorial as hateful and untrue. Coming closer to truth were the responses the vicious editorial had elicited, such as one letter which noted: "Every truth seeker returning from Germany is full of praise for the German people and their great courageous leader, the greatest German after Martin Luther." Closest to truth, the journal continued, was another letter which praised the law and order of Germany and the "wonders Hitler has performed there. . . . There are no gangsters and no racketeers. There are no strikes and no lockouts, and the only discontented people are the political parsons and priests."<sup>13</sup> In 1936 the *Walther League Messenger* printed glowing accounts of the experiences of American youth who had returned from German voluntary work camps where they had learned lessons about communal work, sacrifice, and service.<sup>14</sup> Like many observers worldwide, Missouri Synod leaders were impressed with the structure and orderliness Hitler brought to German society.

The Missouri Synod journals described the Nazi regime as a positive moral force for a society which previously was chaotic and decadent. Walter A. Maier lauded Hitler's attack on immorality, pornography, nudism, and Hollywood films. Pastor Kirsten noted Hitler's call for a return to the old faith in God.<sup>15</sup> According to *Der Lutheraner*, the Nazi book burning accomplished what Christian men and women had long desired, namely the cleansing of filthy books (*Bücherschmutz*) from the land.<sup>16</sup> Hitler's speeches of the early 1930s had indeed consistently resounded the theme of a return to traditional morality. He frequently made references to the importance of Christian values as forming one of the bases of the German cultural ethos. He was well-known for his puritanical, ascetic personal habits. In their righteous indignation about the decadence of the Weimar era, Missouri Synod leaders, like many Germans, saw Hitler's restoration of order and public morality as a positive achievement which obviously overshadowed the corresponding loss of civil liberties.

In fact, the editors of Lutheran journals displayed a marked skepticism about the negative news reporting of events in Germany in the 1930s. Repeatedly, articles in *Der Lutheraner* called for skepticism in reading news accounts of anti-Jewish policies and actions by the



German government in 1933.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, Walter A. Maier explained that Hitler had been misinterpreted; he recommended that one look instead to German newspapers for a different account. Speaking for the German people in the *Walther League Messenger*, Pastor Kirsten pleaded "with our fellow Lutherans throughout the world not to listen to those who would defame the character of this splendid personality or who would attack his pure motives."<sup>18</sup> In several articles Maier denied the reports of anti-Semitic outbursts as complete exaggeration and systematic propaganda. The titles of his articles in the *Walther League Messenger* make the point well enough: "Jingo Journalism," "Jaundiced Journalism," and "Pogroms or Propaganda?"<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the *Lutheran Witness* in April declared the stories of persecution of Jews in Germany to be propaganda and exaggeration. The *Witness* suggested instead: "Let us be slow to believe evil of the German people." While repudiating the news reports, the journal published as its better authority a letter from a German Jew living in Chemnitz who argued that the stories in the world press were not true.<sup>20</sup> Again in 1936, the layman from Kansas City reported from his visit to Germany that the stories of brutalities against the Jews were grossly exaggerated "or even invented by a pernicious propaganda."<sup>21</sup> The skepticism even survived the war in some quarters. When news reports were appearing in 1944 describing mass killings, the death camps, gas chambers, and human crematories, and the like, the *Concordia Theological Monthly* cautioned readers on the reliability of the reports reminding them that such "rumors" also followed World War I and were proved false.<sup>22</sup>

Ironically, the man most responsible for what Americans read in their newspapers about Germany in the 1930s was a devout Missouri Synod Lutheran. Louis Lochner was the Berlin Bureau Chief of the Associated Press from 1928 until 1941 when the declaration of war caused the ouster of American journalists from Germany. For most of these years he was president of the Foreign Press Association of Berlin which represented reporters from twenty-six countries. Lochner's articles were wired to the over 1,400 newspapers affiliated with the Associated Press, and in 1939 he won a Pulitzer Prize for his reporting from Germany. Lochner's father, Friedrich, as pastor of Trinity Lutheran Church in Milwaukee, was one of the founding fathers of the Missouri Synod and a well-known expert on Lutheran liturgics. Lochner's brother, Rev. Martin Lochner, was professor at Concordia Teachers College in River Forest, 1912-45, and his other brother, William, was also a Missouri Synod clergyman. Indeed it was partly because of Lochner's upbringing in Lutheran Milwaukee, where he joked English was a second language, that he had the fluency in German to do the quality reporting for which he was so well-known. While in Berlin he was a member of the Lutheran Free Church of Saxony, which was financially supported by and had close ties with the Missouri Synod.

Lochner argued later that the skepticism about reporting was unwarranted. In fact, he said the picture was much worse in Germany than the one drawn in the press. Reporters knew much more than the German people about what was actually going on in Germany, but they could

not tell all for fear of being forcibly repatriated by German authorities. Thus when the professors bemoaned the systematic anti-German propaganda of the American press, they were speaking about this Lutheran reporter and his associates. Adding to the irony, after the war Lochner served on the editorial board of the *Lutheran Witness* for twenty years.<sup>23</sup>

The discrediting of news reports of Jewish persecutions may be related to a degree of homegrown anti-Semitism among some Missouri Synod leaders. The journals displayed an uncomfortable uncertainty or ambivalence about Jews and their role in society. In the early 1930s several editorial notes informed readers of the world Jewish population and rapid increase in Jewish population in the United States. One editorial expressed concern that American quotas did not specifically restrict Jewish immigration because the immigrants were not designated as Jews but as Germans, Poles, or whatever their country of origin. Another article later in the year reminded readers that the widespread rumor of a decrease in the world Jewish population was incorrect.<sup>24</sup> After the persecutions of Jews began under Hitler, the *Concordia Theological Monthly* spotlighted the Jewish problem in Germany by giving readers the "authoritative" statement about the number of Jews in Germany. The frequently cited figure of 600,000 Jews is wrong, said the journal. This figure came from a 1912 census which only considered adherents of the Jewish faith to be Jews. Actually there were 1.5 million Jews who are of mixed blood and faith, the journal concluded, thereby accepting a racial rather than religious definition of Jewishness.<sup>25</sup>

With this attention on the large Jewish population, the journal editors could easily understand, and sometimes justify, the anti-Semitic outbursts in Germany. Even though Walter A. Maier denied the news reports of Jewish pogroms as complete exaggerations, he nonetheless explained the rationale for German antipathy toward the Jews. According to Maier, the Jews were "unduly prominent in the higher ranks of Russian communism." He noted the postwar communist regime in Hungary where "Bela Kun (actually Cohen), an embezzler and co-editor of *The International Socialist*, instituted a reign of Jewish Red Terror." Maier cataloged a long list of Jewish communist leaders prominent during the revolutionary years, 1918-23. The German people look upon the Jews as disloyal traitors, he said, "because Jews have been pronouncedly anti-national, communistic and international." He blamed Germany's woes during the Great War on Jewish "Communist agitators." He implied that Jews did not have to serve in the front lines of the army because of their smaller stature and inferior physique. After the war, he said, Jews seeking refuge in Germany were "the lowest type of ghetto Jew." On the other hand, Maier then blamed the hyperinflation after the war on "a coterie of Jewish bankers . . . these carpet baggers of post-bellum Germany" who impoverished the German people while they became rich. As if this were not enough, Maier goes on to charge Jews with production of immoral and pornographic art, literature, and entertainment forms.<sup>26</sup> Later in 1933 Kirsten praised Hitler for destroying Marxism, a force instigated by Jews. He also

blamed the poor images of Hitler in Western eyes on the Jewish control of the foreign press.<sup>27</sup>

The explanation of German dislike for Jews of course did not mean for Maier a justification for racism. He spelled out clearly that Christians cannot countenance systematic hatred of any race. However, his use of selective examples and half-truths to characterize the Jewish people would have only reinforced any vague anti-Semitic attitudes of his readers.

Besides the political, economic and cultural explanations, the editors provided a theological explanation for Jewish pogroms. The professors reminded readers throughout the Nazi period that Jews were the adversaries of Christianity. A 1939 editorial in *Der Lutheraner* entitled "Das jüdische Lügenbuch, der Talmud" listed the Talmud's anti-Christian statements and recorded its attempt to launch a smear campaign against Christ. Three years later the journal reminded readers that "we don't tolerate their [the Jews'] hatred against Christianity and the Gospel. We remind them: 'He who believes not will be damned.'" <sup>28</sup> Several editors were incensed when in 1938 a Methodist bishop in St. Louis allowed a Jewish rabbi to participate in a church service. In the words of the editor of *Der Lutheraner*, "Here the Jewish cunning has locked foolish Christians in their net." The rabbi obviously wanted recognition that his people were persecuted in Europe, the journal continued, but the Jews wanted more: "they want to destroy the Christian confession, the word of the Cross out of the world."<sup>29</sup>

This Jewish hatred and rejection of Christianity explained the woes of the suffering Jews in Europe. Jewish opposition to the Messiah, said *Der Lutheraner*, "is also the real reason to which this unlucky people must ascribe their suffering." The anti-Semitic outbursts, the journal continued, reminded the Christian of the verses in Matthew 27:25, "Your blood comes over us and our children."<sup>30</sup> According to the *Lutheran Witness*, the problems of this strange people, the Jews—their dislike, hatred, persecution, even the killings—were a testimony to the "wrath of God upon all who reject Christ," in fact even to the severity of God to those who disbelieve.<sup>31</sup> These church leaders thus understood and explained the contemporary and historical situation for Jews in terms of their rejection of Christ. Only this explained why the Jews were the only stateless, governmentless people wandering the earth for two thousand years which remained a separate, distinct nation. As the *Lutheran Witness* summed up the situation: "Again, the Jews are under a curse because they crucified their Messiah."<sup>32</sup>

Although the professors rationalized and, with this theological explanation, even justified the sufferings of the Jews in Europe, they were sympathetic with their problems. They frequently made statements deploring the violence and persecution aimed at Jews. In the later 1930s when discrimination against Jews in Germany became more violent, Walter A. Maier stopped rationalizing anti-Semitism and began criticizing it. By 1939 he accused the Germans of making inane claims about Jews. While in 1933 he had complained that "Jews were pronouncedly anti-national, communistic and international," six years later

he glorified the "patriotic Israelites who fought, bled, and died for Germany's cause . . . who loved the Fatherland with the same fervor as their Aryan comrades."<sup>33</sup> However, many such statements came with qualifiers which muted the criticism. For example, an editorial in the *Lutheran Witness* deplored the atrocities and persecutions of Jews but added, "those who injure the Jews most of all are who speak to them and associate with them as if their rejection of Jesus as the Messiah of Israel were excusable."<sup>34</sup>

In fact, these leaders of the Missouri Synod wanted to solve the "Jewish problem," but the only solution they saw possible was conversion of the Jews to Christianity. Lutheran missions aimed specifically at the Jews existed in Chicago and New York. This was the answer.<sup>35</sup> But there was even some ambiguity concerning Christian Jews. The editors made no denunciation of the Aryan paragraph passed by the governing synod of the Prussian church in September 1933 which had defrocked all pastors who were of Jewish descent or married to someone of Jewish ancestry. The *Concordia Theological Monthly* merely reprinted the famous statements responding to the Aryan paragraph drawn up by the theology faculties of Erlangen and Marburg universities. The Erlangen statement, written by Paul Althaus and Werner Elert, defended the Aryan paragraph as legal and justifiable given the commission of the church to be a *Volkskirche* for the German people. The German people, not the church, were to decide the relationship of Germanism and Judaism. According to Elert and Althaus, it was a biological and historical question, not a religious one. The statement from the Marburg theology faculty flatly rejected the Aryan paragraph, calling it irreconcilable with the character of the Christian church. The journal printed these statements without commentary.<sup>36</sup> What was the reader to conclude? One response was framed by Althaus and Elert, authorities widely read and respected in Missouri Synod theological circles who occupied prestigious chairs at Erlangen University, the bastion of confessional Lutheranism in Germany. The other response came from Marburg University, a center of theological liberalism, the home of Rudolf Bultmann and Martin Rade, two of the most famous modernists in Germany, who had been repudiated by name in numerous editorials in synodical journals.

So in general, opinion on the Jewish question ran the gamut from anti-Semitism to theological opposition to vague uncertainty in dealing with the Jews. I do not intend to imply that Missouri Synod Lutherans were unique in this regard. Racial feelings ran deep in America in the 1930s. In fact, the professors were quite progressive in their attitudes toward black Americans. The journals frequently criticized the Ku Klux Klan, cited lynchings in southern states, and discussed the efforts the church was making to minister to Negroes. An editorial in 1938 pointed out: "In the church we don't refuse the hand of any brother because of his skin color." However, probably because of the theological issues involved, the Jew created a more difficult problem for the consciences of these Missouri Synod leaders.<sup>37</sup>

After several years of political sympathy for Germany, skepticism of

the news coming from there, and empathy regarding the anti-Jewish German policies, the Missouri Synod churchmen took a radical turn in their political stance in 1941. After the beginning of war in September 1939 until American entry after Pearl Harbor most editorial statements in the Lutheran journals had recommended a policy of neutrality. Walter A. Maier claimed that United States involvement in the European war could lead to a communist Europe.<sup>38</sup> Again, Maier's titles tell all: "How to Stay Out of War," "Keep Out of War!" "Keep Neutral!" As late as 1941 he was vocally promoting neutrality. If the United States had stayed out of the First World War, Maier argued, Nazism would not exist twenty years later. United States involvement had ruined German morale and required a dynamic leader such as Hitler to restore the former glory.<sup>39</sup> The *Concordia Theological Monthly* criticized clergy who were lobbying for a United States declaration of war in 1940 and 1941. The journal singled out in particular a Methodist bishop who sent a pro-war letter to Secretary of State Hull, and famous churchmen such as Henry Sloane Coffin, John R. Mott, and Reinhold Niebuhr, whose journal, *Christianity and the Crisis*, called for quick and resolute action by the United States to aid the allies.<sup>40</sup> The *Concordia Theological Monthly* deplored the "war hysteria" of the clergy and warned readers: "The clocks are turned back nine hundred years, a crusade is impending, and clergymen are contemplating donning a coat of mail to fight what they consider the battle of the Lord—and all of it under the banner of the Prince of Peace!"<sup>41</sup>

After Pearl Harbor the pro-neutrality rhetoric obviously ended. J. W. Behnken, president of the Missouri Synod, sent President Franklin Roosevelt a telegram on 9 December 1941 assuring him of the church's support of the nation's defense, on the basis of Romans 13:1-7.<sup>41</sup> All of the journals devoted much space to patriotic articles and advertisements in the war years which followed. The *Lutheran Witness* in particular promoted the war cause, devoting a special issue each year after 1942 to the war effort filled with splendid examples of war propaganda as an art form.

After several years of touting the benefits of neutrality, the editors voiced their opposition now to pacifism. One editorial, for example, "The Dry Rot of Pacifism" linked pacifism (the kind displayed in the liberal *Christian Century*) to theological modernism which is opposed to God's word.<sup>43</sup> Even before Pearl Harbor one article had argued that all citizens must rally to the support of their government and bear arms when called to do so. Quaker and Mennonite pacifism which regarded all wars as mass murder, it said, "violates plain statements of Scripture."<sup>44</sup>

Now that the United States was at war with Germany, explicit criticisms of Nazism also began to appear in the Lutheran journals. The *Concordia Theological Monthly* quoted a statement by Joseph Goebbels which called for national egoism and hatred for the British people. Such a statement, the journal said, would bring up the question of civil disobedience for German Christians.<sup>45</sup> Another editorial expressed hope that domestic dissatisfaction with Nazism in Germany would soon

topple the government there. Optimistically it argued: "To us it seems that the Nietzschean philosophy which has been ruling the German leaders has almost run its course and will soon be abandoned."<sup>46</sup>

From 1933 to 1945, political attitudes of Missouri Synod leaders, therefore, generally progressed from support of Hitler's regime to neutrality in world war to support of war against Germany and criticism of the Nazi cause. But the Nazi regime was more than a political experiment. Its totalitarian methods meant a challenge to the structure and integrity of the church in Germany. The story of the German church conflict, the *Kirchenkampf*, is extremely complicated, and the literature concerning it is voluminous. Basically, Hitler wished to restructure the existing confederation of independent provincial Protestant churches into one national church, a *Volkskirche*, which would reflect the cultural identity of the German people. This reorganization naturally impinged upon the institutional and theological independence and integrity of the church.

The leaders of the Missouri Synod were much more critical of the ecclesiastical developments than of the political developments in Nazi Germany. A group of Nazi churchmen called *Deutsche Christen* led the assault on the churches with their attempt to amalgamate fascist ideology with German Protestantism. It was the *Deutsche Christen* who articulated the idea of a *Volkskirche* composed only of the Aryan race, excluding Jews and also Slavs, Asians, Negroes and others. The Missouri Synod journals all repudiated the neo-paganism of this nationalistic racist religion. The *Concordia Theological Monthly* responded to the *Deutsche Christen* idea by noting that God's word does not distinguish between Aryan and non-Aryan races.<sup>47</sup> The journal also described the famous speeches made by *Deutsche Christen* leaders at the Berlin Sports Palace Assembly in November 1933 which called for a purging of the Bible of its Jewish content and attacked particularly the Old Testament. The editors called the *Deutsche Christen* the *Deutsche Heiden*, and insisted even this name was too good for them.<sup>48</sup> Walter A. Maier criticized the *Deutsche Christen* (whom he notes were a radical fringe and numerically insignificant minority) for their attack on the Semitic Old Testament as unchaste and immoral. Even the German-language *Der Lutheraner* criticized the *Deutsche Christen* for substituting a national God for the true one.<sup>49</sup> Editorials particularly criticized Alfred Rosenberg, the philosopher of the Nazi movement, who articulated a neo-pagan religion of blood, soil, and race. Like Lutheran churchmen in Germany who opposed the Nazi encroachments on Christianity, the tendency was to blame the *Deutsche Christen* party and Rosenberg rather than Hitler himself, who appeared to stand above the fray.

The Missouri Synod journals expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the church settlement achieved in the summer of 1933 which created the new German Evangelical Church, Hitler's *Volkskirche*. The complaints were primarily twofold. Obviously such a national church violated the "Lutheran" idea of the Two Kingdoms, the separation of church and state. True Lutheranism, said one editor, "would never permit Hitler or anyone else to build up a national Church similar to structures which he

formerly saw in Spain or other Roman Catholic countries."<sup>50</sup> The journals condemned the state shackles which impeded the liberty and purity of the Lutheran confession. In the late 1930s the journals applauded Hitler's actions to disestablish the church, such as the closing of theological faculties in the universities, seeing them as the beginning of a real separation of church and state in Germany.<sup>51</sup> The editors did not realize that Hitler's moves were signalling a shift in the *Kirchenkampf* from being a struggle in the 1930s of the state to control the institutional church to a wartime policy of subtle destruction of the influence of institutional Christianity.

Secondly, the greatest ill involved in the new German Evangelical Church was unionism. The national church combined Lutheran and Reformed bodies with the already united church bodies to form the *Volkskirche*. In the eyes of synodical leaders, this only repeated and exaggerated the Prussian Union of Reformed and Lutheran churches of 1817. This forced church union had been one motivation for Saxon immigration to America and the eventual foundation of the Missouri Synod. Memories of the errors of union were strongly felt within the Missouri Synod in the 1930s. In several articles, the *Concordia Theological Monthly* repudiated the plan for the new national church for displaying the worst kind of unionism.<sup>52</sup> In late 1933 the journal quoted the well-known Lutheran theologian, Hermann Sasse of Erlangen University, who bemoaned the creation of the national church as a dark day in the history of Lutheranism which meant the end of the evangelical church of the Augsburg Confession in the provincial churches.<sup>53</sup> The following year the editor described the public outcry that accompanied the Nazification of the German church, but complained that no one was critical of the unionist aspect of the new church.<sup>54</sup>

At first the professors were quite supportive of the clerical resistance to the church reform. After the Aryan paragraph in September 1933, Martin Niemöller, an influential pastor in Berlin-Dahlem, organized the Pastor's Emergency League (*Pfarrernotbund*) ostensibly to aid the distressed clergy of Jewish descent. By the end of the year over six thousand pastors had joined the organization even though the number of defrocked pastors of tainted blood was quite small. In the winter and then spring of 1934 many *Notbund* pastors, including Niemöller, were subject to Gestapo searches and harassment. In May 1934, opposition leaders met in Barmen where they denounced the *Deutsche Christen* church government and declared themselves to be the true Evangelical Church of Germany. A group of theologians, led by Karl Barth, the famous Reformed theologian, drew up the significant Barmen Confession which rejected state control of the church as doctrinally false. After Barmen there were in fact two national churches in Germany, the German Evangelical Church, and this Confessing Church (*Bekennende Kirche*).

Before Barmen the *Concordia Theological Monthly* praised these dissenters, especially Niemöller, for holding tenaciously to truth in the midst of error. The journal criticized the government's treatment of Niemöller and the charges of conspiracy which has been levied against

him. The "crime" he committed, the journal noted, was that he proclaimed to the church government his resistance to heathenism within the church.<sup>55</sup> At first the journal supported the resistance movement because of its opposition to the state-controlled unionist church and its *Deutsche Christen* heresy.

However, after Barmen the Confessing Church came under criticism for many of the same reasons. Because the Confessing Church joined Lutheran, Reformed, and United factions within German Protestantism into one opposition church, in the eyes of synodical leaders it was as guilty of unionism as was the Nazi-controlled church. With its Barmen Confession written primarily by Karl Barth, the Confessing Church became theologically unpalatable to Missouri Synod Lutherans. In fact, Hermann Sasse, who was on the committee with Karl Barth which drafted the Confession, refused to sign the document and broke with the Confessing Church after Barmen, complaining that it really "confessed" nothing since it ignored differences between Lutheran and Reformed traditions. Sasse, who became an influential voice for Missouri Synod theologians for years to come, explained that he went to Barmen viewing it as a meeting of common dissent against developments in the German church. But to his surprise, at Barmen the dissenters became a church.<sup>56</sup> The *Concordia Theological Monthly* reprinted an article by Werner Elert, Sasse's Lutheran colleague at Erlangen University, in which he affirmed Barmen's protest against the leadership of the national church, but denied that the meeting was actually a confessing synod. It did not stand on the strong basis of God's word. With positivists and liberals included in the body, Elert argued, what kind of confession could it make?<sup>57</sup>

The other problem with the Confessing Church was that it claimed to be the Evangelical Church of Germany, the genuine one, but still a state church. The Confessing Church would remain embroiled in political conflict, said one editor, as long as it tried to be a state church. It could only be a true Confessing Church when it separated from the state and became a Free Church.<sup>58</sup> Perceptively, the journals explained that Confessing Church leaders were fearful that they could not survive without the financial support of the state. (During the 1930s most Confessing Church leaders, in fact, did continue to draw their salaries which came from the public purse.) As long as the church received financial support of the state it would never be free. Money was the shackle which bound the freedom of the church. The *Concordia Theological Monthly* assured Confessing Church leaders that their church, even in Germany, could survive without state funds.<sup>59</sup> The obvious hopes were that the *Kirchenkampf* would create a number of confessing Free Churches. Perhaps the Lutherans in the Confessing Church would even join with the Lutheran Free Churches (today united as the *Selbständige Evangelische Lutherische Kirche*), which were subsidized by and in close fellowship with the Missouri Synod. In fact, much of the information Missouri Synod leaders received about the German church struggle came via their contacts with the Free Churches. Its pastors and professors, such as Hans Kirsten, W. M. Oesch, and Martin Willkomm,



head of the Free Church seminary in Berlin-Zehlendorf, were frequent contributors to the Missouri Synod journals. In the views of these Free Church leaders and Missouri Synod leaders, the Free Churches were the working model for future German Protestantism. According to *Der Lutheraner*, the Free Churches could do their work unhindered simply because they were not state churches; the state had no legal basis to intervene.<sup>60</sup> With hindsight we know that legality was not a prerequisite for Nazi intervention in any institution or aspect of society.

Recent research by Manfred Roensch, a professor at the Free Church seminary at Oberursel, indicates that Hitler left the Free Churches alone because of their unqualified support of the Nazi regime. He concludes that the Free Churches' views of strict separation of church and state led to a peculiar personal narrowing of ethical views and absolute loyalty to the state on such questions as racial laws and the euthanasia program. He describes a publicly proclaimed anti-Semitism and support for Hitler's political program. Free Church leaders praised Hitler as a hero sent by God to rescue the church from the Bolshevik flood. The Enabling Act of 23 March 1933, which made Hitler a dictator and destroyed German democracy, and the creation of a one-party state the following summer were welcomed and hailed as a guarantee of existence for Christian churches. As one local Free Church paper exclaimed: "One sees in these new developments the graceful hand of God who called Adolf Hitler in timely fashion to save Germany from full destruction."<sup>61</sup>

Just one extended quote will suffice to illustrate the support of Free Church leaders for Hitler's government. During the same week when opposition church leaders drafted the Barmen Confession which included a denunciation of state totalitarianism, a synodical meeting of the Free Churches in Berlin drafted the following statement which they sent to the government:

The Evangelical Lutheran Free Churches of Saxony and other states at their fifty-second synodical gathering from 23 to 28 May in Berlin, feel bound before God to say thanks to the state government for everything it has done and is doing for the re-establishment of our *Volk* and state and the recreation of its moral foundations. They thank the government for its devoted work for the reconstruction of public security and protection of life through use of state disciplinary power against lawbreakers and evildoers—for the cleansing of our administration and economy of corruption and exploitation—for the purification of the streets, the press, libraries, schools, and so forth of sexual and bolshevist corruption—for the securing of marriage and the family especially through the rebuilding of true honor and worth of women in their calling as housewife and mother—for the reconstruction of respect for all honorable work—for the removal of unemployment—for the securing of property—for the reconstruction of a true national community [*Volksgemeinschaft*] by overcoming the divisions which split the nation. We ask God that He bless all the work of our government and crown it with rich success.<sup>62</sup>

These Free Churches which were closely linked to the Missouri Synod, whose professors had studied and taught at Missouri Synod seminaries, differed from Missouri Synod leaders primarily by degree in their positions regarding developments in the Third Reich. Of course, they too opposed the idea of a state church and the unionist tendencies of the Evangelical Church of Germany and the Confessing Christians. They, too, strongly argued for a strict separation of church and state as a solution for the ecclesiastical problems. In fact, writing in the *Lutheran Witness*, Free Church Pastor Oesch blamed the problems of the *Kirchenkampf* on pastors who wished to be political and interfere with matters of state. Historians today note the narrow ecclesiastical nature of the Confessing Church resistance and the marked absence of meaningful political criticism by those who heroically stood up to Hitler on church matters.<sup>63</sup>

In 1945 an editorial in the *Concordia Theological Monthly* strongly refuted the commonly held view that the German churches, owing to their Lutheran background "were too passive and docile in political matters, and thus Hitler had no difficulty in achieving that absolute control which he sought."<sup>64</sup> This study has demonstrated that some Missouri Synod leaders had gone to the opposite extreme by publicly endorsing many political goals of the Nazi movement in the 1930s. It was not Lutheran theology that made these Missouri Synod leaders sympathetic to German political policies. In fact, they were quite critical of the German church establishment for its wrong-headed theological positions, its liberalism, its unionism, its state-churchism. Their agreement with Lutherans in Nazi Germany in the 1930s did not come on religious grounds, but rested upon some very common conservative political attitudes of the 1930s.

Virulent anti-communism was perhaps the overriding concern which colored the political attitudes of Missouri Synod leaders. The anti-communism was based on knowledge of an atheistic Marxist ideology, very real attacks against Christianity in Bolshevik Russia, and genuine crimes committed by Stalin's regime. Missouri Synod periodicals frequently castigated Russian communism in editorials and even focused criticism on the pro-socialist stance of organized labor in the United States. This sincere anti-communism of Missouri Synod churchmen could easily blind them to some of the inconsistencies of their positions. For example, while the *Concordia Theological Monthly* in one editorial, "Politics in the Pulpit," affirmed the Lutheran position that the church or clergy does not make political statements, another editorial entitled, "The Lutheran Church and Subversive Tendencies in America," accused the CIO of harboring communist organizers and condemned communism as "at present the greatest enemy threatening our liberty and security."<sup>65</sup> With a headline, "Reds on the March," the *Lutheran Witness* condemned Soviet aggression in the heavily Lutheran Baltic Republics in 1939. But the *Witness* could then make no comment on the Nazi invasions of Poland and Czechoslovakia that same year. The forced unification of Germany and Austria in March 1938 could be applauded

as a bold stroke of policy restoring a breach made in the Reformation, moreover a move that would weaken the pope's influence in Europe.<sup>66</sup>

Perhaps these Missouri Synod leaders used their Lutheran theology to support or deny particular political opinions. For violating the principle of the Two Kingdoms, they criticized liberals who spoke out against Hitler and advocated war against Germany or political policies of a socialist nature.<sup>67</sup> In other words, they used theological arguments to disallow "political preaching" by those with whom they disagreed. However, without seeming to recognize it, the editors themselves proceeded to make many unavoidably political statements. They apparently did not feel the need to justify their support of Nazi policies, of neutrality in 1939, or their attacks on communism, organized labor, and pacifism. They made these comments on political issues evidently because moral concerns and perhaps even theological issues were involved. They did not seem to understand that opposition to Nazism, as the case of Dietrich Bonhoeffer reminds us, could also have a moral inspiration.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> See the chapter on reactions to Nazism in La Vern J. Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston, 1976), 196-213; Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans* (Boston, 1968), 436-52; Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Germans," in Stephan Thernstrom, ed., *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* (Cambridge, MA, 1980), 422-23; and Sander A. Diamond, *The Nazi Movement in the United States, 1924-1941* (Ithaca, NY, 1974).

I wish to thank Eric Brofford whose paper for a history class at Concordia College provided the idea for this article. Translations from the German are my own.

<sup>2</sup> For a history of the founding of the Missouri Synod see Walter O. Forster, *Zion on the Mississippi: The Settlement of the Saxon Lutherans in Missouri, 1839-1841* (St. Louis, 1953).

<sup>3</sup> Conzen, 423.

<sup>4</sup> *The Walther League Manual* (Chicago, 1935), 21. For a readable if not objective account of Maier's life, see the biography written by his son, Paul L. Maier, *A Man Spoke, A World Listened: The Story of Walter A. Maier* (St. Louis, 1963).

<sup>5</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1932, 946-47.

<sup>6</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, April 1933, 461.

<sup>7</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 14 March 1933, 92.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 8 August 1933, 267-68.

<sup>9</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, July 1933, 692-93.

<sup>10</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, April 1933, 461, and March 1935, 398-99.

<sup>11</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 8 February 1938, 40.

<sup>12</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 6 October 1936, 334-35.

<sup>13</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1935, 947-48.

<sup>14</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, June 1936, 594, and November 1936, 156-57.

<sup>15</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, April 1933, 461, and July 1933, 693.

<sup>16</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 8 August 1933, 267-68.

<sup>17</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 18 April 1933, 137-38, and 16 May 1933, 168.

<sup>18</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, July 1933, 693, and April 1933, 461.

<sup>19</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, October 1934, January 1936, and May 1933, respectively.

<sup>20</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 25 April 1933, 152-53.

<sup>21</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 20 October 1936, 346–47. Robert W. Ross argues that this skepticism was common in the US religious press. See his *So It Was True* (Minneapolis, 1980), 79.

<sup>22</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1944, 786–87.

<sup>23</sup> See Lochner's autobiography, *Always the Unexpected* (New York, 1956), and his book written upon repatriation to the US in 1942, *What About Germany?* (New York, 1942). The author also gained information about Louis Lochner through correspondence with his daughter, Mrs. William Sailer of Washington, DC, and an interview with his nephew, Fred Lochner, of River Forest, Illinois.

<sup>24</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, March 1933, 229, and November 1933, 856.

<sup>25</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1935, 949.

<sup>26</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, May 1933, 522–23, 562–63.

<sup>27</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, July 1933, 662.

<sup>28</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 5 December 1939, 408–9, and 6 October 1942, 331.

<sup>29</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 2 August 1938, 265–66.

<sup>30</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 3 October 1933, 331.

<sup>31</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 8 March 1938, 71–72.

<sup>32</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 12 May 1942, 168.

<sup>33</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, May 1933, 562, and February 1939, 358–59.

<sup>34</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 29 October 1940, 371–72.

<sup>35</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 5 May 1942, 156.

<sup>36</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1933, 948–49.

<sup>37</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1938, 824. There is, however, evidence for the 1960s to suggest that Missouri Synod Lutherans were more likely to hold anti-Semitic attitudes than members of most other denominations. The sociologists Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark found in 1965 that whereas 32 percent of Missouri Synod Lutherans agreed that Jewish troubles were God's punishment for their rejection of Jesus, only 13 percent of ALC or LCA members agreed with such a statement. The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod was topped only by the Southern Baptists in their anti-Semitic index of major denominations (see Glock and Stark, *Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism* [New York, 1966], 64).

<sup>38</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, October 1939, 104.

<sup>39</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, January 1941, 305.

<sup>40</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, September 1940, 709–10.

<sup>41</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, April 1941, 310.

<sup>42</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 16 December 1941, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, June 1942, 471.

<sup>44</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, May 1941, 328.

<sup>45</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1942, 874–75.

<sup>46</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, January 1943, 66–67.

<sup>47</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, August 1933, 630–31.

<sup>48</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, February 1934, 144–45, and February 1938, 146.

<sup>49</sup> *Walther League Messenger*, May 1935, 522; and *Der Lutheraner*, 3 September 1935, 298.

<sup>50</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, June 1933, 465.

<sup>51</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1938, 868–69; and *Concordia Theological Monthly*, October 1939, 707–8.

<sup>52</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, June 1933, 462–63.

<sup>53</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1933, 935.

<sup>54</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1934, 885–86.

<sup>55</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, May 1934, 405.

<sup>56</sup> See Sasse's explanation in *Here We Stand* (Minneapolis, 1938), Theodore Tappert's translation of the German original of 1934 entitled *Was heißt lutherisch?*

<sup>57</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, November 1934, 888.

<sup>58</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, May 1934, 407, and December 1934, 964.

<sup>59</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, February 1935, 147–48, and April 1937, 310.

<sup>60</sup> *Der Lutheraner*, 15 February 1938, 55–56.

<sup>61</sup> Manfred Roensch, ed., *Geschichte der Lutherischen Freikirchen im Dritten Reich, mit Dokumentation* (Hannover, 1987), 13, 58.

<sup>62</sup> Roensch, 16–17.

<sup>63</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 3 November 1936, 373–74. For comments by historians on this issue

see Shelley Baranowski, *The Confessing Church, Conservative Elites, and the Nazi State* (Lewiston, NY, 1986); and the concluding chapter of Richard Gutteridge, *Open Thy Mouth for the Dumb!: The German Evangelical Church and the Jews 1879-1950* (Oxford, 1976).

<sup>64</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1945, 868-69.

<sup>65</sup> *Concordia Theological Monthly*, December 1940, 533-35.

<sup>66</sup> *Lutheran Witness*, 12 December 1939, 425, and 22 March 1938, 93.

<sup>67</sup> For just a sample of such critical commentary, see *Concordia Theological Monthly*, May 1935, 382-83, August 1940, 633, 709-10, and April 1941, 310.



## Book Reviews

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### Review Essay: Belles Lettres 1988

**Verlegte Zeiten: 25 Gedichte angeregt durch das Frankfurter Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte—Archäologisches Museum.**

*By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke. 1988. 108 pages.*

**KPTH: fruchtbar und anmutsvoll.**

*By Lisa Kahn. Berlin: Klaunig. 1988. 64 pages.*

**Ein halber Himmel: Gedichte.**

*By Richard Exner. München: Schneekluth. 1988. 112 pages.*

**Beneath the Cherry Sapling: Legends from Franconia.**

*Ed. and trans. by Norbert Krapf. New York: Fordham Univ. Pr. 1988. 138 pages.*

The status of scholarly research on German-language literature written in America, as well as its critical reception in Germany and the United States, leaves much to be desired. A reluctance on the part of publishing houses in both countries to print new, unknown ethnic writers and the lack of systematic documentation and recognition of German-American literature on the part of Germanists contribute to this unfortunate situation. A notable exception is Alexander Ritter, who provides a brief survey of German ethnic literature outside of Germany.<sup>1</sup> Typically, studies start with an attempt at defining the vague and problematic term "German-American,"<sup>2</sup> then survey prominent themes<sup>3</sup> and discuss the language and style.<sup>4</sup> As Ritter points out, and as the works reviewed here corroborate, there is "a typical minority preference for the short form in German-American literature, above all poetry, rather than the short story, novel, or drama" (347).

The wide variety of topics and styles of German-American writers can be demonstrated by the example of three of the very few such poets who are taken seriously in Germany: Margot Scharpenberg, Lisa Kahn, and Richard Exner. Norbert Krapf, an English-speaking author, is included here as an example of the vital exchange of cultural knowledge and the cross-fertilization of the German-American relationship.<sup>5</sup>

One of the most widely published authors and one who has enhanced her art significantly in the years following her move to the United States is Margot

Scharpenberg. Born and raised in Cologne, she moved to New York with her husband in 1962. A number of her poems are accompanied by drawings, lithographs, or illustrations of churches and museums, and some are embellished by her husband's photographs of American Indian art and Polynesian cliff drawings. Frequent visits to Germany help her overcome the dilemma of living in two different cultures. Since 1957 Scharpenberg has published nineteen collections of poetry and three volumes of prose. All are written in German and published in Germany; only a few translated poems and original English poems are to be found in American publications. In 1968 she received the Georg Mackensen Prize for the best German short story and in 1975 the prestigious Ida Dehmel Prize for her collected poetry.

Her first visit to the United States (1957-58) and her first published book (*Gefährliche Übung*, 1957) coincide. Her short stories (*Ein Todeskandidat und andere Erzählungen*, 1970; *Einladung nach New York*, 1972; *Fröhliche Weihnachten und andere Lebensläufe*, 1974), however, contain more references to the United States than her poems, in which her new homeland is mentioned only occasionally.

Scharpenberg's choice of themes in *Verlegte Zeiten*, objects displayed in the Frankfurt Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, is reminiscent of some of her earlier works, most recently *Moderne Kunst im Bildgespräch: 25 Gedichte zu Kunstwerken aus dem Museum Ludwig in Köln* (1982). In *Fundort Köln* (1979), the volume that most closely resembles *Verlegte Zeiten*, she was inspired by objects in the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne, and she reacted to this visionary world of art with poems that reach archetypal depths. Her poems are not mere descriptions of objects she encounters in museums,<sup>6</sup> but rather she goes beyond the surface by asking questions, opening up thoughts and ideas the statues might have had, bridging the gap between the past and the present. As Scharpenberg has observed, only language can simultaneously express the past, present, and future:

Nur die Sprache verfügt gleichzeitig über Gegenwart, Vergangenheit und Zukunft. Wo der Maler ein neues Bild malen müßte, kann die Sprache mühelos Ereignisse aus einer anderen Zeitdimension inkorporieren. Sie sagt: es war, es wird sein; sie sagt auch: weil, aber; sie stellt Fragen. Bezüge kann sie neu spinnen, und die Musik der Sprache hilft ihr dabei. Die Eigenwerte von Lauten, die schieren Zufälligkeiten von Anklang und Alliteration, Rhythmus oder Reim, alles kann sie nutzen, um ihre Aussage so deutlich wie möglich zu machen.<sup>7</sup>

Rhythm—the musical quality of words—and the element of time are at the center of Scharpenberg's poems. What an art historian's explanation of works of art cannot achieve, namely, revealing a new dynamic relation between past and present, is captured in her verse. The reader looks at the world of sculpture with the poet's eye as well as with the eyes of the people depicted by the artists. Scharpenberg makes the past come alive in the present by re-experiencing a look, a taste, a touch, a feeling of people and things as they were, or might have been.

In her previous works, she often wrote about the Middle Ages and antiquity, as well as about more recent times, in a language that ranges from the hymnic style of the earlier volumes to a more natural, more intimate style in the collection *Moderne Kunst im Bildgespräch*.<sup>8</sup> The reader notes an increased vitality in the new collection. Although the choice of art objects (ranging from classical sculpture to individual objects used in everyday life) remains similar to that of *Fundort Köln*, the new poems introduce the specialized vocabulary of art history and the latest technical terminology ("computerflink," "zum Kopieren,"



“Bauboom der Hauptstadt”), thereby linking the past to our own moment in history. In *Verlegte Zeiten* Scharpenberg directly addresses the statues of the ancient gods, speaking to them and questioning them in an intimate voice. The first poem, “Amor mit Liebesbrief: Darstellung auf einem römischen Ring,” establishes the basic tone:

Als Kreis  
schreibt sich die Liebe  
als Fingerring  
so klein und so eng  
und unendlich  
wie heißt ihr Geheimnis

lies doch  
beflügelt schreibt Liebe

was ihr das Herz  
flüstert  
sie macht keine Sprüche  
sie redet nur an

ihr einzig Eines  
zum paarigen Reigen  
nimmt Liebe beim Wort  
da sie es hinschreibt  
Buchstab um Buchstab

Liebe nennt Liebe  
beim Namen (p. 8)

The factual explanations by Walter Meier-Arendt that follow each poem and picture add another dimension of history and anthropology to the collection. The contrast and tension between poem and documentary report are especially striking in the poem about Romulus and Remus: where the tradition deals only with the power struggle of the two brothers, Scharpenberg’s poem goes beyond the myth by asking about the fate of the she-wolf: “noch gilt Idylle / die Zwillinge trinken Wolfsmilch / ich wüßte gern / was aus der Wölfin geworden?” (p. 36). Through these poems time becomes transparent and all things past are reflected in the present. A number of historical references are combined with allusions to an individual “I” who sees his or her own self in the artifacts of the past. Scharpenberg consistently refuses to recognize borders that might exist between herself and the past. Much more than in her previous works she is the active participant, placing an ancient mask before her face, recoinng, changing, cutting to size, even numbering herself among the metaphors, as she states in the foreword to the collection:

Da spreche ich dem, was sich mir so vertrackt in Weg und Blickfeld drängt, zu nüchterner Erleuchtung seine Geschichte nach. Widersprüche halte ich ihm vor. Ich hole es von seiner hohen Warte herunter, stülpe mir seine Masken über und verwerfe seine alten Häute. Ich lasse mich entlarven und zahle mit gleicher Münze heim. Ich greife ab und präge um. Zeichen lasse ich wandern. Keine Grenze ist mir heilig, schließlich bewege ich mich in meinem eigenen Labyrinth, auch wenn andere es mir vorzeichnen. Auf mich schneide ich es zu.

Noch in den fremdsten Notationen erkenne ich meine Töne und lese den Märchen und Mythen die Grundmuster ab. Ich lerne die Sprache der Tiere. Unter die Metaphern reihe ich mich ein und bin zwischen Gegensatzpaaren Teil von beidem, von Abschied und Wiederkehr, Anruf und Antwort, Sättigung und Hunger. (p. 7)

She receives waves of sensations from the non-verbal art objects and is in turn challenged by that experience to react with her verbal art form. Witty plays on words and humorous overtones, in the poem about the "Kultbild des Apoll," for example, make the reader smile and look at the stone statue of one of the most important gods of antiquity in a new light:

ich selber frage dich nur  
wann wirst du endlich  
von deiner hohen Warte  
heruntersteigen  
und andere Saiten aufzieh

nähmst du die Leier  
statt deines Bogens  
der Widerspruch deiner Geschichten  
ginge in Klang auf  
alle hörten dir  
atemlos zu

komm Apoll  
auch für nichts als Kunst  
möchten die Götter dich krönen (p. 44)

Scharpenberg's imagination and sensitive powers of observation open up a novel perspective of ancient works of art. Almost unnoticed, the perspective shifts. Two examples of innovative word formations and unusual humorous combinations of common idioms illustrate that her language reveals a fresh and lively view of the past. She writes about a bust of Mercury: "du hast weder Hand noch Fuß / vom Kultbild blieb nur / ein gelockter Kopf . . . / ach unter solche / Haube möcht ich kommen" (p. 24). Of two rival sphinxes she says: "hier sind es zwei / sie äugen sich von nah / und können sich nicht riechen / von ihrer Ähnlichkeit / sind beide ganz schockiert" (p. 48).

As the poet reflects upon the objects of art, she is shifting the time from then to now, a process suggested by the title, *Verlegte Zeiten*. Reading a poem and looking at a piece of art in a museum are not two different and isolated acts, but rather two complementary ways of viewing the past.

Another contemporary woman author who lives in the United States and writes German poetry is Lisa Kahn. Born in Berlin, she studied psychology, German, and English at Heidelberg before coming to the United States as a Fulbright student. As a scholar she is painfully aware of the neglect with which German-American authors are faced. As the editor of two anthologies, she attempted to fill a void by familiarizing readers and scholars of German-Americana with the names and works of German-speaking writers who are, for the most part, ignored.<sup>9</sup> She hopes to facilitate discussion among specialists of German literature and motivate other readers to learn more about this diverse group of German-Americans whose names are rarely found in standard works.

In her new collection of fifty-two poems, *KPHTH*, Kahn, like Scharpenberg, combines poems with other works of art, in this case photographs and

reproductions of frescoes and paintings. Both books provide the reader with a striking cover: a sculpture of Mercury in Scharpenberg's, and Zeus in the form of a handsome bull in Kahn's. Whereas Scharpenberg typically takes a sculpture in a museum as a point of departure, Kahn often traces place names in Greek mythology in her effort to provide another perspective for examining mythological beings. The poet seems to become a perpetual traveler between an inner and an outer landscape. At times this poetic cycle becomes a modern travel guide with mythological points of reference, identifying places and myths in the ancient world as well as demonstrating the coexistence of the ancient with the modern. The title reflects the Greek spelling of the ancient name, yet in the second poem Kahn uses the Latin spelling, "Kriti." With the adjectives "fruitful" and "graceful," taken from Homer, the poet describes the Greek island.

Just as any traveler visiting Crete will be swept back into the ancient past and at the same time be exposed to contemporary Mediterranean culture, the poems thrive on these divergent forces. Like Scharpenberg, Kahn addresses the art objects directly in a familiar tone as she questions their past. She asks about a head of a bull in a museum: "Warst wild oder zahm? Trugst den / leichtfüßigen Tänzer und ertrugst / ihn? Oder warfst ihn—eine lästige / Fliege—ab? Warum bist du nach mehr / als dreitausend Jahren mir so vertraut?" (p. 11). Many poems move into the present, criticizing the stream of tourists (often German or American) in Greece and the building boom in the ancient cities; some references are made to Kahn's present American home. In "Matala I," a remembrance of the distant Rocky Mountains suddenly sparks a fear: "plötzlich ein fernes Gebirge heißt / Rocky Mountains / und Furcht steht auf vom Versagen / und die Angst—von Erdteil zu / Erdteil getragen von Geburt zu Tod—" (p. 23). In "Axos II," the shrinking Greek town gives rise to thoughts about a small Texas town: "Ach meine kleine Stadt in / Texas schrumpft auch von / Woche zu Woche wenn eine / Alte stirbt wird bald verwaist / sein bis auf die Wochenendenfarmer / aus den Großstädten / was geschieht dann?" (p. 40). The only poem with an English title, "Rooms to let," praises the historic view from the window of a modest Greek hotel room and asks: "Haben das etwa die Hilton und Hyatt / Hotels zu bieten?" (p. 53).

Another remarkable feature in many poems of this volume is the power with which ordinary inanimate objects—a door, a chair, a window, a wall, a house—command the viewer's eye to look beyond the silhouettes and imagine the people and the secret of their lives:

Welchen Schatz verwahrt der  
 kleegrüne Zaun vorm kleegrünen  
 Bretterverschlag? Wem wehrt  
 er den Zutritt? Wessen Geheimnis  
 wird hier gewahrt?

Niemand zu sehen im Dunkel  
 der Fensteröffnung  
 wie immer Versteckenspiele  
 Mutmaßungen über An- und  
 Abwesenheiten von Menschen  
 und Dingen (p. 50)

Suppositions are made about the woman who contributes to the graceful appearance of the houses, and a Homeric word suggests a connection with the

past: "Falls ja so scheint zumindest die / Hausfrau eine glückliche leichtere / Hand zu haben einen Sinn für Anmut" (p. 46).

The reader's ear—as before the poet's eye—picks up the abundance of questions that each object suggests. The tone of familiarity and relaxed inquiry remains dominant, but there are individual lines, images, and longer passages in some poems that are piercing. Kahn frequently coins new words and finds striking images to refer to the flux of tourists in Crete: "Touristenwald" (p. 10), "Touristen melken" (p. 17), "die Riesenbusse ihre Touristen / ausspeien" (p. 28), "den friedlich einfallenden / Horden" (p. 36). The poet describes a world of vivid colors, lights and darks with visual images suggesting a richness of the island far beyond the historical heritage. In the final poem, "Fata Morgana," for example, we read:

Über Meere geschleudert und Kontinente  
eine grünende Eiche nun streckst du die  
Äste zu mir efeuumwachsen  
lispelst in Blättersprache flötest  
in Herz-moll

warte mein Spechtbewohnter du Zuflucht  
für Eichhorn und Echsen ich nehme das  
nächste Flügelpaar sanft werden wir  
leben ohne leergesprochene Worte  
sanft im Schatten von Grün und Gold (p. 64)

Kahn's lyric cycle unfolds between the words in the subtitle ("fruchtbar und anmutsvoll") and the two color adjectives ("Grün und Gold") at the conclusion of the volume, thus bringing together the two concepts: the green of fertility, and the graceful, flourishing period of Minoan art. The tension within Scharpenberg's collection is reflected in the two words of her title, *Verlegte Zeiten*: a relocating, a shifting of time from the ancient to the modern. In both, the degree of concentration is striking. Neither poet relies on abstract or obscure words for special effects. The reader never loses touch with the contour of people, things and landscapes. While Scharpenberg, the poet-archaeologist, leads the reader on a new path through ancient artifacts in museums, Kahn, the poet-tourguide, leads us through the world of Crete.

Richard Exner, like Lisa Kahn, is a scholar-poet who writes in German but lives in America. Born in 1929 in Niedersachswerfen/Harz, he emigrated in 1950 to the United States where he studied German and comparative literature; since 1964 he has been a professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara. He is well known as a translator of modern German verse into English and vice versa, and for his numerous scholarly publications, most notably on Hofmannsthal.

What is more striking is the fact that he has become a well-established poet in both countries as well. In 1980 he published *Fast ein Gespräch*, his first volume of poetry in twenty-five years. It was reviewed enthusiastically as a work dealing with existential questions in a concentrated language that integrates an intellectual sharpness, playful puns, and human warmth.<sup>10</sup> He received the Alma Johanna Koenig Prize in 1982. In that same year *Mit rauchloser Flamme* was published, followed by *Aus Lettern ein Floß* in 1985. Karl Krolow emphasizes the sensitivity of Exner's language, a sensitivity seldom found in poems written in the Federal Republic: "Feinnervigkeit im Gedicht ist bei uns etwas eher Seltenes. Häufiger anzutreffen ist das Plakative, Grobianische oder auch das

Larmoyante. Richard Exners Klage-ton ist gesammelt, diskret und von Zurückhaltung geprägt " (FAZ, 4 Feb. 1986, p. 29).

The poems of his current collection, *Ein halber Himmel*, continue to reflect this delicate rhythm and grace, yet now only a few poems contain an elegiac undertone. Most combine universal themes—such as the life cycle from birth to death, the experience of love as an attempt to gain permanence, the creation of new life, praise of the creator and nature, and the realization of the transience of our existence—with the poet's responses, ranging from sadness to joy, confidence, and confirmation in faith. The moments of praise and trust outweigh the dark passages, and even death becomes a way back to life:

Werden jene ältesten Geschichten dein Los sein, Benjamin, du Kind der früh und lang Geliebten, wird, wenn du aufblickst, die aus dem Tod geborene Liebe aus dir fließen? Denn heilig ist die Kette vom Ältesten zum Jüngstgeborenen. Heilig ist, daß der Erste, nachdem er den Letzten gesehen hat, dahingeht. ("Sanctus," p. 83)

Exner employs a number of images based on natural elemental forces—water and fire, warmth and cold, earth and air—to capture the essence of the cycle of creation. But rather than concentrating on the symbolic value of the toughness and destructive powers of the elements, he emphasizes the paradoxical quality of these forces as he contemplates the ephemeral nature of life:

daß was stirbt  
noch einmal Fackel wird  
so hell und heiß daß wir  
in diesem Feuer bebend  
den Fluß zu sehen glauben  
an dessen Ufern wir uns  
zum erstenmal  
begegnet sind. ("Letzter Wille," p. 31)

. . . ich spüre auch nichts und rolle mich zusammen und werfe mir mit einer plötzlich vorhandenen zusätzlichen Hand Decken über und wärmenden Schnee und Erde und Laub und höre wie einer nach Sonne schreit nach Scheitern nach Feuer, warst du es bin ich's . . . ("Die Kälte," p. 32-33)

. . . hättet ihr nicht  
schon den Tod auf der Zunge  
schriet ihr VERWEILE DOCH: ja  
ihr flüstert es später ("Credo," p. 79)

There are superb moments in the shorter poems which seem to whisper to the reader in a private inner language, leaving open lines and pauses indicated by ellipsis. When Exner employs his new technique of alternating short-line verse with prose poems he creates his most impressive and memorable works ("Credo," "Sanctus").

The collection is divided into nine sections: "Noch einmal Schöpfung," "Ist das die Erlösung," "Feuer," "Jiskor," "Die offene Stelle," "austräumen," "Kindermesse," "Außer uns vor Hoffnung," and "Bleibender wäre . . .," an organization that reflects a cyclical, "eternal" return to key themes. The first and last poems, which deal with works by Michelangelo, establish a continuity between birth and death. In the former, "Adam," Michelangelo's fresco depicting the Old Testament account of creation serves as a starting point:

einmal

in Rom  
unter der Schöpfung  
unter dem unaufhaltbar jagenden Gott  
hielt ich ganz leicht deine Adern  
dann nahmst du dich fort das Gesicht  
das unter vier Augen geliebte Leben  
bis du's wer weiß wann

einmal

zurückbringst bleibt mir der fegende  
schwarze Windstoß nach innen der Riß  
von Gesicht zu Gesicht unüberbrückbar  
und von unten nicht meßbar (p. 10)

Exner has added a new dimension to his descriptive talent. Interspersed in sections describing portions of the painting are allusions to the "Riß"—on one level cracks in the walls of the Sistine Chapel, but also suggestive of the broad concept of fissure, fracture, split, or opening, which is present at the moment of creation and which is taken up within the collection in various ways. It can refer to the abrupt tearing apart at the time of death:

wie hattest du dir das  
Zerrissenwerden den Ausbruch  
unserer Seelen denn vorgestellt  
diese verspätete Hochzeit von Staub  
Blut Gerippe Gestänge und wir  
ununterscheidbar endlich untrennbar  
und selbst an unseren Ringen  
nicht wiederzuerkennen (p. 24)

or it can refer to any opening or emptiness that needs to be filled:

. . . vielleicht warst du es  
die er mir aus einem  
Halbschlaf herauschnitt  
und durch die offene Stelle  
die jetzt nicht blutet  
fließt eine nach der andern  
keine erkenn ich jede  
reißt neue Trennung aus  
den Rändern alle sind offen ("Geburt," p. 53)

It can also suggest the entrance of the divine power:

was sich uns nicht schließt  
bleibt offen so viele Hände es zuzuhalten  
und Münder es zu umspannen gibt es nicht  
o Gott die offene Stelle

durch die er eintritt und unseren  
Atem anhält jetzt hörst du mit dem

ganzen Körper ständig das hohe Sirren  
("Die Hochzeit und der Tod," p. 57)

The rhythm of the poems reflects an alternating movement between open and closed form, between flowing and halting within the lines, which evokes a sense of dynamic motion.

In the sequence of poems "Kindermesse," connections are made to the liturgical terminology of psalms and hymns ("Introitus," "Benedictus," "Credo," "Sanctus," "Gloria"), thereby re-establishing the importance of God, creation, and faith. A fresh tone seems to be emerging in those poems. The imitation of the halting and flowing rhythm of hymns leads to the expectation of a traditional message, but Exner brilliantly fills the lines with concerns of contemporary life. In earlier poems he alluded to the devastating force of the earthquake in Mexico City ("*argumentum ex amore*"), and now he illustrates the proximity of birth and death by addressing newborn and unborn children in Chernobyl ("Introitus," p. 71).

The mood is sustained through the remainder of the collection, culminating in the title poem, which is significantly placed at the very end. Here, as in the first poem, a widely acclaimed masterpiece by Michelangelo—now the Pietà—concludes the cycle that began with the creation of Adam. The question of the nature of permanence is repeatedly posed. The sculptural unity between the mourning mother and her crucified son, represented by the soft contours and the smooth marble finish, suggests a tender and lasting mother-son relationship. Yet all the metaphors in this poem point to passing, fleeting moments ("Schrei," "Kuß," "Wasser"):

und schlug's mit  
einem Wimperschlag  
ins Herz zurück:

die kleine Ewigkeit  
ein halber Himmel Zugvögel  
der einfällt

Jahr für Jahr (p. 106)

Pain and the loss of love are accepted; but a beauty that transcends worldly loss is recognized, if only with a flash of the eye: "die kleine Ewigkeit / ein halber Himmel Zugvögel." Rebirth follows death, as is suggested by the collection's cyclical structure.

The three poets under discussion demonstrate that contemporary German literature written in the United States deserves appreciation and recognition for its diversity and vitality. The need for more collections of German-American poetry has been frequently addressed. A related aspect, however, the need to make readers aware of the wealth of German literature produced in America, has not been mentioned as frequently. Since language barriers do exist, I suggest a bilingual edition of these three poetry collections. Such an anthology would not only increase the number of people who could appreciate the poems, but would perhaps also spur the interest of publishers in printing these and similar authors.<sup>11</sup>

That there is a growing fascination with the German-American heritage can be illustrated through the example of Norbert Krapf, a member of the English department at the C. W. Post Center of Long Island University since 1970 and an English-language writer of German descent with seven poetry collections to his credit. When he decided in 1973 to visit the Lohr region of Germany, he became

motivated to research his own German background as well as the culture of German settlers who immigrated to his native southern Indiana. A dedicated scholar as well as a poet, he combines these two qualities in his English versions of fifty-two German legends from Franconia, *Beneath the Cherry Sapling*.

What makes this volume especially appealing is the bilingual presentation of the original German and the translation on facing pages; woodcuts depicting folktales appear at the beginning of each of the five major sections. The first of these, "Crime and Punishment," establishes a relationship to the moralistic tone of the tales collected by the Brothers Grimm. The second, "Ghosts, Witches, Devils, Sprites," opens up the world of magic and the supernatural, and the third turns to "Saints, Holy Days, Special Liturgical Days." Some folktales explain how or why something was created in "Tales, Historical and Etiological." The last section, "Treasure Hunts," combines different elements of the first four categories, as a person's wickedness and the ensuing retribution are addressed, in the context of a religious or historical event.

It is not easy to find an authentic and suitable tone for translations of legends, folktales, and fairy tales, but Krapf is in general remarkably successful. As he writes in his preface:

I want my translations to sound as though they were spoken by an American, perhaps of German descent, but I do not want to take liberties. The German versions facing my translations stand as a witness to where these legends came from and as reminder of the ancestral language I have had to learn in order to midwife them into my mother tongue. (p. 16)

One example of this art of midwifery that leads to a new product, while retaining a strong reminder of the original version, can be seen in the legend "Der Pestvogel / The Plague Bird":

Die Sage erzählt nun, daß er einen seltsamen Vogel am Friedhof entdeckte, der dort in der Krone eines Baumes saß, einen Vogel mit weißem Leib und schwarzem Schnabel. Und der Vogel soll gezwitschert haben: "Wiesenpimpernell, schnell, schnell!" (p. 70)

As the story goes, at the edge of the cemetery he discovered, in the top of a tree, a strange bird with a white body and a black beak. And this bird is supposed to have chirped, "Pimpernell, schnell, schnell!" (p. 71).

Krapf decided not to translate every word the bird said, but rather to keep the last words in their original German in order to retain the vigor and urgent rhythmic sound quality of the source. And so he gathered some of the magic of the old folktales and published them in this book, with which he hopes to "rebuild" a new interest in the German-American heritage by nurturing this seed until it "germinates and sprouts," as is indicated in the legend that gives the collection its title:

A cherry sapling sprouts on the wall. After it has grown into a tree, it is cut down and a cradle is built from its wood. Whoever sleeps in this cradle as a Sunday's child will, if he remains pure in heart, during the noon hour free the ghost and release the treasure. He will then be so rich that he can once again rebuild Raueneck and all the castles around. But if the sapling withers or is broken by a storm, the ghost must wait again until a cherrystone, carried by the birds upon the wall, germinates and sprouts. (p. 133)



## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Ritter, "German-American Literature: Critical Comments on the Current State of Ethnic Writing in German and Its Philological Description," in *America and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Pr., 1985), 343-56.

<sup>2</sup> Linus Spuler, *Deutsches Schrifttum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika* (Luzern: Lehranstalten, 1959-60), 17-20; and Robert E. Ward, *Deutsche Lyrik aus Amerika* (New York: Literary Society Foundation, 1969), 3. Lisa Kahn questions the existence of the German-American writer in "American Woman Writers Who Write in German," *MELUS* 5, no. 4 (1978): 66.

<sup>3</sup> For a summary of themes see Ward, 2-4; Erika Metzger, "Deutsche Lyrik in Amerika," *German-American Studies* 9 (1975): 4-7; Kahn, ". . . I Desire That You Remember the Ladies . . . : Contemporary German-American Woman Authors, a Survey," *Schatzkammer* 4 (1978): 54-56; Ritter, 350.

<sup>4</sup> Kahn, ". . . I Desire," 56-60; Ritter, 350.

<sup>5</sup> Don Tolzmann calls him "der bedeutendste Lyriker der Gegenwart" among English-speaking German-American authors, "Amerikabürtige deutschsprachige Autoren der Gegenwart," in *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten*, vol. 1, *Regionale und funktionale Aspekte* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1985): 173.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Karl Ruhrberg's preface to Scharpenberg's *Moderne Kunst im Bildgespräch*, 6-7.

<sup>7</sup> Scharpenberg, *Bildgespräche mit Zillis: 15 Gedichte zu einer romanischen Kirchendecke* (Beuron: Beuronener Kunstverlag, 1974), 67.

<sup>8</sup> Thomas B. Schuhmann, afterword, in Scharpenberg's *Moderne Kunst im Bildgespräch*, 110.

<sup>9</sup> *Reisegepäck Sprache: Deutschschreibende Schriftstellerinnen in den USA 1938-1978* (München: Fink, 1979); *In Her Mother's Tongue: Woman Authors in the U.S. Who Write in German 1938-1983* (Denver: Emerson, 1983).

<sup>10</sup> Immo Schneider, "Zeitgemäß und Zeitlos," *Zeitwende* 53 (1982): 59-60.

<sup>11</sup> Scharpenberg, in her article "Unwissenschaftliche Marginalien zum Übersetzen eigener Gedichte," *Carleton Germanic Papers* 13 (1985): 57-70, offers insights into the art of translating poetry and provides twelve examples of German-to-English translations.

## Reviews

### **Teutonic Visions of Social Perfection for Emerson: Verheißung und Erfüllung: A Documentary History of Peter Kaufmann's Quest for Social Perfection from George Rapp to Ralph Waldo Emerson.**

*Edited by Karl J. R. Arndt. Worcester, MA: The Harmony Society Pr. 1988. 263 pages. \$45.00 (hardback); \$35.00 (paper).*

Peter Kaufmann was some extraordinary individual, who clearly could be described as one of the major figures in early nineteenth-century German-America. He represented the intellectual who was also a man of action, the individual who aimed to put his *Weltanschauung* into social action, and to reform society in accordance therewith. Because he was at the forefront of German-American affairs in the early nineteenth century, it is important that we learn more about him. The book discussed here provides a fascinating account of this type of individual, the intellectual as social reformer and activist, regardless whether or not one agrees with Kaufmann's philosophical orientation. Karl J. R. Arndt, one of the major pioneers in German-American studies who has provided us with basic reference sources for the German-American press as well as other seminal works, has unearthed the autobiography of Kaufmann, which was located in the Houghton Library at Harvard. This work, written in 1857, consisted of a correspondence Kaufmann had with Ralph Waldo Emerson, and

sheds a great deal of light on this interesting figure, and also illuminates a hitherto unexplored aspect of Anglo-German-American relations, the correspondence between two major thinkers from Anglo and German-America.

Many will ask who was Kaufmann, since so little information has been available about him. Born in 1800 in Münster-Mayfeld, he studied at the Gymnasium in Coburg and at the University of Berlin where he was first exposed to Hegelian philosophy. At the age of twenty he arrived in Philadelphia and three years later published his first book there in Latin, and completed ministerial studies, but he was never ordained. His first work of speculative philosophy appeared in Philadelphia in 1823, *Betrachtung über den Menschen*, which was written, according to Robert E. Cazden in his *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (1985), "in the spirit of Christian perfectionism" (130). In 1824 he opened the first Labour-for-Labour Store in Philadelphia, and in accordance with his beliefs in perfectionism, in 1826 joined the Rappists at Economy, Pennsylvania, as a teacher of language. However, a year later he led his own group into Ohio to establish their own colony. This group was known as the Society of the United Germans, and their settlement was known as Teutonia, located in Petersburg, Columbiana County. In 1831 he moved to Canton, Ohio, there to become publisher of a newspaper, *Der Vaterlandsfreund und Westliche Beobachter*. Kaufmann also published a great deal of material through his press in German as well as English, and at that time he had a substantial market in Ohio alone, where by 1840 there were 400,000 Germans. Through his press and his publications Kaufmann became a major voice in the early West—in his thirties he had published books, established a colony, and become a newspaper publisher. Arndt notes of him that he was "prominently active in a strong move to establish a free German-American state in the West, by no means as a satellite to Germany, but as one of the then existing United States in which German culture and language would be preserved as Anglo-American states were preserving language and cultural values brought over from England" (xii). In this context the correspondence with Emerson becomes understandable, the attempt of Kaufmann to communicate with a leading Anglo-American social thinker and to come to terms with the social viewpoints of the two major ethnic elements in the United States.

To facilitate this type of communication and understanding, Kaufmann attempted to make himself understandable to Emerson by writing, in essence, his entire autobiography. References to Kaufmann's publishing activity can be found in Cazden's history of the German-American book trade, and samples of his writings along with biographical information can be found in Loyd D. Easton, *Hegel's First American Followers: The Ohio Hegelians: John B. Stallo, Peter Kaufmann, Moncure Conway, and August Willich, With Key Writings* (1966). Also, it should be noted that his papers at the Ohio Historical Society fill seventeen boxes.

On the basis of Arndt's edition together with the other sources available, a full-length biography would now be possible. Arndt's edition of the Kaufmann autobiography is done in a bilingual format in accordance with Arndt's views that the German text should be provided, rather than only the English translation. He has also added a most useful index to names, places and subjects. By means of this, I located, for example, Kaufmann's visit to Cincinnati in 1842 when he met with the editor of the *Volksblatt*, Heinrich Roedter, who attempted to convince Kaufmann to run for governor of Ohio. Considering the size of the German element in Ohio (40% in 1980), he would have had more than an outside chance.

Especially interesting is Kaufmann's description of the first national conven-

tion of German-Americans, which was held in Pittsburgh in 1837 and brought all the German-American newspapermen and community leaders together. According to Kaufmann, they discussed three items: first, nativism against the immigrants; second, measures to protect the immigrant against being "defrauded at European and American ports" (177); and third, the establishment of a German-English teacher's seminary. This convention itself is in need of in-depth study. Kaufmann's work also illuminates German-American political influence in the early nineteenth century. He not only participated as a Democratic delegate at a national presidential convention, but also placed resolutions in motion at one such convention against nativism.

Arndt's edition of Kaufmann's autobiography is of value not only for what it tells us about Kaufmann, but also about early nineteenth-century German-America and the attempts of one of its leading social thinkers to come to terms with and communicate on equal grounds with Anglo-America via his correspondence with Emerson. Once again we are indebted to the skillful work of Karl J. R. Arndt.

*University of Cincinnati*

*Don Heinrich Tolzmann*

### **Letters from a German Family: The Bornemann Correspondence in Historical Context.**

*By Alfred H. Bornemann. Croton, NY: Little Flame Press. 1988. vii + 189 pages. Index.*

*Letters from a German Family* is more than just a family history. This collection of nearly two hundred letters written by Alfred Bornemann's relatives in Germany between 1904 and 1986 gives form and immediacy to twentieth-century German history. The early correspondence was addressed to Bornemann's father, Ernest, a typesetter who left Göttingen at the age of twenty to avoid compulsory military service and settled in New York. The author himself received the later letters.

Bornemann has divided the letters into six major periods, each series preceded by an introductory chapter giving an outline of social, political, and economic developments in Germany and the United States. Drawing from his background in business accounting, and later as professor of economics and business, he occasionally includes autobiographical material in his introductions which has little bearing on the letters. In general, however, the surveys are useful supplements to the correspondence.

The first series (1905-14) begins with a letter showing that emigration did not always meet with family approval: "Just what do you think you're accomplishing with all your crazy doings? Had you stayed here you'd have saved a nice little amount by now. . . . And what good are you to your parents . . ." (29-30). Letters written during World War I, including a dozen letters sent by a brother interned in a POW camp, are surprisingly optimistic compared to those in later periods.

"I received your nice package today. . . . We only know about fats by hearsay . . . I lost more than 66 pounds . . . during the war" (71). Letters between 1919 and 1929 emphasize how vital relief packages and money remittances were in the years of severe food shortages, inflation, and unemployment. The phrase "Thanks for your nice package," occasionally followed by lists of current prices for food and clothing, runs like a leit motif throughout most of the book.

"I've been noticing rather obvious indications that my mail is . . . under

surveillance" (107). Once the National Socialists took power in 1933, political matters were scarcely mentioned at all. The reader sees a microcosm of German society in the letters from 1930 to 1941. Ernest's brother spent nearly two years in concentration camps for his activities in a resistance movement: ". . . we still don't know anything further . . . except that he's still living" (109). Yet his sister, who consistently supported the existing order, wrote: "If you heard the Führer's New Year's message, just have faith in what he says. All Germany is inspired by the truth of his words" (113).

The growing pains of the postwar era are revealed in the 1946-65 correspondence. In 1947, Ernest's sister wrote in her caustic way: ". . . we're not satisfied with the way things are now either, and you don't develop any democrats through hunger" (138). By the 1950s, economic concerns had largely disappeared. "We're content with our lot" (155), wrote a brother in 1955. The Cold War and the Atomic Age provided new subject matter: "Korea is probably a dress rehearsal for Russia" (151). "We're having nothing but rain here. People mostly think the bad weather has something to do with the testing of atomic bombs" (156).

Curiously enough, one of the last letters in the final series (1976-86) is from the second member of the family to emigrate—Peter Bornemann, born in 1944. Peter's concern for the environment prompted him and his family to start a new life in a forested region of Sweden: He asks in a 1983 letter, "Do we really want our children to grow up in cemented yards? Do we really want to have our contacts with nature restricted to 4 vacation weeks a year? Do we have the possibility to change anything?" (175).

This is indeed a thought-provoking collection of letters.

Mansfield, OH

Carolyn Toth

### **Witness to History: A Refugee from the Third Reich Remembers.**

By Joachim von Elbe. Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies. 1988. xii + 388 pages. Index.

The autobiography of Joachim von Elbe, currently an American-nominated justice at the Supreme Restitution Court in Munich, is now available in an English translation, with some interesting pictures added (but, alas, still without a full portrait of the author). This masterful book is of particular use for everyone interested in German-Americana. It relates skillfully and from a unique perspective the story of a member of the last wave of German immigrants to America, the refugees from Hitler Germany. The course of the author's life is atypical, exemplary, and fascinating—"from a Prussian civil servant and 'non-Aryan' in the Third Reich to a law student at Yale Law School, and a member of the armed forces of the United States and an officer in the service of American authorities in post-war Germany" (372).

Von Elbe's prose is vivid and pleasant to read. Although this is an eminently scholarly book, some of the earlier chapters have a fine, almost novel-like quality: his youth in Wied, his administrative clerkships in East Prussia and Danzig, and his life in Berlin during the twilight of the Weimar Republic are good examples. His vignettes of Paris in the twenties and of Franz von Papen's Marburg speech are splendid.

Because of his Jewish grandmother (a niece of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy), von Elbe was labelled a "Mongrel of the Second Degree" by the Nuremberg Race Laws. His gradual realization of his position, his decision to leave Germany

and to go to the United States, and his transformation into an American citizen and soldier sent to Germany are brilliantly narrated. Von Elbe's sharp perception, his return to Germany after the war, and his inside views as a leading member of the Office of Military Government for Germany and other American institutions in Germany render his account a very important addition to those we already have. He is particularly adept when he fuses personal experience with scholarly evaluation, a feature so typical of historical passages in good autobiographies.

Joachim von Elbe shows true patriotism for both his native and adopted countries. Throughout the book, he fondly reminisces about the bygone world of the prewar Germany of his youth, remembering its truly good aspects. As a newly naturalized American citizen, von Elbe wrote:

I never thought of trying to ingratiate myself with my new countrymen by condemning Germany and the German people as a whole. I noticed that Americans fully understood that being an exile did not mean that one had to forsake one's cultural heritage from the "old country" for good. . . . I endeavored to make people understand . . . that there was another, a decent Germany, in fact the only Germany I knew. (242-43)

From his vantage point of moral and personal integrity, von Elbe is able—and entitled—to make some objective and critical observations as well, which are rarely made by those who stayed. This includes passages on Woodrow Wilson and the Versailles Treaty, the French Ruhr occupation, and the Polish policy on the Free City of Danzig, which he personally studied after 1930.

Though tempted to become a historian—as is still evident today—von Elbe became a lawyer. The resulting legal perspective in his descriptions and analyses renders the book of particular interest to lawyers and law students. Joachim von Elbe is deservedly an honorary member of the German-American Lawyers Association; his excellent comparison of law school and law in Germany and America is certainly one of the best we have, and one which still holds true today.

This book is the revised and updated English version, translated by the author himself, of a German original (*Unter Preußenadler und Sternenbanner—Ein Leben für Deutschland und Amerika*, München: C. Bertelsmann, 1983).

The Max Kade Institute deserves high commendation for making this work available to the large English readership, particularly because this is an important book for historians and lawyers as well as a wonderful and substantial addition to the literature of German-Americana.

Philipps-Universität Marburg

Wolfgang Drechsler

### **Die Deutschen in Kanada: Eine Volksgruppe im Wandel.**

By Hartmut Froeschle. *Eckart-Schriften*, no. 101. Wien: Österreichische Landsmannschaft. 1987. 123 pages.

Froeschle's history of the German-Canadians is "der erste Versuch einer bündigen Gesamtdarstellung der Deutschen in Kanada" (3). It is intended for a general audience and therefore does not include notes, but does contain a selected list of basic works. It appears in a series well known for concise treatments of Germans in Belgium, Chile, Argentina, Russia, and elsewhere. In nine chapters Froeschle provides a compendium of German-Canadian history

with essential dates, facts, and events. As such, it offers the best introduction in the German language to German-Canada available today.

In the first chapter Froeschle surveys the land and people of Canada, which has a population of twenty-five million and where Germans constitute the third-largest ethnic group after the British and the French; German-Canadians number 1.8 million. However, the only groups with special status are the French and the Eskimos, whereas other groups enjoy a semi-official status as a result of the governmental policy of multiculturalism, announced in 1971 by Prime Minister Trudeau.

The presence of the first German in Canada can be documented when Hans Bernath settled near Quebec in 1664. Group immigration began, however, in 1750 with the arrival of about three hundred immigrants on the ship "Ann" at Halifax. Thereafter many settlements arose as immigration increased from the United States and from Europe. Herein one sees the interrelationships with German-American and German Studies. For example, German-American soldiers from Maryland and Pennsylvania came to Canada during the Seven Years' War, and, as a result of the American Revolution, forty-five thousand German-American Loyalists, mostly from New York, moved to Canada. Froeschle also traces the fascinating Pennsylvania-German immigration which began in 1786. The European immigration commences after the Napoleonic era, or ca. 1820. Of special interest are the many groups which came to Canada from outside of Germany. For example, in the years directly before World War I the German immigration was as follows: 45% from Russia, 25% from southeastern Europe, 20% from the United States, and the remaining 15% from Germany. Another fascinating group are the one thousand Sudeten German Social Democrats who came to British Columbia and North Saskatchewan in 1939.

Two of the lengthiest chapters are devoted to the "Entwicklung des deutschen Gruppenseins in Kanada" and to "Beiträge und Leistungen." In the former Froeschle discusses religious institutions, secular organizations, schools, the press, and other media. This survey displays the many opportunities available for research. For example, the German-language press in Canada commences in 1788-1801 when Anton Heinrich began his *Neuschottländischer Kalender*. In the chapter on contributions Froeschle reviews German-Canadian involvement in the following areas: agriculture, business, industry, the trades, science, research, politics, public affairs, the armed forces, art and architecture, and music, and concludes with a discussion of "Volkskultur—Brauchtum." Here he notes a phenomenon similar to that of German-Americans: "Wollen die Deutschkanadier spezifisch deutsche Volkskunst vorführen, so greifen sie fast durchweg auf bayrische Vorlagen zurück" (110).

Froeschle concludes with a critical analysis of the present German-Canadian situation by referring to two frequently cited images. An image used with regard to German-Canada is that of a river whose water disappears into the earth, while the image used with regard to her ethnic leaders has been Sisyphus, the classical symbol of futility. On the one hand, Froeschle notes that German-Canadian scholars take pride in German-Canadian contributions, but are disturbed by the fact that "die Öffentlichkeit von diesem positiven Beitrag nichts weiß" (114).

Two other negative factors also come into play in Froeschle's view. First, there is a lack of support by the German-Canadian elite for German-Canadian affairs. This is complicated by the lack of support also from the Federal Republic of Germany. Second, Froeschle refers to the "pausenlosen Bombardement durch antideutsche Filme aus Hollywoods Haßfabriken" (116), as well as from other media. For the German-Canadian community to effectively counter the

latter, the support of the former is necessary. These conditions have meant that "mancher deutschkanadische Idealist resignierte."

Froeschle frankly discusses what he sees for the future on the basis of the present situation. On the one hand, he sees continued assimilation and a decline in the numbers of speakers of German. On the other hand, he sees a growing interest in German heritage and history, the establishment of German-Canadian national organizations, such as the German-Canadian Congress, which are led by a new bilingual leadership generation. He thus foresees for the German-Canadians as "Angehörige zweier Welten" many hopeful signs, especially within the framework of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism. The task of those concerned with the German heritage in Canada and those in the field of German-Canadian studies, therefore, bears many similarities to those in the United States, as well as in Latin America, who are concerned with the German heritage.

This excellent introductory survey of German-Canadian history is of interest not only to German-Canadians, but also to all in the Americas who are interested in the German heritage in the New World. In conclusion, it should be noted that there are few scholars who have made substantial contributions in both the North and Latin American branches of German heritage studies in the Americas, but Froeschle is definitely one who has. His name is well known in the United States, and in Latin America he is known for *Die Deutschen in Lateinamerika: Schicksal und Leistung* (1979), which is the point of departure for any work dealing with the Germans in seventeen different states and regions in Latin America. His central contribution, of course, has been in Canada, and if anyone deserves the title of "Father of German-Canadian Studies," it is Froeschle, who edited the *Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch* from 1973 to 1983, the quarterly *Canadiana Germanica* since 1977, and the series *Deutschkanadische Schriften* since 1977. He has been a co-founder of the following organizations: The Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, the German-Canadian Historical Association, the Friedrich Schiller Foundation, and the German-Canadian Congress. His work, as can be seen, has relevance for the study and research of the German elements from North to South in the Americas, and his recent German-Canadian history can be viewed as another in a long line of solid contributions.

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Don Heinrich Tolzmann

**Germans to America: Lists of Passengers Arriving at U.S. Ports, 1850-1855.** Edited by Ira A. Glazier and P. William Filby. 10 vols. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources. 1988-90. \$750.00.

*Germans to America* provides researchers, both the professional and non-professional, "with an extensive database of German immigrants who came to the United States from 1850 through 1855" (ix). The data in this set are derived from the actual ship schedules now held by the Temple-Balch Center for Immigration Research in Philadelphia. When completed in ten volumes, this set will provide access to information on 700,000 German immigrants who came to the United States in the first five years of the 1850s.

This massive wave of immigration has remained heretofore unindexed and, therefore, unlocatable to the researcher unless one knows the exact ship on which the immigrant in question came to America together with the exact date of arrival. There has long since been a need for a list arranged by ship with an index

to access information on the immigrants. Essentially what we have here is a biographical index to roughly 10 percent of the entire German immigration to America.

Entries on individuals list the following kinds of information: ship name, port of departure, port of arrival, date of arrival, and complete list of passengers. Passengers are identified by full name, age, sex, occupation, destination, and, when this information is available, country, province, or town of origin.

One of the most useful features is the name index at the end of each volume. The index allows one to search for specific persons by name, without having to know what ship they took to America, or the exact date of arrival at a certain port. Since arrival information in many cases is not known, this facilitates research considerably. The information available is useful for those who are interested in German immigration in the 1850s. Indeed, the editors began the series with 1850 "because that year begins a period when immigration to the United States was swelling, touched off by the departure of political refugees, liberals, intellectuals and by stories about a better life sent back by those who had emigrated previously" (xii). Anyone interested specifically in the forty-eighters, therefore, will find this useful as a biographical source. It is also apparent that a wide variety of statistical studies could be done with listing, which could focus on demographic factors, as well as place of origin and destination in the United States. The value for family history research is obvious.

For example, if one were searching for information on a *Julius Seifferth* and one only knew that he came in the early 1850s, one could verify the following about him: He arrived in New York on 23 April 1850 on the ship *Sophie* from Bremen. He was from Saxony, age twenty-five, and had the occupation of a shoemaker.

The editors of this encyclopedic work are well known in the area of immigration history and genealogy. Ira A. Glazier is director of the Temple-Balch Center for Immigration Research. He is also coeditor of *The Famine Immigrants: Lists of Irish Immigrants Arriving at the Port of New York, 1846-51*. P. William Filby is a fellow of the National Society of Genealogists and the Society of Genealogists, London. He has edited many reference sources relating to ship passenger lists, including *Passenger and Immigration Lists Index*. Another extremely useful work of his also appeared in 1988, *Directory of American Libraries with Genealogy or Local History Collections* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources). This source itself is quite useful for those involved in German-American studies in locating the holdings of local history collections pertaining to the German element.

*Germans to America* will be a ten-volume set upon completion; as of the writing of this review (March 1989) five volumes have already been completed, with the remaining five due by late 1989 and early 1990. There is no question that this is a monumental work, and one which will become a standard and basic reference and research source for all those interested in mid-nineteenth-century German immigration to America.

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Don Heinrich Tolzmann



**Briefe aus Amerika: Deutsche Auswanderer schreiben aus der Neuen Welt 1830-1930.**

*Edited by Wolfgang Helbich, Walter D. Kamphoefner, and Ulrike Sommer. München: Beck. 1988. 597 pages.*

This informative and well-researched book begins with a detailed three-part introduction, the first part of which provides the reader with a solid background in the historical context of both emigration from Germany and immigration to the United States. It describes the typical life many emigrants left behind as well as the conditions which awaited them in the New World. For example, graphs compare the rate of emigration to income level in Germany, as well as to economic conditions in the United States. In a section entitled "Nativismus und Politik," the authors compare the concentration of immigrants in American cities in 1870 (34%) to the proportion of foreigners living in Kreuzberg (West Berlin) in 1985 (28%). Statistics such as these put problems associated with ethnicity and assimilation in the United States into a perspective that is comprehensible to present-day West Germans, whose country has now itself become an *Einwanderungsland*.

The second part of the introduction deals with the value of immigrant letters as sources of information. The authors maintain that it is necessary to know as much as possible about the letter writer in order to determine the informational value of a letter or series of letters. For that reason, in the body of the book, biographical sketches of the writers introduce the series of letters and put them and their writers into historical perspective. This part of the introduction also explains to what extent the writers of the series of letters chosen for the book are representative of German immigrants of their day in regard to age, gender, family status, education, religion, place of origin, occupation, and area of settlement in the United States.

The last section of the introduction lists and describes major sources from both sides of the Atlantic which were used to research the letter writers and also explains the transcriptions of the letters which appear in the book. Portions of many letters have been left out, but fortunately, the authors indicate the length of each omission (in lines) and give a short description of the topics discussed therein. Here it should be noted that the maps of Germany (1871) and the United States on the inside covers of the book, as well as the lists of abbreviations and of measures, weights, and coins, make the book's fascinating material more accessible to lay readers on both sides of the Atlantic, thus fulfilling one of the goals set forth in the foreword to the book.

The letters themselves are, of course, the focal point of the book. Twenty series of letters written by immigrants are included. Even if not printed, all existing letters written by the individual or family are mentioned. The letters span anywhere from three to fifty-one years of the immigrants' life in the New World. If the book has a weak point, it is the division of letters into three chapters, according to the occupation of the letter writer: "Farmer," "Arbeiter," and "Dienstbotinnen." The decision about which category applies to the letter writer often seems to have been made arbitrarily. However, there is one positive aspect to this division: excellent introductions precede each section and provide valuable information about the respective occupations.

The book should make captivating reading for scholars and lay people alike. Because of the extensive research, and the resulting thorough introductory material and documentation, the book succeeds in its presentation of letters as

socio-historical documents and represents a major addition to the literature in the field of new social history.

Northern Kentucky University

Nancy K. Jentsch

**From Geilenkirchen to Acadia Parish: A History of the Germans of Roberts Cove, 1880-1987.**

By Reinhard Kondert; Genealogical Materials by Fr. Charles Zaunbrecher; Foreword by Fr. Keith L. Vincent. Lafayette, LA: The Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana. 1988. 146 pages.

When working in the area of German-Americana, one often tends to concentrate on Pennsylvania and the Middle West. This is understandable because of the extensive German settlements in these areas. Yet, one should also be cognizant of the many other German settlements founded essentially in the nineteenth and even twentieth centuries which reach from Egg Harbor, New Jersey to California. Areas which have often been neglected in studying the Germans in the New World have been New England and the South of the United States (with the possible exception of the German enclaves in Texas).

This recent study of a German settlement in southwestern Louisiana offers a refreshing new direction in research and one can only hope that scholars will continue to pursue materials in all regions of the United States. Kondert's book may well serve as a guide for those interested in working on the history of German settlements in all areas of the New World from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

The author traces the evolution of a German colony in southwestern Louisiana from its roots in Geilenkirchen and environs (northwest of Aachen) to the arrival in New Orleans and the final settlement in Roberts Cove, close to Rayne, Louisiana.

Kondert's monograph assesses the development of this settlement from its founding, approximately one hundred years ago, to the present. In five chapters he deals with the reasons for emigration, the development of economic and religious security, the evolution of the colony, the anti-German sentiment during World War I and its effect upon Germans in Louisiana, and the revival of ethnic consciousness today.

One might want to question several of the historical assumptions in this study, especially the views regarding the founding of the modern German nation under Bismarck and the phase of the *Kulturkampf*; Roberts Cove is essentially a Roman Catholic enclave. However, these views in the monograph in no way detract from the value of the work.

Although noted, perhaps more research should have been presented on the influence of the church and the school upon the colony with particular reference to the past and present status of the German language of the area. One particular disturbance is the constant use of the word "Germanic" which, to be sure, includes all countries speaking a Germanic tongue, Scandinavia, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, England, South Africa, etc. It may have been more prudent to employ the word "German."

Of outstanding value in this monograph is its augmentation through many photos of settlers and the extensive genealogy of most of the original families. One may only thank the author for such a definitive work which may well serve

as a guide for other scholars to pursue similar studies in their respective geographical areas.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

**Die wunderbare Neue Welt: German Books about America in the John Carter Brown Library, 1493 to 1840: Pilot Edition Covering the Years 1493 to 1618.** By Ilse E. Kramer. Providence, RI: The John Carter Brown Library. 1988. 229 pages.

The John Carter Brown Library is well known for its holdings of early German books relating to the history of the Americas. Indeed, Philip Motley Palmer in his *German Works on America, 1492-1800* (1952) noted that he had surveyed the holdings of twenty-one major libraries throughout the world and found that the largest number of books written in German in the pre-1800 period were to be found in the JCB Library. Unfortunately, in the past there was no catalog available for scholars around the world to access this valuable collection. The idea of preparing a list of the German Americana there goes back to 1970 when Duncan Smith began to compile a card index of this material for his own research, as well as that of others. His colleague and longtime SGAS member, Albert Schmitt, was equally convinced that the German Americana at the JCB Library should be compiled and published as a catalog, and it was mainly a result of his urging that the German Americana project was undertaken. The project itself was led by Ilse E. Kramer, chief of cataloguing at the JCB Library, who defined the goals and established the principles of the work, and undertook the major part of the individual book descriptions.

*Die wunderbare Neue Welt* represents a "pilot edition" in a limited edition of two hundred copies and, of course, is but a small part of the JCB Library's collection of German Americana. According to the preface, it was published for two reasons: first, to demonstrate to the donors the work which had been accomplished thus far (a number of contributions were necessary since such projects require outside funding); second, to invite "comments and constructive criticism that may enable us to perfect the work before its appearance in print complete to the year 1840." This special "pilot edition" was, therefore, intended for "knowledgeable scholars, including historians, bibliographers, librarians, and antiquarian book dealers" (vii).

The catalog defines German Americana as "touching on every contact between the German-speaking peoples and the New World as a whole, from the earliest days of exploration" (xi). German Americana in its unhyphenated form usually refers to exactly this, whereas German-Americana as a hyphenated term refers specifically to works dealing with the German element in the Americas. This point is well to keep in mind, since the former is more broadly defined, whereas the latter is quite focused (the reviewer has discussed this definition in more detail in his review of *Americana Germanica 1700-1800: Bibliographie deutscher Amerikaliteratur* [1976], by Horst Dippel, in *Lessing Yearbook* 12 [1980]: 264-66).

The pilot edition is the first fascicle in the projected multi-volume catalog and represents approximately one-fourth of JCB's German Americana (ca. 1,500 entries dating 1619-1840). Somewhat more than one-third of the works listed are in German. The catalog lists works by German authors in any language and works by non-German authors which were published in the German language. Also a small number of works by non-German authors in languages other than German, which were published in the German states were included. Places of

imprint "extend to Austria, Switzerland, and Poland; the Netherlands, Iceland, and the Scandinavian countries are excluded" (xv).

Delving into this catalog is to enter a veritable treasure-trove of materials. And it should be noted that with regard to the entries Kramer strove for a compromise between a short-title list and the detailed cataloging cards found in the library, but in general conformed to the rules utilized in US libraries (AACR2). Each entry contains a helpful annotation. For example, the first entry, a calendar for 1475-1513, Joannes Regiomontanus, *Kalendarium* (1474), notes that Columbus carried this edition with him on his fourth voyage to America. The first few pages contain exemplary descriptions of works in Latin and German by Christopher Columbus, Sebastian Brant, and others, while others contain woodcuts designed by Albrecht Dürer's teacher, Michael Wolgemut.

Especially valuable are the three indexes in the catalog. The first is for authors, titles, and subjects. The author and title indexing are of course useful, but the subject indexing reflects careful examination of the works and makes accessible these valuable and rare materials. Among the subjects listed are: Africa, Argentina, Astrology, Astronomy, Brazil, Cannibalism, Cosmography, Crusades, Germany, Gold, Greenland, Indians, etc. The value of this index for those doing research on the image of any aspect of America in German literature is readily apparent. A second index is "An Alphabetical Index of Printers and Their Geographic Location," which is of use to those researching the imprint of a particular press. The third index is "A Geographical Index of Printers and Booksellers and Their Publications." This is arranged by city so that one can, for example, locate Straßburg and beneath the name of this city find all the printers and booksellers and their publications.

Kramer's catalog represents without question a major bibliographical contribution to the study and research of early German Americana, about which Harold Jantz wrote for the *Arndt Festschrift* (1977) that this period "has never been thoroughly investigated" (75). This catalog opens the door to this material and is a step in the direction of further discoveries in the area of early German Americana.

University of Cincinnati

Don Heinrich Tolzmann

### **The Process of Immigration in German-American Literature from 1850 to 1900.**

By Barbara Lang. *American Studies*, vol. 64. München: Fink. 1988. 249 pages.

In her introduction, Barbara Lang announces her intention to analyze German-American fiction in order to present us with new insights into (1) the writers' self-perception and ethnic self-definition, (2) the changes in their ethnic self-definition, and (3) the economic, social, and psychological experiences of German-speaking immigrants in their new environment. To accomplish this task, she investigates over one hundred primary works, mostly in German, by more than sixty authors. Her study comprises three major sections, an extensive bibliography, and an index to the names of the writers treated in the study. The bibliography lists primary sources, secondary sources, bibliographies and reference material, and magazines and newspapers.

Focusing on the historical context and circumstances behind the creation of these fictional works, Lang eschews considerations of literary merit. In addition to an informative discussion of hermeneutic problems, the first section ("Conceptual Framework") of her book surveys the state of research on German-American prose fiction and attempts to resolve the problem of defining the term

"German-American literature." In the main, Lang's arguments regarding the various definitions of "German-American literature" buttress her decision to divide the literary products discussed here into two classes, those in German and those in English. Sound evidence to support this approach is given in the second section ("Typology of the German-American Emigration Novel"). However, Lang's criticism of definitions of "German-American literature" by distinguished literary historians such as Jockers and Tolzmann does nothing to resolve the question of quantification.

We can certainly agree the author's decision to consider, for her purposes, the works of German-speaking immigrants in German and English, or, for that matter, in any language. But literary critics may choose their analyses for other purposes. The use of language is but one of their tools. In accomplishing their purposes, they are best left to their own devices.

Lang convincingly demonstrates that German-American fiction evolved in several stages between 1850 and 1900, rapidly moving from discord to harmony. Discernible is a substantial shift from preservationist to assimilationist themes by the 1870s.

In tracing the stream of works that reflect on the desire to preserve the cultural and social values of the German homeland, Lang calls our attention to the writings of Hermann Bokum, an author who has received only scant treatment by researchers. Whereas the German-American prose-fiction tradition is seen as beginning in 1850 with the publication of the anonymous novella *Die Geheimnisse von Philadelphia*, Lang finds that Bokum's earlier novel, *Never Despair: A Tale of Emigrants Founded on Fact* (1837), presents preservationist attitudes from the perspective of an alien, a theme that would predominate in the 1850s. His later works reflect the transition to assimilation characteristic of German-American prose writings after the Civil War. Lang's discovery of Bokum challenges future researchers to assay potential influences of his works on his contemporaries.

Her careful study suggests several other avenues for future investigators, e.g., the potential effect of the anonymous work *Mysteries of Philadelphia, or Scenes of Real Life in the Quaker City containing an Accurate History of this Great Moral World* (1844) on the anonymous novella *Die Geheimnisse von Philadelphia* (1850), and a comprehensive study of the early urban mystery novels by J. Frost (1836), Eugène Sue (1843) and others.

The impact of dislocation, of adjustment to different modes and manners of life, and of alienation represents a major theme in the works falling into the first period considered in this study. Lang finds further that during the 1860s the writers retreated from considerations of their ethnic group's political future in order to focus on the desirability of urban and rural German-American communities. Themes centering on German-American historical figures abound.

After the Civil War, the shift from preservationist to assimilationist themes is most striking, especially in the works of the forty-eighters. Turning their attention from specific political goals of Germans in Europe and the United States, they identify with the cause of the Union and socio-political issues involving the general American population. In the 1870s the writers turn from the call to preserve ethnicity to representations of the process of acculturation and the "subtle changes of perspective and values . . ." (221). During the same period, this "change of focus," she states, "was accompanied by a growing trend to use the English language, and to a growing extent, a general American rather than an ethnic audience was addressed." (221)

By the 1890s, German-American authors become less concerned with immigration and German ethnicity in America, preferring to treat social and political

issues common to Americans in general. She finds that the latter themes are generally developed in English-language works whereas the former remain subjects of historical novels in German.

Lang explains that authors chose to write their historical novels in German until the turn of the century because their purpose was to encourage the preservation of the cultural heritage of previous German-American generations and to instruct the present one on politically and socially effective behavior that might ensure the preservation of their ethnicity. She concludes that the historical novel was used as a vehicle of ethnic self-definition and unity more often than any of the other fictional forms.

In addition to the emigration novel, historical novel, and the urban mystery novel, Lang gives in-depth analyses of the novels of assimilation, social utopia, and social criticism. Works by Max Arlberg, Heinrich Börnstein, Karl Adolf Douai, Emil Klauprecht, Rudolf Leonhart, Nathan Mayer, Rudolf Puchner, Kathinka Sutro-Schücking, Georg Willrich, and Willibald Winkler also receive comprehensive treatment.

Aside from George F. Condoyannis's dissertation on German-American prose fiction (1953), Lang's study is the only work to consider a wide scope of German-American novelists. It is laden with observations and conclusions that open several new avenues of research. A second edition should eliminate the many typos and several occurrences of incorrect punctuation.

*The Process of Immigration in German-American Literature from 1850 to 1900* belongs on the bookshelf of every serious investigator of German-American literature.

Baldwin-Wallace College

Robert E. Ward

### **Frankfurt on the Hudson: The German-Jewish Community of Washington Heights, 1933-1983: Its Structure and Culture.**

*By Steven M. Lowenstein. Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Pr. 1989.*

Many studies of the exodus occasioned by Nazi rule in Germany focus either on prominent individuals or on the intellectual elite. The value of Steven Lowenstein's work is that he looks at a cross-section of "ordinary" people, German Jews from rural, traditional backgrounds who did not fit the stereotype of the highly assimilated, wealthy, elite Jew more closely tied to German culture than to Jewish tradition.

In adapting to America, these German-Jewish immigrants were hampered by a double adjustment. Having only recently adjusted to German culture, they now found themselves faced with the task of accommodating to American lifestyles. Moreover, the traits that helped them adjust to Germany oftentimes hampered their adjustment to America. In addition, they quickly realized that they were a minority within the predominantly Eastern European Jewish culture of the United States (19).

Lowenstein's basic thesis of the complexity of the acculturation process is hardly original. The strength of his work, however, lies in his exploration of the interplay between culture and identity, an interaction which began with the reason for migration. Unlike most immigrant groups, who came voluntarily for economic reasons, the German Jews fled to America to escape persecution (23). Their initial problems stemmed from the fact that they had adopted a great deal of German culture; they viewed themselves as German by nationality and Jewish by faith. German Jews thus found it difficult to conceive of a secular

Jewish culture (35). As a result, their image of what was "Jewish" contrasted with the dominant Eastern European Jewish culture of America. Furthermore, the German Jews retained a nostalgia for the good life they had led in pre-Hitlerian Germany, yet realized that they could never go back nor reconcile themselves to the society of which they had once been a part. In essence, they were unsure of how to handle their Germanness in a world where the Germans were their enemies (38).

Moreover, German Jews, desperate to prove their loyalty to America, rejected most things German, but clung to the German language and cultural values (52-54, 186-88). This seeming contradiction contributed to an isolation from the dominant Jewish culture in America. Native American Jews could not understand why the German-Jews clung to their "Germanness" and indeed doubted whether they were Jewish at all (35, 130, 199). For their part, German-Jews felt isolated from the American Jewish community because of language difficulties and unfamiliar customs. As a consequence of their need for familiar organizations, the German Jews established their own, which led to misunderstandings with the American Jewish community, many of whom regarded German-Jews as arrogant and aloof (100-3, 163-64).

Also contributing to the gulf between German-Jews and American Jews was the speed with which the immigrants were able to establish a bourgeois lifestyle, and the remarkable level of social mobility within the immigrant community. Ironically, many of their German traits, along with US entry into the war against Germany, helped ease the economic adjustment to a new life. German-Jews prospered along with the rest of America with the outbreak of World War II, while their German cultural emphasis on thrift aided in the swift establishment of a comfortable living standard (61-64).

Overall, the German Jews were spared many of the typical immigrant problems. Housing was decent, there was little unemployment, few problems of family breakdowns or criminality, and little poverty (99-100). This rapid economic success, though, generated resentment among other Jews, and caused problems within the community, since with prosperity many second-generation German-Jews left Washington Heights (97-98).

This break-up of the immigrant community, tensions between the immigrants and the "Americanized" second generation, demographic decline, and the steps taken by the Jewish community to reverse its decline parallel the experiences of other immigrant groups. Here, Lowenstein's account is solid but breaks little new ground.

What is interesting, however, is his description of the ways in which the German-Jewish community attempted to solve the lingering dichotomy between culture and identity. For example, Lowenstein points to the striking contrast between the way German-Jews used education to inculcate Jewish religious values, while avoiding any formal means to transmit German-Jewish culture (191). The switch to English thus resulted from a desire by religious leaders in the community to retain a connection with the younger generation (200). Since German-Jewish identity in Washington Heights was almost never thought of as analogous with the culture of Germany, community leaders realized that if this identity were to survive, it would have to do so in English (202).

Indeed, once in America, the German-Jews saw themselves as Jews rather than Germans. Many, in fact, even regarded German cultural traits to be Jewish (240-43). Obviously, this complex interplay between culture and identity was affected by the Holocaust, but Lowenstein argues that the Washington Heights Jews retained a Jewish identity brought from Germany, and were not merely "re-Judaized" by the Holocaust (246).

In America, this Jewish self-identity survived through a growing acceptance of pluralism and because the German-Jews were buffered by the presence of a large American Jewish community. Thus, the German Jews were able to preserve a sense of identity, and yet experience no feelings of alienation in America (249-251). Still, Lowenstein concludes, the German-Jewish community of Washington Heights is one whose days are numbered, with all signs pointing to a merging of the German-Jewish community into the larger American Jewish community (237).

In general, Lowenstein's book contains solid research, if sometimes inconsistent analysis. His conclusions are largely unexceptionable, although when dealing with the interaction of culture and identity, he seems unsure of himself, at times positing a separation of the two, while later claiming that no clear distinction existed between the German and Jewish elements. Admittedly, the interplay between culture and identity is an ambiguous and complex process. One only wishes that Lowenstein had provided more insight into that process, given his fascinating subject matter.

East Tennessee State University

Stephen G. Fritz

#### **Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur.**

By Juliane Mikoletzky. *Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur*, vol. 23. Tübingen: Niemeyer. 1988. 403 pages. DM 108.00.

In this impressive analysis of the role of emigration in the collective consciousness of nineteenth-century Germany, social historian Juliane Mikoletzky attempts to correct what she sees as "complementary blindspots" among historians and literary critics of "emigration literature." According to Mikoletzky, these "blindspots" are the combined result of flawed work by both historians and literary critics. Many historians have neglected a rich source of material in the popular literature of the day, a literature which often had emigration as a primary theme or plot device. Literary critics, on the other hand, all too often distort historical reality and tend sometimes to unsubstantiated generalizations in their versions of social history. By means of a detailed statistical analysis of the fictional "emigrants" in the literature under discussion here, Mikoletzky outlines the role of this literature in a society seeking to come to terms intellectually, socially, psychologically, and emotionally with the massive German emigration to the New World in the nineteenth century.

Mikoletzky chooses for her investigation the span between 1835 and 1905, the period of greatest emigration to the New World, and she focuses on the popular novels and romances of the day, the *Trivialliteratur* which followed the proven successful model supplied by Cooper's popular *Leather-Stocking Tales*. Authors such as Charles Sealsfield, Friedrich Gerstäcker, Ferdinand Kürnberger, Karl May, Balduin Möllhausen, Otto Ruppig, and a wide range of other authors sought through this emigration literature to summarize and unify the growing body of information on emigration and the New World. Their body of work provides insights into the attempts to reconcile the often confusing and conflicting information about America, and to provide a coherent picture of emigration, its causes and effects within society, and the impact on the lives of the emigrants themselves.

Mikoletzky's study relies on an unusual approach which includes an extensive statistical analysis of the social structure of these fictional emigrants in



novels she consults. A large portion of this investigation is concerned with an examination of the characters which people these fictional works, including information on their occupation, age, social status, and the ultimate success or failure of their attempts at assimilation. In addition, the different phases and aspects of the emigration process are analyzed. This information, as well as a detailed biographical sketch of the authors, is compiled in a number of tables in the appendix and serves as the basis for the comparisons of historical data with its fictional counterpart.

Two important phases in German emigration literature emerge from this study. Those works appearing before 1860 contained a wealth of practical and technical detail, indicating a relatively fluid boundary between fictional and non-fictional works as sources of information for would-be emigrants. These earlier works thus served an important educational function and often reflected the personal experience of many of the earlier authors who had either emigrated themselves or who possessed extensive experience as travelers in America. Later novels exhibited a decline in emigration itself as a major plot device or theme in favor of its role as a background setting for more exotic adventures. Technical information in these works gives way to more entertainment-oriented concerns.

In her blend of historical analysis and literary criticism, Mikoletzky theorizes that the changes she has uncovered can be traced to the evolving role which this literature played at different times. With the increased communication between America and Europe after 1840, there came about a gradual narrowing of the psychological distance between the New World and Germany, and the prospect of a new life in the West, however illusionary, served an important purpose for Germans as well as for Americans. As the physical aspects of emigration became more regulated and controlled, and as emigration itself came to be viewed as less exotic and more accepted as a normal aspect of German society, less technical and detailed information in fictional works was necessary. As a result, fiction from the later period after 1860 played a somewhat different, but nevertheless significant, role. Mikoletzky concludes that this literature of emigration functioned as "psychological compensation" for those who did not, or could not, emigrate, serving as a means toward understanding and adapting to the massive social shifts within that society.

If fault is to be found with this study, it lies in the introduction, where Mikoletzky posits an unnecessarily rigid methodological distinction between the historian and the literary critic. One needs only to refer to the excellent historical investigations of Robert Darnton in *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York, 1984) to see the valuable insights afforded a careful historian by literary sources. In addition, she seems somewhat defensive about the use of *Trivialliteratur* as source material. David Reynolds's recent book *Beneath the American Renaissance: The Subversive Imagination in the Age of Emerson and Melville* (New York, 1988) provides the model here. In that work, Reynolds demonstrates quite convincingly the literary and historical value afforded by considering the entire continuum of literary production from mass-produced, popular literature to the more carefully crafted elite literature.

Nevertheless, Mikoletzky's study reveals the wealth of historical information which can be gleaned from a careful consultation of works of fiction in conjunction with an examination of the circumstances surrounding both the authors and the production of the works themselves. The author provides a thorough analysis of these German writers and their fiction and her extensive bibliography provides access to a great range of material. It would be hoped that quality studies of this nature will encourage further such interdisciplinary works

which can seek to eliminate the "blindspots" in our understanding of the complex interplay between literature and history.

Bowling Green State University

Thomas S. Edwards

**Frauen schreiben im Exil: Zum Werk der nach Amerika emigrierten Lyrikerinnen Margarete Kollisch, Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss, Vera Lachmann.**

By Gert Niers. *Judentum und Umwelt*, vol. 23. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris: Lang, 1988. 209 pages. SF 47.00.

In my review of Helmut Pfanner's admirable monograph *Exiles in New York*<sup>1</sup> I advocated further publications of exile literature written in the United States and of additional, equally outstanding appreciations of them. Gert Niers's study fulfills both needs. In its main body, and in the annotations and appendices, he provides an informed, carefully selected "sampler" of the poetry of Kollisch, Blumenthal-Weiss, and Lachmann, and, in the sections devoted to each of them, he supplies authoritative explications and motif analyses of their oeuvres. And, by concentrating on three women writers, he also helps redress the balance, all too often tipped by past scholarship in favor of male exiles, through sub-chapters informed by feminist criticism.

In his preface Niers spells out the goals of his study: he wishes to investigate how and to what extent the experiences of Jewishness, persecution, exile and Holocaust had sufficed and taken creative shape in the poetry of these writers. How did they cope with the fact, he asks, that they were still dependent upon the German language, the tongue of the persecutors? And how did the lives and works of these women exiles differ from those of their male counterparts?

Niers avoids premature judgments. He begins with a biography *raisonnée*, then divides the work of each one of the writers he has chosen along thematic lines—to be sure, a highly subjective, but greatly useful division—and then proceeds to analyze the lyrics within each thematic category. Then, and only then, does he cautiously and sensitively draw his conclusions—first in anticipatory fashion in his so-called "Zwischenbilanzen" and then in a terse summation.

Margarete Kollisch succeeded, despite a very late return to writing (she earned her living in New York for twenty-five years as a physical therapist and a private language teacher) "to attain her personal best under the given circumstances" (57). With the apparently inadequate tool of a highly traditional language she mastered not only time-honored motifs such as retrospectives of an idealized childhood or "playing" (in the Schillerian sense) with dreams and visions, but also her uprootedness from her old homeland and her rootlessness in her new surroundings, her most personal dilemmas, while, at the same time, being "receptive to the distress and oppression of other women" (57).

Ilse Blumenthal-Weiss, whom I knew personally for many years, always represented to me an existentially pessimistic poet wresting elegaic poetry from the nether world of the death camps. It is one of the foremost merits of the present monograph that its author gets beyond the perfunctory bow to Blumenthal-Weiss's courageous act of tearing at the sutures of her wounds while composing poetry about her losses. Niers recognizes that her poems are both dirges as well as affirmations of life, expressions of suffering and of strength, of memory of the Holocaust and of a warning against its repetition, anywhere, anytime. Niers also finds, quite convincingly, that these poems are, despite their occasional despair, a declaration of solidarity with Judaism, Jewish

history, and Jewish fate. Her poetic language, traditional when intended as a counterweight to Nazi jargon, and modern in her later, postwar volumes, evokes (to my mind) her major subject, the Holocaust, even when she temporarily addresses herself to other themes, such as the alien world of her New York surroundings or, as in one of her (rare) love lyrics, the emotions of two lovers.

Of the three exemplary poets discussed by Niers the Berlin-born Vera Lachmann ventured upon more and more varied thematic territories than her two contemporaries. Her Jewish world is juxtaposed against the world of Greek antiquity, "its mythology and literature, its ideal of *Humanität* and its image of human kind . . . its inter-human relations, especially as between women . . ." (171). And even these two, frequently antipodal spheres are occasionally enlarged by a sympathetic side-glance at the Christian world and the remembered charm of its holidays. While Lachmann preponderantly expressed herself through her nature poetry, often set in her favorite spots in rural North Carolina, she also invokes—by an isolated poem, a verse, or a single metaphor—the Manhattan landscape. More so than Kollisch and Blumenthal-Weiss she explored feminist themes, without, however, seeking a formal contact to the American women's movement—perhaps out of an exile-induced feeling of isolation. Finally she did address, beyond the horrors of the past, contemporary outrages: the assassination of John F. Kennedy and the inhumanity of the war in Vietnam.

In his conclusion Niers emphasizes once more the individual strengths—he recognizes few weaknesses—of the three poets. He warns against the interpretative error of equating their traditional language and literary forms (e.g., the sonnet) with epigonism. And he finds amongst his subjects a certain homogeneity beyond their differences: their conscious clinging to older forms and thought-patterns as strongholds against Nazism, their reaffirmation of Jewish values amidst the Holocaust, and their advocacy of a feminine perspective in a war-torn world.

In this sensitively written book—obviously the work of both a scholar and a poet in his own right—the journey is as rewarding as the ultimate conclusion. Niers explicates, most satisfactorily, content, symbolism, and autobiographical or historical allusions in various poems. When he urges, in the last paragraph of his study, a rediscovery of the works of these three exile poets, he could have added—though of course he did not—that his own book is a first and important way station towards such a rediscovery.

Wayne State University

Guy Stern

#### Note

<sup>1</sup> Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983. For my review of Pfanner's book see "Exile on the Hudson," *The Simon Wiesenthal Annual* 3 (1986): 357-61.

#### **Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten, Teil III: German Americans: Die sprachliche Assimilation der Deutschen in Wisconsin.**

Von Christa Schwartzkopff. *Deutsche Sprache in Europa and Übersee*, Bd. 12. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden. 1987. ix + 446 Seiten. DM 80.00.

*Die sprachliche Assimilation der Deutschen in Wisconsin* ist der dritte Teil, der Deutsch als Muttersprache in den USA behandelt, und Band zwölf der Reihe "Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee", die im Auftrag des Instituts für

deutsche Sprache in Mannheim und des Goethe-Instituts in München herausgegeben wird. Die vorhergehenden zwei Teile<sup>1</sup> behandeln regionale Fragen und versuchen, die sprachliche Situation von einzelnen US Staaten abzudecken, wobei dieser Band sich mit Detailstudien im Staate Wisconsin beschäftigt.

Als Ziel der Arbeit steckte sich die Verfasserin, den Prozeß der Assimilierung der deutschen Sprache in Wisconsin detailgetreu zu rekonstruieren und die Bedingungen, die dazu führten, eingehend zu untersuchen. Sie wollte vorwiegend über die Entwicklung des Deutschen in kleineren Städten neue Tatsachen aufdecken, die ggf. auch als exemplarisch für die Sprachumstellung in den USA angesehen werden könnten.

Als theoretische Ausgangsgrundlage diente Schwartzkopff die historische und linguistische Literatur, die sich mit der Siedlungsgeschichte der US-Einwanderer und ihrer Sprache befaßt. Sie setzte sich hauptsächlich mit den Arbeiten von Eichhoff, Enninger, Faust, Fishman, Haugen, Kloss, Levi, Marx, Nesbit, Seifert, Strobel, Weinreich und Wittke auseinander. Auf der theoretisch erarbeiteten Basis stellte sie dann ihre Hypothesen auf, die der empirischen Untersuchung als Leitfaden dienten und die Widersprüche in der Forschungsliteratur korrigieren sollten.

In ihrer empirischen Untersuchung stützte sich Schwartzkopff einerseits auf die lokalen Geschichtsdokumente, andererseits auf die persönliche Befragung anhand eines Fragekatalogs. Bei der Überprüfung des geschichtlichen Materials richtete sie ihr Augenmerk insbesondere auf die Siedlungsgeschichte sowie den Gebrauch der deutschen Sprache im Öffentlichkeitsbereich. Die Untersuchung im privaten Bereich diente hauptsächlich dem Spracherwerb, Sprachgebrauch und Sprachwechsel der Gewährsleute.

Das Untersuchungsgebiet erstreckt sich auf die Umgebung der Landeshauptstadt Madison mit den Ortschaften Sauk City (3000 Einwohner), Sheboygen (50000 Einwohner) und Wassau (32000 Einwohner). Zeitlich umfaßt die Arbeit im wesentlichen den Zeitraum von 1850 (Volkszählungsliste des "Census Bureau of the United States") bis zum Ende der zwanziger Jahre dieses Jahrhunderts. Die Verfasserin wählte diese Zeitspanne, da sie annahm, daß sich das "deutschstämmige Element" von 1900 bis 1920 in einer "labilen Phase", d.h. in einer kritischen Periode in Bezug auf Erhalt oder Aufgabe der deutschen Sprache und Kultur befand. Als Informanten dienten ihr deshalb Deutsch-amerikaner, die in der zweiten oder dritten Generation mütterlicher- und väterlicherseits von deutschen Einwanderern abstammten und zwischen 1900 und 1917 geboren wurden.

Die Arbeit ist straff und übersichtlich gegliedert. Dem Aufbau nach besteht sie aus drei Teilen: Im ersten Teil wird die theoretische Grundlage anhand der Forschungsliteratur geschaffen. Der zweite Teil befaßt sich mit den Forschungen im Untersuchungsgebiet selbst, und im dritten werden die Ergebnisse festgelegt und es wird ein Modell für künftige Untersuchungen von Assimilationsvorgängen vorgeschlagen. Das erarbeitete Material ist mit Karten, Tabellen und statistischen Angaben versehen. Ein Vorwort mit Einleitung geht der Untersuchung voraus und ein ausführliches Literaturverzeichnis schließt die Arbeit mit vier Faltpänen als Anhang ab.

Wie bereits erwähnt, setzt Schwartzkopff als Ausgangsbasis ihrer Untersuchung Hypothesen voraus, die sie dann im Laufe ihrer Forschungen an Ort und Stelle zu beweisen versucht. Sie kommt dann auch zu dem bereits in ihrer Einleitung bestätigten Ergebnis:

Auch die Nachfahren deutschsprachiger Einwanderer . . . haben—bis auf wenige Ausnahmen—ihre ethnischen Besonderheiten und ihre Sprache aufgegeben und sich der amerikanischen "mainstream society"

angepaßt. Heute werden Varianten des Deutschen im Alltag nur noch von durch ihre Religion isoliert lebenden Sektenmitgliedern (z.B. den Amischen, Hutteriten, zum Teil von Amana-Leuten) und von relativ kleinen Gruppen Deutschstämmiger in Pennsylvania und Texas verwendet. In den anderen Gebieten der Vereinigten Staaten befindet sich das Deutsche als Immigrantensprache im Stadium des "language death", d.h., einige Sprecher kennen die Sprache noch, sie wird aber nicht mehr zur Unterhaltung benutzt. (1-2)

Zur Untermauerung der vorhergehenden Feststellungen führt die Verfasserin in Hinsicht auf das Aufgeben der deutschen Sprache für ihr Untersuchungsgebiet folgende Ergebnisse an:

Privater Bereich:

Sauk City zwischen 1916-1935  
Sheboygen zwischen 1910-1930  
Wassau seit 1915

Öffentlicher Bereich:

zwischen 1920-1930  
vor dem 1. Weltkrieg  
vor dem 1. Weltkrieg

Es besteht wohl kein Zweifel, daß ein Rückgang im deutschen Sprachgebrauch seit dem Ersten Weltkrieg, durch den Zweiten Weltkrieg und seine Folgen noch verstärkt, nicht nur in Wisconsin, sondern in den ganzen Vereinigten Staaten zu verzeichnen ist. Diese Tatsache darf jedoch nicht zu dem Trugschluß führen—wie auch Joshua A. Fishman feststellt—, daß die deutsche Sprache bereits tot oder am Aussterben sei.<sup>2</sup> Nach Fishman gibt es ein regeres Leben auf dem deutschen Sprachgebiet, als bisher angenommen wurde. Er gibt jedoch zu, daß die dritte Immigrantengeneration nicht mehr genug Deutsch spricht, um die Kultur ihrer Vorfahren auszudrücken, und greift deshalb auf das Englische zurück. In seiner Tabelle "Rank Order of Survival Potential of Languages as of 1980 according to Criterion 3" führt Fishman Deutsch an dritter Stelle an und stellt fest "... the likelihood that the German language will still play a role here when the quadricentennial of German immigration to the United States is being celebrated is excellent indeed" (267).

Ein weiteres Ziel von Schwartzkopffs Forschungen war, die Lücken in der Literatur der Sprachkontaktforschung zu füllen. Nach ihrer Ansicht geben Weinreichs, Enningers und Gilles'/Bourhis'/Taylors Modelle keine genauen Erklärungen für Assimilationsvorgänge bei Minderheitssprachen. Auf Grund der Untersuchungsergebnisse stellt sie ein Modell vor, "das—in abstrakter Form—die Möglichkeiten der Sprachentwicklung der Immigranten in den USA darstellt" (420). Die Verfasserin betont insbesondere die Abhängigkeit der einzelnen Faktoren voneinander. Als absolute Faktoren des Sprachverhaltens gelten Konzentration, späte Besiedlung sowie Isolierung, und also relative Faktoren Kindheitssprache, Sprache der Eltern—Deutschunterricht, Kirchensprache—Bildungsstand, Vereine, Presse sowie Einstellung. Geschichtliche Ereignisse werden im Modell jedoch nicht berücksichtigt. So wird z.B. der Einfluß des Ersten Weltkrieges auf das Sprachverhalten, im Gegensatz zu Auffassungen von anderen Forschern, als eindeutig relativ, d.h. abhängig von der Stufe der Assimilation, angesehen.

Schwartzkopffs Arbeit gibt einen aufschlußreichen Einblick in das Gebiet des Deutschen in fremdsprachlicher Umgebung und liefert neue Einsichten in den Vorgang der Assimilation. Die Untersuchung ist sowohl Germanisten also auch Historikern aufs höchste zu empfehlen. Es ist zu hoffen und zu wünschen, daß weitere Bände über die deutsche Sprache in den Vereinigten Staaten folgen. Den Herausgebern soll an dieser Stelle gedankt werden.

## Anmerkungen

<sup>1</sup> *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten, Teil I: Der Mittelwesten*, hg. Leopold Auberger, Heinz Kloss, Heinz Rupp; *Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee*, Bd. 4. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979). *Deutsch als Muttersprache in den Vereinigten Staaten, Teil II: Regionale und Funktionale Aspekte*, hg. Heinz Kloss, *Deutsche Sprache in Europa und Übersee*, Bd. 10 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1985).

<sup>2</sup> Joshua A. Fishman, "Demographic and Institutional Indicators of German Language Maintenance in the United States, 1960-1980," in *Amerika and the Germans: An Assessment of a Three-Hundred-Year History*, ed. Frank Trommler and Joseph McVeigh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 1:251-69.

### **The Beachy Amish Mennonite Fellowship Churches.**

By Elmer S. Yoder. Hartville, OH: *Diakonia Ministries*. 1987. 444 pages.

In *The Beachy Amish Mennonite Fellowship Churches*, Elmer S. Yoder, a Beachy Amish minister, explores the history, organization, and community life of the Beachy Amish. The author's ability to point out the most minute and subtle differences among Beachy congregations, and between them and the Mennonites and Old Order Amish, makes this work a valuable resource to the student of Amish life, who will appreciate Yoder's accounts of Beachy Amish fears of consolidation and organized mission work, the Beachy ministry, and the Beachy attitude towards education and change. Perhaps most valuable is that, much of the time, the author seems to be writing for a Beachy Amish audience. Whether consciously or not, Yoder has approached this work as a minister explaining to his flock what they are all about. Thus, the reader truly gets the inside story.

It is not, however, an easy story to read, for much of it is written conversationally, with all the false starts, grammatical inconsistencies, and stylistic shifts of a long oral narrative. The book would have profited from more editing. There are some sections that require careful study to understand, and others that introduce events and ideas that are never fully explained. In many cases the author presents only detail, without going further to provide either the context or the analysis that make a collection of facts useful. In his discussion of the early Anabaptist movement, for example, Yoder mentions that the Philips brothers, Obbe and Dirk, initially attracted to the teachings and visions of the Melchiorites, were quickly disillusioned with them (33). The questions, who the Melchiorites were and what they prophesied, are unexplained. The passage contributes nothing to the reader's understanding of the Obbenites, "forerunners of the Mennonites," nor can it help the reader to understand in what way, as Yoder goes on to claim, Menno Simons was influenced by Obbe Philips's views on the ban (35).

The recounting of events leading to the Old Order Amish/Beachy schism is more confusing, for not only is the same historical period covered twice, in chapter 5, which gives an account of the *Meidung* controversy, and chapter 6, which relates the emergence and growth of the Beachy church, but different events are included in each telling. Furthermore, since Yoder pays little attention to social forces affecting the Amish churches in America, the reader has no way of understanding why certain events occurred or were of such importance. For example, Yoder traces the rise of the Beachy movement to "*Meidung* matters emerging in the 1890's [sic]" yet fails to explain why *Streng Meidung* was introduced in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, thereby leaving the reader without a context in which to understand the ensuing struggle. His failure to

mention the date on which Moses and Lena Hartz were placed under the ban or to explain why the transfer of the John D. Yoders from Pennsylvania to the Maryland church was such a "fire spitter" (115, 119) do not help to clarify the narrative. These lapses are bound to annoy those with a knowledge of Anabaptist history; they may render the history incomprehensible to neophytes.

Yoder's account of the current status of the Beachy churches suffers from his failure to analyze the facts. In his profile of congregations generally associated with the Beachy fellowship, he notes, for example, that the Fairhaven A. M. Church in Ontario was established by families from the Mornington A. M. Church after "differences developed pertaining to conduct and practices and 'the purity of the communion table'" (369). Lacking explanation of these differences, one can only wonder which church was, or is, less pure. Similarly, Yoder points out that the mention in *Raber's Almanac* of the Canaan Fellowship in Indiana with Herman Graber and Alvin E. Yoder as ministers, "is one of several inaccuracies in Raber's listing of Beachy churches" (324), leaving the reader to ponder whether the congregation has different ministers than named or whether Canaan Fellowship is something other than Beachy. Yoder offers a list of Beachy ministers that gives the names of first wives only, although it is apparent from the brief biographies he provides for a few that there were second marriages. Finally, the purpose of "the personal note" at the conclusion of chapter 10 is unclear; this collection of unrelated anecdotes, including one about Jimmy Carter and his impressions of the Mennonites, appears to add little to the reader's general knowledge of the Beachy Amish.

Yoder does provide the reader with a wealth of information about Beachy missionary activities, publications, youth fellowship activities, and a host of other church enterprises. What emerges is a good, general description of an average Beachy congregation. There is, however, no in-depth exploration of the differences between the Beachy churches. Why do some conduct revival meetings and sponsor summer Bible schools whereas others do not? What accounts for the willingness of some churches to send many of their young people to high school and the refusal of others to send any? How, the reader is left to wonder, can congregations with such different views remain in communion? Ultimately, it is difficult for the reader to understand what is truly Beachy and what is not. Indeed, an acquaintance who is a member of one of the congregations described by Yoder as Beachy Amish claims that the congregation is, in fact, Mennonite.

Given the large shortcomings of this book, it may seem unnecessary to point out the small ones, but the text is marred by numerous grammatical errors, irrelevant details, and stylistic inconsistencies. Tenses do not always agree, and pronoun reference is often unclear (e.g., 70, 130, 140). The author's use of German, written in a non-standard dialect form with no English gloss (122), suggests again that he is writing for an Amish or Mennonite audience, but it will be confusing to the reader who is unfamiliar with Pennsylvania German. Yoder's habit of naming some sources and not others is disconcerting and, at times, confusing.

This is, without a doubt, a difficult book to read. Nevertheless, for all its failings, it is a valuable resource, offering a wealth of information the outsider cannot easily come by. One must be prepared, however, to fill in the blanks and draw one's own conclusions.

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## Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, and Dissertations

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### Abbreviations:

AA	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
AHR	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJH	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
BLT	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
CG	=	<i>Canadiana Germanica</i>
DR	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
GPQ	=	<i>Great Plains Quarterly</i>
GQ	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
GR	=	<i>Germanic Review</i>
GSR	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>
HR	=	<i>Heritage Review</i>
HRBC	=	<i>Historical Review of Berks County</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
IHJ	=	<i>Illinois Historical Journal</i>
JAEH	=	<i>Journal of American Ethnic History</i>

JAHSGR	=	<i>Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia</i>
JW	=	<i>Journal of the West</i>
MH	=	<i>Monatshefte</i>
MHB	=	<i>Mennonite Historical Bulletin</i>
MHR	=	<i>Missouri Historical Review</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NGTHS	=	<i>Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society</i>
NSGAS	=	<i>Newsletter of the Society for German-American Studies</i>
NSHR	=	<i>Nova Scotia Historical Review</i>
OHQ	=	<i>Oregon Historical Quarterly</i>
PF	=	<i>Pennsylvania Folklife</i>
PMH	=	<i>Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage</i>
PMHB	=	<i>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i>
SAHSN	=	<i>Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter</i>
SHQ	=	<i>Southwestern Historical Quarterly</i>
SIGA	=	<i>Studies in Indiana German-Americana</i>
UP	=	<i>Die Unterrichtspraxis</i>
WHQ	=	<i>Western Historical Quarterly</i>
WMH	=	<i>Wisconsin Magazine of History</i>
YGAS	=	<i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i>

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## Topical Index

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Acculturation &amp; Ethnicity</i> : 4, 9, 32, 35, 38, 44, 49, 75, 89, 120, 133, 147, 155, 174, 212, 257, 261, 274, 295, 314-15, 324, 331, 342, 350, 374 | <i>Agriculture</i> : 30, 80, 128, 130, 147, 174, 191, 276, 298, 376 |
|  | <i>Alberta</i> : 149  |
|  | <i>America in German Literature</i> : 96, 284, 327                  |

- American Literature in German-Speaking Lands*: 5  
*American Revolution*: 27, 32  
*Amish*: 45, 54, 81, 123, 150, 153, 162, 171, 246, 259, 273, 294, 317, 323, 329-30, 342, 376  
*Amstutz, John Ulrich*: 218  
*Anabaptists*: 55  
*Architecture*: 97, 189, 208, 250, 268, 292  
*Archives & Libraries* (see also *Bibliographic Materials*): 134, 142, 144, 247, 251, 256, 262, 299  
*Arnim, Bettina von*: 354  
*Art* (see also *Folk Arts & Crafts*): 6, 76, 108, 151, 280-82, 288, 344  
*Austrian-Americans*: 235-37  
*Baer Family* (PA): 141  
*Beckmann, Emma* (TX): 64  
*Beske Family* (MN): 140  
*Bibliographic Materials* (see also *Archives*): 56, 142, 144, 263  
*Biehn/Bean Family* (PA and Canada): 8  
*Biographical Information*: 29, 80, 138, 207, 246, 306, 370  
*Blum, Ludwig*: 154  
*Blumenthal-Weiss, Ilse*: 78  
*Bohning Family* (OH): 12  
*Book Trade, Press & Journalism*: 4, 142, 156, 200, 304, 316, 367  
*Bruns, Henriette Geisberg*: 325  
*Business & Industry*: 58, 88, 90, 128, 166-67, 214, 233, 235, 319, 352  
*California*: 337  
*Canada* (see also specific provinces): 109, 181, 247, 334  
*Catholics*: 37, 59, 104, 203  
*Civil War*: 25, 31, 63  
*Croll, P. C., Rev.*: 228  
*Customs* (see *Social Life & Customs*)  
*Derstine, William A.*: 368  
*Diplomatic & Intellectual Relations*: 13, 86, 110, 297, 300, 307, 311  
*Dorflinger, Christian*: 167  
*Education*: 74, 126, 180, 205, 213, 217, 302, 310, 371  
*Emigration, Immigration & Settlement*: 1, 2, 7, 16, 23, 33-34, 105, 109, 120, 148, 152, 158, 182, 184, 186, 192, 198, 201-2, 235-37, 248, 255, 257, 295-96, 356, 359  
*Emigré Authors*: 239  
*Eshleman Family* (PA): 163  
*Ethics*: 310  
*Ethnicity* (see *Acculturation & Ethnicity*)  
*Exile Experience*: 110, 179, 200  
*Exile Literature*: 78  
*Fahrback, Harry*: 373  
*Farming* (see *Agriculture*)  
*Film & Theater*: 61, 81, 169  
*Folk Arts & Crafts* (see also *Art*): 90, 137, 172, 173, 185, 190, 216, 221, 240, 259, 265, 267, 270, 273, 305, 317  
*Folklore*: 3, 103, 181, 252  
*Follenius, Paul*: 303  
*Food*: 22, 285, 343  
*Free Thinkers*: 220  
*Fuller, Margaret*: 354  
*Furniture*: 91  
*Gehman, William*: 353  
*Genealogical Reference Materials*: 16, 51, 64, 72, 100-101, 113-118, 124, 148, 152, 192, 229, 247, 334-40, 361  
*Georgia*: 235-37  
*German Literature in America*: 77, 238, 252, 293  
*German-American Bund*: 18  
*German-American Literature*: 26, 99, 168, 194-96, 206, 239, 243, 257, 358, 365  
*German-American Organizations & Societies* (see also specific names): 125, 355  
*German-American Women*: 52, 78, 151, 325-26, 333, 354, 363, 370-71  
*German-American Writers*: 239, 354  
*German-Americans & Politics*: 21, 139, 188, 208, 219, 264, 286, 304, 347  
*German-English Language Contact*: 84, 98, 146, 153, 225-26, 321, 350, 360  
*Germans from Russia*: 29, 38, 41, 48-50, 57, 65, 242, 298, 322, 324, 370  
*Gilbert, Russell Wieder*: 168  
*Groff Family* (PA): 163  
*Grottenrath, Ruth*: 344  
*Guardian Life Insurance Company*: 88  
*Günderode, Karoline von*: 354  
*Happel, Clara*: 179  
*Harmony Society*: 128-29  
*Hartzler Family*: 210  
*Haug, Dorothea*: 230  
*Heatwole, David*: 15  
*Heckewelder, Johann*: 357  
*Herbart, Johann Friedrich*: 371  
*Hins Family*: 41  
*Hite, Jost*: 186  
*Hofmann, Hans*: 6  
*Howe, Frederic C.*: 311  
*Hursh Family* (PA): 320  
*Hurst, Fannie*: 52

- Hutterites*: 17, 143  
*Illinois*: 40, 71, 106, 147, 176, 244, 294  
*Immigration* (see *Emigration*, . . .)  
*Indiana*: 4, 37, 66, 70, 103, 128, 131, 144, 172, 177, 220, 252, 258, 345, 347  
*Industry* (see *Business & Industry*)  
*Intellectual History*: 11, 39, 58, 85, 220, 266, 277, 289, 303, 351, 372  
*Iowa*: 60, 97, 153, 165, 241, 259, 277  
*John Family* (ND): 231  
*Journalism* (see *Book Trade*, . . .)  
*Judaica*: 7, 19, 52, 75, 93, 105, 133, 179, 253, 276, 363  
*Just Family* (ND): 231  
*Kansas*: 121, 146, 242, 324  
*Kentucky*: 335-36  
*Kitzmiller Family* (PA): 47  
*Klotz, John George*: 50  
*Koehler, Robert*: 282  
*Koerner Family* (IL): 313  
*Kollisch, Margarete*: 78  
*Koepfli Family* (IL): 106  
*Krebs, Friedrich*: 363  
*Krimmel, John Lewis*: 76  
*Kroetsch, Robert*: 357  
*Labor*: 244-45, 261, 349  
*Lachmann, Vera*: 78  
*Language & Dialects*: 84, 98, 119, 159, 160, 162, 171, 177, 181, 197, 224-26, 234, 242, 243, 290, 308-9, 321-22  
*Lapp, Henry*: 267  
*Literature* (see more specific categories)  
*Louisiana*: 170, 229, 248  
*Lutherans*: 66, 79, 109, 113, 115-18, 124, 205, 211, 228, 312  
*Maentel, Jacob*: 172  
*Manitoba*: 132, 158, 223, 348  
*Maryland*: 113-15, 117-18, 182, 189  
*McCarthy, Charles*: 311  
*McReynolds Family* (PA): 275  
*Mennonites*: 24, 43, 53-54, 68, 82, 89, 94, 102, 122-23, 132, 134, 145-46, 149, 158, 163, 176, 180-81, 187, 199, 218, 223, 227, 246-47, 254-55, 263, 265, 272, 278-79, 314-15, 320, 323, 333, 341, 353, 362-3, 368-69  
*Mercer, Henry Chapman*: 90  
*Meusebach, John O.*: 46  
*Michels Family* (DE): 283  
*Miller Family* (PA): 287  
*Minnesota*: 140, 161, 282  
*Missouri*: 213, 268, 301, 303, 312, 325  
*Mosemann Family*: 72  
*Münch, Friedrich*: 303  
*Music*: 48, 154, 157, 270, 373  
*National Socialism*: 14, 18, 105, 139  
*New York*: 9, 69, 93, 133, 274  
*Newspapers* (see *Book Trade*, . . .)  
*Ney, Elisabeth*: 151  
*North Carolina*: 112, 182  
*North Dakota*: 38, 48-49, 96, 231, 298  
*Nova Scotia*: 87  
*Ohio*: 12, 31, 198, 218, 253, 255, 292, 335-36, 356  
*Ontario*: 8  
*Oregon*: 10, 19, 57  
*Pabst, G. W.*: 42  
*Palatines*: 274  
*Pennsylvania*: 8, 30, 32-33, 35, 47, 54, 90-91, 116, 124, 128-30, 136, 141, 152, 154-55, 163, 166, 169, 172-73, 185, 188, 191, 193-96, 205-8, 211, 215, 219, 221, 225-26, 228, 232-33, 264, 285, 290-91, 296, 305, 316, 332-33, 360, 373  
*Peters, G. S.*: 316  
*Petterson Family* (WI): 83  
*Philosophy*: 11, 85, 303  
*Press* (see *Book Trade*, . . .)  
*Pry, Lamont Alfred*: 240  
*Rainbow Fire Company* (PA): 232  
*Rapp, George*: 129  
*Reading Symphony Orchestra* (PA) 373  
*Reickmann Family* (ND): 231  
*Reinhold Family* (ND): 231  
*Religion* (see also specific religions): 20, 43, 54, 65, 92, 131, 145, 157, 253, 260, 264, 319, 332  
*Rhode Island*: 251  
*Richter, Hans*: 61  
*Rohrer Family* (PA): 215  
*Rothert, Otto Arthur*: 107  
*Ruple Family*: 318  
*Salomon, Alice*: 372  
*Salzburger Mills* (GA): 235  
*Saskatchewan*: 24  
*Sauel Family*: 156  
*Saupe Family* (IA): 60  
*Schellenberger Family* (ND): 231  
*Schramm Family* (MO): 301  
*Schurz, Carl*: 95  
*Segall, Julius*: 281  
*Shantz, Jacob Y.*: 349  
*Smith, Georg A.*: 340  
*Social Life & Customs*: 28, 44, 164, 209, 212, 221, 244-45, 250, 269, 299, 329, 331, 343, 345, 356  
*Sons of Hermann*: 161

*South Carolina*: 340  
*South Dakota*: 314-15  
*Spielmann, Christian*: 222  
*Steuben, Friedrich, Baron Von*: 56  
*Stoltzfus, John*: 123  
*Stoner/Steiner Family (PA)*: 369  
*Suppiger Family (IL)*: 106  
*Swiss-Americans*: 28, 40, 106, 112, 121,  
127, 178, 198, 218, 241, 255  
*Taylor, Florence Starr*: 108  
*Texas*: 46, 64, 67, 151, 184, 204, 214,  
250, 260, 346, 352, 361  
*Theater (see Film & Theater)*  
*Thiele Family (ND)*: 231  
*Tillich, Paul*: 131  
*Tonne Family*: 357  
*Traven, B.*: 36, 328  
*Vieth Family (Canada)*: 87  
*Virginia*: 111, 182, 375  
*Weber Family*: 363  
*Wegerlein Family (Canada)*: 271  
*Wehle, Wilhelm*: 2  
*Weidler, Michael*: 68  
*Weiser, Conrad*: 232  
*Wertheimer, Max*: 266  
*Wisconsin*: 2, 28, 73, 83, 120, 135, 139,  
203, 281, 288, 295, 311, 344  
*Witmer Family (PA)*: 136  
*World War I*: 10, 62, 70-71, 135, 227  
*World War II*: 111, 175, 187, 249, 326  
*Yost, E. M.*: 367



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