YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 25

1990

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Published at the University of Kansas by

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

with the support of
PRO HELVETIA (SWITZERLAND),
THE SWISS-AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
and THE MAX KADE GERMAN-AMERICAN
DOCUMENT AND RESEARCH CENTER

THE SOCIETY FOR GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

General Information

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in 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.

ISSN 0741-2827
Printed at the University of Kansas Printing Service, Lawrence, KS 66045

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FROM THE EDITORS

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Society for German-American Studies, we are pleased and honored to dedicate this issue of the *Yearbook* to the commemoration of the seven hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation in 1291. It is appropriate that German-American studies focus on the numerous and significant connections which link Switzerland and immigrants from Switzerland to the cultural and political development of North America.

We would like to express our appreciation to the special editor for this *Yearbook,* our colleague Leo Schelbert of the University of Illinois at Chicago, who conceived the idea for a Swiss-American issue. He invited scholarly contributions from Switzerland and the United States, set the thematic parameters, and made the final arrangement of "The United States and Switzerland: Aspects of an Enmeshment."

The Society for German-American Studies acknowledges with gratitude the special financial support for this volume from the foundation Pro Helvetia of Switzerland, the Swiss-American Historical Society, and the Swiss Benevolent Society of Chicago.

We congratulate the Swiss as well as those Americans of Swiss descent on this anniversary of their democratic heritage.

Max Kade German-American
Document and Research Center
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
March 1991

THE UNITED STATES AND SWITZERLAND

ASPECTS OF AN ENMESHMENT

Leo Schelbert

PROLOGUE

Perspectives on Two Nations in Contact

Although the nation state, in its post-French Revolution form, may soon be a thing of the past, nationhood, national allegiances, rivalries, and special relationships between nations are still potent realities that shape individual as well as collective, elite as well as rank-and-file behavior. Celebrations like the American Bicentennial, the centennial of the unveiling of the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor, or the heated controversy over the (mis-)treatment of the American flag, they all testify to the symbolic vigor of nationality, although economic and military powers of nations have long since been overtaken by transnational economic, technical, and military establishments.

On one plane, then, it appears nearly absurd for a small nation like Switzerland to celebrate its seven-hundredth year of existence. Despite its neutrality it has long since become a player of at best middling importance in the dealings of transnational conglomerates. Yet symbolic systems appear always to lag far behind economic and political realities and continue to shape the collective consciousness of a nation's people. From the perspective of *Realpolitik* then this topical *Yearbook of German American Studies* acknowledging Switzerland's septicentennial is an anachronism, from the perspective of the politics of symbols, however, perhaps timely and of use. The issue aims to explore some facets of the enmeshment between Switzerland and the United States on three levels.

Part one offers essays that explore how three Swiss, each representing a different century, viewed "America." A first essay analyzes the 1711 pamphlet of Johann Rudolph Ochs on the promise of "Carolina," which was for the Swiss until the mid-eighteenth century nearly synonymous with "America." Although Ochs never crossed the Atlantic, he wrote an emigrant guide that is impressive in its concern for reliable and useful information. In the 1730s, Ochs, by then the royal

mintmaster in London, continued to shape the North American image of Swiss immigrants who passed through London by giving them reliable advice and assistance. Next, Hans Rudolf Guggisberg's study concentrates on a nineteenth-century Swiss, the influential American theologian Philip Schaff. The author shows how the views of this Swiss-born and German-trained scholar fused Christian and secular convictions into a moderate, centrist American nationalism. In contrast, Philip Bohlman explores the image of America of the noted twentieth-century composer Ernest Bloch. Bohlman reads Bloch's annotations to his symphonic composition *America*—joined by works titled *Helvetia* and *Israel*—like an immigrant letter which reveals the composer's glowing assessment of his adopted country.

Part two deals with uses of the Swiss past from an American perspective by three writers, the journalist Henry Miller, the scholar William Denison McCrackan, and the reform-minded William Bross Lloyd, Jr. Gregg Roeber analyzes Miller's stance in comparison to that of the rival journalists of the Sauer family. He shows that Miller's cosmopolitan outlook made him a valued interpreter of the interests of Anglo-American elites to an upper-class, German-speaking element in Colonial British North America. Miller used Swiss historical events for promoting anti-British agitation that aimed not at reform like John J. Zubly's, but at the winning of independence. Urs Hammer, in turn, explores the uses of Swiss history and of Swiss political institutions made by William D. McCrackan. The author describes how this American Progressive strove to demonstrate in several works that the adoption of the initiative and referendum would improve and intensify American political life and transform it from an essentially republican, i.e., representative, system to one of direct democracy. As in the Swiss polity, Americans would then not only elect governmental officials to represent their interests, but also directly decide on vital political issues. In the third essay of part two Christian D. Nøkkentved examines the Swiss ties of the Lloyd family. He shows that William B. Lloyd, Jr., carried on Henry Demarest Lloyd's attempts to use Swiss political traditions to further political reform, yet not of American civic life but, rather, for "waging peace" in a post-1945 war-threatened world of superpowers and emerging post-colonial nations.

In part three case studies highlight Swiss involvement in three aspects of American history: the founding of white settlements, the conquest of the trans-Mississippi West, and twentieth-century technological development. Leo Schelbert's essay features the emergence of the winegrowing settlement "New Switzerland" on the Ohio in 1804 and of its counterpart "Chabag" in Bessarabia, then a domain of Russia. The study delineates structural parallels in the emergence of these settlements and shows how individual concerns were embedded in the designs of the two expanding nation states. In a second essay Christa Landert reconstructs the life of Heinrich Lienhard who emigrated in 1843 to Highland, Illinois, and three years later journeyed overland to California where he met up with John August Sutter, the ruler of New

Helvetia. Sutter entrusted Lienhard with bringing his family from Burgdorf, Switzerland, to California, then engaged him as manager on his vast estates where gold was discovered in 1849. Landert then follows Lienhard's journey back to Switzerland, his return to Madison, Illinois, and his final settlement in Nauvoo where he died in 1903. Landert's case study shows that emigration could involve far more than simply a move from one place to another.

The final essay of part three investigates a hitherto unknown aspect in the career of Othmar Ammann. On the basis of newly discovered documents Jameson W. Doig studies Ammann's meteoric rise from obscurity and near unemployment to the role of chief engineer of the Port of New York Authority. The essay sketches the complex interplay between the demands of politics in the states of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut and the vision of an ambitious engineering genius. The final contribution to this *Yearbook* serves as a guide to further readings. Regula A. Meier selected thirty titles from her and her late husband's bibliographical work on Switzerland which was recently published by Clio Press of Oxford, England. The selection represents not only a valuable guide to some secondary works relating to Switzerland, but also intimates the expertise that characterizes the Meiers' outstanding research tool.

Unfortunately, essays on Swiss immigrant women failed to materialize. Premature death prevented Heinz K. Meier from preparing a sketch of Swiss-American diplomatic relations since 1950 as a sequel to his book *Friendship under Stress.* Illness hindered the completion of a study of Bernese German linguistic survivals in Adams County, Indiana, and pressing commitments delayed an essay on the Swiss among the Pennsylvania Dutch. Also the worlds of literature and the visual arts are not treated as, for instance, represented by the works of Marie Sandoz or Karl Bodmer. Nor is the influence featured of such major Swiss figures as the educator Heinrich Pestalozzi, the psychologists Carl G. Jung and Jean Piaget, or the architect Le Corbusier. Thus the essays that are included in this issue of the *Yearbook* provide merely some glimpses of the enmeshment between the United States and Switzerland that is far richer than is generally assumed.

In conclusion some words of thanks are due. Don Heinrich Tolzmann, president of the Society of German American Studies, the members of the Society's executive board, and the *Yearbook's* regular editors Helmut Huelsbergen and William Keel, gave not only their consent to this project, but also their valuable advice. The Swiss Foundation Pro Helvetia supported this issue of the *Yearbook* with a generous grant that was further supplemented by a subsidy from the Swiss Benevolent Society of Chicago as well as from the Swiss-American Historical Society. The help of Erdmann Schmocker, its president, deserves special acknowledgment in obtaining these financial contributions. The writers of these essays, finally, were as generous with their time as they were patient with the editor's repeated inquiries. Their labors enhance the cause of German-American studies, under-

stood not as pan-German arrogation, but in the Society's sense as the task of exploring the involvement of German-speaking peoples of various nations in the manifold aspects of North American history and life.

University of Illinois at Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

PART ONE

SWISS VIEWS OF AMERICA

Leo Schelbert

In Praise of Carolina: Johann Rudolf Ochs's *Americanischer Wegweiser* of 1711

Emigration guides are a significant, if somewhat overlooked element in the study of transatlantic migrations. Their relative neglect is understandable. These tracts, ranging from *Flugblatt* zu *Büchlein,* from broadside to booklet, were ephemeral in their impact, are ambiguous in their informational value, and remain often intractable as to questions of authorship, historical context, and reception. They are, nevertheless, worthy of study. They influenced decisions of people whether to move or to stay and awakened peculiar expectations, thus shaping the response of immigrants to conditions upon arrival; they also contributed to British North America's image as a land of promise, curse, or mixed blessing. Yet these pamphlets were more: they were part of what has been called "public discourse"; they invented, defined, and circumscribed "the relationship between European, native, and land— . . . the classic colonial triangle."[1]

By way of illustration one such publication shall be scrutinized. It was published by Johann Rudolf Ochs at Bern, Switzerland, in 1711 and is possibly the first emigration guide addressed primarily to Swiss. First Ochs's guide shall be placed into the context of other, similar tracts of the eighteenth century, then biographical data about its author and his involvement in Swiss emigration schemes will be presented; third, the guide's content will be outlined and, finally, assessed as a form of colonial discourse, that is as an attempt to shape a "collective thought style" that was to be normative for elites and commoners alike.[2]

I

During the first six decades of the eighteenth century, several emigration booklets circulated also in German-speaking Switzerland that were either imported from German regions or published primarily for Swiss readers. Their appearance clustered around four dates and was loosely tied to the emergence of Swiss settlements in British North America.

Pamphlets appearing around 1710 and 1711 were connected with events that led to the founding of New Bern, North Carolina; those of 1734 and 1735 resulted from efforts of Jean Pierre Purry (1675-1736) to establish a settlement on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River; those of 1737 and 1738 were connected with abortive attempts of Bernese entrepreneurs to create a politically independent rival colony in Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains; those of the 1750s already looked backwards and assessed the success or failure of earlier German-speaking immigration to Pennsylvania or South Carolina. Whereas broadsides and pamphlets that reached German-speaking readers between 1678 and 1704 had concentrated on Pennsylvania[3] and had found but a weak echo in Switzerland, those published between 1700 and the 1750s focused mainly on Carolina and Virginia and related to a quite sizable Swiss German migratory movement.[4]

A first pamphlet that caught the attention also of Swiss was written by Josua Kocherthal, actually Josua Harrsch (1669-1719), of Fachsenfeld near Aalen in the valley of the Kocher in northern Württemberg. First published in 1706, it appeared three more times in rapid succession and "quickly exhausted editions of unknown size."[5] Its title reads in English translation: *Extensive and Detailed Account of the Famous Region of Carolina, Situated in English America.*[6] In 1711 there appeared in Bern, Switzerland, the pamphlet *American Guide, or Short and Proper Description of the English Provinces in North America, but Especially of the Region of Carolina. Compiled with Great Diligence and Published by Joh. Rudolff Ochs. Together with a New and Correct Map of North and South Carolina.*[7] In the same year Anton Wilhelm Böhme (1673-1722), a Lutheran minister and educator in the service of Queen Anne's consort and a proponent of Halle's pietism and educational ideals,[8] published a 127-page pamphlet with the lengthy title: *The Desired, Not Reached Canaan at the Graves of Joy; or Detailed Description of the Unhappy Journey of those Pilgrims Having Journeyed Recently from Germany to Carolina and Pennsylvania Situated in English America, Especially Set Thoughtfully Against the One-Sided, Ill-Founded Kocherthal Report.* The work contains in its seven parts such diverse items as a sermon, a prayer, an English Royal edict, "a short Relation of the Endured Misery and Fate During [the Journey]," and "a Warning-Sermon by a Mr. Johann Tribecko, given for the Returners to London. All Assembled for the Love of Truth and Patriotic Benevolence."[9]

At the center of the second group of early eighteenth-century Swiss-German emigration pamphlets is Jean Pierre Purry's propagandistic tract of 1734 which appeared in French and in German. In English the title reads: *The Now in the New World Merrily and Without Homesickness Living Swiss. Or: Short and Appropriate Description of the Present State of the Royal English Province Carolina.* In time it earned the label "Lugenbüchlein," little book of lies,[10] and was opposed by the broadside *Most Necessary News Concerning Carolina*[11] and by the eighty-page booklet *New Report of Old and New Important Facts, Containing an Informed Discourse and True Letters Concerning the Region of Carolina and Other Plantations in America.* It was, as the title page states, available in Zurich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and St. Gallen.[12]

The third group of pamphlets was linked to the rival undertaking of some Bernese entrepreneurs[13] and to the departure of Moritz Götschi, a Reformed minister, who had lost his pastorate due to marital infidelity and who led some three hundred people avowedly to Carolina, but actually to Pennsylvania.[14] Central were three tracts: Ludwig Weber's *Limping Messenger of Carolina* of 1735,[15] *The Newly-Found Eden* of 1737,[16] issued by Jenner's Helvetische Societät, and the anonymous *Christhold's Thoughts* of 1737 that explicitly opposed Purry's Carolina appeal.[17]

Among the fourth cluster of pamphlets that reached also Swiss-German readers was Michael Schlatter's *Truthful Account of the True Condition of the Mostly Pastorless Parishes in Pennsylvania and the Bordering Provinces* of 1752,[18] Johannes Tobler's *Noteworthy Description of South Carolina* of 1753 and 1754,[19] and Gottlieb Mittelberger's *Journey to Pennsylvania,* published in 1756.[20] Each of these and other such pamphlets deserve scrutiny as to author, content, accuracy, distribution, reception, and significance. This essay, however, probes merely Ochs's *Wegweiser,* which was written in part as a critique of Kocherthal's *Bericht;* what follows reveals that the ideal research agenda can be realized only partially, even for just one emigration guide.

II

Johann Rudolf Ochs was baptized on 12 September 1673, the son of Samuel Ochs, born 1638, and of Rosina, born Herbort. On 5 May 1702, Johann Rudolf married the widow Catharina Lerber, and in June 1705 a son, also named Johann Rudolf, later anglicized to John Ralph, was born to the union. In 1753 the clergyman Rudolf Gruner, "V.D.M. Predicant [Preacher] und Decan [Dean] zu Burgdorff," a compiler of various Bernese genealogies, noted that Johann Rudolf Ochs had "departed in annoyance from his wife to Pennsylvania [zog im verdruß von seiner Frauw in Pennsylvanien] where he remained for long years. 1705."[21] This entry is puzzling since Ochs refers in his *Americanischer Wegweiser* merely to an "eight years' stay in England" and does not claim ever to have been in British North America.[22] Ochs had actually settled in London where, according to Gruner, he had become a Quaker.

By 1711 Ochs was back in Bern, perhaps after the death of his first wife. There he had another son, possibly with a widow named Kirchberger;[23] the child was born on 30 June 1715 and named Rudolf Emmanuel. By 1719 Ochs was back in London, accompanied by his two sons;[24] there he found employment at the royal mint where he rose to prominence. A biographical sketch of 1812 claims that he had become an esteemed artist who was expert in "seal-cutting on metals" as well as in "the cutting of precious stones." The sketch further claims that "[i]n imitating the ancients in [the engraving of] heads and figures he was so outstanding that experts mistake his works as being of genuine antiquity. He knew not only the secret of polishing like the ancients, but even more so that of detailed elaboration."[25] Eventually also Ochs's first son, Johann Rudolf (1705-88), found employment at the royal mint and, after his father's death in 1749 or 1750, followed him in the position of royal

mintmaster.[26] The second son, Rudolf Emmanuel (1715-86), however, pursued a career in commerce; he returned to the city of Bern, "where he established a shop that sold all kinds of textiles."[27]

Between 1711 and 1730 Ochs seems to have lost interest in questions of emigration, but on 30 March 1731 his name appears with that of Jacob Stauber, anglicized Stover, Ezekiel Harlan and Thomas Gould on a petition to the Council of Trade and Plantations. The petitioners hoped for "a joint patent of a free grant of a tract of land to begin at the Double Top Mountain by Hawks Bill Creek including the mountains." The main promoter of this scheme to create "a separate Colony and government under the [na]me of Georgia" was Stauber, a Swiss who had "lived upwards of 20 years in Pennsylvania following husbandry."[28] For three months he had journeyed westward "to make a search after some uninhabited land behind the mountains" of Virginia. He had crossed these "with much pains, great difficulty and hazard of life without any company or seeing any Indians."[29]

It was natural that Stauber involved Ochs, a fellow Swiss who had access to governmental authorities, as main contact for his plans. The petition justified their enterprise as a bulwark against "the French settlements of Missisipy and Canada" and was to prevent their joining together. The entrepreneur promised to carry over

> a great number of Germans and Swiss Protestants who will be chiefly such as can provide for themselves at [ow]n charge, which are also reputed to be a good Militia. . . . [they were to produce] hemp, flax, silk, potash, salt petre with other valuable commodities in which the Germans and Swissers are particularly skilled in (except the silk).

Stauber requested "a speedy decision" so he could recruit people in Germany and Switzerland.[30]

Negotiations, however, dragged on for two years. On 13 May 1731 Sir William Keith's similar petition was read again to the Board of Trade and Plantations. It promised "to settle in three years time 300 Switz and German families, all Protestants."[31] On 3 August the Duke of Newcastle transmitted the petition again, signed once more by Keith, Gould, Ochs, Stauber and Harlan. They stressed "their credit with the Indian Nations of America" and planned "to bring over some thousands of families" since they were in "correspondence with many substantial industrious people of the protestant Cantons of Switzerland, and other parts of Germany."[32] Keith and Stauber were the main link to British North America; Ochs had ties to the entrepreneurial elites of Bern. Stauber's scheme failed, however, due to the stiff opposition of "the Lords Baltimore and Fairfax."[33] Efforts to assure them—"Petitioners had not the least intention to deprive them of a hand's breath of land"[34]—were of no avail.

Although Stauber returned to Pennsylvania in late October 1732, having "invested and lost two years of his life and all his cash in this venture,"[35] Ochs continued his efforts to become an emigration entrepreneur. On 12 November 1734 his request to the Board of Trade was read that declared:

> Petitioner did not intend to make any further solicitations, but being every year troubled with these poor strangers that came over, to provide them passage and take care of them, which he hath now done these two years, with much loss of time, assisting them in all honesty, integrity, good advice and expence, having sent last year 57 persons att their request to Pensilvania, and this year in 2 shipps 49 persons to S. Carolina, induces him to offer his service once more.[36]

Because some 300,000 acres had already been taken up behind those mountains, Ochs explained, their lordships might be inclined "to assign land up to the mountains in Virginy and going southwards into North Carolina along the sayd mountains for about 150 miles in length and 50 in breadth." He proposed to settle "the Swissers" there because being near the mountains would "be most agreeable" to their "constitutions."[37]

By 1734, however, Jean Pierre Purry, another Swiss emigration entrepreneur, had embarked successfully on a venture in South Carolina. On 12 August his report was received by the Board of Trade that stated he had "embarked at Calais in three vessels 270 Swiss with whom he is sailing for S. Carolina."[38] Ochs viewed Purry's enterprise with suspicion and observed that "a little book of Mr. Purry by too much praise of Carolina and without instruction hath set the people on, for going there, which come without any certainty, or money, and the little they have, is spend't by a long ill-contriv'd and unseasonable voyage."[39] Yet Purry's undertaking was then at its height and the British authorities hesitated to get involved in another venture. But on 15 September 1735 another of Ochs's petitions was dealt with by the Board of Trade. In it he reiterated that he had "these 2 years been much troubled with a good number of German and Swiss Protestants"; he had assisted them "with the utmost care, and fidelity, loss of much time, and expence, to the best of his knowledge and their intire satisfaction." Yet he had realized that assistance in London alone was not enough, that he should "take also care that they may be well settled together, upon good land, in a healthy situation, and temperate climate."

Ochs asked, therefore, for a land grant of twenty square miles. The prospective settlers would all be Protestant in faith, be naturalized on arrival in British North America, receive fifty acres each, and be exempt from paying duties on goods taken along as well as from quitrents for fifteen years. At his boldest, Ochs requested for his services "an annual allowance for some years" and for "a certain quantity of land free from quit rent forever."[40]

Nothing came of this proposal nor of later schemes as the one submitted by "Samuel Jenner, Agent for the Switzers," like Ochs also of Bern. On 22 January 1736 Jenner's petition was dealt with that asked for land in the "upland part of North Carolina" that had remained "uncultivated, uninhabited, and at present useless." Once five hundred "Switzers" are settled therein, a new district was to be created exclusively for them.[41] Although none of the schemes materialized in which Ochs was involved, he had been an honest adviser and helper of

German-speaking emigrants who passed through London. A close reading of his 1711 emigration guide shows that he was not out for profit, but genuinely concerned about the emigrants' well-being. His approach resembled that of his fellow Quaker, William Penn, whose emigration appeals too had been models of "honesty, integrity [and] good advice."

III

Ochs's *Wegweiser* starts with a brief address to the Bernese government. His booklet, Ochs explained, aimed to offer "such certain and believable particulars and descriptions which til now had been available neither in English nor in German nor from other writers."[42] He had gathered his data with care. He had inquired "thoroughly and comprehensively at reliable and well-known places as to the nature of the North American provinces." He had done it initially merely for himself, but then friends had urged him to make his findings widely known because various European nations had embarked on colonizing North America, and the Bernese lords, too, "might themselves view those regions of such quality that they could help solve this or that domestic problem."[43]

In his preface, Ochs observed that "because of the hard and sad times" many had heard of British North America, "not merely from curiosity, but from serious interest." Since few reliable facts were known about it, however, his "present little tract" hoped to offer useful information not only about the country's fertility, commerce, and available land, "but also about the cost of moving to there, on how to prepare for the journey, also which province was the most advisable to select." As to the general description of the land and its people, Ochs had followed John Lawson's work of 1709 on North Carolina. As to matters of trade, he had gathered data from "trustworthy merchants and other honest people"; as to the journey, his knowledge derived "from reliable experience." He had written his book "exclusively for the guidance, advantage, and instruction of the common man."[44]

Chapters one through eight of the *Wegweiser* describe climate, geography, fauna, flora, and the inhabitants. The message is clear: Of all the British North American provinces the Carolinas were the least populated, thus the most desirable for potential emigrants; their climate was mild, their winters were short, although June, July, and August were quite hot with occasionally violent thunderstorms; also drought was not uncommon as it had occurred in 1709. Chapter three features the Carolinas' inhabitants. Most were English, with a few interspersed French and German households. The North Carolinians generally led a "leisured life (ein müßiges Leben)" because they could safeguard their livelihood with little work.[45] South Carolina's people, in contrast, were busily engaged in trade. The Carolinians were healthier than Europeans, Ochs claimed; their families were large, their women fertile, and their young people well disciplined. The laws were sensible and attempts at creating a landed nobility had failed. The country's elected deputies "did not want to allow that one inhabitant should be more

than the other."[46] Taxes were light, services in kind minimal, and justices of the peace kept order and adjudicated minor conflicts. The indigenous people were divided into many small, at times mutually hostile nations; they were generally pleasant, if unable to resist the newcomers' designs. After commenting on the indigenous people's clothing, eating habits, and dwellings, Ochs stated: "One could talk further about their way of hunting, warfare, also of their households, rules, and customs; yet because such things merely serve to satisfy curiosity rather than our purpose, we want to pass over it for the sake of brevity."[47]

Chapter nine is the *Wegweiser's* most unique part and deals with the "advantage to be derived from this province (die Nutzbarkeit / so an dieser Provintz zu erheben)." Ochs started with the explicit assumption that a family of six would receive three hundred acres of "wild and uninhabited land, part of which was to border on a river," part to be moist, thus treeless and part was to have fruit trees, but not evergreens "because these would indicate sandy and bad soil."[48]

Ochs then described in detail what and how much to plant in the first year, what the yield to be expected might be, and at what price it might be sold. He assumed that the colonists would arrive in September and spend the first four weeks with building a log cabin. They would then devote December through February to the felling of trees, the clearing of land, and the preparation of the ground for planting, without, however, clearing it from the tree stumps. Then the farmer would use

> one acre for Indian corn, one for barley, one half for peas, the other half for a vegetable garden. On the first acre he would sow 1½ measure of Indian corn, on the other 3 measures of barley, one half acre with 2 measures of peas; in the moist land where no wood stands [he would] prepare 2 acres for the planting of rice and would plant them with 10 pounds of rice; from which planting (in case God protected it from mishap) one could harvest (with God's blessing) from 4½ acres in this first year . . . :
>
2 acres rice in 600-fold increase of 10 pounds	= 60 cent.
1 acre Indian corn in 500-fold increase of 1½ measure	= 187½ bushels
½ acre peas in 20-fold increase of 2 measures	= 10 bushels
1 acre barley in 20-fold increase of 3 measures	= 15 bushels

> . . . Of this harvest the household would need 104 measures, i.e., 13 bushels of barley, 13 bushels of Indian corn, 1 bushel of peas in addition to the produce from the garden, and a hundredweight of rice. Thus the following amount of the harvest could be sold at the following prices:
>
Rice, 59 hundredweights à 2½ Rthl [Reichsthaler]	= 147 Rthl.
Indian corn, 174 bushels à 2 shillings, i.e., 10 batzen	= 58 Rthl.
Barley, 2 bushels à 3 shillings, i.e., 15 batzen	= 1 Rthl.
Peas, 9 bushels à 3 shillings, i.e., 15 batzen	= 4½ Rthl.
The value of the harvest in the first year comes to	210½ Rthl.[49]

Ochs then discussed the second year with similar attention to acres, probable yields, and possible profits from the sale of the surplus, then

repeated the same for the third year. Detailed comments on cattle, cheese and butter making, silk production, and trading opportunities, especially with the British Caribbean, complemented his extensive portrait, taking into account low, middle and high market prices. Rice, flour, Indian corn, beef and pork, all these could be sold advantageously, according to Ochs, because South Carolina provided the West Indies with these and other commodities.[50]

The *Wegweiser's* final chapter deals with the journey. It was no trifling matter, Ochs observed, because it "had to be made mostly on the high seas which created unfounded terror and fear in those who had never been on them; the distance from England to Carolina, furthermore, was 1,200 hours, all of which appears to be horrifying." For many such facts weighed far more than "all the welfare, benefit, and amusement one might be able to enjoy in that land."[51] Ochs then tried to show that in actuality the journey was manageable if people traveled in groups, planned every step with care, relied only on honest people and selected ships that were commanded by competent captains. He also listed needed provisions in food, clothing, and tools, possible incidental costs, and expenses incurred on arrival.

Ochs's guide is a model of attempted accuracy and caution. It contains none of Purry's simplifications and half-truths and is more detailed than Kocherthal's report. Unfortunately, the pamphlet's *Rezeptionsgeschichte,* that is, its dispersal, reception, and influence, are unknown. The Bernese government did vote Ochs fifty thalers, however, in recognition for his labors, and several of its members remained deeply involved in the pursuit of transatlantic settlements, possibly as extensions of their own city state, as John Lawson had observed:

> Mr. Francis Louis Mitchell, of Bern in Switzerland, . . . has been employed by the Canton of Bern to find out a Tract of Land in the English America where the Republick might settle some of their People; which Proposal, I believe, is now in a fair way towards a Conclusion between her Majesty of Great Britain and that Canton. Which must needs be of great Advantage to both; . . . nothing can be of more Security and Advantage to the Crown and subjects of Great Britain, than to have our Frontiers secured by a warlike People, and our Friends, as the Switzers are.[52]

Today, Ochs's tract is quite rare. In 1912, Albert B. Faust found but two copies extant in Switzerland, both at the library of the University of Bern.[53] It appears likely that Bernese entrepreneurs such as Georg Ritter and Franz Ludwig Michel were the actual promoters of Ochs's *Wegweiser,* men with whom he remained allied for the next three decades. Strategically stationed in London, he served as a vital link between Bern and the powers at the English court. Thus his work, although professedly written for the "common man," actually was to reach those interested in making the promotion of emigration a profitable business, perhaps even a matter of expansionist statecraft.

IV

A recent work titled *Colonial Encounters* stresses "how difficult it is to

develop the kind of critical vocabulary necessary for textual interrogation," that is, to raise questions "that make a text speak more than it knows."[54] These tracts, be they for or against emigration, are not innocent texts, not only because they are often embedded in rival entrepreneurial pursuits, but—more decisively—because they are part of the European transatlantic colonial discourse, that is, of a cognitive construct that was to enable people to participate, be it merely in the humble function of "settler," in the establishment of a radical Caucasian transatlantic dominance. From this perspective, four observations seem relevant.

First, Ochs's work neither mentions nor features enslavement, either of Carolina's indigenous "Indian" people, or of captive black people imported for sale from Africa or the Caribbean. Although Ochs strove valiantly to be truthful, it did not enable him to discover these crucial, if inconvenient facts about Carolina. Second, like most of the German-language emigration tracts of the early eighteenth century, Ochs used the word "Landschaft (region or landscape)" as a crucial term of his title. Does this not imply an unconscious, yet effective separation of Carolina as mere land (to be taken) from Carolina as an already peopled land (to be ignored)? This creates, to use Peter Hulme's formulation, "an identity that dissimulates the existence of any relationship between the two at the moment of their encounter with Europe."[55] This corresponds with a third observation, that is, Ochs's marginalization of the Caucasian takeover of Carolina. He tells the Bernese political and entrepreneurial elite as well as the artisans, mountain peasants, and midland farmers with disarming brevity and simplicty: Of the indigenous Indian peoples there were many, but they were split into small, separate, at times mutually hostile entities, "therefore the Europeans could take possession of their land so easily (Deßwegen die Europäer so leichtlich ihres Land in Besitz nemmen könten)." He adds, however, that of all British North American colonies only Carolina had not spilled native blood: "dennoch ist keine Provintz wie Carolina ohne Blutvergiessen der Indianer / mit welchen die Europäer niemahls Streit gehabt / in Besitz genommen worden."[56] The truth was, of course, far different.[57]

Fourth, Ochs not only marginalized the takeover, he also felt no need to raise the juridicial or moral question. Whereas John Winthrop explicitly had tried to justify the takeover of Massachusetts Bay in 1629,[58] by the dawn of the eighteenth century public discourse had largely dropped such questioning. Reduced to basics, Ochs's message, as formulated in his *Wegweiser* of 1711, was far simpler: The Carolinas were still in their infancy as to their European peopling; the indigenous people, called savages, though nice and benign, were irrelevant to that process; either he did not know about slavery or he did not find it worthwhile talking about it; the available lands were in part magnificently fertile and attractive, although far away and difficult to reach; yet careful planning and the pooling of resources would make the journey bearable, the settling process successful, and the working of the land, especially of trade-oriented South Carolina, highly profitable. Thus

Ochs united mercantilism with colonialism and concerns of entrepreneurial elites with those of so-called common folk. His booklet is devoid of that "colonial anxiety"[59] that John Winthrop or Roger Williams[60] had so sharply wrestled with and that is still apparent in William Penn's late seventeenth-century promotional tracts. By 1711, public discourse had moved beyond such trifles.

These reflections do not intend to belittle Ochs's impressive short work. They hope, rather, to lift that segment of the German-American press, of which it is a small example, out of its merely antiquarian significance into an interpretative realm that general American immigration history tends to ignore.

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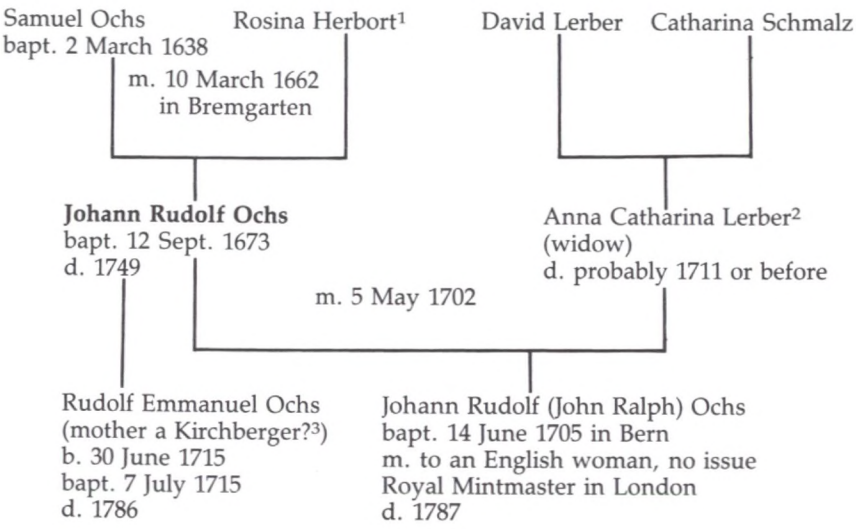
Appendix

Tentative Family Tree of Johann Rudolf Ochs



[1] Or Ester Koch.
[2] According to Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1 "Ochs."
[3] Widow of Pastor Johann Niclaus of Affoltern.

Manuscript Sources Consulted, Burgerbibliothek Bern:
1. Johan Gruner, "Genealogia," 1753, Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 43.
2. Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1, 101.
3. Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 31: "Ochs."
4. Mss. Hist. Helv. VIII, 17: "Ochs."

Secondary Sources Consulted:
1. *Dictionary of National Biography* (1964), 14:798.

2. His, Eduard. *Chronik der Familie Ochs, genannt His* (Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1943), 329.

3. *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1929), 5:329.

4. Lutz, Markus. *Nekrolog denkwürdiger Schweizer aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert . . .* (Aarau: Heinrich Remigius Sauerländer, 1812), 380.

5. Volmar, P. F. *Sammlung Bernischer Biographien* (Bern: Schmid & Francke, 1898), 3:212–13.

Notes

[1] Peter Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean 1492–1797* (London: Methuen, 1986), 1.

[2] Ludwik Fleck, *Entstehung und Entwicklung einer wissenschaftlichen Tatsache: Einführung in die Lehre vom Denkstil und Denkkollektiv,* ed. Lothar Schäfer and Thomas Schnelle (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1980), esp. 129–37; originally published in Basel: Benno Schwabe, 1935; English version: *Genesis and Development of a Scientific Fact,* ed. Thaddeus J. Trenn and Robert K. Merton, trans. Fred Bradley and Thaddeus J. Trenn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), esp. 98–105.

[3] See Julius F. Sachse, "Title Pages of Book[s] and Pamphlets That Influenced German Emigration to Pennsylvania," *The Pennsylvania-German Society Proceedings and Addresses* 7 (1897): 175–256; numerous title pages are given in facsimile.

[4] For a survey see Leo Schelbert, "Swiss," *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups,* ed. Stephan Thernstrom (1980), 983–84; an in-depth survey of Swiss in colonial British North America is still lacking.

[5] See Helmut Mathy and Karl Scherer, "Einführung," *Außführlich- und umständlicher Bericht . . . Von Kocherthalern,* 4th ed. (Neustadt an der Weinstraße: D. Meininger Verlag, 1983), unpaginated; citation on p. 5.

[6] The fourth edition—expanded by three appendices not by Harrsch, but "the entrepreneurially clever publisher" (ibid.)—was especially influential because it seemed to intimate that emigrants would receive financial support from the British government. Its complete title page reads: *Außführlich- und umständlicher Bericht von der berühmten Landschafft Carolina / In dem Engelländischen America gelegen. An Tag gegeben Von Kocherthalern. Vierter Druck / Mit Anhängen / zweyer Engelischen Authoren gethanen Beschreibung / und eines auff der Reyse dahin begriffenen Hochteutschen auß Londen Benachrichtigung; Nebst Einer Land-Carte von Carolina vermehrt* (Franckfurt am Mäyn / Zu finden bey Georg Heinrich Oehrling/ Anno MDCCIX).

[7] *Americanischer Wegweiser Oder Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung der Englischen Provintzen in Nord-America, Sonderlich aber der Landschafft Carolina / Mit grossem Fleiß zusammen getragen und an den Tag gegeben Durch Joh. Rudolff Ochs / Neben einer neuen und correcten Land-Karte von Nord- und Sud-Carolina* (Bern / Anno MDCCXI).

[8] See *Neue deutsche Biographie* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1955), 2:387.

[9] *Das verlangte / nicht erlangte Canaan bey den lustgräbern; oder Ausführliche beschreibung von der unglücklichen reise derer jüngsthin aus Teutschland nach dem engelländischen in America gelegenen Carolina und Pensylvanien wallenden pilgrim / absonderlich dem einseitigen übelgegründeten Kochenthalerischen bericht wohlbedächtig entgegen gesetzt in I. Einem beantwortungsschreiben etlicher diese sach angehenden fragen; nebst einer Vorrede Moritz Wilhelm Höens. II. Ermahnungsschreiben an die bereits dahin verreisste Teutsche / Anthon Wilhelm Böhmens. III. Der Berg-predigt Christi / und gebettern vor die noch dahin auf dem Weg begriffenen etc. IV. Königl. englischen deswegen nach Teutschland erlassenen Abmahnung. V. Kurtzen relation, jener dabey erlittenen elendes und schicksals. VI. Noch einer andern relation davon. VII. Einem Stück der Warnungspredigt von Hn. Johann Tribecko / etc. den zuruckreisenden in Londen gehalten. Alles aus liebe zur warheit und patriotischem wohlmeinen zusammen verfasset* (Franckfurt und Leipzig, Andreä, 1711); Johann Tribecko is perhaps Johannes Tribbechow (1677–1712), also a Pietist preacher who served Queen Anne's husband and wrote a prayerbook in 1710 for the dispersed Palatines. See *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1894), 38:598–601.

[10] *Der nunmehro in der Neuen Welt vergnügt und ohne Heimwehe lebende Schweitzer. Oder:*

Kurtze und eigentliche Beschreibung des gegenwärtigen Zustandes der Königlichen englischen Provinz Carolina, aus den neulich angekommenen Briefen / der alldorten sich befindenden Schweitzeren zusamengetragen von J. K. L. (Bern, getruckt bey Joh. Bondeli, 1734); see Leo Schelbert, "On the Power of Pietism: A Documentary on the Thommens of Schaefferstown," *Historic Schaefferstown Record* 17 (July and October 1983): 47, letter of Durs Thommen of 19 October 1736; also Leo Schelbert and Hedwig Rappolt, eds., *Alles ist ganz anders hier: Auswandererbriefe aus zwei Jahrhunderten* (Olten, Switzerland: Walter Verlag, 1977), 75, 81, 95.

[11] *Nöthigste Nachricht betreffend Carolina, aus den Weitläuffigern kurtz gefasset, für den gemeinen Mann* (1734).

[12] *Neue Nachricht alter und neuer Merkwürdigkeiten, enthaltend ein vertrautes Gespräch und sichere Briefe von der Landschafft Carolina und übrigen Pflantz-Städten in Amerika.* Zu finden zu Zürich, Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen u. St. Gallen in den Bericht-Häusern gegen Ende des Jahres 1734.

[13] A leading figure was Samuel Jenner who was collaborating with William Byrd (Wilhelm Vogel!) of Westover who in 1735 had "secured rights to a huge tract of 100,000 acres on the Dan River." See Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1969), 25–26. On the Jenner family see also *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1927) 4:396–98; there were several Samuel Jenners: No. 19 (1683–1759) or No. 50 (1666–1759) is possibly the one in question.

[14] See Hans Ulrich Pfister, "Zürcher Auswanderung nach Amerika 1734/1735: Die Reisegruppe um Pfarrer Moritz Götschi," *Zürcher Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1986* (Zurich 1985), 45–99; also the petition for support in *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and the West Indies* (London, 1953), 41:296, appears to have come from the Götschi group.

[15] *Der Hinckende Bott von Carolina, oder Ludwig Webers von Wallisellen Beschreibung seiner Reise von Zürich gen Rotterdam, mit derjenigen Gesellschaft, welche neulich aus dem Schweizerland in Carolinam zu ziehen gedacht* (Zürich, 1735).

[16] *Neu-gefundenes Eden. Oder: Außführlicher Bericht von Sud- und Nord-Carolina, Pensilphania, Mary-Land / & Virginia. Entworffen durch zwey in dise Provintzen gemachten Reisen, Reiß-Journal, und ville Brieffen / dardurch der gegenwärtige Zustand diser Länderen warhafftig entdecket / und dem Nebenmenschen zu gutem an Tag gelegt wird. Samt beygefügtem Anhang, oder freye Unterweisung zu dem verlohrnen / nun aber wieder gefundenen Lapide Philosophorum [Philosophers' Stone], dardurch man bald zur Vergnügung / und wahrer Reichthum gelangen kan* (In Truck verfertiget durch Befelch der Helvetischen Societät, 1737).

[17] *Christholds Gedancken, Bey Anlaß der Bewegung / welche die bekante Beschreibung von Carolina, in America, in unserm Land verursacht / und der vor etlichen Tagen dahin geschehenen Abreiß verschiedener von unserm Volck.*

[18] *Wahrhafte Erzehlung von dem wahren Zustand der meist Hirtenlosen Gemeinden in Pensilvanien und denen angrenzenden Provinzen, von Michael Schlatter, Evangelisch Reformirten Prediger zu Philadelphia, denen Hoch-Ehrwürdigen Christlichen Synoden in den Niederlanden, wie auch andern mildthätigen Christen in Holländischer Sprache vorgestellt. Nunmehro aber von dem Verfasser selbst in die deutsche Sprache übersetzet, und zugleich an die löbliche Reformirte Eidgenoßenschaften und Ministeria in der Schweitz dediciret, nebst einem Vorbericht der Verordneten von der Classe zu Amsterdam* (Frankfurt a.M., gedruckt bey Ph. Eichenberg d. Jüngeren, 1752).

[19] Johannes Tobler, "Beschreibung von Carolina," *Alter und verbesserter Schreib-Calender, Auf das G. G. Gnadenreiche Christ-Jahr MDCCLIV. Nach dem Meridian der der Löbl. Ständen Glarus, Appenzell und der drey Bündten gestellet. Neben andern nuz-ergözlichen Erforderlichkeiten mit einer merckwürdigen Beschreibung von Süd-Carolina versehen, verfasset und bemeldt Dreyen Löblichen Ständen dedicirt von Herr Johannes Tobler, ehedemigen Lands-Hauptmann des Löbl. Stands Appenzell, A. R. nunmehrigem Königl. Gross-Britannischen Friedens-Richter zu Granwil County in Süd-Carolina* (St. Gallen: Hans Jacob Hochreütiner [1753]), unpaginated; Tobler's text on pp. 32–42; a richly annotated version in English is Walter L. Robbins, ed. and trans., "John Tobler's Description of South Carolina (1753)," and "(1754)," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71 (July 1970): 141–61; (October 1970): 257–65.

[20] *Gottlieb Mittelberger's Reise nach Pennsylvanien im jahr 1750. und rückreise nach Teutschland im jahr 1754. Enthaltend nicht nur eine beschreibung des landes nach seinem gegenwärtigen zustande, sondern auch eine ausführliche nachricht von den unglückseligen und*

betrübten umständen der meisten Teutschen, die in dieses land gezogen sind, und dahin ziehen (Frankfurth und Leipzig, 1756); a version in English is: Gottlieb Mittelberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania*, ed. and trans. Oscar Handlin and John Clive (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1960).

[21] John R. Gruner, "Genealogia," 1753, Mss. Hist. Helv. XVIII, 43, in Burgerbibliothek Bern, Switzerland; see appendix for a genealogical chart with corresponding bibliographical data; Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 30, also assumes that Ochs spent a number of years in America; the *Wegweiser*, however, opens the dedicatory preface with: "Zur Zeit meines acht-jährigen Auffenthalts in Engelland (at the time of my eight years' stay in England)"; the preface is dated "Bern, den 20. Jenner (January) 1711." This would imply that Ochs left Bern in 1703, the year after his marriage.

[22] Ochs's first wife was a Lerber; Franz Ludwig Michel reported that he met "the four sisters Lerber from Berne" in Mattapony and, also, that "their mother had died shortly after arrival"; see William J. Hinke, ed. and trans., "Report on the Journey of Franz Louis Michel from Berne, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701–December 1, 1702," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 24 (April 1916): 115–16; the relationship between these Lerbers and Ochs's wife remains undetermined; these Lerbers were mentioned in the context of Anabaptism.

[23] See Samuel von Werdt, "Stammtafeln," II, 1, "Ochs," 6, in Burgerbibliothek Bern; according to Werdt she was the widow of Pastor Johann Niclaus of Affoltern.

[24] The sources are silent about Ochs's wife.

[25] Markus Lutz, *Nekrolog denkwürdiger Schweizer aus dem achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Aarau, Switzerland: Sauerländer, 1812), 380.

[26] *Dictionary of National Biography* (1964) 14:798.

[27] Gruner, "Genealogia," 12.

[28] *Calendar of State Papers: Colonial Series: America and the West Indies, 1731* (London: His Majesty's Stationary Office, 1938), 38:76–77; cited hereafter as *Calendar;* the Staubers were an ancient family of Volketswil, Canton Zurich. See *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (1931), 6:508.

[29] *Calendar* 38:76; on Stauber see also Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 30–32; main documents are offered by Ann V. Strickler, ed., "Colony West of the Blue Ridge, Proposed by Jacob Stauber and Others, 1731, etc.," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 35 (April 1927): 175–90; (July): 258–66; 36 (January 1928): 54–70.

[30] *Calendar* 38:77.

[31] Ibid., 103–4.

[32] Ibid., 212.

[33] Ibid., 302.

[34] Ibid., (1939), 39:207.

[35] Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 31.

[36] *Calendar* (1953), 41:309.

[37] Ibid., 310.

[38] Ibid., 186.

[39] *Calendar* (1953), 42:61.

[40] Ibid., 60–61 passim.

[41] Ibid., 152–53; ibid., No. 238 i, reference to "a deputation from several Switzers (Joachim Laurent [Lorenz] Haberling de Schenenberg [Schönenberg], Lord of Heffenhoffen [Diesenhofen?] and Moos, John Ulrick and Jacob Haberling, Lords of Mauve [Mauren] etc. three brothers and free habitants of the Province [Canton] of Tergovie [Thurgau] in Switzerland) to Samuel Jenner for obtaining a tract of 300,000 acres for them in Carolina. Heffenhoffen in Turgovie. 16th Oct. 1735"; the brothers belonged to the family Häberling; Hans Ulrich (1668–1739) had served as mayor of Mauren. See *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon* (1924), 2:717–18; (1927), 4:41; (1931), 6:232.

[42] Ochs, *Wegweiser*, 4.

[43] Ibid., 3–4.

[44] Ibid., 6–7 passim.

[45] Ibid., 23.

[46] Ibid., 28.

[47] Ibid., 35.

[48] Ibid., 75.

[49] Ibid., 76–77; on the monetary denomination "Thaler," see Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon* (Halle, 1742; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1962), 43: cols. 358–69.

[50] Ochs, *Wegweiser,* 82–83.

[51] Ibid., 86.

[52] *Lawson's History of North Carolina,* ed. Frances L. Harriss (Richmond, VA: Garrett & Massie, 1937), 218.

[53] Albert B. Faust, *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1916), 31.

[54] Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 11–12.

[55] Ibid., 1.

[56] Ochs, *Wegweiser,* 32.

[57] For a description of conflicts see E. Lawrence Lee, *Indian Wars in North Carolina, 1663–1763* (Raleigh, NC: A Publication of the Carolina Charter Tercentenary Commission, 1963), esp. chapter 3: "Early Indian Wars 1663–1711," 14–20; cheating by white traders, enslavement and sale to the West Indies, and encroachment on indigenously held lands caused bitter, if localized, strife; Lee discusses "the Clarendon County War" of 1667 (15–16); the "Chowanoc War" of 1675–77, and the war against the Coree people; in 1711 the war against the Tuscarora began (21–38); it was followed by the bloody Yamasee and Cheraw Wars 1715–18 (39–45).

[58] For a convenient summary with corresponding documents see Darrett B. Rutman, *John Winthrop's Decision for America: 1629,* The America's Alternatives Series, ed. Harold M. Hyman (Philadelphia; J. B. Lippincott, 1975), 40–44.

[59] Hulme, *Colonial Encounters,* 2.

[60] Rutman, *Winthrop's Decision,* 40–44; on Roger Williams see, e.g., *The Complete Writings of Roger Williams* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 2:46–47, where John Cotton summarizes Williams's views and counters them along the lines of John Winthrop.

Hans Rudolf Guggisberg

Philip Schaff's Vision of America

Philip Schaff (1819–93) liked to think of himself as a "bridge maker" between Europe and America.[1] He strove hard indeed to explain Europe to Americans by emphasizing its history, religion, theology, and ecclesiastical traditions, topics quite natural for a theologian and church historian. But Schaff also considered it his duty to explain the United States to Europeans. He had a distinctive vision of America which he strove to promulgate in numerous talks and several publications.

Between 1844, when Schaff arrived in the United States, and 1893, the year he died, Schaff crossed the Atlantic fourteen times. On every journey he spent considerable time in Germany, where he was schooled, and in Switzerland, where he was born and had spent the early years of his youth. He gave numerous public talks on his European tours and held many private conversations with people of influence. Although religious issues were foremost on his mind, he also dealt with secular topics, especially as they touched matters of faith.

Schaff's view of the United States underwent several changes. This essay outlines, first, his initial assumptions and their transformation during the first decade after his arrival in the United States. It probes, second, the impact of the Civil War on Schaff's perceptions and, third, his view of the United States when he had reached the height of his career at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. The essay concludes with a brief discussion of the European reaction to Schaff's interpretation of America.

I

Even before his emigration to the United States in 1844, Schaff had formed a distinctive view of that nation. In the spirit of Paul, the Apostle, he interpreted the invitation to Mercersburg Seminary as a missionary calling that had been given him by divine providence. He rejoiced in the opportunity "to teach German theology in a land with great creative activity before it, which breathes the fresh air of spring

and where movement can develop unhampered from without."[2] In his Elberfeld ordination sermon of 12 April 1844 Schaff identified three great dangers threatening American religious life: heathenism, Romanism, and sectarianism. He was prepared to fight these dangers and also, to save Protestant German immigrants from materialism, lawlessness, and the anti-gospel spirit.[3] These goals also shaped Schaff's first American book. Titled *The Principle of Protestantism* and published in 1845, it continued criticizing American sectarianism and divisiveness. Yet a more positive view of America began to emerge: he became convinced that the United States eventually would become the land of a truly Christian catholic union.[4] Although this view was to bring Schaff considerable difficulties, it was to remain a central tenet of his view of the United States.

During his first ten years at Mercersburg, Schaff became more and more sympathetic towards his adopted country. Although not blind to the darker side of American social and political life during the 1840s, he became increasingly fascinated, as George Shriver has pointed out, with the seemingly limitless possibilities of an expanding nation. In the short tract *Anglo-Germanism,* published in 1846, Schaff predicted American world leadership in both the religious and secular realm. Despite personal and professional setbacks, he had become thoroughly Americanized.[5]

Schaff's book, *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social and Religious Character of the United States* (published in 1855), reveals this development.[6] It is his most important and best-known attempt of explaining the United States to Europeans. The work consists of three lectures which he delivered in Berlin and Frankfurt during his sabbatical leave from Mercersburg in 1854. He had already presented parts of them also in other German and Swiss cities, notably in Basel which he visited in August of that year.[7] Perry Miller praises this book highly. He considers it an astute exposition of the fundamental character of American civilization, a document of primary importance that illuminated not only the phenomenon of Americanization, but also persistent problems in the dialogue between Europe and the United States.[8] From a late twentieth-century perspective, however, Miller's judgment, while valid in principle, seems overly positive. Although Schaff's book remains of interest today, it bears no comparison to Tocqueville's *Democracy in America,* as Miller implies. It is far less original and reveals a much more limited outlook. Since Schaff was not a visitor, but a scholar who had chosen to pursue his academic career in the United States, his work is important mainly for revealing the Americanization of its author.

If one compares Schaff's views of American religious life as presented in *America* with those in *Principle of Protestantism,* one observes at once that his stance had changed from one of criticism to one of complete identification. In the earlier book he had castigated American sectarianism and religious discord; now he presented a thoroughly positive view of American religious pluralism. After ten years of intense professional effort, Schaff discarded the fundamental assumptions of the European state church environment and assessed American re-

ligious voluntarism not as corroding deviance leading to anarchy, but as a dawn of genuine ecumenical denominationalism. The United States was to become the land of true Christian union:

> America seems destined to be the Phenix grave not only of all European nationalities . . . but also of all European churches and sects, of Protestantism and Romanism. I cannot think that any one of the present confessions and sects . . . will ever become exclusively dominant there, but rather, that out of the mutual conflict of all, something wholly new will gradually arise.[9]

This then was Schaff's main goal for his book: He wanted to show that the fate not only of the Reformation, but of Christendom as a whole would eventually be decided in the United States.[10]

In his later writings Schaff was to become more outspoken on the issue of the separation of church and state. It was in *America,* however, where he began explicitly to defend it,[11] a sign of his transition to an Americanized view of Christianity's place in the world. This work is also noteworthy for its conservatism. When featuring the past of the United States, Schaff never missed an opportunity to deride radical ideas and people. The American Revolution, for instance, he judged to have been radically different from revolutions in Europe. It had been led, he claimed, by pious and pragmatic men who did not succumb to radicalism and therefore reached their own aims. The only radical thinker of revolutionary America had been Tom Paine. His success was but brief, however, and he soon lost influence; right-thinking Americans had always rejected his ideas.[12] Schaff was equally impatient with the mid-nineteenth-century revolutionary movements. He deplored the refugees of the 1848 revolutions who sought asylum in the United States. In his view, they imported pernicious materialism, secularism, and radicalism into the United States.[13]

Other targets of Schaff's conservative criticism were feminism and abolitionism.[14] On slavery he spoke as a moderate in 1854, purporting that it would die out by itself eventually and that abolitionist propaganda was only hindering this process.[15] He remained indifferent to the sad situation of the American Indians, and Asian immigration he regarded with unabashedly racist scorn.[16] Among Christian denominations he denounced Roman Catholicism as un-American and Mormonism as outright non-Christian.[17] The American mind, in his opinion, had been essentially shaped by Anglo-Saxon and Germanic traditions.[18] Here Schaff appears as a forerunner of late nineteenth-century American Teutonism. His nationalism is most optimistically expressed in the confidence that America was on the way to become not only the leading Christian nation, but also one of the great world powers.[19]

While these ideas are only marginally developed in *America,* they become central in Schaff's work, *American Nationality,* which he published in 1856. It is a thoroughly nationalistic tract that assigns to the United States a truly global mission. In his view it was no idle dream or vain conceit to look

> forward to a time when North America will be, in some sense, the centre of the world, the middle Kingdom between Europe and Asia, the great beating heart of humanity itself, sending out the life blood of nations to the extremities of the earth and gathering them into one vast brotherhood of interest of love.[20]

All this would happen under the sign of divine providence. Christianity would spread from America over the whole world and establish universal peace.

Yet in truly American fashion, Schaff joined this lofty claim to a humility that derived from the Reformed view of God's radical lordship when he declared:

> Such high views on the history of our nation, so far from nourishing the spirit of vanity and self-glorification, ought rather to humble and fill us with a deep sense of our responsibility to the God of Nations who entrusted us with a great mission for the world and the Church, not from any superior excellency of our own, but from free choice and an inscrutable decree of infinite wisdom.[21]

Here again the immigrant scholar completely identified with the traditional American self-view as it had been shaped by seventeenth-century Puritanism. Yet as in his previous writings, Schaff remained keenly aware of what he viewed as the mortal dangers of American society: worldliness, materialism, radicalism, and corruption. Now he identified a further threat, the emergence of "that contemptible mushroom aristocracy whose only boast is glittering gold, unable to conceal the native vulgarity."[22] This anticipates Henry Adams's critique of the Gilded Age and also Jacob Burckhardt's comments on New York's plutocrats in his reflections on world history, published in English under the title *Force and Freedom.* Yet Schaff castigated one more evil, the emerging American imperialism, "the practical schemes of our manifest-destinarians, who would swallow, in one meal, Cuba, all Central America, Mexico and Canada in the bargain."[23] On the surface this seems to contradict Schaff's previous claim that the United States was destined for world leadership. Yet to him, the distinction was crucial: The advocates of Manifest Destiny were not guided by religious or moral concerns. As a theologian who believed in a Christian America, he rejected purely secular imperialist ambitions.

II

In his book, *America,* Schaff had expressed relatively moderate views on slavery and was critical of radical abolitionism although he considered "the peculiar institution" a great evil and a flagrant contradiction to American ideals of humanity and equality. Although he understood slavery's historical origins, he thought that it could never be excused. It was the Achilles' heel of the United States and could, in his view, lead to national catastrophy. In both books Schaff spoke of "the terrible prospects of civil war and dissolution of the union."[24] The danger of civil strife apparently shocked him even more deeply than the existence

of slavery. Commenting on the 1856 crisis of "Bleeding Kansas" he declared that "the barbarous outrages . . . , no matter where the greatest guilt lies, must excite the just indignation of all friends of order and liberty."[25]

In 1861 Schaff again commented on slavery in a way that revealed him as a true conservative. In the last pages of his tract on *Slavery and the Bible,* he argued that no scriptural commandment existed demanding the sudden abolition of slavery. The American government was bound, therefore, to leave matters to the slave states, "in the hands of Christian philanthropy and of an all-wise Providence."[26] He stressed, further, that emancipation alone would be inadequate in integrating the black community into American society. Schaff's stand seems to contradict his later views of Abraham Lincoln whom he called the "martyr president." For quite different reasons the preservation of the Union was for both men more important than the abolition of slavery.

In the summer of 1865 Schaff returned to Europe for the second time. He traveled mainly in Germany and Switzerland where he spoke above all about the American Civil War. In 1866 he published his lectures under the title *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nordamerika.*[27] The message to his eager audiences was simple and optimistic: God had unleashed the war on the American people both as a punishment and as a purification. Ante-bellum America had failed to live up to its God-given mission, but the hour of trial had become the hour of self-discovery and signaled a new beginning. The nation had passed the test and its religious institutions had survived. After punishing his people, God had shown mercy and brought the crisis to a good end. Americans were still his people and engaged again in fulfilling their historical mission.[28]

III

During the last twenty-three years of his life Schaff visited Europe regularly. He undertook most of his trips in connection with his work for the Evangelical Alliance, the international ecumenical organization founded in 1846 and revived in the United States after the Civil War.[29]

Although he still spoke to European audiences quite often, Schaff's activities as an interpreter of America decreased. Among his main concerns were now the propagation of religious freedom and the improvement of mutual understanding between theologians and Christian laymen from any countries. He played an important part in the organization of the international conferences of the Evangelical Alliance which convened in New York in 1873 and in Basel six years later. It was in connection with the New York conference that Schaff spoke of himself as a "bridge maker" and, "more ambitiously," even as a "servus servorum Dei" and "pontifex." In addition to the numerous scholarly works which he produced during those years he still wrote many short tracts on religious problems of the day.[30]

Only one among these minor writings is exclusively devoted to American problems and explicitly addressed to a European audience. It

is a small book published in New York under the title *Christianity in the United States* and containing the lengthy address Schaff gave to the seventh general conference of the Evangelical Alliance held in Basel in September 1879. Here Schaff offers his vision of America once more in a concise version. It does not contain many new ideas and is on the whole disappointingly repetitious. Only the first pages supplement the by now familiar picture. Schaff begins by setting forth his idea of the westward course of history and human progress. He compares the relationship between Europe and America with that between "prime of manhood" and "fresh youth." Culturally, he assures his European listeners and readers, America was wholly dependent upon the Old World; as a Christian nation America was only "a new edition" of Europe: "Human nature and divine grace are the same in all ages and countries, and the great antagonist of God is as busy in the new world as in the old."[31] Soon, however, Schaff reverted to his familiar idea of the uniqueness of America's historical and moral progress and of its mission in the world. He emphasized once more the significance of the Civil War as a process of national purification and viewed the future in entirely optimistic terms.[32]

The negative aspects of American life such as racial injustice, discrimination of minorities, poverty, materialism, and corruption were not passed over in silence, but Schaff assessed them in religious terms only. He claimed that the surest means to improve the situation of the Indians and the black population were better schools and intensified missionary work.[33] The social conflicts of the time were mentioned only briefly. He called railroad strikes of 1877 "a fearful outbreak of communistic violence." The general improvement of education did not suffice to alleviate such tensions. Schaff spoke here, too, as a missionary and stressed that "intellectual education is worth little without virtue, and virtue must be supported and fed by piety, which binds men to God . . . . Our safety and ultimate success depends upon the maintenance and spread of the Christian religion."[34]

Schaff repeatedly explained America to Europeans because he knew them well and considered the task a personal responsibility. When speaking to European audiences about political institutions, traditions, and ideals of the United States, he was quite aware that most of his listeners came from different backgrounds, could not easily understand many things he told them, and were generally ill informed about America. Schaff also knew that besides giving public speeches he had to maintain personal contacts with many individuals which he did with unflagging energy. Although he talked mostly with theologians and Christian laymen, he established contact also with statesmen, princes, politicians, and scholars in disciplines different from his own. He enjoyed meeting important people and was often unduly impressed by the etiquette which surrounded them. He met or corresponded with dignitaries such as Gladstone, Metternich, then in retirement, with Bismarck and King Frederick William IV of Prussia.[35] In 1890, while on a brief visit to Rome, he attended an audience with Pope Leo XIII.[36] One of his most exciting experiences was the audience with Emperor William I in 1873.

In his diary Schaff described the Emperor as a "real Heldenkaiser" and happily noted that His Majesty had expressed sympathy with the Evangelical Alliance.[37] In 1884 Schaff visited Leopold von Ranke who was then eighty-nine years old and working on his *World History.* An entry in his diary described the great German historian as a "little old man, shrunk together but full of vitality and vigor." Ranke was very affable and communicative. He talked about religion and even revealed his own standpoint. Schaff again very happily took down the great man's words verbatim: "Ich habe eine christliche Anschauung nach meiner Façon, jawohl eine evangelisch-christliche, ja, das kann man sagen."[38]

On his trips to Europe Schaff also visited Switzerland. Although he had left his native country at a very early age, he remained attached to it. He regularly visited his mother and maintained his friendship with the religious poetess Meta Heusser, the mother of Johanna Spyri of Heidi's fame, who lived in the village of Hirzel near Zurich. Both women died in 1876, but Schaff kept returning to Switzerland as often as he could. Important as these relationships were to him,[39] Schaff also maintained contacts with several Swiss scholars, religious leaders and businessmen.

The city of Basel always exerted a particular attraction on Schaff. He often expressed admiration not only for its historical significance as a center of the Reformation, of Humanism and of sixteenth-century book-printing, but also for its cultural and religious importance in his own time. Already in 1854 he had written: "There is more Christian life and activity in Basel than anywhere else in Switzerland."[40] He meant "das fromme Basel," i.e., the pietistic circles to which many members of the leading families belonged. Among Schaff's Basel correspondents were the pastor and Reformation scholar Bernhard Riggenbach and the industrialist and "Ratsherr" Karl Sarasin who acted as president of the general conference of the Evangelical Alliance in 1879. Schaff visited Basel at least five times. On 23 August 1854 he lectured on America before the Society of Swiss Reformed Ministers.[41] In August 1865 he gave his lecture on the Civil War before a large audience in the "Christliches Vereinshaus";[42] four years later he was in Basel again for a meeting of ministers and laymen,[43] and in September 1879 he attended the general conference of the Evangelical Alliance.[44] His last visit to Basel occurred in the summer of 1890 during his last trip to Europe. He participated in a missionary conference and spent some time studying the manuscripts of Erasmus in the university library. He also visited the theologian Franz Overbeck and the historian Jacob Burckhardt whose famous book on the Italian Renaissance he had read with admiration.[45]

IV

What was Switzerland's role in shaping Schaff's vision of America? His Swiss origins were undoubtedly important to him and he mentioned them often. In his "Autobiographical Reminiscences," which he began in 1871 and finished in 1890, he began with the famous and often quoted phrase: "I am a Swiss by birth, a German by education, and an

American by adoption." He continued with a remark that is less well-known but more suggestive: "I always loved Switzerland as my fatherland and love it all the better for having left it." Schaff's sentence could have been written by other emigrants, even by some who did not leave Switzerland permanently: "I would rather visit my native home occasionally than live there permanently. It is like Scotland and New England, a good land to emigrate from and to cleave to in fond recollection." In spite of these reservations, Schaff does not hesitate to call his native country "the freest in Europe and the most beautiful in the world."[46]

Alluding to the political radicalism of the German forty-eighters, Schaff commented:

> In many respects America is an extended Switzerland. I found it much easier to fall in with American institutions and to feel at home in this country than the immigrants from monarchical Germany, who are either apt to retain a preference for a more centralized form of government, or more frequently to run into an excess of democracy . . . . Restraint of individual freedom, regard for law and custom, self-government and discipline are indispensable to the permanency and prosperity of a Republic.[47]

The American system of government as established by the constitution of 1787 had shaped the Swiss constitution. He was also aware that religious liberty was less acknowledged in Switzerland than in the United States.[48] But he was convinced that the two nations were closely related and believed that the United States had inherited several traditions from Switzerland, a view he emphasized on the last pages of his 1879 essay on *Christianity in the United States.*

His remarks reveal romantic idealization and simplification, but they uncover also some of the ideological foundations of his view of the United States. After praising the city of Basel, Schaff commented:

> The Reformation of Oecolampadius . . . , of Zwingli . . . , and of Calvin . . . produced those ideas and principles on which all the Reformed churches are founded. Swiss Calvinism, as modified in Holland, England, and Scotland, is (as Bancroft in his History of the United States has elaborately shown) the chief source of the national character and free institutions of North America. From Switzerland we borrowed in the formation period of our history the idea of a self-governing federal Union of the States.[49]

Schaff's notion that the eighteenth-century Swiss Confederation served as a model to the shapers of the American Republic is not only simplistic, but quite wrong. It fitted well, however, into his general view of history as a westward movement and of America as "an extended Switzerland." That country, he claimed, gave America not only "thousands of industrious farmers," but also illustrious statesmen and scientists.

The most important tradition, however, which was transplanted

from Switzerland to America was the "reformed Reformation." It was, in Schaff's view, the most important development in modern history and had reached the United States via Switzerland. He concluded his comments on his native country with these words:

> If I may express any wish in the name of the American Christians, it is that your noble country may ever remain the home of bravery and freedom, and, receiving a new pentecostal baptism as in the days of the Reformation, may again bless the world with the everlasting truths of the Gospel.[50]

If there existed in nineteenth-century America a "myth of the Alpine sister republic," this was Schaff's most eloquent contribution to it. That he made it in theological terms is not surprising. His identification with the American nation had not diminished his identification with Switzerland. His view of America drew much of its vigor and idealism from a nostalgic admiration of his nation of origin.

V

It is not possible to describe comprehensively how Europeans reacted to Schaff's message about the United States. A few personal glimpses must suffice. One of his most faithful correspondents was Frédéric Godet, a professor of theology in Neuchâtel and founder of the "église libre" of that canton. He and Schaff had known each other since their student days, and they met regularly in Switzerland in later years. In his letters Godet repeatedly praised Schaff's ecumenical zeal, his scholarship and his piety. He recommended promising students, discussed new American books which his friend had sent him, and reported on his many scholarly and ecclesiastical activities. Godet evidently saw in Schaff an ally in his struggle against Protestant liberalism and rationalist tendencies in Biblical studies.[51]

Another European admirer of Schaff was Emilio Comba, the noted Italian Protestant theologian and church historian who held a professorship at the Waldensian seminary in Florence during the last decades of the nineteenth century. He respected Schaff first of all as a historical scholar whose many works he had studied with great enthusiasm. Comba was rather well informed about the professionalization of historical studies which took place in the United States in the 1880s.[52]

Only few letters from Basel colleagues to Schaff are available, and these are of little interest.[53] But Basel newspapers did comment on his talks. These did not find unanimous applause, particularly in the case of his 1854 visit when he talked to the conference of the Swiss Reformed ministers. The correspondent of the *National-Zeitung* thought that "Pfarrer Schaff aus Amerika" talked a little too much and too eloquently about how dearly he loved his native country.[54]

The *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Basel* commented similarly on Schaff's address at the opening of that meeting:

> In his speech the well-known Professor Schaff from Mercersburg talked

about the impressions he had gathered about the religious and ecclesiastical life in Switzerland, his native country. . . . He also talked about the increasing significance of European emigration, about the growth of the United States and about the state of the Reformed Church in that country.[55]

Between these reporting sentences was the remark: "He is undoubtedly an experienced, well-informed and eloquent man, but if he continues like this, he may well outtalk himself before too long."

On Schaff's opening address to the 1879 conference of the Evangelical Alliance, the *Basler Nachrichten* published a lengthy review which is mainly a summary of the glorification of Switzerland. The correspondent did not comment on Schaff's idealized image of the historical relationship between Switzerland and the United States, but observed that British and American delegates showed more enthusiasm for Schaff's presentation than the Swiss listeners who should have felt particularly honored. Either they felt that Schaff had exaggerated or they did not understand what he had said.[56] Whether this skepticism was typical for Schaff's impression on European audiences is uncertain; yet the journalistic comments show that at least in Basel he was not unanimously admired.

To sum up, Schaff's writings reveal a vision of America that evolved from initial criticism to complete identification. It remained unshaken, furthermore, by events such as the Civil War or the social upheavals in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Philip Schaff, the tireless theologian, church historian, and ecumenical leader believed that divine providence guided history, that the center of history was moving westward, that the United States was destined to become the foremost Christian power and, finally, that he personally had made the right choice in moving to the United States.

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Notes

[1] See Philip Schaff, Diary 1873, 28 September, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary, New York; George H. Shriver, *Philip Schaff, Christian Scholar and Ecumenical Prophet* (Macon, GA: 1987), 57; Gary Pranger, "Philip Schaff (1819–1893), Portrait of an Immigrant Theologian," Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois at Chicago, 1987, 270ff. On Schaff's youth see also Ulrich Gäbler, "Philip Schaff in Chur," *Zwingliana* 18 (1989): 143–65.

[2] Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 13.

[3] Ibid., 14.

[4] Philip Schaff, *Das Prinzip des Protestantismus* (Chambersburg, 1845), 157.

[5] Shriver, *Philip Schaff*, 30; Philip Schaff, *Anglo-Germanism or the Significance of the German Nationality in the United States* (Chambersburg, 1846).

[6] Philip Schaff, *Amerika: Die politischen, socialen und kirchlich-religiösen Zustände der Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika* (Berlin, 1854); *America: A Sketch of the Political, Social, and Religious Character of the United States of North America* (New York, 1855). There was also a Dutch edition. See J. J. van Oosterzee to Philip Schaff, Rotterdam, 24 November 1855, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary, New York.

[7] Perry Miller, ed., "Introduction," in *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character,* by Philip Schaff (Cambridge, MA: 1961), xxvii.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *America: A Sketch* (1855), 97; cf. *Amerika* (1854), 64.

[10] Miller, "Introduction," xxviii.

[11] Schaff, *Amerika,* 56ff.

[12] Ibid., 13–14.

[13] Ibid., 15.

[14] Ibid., 103.

[15] Ibid., 21ff.

[16] Ibid., 25–26.

[17] Ibid., 141ff., 157ff.

[18] Ibid., 27ff.

[19] Ibid., 4.

[20] Philip Schaff, *American Nationality* (Chambersburg, 1856), 20.

[21] Ibid., 20–21.

[22] Ibid., 21.

[23] Ibid., 22. On Burckhardt's judgment see Jacob Burckhardt, *Force and Freedom,* ed. by J. H. Nichols (New York, 1943), 85–86.

[24] *Amerika,* 12; *American Nationality,* 23.

[25] *American Nationality,* 23.

[26] Philip Schaff, *Slavery and the Bible* (Chambersburg, 1861), 32.

[27] The German version was published in Berlin in 1866, the English translation appeared in New York in the same year. See William A. Clebsch, "Christian Interpretations of the Civil War," *Church History* 30 (1961): 212–22.

[28] Philip Schaff, *Der Bürgerkrieg und das christliche Leben in Nordamerika.* (Berlin, 1866), 7–17. On letters of Schaff to Meta Heusser concerning God and the American Civil War see David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff* (New York, 1897), 209–10.

[29] On the beginnings and early history of the Evangelical Alliance see Hans Hauzenberger, *Einheit auf evangelischer Grundlage: Vom Werden und Wesen der Evangelischen Allianz* (Gießen and Zurich, 1986).

[30] See note 1. On several occasions Schaff wrote on the history of religious freedom. See *The Toleration Act of 1689* (London, 1888); "The Progress of Religious Freedom," in *Historical Essays* (New York, 1889; repr. from *The Papers of the American Society of Church History,* vol. 1, 1889). These publications were not based on original research. The essay on *The English Language* (Nashville, 1887) is Schaff's most outspoken endorsement of Anglo-Saxonism.

[31] Philip Schaff, *Christianity in the United States* (New York, 1879), 6.

[32] Ibid., 8.

[33] Ibid., 58ff.

[34] Ibid., 10.

[35] Shriver, *Philip Schaff,* 56; Philip Schaff, Letter to his wife, Carlsbad, 20 May 1854, Schaff Papers, Evangelical and Reformed Historical Society Archives [ERHS], Lancaster Theological Seminary; Diary 1879, 10 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[36] Diary 1890, 8 May, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[37] Diary 1873, 9–10 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[38] Diary 1884, 23 August, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[39] Shriver, *Philip Schaff,* 62–63; David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff,* passim.

[40] David S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff,* 189.

[41] "Versammlung der schweizerischen reformierten Prediger-Gesellschaft, den 22. und 23. August 1854 in Basel," Program in Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives.

[42] Memoranda 1865, August, Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives.

[43] "Protokoll der Conferenz von 50 Geistlichen und Laien, Basel, 29. August 1869, mit Herrn Prof. Dr. Schaff aus Newyork," Papers of the Evangelical Alliance for the USA, Union Theological Seminary.

[44] Diary 1879, 31 August ff., Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[45] Diary 1890, 8 April, 2 July ff., Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary. For a more detailed discussion of Schaff's relations to Basel pietism see the German version of this essay, *Basler Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 91 (1991), forthcoming.

[46] "Autobiographical Reminiscences," Ms and Ms copy, Schaff Papers, ERHS Archives, 13/20.

[47] Ibid., 14/24f.

[48] "Church and States in the United States," in *Historical Essays* (New York, 1889), 87ff.

[49] Philip Schaff, *Christianity*, 66.

[50] Ibid., 67.

[51] See Frédéric Godet to Philip Schaff, Neuchâtel, 1 July 1874 and 7, 27 May 1887, Ms, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[52] Emilio Comba to Philip Schaff, Florence, 13 March 1886, Schaff Papers, Union Theological Seminary.

[53] The Basel correspondents in the Schaff Papers at Union Theological Seminary are Bernhard Riggenbach and Karl Sarasin.

[54] *National-Zeitung*, 23 August 1854.

[55] *Allgemeines Intelligenzblatt der Stadt Basel*, 26 August 1854.

[56] *Basler Nachrichten*, 3 September 1879.

Philip V. Bohlman

Ernest Bloch's *America* (1926): Aesthetic Dimensions of a Swiss-American *Auswandererbericht*

> Il fait bon, je vous assure, sentir que l'on est une petite partie d'un tout! Et ce qui me touche le plus, c'est la gentillesse et le sans façon de quelques-uns, dans la rue, mon épicier, mon cordonnier, le facteur, un conducteur de tram, qui parlent d'*America*, comme de "leur Symphonie" déjà. . . . Et c'est ce que j'ai voulu.
>
> (Ernest Bloch to Romain Rolland, 17 November 1928)

Writing the Swiss-American Experience

A decade after his departure from Switzerland, the composer, Ernest Bloch, completed two large symphonic works, *America* and *Helvetia*, which, when interpreted together with his earlier *Israel Symphony* (1916), portray a complex set of identities for the most distinguished Swiss-American immigrant composer. Bloch wrote with a musical voice that might be understood variously as Swiss, Jewish, and American; it might, in fact, embody all three identities. Rarely did Bloch compose without intentionally calling attention to some aspect of identity; rarely did he fail to use his compositions to give aesthetic form to nationalism, national landscape, or simply the personality of a nation and its people.

This search for identity is hardly atypical in the history of Swiss-American immigration and settlement. Nor is it atypical that conflicting images and ideas should emerge in the way Swiss-American immigrants describe their experiences.[1] Indeed, Ernest Bloch, an almost obsessive chronicler of people and places, created some of the most revealing portraits of the Swiss-American experience. His compositions thus form a body of writing that are themselves *Auswandererberichte*, comparable to the letters and diaries of countless other Swiss-Americans, and yet unusually trenchant because of the aesthetic dimension that gives them added voice.

Bloch's *America* is a narrative work, a "story" of America that he calls an "epic rhapsody" in his subtitle. That story has both past and present,

which Bloch conjoins with an ideological program that he adapts largely from Walt Whitman. Bloch clearly locates himself in the epic of America, specifically in the third of the three movements, which symbolizes the "present" and the "future." *America,* thus is Bloch's America; its story is that of America as Bloch wishes it to reflect his ongoing immigrant experience. Clearly, he intends the work to be an *Auswandererbericht,* albeit one of a very special kind. He is reporting not just in a letter to his family; nor is he writing detailed descriptions in a journal. Rather, he is seeking to find a very special language with which to express the diversity of America and the unity he hopefully seeks to urge upon that diversity. The language of this *Auswandererbericht,* therefore, is an aesthetic language, laden with symbols and layered in such a way that many readings of this immigrant experience are possible.

I suggest in this essay that this use of an aesthetic language within Bloch's *Auswandererbericht* has certain qualities that reveal just how *America* lends itself to interpretation as Swiss-American and how it becomes one immigrant's personal way of framing his encounters with the New World. My analysis of what I call the aesthetic dimensions of this *Auswandererbericht,* though largely specific to Bloch's composition and, to a lesser extent, its counterpart, *Helvetia,* might also suggest ways to read other forms of documentation of the Swiss-American immigrant experience. I posit that there is no single way of reading and understanding *America.* In part, this results from the many layers of text that Bloch uses. In part, it results from some of the same reasons that *Auswandererberichte* of all kinds offer different portraits of the Swiss-American experience (Schelbert and Rappolt 1977, 21–25). The aesthetic dimensions, then, help us to understand that differences in experiences, both before and after immigration, play a significant role in shaping the immigrant's response to the new culture. By understanding the differences immanent in these aesthetic dimensions, we might find, perhaps, a few new ways to listen to the many voices of Swiss-Americans.

The stories that we find in *Auswandererberichte* are many and varied. Indeed, they are so varied that the notion of a Swiss-American "experience" becomes more and more elusive the more we read the stories written by immigrants.[2] But the immigrant narrative of any single immigrant has many stories and these are themselves remarkably varied when stretched over a lifetime. The stories told by immigrants may not complete the larger picture of the Swiss-American experience, but they do enable us to understand more intimately the ways in which each individual contributes something personal and indispensable to the larger whole. It is in the nature of language—especially the many voices that constitute the history of immigration—that such diverse and complex narratives are told. It is because of their aesthetic dimensions that these narratives come to have a meaning that potentially links the individual to the whole.

As composer, critic, teacher, and correspondent, Bloch ceaselessly chronicled his experiences as an immigrant. He has provided us with an abundance of texts filled with his observations of life in the United States and the path of a Swiss composer toward participation in that life.

Most important, Bloch found a multitude of ways to convey his immigrant observations and responses in his compositions. He makes it clear, for the most part, that he wishes his music to tell us something; few twentieth-century composers have been as adamant about the necessity of music to tell some story and about the duty of the composer to incorporate this narrative responsibility into the music itself. To say that Bloch distinguished himself in this way simply as a result of being a Swiss-American Jew would surely be simplistic. But being Swiss, American, and Jewish did heighten the difficulty of finding and creating identity in the immigrant culture. His music reflects these various identities in different ways, and each musical work revealed a new facet of his personal immigrant experience. These constantly changing aesthetic dimensions, then, serve as a reminder that no immigrant experience is simple, a shedding of one cloak for another. As we attempt to unravel and discover meaning in it, the music of Bloch vividly reminds us that the Swiss-American experience is recounted by voices that are as diverse as they are individual.

Ernest Bloch as Swiss-American

Bloch's American experience emerges from the pages of his biographies and musical scores as one that was extraordinarily positive. He quickly won rather widespread support among American audiences, and he had relatively little difficulty securing positions in American music academies and universities. Employment and commissions came to him, rather than his having to seek them out. In a nation whose support for the fine arts has historically been penurious, Bloch found sufficient, and at times, we can suppose, substantial financial support. The body of Bloch criticism is by and large very positive, verging often on outright hagiography. Even when one compares Bloch to other distinguished émigré composers, such as Arnold Schoenberg or Béla Bartók, one must be struck by the enormous amount of success Bloch enjoyed in his attempt to begin a new life. It is not surprising, therefore, that Bloch came increasingly to regard the United States as his home.

Bloch's American experience, however, did not result from a motivation that suggested any need to negate his Swiss experience. Bloch, in fact, returned to Switzerland for a period of nine years (1930–39), more or less in the middle of his American years. Among the many possible reasons that he left Europe twice (1916 and 1939), the nature of his life in Switzerland may have been less decisive than the condifions of war or its specter that afflicted the rest of the continent. Even against the background of war, Bloch was not compelled to leave, and he was surely aware of the refuge that his native Switzerland provided for many other Europeans. Indeed, he always remained in close contact with this cultural haven, which had become home to many intellectuals and more than a few close friends (see, e.g., Bloch and Rolland 1984).

Bloch's Jewishness also complicates attempts to discover the motivations behind his decisions to immigrate. Bloch received considerable encouragement to immigrate to the British Mandate of Palestine during

the 1930s and again to Israel after World War II. For a composer who had infused many of his works with a musical vocabulary and melos that were consciously Jewish, Palestine had considerable appeal. During the late 1930s, Bloch was in frequent contact with the World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine, which had chosen Bloch as one of its honorary presidents (together with Darius Milhaud). This organization, largely consisting of Central European immigrants, sought to create a center in Palestine for the rebirth of a worldwide Jewish musical life, a goal that had particular appeal to Bloch. The impending war and Holocaust may have been one reason that prevented Bloch from making the decision to immigrate to Palestine, but his correspondence with the organization never claims that the political situation was a direct impediment (cf. Bohlman 1986). The World Centre for Jewish Music retained its hope that Bloch would come to Palestine to serve as its steward, and it performed Bloch's *Avodat hakodesh* ("Sacred Service") as its inaugural concert in Jerusalem, but Bloch himself never traveled to the country. Only Switzerland and the United States were to constitute his immigrant experience.

Although the larger image of Bloch's life shows him to have been constantly negotiating different identities, particular ideologies or musical approaches tended to dominate, or at least to come to the fore, during his residence in either Switzerland or the United States. The immigrant experience, then, is evident in the choices he made and the aesthetic that guided him during these periods. Bloch came to music in rather uncharacteristic fashion. Apparently, there was relatively little music in his home and certainly no family model that would have spurred him to pursue a career as a composer. His path to writing music followed earlier successes as a violinist, first study with the Belgian violinist, Eugène Ysaÿe (1896–99). A decision to concentrate on composition led him first to Frankfurt am Main (1899–1901) and then to Munich (1901–3). Upon returning to Geneva, Bloch first began to work in his father's business and then gradually achieved success in the musical life of Switzerland. His musical education had been eclectic, and so too was his musical voice from the beginning. His compositional style, nevertheless, fitted the diverse opportunities he found in Switzerland and then adapted well to a growing need to express some aspect of Jewishness.

Both his musical and national background, in other words, were ideally suited for the search for a new aesthetic that he most fully articulated in the early years of the second decade of the twentieth century. The years between 1912 and 1916 saw a prodigious output of works incorporating Jewish musical materials, producing what some scholars call Bloch's "Jewish cycle" (Kushner 1988, 7–8; Strassburg 1977, 26–42). Perhaps this period produced an ideological point of arrival, marked most notably by the magnificent *Schelomo* ("Solomon") for cello and orchestra (1916), but the successes of these years were most effective in establishing a musical vocabulary that lent itself to the larger patterns of juxtaposition that the first period of immigrant residence in the United States would anchor.

The true motivation behind Bloch's first trip to the United States is not clear, despite the usual accounts that have him accompanying the dancer, Maude Allan, as the director of the orchestra for her 1916 tour. Indeed, this may have been an opportunity to strengthen his finances, as Robert Strassburg suggests (1977, 42), but such risky endeavors in time of war can hardly have been overwhelmingly promising. Nor does it seem likely that the hagiographic accounts of Bloch enduring the submarine-laced Atlantic to arrive in New York like "millions of earlier immigrants who responded excitedly to their first sight of the Statue of Liberty" (Strassburg 1977, 43) really explain decisions that determined the path toward immigration. In fact, the dance tour was not successful, but Bloch found himself suddenly in an environment that was very supportive. It seems reasonable to suggest that Bloch's real motivation had more to do with finding a place to start his career as a composer anew, perhaps even free of the singular path that he had established with his "Jewish cycle." At the very least, Bloch worked toward these ends and in so doing discovered new directions for his career as a musician and a new voice for his compositional ideas. The United States, then, was a land of new beginnings with their concomitant new aesthetic dimensions.

Bloch's first period of residence in the United States (1916–30) coincided with a spirit of growing nationalism in the arts, and he adapted himself extremely well to the icons of musical Americanism that were proving most successful. The new Americanism was, on the one hand, a negative response to the period of mass immigration in the forty years prior to World War I and a lingering anti-Germanness in the arts.[3] On the other hand, composers found themselves able to respond to a broader repertory of folk and vernacular styles of music, particularly the music of African-Americans during the 1920s. The new aesthetic, therefore, embraced differences and styles from the different groups constituting the American cultural landscape, all to empower a more universal ideology grounded in the soil of that landscape. Bloch was perfectly suited to respond to these changes.

The aura of Bloch as a universal figure—at once sensitive to the melos of Jewish music and able to project an ideology that had no ethnic or religious boundaries—grew rapidly in the United States. Interpreted from the perspective of immigrant historiography, this aura is perhaps the most important product of Bloch's Swiss-Americanness. For Bloch, the cultural differences and ideological openness that had historically characterized Switzerland were also to be found in the United States. He discovered these Swiss values both in the musical styles that provided him with new melodic ideas and in the philosophies of manifest destiny and political freedom that shaped the extra-musical programs of many American works. Musically, then, Switzerland and the United States offered striking similarities to Bloch. These, in turn, were not incongruous with the models of Americanism that American audiences in the 1920s most desired. His American musical voice, especially at the beginning, owed a great deal to his experiences as a composer in

Switzerland. Throughout his career, Bloch could take recourse to those experiences, again and again.

It was during the 1930s that Bloch took recourse by returning to live in Switzerland. Just as it is difficult to pin down the precise motivations for his initial move to the United States, the reestablishment of residence in Switzerland, much of the time in Ticino, does not lend itself to simple explanations. In some respects, Bloch had been too successful during his first stint in the United States. He had become tired of teaching and administration, as well as the frequent demands on his time to lecture and travel. When the University of California at Berkeley established an endowment of $100,000 for Bloch in 1930, he took this as an opportunity to return to Switzerland, where $5,000 annually from the endowment supported him. Bloch would return to Berkeley in 1940, assuming an eponymous professorship with his own name, again a remarkable situation when compared to the difficulties faced by other Jewish composers at this moment in history.

Bloch spent the last two decades of his life in the United States, first fulfilling his duties at Berkeley and then retreating to his home on the Pacific Coast in Oregon, where he died in 1959. During this period, Bloch returned again to the universal voice of Swiss-Americanness that he discovered in the 1920s. The intervening decade in Switzerland had witnessed another return to Jewish works; at the very least, the Jewish works, such as the *Avodat hakodesh*, are the best from the period. The universal voice of the 1940s and 1950s at times became more abstract, as Bloch withdrew somewhat from the use of extra-musical ideas and employed any form of nationalism more tentatively. If we examine his Swiss-Americanness from the last two decades, it becomes increasingly more difficult to separate out elements that are Swiss and American. There are surely many ways of explaining this difficulty, but I think it correct to observe that the synthesis he had sought to effect throughout his life took its most mature form in these last two decades. Nothing that Bloch discovered in his Swiss and American experiences, moreover, prevented him from recognizing the processes of synthesis in his own life as a Swiss-American immigrant.

Multivocality and the Parallax Musical Text

Essential to this essay is a thesis that recognizes the aesthetic dimensions of a piece of music as metaphors for specific aspects of culture, in the case of Ernest Bloch, his experiences as a Swiss-American immigrant. This thesis, in turn, relies on a concept of musical text that can have many layers and that lends itself to many readings or interpretations. Accordingly, when we analyze a piece of music, such as Bloch's *America*, we can discover there a complex scaffolding of meanings, all related to the composer's response to his experiences, yet reformulated in ways specific to the musical language at his or her disposal. It may seem at first glance that the two essential attributes of this metaphoric relation, namely "musical text" and "immigrant experi-

ence," are somewhat ambiguous, if not slippery, but, in fact, I have fairly specific concepts in mind.

What, precisely, do I mean by "musical text?" The simplest answer to this question is everything that Bloch put on paper, or permitted his publisher, C. C. Birchard, to commit to print. In fact, I do regard everything that appears on the score of the first edition that I have analyzed for this essay as belonging to the musical text. In the case of *America,* the pragmatic admission of all this ink to the piece of music has some striking results. When one examines the score, one quickly realizes that no listener perceives everything on the page, much of which is not heard at all. For example, Bloch includes several texts as dedications, epigraphs, and anecdotes bracketed under the full score as guides to the meaning of the work (see Appendices A-C at the end of this essay). Bloch claims—in still other layers of text—that these are not necessary for a listener's understanding. But why include them? Are they any different in the meanings they clarify than tempo or dynamic markings in the score, again which the listener does not hear as such? There are no simple answers to these questions, only the implication—which I take as a challenge in trying to interpret *America*—that meanings are many and varied, indeed, in ways not so different from the *Auswandererberichte* of Swiss immigrants.

Because so many meanings are located in the physical product of the musical text, we cannot overlook its importance. Nor can we overlook its connection to cultural and historical context. The importance of the musical text is, moreover, a direct result of my assertion that it tells us a great deal about context—personal experience, cultural change, historical moment, etc.—many of the things that literary theorists, deconstructionists, for example, believe that concentrating on the text renders unnecessary. I look at the text of *America,* in contrast, to find what linguists call "parallactic qualities," that is, a range of meanings and functions that change when the perspectives of observation, performance, and interpretation change (Friedrich 1986). Bloch's musical language is a marvelous example of parallax, the layering or scaffolding of meaning that I have described already. No single perspective reveals all of these layers. The texts of the first three appendices, for example, would not be apparent from listening to a performance of *America* by a symphony orchestra. Even the verbal text of the final anthem would probably resist the interpretation Bloch indicated in the bracketed instructions under the score; most listeners with only limited familiarity with the most standard orchestral literature are likely to think at the moment of the chorus's performance of the final anthem that Bloch is here imitating Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony,* a reading that is surely in itself also correct.

Let me suggest some of the ways that we can structure our different readings of *America* and identify the qualities evident at different layers of meaning. We might begin with the activity of writing music itself, which we might call "musical ethnography," for Bloch was also engaged in "writing culture," specifically that which gave meaning to his Swiss-American immigrant experience. Musical ethnography cou-

ples both musical materials and the interaction with culture, that is, juxtaposing text and context.[4] Writing music embodies both musical and ideological motivations, and, in fact, joins them together. It joins them through the necessity of making decisions, which may be of various kinds, but which I represent in Figure 1.

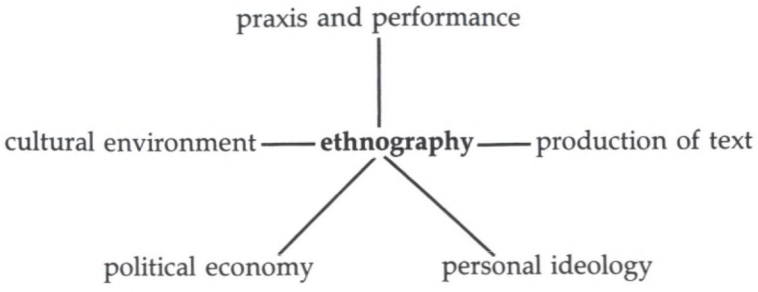


Figure 1

The word, musical, too, acquires a cluster of meanings because of its potential to connote many things in this setting. Music becomes more than just sound; it has the power to become "indeterminate," which I use following Paul Friedrich's notion of "poetic indeterminacy" (1986). This musical indeterminacy is important for our interpretations, because it allows us to recognize that the sounds of *America* (or any piece of music) have different meanings when encountered from different perspectives. Musical indeterminacy is important to the composer, especially a highly individualistic composer like Bloch, for it allows him or her to use musical materials in many different ways. I might suggest the following constellation of concepts surrounding this usage of "musical" (Figure 2).

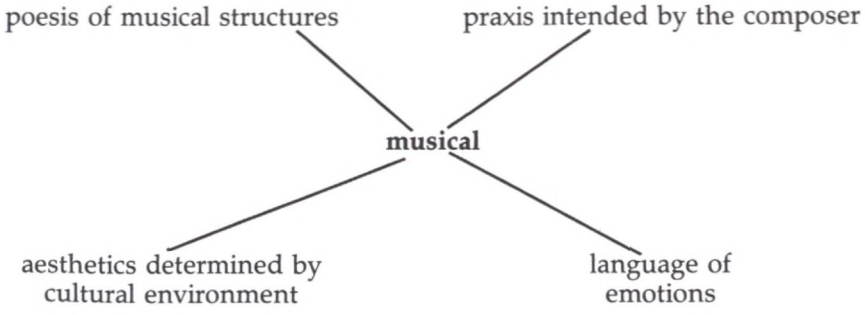


Figure 2

These figures are really only suggestions of the types of decision-making in which the composer intentionally and unintentionally engages when creating a musical text. Each text results from not just one decision, but from many, those I have suggested above and others. The reasons for making certain decisions and for scaffolding them in particular ways are cultural, personal, stylistic, and practical. The hierarchy governing their patterns of interaction, moreover, increasingly leads us to an understanding of what a composer chooses as motivations.

Bloch was particularly deliberate in making the wide range of decisions necessary for creating each musical text. He sought always to give his musical texts many parts—many voices, many melodic themes, many compositional techniques. In fact, he often expressed a belief that any mode of expression that was too straightforward, too obvious in its referents, might lead to facile explanations of what he intended. Thus, the use of folk songs in *America* and *Helvetia* appeared simple only on the surface, to which Bloch felt his critics were restricting their readings, and he felt, therefore, a certain compulsion to provide more and more texts. These clarified musical structures, just as they established new relationships with the cultural environment. He increasingly sought to impose his intentions on praxis and performance by deliberately explaining the different levels of meaning in the program notes he wrote for his works (cf. S. Bloch and Heskes 1976). The changing conditions of the political economy necessitated by his movement between the United States and Switzerland meant a constant renegotiation of the ideology he intended his compositions to project. Each musical text, then, was a product of its time and place, and the experiences with which Bloch was connecting it. For Bloch, the meaning of a piece of music could become at once more diversified and more specific as its layers of text and meaning proliferated. Each piece came increasingly to reflect his personal immigrant experiences.

Ernest Bloch's Ideological and Musical Visions

Bloch's musical texts—his compositions—are particularly resistant to facile unraveling. Most of all, they are resistant because Bloch intended them to be. He intended his musical texts to be multivocal, hence to create the vision of personal experiences that were complex and themselves resistant to unraveling. As a single corpus, Bloch's compositions are far more contradictory than most critics looking for a single "Jewish" voice are usually willing to admit. Whereas that Jewish voice is rarely absent, it only exists as that voice alone early in Bloch's career, during his years in Geneva. When he made the decision to immigrate to the United States at the end of World War I, there occurred simultaneously a sudden increase in the number of ideological and musical visions that came to shape his music. The immigrant experience, therefore, must be understood as a radical transformation of Bloch's musical voice, not simply a change of venue, cultural environment, and institutions and individuals willing to patronize his work. As with the immigrant

experiences revealed by the letters and other documents examined by Swiss-American historiographers, Bloch's immigration accounts must be understood as contradictory while at the same time revealing a multitude of responses to a new world. In no single musical text by Bloch is this clearer than his *America.*

Just why should Bloch choose a musical voice that consisted of so many seemingly contradictory parts? Biographical factors suggest a number of answers to this question. Surely, Bloch's youth and early career in Switzerland play a much more important role in determining his ideological vision than most biographers have admitted, although in stating this I do not mean to imply that Switzerland has been unfairly treated by Bloch critics. Rather, Switzerland has strangely disappeared from the larger aesthetic picture of Bloch's life. This disappearance seems even more inexplicable when we realize that Bloch did not even consider emigration until his late thirties and that he spent most of his fifties again in Switzerland. Nor is there anything in the usual biographical treatments that suggests that Bloch felt his native land deprived him of opportunity or created specific motivations to emigrate. Switzerland, too, provided Bloch with elements for his larger musical vocabulary. Those compositions that referred directly to Switzerland, for example, the symphonic work *Helvetia,* drew widely from Swiss folk melodies (''more than thirty'' according to the composer)[5] and included a program designed to evoke the panorama of Switzerland. Even with this major symphonic portrait, the third of Bloch's ''nationalistic'' tone poems, rather little attention focused on the composer's Swiss heritage: *Helvetia* did not receive its premiere until 1932, four years after its composition, and the work was seldom heard thereafter.

Switzerland, however, was surely important in the forging of Bloch's musical parallax. In his musical works referring to Switzerland he is most comfortable with the use of folk music, a critical judgment I base on my reading of several different ways of setting folk music in his Swiss, American, and Jewish works. When setting an American source, Bloch relies on standard collections and prevailing ideas of what approaches comprise musical Americanisms. His American melos is synthetic and at moments pedantically stereotyped. The Jewish works demonstrate an urge to treat particular melodies creatively, to penetrate between the sound in its usual presentation to an ideological background, more often than not, one of Bloch's own construction. In this sense, Bloch's sense of a Jewish melos served his personal visions particularly well. The Swiss works, however, treat Swiss folk music more literally and more specifically. They show an awareness not only of a considerable body of folk songs, but of their social functions and their geographic associations. One gains the feeling that Bloch understood the folk music in his Swiss works as folk music, not simply as a way of labeling a work's nationalistic or ideological character.

The treatment of musical materials and ideals in the Swiss, Jewish, and American works differs. In the Swiss works, Bloch seems more concerned—and, at the very least, more fluent—with musical materials. His aesthetic intent is more musical; his ideological vision less artificial.

In the Jewish works, there can be no question that Bloch privileges ideological intent; his choice and use of musical materials are more artificial. In his American works, he negotiates between these two contrasting approaches. He uses musical materials much as he would in the Swiss works, in other words, choosing folk melodies not so much because of their social function and meaning as because of the musical color they offer at a particular moment. At the same time, Bloch wraps his American message in several layers of ideology, for example, the repeated recourse to the poetry and aphoristic icons of Walt Whitman in *America*. The use of Native American themes at the beginning of the first movement of *America* is musically coloristic, particularly so because of the stereotyped Native American sound exploited by the pentatonic scale (five-note with gaps, as in the five black notes of the piano). The effect on the listener is musical, but at this point in the work it is ideologically flat, the Native American themes having no meaning in the musical text of the notes. It is only the presence of the verbal text that restores meaning, that makes the ideology palpable as directly as in the Jewish works.

Bloch's musical and ideological vision, however complex, inevitably comes through clearly in his compositions. He represents it musically in the compositional techniques that he employs. It is precisely these techniques that remain constant in the Swiss, Jewish, and American works, thereby showing them to be a part of a larger whole. By combining these techniques and balancing them in different ways, Bloch achieves the multivocality that is so characteristic of a composer who sought to create such different identities. The first of the compositional techniques employed by Bloch is the use of melodic themes with specific meanings. This technique was common in the works of nineteenth-century nationalist composers. So, too, was Bloch's second technique, the creation of a "program"—an extra-musical idea that the music conveyed, a favored device in the composition of symphonic "tone poems" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Bloch's compositions include an inordinate number of programs, an indication that Bloch needed to tie the musical sound to something outside the music in order to provide meaning. *America,* in fact, uses several programs, for example, the two texts of Appendices A and B, and the programmatic construction of the movements themselves to tell the story of America in narrative fashion. Seen from one perspective, Bloch clubs the listener/reader of *America* over the head with his surfeit of programs, so much so that he has to warn the listener/reader that the "Symphony is not dependant [sic] on a program" (see Appendix A) before writing out the program in detail. Indeed, *America* is not dependent on just *a* program; it is dependent on *Bloch's* program, his personal ideological and musical vision.

The use of themes and programs as compositional techniques provided for Bloch the musical materials from which he could choose, at both the micro-level (thematic) and macro-level (program). His ideological intent also depended on specific techniques. The most basic of these was the restatement of musical materials in such ways that they

expressed Bloch's idea rather than their usual function. In the final movement of one of his Geneva works, *Three Jewish Poems* (1913), for example, he uses the "Kaddish," a usually joyful lifting of the voice in song to God, as a lamentation, specifically as a personal form of mourning the death of his father. Clearly, Bloch juxtaposes two opposing functions, one widely recognized by all Jews, and the other both artificial and personal. Throughout Bloch's works, therefore, one symbol comes to give meaning to another, a compositional technique to which we might give the literary name, metonymy. For Bloch, especially in his American works, metonymy is extremely important as a means to achieve juxtapostion. Also important are the more traditional musical devices known as "tutti" and "stretto." These devices enable a composer to bring many or all (Italian, "tutti") individual parts or voices together at a given moment, usually for climactic effect. In *America* we witness the metonymic potential of this technique when Bloch juxtaposes the "Civil War Songs" (see Appendix B), thus reifying the war itself musically.

Ultimately, Bloch believed that he could represent any philosophical idea with the music itself. It is hardly uncommon for a post-Romantic composer to insist that the music speaks for itself and the ideas it embodies, but Bloch set for himself a larger task, namely that music should achieve some sort of universal meaning in its representation of an idea. He endeavored to represent this whole only through the sum of many parts. *America* is a striking example of just this technique, for Bloch clearly sees America, the country itself, as an ideal, which becomes transcendent in the composition as it culminates in the final anthem. The nationalism of *America,* therefore, becomes in effect a supranationalism, one which somehow held meaning for all immigrants.

Reading Ernest Bloch's *Auswandererberichte* as Swiss-American

> Some claim that, both in *America* and *Helvetia,* they fail to find *me.* The fact is that they have never really known me. . . . It is evident that *Helvetia* and *America* required a style quite different from that of *Israel* and *Schelomo.* (Ernest Bloch's program notes for *Helvetia)*

Bloch clearly intended to employ a distinctive and different voice in his large orchestral works devoted to Switzerland and the United States. It was a voice for which he had been searching for many years prior to the composition of these two works in 1926 and 1929, and it was a voice that he would never use again in quite the same way in subsequent years. Both audiences and critics recognized the distinctiveness of these works, and Bloch found himself compelled to defend just what it was he was trying to say about the United States and Switzerland by writing them. In size, subject matter, and musical vocabulary, *America* and *Helvetia* stand apart from the rest of Bloch's oeuvre. Together, the two works epitomize Bloch's Swiss-American experience.

Bloch hagiography inevitably links the composition of *America* to the composer's initial encounters with his immigrant home, as if inspiration

were spontaneous and oracular. "From the moment in 1916 when he landed in New York, watching its spectacular skyline, Bloch had the idea of writing a composition about his new country. Later living in New England, then discovering the West, the Indian country and finally the Pacific Coast, he stored all his impressions until they culminated in this work" (S. Bloch and Heskes 1976, 68). Such accounts may impose a somewhat speculative cause and effect on the relation between experience and musical text, but they are certainly correct in underscoring the importance of ideology in determining Bloch's approach to the composition.

Upon first hearing, one is tempted to regard *America* as a "folk music work," that is, as a composition synthesized from the composer's familiarity with folk songs and a concomitant belief that a national musical voice might emerge from a concerted presentation of them. Most critics, in fact, have assumed that it was Bloch's intent to use musical Americanisms in this way, further portraying Bloch almost as having a Bartókian connection to folk song; Bloch was said to have a "multitude of American folk material he had gathered as a preliminary to writing the work" (S. Bloch and Heskes 1976, 68). The melodic idea that most completely unified *America,* however, was of Bloch's own manufacture. The "Anthem" that concludes the work serves as a focal point, both musically and ideologically (see Appendix D). Musically, Bloch foreshadows this final theme by using fragments of it earlier in the work. Ideologically, the "Anthem" presents Bloch's own personal view of America, his ideal for a nation that could derive unity from diversity. The America Bloch describes in this closing moment is the one in which he wished to find himself.

America is a musical text that projects optimism, indeed, the optimism of Bloch's immigrant encounter with the United States. Just as his experiences in the new land had been fortuitous, so too does Bloch treat the past, present, and future of the new land as fortuitous, which is to say, as a narrative in which even tragedy and turbulence eventually work out for the best. The first movement of *America* depicts the prehistory and early colonial period of North America. The opening of the movement should evoke something "primitive," not yet formed from "The Soil," utilizing a somewhat obfuscating treatment of melodic and harmonic use, a technique employed by earlier composers wishing to give a sense of a primordial state (e.g., Haydn in the opening of his oratorio, *The Creation*). This treatment has strong ideological overtones, for it is the first of many metaphors for the cultural independence of the United States: this is a country which was received, as from a higher power, in a primitive stage, and its inhabitants can make of it what they wish. Americans, thus, will create what America and *America* will be.

A bricolage of thematic materials fills the first movement. In the first part, we encounter a sprinkling of Native American materials, rather disembodied, but cited according to sources in the early ethnomusicological literature (largely from Frances Densmore's studies of various Native American peoples, which were published by the Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology). In the second half, "Eng-

lish'' fragments take over, but still resulting in a bricolage whose parts do not quite hang together. By the end of the movement, it is Bloch himself who pulls everything together, by stating for the first time some of the melodic ideas that he will use in the ''Anthem,'' which is in turn juxtaposed on ''Old One Hundred,'' perhaps the best known of all chorale tunes from English Protestantism. Already in the first movement, Bloch makes it clear that he intends that we have ''read'' many of these texts already, that the listener knows whence the music comes and where it will go, namely toward the ''Anthem'' and the future. In essence, Bloch reveals from the first musical experiences that reading the work requires one to look at all the layers separately and together.

The temporal moment of the second movement, ''1861–1865,'' is the most precise of all the movements in the composition. It is this period, that of the Civil War, moreover, that lies in greatest proximity to the political and aesthetic milieu within which Walt Whitman wrote. The program of the second movement is also the most specific, describing three events. At the beginning of the movement, Bloch combines a potpourri of African-American songs, most of them drawn from collections published early in the twentieth century. To some extent, the ''folk culture'' of African-Americans is comparable to the ''primeval nature'' in which Native Americans lived at the opening of the first movement. This ideological similarity links the two movements and clarifies the diversity that Bloch admitted to his vision of the United States. The depiction of the Civil War itself at the center of the movement demonstrates how cleverly Bloch was able to control the many different texts in the work, for it is at this point that he mixes ''Songs of the Civil War'' together in order to represent the dissonance and futility of war. Ideology and musical materials conjoin here with striking creativity. The movement closes with narrative depiction of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and a different dissonance, one harmonically constructed, yet one that we read as linked to the jumble of folk tunes in the previous section.

The third movement, ''The Present'' and ''The Future,'' proves to be the America with whose music Bloch is most familiar. The Dixieland, jazz, and popular tunes that form the melodic material for this movement seem somehow closer to Bloch. In fact, Bloch is really one of the first composers in the United States to turn extensively to materials of such truly popular character. This was not a nationalistic artifice built from folk tunes ripped from their function, rather a din that reminded many of the barrage of sounds in the city or broadcast on the radio. Ideologically, then, Bloch was most at home in this America; musically, too, he seems to know what to do with these materials, for the movement truly swings in parts.

It is also clear that the movement gave Bloch a certain freedom, perhaps to experiment, but surely to locate himself in the American landscape. Metric and rhythmic patterns constantly shift, and Bloch is not afraid to urge on the performers with markings such as ''frenetico.'' The movement also includes sounds of the mechanical age, for example, plates of steel and anvils transformed into the orchestra's percussion.

The movement closes first by returning to the music of the Native American section of the first movement, symbolizing the ability of the nation to reconstruct itself according to its own designs and at the hands of its own people, here in the final movement the "new immigrants" among whom Bloch counted himself. Diversity, then, continues to characterize this America, and in the end it is only from this diversity that the "Anthem" can grow. Bloch seems always to want his audiences, wherever they are, to rise and sing the "Anthem," which they have previously imbibed from the multitude of fragments provided them in the course of the performance. These many voices at the end of the work become the single voice of *America.*

It is remarkable how similar the Switzerland of *Helvetia* is to the United States of *America.* Bloch describes the theme of his portrait of Switzerland as "the Mountain—Man—and the Union of Man and his native soil" (S. Bloch and Heskes 1976, 70). Again, the images of soil and the people uniting through song to express this connection to the cultural environment are juxtaposed. *Helvetia,* too, has an anthem, one which wends its way in fragments throughout the five sections with its melody closing the work "like the national banner, the symbol of the Country" (S. Bloch and Heskes 1976, 71). The "people" animate *Helvetia,* not unlike *America,* although it is clear that the representatives of the cantons in the Swiss Federation who gather in a town square (third movement) are considerably less abstract than the African-Americans or Native Americans so rooted to the soil in *America.* Again in *Helvetia,* Bloch uses a battle to show that the nation's fate lies in the hands of the people.

The voices of *America* and *Helvetia* are clearly related in a reflexive manner. In creating his musical representation of the United States, Bloch drew on a cultural geography that he knew from Switzerland, populating it, so to speak, with the melodies of Americanism that he could find in books or that he heard on the radio or on records. It is significant that Bloch composed *America* first, for he needed it as a model for treating his country of birth. The folk melodies of *Helvetia* may have been more intimately associated with his own youth, but the historical narrative, its details notwithstanding, comes from Bloch's notion of the "epic" formed by American history. This was a history that arose from the soil and returned to it, whether in America or Switzerland. That this metaphor resonates considerably with Biblical notions of life and death could not have escaped Bloch. Indeed, it provided him precisely with the image that he needed to draw both Switzerland and America closer to his own life and his Swiss-American experience.

Is the image of America that Bloch sought in his "epic rhapsody" distinctively Swiss? Upon closer scrutiny of the musical materials, does something Swiss capture our attention? I cannot myself answer these questions, at least not with the directness they demand; in fact, the form of textual and musical analysis that I have employed here are inadequate if these are the only questions we choose to ask. But, in fact, are these the questions that we should properly ask about any *Auswandererbericht* or moment in Swiss-American history? It goes without saying that there are immigrant letters in which traces of Bernese or Glarnese dialect

confirm some presence of Swissness; similarly, I could pursue the use of folk song in *America* or *Helvetia* that would confirm that only a Swiss-American could have written them, and, for that matter, a Genevan. Assembling a historical picture from these, however, that relied only on the occasional brush strokes that could be confirmed as Swiss-American would yield a history that was a rather sparse sketch.

It makes no sense to conclude, then, that the music of Ernest Bloch—*America* or *Helvetia*—is quintessentially Swiss-American. It is music that gives voice to the experiences of a Swiss-American; it is part of a whole that probably only a Swiss-American would endeavor to create. The ultimate value of its aesthetic dimensions, however, lies in their resistance to any attempt to reduce the Swiss-American experience to simple connections between one country and another. Many and varied, these aesthetic dimensions reveal an extraordinary amount about the many voices of the immigrant experience, and this would seem to be a compelling reason to listen closely to them all.

University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Appendix A

Opening Epigraph and Dedication

[Spelling and punctuation follow Bloch's score.]

America

An epic Rhapsody in three parts
for orchestra

This Symphony has been written in love for this country
In reverence to its Past—In faith in its Future

It is dedicated
to the memory of Abraham Lincoln
and
Walt Whitman
whose vision has upheld its inspiration

The Ideals of America are imperishable. They embody the future credo of all mankind: a Union, in common purpose and under willingly accepted guidance, of widely diversified races, ultimately to become one race, strong and great. But, as Walt Whitman has said: "To hold men together by paper and seal or by compulsion, is of no account. That only holds men together which aggregates all in a living principle, as the hold of the limbs of the body or the fibres of plants."

Though this Symphony is not dependant [sic] on a program, the composer wants to emphasize that he has been inspired by this very Ideal.

The *Anthem* which concludes the work, as its apotheosis, symbolizes the Destiny, the Mission of America. The Symphony is entirely built upon it. From the first bars it appears, in root, dimly, slowly taking shape; rising, falling, developing, and finally asserting itself victoriously in its complete and decisive form.

It is the hope of the composer that this Anthem will become known and beloved, that the audience will rise to sing it, becoming thus an active and enthusiastic part of the work and its message of faith and hope.

Appendix B

The Verbal Text of *America*

[Each bracketed remark is complete.]

First Movement

. . . . 1620

The Soil—The Indians—(England)—

The Mayflower—The Landing of the Pilgrims

The Soil . . .
Primeval Nature . . . Indian life (Indian pueblo songs—New Mexico)
Indian songs—Mandan and Hidatsa music.
"Organizing a war party."
Chippewa songs—"War song" (p. 8–22)
"Song of Departure" (Trombones)
"Death song"
"Do not weep - I am not going to die" (C[ontra]bassi—Corno ingl.—Arpa I)
"Weeping for my love" (Viola sola—then Clarinet)
Transition to the "English episode"
. . . Old English march
Old English march
"The Call of America"
The sea . . .
"Struggles and Hardships"
Old chanty
. . . at sea
. . . land in sight
"America! America!" . . .
Loneliness
Memories of the past "England."
Struggles, hardships, ahead . . .
Building up a Nation . . .
The love of the Soil comes into the hearts of the Pilgrims . . .
"In God we trust" ("Old Hundred") (Corni, Trombe, Viole)
Faint hopes in the future . . .

Second Movement

. . . . 1861–1865

Hours of Joy—Hours of Sorrow

I hear America singing, the varied carols I hear . . .

Each singing what belongs to him or her and to none else.
Singing with open mouths their strong melodious songs . . .
(Walt Whitman)

The South . . . Old ballad (Corno inglese)
Negro folk-songs ("Row after row")
Lullaby
"Old folks at home"
. . . Virginia reels
"Hail Columbia" (trombe)
America! America! (Violin—Viole—Oboe)
Creole folk-song
The battle-call
Songs of the Civil war (Dixie)
"John Brown's." "Battle Cry of Freedom." "Dixie." "Tramp, tramp, tramp."
(Strings) (Corne, Tbe.) (W. Winds) (Trboni; Tuba.)
After the battle . . .
"And in the blood of its own children, the Unity of a Great Nation was sealed."
"For my enemy is dead, a man divine as myself is dead . ." (Walt Whitman)
"O captain! My captain!" (W.W.)
O! bleeding America!

Third Movement

1926 . . . .

The Present—

The Future . . .

". . . As he sees the farthest he has the most faith."
(Walt Whitman)

Present time
Negro folk song: "I went to the hop joint"
Negro folk song: "The coon-can game"
Turmoil of present time—Speed—Noise—"Man slave of the *Machines*"
(p. 126-148)
America's call of Distress
The inevitable Collapse . . .
"Give me solitude, give me Nature, give me again, O nature, your primal sanities!" (Walt Whitman)
The call of America
"Then turn, and be not alarm'd O Libertad—turn your *unifying face,* To where *the future, greater* than all the past, Is swiftly, surely preparing for you." (W.W.)
Man's introspection . . .
The mastery of *Man* over the Machines, his environment, and . . . himself.
"I have charged myself, heeded or unheeded, to compose a march for these States." (W.W.)
"Over the Carnage rose prophetic a voice:
Be not dishearten'd, affection shall solve the problems of Freedom yet;
Those who love each other shall become invincible,
They shall yet make Columbia victorious,
Sons of the Mother of All, you shall yet be victorious,

You shall yet laugh to scorn the attacks of all the remainder
of the earth!'' (Walt Whitman)
The Call of America *to* the Nations of the World.
''See . . . immigrants continually coming and landing . . .'' W.W.
. . . The Fulfillment . . . *(till the End)*
Through Love . . .
''. . . Till they strike up marches henceforth triumphant and onward
To cheer O Mother your boundless expectant soul!'' (Walt Whitman)
Here the *People* rise—to sing the Anthem.

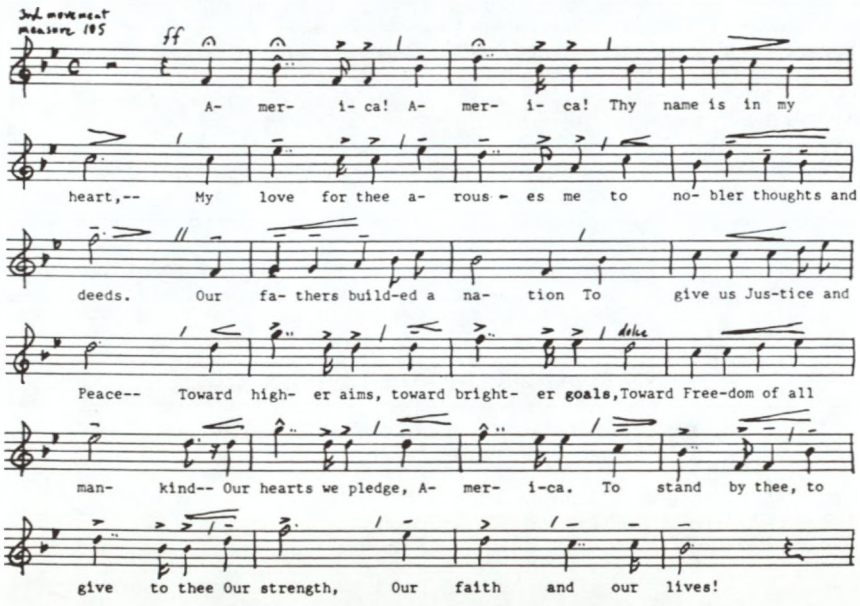
Appendix C

[Instructions regarding the text of Appendix B
in the ''Notes for the Performance,''
which generally only the performers read.]

The explanatory references (as well as the quotations from Walt Whitman) at the bottom of the pages, are not meant for reproduction in the programs. They are not needed for the understanding of a work which does not attempt to describe nor [sic] imitate. But, as its inspiration was sustained by a poetical idea, these notes may, in the same way, stimulate the performers and facilitate their task, in making clearer to them the intentions of the Composer.

Appendix D

The Concluding "Anthem" of *America*



Notes

[1] Leo Schelbert argues that the reports from Swiss-American immigrants are, in fact, most meaningful from an historiographic perspective because they reflect the true diversity of immigrant experiences and responses. See his introduction to Schelbert and Rappolt, *Alles ist ganz anders hier* (1977, 19–30).

[2] Although I use the concept of "experience" somewhat more broadly than Schelbert uses "*Erlebnis*," I mean it to have precisely the catalytic, formative role that he ascribes to it. In short, an *Auswandererbericht* is inevitably the product of and shaped by the experiences of the individual, which serve as a context to shape the text we eventually interpret (Schelbert and Rappolt 1977, 21–25).

[3] Many orchestras, major and minor, struck works by German composers from their repertories during the years of American involvement in the war. Such actions must be understood against the backdrop of dominance by German-immigrant and German-American musicians in American artistic life (see Bohlman 1986).

[4] For recent anthropological uses of this concept of ethnography, see Clifford and Marcus 1986, the subtitle of which is *The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography.*

[5] From the *Program Notes* for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, 1938–39, pp. 28–31 (quoted in Strassburg 1977, 64).

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PART TWO

AMERICAN APPRAISALS OF SWITZERLAND

A. G. Roeber

Henry Miller's *Staatsbote:* A Revolutionary Journalist's Use of the Swiss Past

On 6 July 1776 the first printing of the Declaration of Independence in German came from the Philadelphia press of Melchior Steiner and Charles Cist. Three days later, Heinrich Miller issued a second version of the Declaration, although he had given out the first news of the Declaration's imminent appearance in his newspaper the *Philadelphische Staatsbote* on 5 July, beating the English-language press by a day. In both instances, the translation of the seminal document was the work of Charles Cist, a Halle-educated pharmacist and physician who had fled from St. Petersburg to North America in 1769. The conjunction of a Halle-educated translator for the Declaration and its printing by Miller, a German-born immigrant of Swiss ancestry, symbolized the forging of a politically self-conscious German-American readership. The language used to convey the meaning of the Declaration built upon Miller's highly politicized international perspective he had developed since the early 1760s as a printer in Pennsylvania. Unlike his competitors the Sauers, father and son, Miller eschewed treating the domestic and local concerns of transplanted German speakers in his paper and almanac. Instead, he purposefully addressed himself to the local leadership groups who were already in contact with English speakers in trade and in local politics.[1]

We still puzzle over how the German reader perceived the significance of terms such as "freedom," "privileges," "property," and "law" for which Miller rarely provided parallels and translations. Most of the time, he took the acculturated status of his readers for granted, although other hints in his newspaper suggest that he knew that most of his readership did not share the cosmopolitan Swiss perspective he himself possessed that allowed him to praise the North American quality of life he and Cist translated as *Glückseligkeit.* The truism legal scholars urge students to consider is doubly true where the German-language readership of the British colonies was concerned: "Property rights are a cultural creation and a legal conclusion."[2] Miller's cultural

creation reflected his own pilgrimage from German birth to Swiss apprenticeship, from which he drew the figures and images he wished transplanted German speakers in British North America to adopt as their own.

In this regard, Miller set out to distance himself from his major competitors, the Sauers. The Sauer family, after 1758 involved in the internal life of the Dunkard Church as bishops and convinced pacifists, had studiously attempted under Christopher Sauer I to avoid present-day disputes, adopting the semblance of being impartial *(unpartheyisch).* Naturally, Sauer's writings were anything but impartial. Ironically, the Sauer almanac that shortly after Christopher I's death had begun a long series of biographical sketches on the British monarchs beginning in the 1760s, ended both the series and publication itself in 1776 with a sketch of the revolutionary Oliver Cromwell. We cannot indulge a deep comparison between Sauer's approach to the problem of a self-concept and imagery he suggested for German speakers and Miller's. But where Sauer consistently concentrated upon domestic imagery and eschewed political issues and involvement, Miller immediately seized just this approach, perhaps reflecting his own impatience with the domestic-religious culture of the Moravians to whose faith he had been converted after his second arrival in North America in 1741.[3]

Sauer had resolutely focused his paper on the key concept of *das ganze Haus.*[4] The *Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanisch Geschichts-Schreiber,* from 1739 until Sauer's death in 1758 devoted itself primarily and openly to the "Collection of Credible News, from the Realm of Nature and the Churches; and also Useful Knowledge for the Common Good." The interests of an agricultural, religious society therefore determined what Sauer would choose to define as "useful" for his definition of the common weal. Sauer rarely encouraged self-reflective, political engagement by German speakers; his essential message to his patrons was one of non-involvement except when other groups threatened the dominance of the Quakers in the proprietary government. By continuing to emphasize the centrality of the household and the father's responsibility for its preservation, Sauer perpetuated the culturally transferred village traditions of German speakers which had rarely exceeded the bounds of the village and the kinship network in which they lived. Even for the relatively mobile population of the German southwest, the guiding principles of behavior remained those that tied one to extended family and securing one's rights in the locale in which one lived. Allegiances further abroad—to the duke, prince, or count, or to the political entity of a "state"—were scarcely thought of. The primary appeal of the North American context for Sauer remained its "liberty" that meant precisely the absence of constraint upon conscience, and the accompanying absence of compulsory civic obligations as well.

Thus, when Conrad Weiser printed a circular letter in 1741 urging German support for a tax to be levied for defense funds, Sauer openly attacked the German-speaking justice of the peace. Yet even Weiser himself, like Sauer a wanderer in religious opinions who dabbled at Ephrata and tried on many religious vestures before returning to

Lutheran practice, had only reminded the German speakers that their possessions "of temporal goods" were best protected under the "priviledges & liberties" secured under British law. Weiser used the Biblical metaphor of "a house divided against itself shall not stand" to urge German-speaking Pennsylvanians to "trust" the English, who were more "jealous and Carefull of their Laws" than any other nation. But even Weiser had not contemplated long-term involvement, but instead support for this one-time, only short-term, necessary defense measure. Weiser's own pragmatism, perhaps honed by his years of cross-cultural mediating between Pennsylvania and Native Americans among whom he spent his youth, inspired his writing more than any reflection upon how German speakers should contemplate the problem of liberty and property.[5] Sauer, by contrast, consistently attacked any form of taxation that touched the hearth and promoted either the interests of the wealthy few or those with designs upon Indian lands.[6]

The physical presentation of Sauer's paper also did little to encourage in his readers the development of a critical sense and reflective judgment which the literature of the day began to develop among English speakers. The actual layout of printed texts could convey different messages to readers depending upon the associations triggered from seeing regularly arranged blocks of print. In Great Britain, the alteration in the stamp tax law that after 1725 levied new charges on six-sided weeklies that had previously only been required to pay the pamphlet tax, immediately drove some marginal papers from the market and altered the physical looks of others. Double-columned, regularized blocks of texts, readily identified in the popular mind with the Bible, religious pamphlets, and officially sanctioned political pamphlets thus conveyed a different sense of "truth" than more hastily assembled papers, struggling for financial survival and unable to command the battery of typesetters and printers available to the cautious, conservative press conscious of the need to avoid censorship and potential financial ruin.[7]

The simple need to be economically successful explains why Sauer largely avoided complex typesetting, for example, not putting editorial remarks or commentary on news reports and texts in italics, and avoiding as well the doubling of German consonants. Instead, his paper presented to the reader both news from Europe, provincial and local developments, and his own comments, all in uninterrupted double columns that closely resembled the printing of Bibles, religious pamphlets, and other forms of officially sanctioned, printed truth. Between 1739 and 1750 a year's subscription to the paper cost three shillings and was not sustained by paid advertisements; these were instead inserted gratis. Neither did many of Sauer's "subscribers" actually pay what they owed, as he complained to his readers. Perhaps reflecting the rapidly expanding circulation created by German immigration, Sauer finally began charging his four to ten thousand readers for placing advertisements in the paper. Not too surprisingly, eminent brokers and agents like Heinrich Keppele, and other Philadelphia worshippers at St. Michael's like David Schaeffer and Ernst Ludwig Baisch used the paper

to remind people to pay what they owed. Since all mortals must die, debts should be paid so that heirs will not have to be troubled by creditors, Keppele warned. Irresponsible people had already cost him much money. Sauer, too, heartily recommended avoiding courts and indebtedness, on moral grounds.[8]

Perhaps even more important in creating a community of readers familiar with a vocabulary shaped by cultural transfer and adaptation to a British-American context, was Sauer's almanac. *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Calender,* begun in 1738, was equally forthright in telling readers that it concentrated on the domestic core of a transferred German culture, regaling purchasers with treatments of "various needful and edifying theological topics, and also household remedies." The reliance of Sauer's readership upon the absolute truth of the printed word in both theology and domestic culture was testified to by irate farmers who berated the publisher when his astrological and weather tables failed to match what happened in Pennsylvania. Just as oral customs and received traditions in the German southwest had long been thought safer when committed to paper and provable charters, so too, in the New World context, the truths promulgated in Sauer's almanac assumed deeper dimensions precisely because they were printed and could be referred to, just as one turned to printed Scripture.

Against the time-honored reverence in which Sauer's publications were held by German speakers in North America, Henry Miller offered his own perspective. Born in 1702 and baptized Johann Heinrich Möller in Rhoden/Waldeck, Miller was of Swiss ancestry, his father a stonemason in Altstätten near Zurich, where the young boy lived, serving an apprenticeship in Basel before going to London, and eventually landing in New York and settling in Philadelphia in 1741. Beginning his career under Franklin's tutelage, Miller returned to Europe a year later since he had converted from Lutheranism to the Moravian faith and was instructed to aid in setting up a printing shop for the Moravians at The Hague. Wanderings in the late 1740s took him through Great Britain until in 1751 he came again to Pennsylvania and began publishing the *Lancastersche Zeitung*. Again returning to Europe in 1754, he was back in England two years later publishing a German paper for the Hanoverian and Hessian troops during the Seven Years' War. By 1760 Miller was again in Philadelphia where his first job turned out to be that of translator for a book that addressed the difficulties German speakers encountered with English law.[9]

Shortly after Sauer's death, and just before Miller began publishing the *Philadelphische Staatsbote,* the elder Christopher Sauer's concerns about the German speakers' difficulty with English law were given new life by the decision of the Berks County attorney David Henderson to publish a handbook of English legal terms in German. Henderson himself was not adept enough to translate his efforts, and turned to Miller, who issued *Des Landsmanns Advocat* in 1761, the only German-language legal handbook printed in America before the Revolution. Henderson had consulted with Conrad Weiser before the latter's untimely death in the summer of 1759, and contacted the Lancaster justice

Emmanuel Zimmerman, to whom he dedicated the book, and pastor Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, and Weiser's sons, as well. All encouraged the project. Attempting to explain the book's purpose to prospective readers, Henderson wrote an introduction that demanded a rapid acquisition of English and excused the book only as a stop-gap measure. The real purpose of the book, however, lay in instructing German speakers in the proper understanding of English liberty.

The book did not aim to make a learned legal expert out of a farmer, but rather to bring the current generation of German speakers into full contact with English law; in a succeeding generation, Henderson concluded, his work would be superfluous since the Germans will know English. Henderson urged upon his readers and potential clients the growing sense that a public political arena not only existed, but that Germans were compelled, if only out of self-interest, to participate in it.[10]

Henry Miller, Henderson's translator, quickly established himself as an independent and politically oriented printer whose dedication to the construction of public opinion was clear from the beginning. He now ended his former flirtation with the Moravians, signaling his independence with the 1762 publication of the broadside *Geistlicher Irrgarten,* a complex maze of Biblical passages directing players from four different sides through a labyrinth, to which Miller added at the bottom "Philadelphia, printed by Henrich Miller, in the year after his release out of the garden of errors and the opening up of heaven's gate, 1762."[11] At no time during the next decade and beyond did Miller reestablish his formal connections with a Protestant religious body; and yet, even here, the Swiss identity was not far from his mind. In August of 1770 Miller enthusiastically published an essay by Christian Ziguerer, preacher at Grüsch in Graubünden. Comparing his reaction to this piece with his admiration for August Hermann Francke's *Heiliger und sicherer Glaubens-Weg,* Miller concluded that an American edition in English and German ought to be brought out. For those who had doubts about its theological soundness, Miller triumphantly declared that a synod of pastors and professors of the Swiss Reformed Church testified to its orthodoxy.[12] Even the very first advertisement Miller printed reflected his Swiss orientation: Johann Conrad Steiner's *Die herrliche Erscheinung des Herrn Jesu zum allgemeinen Weltgericht* reflected the Reformed pastor's efforts in sixteen sermons which Miller first brought to public attention in his first edition on 18 January 1762.

Miller's independent religious posture and many wanderings never undermined his identity which he chose to promote as a model for German speakers' understanding of their rights in America. Even when threatened by an outraged Roman Catholic whom he believed to be mentally ill, Miller upheld the advantages of toleration he had come to know in Switzerland; he even suggested that his short apprenticeship in Brussels and Paris among a Catholic population suggested a growing tolerance in Europe which Miller hailed as a genuinely cosmopolitan spirit.[13]

The identity of German speakers as Germans had been vague and ill

defined in Europe for centuries, largely because the territories within the *Reich* exercised local privileges vis-à-vis the theoretical supremacy of the emperor. Perhaps sensing this, Miller assumed that acculturated German speakers in the colonies could make easy analogies to other countries' experiences as he had done in his journeys. By the mid-1700s, the first German writers in Europe had begun openly to lament the lack of a "German" identity, and to cast about for appropriate models that might supply one. Most thought that, while some princes had regularly aped the French court at Versailles, the actual traditions of German local life suggested that the republics of the Netherlands or Switzerland provided the best examples of how life should be ordered. Certainly, similarities of local institutional life had long suggested that the small republics might have something to offer, especially to the German southwest which shared many affinities in population and religion with Switzerland.[14]

Miller, sensitive to the fact that he was a newcomer to the German reading public, declared in his first issue of his paper that his intention was merely to serve "the Germans in this part of the world, so far removed from their fatherland." His somewhat chauvinistic reporting of the bravery of Germans in their exploits overseas appears to have been intended to reassure both readers, and perhaps himself, that "the German people have never been inferior to any other in bravery, or any other virtues." Both Christian and civic *(bürgerliche)* virtues would be promoted in his paper, although the preference given to secular affairs was obvious to anyone looking closely at the title of his "Weekly Philadelphia State Messenger: With the Newest Foreign and Local Political News," adding almost as an afterthought, "including the Remarkable Events Occurring from Time to Time in the Church and the World of Learning."[15] But the lack of interest in the domestic, local sphere of life that was so central to Sauer's approach was striking not only in the pages of the newspaper, but in the complete absence of homely advice and essays in Miller's almanac, the *Neuest- Verbessert- und Zuverlässige Amerikanische Calendar,* whose title, while admitting it was "newest and improved" also claimed to be "reliable," but not necessarily "High German" as did Sauer's.[16]

For the first two years of the paper's existence, Miller faithfully reported both British and North American political developments. At first, he seemed to take for granted a shared cosmopolitan interest in the world on the part of his readers. By 1764, he had begun to use without comment the term "American" to describe the identity of his readers, and welded together English and North American political history in the German language. Yet Miller may have been disappointed early on in the low level of awareness he sensed among his readership for the importance of international political affairs. At least this would explain his policy of identifying in parentheses cities in the German *Reich* outside of the southwest, especially Württemberg and the Palatinate, from which so many emigrants came. While towns such as Speyer, Heilbronn, Stuttgart, or Landau were self-evidently clear, Miller felt compelled to explain where other cities lay. Thus Regensburg was

identifed to be in Bavaria on the Danube, the city in which the *Reichstag* met. A few weeks later Berlin was identified as "a large and well populated city in the Central Mark of Brandenburg on the River Spree, the residence of the King of Prussia and Elector of Brandenburg."[17] Curiously, Miller almost never again drew upon any historical images from the German past itself, allowing himself only the observation in 1765 upon a letter from "a *German North American*" that the "*German Tongue* is the *Mother* of the *English Language,* so that . . . the laying a *Double Burden* on a good ancient *Parent* . . . [breaks] that divine Commandment, *Thou shalt honour thy Father and thy Mother,*" an obvious reference to the double tax to be laid upon foreign-language newspapers by the hated Stamp Act which Miller vociferously opposed in his paper.[18]

Yet his own Swiss heritage was also relatively unimportant to Miller until the imperial crisis deepened with the passage of the Stamp Act and the campaign to royalize Pennsylvania. In the aftermath of these controversies, Miller's allegiances to the Swiss struggles for liberty emerged and deepened from 1768 to 1775.[19]

At first glance, Miller's unencumbered translations of British parliamentary debates, ministerial decisions, and provincial politics could be taken as evidence proving that his readership needed no help in penetrating the mysteries of British legal and political culture. Hence, they also encountered little difficulty in understanding the debates over liberty and property. Several circumstances suggest that Miller was in fact assuming a different readership, and hence, anticipating a different response, than did Sauer, whom Miller never ceased to delight in attacking or belittling.

Miller, after all, had lived in England, worked for Franklin, and was the translator of Henderson's essay on the law. He was deeply familiar with British political and legal terminology, and apparently assumed that his readers were as well. Miller made no comments on, and gave few explanations for the accounts of British politics. Second, although he aimed at a continental distribution and had agents located from Halifax to Ebenezer and in most of the large German settlement towns in between, his circulation by 1776 may not have exceeded one thousand; in other words, he probably reached only half as many people as did the Sauer press, and perhaps intentionally so. Miller, after all, was consistently and aggressively pro-royalization in Pennsylvania and closely allied himself to the imperial perspective of Benjamin Franklin whose politics he unswervingly supported. Judging from the content of his paper, he seems to have assumed that a smaller group of informed and acculturated readers constituted his audience—exactly, that is, the cultural brokers who ran taverns, owned bakeries and breweries, engaged in coastal and overseas shipping, and comprised the leadership in German North American settlements.

As Willi Paul Adams has pointed out, Miller shared in the general adulation of Frederick the Great of Prussia, apparently oblivious to the combination of taxation and military expenditures upon which the success of the Prussian state was grounded. The *Staatsbote,* like the

Sauer press, had promulgated support for Britain's continental ally, reflecting the enthusiasm for Frederick engendered during the Seven Years' War.[20] Yet Miller did not continue to appeal to images drawn from the German past to provide his readers with a sense of shared linguistic or cultural identity. Rather, he assumed their status as German speaking British subjects in North America as a given, and devoted none of his efforts toward their domestic concerns. Miller poked fun at the unease of the Quakers in confronting the Paxton Boys and the fears engendered by Pontiac's Rebellion, pointing out that as the elders of the colony had sown, so now the young would reap, not knowing how to defend province and city. To drive the point home, Miller printed one of the satires to the tune of "A Soldier indeed am I, and stand before my Foe."[21]

Although Miller seemed content in the first three years of his activities merely to report foreign and domestic politics with little attempt at clarifying terms and words, the struggle over royalization in Pennsylvania, followed swiftly by the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, changed the tenor of his paper dramatically. In the midst of the Stamp Act crisis Miller overtly reached back to German history, reminding readers of the oppressive taxes on printed matter common in the *Reich*, pointedly noting that in Germany printers were strictly forbidden to meddle in political debates.[22] In the debates that ensued between Sauer and his supporters who opposed changing the charter, and Miller and his royalizing sympathizers, for the first time the notion of "blessedness" or a condition of inner peace and undisturbed success appeared. Miller published in July 1764 a translation of an English broadside asking whether the assembly had intended to send a petition to the crown without consulting fellow citizens *(lieben Mitbürger)*, since the assembly's task was to stand before the crown as representatives *(Vorsteher)*. No other people's "civic, inward blessedness" *(bürgerliche Glückseligkeit)* could compare with Pennsylvania's if the protection of the original charter were rigorously upheld. Since disturbances were common in other colonies, blame should not be attached to the frame of Pennsylvania's provincial government. One wonders why Miller published this piece, which seems to argue eloquently against his own position.[23] Christopher Sauer, Jr., in one of the rare instances of genuine political engagement, attacked Miller and his allies, the royalizing Germans centered around Market Street, in a particularly hard-hitting pamphlet that ably juxtaposed domestic images against the pretentions of innovators.[24]

Sauer's attack on Miller and Franklin pleaded for peace in the aftermath of the bloodshed on the frontiers and the exchanges in broadsides among the Germans. The "inestimable justice and liberty" of old could only be retained if peace were made. Yet Sauer contributed little to the restoration of peace by encouraging partisans of the proprietary party to vote "like men and not like frighted women" *(wie Männer, und nicht wie furchtsame Weiber)*. Even more strongly, he employed the most negative domestic images, suggesting that those who continued to fight for royalization were *Misgeburten* ("misfits") who

opposed the success of men of "their own German Nation" like Heinrich Keppele as opposed to *Mitbürger,* fellow citizens, who supported the proprietary ticket. Franklin, he went on, completing the imagery, has "eaten our bread" and rewarded scoundrels like Joseph Galloway with a "fat office" *(fettes Amt)* while others got lesser crumbs *(geringere Brocken),* leaving the province in debt, being willing to see the entire house of government burn down rather than quieting the fractious relationships between governor and assembly.

The appeal of this domestic imagery and the manner in which the Sauer press had exerted itself to link domestic language images to broader issues of the public weal may go some distance in explaining why the royalization scheme was resoundingly defeated among the Germans. Sauer in particular resorted to imagery that drew upon the consensual role of the local community *(Gemeinde)* in representing the connection between cherished liberties and public responsibility. Although he appealed to all regardless of linguistic or religious background, the German-language text was aimed especially at the Lutheran and Reformed parties whom Sauer feared would be swayed to vote for royalization. Instead, he argued, liberty was a gift from God which he expected people to exercise. The privileges of Pennsylvania had always kept ultimate control over property in the proprietor, of course, but in practice, the right to property "and your purse and all else you own" was vested in free subjects who made those rights known to the assemblymen. The mediation of the local group's rights in the face of a central authority was well known to inhabitants of the Palatinate or Württemberg whose *Landtage* could be presented with the *Gravamina* against the pretentions of ducal or electoral exercises of power. But in the New World, Sauer warned, everyone "by the law of the land" was free, and not a slave, all equally enjoying "all liberties of a native-born Englishman," and all having "a share in the fundamental laws of the land."[25]

To be sure, both Sauer and Miller indulged in chicanery when it came to explaining the appropriate German translation of Franklin's infamous remarks about the "palatine Boors." That sentiment, first appearing in Franklin's 1755 *Gentleman's Magazine* essay "Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind," received wide redistribution in shortened form from Sauer's press in 1764. Miller and his supporters felt compelled to answer the incendiary paragraph in which Franklin dismissed the Germans as rude peasants, as well as the accusations that Franklin had been behind the hated double rate to be levied on foreign newspapers by the Stamp Act. Instead, Miller's broadside insisted, the broadcasters of this fairy tale, the Wisters and David Deschler, did not understand that Franklin had actually worked hard to prevent the proviso.[26]

A disingenuous attempt to explain Franklin's terms was made in English in the same year, unconvincingly suggesting that his referring to the Germans "herding together" merely meant that such groupings "had a Tendency to exclude the English Language in a County where men multiplied so fast." An equally dubious footnote suggested that

" 'Tis well known that *Boor* means no more than a *Country Farmer,* and that *herding* signifies flocking or gathering together, and is applied by the best English Writers to harmless Doves, or Ladies in Distress."[27] Franklin and others pretended to scoff at the notion that the Germans would have heard the word *Boor* and interpreted it as "boar," i.e., a pig being "herded" to the polls. In fact, it is quite probable that this is precisely what the Germans did hear, and correctly divined Franklin's true sentiments about them. On the other hand, the essay at least pointed to the truth that the Germans had to master political and legal language in order to obtain for themselves any "Office of Trust or Profit."

Despite the rejoicing over the repeal of the Stamp Act on the part of both Sauer and Miller, Miller's writings took a sharper turn by 1768 as he discerned that repeal had not changed the ministry's basic posture toward the colonies. Both Miller and Sauer had copied English-language propaganda in juxtaposing "freedom" and "slavery" during the Stamp Act crisis, and Miller shrewdly discerned the connection between rising taxation to support military occupation and the tendency to override provincial assemblies, precisely the innovation which Great Britain had imposed during the Seven Years' War in appointing a British commander in chief with viceregal powers. Yet Miller curiously described the overshadowing of the assemblies by the imposition of the Stamp Act not as "against the constitution" *(verfassungswidrig)* but by a peculiarly awkward and more cautious construction, *unlandesverfassungsmäßig,* i.e., not appropriate or not befitting the constitution of the province.[28]

The refinement of terms identifying forms of taxation had been largely worked out by the time of the Stamp Act crisis. Yet as late as 1773 Miller's publication of a broadside protesting the decision of the assembly refusing an imposition of an excise in Pennsylvania reviewed both terms and history of taxation.[29] Excises had existed since 1700, the broadside argued, and such impositions upon spirituous liquors had never been a problem for previous generations just as jealous of liberty and law as the present generation. While such excises could be used in England to oppress people, that would not happen in Pennsylvania where at the county level, servants of the government *(Beamte)* were controlled by the people *(Volksmacht).* Appraisals of property could traditionally be appealed from an assessor to the county commissioners. Against those who warned that an assessor could break down the doors of a house, cellar or storeroom with a warrant *(Berechtigungsschreiben),* the broadside scornfully asked: "Do they understand under the word Liberty to mean here the condition in which people have the right honorably or deceitfully to conduct themselves according to their own pleasure against their neighbors?" Rather, liberty was a condition in which behavior was judged against the standard of the well-being and surety of the common society *(nach der Wohlfahrt und Sicherheit der allgemeinen Gesellschaft).* Perhaps, the writer continued, they mean that it is a lesser crime to steal from the public than from a private person. In addition, it was an excise *(Akzise)* and not a tax on the necessities of life *(Steuer* or *Taxen)* which was under discussion and which people would

avoid paying if they could. An excise on liquors justly touched the wealthy who were the real reason the assembly lacked the courage to adopt the measure. Is this wise, the essay concluded, "to impose yet a new burden upon movable and immovable property of a people already suffering under the load of heavy taxes?" This seemed especially foolish when the bill promised to bring in as much as a new tax of one penny on the pound levied against all chattels and real estate.

Apparently not interested in commenting upon the Declaratory Act, as did almost no other North American printer, Miller in 1767 did note the passage of the Townshend Duties, and approved of the subsequent imposition of nonimportation in 1767. But in 1768 Miller for the first team directly invoked images from other European resistance efforts as models for his German-speaking readers. Citing the Dutch motto "eendracht maakt macht" ("Strength in Unity") he unwittingly copied Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg's own Latin invocation of 1764 which the pastor privately entered into his records as the Lutherans had marched from their schoolhouse to the polls: *vis unita fortior.* More significantly, in that same year Miller published the pamphlet which contained the song glorifying the story of Wilhelm Tell and the Swiss resistance against Habsburg tyranny.[30]

The most fascinating aspect of Miller's decision to reach into Swiss history for a model or identity for his readers is why he did so in the late 1760s, and why no models of resistance from German southwest history suggested themselves. Miller nowhere reflected upon this aspect of his past in detail. Yet he did suggest in his essay on the utility of newspapers published in 1774 that the purpose of the press was to make known political developments and to reveal the secrets of the ministers of state. A people in danger of losing the "priceless jewel of their liberty" Miller wrote, would find that the incomparable worth of newspapers was to function "as in Switzerland as watchmen on the mountains." Just as was true among that people, the press brought "like a signal fire" the attention of a people to life and warned of danger, against which only "unity and steadfastness" were adequate defense.[31]

In fact, Miller's decision in 1768 to seize upon the Wilhelm Tell legend is less odd than it seems. To be sure, according to at least some scholars, a sufficient tradition of peasant revolts existed in the German southwest that might at least have suggested a closer set of examples that would have aroused the historical self-consciousness of German speakers in America, most of whom came from the southwest. But the actual history of the southwest since the Thirty Years' War suggested that most peasants were inclined to use cautious legal procedures to protest attacks on their rights. The use of law faculties, the bringing of suits, or the writing of the *Gravamina* was more typical than any kind of outright resistance and uprising. In fact, that tradition seems, on the whole, to have been the stronger.[32]

Miller's use of the Tell legend concentrated on the swearing of the oath of loyalty among the Swiss determined to overthrow the tyranny of the Habsburgs. The title of the legend identifies Tell as the "original son

of freedom'' and the founder of the ''praiseworthy'' *Eidgenossenschaft.* The story concludes with Tell warning his fellows that freedom once won (giving praise to God for it) had to be defended, for if the Swiss ruined it they would never recover it again. In the same vein Tell warns them to be free from economic enslavement as well, otherwise they will end up as servants of the enemy *(''die Gaben machen blind; daß ihr nicht müssen büssen, und dienen zletzt dem Feind'').*

But to this poem the pamphlet appended ''Another beautiful Song concerning the Origins and Background of the Ancient Swiss'' that repeated the same emphasis on a people bound by an oath to one another. Tracing the mythic history of the wandering folk from East Friesland and Sweden into Switzerland where they fought the heathen for the Holy Roman Emperor, the poem pays homage to the sufferings of long ago, reminding the reader that God helps those who willingly suffer as Christ did on the cross. The eventual coat of arms adopted included the eagle on a golden field with a crown topped with the cross. But obedience—even for this people ''inclined to every form of humble obedience''—was due only because God had given them a pious ruler. Finally, however, no man can say who might be fortunate to have such an authority, but ultimate authority lay only with God. The virtues of the homely Swiss were reviewed in their humble clothing of *grober Zwilch;* for sustenance *(Nahrung)* they were fed on *''Fleisch, Käß und Milch.''*

As the nonimportation movement grew in strength in 1768, Miller clearly was searching for images stronger than those suggested by a German local tradition used to moving through channels. By presenting Tell as the supposed founder of an association bound by an oath that protected liberties, Miller sidestepped any traditional scepticism German speakers might have about the possibilities of a *Bündniß* or political association that was not tied together by agreement in religious principles. The Tell broadside appeared, after all, only a few months before Miller offered a library for sale containing political lexicons in which just such scepticism, reflective of the *Reich's* bloody past, was clearly evident. Interestingly, neither Miller nor Sauer ever referred to the tradition of presenting ''grievances'' *(Gravamina)* but instead only used the milder and more English term ''petition'' *(Bittschrift)* in describing the rights of subjects to present grievances. After this initial use of the Swiss model for his reading public, Miller dropped it as tensions with Britain seemed to subside. Yet he increasingly saw himself as less ''impartial'' *(unpartheyisch)* than he had originally claimed, as did the language of a broadside he agreed to publish in 1772 to protest the slanders and accusations leveled against tradesmen and artisans suspected of still wanting to alter the provincial charter and the ''blessed condition of our present provincial constitution and liberities'' *(die Glückseligkeit unserer jetzigen Landesverfassung und Freyheiten).*

Openly partisan, the broadside identifed the society as a ''Party'' *(Parthey)* with rules that allowed for expulsion of anyone betraying debates, or not agreeing to work against bribery and ''other harmful practices'' *(Bestechungen oder andere schädliche Practiken).* No mere private

quarrel would be considered excuse for failing to act in a patriotic manner for the best interests of the entire people, to which interest private opinions had to be subordinate. Although not precisely a society bound by an oath *(Eidgenossenschaft)* like the Swiss Confederation, the "Patriotic Society of the City and County of Philadelphia" moved German speakers closer to a kind of political association they had previously not known.[33]

Not until 1775, however, did Miller openly invoke the Swiss model again as he decided to reprint the essay of the Savannah Swiss Reformed pastor Johann Joachim Zubly. Thereafter, in relatively quick succession, he not only printed Zubly's sermon *The Law of Liberty* with the English version of the Swiss fight for freedom, but by July of 1776 in the pages of the *Staatsbote* included Salomon Geßner's poem "Das hölzene Bein" recounting the 1388 battle of Näfels in Glarus where Albert III of Austria had been defeated.[34] In this tale, too, as the old man tells the young shepherd the story of how he got his wooden leg, Miller managed to convey both some of the homely virtues to which he devoted very little of his publishing, with the political lessons he was more interested in propagating. The young shepherd could enjoy his country where the call of "freedom, freedom" rings in happy songs "from one peak to another" and "where what we see belongs to us, mountain and valley," only because of the sufferings of his forefathers. Recounting the battle, the old man tells the story of how the plumed Austrian cavalry were bested by a handful of Swiss. As the battle reached its peak, an enemy's horse trampled the man's leg. Before he could be killed, an unknown and wounded comrade bore him out of the battle and returned to the fray. In vain the old man had searched for his rescuer for years. In tears, the shepherd informs the wounded veteran that his own father had been the very man, but had himself died two years before, wondering if the man had survived whom he had carried out of the battle. The tale ends with the shepherd marrying the only heiress of the wounded veteran, the faithfulness of the oath-bound comrade rewarded in the united property and blood of the survivor's daughter and adopted son.

Miller's decision to publish his countryman Johann Joachim Zubly's essay, on the other hand, seems at first quite paradoxical. Both men were Swiss; although baptized Lutheran and dying a Moravian, Miller spent his formative years in the same Reformed atmosphere of Switzerland that produced the formidable transplanted cleric in Georgia. Zubly's own handling of the terms and issues surrounding public, political engagement and confrontation with illicit actions by authority was pure Swiss Reformed doctrine. Zubly's Zwinglian view of the relationship between politics and faith must have summarized Miller's own, although in the end Miller would remain loyal to the Revolution, and Zubly was unable to make the final break with his oath of obedience to the King. Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that for Zubly, as for any orthodox Swiss Reformed, the union between politics and religion was sacred; for Miller, the baptized Lutheran who had converted to the Moravians, who were inclined to separatism and pacifism, such a union

was of little significance. Though proud of his Swiss heritage, most of Miller's thinking was cosmopolitan and secular. He seems to have thought little about the implications for the relationship between politics and faith that Swiss history held; Zubly confronted the issue head-on, with painful results for himself.

Zubly's *The Law of Liberty,* actually a composite sketch of Swiss Reformed theology, contained political principles, theological orientation, and the mythic-historical allegory to the Swiss struggle for liberty. The inscription on his title page (Isaiah 11:13: "Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim") suggested both the unity of the colonies with the empire, and the impossibility of divorcing world politics from religious conviction. Like Zwingli before him, Zubly took for granted the essential unity of the political and the religious world, and was, oddly enough, more medieval in this respect than Luther, who finally concluded that although the church needed the protection of the princes, the latter were not to be trusted, and that the church was essentially invisible and its true members were known only to God.

Zubly's account of the struggle of the Swiss for liberty also assumed that while liberty had been banished from nearly all the world, including perhaps Great Britain, it had been preserved in Switzerland. Yet the active resistance of the peasants in the cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden that finally spread to "*thirteen* cantons, besides some confederates" clearly had ramifications beyond the borders of Switzerland. It had been, after all, Zwingli's purpose to include the German southwest in the confederation plans, and that relationship had never been forgotten totally in the *Reich.* More importantly, Zubly insisted that resistance to initial acts of tyranny such as the disruption of trade was a theological obligation, not a mere political option. Zubly like Zwingli before him interpreted Paul's statement, "Stand fast in that liberty wherewith the Son of God has made us free" (Galatians 5:1), to be a command for active resistance to tyranny in a world that refused to distinguish sacred from secular. This reading of the relationship between power and liberty did not completely abandon the doctrine of the two kingdoms common to Western theological thinking, but it gave a novel turn to that tradition by locating authority finally in the independent local congregation, rejection of a state-supported episcopate, and the use of dialectic argument as a form of Biblical exegesis in which one could see revelation related to contemporary political events. Zubly's analysis of the crisis facing the empire, however, forbade him to endorse a severing of the imperial bonds. For, just as he saw a unity between the sacred and secular aspects of liberty, so too he believed that the political bonds of empire had a divinely blessed component within which liberty had to be defended, just as Zwingli had insisted that liberty within the bounds of the Swiss Confederation had to influence the politics, ultimately, of all Europe.[35]

Here, Miller found the ethic of political resistance to which his first groping citations of the Wilhelm Tell legend in 1768 had pointed him. Why Miller himself remained a committed patriot, even as he re-joined the Moravians among whom he would die at Bethlehem, while Zubly

remained loyal after providing some of the most eloquent texts in favor of resistance, remains locked in the mystery of individual conscience and decision. Miller, by early 1775 alarmed about rumors of German indifference to the impending crisis in the colonies of New York and North Carolina, finally moved to address precisely those whose domestic culture and isolation from the readership he had so carefully cultivated and nurtured, threatened to destroy a German-speaking resistance movement. His pamphlet aimed at bringing these communities into line. The *Schreiben des evangelisch-lutherisch und reformierten Kirchenraths . . . in der Stadt Philadelphia* addressed directly the lack of information that hampered certain Germans from seeing how dire was their peril.[36] Especially for those who had not had the benefit of the networks of communication and exchange developed over the past generation, reliance on old-fashioned notions of obedience, personal vertical ties in wealthy patrons and families, or even religious doctrines that seemed to support such notions, needed to be exploded. The lack of access to the printed word explained for Miller that the Germans of North Carolina and New York lay outside the community of readers that had evolved since the 1750s in those areas of the colonies that were linked by networks created by religious association, the German printers, and the agents who facilitated property recoveries and business deals. Miller found it pathetic that New York Germans would still refer to Sir William Johnson as their "father-in-law," perhaps because of Johnson's first common-law wife, a former Palatine indentured servant. Rejecting such familial analogies, Miller also pointed out the extraordinary difference separating an American from an English farmer, the latter forbidden to carry a loaded musket over his own fields or garden, the former unable to imagine not hunting wild game for hundreds of miles and certain of his rights to do just that.[37]

The images conveyed in such pamphlets drew upon the transferred images of the forest that German speakers were familiar with, but in a dramatically changed context. Instead of the forest representing either the property of lords, or being a place of refuge, as German tales had often portrayed it, the American forest now also symbolized the theater within which the self-confident German-American land owner roamed at will. Arguably the most popular story that circulated among German speakers before the Revolution was that of St. Genovefa, the medieval lady wrongly accused of adultery who escaped into the forest. Her son, nourished on the milk of a doe who miraculously sustains him, grows to maturity and deep piety in isolation from the allures of human society, and when both are rescued and restored by the repentant nobleman, Genovefa dies soon after, tired of the toils of this world. Such a story, when seen in the context of the images of the forest that underlay much of the folklore imported with German-speaking immigrants, could hardly remain untouched in a North American context where the forest also harbored the dreaded French and their Native American allies. Miller himself employed such images freely, suggesting during the uproar over the Stamp Act in 1765 that the forest might have to serve as the last refuge of liberty. The captivity narratives that had enjoyed a long

history among English speakers also received German treatments in the 1760s, and Sauer, Miller, and other printers regaled their customers with such pamphlets, both translations of the sufferings of English women, and one piece that featured a German-American heroine.[38]

As the crisis with Britain deepened, Miller must have been particularly gratified in early 1776 to be able to inform his readers that they could obtain from his old nemesis Sauer, another offering reflecting the Swiss heritage of which Miller was so proud. Sauer, Jr., offered readers the essay by "Herr Getzner of Zürich" *Der Tod Abels in fünf Gesängen* which was so popular "among the Germans that it was republished three times in one year," in addition to enjoying an English translation dedicated to Queen Charlotte of England. Yet in the end, as Miller displayed a front-page ad for the German version of Paine's *Common Sense,* it was finally to "Ihr Deutschen in America, besonders in Pennsylvanien!" that Miller appealed in March 1776. Reminding his readers of the hated condition of *Leibeigenschaft* which he compared to black slavery, Miller pointed out how compulsory military service, destruction of crops by game and by hunts, and the quartering of soldiers upon the population were all in store for Germans in America, just as they had been in Europe.[39]

Unfortunately, one cannot gauge very accurately the force of Miller's appeals. It seems highly unlikely that Miller overtly drew upon the Swiss analogies and historical lessons with the notion in mind that he was appealing to Swiss-Americans. Not only were his father's countrymen small in numbers, but Miller demonstrated from the first that his was a cosmopolitan spirit that reached beyond the bounds of a particular political or religious configuration. His was the broadest German-speaking and reading audience of British North America, not the Swiss-Americans of South Carolina and Georgia, or the scattered congregations in the Middle Colonies. By 1765 Miller not only accepted advertisements from people such as Philip Benezet, but he passed over in remarkable silence the death of his fellow Swiss-American Henri Bouquet. In that same year Miller began inserting under his masthead the sentence, "All Advertisements of any Length to be inserted in this Paper, or printed single by Henry Miller, Publisher hereof, are by him translated gratis."

By the time the Declaration appeared in his paper in 1776, for Miller the mixed identity of German-speaking Americans was "self-evident." Drawn mostly from the German southwest, these people were ministered to by pastors from Switzerland, or from the upper Rhine or the Halle-educated from central Germany. Most had only a passing knowledge of the details of international geography or politics. But the heroic tales of popular resistance the Tell legend provided coupled with the religious inheritance of resistance Miller counted upon to be sufficient to transcend either local or inherited loyalties. Eschewing the domestic-religious concerns of the Sauers, Miller cast his lot with the political leadership of Pennsylvania. Cultivating his relationship with Franklin, Miller remained on good terms with Germans like Heinrich Keppele and pastor Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg, who had opposed royalization of

the province in 1764; and, despite his open admiration for his countryman Zubly, Miller broke with Britain where Zubly found he could not. As in so many other aspects of transferred cultural traditions, the adaptive possibilities remained open-ended for German speakers as well. The Swiss identity proved no more uniform or predictive a model for appealing to German-speaking patriotism than did Whig ideology among the English speakers. For Miller, however, the secular Swiss apprenticeship of his youth remained decisive, if somewhat ambiguous in its meaning for his personal behavior. A peripatetic all his life, this product of Zurich and the world endorsed Revolution and the defense of liberty, then retreated to Moravian Bethlehem where he died. His embittered countryman Zubly must have found the paradox impenetrable. By 1780 Zubly had explicitly rejected the Swiss (and Dutch) paradigms as legitimate forerunners of the American Whig cause, for he could find no justification for rending the sacred fabric that bound throne and altar together, either in Great Britain's empire, or in his own Helvetic Confederation's cantons.[40] That most German speakers, however, disagreed with Zubly and followed Miller remains one of the decisive results of the many mythic readings of history engaged in by transplanted Europeans in North America during that altogether remarkable era.

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Notes

[1] Karl J. R. Arndt, "The First Translation and Printing in German of the American Declaration of Independence," *Monatshefte* 77 (1985): 138–42; on Miller's background, born in Rhoden/Waldeck, but whose father Henrich was a journeyman mason from Altstätten, near Zurich, see Willi Paul Adams, "Colonial German-language Press and the American Revolution," in Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench, eds., *The Press and the American Revolution* (Worcester, MA, 1980), 162–63.

[2] C. Edwin Baker, "Property and its Relation to Constitutionally Protected Liberty," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 134 (1986): 744.

[3] For a detailed comparison between the two printers' use of political imagery and self-concepts, see chap. 8 of my forthcoming study, "Palatines, Liberty, and Property: Cultural Transfer and the Creation of an American Republic among German Speakers, 1727–1776."

[4] Otto Brunner, "Das 'Ganze Haus' und die alteuropäische Ökonomik," in Otto Brunner, *Neue Wege der Verfassungs- und Sozialgeschichte*, 2d ed. (Göttingen, 1968), 103–27.

[5] Despite some earlier work on Weiser, he is badly in need of a reassessment in the light both of new work on Native American and European relations and the role German speakers played in shaping Pennsylvania's frontier concerns from the 1740s. For the older literature, see Arthur D. Graeff, *Conrad Weiser: Pennsylvania Peacemaker* (Allentown, PA, 1945); Joseph S. Walton, *Conrad Weiser and the Indian Policy of Colonial Pennsylvania* (New York, 1971; orig. pub. 1900).

[6] Weiser Correspondence, Box 1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 20 September 1741. The only other hint of early political activity came in an unusual battle between seamen and a small group of Germans in Philadelphia during the election of 1742; see Alan W. Tully, "Ethnicity, Religion, and Politics in Early America," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (PMHB)* 107 (1983): 491–536; Sauer's address to his readers has been published in *PMHB* 23 (1899): 516–21. See also Sally Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude":*

The Struggle for Toleration in Colonial Pennsylvania (New York, 1987), 159–204, who agrees that the brief upsurge in German interest in politics between 1740 and 1742 largely lay in the expiring law that dictated how inspectors were to be chosen to determine property qualifications of voters (174–75).

[7] The acts of 10 Anne c. 19 (1711) and the renewal 16 Geo II. c. 2 did not affect devotional sermons published singly, or pamphlets, but did control political pamphlets and in the expanded form of the law were assessed on the numbers of columns laid out in newspapers. Thus, a paper able to sustain such a tax was not only likely to be owned by wealthier printers, but those politically careful not to risk censorship, who hence could present an "official face" of truth. For details, see the exhaustive, and exemplary study by Karl Tilman Winkler, "Tagesschrifttum und Politik in der Ära Walpole" (Habilitationsschrift, Universität Göttingen, 1990), 46–65.

[8] *Pennsylvanische Berichte . . .* 1 April 1753; Keppele continued running the ad into early 1754; Historical Society of Pennsylvania bound volume, 1754 [sic]-1761. On circulation and prices, see Adams, "Colonial German-language Press," 166–72; also Alexander Waldenrath, "The Pennsylvania-Germans: Development of Their Printing and Their Newspress in the War for American Independence," in Gerhard K. Friesen and Walter Schatzberg, eds., *The German Contribution to the Building of the Americas: Studies in Honor of Karl J. R. Arndt* (Hanover, NH, 1977), 53–55.

[9] Adams, "Colonial German-language Press" 162–64.

[10] *Des Landsmanns Advocat . . .*, ii, iii–iv, viii.

[11] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Broadsides. Apparently Miller attached himself to no religious group until the Moravians persuaded him to re-join them in 1773; see Adams, "Colonial German-language Press," 164.

[12] *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphische Staatsbote,* 14 August 1770.

[13] *Staatsbote,* 10 January and 31 January, 1775.

[14] Harold James, *A German Identity 1770–1790* (London, 1989), 11–33; on the relevance of the Swiss model, see Thomas A. Brady, Jr., *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550* (New York, 1985), chap. 1; on the eventual use of the United States as a model for German identity, Horst Dippel, *Germany and the American Revolution, 1770–1800: A Sociohistorical Investigation of Late Eighteenth-Century Political Thinking,* trans. Bernard A. Uhlendorf (Chapel Hill, 1977).

[15] Translation by the author. *Staatsbote,* 18 Jan. 1762; 22 March 1762.

[16] There exist only two incomplete copies of the almanac for 1763, and through 1774 Miller showed no interest in devoting himself to the explanatory essays which the elder Sauer had used in his almanac.

[17] *Staatsbote,* 22 March 1762; 19 April 1762. Miller identifies other cities such as Dresden, or Hamburg in the same manner, but not Swiss cities nor German southwest towns.

[18] Ibid., 16 Sept. 1765.

[19] Adams, "Colonial German-language Press," 183.

[20] Ibid., 176. Miller finally printed Franklin's satire in which Prussian policy was identifed as ruinous in 1773, "How a Great Empire may be Reduced to a Small One," *Staatsbote,* 21 Dec. 1773, three months after its appearance in *The Gentleman's Magazine.*

[21] Miller, *"Ein schön weltlich Lied"* (Melody: *"Ein Soldat bin ich eben, und steh vor meinem Feind"*); *Eine lustige Aria über die letztgeschehene Unruhen in Philadelphia* (Both probably Miller, Philadelphia, 1764?), Historical Society of Pennsylvania, German Broadsides.

[22] For general background and details in Pennsylvania politics, see variously James H. Hutson, *Pennsylvania Politics, 1746–1770: The Movement for Royal Government and Its Consequences* (Princeton, 1972), 162–74; Schwartz, *"A Mixed Multitude,"* 229–36. As Adams correctly points out, Miller disingenuously blamed Christopher Sauer, Jr., for meddling in politics by publishing a roll call of the Pennsylvania assembly showing who had voted to send a delegation to New York to the Stamp Act Congress, and who had not. Adams, "Colonial German-language Press," 187–88.

[23] Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 24 July 1764 (possibly not Miller's press, but attributed to him).

[24] Ibid., "Höret ihr deutsche Bürger in Philadelphia, daß euch Gott auch höre!"; original in the Royal Swedish Academy of Science.

[25] *Eine zu dieser Zeit höchstnöthige Warnung . . . ;* see Adams's very different reading of this text; "Colonial German-language Press," 180.

[26] *An die Freyhalter und Einwohner der Stadt und County Philadelphia, deutscher Nation* (Philadelphia, 1764); see also the undated and unsigned broadside *Eine zu dieser Zeit höchstnöthige Warnung und Erinnerung an die freye Einwohner der Provintz Pennsylvanien* [Germantown?, 1764?]; Miller, *An die Deutschen, vornehmlich die zum Wählen berechtigten in Philadelphia-Bucks-und Berks Caunty* (Philadelphia, 1765).

[27] *To the Freeholders and Other Electors . . . of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1765).

[28] *Staatsbote,* 7 Oct. 1765. For a different reading of Miller's development which emphasizes the relative ease of German speakers' understanding of political and legal terms, see Adams, "Colonial German-language Press."

[29] *An die guten Einwohner in Pennsylvanien . . .* (Philadelphia, 1773).

[30] Miller published the essay and song on Wilhelm Tell at the same time that he also reprinted the Massachusetts Circular Letter in April, reported on the nonimportation movement and the decision by students at Harvard to wear homespun as a form of nonviolent protest; see Adams, "Colonial German-language Press, 194–95. Although some scholars suggest that the Wilhelm Tell legend may have parallels in the story of Henning Wulff or a Norwegian "Ur-story," Miller clearly was thinking of his own Swiss background and experiences in deciding to use the story. On the legend see, for example, H. G. Wirz, ed., *Das Weisse Buch von Sarnen* and M. Wehrli, ed., *Das Lied von der Entstehung der Eidgenossenschaft;* "Das Urner Tellenspiel," in *Quellenwerk zur Entstehung der schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft,* part 3, vols. 1 and 2 (Zurich, 1947–52); Bernard Meyer, "Weisses Buch und Wilhelm Tell," *Der Geschichtsfreund* 112 (1959).

[31] *Staatsbote,* 31 May 1774.

[32] For a summary of the approach emphasizing peasant resistance, see Winfried Schultze, ed., *Aufstände, Revolten, Prozesse: Beiträge zu bäuerlichen Widerstandsbewegungen im frühneuzeitlichen Europa* (Stuttgart, 1983). The best argument against this perspective, especially Peter Blickle's work on the southwest, is Dietmar Willoweit, "Genossenschaftsprinzip und altständische Entscheidungsstrukturen in der frühneuzeitlichen Staatsentwicklung: Ein Diskussionsbeitrag," in Gerhard Dilcher und Bernhard Diestelkamp, eds., *Recht, Gericht, Genossenschaft und Policey: Studien zu Grundbegriffen der germanistischen Rechtshistorie: Symposion für Adalbert Erler* (Frankfurt, 1987), 126–38. Miller, *Ein schön Lied von dem Schweizerischen Erz-Freyheitssohn Wilhelm Thellen, dem Urheber der Löbl. Eydgenossenschaft . . .* (Philadelphia, 1768).

[33] *Die Artikel der Patriotischen Gesellschaft der Stady und Caunty Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1772), Library Company of Philadelphia Broadsides.

[34] John J. Zubly, *Eine Kurzgefaßte Historische Nachricht von den Kämpfen der Schweitzer für die Freyheit* (Philadelphia, 1775); Zubly, *The Law of Liberty* (Philadelphia, 1775); *Staatsbote,* 26 July 1776.

[35] I rely in my reading of Zwingli, Zubly, and Zubly's writings on many conversations with my colleague Leo Schelbert and his important unpublished essay, "The Contest between Power and Liberty: John J. Zubly's Swiss Perspective of America's Revolutionary Struggle," paper given at the German-American Symposium, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 14 October 1983. A more standard approach is offered by Randall M. Miller, ed., *"A Warm & Zealous Spirit": John J. Zubly and the American Revolution, a Selection of His Writings* (Macon, GA, 1982). Miller advertises the "Law of Liberty" as well as the account by a Swiss (Zubly) of "Great Britain's Right to Tax her Colonies" on 10 October 1775.

[36] (Philadelphia, 1775); the account begins by reminding German readers that the ministries have been against America since 1763 and vindicates the North American position by pointing to the repeal of the Stamp Act (3).

[37] On Johnson, see Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1986), 576–82. The readership of these offerings cannot be precisely reconstructed, but a literacy rate of 80 percent among German speakers in North America by 1770 seems reasonable. See Farley Grub, "German Immigration to Pennsylvania, 1709 to 1820," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20 (1990): 417–36.

[38] *Eine Schöne Anmutige und Lesens Würdige History von der unschuldig-Bedrängten heiligen Pfaltz Gräfin Genovefa . . .* (Philadelphia, 1762); two more editions were published, one at Lancaster in 1772, and a third in 1790. See Ronald Lieberman, *Keystone No. 10: "Die Alte*

Zeit'': German Americana and Classics of the Reformation (Glen Rock, PA, 1989), entries 400–2; also Karl J. R. Arndt and Reimer C. Eck, eds., and Gerd-J. Bötte, Annelies Müller and Werner Tannhof, comps., *The First Century of German Language Printing in the U.S.A.* (Göttingen, 1989), no. 438; the heroine is Genovefa of Brabant, married to Count Palatine Siegfried of Hohensimmern (8th cent.); not to be confused with St. Genovefa (Geneviève), patron saint of Paris (c. 422–502). On the imagery of the forest in German folklore, and its function as a sheltering haven where miraculous events occur, see Peter Taylor and Hermann Rebel, ''Hessian Peasant Women, Their Families and the Draft: A Social-Historical Interpretation of Four Tales from the Grimm Collection,'' *Journal of Family History* 6 (1981): 347–78. For the captivity narratives, see William Fleming, *Eine Erzehlung von den Trübsalen und der Wunderbaren Befreyung . . .* (Germantown, 1756), and Peter Miller and Ludwig Weiss, *Die Erzehlungen von Maria le Roy und Barbara Leininger, Welche vierhalb Jahr unter den Indianern gefangen gewesen . . .* (Philadelphia, 1759).

[39] *Staatsbote*, 19 March 1776. The advertisement for Paine's essay appears first on 23 January, the translation done by Steiner and Cist. Gessner's essay received English printings already in the colonies by 1770; see Evans No. 11667 and the New York Public Library holding No. 433a.

[40] Zubly, ''Helvetius No. 2,'' in *Royal Georgia Gazette*, 3 August 1780; see Randall M. Miller, ed., *A Warm & Zealous Spirit*, 179–80.

Urs Hammer

William Denison McCracken (1864-1923): A Progressive's View of Swiss History and Politics

Although it is impossible to evaluate the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of American nineteenth-century views of Switzerland, one can observe a remarkable increase in American interest for Swiss history and politics in the early 1890s.[1] In those years several books and various articles appeared in American magazines that explored different aspects of the history and the political system of the "Alpine Sister Republic." While previous American publications on Switzerland consisted mainly of travel reports, magazine and newspaper articles, John Martin Vincent's "A Study in Swiss History" of 1888 started a series of works that analyzed Switzerland's past in a systematic and scholarly way.[2]

The increasing attractiveness of Switzerland to tourists in the second half of the nineteenth century made Americans more aware of the country's extraordinary past and of its political system which exhibited striking constitutional parallels to that of the United States.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century American historiography changed fundamentally. A new generation of historians rejected the writings by "gentleman scholars" such as Motley and Prescott and critiqued their "romantic approach." Influenced and partly educated by European and especially German professors, these scholars adopted their methods and introduced the institution of historical seminars, thereby professionalizing the study of American history.[3] Most of these "scientific historians" adhered to the evolutionist theory of Spencer and interpreted the origin and development of American political institutions accordingly. Comparative constitutional history became a predominant device to evaluate the history of American institutions and contrasted them with the development of European political systems. This approach led several scholars also to examine the constitutional history of Switzerland and to place it into an international context.[4] Thus many politically interested Americans became acquainted with the evolution of Switzerland's political system and the majority of them perceived it in highly positive terms.

To this group of American historians and political scientists belonged William Denison McCrackan who became known for his numerous publications on various aspects of Swiss history and politics.[5] He was born in Munich on 12 February 1864, a son of American parents. After having received his early education in France, Germany and Vevey, Switzerland (1867–72), he came to the United States at the age of fourteen, entered St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire (1878–82), then Trinity College at Hartford, Connecticut; in 1883 he received the B.A., in 1885 the M.A. degree from that institution.

After his graduation he traveled extensively, visiting Greece and parts of Asia, then went to Switzerland where he studied its history and government. Starting in 1890 he published various articles on his Swiss travels and on his investigations of Swiss institutions in journals such as the *Atlantic Monthly, The Arena,* the *Cosmopolitan,* the *North American Review* and *Harper's Magazine.* In 1892 he wrote his first book titled *The Rise of the Swiss Republic* which served for many years as a textbook in American schools and colleges. In 1894 followed *Romance and Teutonic Switzerland,* a traveler's guidebook, and one year later the pamphlet *Swiss Solutions of American Problems.*[6]

McCrackan's works deserve to be scrutinized. This essay explores three major aspects in his view of Switzerland, his interpretation of Swiss history, his analysis of the Swiss political system, and his appeals to introduce Swiss models of direct democracy in the United States. A conclusion will briefly discuss the reception of his work by contemporaries and evaluate his efforts from a historical perspective.

I

After graduation in 1885, the family's wealth allowed McCrackan to return to Switzerland for extended stays. He dropped his original plan to translate a Swiss history written in German or French and pursued, instead, the traces of early Swiss history in the old cantons and did extensive research in libraries and archives. Having completed his investigations for *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* McCrackan claimed that he "had a more general knowledge of Swiss life and of Switzerland itself below the snow line than any English-speaking person."[7]

This work is divided into five parts. The first deals with the time before the founding of the Confederation, the second describes the period up to the Federation of Eight States and is followed by an analysis of "The Confederation at the Height of Its Military Power." The last two parts cover the Reformation period and the emergence of the "Modern Confederation" that began in the late eighteenth and continued throughout the nineteenth century.

Although by 1892 some serious scholarly works on Swiss history were available in English, McCrackan maintained that the American knowledge of Switzerland's past was very poor. He claimed that:

> It is the misfortune of Swiss history that, although very little is popularly known about it, that little is almost invariably incorrect. There is a

> widespread but vague idea that a regularly organized republic had existed in the Alps from time immemorial under the name Helvetia. Nothing could be more misleading; for, as a matter of fact, the Swiss Republic had no existence before 1291.[8]

This misconception, McCrackan thought, was largely due to the William Tell myth which in the nineteenth century was very popular in both America and Europe. He doubted that Tell's endangering the life of his child and the killing of Gessler were heroic achievements, and observed that: "As long as the birth of the little mountain confederation was attributed to the chance of an arrow in its flight the true causes were overshadowed."[9]

The rejection of historically doubtful myths and the attempt critically to explain the unfolding of Switzerland's history make McCrackan an ardent disciple of the school of "Scientific Historians." In his view the main reason for the founding of Switzerland was the protection of the collectively owned land against Austrian claims: "One can not conceive of the struggle for Swiss independence without this incentive," he observed, "and it seems entirely likely that had this system of communism in land not existed at that period the Republic of Switzerland would not have sprung up in the center of Europe."[10]

McCrackan attributed this "rude land communism" which granted every man a joint right to woods and pastures to the influx of the first Allemanic settlers; these had enjoyed equal status in the Association of the Mark which was in charge of the communally held land. Yet the class distinctions of the feudal age existed also in the old Swiss cantons, McCrackan observed; primitive Switzerland could therefore not be called a democratic nation in the modern sense. Yet McCrackan still hailed the early expansionist period in Swiss history that led to the establishment of the Eight-Canton League:

> It is perhaps a mistake to imagine primitive Switzerland as a country in which pure democratic principles, as we understand the term in this century, held unlimited sway. Equal rights for all is a modern conception and phrase. It was not understood at the time when the Confederation was founded. But with all these political shortcomings and prejudices, the early Swiss were, nevertheless, the best democrats of their day, unconscious, but practical exponents of the virtues of self-government. This was especially the case in the sequestered mountain districts, where simple habits of freedom sprang naturally from the rocky soil.[11]

McCrackan viewed the practice of self-government and common land use as key factors in the emergence of the "First Perpetual League" in 1291 and the establishment of the Confederation of Eight States in the fourteenth century. Its structure was unique, consisting of

> a group of sovereign communities, each enjoying the utmost liberty of action imaginable, bound together by no central authority, either executive, legislative, or judiciary, and yet united by perpetual leagues which proved sufficiently strong to secure immunity from without and peace

within . . . at once elastic and stable, capable of great expansion, without overstraining the bonds by which it was held together.[12]

After the battle of Näfels in 1388, the Swiss Confederation continued to expand and reached the height of its military power. McCrackan judged the ensuing wars as expansionist and fought not in self-defense, but to gain booty; thus they undermined the country's democratic traditions. Although the Covenant of Stans, concluded in 1481, preserved the Confederation's unity, the agreement's stipulations "were ominous, and prophetic of a certain decay of democracy":

> The repression of popular excesses was undoubtedly within the province of the constitutional rights of the Confederates, but to forbid all popular meetings of any sort, all expressions of the public will, whatever their purport, was to deal a crushing blow to the democratic principles and practices which had so far been the chief glory of Switzerland. In fact, an aristocratic wave was passing over the land, due partly to the preponderance of the cities which were governed by powerful magistrates instead of open-air assemblies like the country districts, and partly to the influence of foreign Courts.[13]

McCrackan perceived in the period of the Reformation which brought new and bitter internal confrontations a further weakening of inner unity, although he appreciated the religious significance of Zwingli and especially of Calvin for international Protestantism; "the work of Zwingli and Calvin," he claimed, "made the most profound and lasting impression of Switzerland upon human development, and fully vindicated her right to rank with the nations which have shaped the destinies of man."[14]

McCrackan severely criticized the subjection and exploitative administration of French and Italian regions by the German cantons; he considered those events as one of the darkest chapters in Swiss history as the Confederates usurped the very feudal rights against which they had fought so hard in their own struggle for independence.[15] McCrackan also criticized Swiss mercenary policy for its lack of ethical concerns. He maintained that fighting for pay and for whatever, even ignoble, cause debased Swiss mentality: "The only excuse for the mercenary system, which was ever allowable, was the one reported to have been made by a Swiss to a Frenchman: 'We fight for honor; you for money,' said the Frenchman. 'Yes,' replied the Swiss, 'we both fight for what we have not got.' "[16]

Thus McCrackan saw the originally truly democratic spirit of Switzerland undermined from the end of the Middle Ages until the end of the eighteenth century by the rise of the mercenary system, the religious conflicts resulting from the Reformation, the preponderance of the aristocratically governed cities, and the exploitation of subject lands.

McCrackan interpreted the "Restoration" period in Swiss history (1815–30) which followed the French invasion of 1798 and the establishment of the Helvetic Republic as the last but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to restore the ancien régime. In his view, this period "was

marked by a strange disregard of all the great political principles which the French revolution had brought into the world''; but at the same time it proved ''valuable to Switzerland as the breathing spell, as a time of repose and recuperation.''[17]

In contrast, McCrackan viewed the period from 1830 to 1891 as one of striking political achievements that not only led to the foundation of a genuinely democratic confederation in 1848, but culminated in the introduction of the initiative and referendum on a federal level. Summing up his evaluation of six hundred years of Swiss history, McCrackan stated:

> The old Confederation seems like the caterpillar, destined in dying to give place to something better; the Helvetic Republic like the chrysalis, acting as a means of transformation; and the present Confederation like the butterfly which finally emerges, the fair product of the decay which has preceded it. Such is the brief record of Switzerland's experiments in self-government. The six centuries during which she has grappled with this problem display a veritable catalogue of priceless precedents for the benefit of all nations engaged in the same task. Unostentatious, and seemingly so insignificant amongst the great powers of the world, she has in the past had a noble mission, and in the future will have a still nobler one.[18]

The gradual constitutional development from the commune to the cantons and eventually to the confederation of his day justified, in McCrackan's opinion, ''the faith of the early patriots from 1291, . . . for after six centuries of growth from the rudiments of liberty to its full flower, the Swiss Confederation in the present day displays the inspiring spectacle of the best governed and the best organized of all the democratic states in existence.''[19]

While McCrackan's view of Swiss history is generally based on a critical interpretation of the sources, his evaluation of Swiss institutional development is placed within a linear and to some extent simplistic evolutionary framework. His profound admiration of Switzerland at the end of the nineteenth century derives mainly from his idealizing assessment of the Swiss political system.

II

In 1888 and 1889 McCrackan visited the *Landsgemeinde* in Altdorf, Canton Uri, and was deeply moved. ''Simple and prosaic as this political act may seem,'' he commented,

> one turns from contemplating it with the feeling of having witnessed a religious rite. Never has the state been placed on so high a plain, or the functions of government so nearly endowed with ideal attributes; for these rude peasants are more truly sovereign than any crowned ruler, and their assembly, though sprung from a seed planted in the dawn of recorded history, is neither antiquated nor outworn, but filled with the spirit of perennial youth.[20]

The *Landsgemeinde* is thus not only seen as the symbol of genuine democracy, but idealized as a perfect political institution. McCrackan described the Forest Cantons as the oldest and at the same time as the most radical democracies in existence. In them he saw the elements of conservatism and flexibility symbiotically and naturally combined and he elevated their *Landsgemeinde* to a mythical level:

> Every form of government seems to contain within itself the germ which will eventually destroy it; but the Landsgemeinde is as vigorous to-day, as it has ever been, and really seems more in accordance with the spirit of this age of ours, which makes for absolute self-government, than with that of previous ones. In truth, there is something in this Landsgemeinde which is not merely Swiss, or even Teutonic, but which answers to the aspirations of mankind in general. A book is called a classic, because it appeals to qualities in human nature which are permanent, and belong, more or less, to every age and every clime. In this sense, the Landsgemeinde is a classic among the forms of government, for it is the expression of pure democracy, for which humanity has always striven, and will always strive.[21]

Here McCrackan joins those who found the germ and the ideal form of democracy in ancient Teutonic political institutions, especially in the Assembly of the Agricultural Association of the Mark. The "Teutonic Hypothesis" had been established in England by E. A. Freeman and attracted many American followers in the late nineteenth century, among them also McCrackan; he claimed explicitly "that Swiss self-government, in the opinion of the writer the most perfect yet devised by any free people, is Teutonic in character, like that of England and the United States."[22]

Despite his deep admiration for the *Landsgemeinde,* McCrackan was aware of its limited usefulness for his own time. Modern democratic societies, therefore, had to adapt the mechanisms of the self-governing *Landsgemeinde* to the needs of the complex industrial and urban civilization emerging at the turn of the twentieth century.

McCrackan thought that the Swiss had solved this problem on a federal level by introducing the referendum in 1874 and the initiative in 1891. This marked "the greatest advance in the direction of pure democracy which has yet been made by any modern nation," he claimed, because "nowhere in the world does government display more ability and stability, more simplicity and economy, than in Switzerland."[23]

Referendum and initiative are thus presented as political instruments transforming and modernizing in an evolutionist way the tradition of six hundred years of self-government practiced in the small rural cantons of Switzerland. McCrackan rated the effect of the referendum as most gratifying; it "is above all things fatal to anything like extravagance in the management of public funds; it discerns instantly and kills remorselessly all manner of jobs, and forbids favors lavished upon one district at the expense of the rest."[24] McCrackan held that

> Taken together, these two institutions form the most perfect contrivance, so far devised by a free people, for the conduct of self-government. They create a sort of political pendulum, which oscillates in a groove strictly marked by the constitution. They produce a steady see-saw of legislation, a continual to and fro movement, which carries certain expressions of the public will directly to the people of the legislature, and back again to the people for the verdict.[25]

McCrackan was aware that the Swiss party system was less developed than that of the United States and that the Swiss political system did not as carefully distinguish between executive, legislative, and judiciary powers; this did not represent a weakness, however, because the people made the final decision via initiative and referendum.[26]

He was also surprised that even politically active citizens did not know, and often did not care, who the president of Switzerland was. This was unimportant, however, as the Swiss president, unlike his American counterpart, was just another political official and McCrackan was gratified that the Swiss elected "every three years a strong, able executive board of seven men, without a popular upheaval, without the expenditure of vast sums of money, or the wholesale distribution of spoils!"[27] He also applauded that the federal councillors were men of ability and integrity who served their country for a small salary and normally were reelected; this guaranteed political stability and continuity.[28]

McCrackan also viewed favorably proportional representation which had been introduced in three cantons in 1890.[29] Concerning Switzerland's neutrality, he observed that the right of asylum has given her great trouble, but that "at all times, the little Confederation has shown the greatest courage in ignoring foreign threats, and in interpreting her duty according to her own standards."[30] He also approved the increasing importance of Switzerland as a seat of international organizations and arbitration. He thought that "no more suitable country could have been found by the great powers for the discussion and safeguarding of common interests" for five reasons: "Switzerland lies in the centre of Europe, she cannot be suspected of harboring desire for conquest; her neutrality is guaranteed; her institutions are remarkably stable; and she embraces in her federal bond the Germanic and Latin races alike."[31]

While for McCrackan the *Landsgemeinde* was the political symbol of pure democracy, the institution of the *Allmend* or village common, which had been crucial in the emergence of Switzerland, also embodied its truly democratic spirit. Although he considered this system of land tenure as somewhat antiquated, he supported it since it guaranteed the Swiss communities a regular income and, by preventing the complete monopolization of land by a small class of landowners, preserved a certain degree of economic equality.[32]

In comparing the Swiss military system with that of other countries, McCrackan found that it was remarkably less expensive, partly because it was a militia. What distinguished it from all other armed forces was a complete absence of class distinctions: "This model militia is democratic

to the core. When the drill is over, the officer and the private may plow in the fields together, or work in the same factory. They are real brothers in arms.''[33]

Being aware of the country's disadvantageous economic circumstances, McCrackan was astonished that Switzerland could successfully compete with other manufacturing nations and even had the highest per capita trade in Europe.[34] Yet he viewed the active role of the state in nationalizing key industries and services with ambivalence. On the one hand he acknowledged that the post office as well as the telegraph and telephone systems were managed by the central government with excellent results and yielded respectable revenues. On the other he was afraid that the drift of legislative action in Switzerland might lead towards a mild form of state socialism and feared that the Swiss people might ''fail to distinguish between natural monopolies, which properly require state management, and other general industries which may safely be left to private competition.''[35] Notwithstanding his generally progressive viewpoints, McCrackan did not plead for extended socialistic legislation which could ''curtail the fundamental liberties of the citizen.''[36]

Touching on the subject of woman's suffrage, McCrackan wondered why this matter received so little consideration:

> There seems to be no agitation of the question worth mentioning. The women of Switzerland, for some reason or other, accept their disfranchised position without protest. They seem content to live under laws made by others. At the same time the Swiss universities have always been open to women. . . . Only the peculiarity of the case is—that there are almost no Swiss women in the universities; the female students as a rule are Russian, American, or English. One would think that the cantons, which in the Middle Ages admitted boys of fourteen to the franchise, would not hesitate to grant the same privilege now to full-grown women.[37]

McCrackan generally valued Switzerland's educational system. The methods of its ''pioneer schoolmasters'' like Pestalozzi, Fellenberg, and Gregoire Girard, had succeeded in eliminating illiteracy. Moreover, every village and city seemed to attach major importance to education; thus the saying that ''the primary business of the state is to keep school'' was convincingly confirmed.[38]

In sum, McCrackan presented a most positive and often idealized image of Switzerland's political system. He also thought that it could provide solutions to American problems.

III

Like many of his politically interested contemporaries McCrackan was convinced that American politics had reached a dangerously low stage at the end of the last century. ''Nothing stands between us and the tyranny of Municipal, State, and Federal bosses, as unscrupulous as any feudal lordlings in the thirteenth century,'' he declared,

except public opinion, imperfectly expressed by the press . . . . It has become somewhat of a commonplace assertion that politics in the US have reached the lowest stage to which they may safely go. There seems to be no longer any necessity to prove this proposition, for the general conviction has gone abroad, amply justified by the whole course of history, that no democracy can hope to withstand the corrupting influences now at work in our midst, unless certain radical reforms are carried to a succesful conclusion.[39]

The assumption of an American political crisis led McCrackan to seek solutions elsewhere. Since the history of the United States and Switzerland revealed many similarities, Swiss institutions might be useful remedies for American ills. The thirteen original Swiss states had shared features with the thirteen American colonies; both had lacked a central controlling government and both had been "practically self-governing, owing only nominal allegiance to a distant supreme ruler."[40]

In the nineteenth century McCrackan saw similarities between the American Civil War (1861–65) and the war of the Swiss *Sonderbund* (1847), although the latter resembled the former only in miniature. The issues involved, however, were remarkably similar:

> It was that of the Federal union versus extreme states rights, of centralization as opposed to decentralization, but in both cases a deep-seated evil came to complicate the situation and embitter the two sides. In CH it was the question of the Jesuits, and in the United States the institution of slavery.
>
> The parallel may be extended to other details, e.g., the party of Secession was recruited in both countries from that element which was least affected by progressive ideas, was most remote from the great centres, and mainly agricultural and pastoral. Even the disproportion between the resources of the two sides serves to carry out the likeness between the Sonderbund and the American war.[41]

One of the parallels most stressed by political observers on both sides of the Atlantic was the constitutional similarity of the American and the Swiss Republic. The influence of the United States constitution on the shaping of the constitution of Switzerland in 1848 became particularly apparent in the adaptation of the system of two legislative houses and the establishment of a federal tribunal. To McCrackan, a comparison between the two constitutions showed that Switzerland's had certain shortcomings and was less logical and well balanced than the American. He thought nevertheless that "if there be any virtue at all in the study of comparative politics, a comparison between the Federal constitutions of Switzerland and of the United States ought to throw into relief some features which can be of service to us."[42]

As pointed out earlier, McCrackan considered the *Landsgemeinde* the key political instrument in the democratic tradition of Switzerland. The Massachusetts town meeting, he thought, was "almost the exact counterpart of the Swiss Landsgemeinde," in spite of its entirely different environment.

> You have only to substitute a hall for a meadow, the bleak, unkindly scenery of a Massachusetts March for the genial glow of an Alpine May, and a good deal of Yankee dialect for **Schwizerduetsch**. . . . As the Landsgemeinden were the training schools for the peasants who founded the Swiss Confederation, so the New England town meeting taught political organization to the patriots of the American Revolution.[43]

McCrackan observed the gradual abandonment of the New England town meeting with deep regret. Perhaps this device of self-government justifiably was considered to be too impractical and obsolete to match the necessities of modern America. Yet its deep political crisis could be mastered only by reviving its traditions of pure democracy, i.e., by the introduction of the initiative and referendum in the United States.

During his residence in Boston (1890–94) McCrackan actively promoted the adoption of direct democracy in the United States. In *The Arena,* whose editor Benjamin O. Flower welcomed contributions of Progressive reformers, McCrackan found a valuable medium to spread his views.[44] He wrote several articles on the democratic innovations in Switzerland, which, as he later recalled, "were the first series of papers on Direct Legislation published in a leading magazine of opinion devoted to general discussions."[45] Publications on similar subjects in other important American magazines confirmed McCrackan's reputation as an influential representative of the American political reform movement during the last decade of the nineteenth century.[46]

McCrackan hoped the adoption of Swiss measures would produce analogous effects in his country. The introduction of initiative and referendum, he declared, would be

> absolutely fatal to that political evil, the lobby. Bribery is too risky an investment when the people hold the deciding ballot. The Initiative tends to specialize, as well as to fortify, the work of lawmaking. Every school of thought has the opportunity to present its arguments; politics are redeemed from the sterile discussion of tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum, and become an occupation for serious men, who care very little for the tricks of party bosses, and a great deal for the eternal principles of economic, social, and political justice. For, if there be a political prophecy which it is safe to make at this time, it is that our representative system cannot remain in its present form for another decade, if the republic is to endure.[47]

McCrackan advocated the introduction also of other components of Switzerland's political system. He proposed the substitution of the American majority vote by a system of proportional representation as established in the constitutions of the Swiss cantons of Geneva, Neuchâtel, Zug, and Ticino.[48]

He proposed further an adaptation of the American presidency to its Swiss counterpart. Although Switzerland united "incongruous, often antagonistic elements and protected itself from foreign complications" it did not indulge

> in a powerful and spectacular public head. Instead of increasing the

> responsibilities and sovereign attributes of the Presidential office, as we in this country seem inclined to do under the stress of military excitement and of financial fear, let his prerogatives rather be checked and his official burdens lightened. At present none but a mental, moral, and physical giant can ever hope to fill the office satisfactorily.[49]

While the Swiss president was considered to be just the chairman of an executive board, McCrackan regarded the American president as "a monarch, elected for a short reign," who could not possibly govern impartially, as he had to "forward the interests of one political party at the expense of the rest."[50]

It was the monopolization of land by a few, however, which in McCrackan's opinion created the biggest danger for American democracy, as it allowed a rapid growth of economic inequality.[51] Although he admired the Swiss *Allmend* system, he doubted its practical usefulness under modern industrial conditions. Nevertheless McCrackan respected the underlying principle as being immortal, because it "contributed more than any other factor towards giving every man an interest in the soil and insured genuine democracy."[52]

Looking at the relatively low costs of its maintenance, McCracken claimed that the Swiss army could provide a useful model for the United States: "Let us have a truly democratic and efficient article for our money," he exclaimed. "The Swiss people do not maintain a standing army. But, by a system of compulsory short service, they have perfected what may be termed without exaggeration the most efficient militia force in existence today."[53] Summing up his evaluation of Switzerland's history and politics, McCrackan declared:

> If these incongruous, often antagonistic Cantons can meet upon some common plane and conform to some standard, can live side by side in peace and prosperity, surely the task of some day uniting the nations of the world upon a similar basis is not altogether hopeless and chimerical.[54]

During the first half of the 1890s McCrackan worked intensively for political reform, both by writing and by public speaking. He particularly advocated direct democracy, such as expressed by the referendum, the initiative, and proportional representation. He was convinced that these reforms would guarantee equal opportunity and equal rights. Although these discussions gained some momentum in the 1890s, McCrackan eventually was disappointed in the public's reaction to his efforts.[55] He reached the conclusion that

> humanitiy was more deeply oppressed by its concrete personal woes than by the abstract troubles of the nation; more engrossed in its own fears, diseases, calamities and disappointments than in the failures of governmental policies; and that any plan for general salvation must first take account of the needs of the individual.[56]

This view gradually cooled McCrackan's zeal for political reform; in 1900 he joined Mary Baker Eddy's First Church of Christ, Scientist: "I

saw in Christian Science the solution for all these individual troubles, whether of the mind, body or soul, and in consequence the eventual solution also for all the troubles of the community, the nation and the world."[57] For the rest of his life, McCrackan was to work for the Christian Science Church. He was sent on a relief mission to Europe during World War I. From 1916 to 1919 he was an associate director of the *Christian Science Journal* and the *Christian Science Sentinel,* later he joined the British Military Academy for educational and relief work in Palestine where he also edited the *Jerusalem News* in 1920. McCrackan died in New York City in June 1923 at the age of fifty-nine.

IV

During his residence in Boston, where he published most of his writings on Switzerland, McCrackan became acquainted with several political reformers. Among his close friends were Thomas Bailey Aldrich, poet and editor of the *Atlantic Monthly,* Benjamin O. Flower, editor of *The Arena,* Philipps Brooks, president of the Twentieth Century Club, an organization devoted to political reform, Edwin D. Mead, editor of the *New England Magazine,* William Lloyd Garrison, Albert Bushnell Hart, President of Harvard University, W. A. B. Coolidge, Hamlin Garland, and Henry George.[58]

Hamlin Garland, who wrote an obituary for McCrackan's posthumous autobiography, characterized him as follows:

> Young McCrackan appealed to me at once, both by the charm of his personality and the extent and quality of his knowledge of the Old World. As a reformer, he stood out in notable contrast to the throngs of us who knew only our own country, and not very much of that. He seemed the genial aristocrat, amusing himself with questions of economics, but as I came to know the sincerity of his convictions and his grasp on fundamentals my estimate changed.
>
> His wide studies of Swiss history, folk-lore and government deepened my liking to admiration. His speech so fine and clear (American in the best sense) arose, I perceived, from contact with highly cultivated men and women at home and abroad. In fact he was all that I was not, and for that reason I particularly valued his companionship.[59]

Garland ascertained that McCrackan remained an idealist all his life, and he always remembered him as the "intellectual aristocrat."[60]

It was *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* first published in 1892, which established McCrackan's reputation. Both American and British critics reviewed the book very favorably. They not only acknowledged his long and profound study of Swiss history and politics, but also praised the distinctness of his style. Several had emphasized the need for a well-written history of Switzerland in English; McCrackan's work fulfilled that need.[61] James Bryce, for example, hoped that McCrackan's book "may do much to show our people [of Great Britain], as well as yours, how much can be learned from a study of Swiss affairs."[62]

The Rise of the Swiss Republic was not only positively reviewed,

however, but also used as a text in schools and colleges. Since McCrackan's articles on Swiss history appeared in widely circulating magazines and newspapers, his influence may have been considerable. From today's perspective, aspects of McCrackan's historical work are obsolete.[63] Yet he was an important American student of Swiss history and successfully presented a scientifically accurate, yet attractive account of Switzerland's past.

McCrackan's incessant appeals for the introduction of direct democracy and proportional representation in the United States made him become an influential political reformer at the end of the nineteenth century. His writings acquainted many politically interested Americans with Swiss democratic traditions and helped to create Switzerland's reputation as a model republic in American political thought.

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Notes

[1] The first two works by Americans dealing with Swiss history and the Swiss constitution are Samuel Hawkins Marshall Byers, *Switzerland and the Swiss, by an American Resident* (Zurich and New York, 1875), and Andrew Fiske, "The Federal Constitution of Switzerland" (Thesis, Harvard University, 1886). Both studies, however, were of minor importance.

[2] See John Martin Vincent, "A Study in Swiss History," *Papers of the American Historical Association* 3 (1888): 146–64. Vincent extended this article to a study entitled *State and Federal Government in Switzerland* (Baltimore, 1891). With regard to Vincent's work on Switzerland cf. Hans Rudolf Guggisberg, "Ein amerikanischer Erforscher der Schweizergeschichte: John Martin Vincent (1857–1939)," in *Discordia Concors: Festgabe für Edgar Bonjour* (Basel, 1968), 2:503–22. The most important American works on Switzerland in the late 1880s and early 1890s are: Bernard Moses, *The Federal Government of Switzerland: An Essay on the Constitution* (Oakland, 1889); Boyd Winchester, *The Swiss Republic* (Philadelphia, 1891).

[3] John Higham, *History: Professional Scholarship in America* (Baltimore, 1983), 92–103. According to Higham, in about 1895 half of the American academic historians had studied in Germany (92).

[4] Some of the most valuable studies in this context are Woodrow Wilson, *The State* (Boston, 1899); Albert Bushnell Hart, *Introduction to the Study of Federal Government* (Boston, 1891); and A. Lawrence Lowell, *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, 2 vols. (London and Bombay, 1896). All three works contain extensive chapters on the political system of Switzerland.

[5] A selected bibliography of McCrackan's publications on Switzerland is to be found at the end of this article.

[6] McCrackan's posthumously published autobiography—*An American at Home and Abroad: Recollections of W. D. McCrackan* (New York, 1924)—describes his life until 1900. Additional biographic information can be found in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: 1926) 19:146, and in the obituary of the *New York Times*, 14 June 1923, 19:4.

[7] McCrackan, *An American at Home and Abroad*, 83.

[8] "The Real Origin of the Swiss Republic," *American Historical Association: Annual Report for the Year 1898* (Washington, 1899), 357.

[9] Ibid., 358.

[10] Ibid., 361.

[11] William Denison McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic* (Boston and London, 1892), 281.

[12] Ibid., 189.

[13] Ibid., 234–35. In this context see also 193–249.

[14] Ibid., 251.

[15] Ibid., 281–83.

[16] William Denison McCrackan, *Romance and Teutonic Switzerland* (Boston, 1894), 2:113.

[17] McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* 322–23.

[18] William Denison McCrackan, "Six Centuries of Self-Government," *Atlantic Monthly* 68 (Aug. 1891): 262.

[19] William Denison McCrackan, "The Rise of the Swiss Confederation," *New England Magazine,* n.s., 4 (Aug. 1891): 784.

[20] McCrackan, *Romance and Teutonic Switzerland,* 2:187.

[21] Ibid., 2:188–89.

[22] William Denison McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems* (Boston, 1894), 9–11.

[23] Ibid., 9–11.

[24] Ibid., 10.

[25] William Denison McCrackan, "The Initiative in Switzerland," *Arena* 7 (Apr. 1893): 549.

[26] Cf. McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems,* 49–50.

[27] William Denison McCrackan, "A President of no Importance," *North American Review* 163 (July 1896), 120.

[28] Ibid., 120–21.

[29] William Denison McCrackan, "Proportional Representation," *Arena* 7 (Feb. 1893): 295.

[30] McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* 355–56.

[31] McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems,* 62–63.

[32] See McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* 367–68.

[33] McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems,* 73–74.

[34] Ibid., 76.

[35] Ibid., 80.

[36] Ibid., 80.

[37] Ibid., 76f.

[38] William Denison McCrackan, "The Swiss and American Constitution," *Arena* 4 (July 1891): 176–77.

[39] William Denison McCrackan, "The Swiss Referendum," *Arena* 3 (Mar. 1891): 358; and McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* 342.

[40] McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic,* 246.

[41] Ibid., 334–35.

[42] McCrackan, *Romance and Teutonic Switzerland,* 2:346. See also McCrackan, *The Swiss and American Constitutions,* 173–74.

[43] McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems,* 5.

[44] Hamlin Garland introduced Benjamin O. Flower to McCrackan, whose knowledge of the political system of Switzerland was highly welcomed by the *Arena* editor: "A presentation of Direct Legislation, by one who had personally observed its practical operation, was exactly what I wanted. I had become convinced, from my reading, that in the initiative and referendum lay a practical remedy for our present crisis, but the general public was ignorant of the subject. We had lost to a great extent the splendid spirit of initiative which had marked the early days of the republic, and when any measure was proposed, the first question inevitably asked was, 'Has it been successfully tried elsewhere?' A few days later I made the acquaintance of Mr. McCrackan." (B. O. Flower, *Progressive Men, Women, and Movements of the Past Twenty-Five Years* [Boston, 1914], 62–63.)

[45] McCrackan, *An American Abroad and at Home,* 150.

[46] Consult the selected bibliography for McCrackan's articles on direct legislation. Commenting on McCrackan's work, B. O. Flower maintained: "Mr. McCrackan was one of a group of scholarly young writers whose contributions did much to make 'The Arena' a vital agency in the political, social, and economic advance movement of the last twenty-five years. He is the author of a number of books, of which 'The Rise of the Swiss

Republic' is the most pretentious. It was recognized as the best history of the Swiss people published in English." (Flower, *Progressive Men*, 63–64.)

[47] McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems*, 22.

[48] At the first congress of the "American Proportional League" in 1893 at Chicago McCrackan presented the Swiss Free List System and endorsed its application in the United States.

[49] McCrackan, "A President of no Importance," 121.

[50] McCrackan, "The Swiss and American Constitutions," 175.

[51] Cf. McCrackan, *Swiss Solutions of American Problems*, 53–59.

[52] Ibid., 55.

[53] Ibid., 68–69.

[54] McCrackan, *The Rise of the Swiss Republic*, 363.

[55] In this context McCrackan recalled the following incident: "A Boston newspaper sent a reporter to interview me on the subject of the Referendum, but my disappointment was keen when after I had talked to him for some time about Switzerland and its ways, he asked me whether Switzerland and Sweden were not the same" (*An American Abroad and at Home*, 161–62).

[56] William Denison McCrackan, *Mary Baker Eddy and Her Book* (Tamworth, NH, 1925), 139. See also McCrackan, *An American Abroad and at Home*, 162ff. In 1894 McCrackan left Boston for New York, where several family members were residing. As the President of the Manhattan Single Tax Club, McCrackan remained active in politics. From 1896 to 1900 he lectured in the Free Lectures for the Board of Education of the City of New York. Since 1892 he was a member of the American Historical Association; in 1897 he printed a special edition of *Swiss Solutions of American Problems* for the "National Woman's Suffrage Organization," which used it as a textbook. On the whole, however, McCrackan stated that the closing years of the nineteenth century "were signalized for me by one disappointment after another" (*An American Abroad and at Home*, 166–67).

[57] McCrackan, *Mary Baker Eddy and Her Book*, 139–40.

[58] See McCrackan, *An American Abroad and at Home*, 150–69.

[59] Ibid., 217–18.

[60] Ibid., 218.

[61] W. A. B. Coolidge, who had published a widely approved article on Switzerland in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* stated that "for many years the lack of a fairly good Swiss history in English has been keenly felt, especially by students interested in the history of Central Europe." In his opinion *The Rise of the Swiss Republic* contributed substantially to fill this gap: "Armed with Mr. McCrackan's book for the political side of Swiss history, and with Mr. J. M. Vincent's 'State and Federal Government of Switzerland,' . . . the English student of Swiss matters will be very well equipped" (W. A. B. Coolidge, Review of *The Rise of the Swiss Republic*, *English Historical Review* 11 [Apr. 1896]: 361–64).

[62] Letter to McCrackan, 27 October 1892; quoted in McCrackan, *An American Abroad and at Home*, 154.

[63] Interestingly enough the 1901 edition of *The Rise of the Swiss Republic* was reprinted in 1970. As it had not been updated, its usefulness to scholars of Swiss history today is therefore restricted.

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Christian D. Nøkkentved

Transatlantic Connections: The Lloyd Family and Switzerland

For many Americans, scholar and lay alike, Western Europe consists of the Big Three, England, Germany, and France.[1] Monographs in English about the history and culture of Europe typically pertain only to these three. On occasion another region or nation is included, but not unless "important" events took place there. Italy, for instance, only "existed" during the Renaissance, the Risorgimento, and again under Mussolini. Smaller countries like Switzerland, Portugal, or Denmark often are not mentioned at all even when part of "world historical" phenomena. George Huppert exemplifies this approach in his newest book, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Europe,* when he writes:

> What of the territorial limits of Western Europe? On that question I have allowed myself some latitude. Instead of settling for a purely geographical border line [certainly commendable], such as the Elbe River valley, I have, in effect, focused on the most densely populated and the most thoroughly urbanized regions: the Paris Basin, southeastern England, northern Italy, western Germany. One might almost say the "western" is used in this book as a social rather than a geographical expression, so that Italy appears more western by far than Portugal.[2]

Perhaps this attitude is based on the notion that size and significance are closely related. In some measure this is a peculiarly North American phenomenon, although it must be admitted that few monographs on purely Swiss topics are published in Europe outside the Helvetian Confederation.

Scholars of the transatlantic migrations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have the same proclivity. They usually study those groups that originate in the Big Three and Italy, and they do the same when exploring the persistence of European culture in American (meant in the widest sense) ethnic groups. Scholarly works seldom focus on the Swiss, Danes, or Portuguese, unless publications expressly devoted to

such groups like the *Swiss-American Historical Society Review, Scandinavian Studies,* or special issues like this *Yearbook of German-American Studies,* draw attention to them.

Those who study neglected Europe and Europeans appreciate coming across work that covers a country or people other than one of the European Big Three. While I was working with the papers of Georgia Lloyd, the granddaughter of the Chicago Progressive writer and activist Henry Demarest Lloyd, for instance, a number of intriguing references to Switzerland emerged. Henry and his grandson William Bross Lloyd, Jr., Georgia's brother, had both written books about the Helvetian Confederation using Swiss history and institutions as examples for the world, or at least the United States, to follow. Various members of the Lloyd family had visited or lived in Switzerland, and generally found Swiss history and culture of interest. This essay explores what the Lloyds admired about the Swiss, how they used Swiss history and institutions, and what they thought exemplary in their two books on Switzerland.

I

Henry Demarest Lloyd was born on May Day 1847 as the oldest child of Aaron Lloyd, a minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, but of Welsh and French Huguenot extraction.[3] Family ancestors had arrived in North America during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. After a peripatetic early childhood, Lloyd received his secondary and university education in New York City. Even before his graduation from Columbia University in 1869, he became involved in reform movements, participating, for instance, in the successful campaign to have opening hours of libraries in New York City extended to include Sunday, working people's only day of rest, and the only time they could frequent a library. In early 1872, Lloyd was active in the free trade campaign. When it collapsed that summer, he decided to accept the invitation of editor Horace White to move to Chicago and write for the *Chicago Tribune.* At the time it supported the liberal Republicans, it was reform friendly, and one of the best newspapers in the country. On Christmas Day 1873 Lloyd married Jessie Bross, daughter of William Bross.[4] William Bross had been lieutenant governor of Illinois, had been active in the presidential campaign of Abraham Lincoln, and was a member of the Republican Party. In addition he owned one quarter of the *Chicago Tribune.* The Chicago metropolitan area was to remain the home of Henry and Jessie Lloyd until their deaths in 1903 and 1904 respectively.

Lloyd quickly gained notoriety as a champion of social and economic justice. As a journalist and writer he was among the first of the so-called muckrakers. In 1881, the *Atlantic Monthly* published his article exposing the Standard Oil monopoly. The article received national attention and that issue of the magazine went through seven printings before demand was satisfied. Lloyd later expanded this article with additional research and in 1894 published it as a book entitled *Wealth Against Commonwealth.*

Henry and Jessie Lloyd first went to Europe in 1885.[5] Jessie fell ill in Venice, apparently from typhoid fever. Fortunately the crisis passed and she later wrote "Henry and I had some enchanting weeks in Switzerland and the nightmare of Venice is now only seen through the medium of thankfulness that it was no darker."[6]

Upon his return Lloyd devoted himself full-time to writing and political work, ably assisted by Jessie. Lloyd became one of the leaders in the effort to commute the death sentences of the men convicted in the so-called Haymarket Square Riot on 4 May 1886.[7] Their home, the Wayside in Winnetka, became something of a haven for all sorts and conditions of humankind. Here Lloyd devoted most of his time to writing. A partial list of his publications fills fourteen densely printed pages in the biography his sister wrote, and in all of them he strove to serve the cause of social and economic justice.[8] Lloyd espoused the political and economic rights of ordinary people, and he opposed graft, monopoly and the exploitation of working people by large companies, landlords and corrupt officials. He was very much a part of the left wing of the Progressive movement and one of the nationally read muckrakers.

He not only exposed injustice and corruption, however, he also advocated specific reforms and sought examples of how various systems could work in the United States. In 1898, for example, he published a book called *Labour Copartnership: Notes of a Visit to Co-Operative Workshops, Factories and Farms in Great Britain and Ireland in which Employer, Employee and Consumer Share in Ownership, Management, and Results.* In 1900 two more of his books were published, *A Country without Strikes: A Visit to the Compulsory Arbitration Court of New Zealand* and *Newest England: Notes of a Domestic Traveller in New Zealand with some Australian Comparisons.* In 1901 and 1902 Lloyd traveled extensively in Switzerland filling notebooks, gathering published materials and clippings, corresponding widely, and interviewing officials, scholars and experts for a book about Swiss democracy.[9]

During the summer of 1903 at his Rhode Island summer home, Lloyd organized his materials preparatory to writing the book, but fate intervened. Reform forces in Chicago had campaigned avidly to convince the aldermen that government rather than private contractors should operate the city's street railways. The contractors were accused of providing questionable services at high prices and of being involved in much graft. Lloyd had been active in this campaign for some time and he returned to Chicago to enter the fray as it intensified. He caught influenza, and, as he did not get enough rest, it developed into pneumonia. On the day he was to have addressed the city council, 28 September 1903, he died. The book on Switzerland had not been written.

In correspondence from the 1890s Lloyd refers to his friendship with the English economist John A. Hobson, who wrote a well-known analysis of imperialism, first published in 1902.[10] When asked by Lloyd's family and friends to construct a book from the material Lloyd had gathered, Hobson agreed, and in 1907 *A Sovereign People: A Study of*

Swiss Democracy appeared.[11] Here indeed was a transatlantic connection: an American and an Englishman held up Switzerland as a model to be emulated. As in his books about Great Britain and New Zealand, Lloyd looked to specific aspects of Switzerland's institutions to show that economic democracy and truly popular involvement in the political processes could work and bring benefits to all.

From Lloyd's perspective, Switzerland had a number of advantages as a "Laboratory of Democracy," the title of the first chapter in *A Sovereign People.* Nowhere else, he thought, had the civil and political rights of male citizens "been so fully realized as in the expanding series of self-governing areas in which a Swiss citizen exercises his rights and duties as a member of a commune, a canton, and a federal state. . . ."[12] He suggested that a careful adjustment of the relations between smaller and larger units promised much stability. Lloyd further found Switzerland to be the one state with local, regional, and federal constitutions that expressed the most "confidence in the present will of the majority," and the greatest "facility of fundamental changes to meet new conditions."[13] The Swiss system as Lloyd had observed it in 1901 and 1902 had undergone significant changes during the preceding decade. Christopher Hughes of Leicester University and an expert on Swiss history and politics suggests, for example, that the 1890s and especially the half decade from 1891 to 1896 saw the foundation of the current political and social infrastructures.[14] The usefulness of Switzerland as a lesson in democracy was enhanced for Lloyd by the heterogeneity of the Swiss. Not only were there cleavages between thinly peopled agricultural regions and the more densely populated industrial centers then emerging, but religion, language, and ethnicity also bifurcated the nation.[15] He admired the ability of the Swiss political systems to integrate these various groups, albeit not without difficulties.

In Lloyd's view the nature of communal rule, the referendum, and the initiative formed the basis for the success of Swiss democracy. Two aspects in the structure of the commune, he thought, gave it its special force: In most communes rule was based on direct democracy and on a large measure of financial independence.[16]

> The survival of large elements of communal property in many parts of Switzerland administered by the body of the members of the commune, or by large corporations within the commune, for the common good, plays a most important part in the maintenance of local democracy and the determination of its forms."[17]

Originally not every one had benefited from the proceeds of the *Allmend,* as it was called, but by the nineteenth century "the bulk of the communal rights had passed to the burgher population."[18] By 1901, when Lloyd was there, the use of communal property or *Allmend* had changed in many places to support a more "modern" welfare system.

The other important aspect of political life in the commune was direct democracy. In 1900 the norm for direct participation remained voter presence and participation at community-wide meetings. In the larger

more urban communes, however, the referendum and the initiative were increasingly replacing the meetings of the *Gemeinde.* Since Lloyd, like many Progressives in the United States, valued these two instruments of popular access to the political process, he did not seem to regret the change. It must be remembered that only men had the vote in Switzerland in those days, as was the case elsewhere in the Western world, except for a few places in the United States, and there women could only vote in local elections.

The individual's access to political power had played an important role in the historical development of Swiss governmental structures. It was assured not only in the role of the *Gemeinde,* but also in the federal structure of the central government in Switzerland which had begun in the thirteenth century, but had remained quite weak. Not until the provisions of the 1874 constitution did the national administration gain added power and authority. Yet political centralization was accompanied by a check on that power, i.e., the referendum. Citizens could accept or reject any federal law or constitutional change by a simple majority. But the referendum, as Lloyd points out, only allows the voters to say no. In 1891, at the beginning of that important half decade of political change referred to above, the initiative was added to the constitution. Voters were thus empowered to add laws and constitutional changes, again with a simple majority. In Lloyd's view it was important that the referendum and the initiative applied not only to the federal government, but also to smaller administrative units that used representatives to rule. These two instruments then effectively replaced the meeting of the *Gemeinde,* but without people losing actual power.

Lloyd credits several significant changes in the political process during the 1890s to direct citizen participation. He viewed the nationalization of railways and of the alcohol trade as good examples of effective uses of the referendum and initiative at the federal level and he devoted a chapter to each. At the local level he noted similar developments as in the expansion of municipal ownership of utilities and transportation systems, a topic dear to Lloyd's heart. In the latter case, change sometimes resulted from the use of channels other than the referendum or the initiative.

For Lloyd one of the supreme tests of democracy was successfully to navigate between the Scylla of industrial monopoly's tyranny and the Charybdis of industrial warfare's anarchy. He thought the Swiss had been considerably more successful in this effort than the United States. In the ninth chapter of his book, aptly titled "The State for the Workers," he analyzed factory legislation, such as the limiting of work hours. He suggests that such laws were enacted in large measure due to public pressure and the use of the instruments of direct democracy.[19] In a subsequent chapter, Lloyd suggests that socialism did not gain the power in Switzerland as it did in other countries, because the political system more effectively limited the capitalists' power, in a sense making socialism unnecessary.[20] Lloyd tried here to demonstrate what he interpreted as the average Swiss voter's basic sense of responsibility and

reasonableness and he further suggests the average American voter would act in a similar way.

Lloyd clearly wanted to convince his fellow countrymen that popular democracy could work. *A Sovereign People* was written as a tract for its time, yet it was anything but superficial. Lloyd's notebooks and correspondence reveal him as a careful and thorough researcher who developed a dense data base which Hobson then shaped into a readable book. Through a network of friends and acquaintances, Lloyd had identified and corresponded with people who could give him the information he needed.[21] His notebooks contain extensive lists of materials that he apparently had consulted. They include technical, scholarly, and government publications and provide a judicious mixture of primary and secondary sources. Most aspects of Swiss life in the nineteenth century were reflected in these sources as well as in Lloyd's extensive correspondence. Lloyd also drew heavily on interviews and on his own observations made during his trips to Switzerland in 1901 and 1902. These last two sources give the book its immediacy and relevance for the modern reader.

Because of his untimely death, it remains unknown what Henry Lloyd would have done with his Swiss lesson, although we can easily infer it. His correspondence reveals that he used the books he had written about New Zealand and Great Britain to support his efforts in promoting social and economic justice in the United States. One may assume he would have done the same with the book on Switzerland. In any event, his interest in Switzerland also had a significant if indirect impact upon his descendants.

II

Henry D. Lloyd's oldest son William Bross Lloyd, Sr., married Lola Maverick of the Texas Mavericks. They followed in Henry's footsteps and joined the Socialist Party local in Winnetka where they lived after their marriage. They had four children, including William Bross Lloyd, Jr., and Georgia Lloyd. After William and Lola separated, William became increasingly radical. He helped to bail out Bill Hayward of the radical International Workers of the World and, like many on the left in those days, he celebrated the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution. During the red hunts, William was briefly imprisoned for his political activities.[22]

Lola was an activist in her own right, and she continued the Lloyd Swiss connection in her generation, albeit in a different way. She did not write a book but, after separating from William, lived in Switzerland for a time. There she worked closely with Swiss women activists, several of whom she had met earlier.[23] Lola Lloyd had become radicalized already during the First World War as she joined those struggling for peace. In 1915 she helped Rosika Schwimmer organize the Ford Peace Expedition and its conference of neutrals which was almost successful in mediating an end to the war.[24] In this work she met Clara Ragaz and Marguerite Gobat, both of whom were Swiss activists. Gobat was the daughter of Dr. Albert Gobat who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1902.[25] Lola Lloyd

also participated in the Hague Congress of Women which gave rise to the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, later renamed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. During the 1920s Lola lived in Geneva, Switzerland, as an observer at the League of Nations and worked or visited with Swiss women activists like Ragaz and Gobat, the latter of whom operated a "peace school." Lola's youngest daughter attended a Quaker school in Gland and her son, William Bross Lloyd, Jr., attended the University of Geneva, a city to which he was later to return.[26] In 1937, with Rosika Schwimmer, Lola Lloyd founded the Campaign for World Government to which she dedicated all her energies until her death in 1944.[27]

III

William Bross Lloyd, Jr., was therefore no stranger to social action. In 1915 he and his two older sisters had accompanied their mother to Europe on the Ford Peace Ship. Although accepted at Harvard, in 1927 he began his undergraduate work at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio, a school noted for advanced educational ideas. Upon graduation he went briefly to graduate school, then worked in the cooperative movement and as a journalist for the labor press.[28] After Hitler's invasion of Czechoslovakia William Bross Lloyd, Jr. (hereafter referred to as Bill Lloyd), dedicated himself fully to the Campaign for World Government which advocated a democratic, non-military and all-inclusive world federation and, after the war broke out, added the idea of neutral mediation to end this and other international conflicts. In 1943 he left the Campaign in order to begin his alternative service as a conscientious objector. Like so many at that time he thought deeply about the problems and possibilities of world peace. Moreover, he actively participated in the work for non-violent conflict resolution among the countries of the world. The League of Nations had clearly not been an effective tool in maintaining peace, nor did he think the United Nations had the necessary apparatus to do so.[29] Bill Lloyd wanted to make a significant contribution to the debate on how best to build a more permanent peace. He was convinced that a federation of the world's nations was most likely to be effective in gaining that peace. He had studied and written about the federal system in the United States and, since he wanted to study another example of federalism, he set off to Switzerland in the summer of 1949.[30] Although no direct evidence is available, Bill Lloyd was undoubtedly, at least in part, inspired by his grandfather's example. Copies of Henry Demarest Lloyd's books are still plentiful in the family and it is hard to imagine that Bill did not know *A Sovereign People*. His own stay in Switzerland in the 1920s probably encouraged him further to select Switzerland as a subject for study. In any event, as he wrote: "Impelled by the hope of finding some major keys to the problems of world peace, the author left the United States . . . to study Swiss political history."[31]

But why pick Switzerland of all places? It was after all one of those little "insignificant" countries living in the shadows of the Big Three. In

a number of differing contexts Bill Lloyd discussed this issue himself. In a talk given at the Chicago Literary Club in 1976 he explained, "Yet if it's a question of the relevance of Swiss political history . . . , people are apt to say: 'But it's not big enough to be significant,' forgetting that structure is often more important than size."[32] By way of illustration he noted that both elephants and mice were mammals. Ernst Schwarcz addresses this same issue in his foreword to the German-language edition of *Waging Peace* published in 1963 by the Sensen Verlag of Austria.[33] Why, he asked, would an Austrian publisher print a book about Swiss inter-cantonal relations? He answered by noting that Lloyd had clearly delineated and discussed the structures which maintained peace among the cantons and that Lloyd (as well as Schwarcz) saw this as an important lesson both for Austria and for the world. In Lloyd's view it was the nature of inter-cantonal relations and the manner in which they were institutionalized that were key to peace-keeping.

Bill Lloyd's initial plan was to study Swiss federalism. Yet when reading William E. Rappard's *Collective Security in Swiss Experience* on his way to Geneva in 1949, he changed direction. In the introduction to *Waging Peace,* he noted that most histories of Switzerland in English failed to mention that "neutrality was an important phenomenon of the country's *internal* as well as its *external relations,*" a central point of Rappard's book.[34] Lloyd became intrigued by the institutionalization of neutrality and the role neutrals could play in mediating and conciliating disputes among the fractious and often antagonistic cantons. "Might not the history of this experience, the author wondered, 'speak to the condition' of the present contentious world of sovereign states more significantly than a mere recital of the steps in the growth of Swiss federalism?"[35] Lloyd suggested that the way to "peace with freedom" was not through collective security, since allies could be just as bellicose as individual countries. Rather people had to meet every dispute with "persistent, influential conciliation and mediation."[36] Therefore Lloyd set out to research and write about the history of the neutral cantons' responsibilities in keeping the peace.

And he did so with tenacity. Assisted by Swiss scholars like David Lasserre of Lausanne, William Rappard then of the Graduate Institute of International Studies at Geneva, and the University of Geneva's Dr. W. A. Liebeskind's language skills, Lloyd immersed himself in the sources. He found his main data in the federal diet's published minutes covering the period from the Middle Ages to the end of the early modern era. When Lloyd began his work "this indigestible source material . . . had baffled the efforts of many earlier historians," Rappard noted in his preface to Lloyd's book.[37] Lloyd also consulted other primary materials and he became familiar with the secondary literature pertaining to his sharply focused topic. He spent two years researching and then began writing *Waging Peace.*

The chronologically arranged book is deceptively simple in appearance. A brief introduction discusses the author's premises and purpose, then eight chapters cover the development of the mediation process from its "Origins" through the "Protestant-Catholic Conflict," ending

with the events and the constitution of 1848, yet noting that the 1848 article regarding mediation of disputes remained in force also in the subsequent constitution. A concluding chapter delineates "The Swiss Lesson" on how to maintain peace and democracy also among hostile and competing nations or groups of allies.

The peaceful settlement of disputes has had a long, if inconstant, history in Switzerland. The foundations were laid in the agreements which formed the initial confederation in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The oldest extant pact, dating back to 1291, united Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, but not until a new treaty of cooperation concluded in 1325 was the settlement of disputes addressed directly. That pact included the mandate that in any dispute among the signers, "the noblest and wisest should come to settle . . . the dispute by friendly compromise or law."[38] During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as the confederation continued to add new members like Lucerne, Zurich, and Bern with their respective rural lands, diversity of interests and political systems increased, and in consequence also the potential for violent conflict. Since the cantons were a part of the Holy Roman Empire and at least indirectly under the Habsburgs, and since the peasants of the cantons were slowly but surely expanding their autonomy from aristocratic and imperial control, keeping internal peace became increasingly important, in order to minimize opportunities for the emperor or other potentates to interfere in inter-cantonal affairs.

In Lloyd's view peaceful and legal means of conflict resolution reached something of a golden age at the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.[39] Basel and Schaffhausen joined the confederation in 1501 and Appenzell in 1513. They were not admitted as full-fledged members, however, but were obligated both to remain neutral and to function as permanent mediators in inter-cantonal disputes, thus augmenting the diet's efforts in maintaining the peace. This structure did not remain static, but continued to evolve over time. The strife between Catholicism and Protestantism almost tore the fragile political fabric apart. Nonetheless the structure worked, and with increasing success, despite the heterogeneity of the Helvetian Confederation. It remained united and at peace during the very difficult times of the Thirty Years' War. This does not imply that the Swiss were in agreement on most issues; for example, they were as deeply divided over religion as anyone else.

The golden age did not persist. All sectors of Swiss life declined in the seventeenth century and Swiss society became increasingly stratified. The cantons gave little support either to each other or to the ideals of mediation and conciliation. This led to a lack of effective resistance to foreign intervention in Swiss affairs and to a loss of local freedoms. The invasion of French revolutionary forces and the subsequent imposition of Napoleonic laws in 1798 forced much needed legal and economic reforms upon the Swiss, but did not lead to political freedom for the ordinary Swiss, of course. The early nineteenth century saw a great deal of unrest and even bloodshed, as in the 1847 *Sonderbundskrieg*, a brief civil war. The mediation by Basel, while unsuccessful in preventing that

conflict, significantly limited the extent of the bloodshed and any subsequent bitterness, Lloyd suggests.[40] Not until the constitution of 1848 did internal peace return. The federal nature of the new government, moreover, removed the need for "the process of active intercantonal [sic] mediation."[41]

Buried in the minutes of the late medieval diet of the Swiss Confederation, Bill Lloyd found what he considers an important lesson for the peoples of the earth. The cantons resolved conflicts in at least three ways. The parties to a dispute simply sat down at the negotiation table and settled their diferences, or, if that were not possible, they submitted their dispute to a mutually agreed upon arbitrator. In many conflicts, however, those involved were not willing to negotiate with the opponent, nor did they wish to submit to arbitration, since this required them to accept a resolution sight unseen. Furthermore to suggest mediation was (and still is) often interpreted as a sign of weakness. The history of Switzerland, indeed of Europe, contains many examples of these problems. For Lloyd, therefore, the third procedure, which developed in the decades before and after 1500, was the most important. The three then newest cantons were designated as permanent neutrals with the obligation of stepping in as mediators in any dispute within a canton, between cantons, or between a canton and an outside power, unless either direct negotiations or arbitration were possible. In 1919 Switzerland followed its own example and offered to mediate disputes as a permanently neutral member of the League of Nations. Because its neutrality had already been established in international politics, the League accepted the Swiss offer. Regrettably the League was not successful in its peace-keeping efforts, but for reasons not related to Swiss participation nor pertinent to this study. Yet Bill Lloyd insists that the history of Switzerland suggests a way to world peace. Could not a nation or group of nations, whose permanent neutrality is recognized, receive a mandate to mediate any serious international dispute not amenable to negotiation or arbitration? Such a structure had brought a measure of peace, justice and freedom to a group of cantons who spoke different languages, held different even antagonistic religious views, and which had differing economic and political systems. Surely it seemed worth trying on a global scale also, Lloyd argues.

Lloyd's historical work was, of course, not the first account of the regulation of inter-cantonal affairs, and he himself cites the standard works.[42] These monographs, however, focused on arbitration. Not much research had been done on mediation, Lloyd's main focus in exploring Swiss political history. Although the resulting book is not a scholarly work in the very narrow sense of that term, the author's research was meticulous, his methodology and analysis sound, and his argument cogent and solidly based on the evidence. The apparatus is somewhat limited, to be sure, and there is no bibliography. There are, however, sufficient notes and an appendix listing the dates of and participants in pertinent decisions made by the Federal Diet, so that anyone could check the author's findings. The fact that this book was written for the lay person and by a non-professional gives it a certain

freshness and immediacy and in no way detracts from its accomplishments.

Like his grandparents and parents Bill Lloyd was an activist and he set out to spread the "Swiss lesson" even before finishing his research. In a letter to his sister dated 5 March 1950 from 109 Chemin d'Aire, Châtelaine, Genève, Bill Lloyd wrote,

> I am getting the growing feeling that the 'neutrals' offer the . . . greatest hope of preventing war in general, and from that I see a crying need for someone to encourage Nehru in a hard-hitting peace-mongering neutrality. A lot of other people could make a better approach, but I have an increasing feeling that I may have to make the attempt myself.[43]

Lloyd did make that attempt and went to India in October 1950. Anticipating his trip, he sent a three-page letter to President Prasad of India in July, and there he gave a brief synopsis of the history of mediation in Switzerland along with his suggestions for India assuming a similar role, perhaps in the context of its United Nations membership. He sent an identical one to Hadji Agus Salim of Indonesia.[44] Lloyd clearly believed that nations, new and old, in the nonaligned movement had real potential as neutral mediators.

Lloyd remained busy. In 1951 he finished his research and left Geneva in July after almost two years of intense effort. The next year he founded the newsletter *Toward Freedom* which is dedicated to the issues of decolonization and nation building. He was active in a number of other pursuits as well, including lobbying for the establishment of a United Nations radio network as a way of promoting federalism and thus world peace. In the midst of all these activities his book was somehow written and it was published by the Public Affairs Press in 1958.

To Lloyd the new nations emerging from European control in the postwar decolonization movements presented a special opportunity. The first permanent mediators in Switzerland had, after all, been new members of their confederation, just as the new African and Asian countries were new members of the United Nations. *Waging Peace* gave him another way to present his case. Beginning in 1959, he sent copies of the book with a cover letter advocating neutrality and mediation to various heads of state. The list included leaders in what was then called The Congo, Nigeria, Guinea, Liberia, Libya, Ethiopia, The Sudan, Southern Rhodesia, Togoland, Morocco, and Egypt, in addition to leaders in the Asian countries of Nepal, Lebanon, Laos, Cambodia, Burma, India, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, and Iraq. Copies of the book were also sent to Western leaders like President Eisenhower, Marshal Tito, President Urho Kekkonen of Finland, and Tage Erlander of Sweden.[45] While Bill Lloyd continued to discuss the Swiss lesson in relation to the new nations, his interests were much broader, however, and he showed a genuine interest in their special problems and accomplishments as the articles in *Toward Freedom* indicate. In less formal ways as well, Lloyd used what he had learned from Swiss history to bolster his efforts to

convince both established and new world leaders of the value of and, indeed, the need for, mediation.

Bill Lloyd continued to spread the word during the 1960s and 1970s. A German-language edition of *Waging Peace,* entitled *Neutrale als Friedenstifter,* was published in 1964. That year his *Peace Requires Peacemakers,* a summary of his book was published as a pamphlet by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. Efforts to publish a French edition were not successful, however. His article "Solidarity and Autonomy: Africa and the Swiss Example" in which he again presented the history of Swiss mediation and conciliation appeared in the 1966 edition of the journal *Acta Africana: Geneva-Africa.*[46] In this article he highlighted the weakness of the cantons, their efforts to gain autonomy in the face of opposition from powerful neighboring rulers, and their relative poverty and "backwardness." These were situations the new African nations knew firsthand. Lloyd pointed out that there are clearly many differences between the medieval Swiss and the twentieth-century Africans. Yet he felt something could be learned and pointed out that the Organization of African Unity had already had some successes in mediating conflicts. Beginning in late 1971 and on into 1972, he carried on a lengthy correspondence with Swiss federal authorities in which he advocated that Switzerland join the United Nations as a permanently neutral mediator, the role it played as member of the League of Nations.

While Bill Lloyd's interests in Switzerland focused initially on federalism and then on the various ways of conflict resolution, they have since expanded to include much more than those aspects of its political history. Between 1964 and 1970, for instance, he taught a course in the political and cultural history of Switzerland at Roosevelt University in Chicago. In 1976 Lloyd presented a paper on Swiss history, culture and belles-lettres, titled "Behind the Cuckoo Clock," to the Chicago Literary Club.[47] Four years later he read another paper, again at the Chicago Literary Club, this time on Albert Gallatin.[48] In numerous talks, letters to the editor, and by other means Bill Lloyd presented the Swiss lesson and shared other aspects of the Swiss experience with his readers and listeners.

Switzerland is small to be sure, but its experience is anything but insignificant. As the peasants and burghers in the mountains and valleys of south central Europe struggled to protect their traditional rights and to advance their say in local affairs, they built a series of structures of "world historical" significance. A good place to begin the study of those structures can be found in the efforts of the Lloyd family.

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Notes

[1] This essay is an expanded and revised version of a paper given at the annual meeting

of the Swiss-American Historical Society held in Washington, DC, on 21 October 1989. Additional materials, especially from the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers held by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, have been consulted for this essay. Portions of what pertains to William Bross Lloyd, Jr., appeared earlier in *Swiss-American Historical Society Review* 25.2 (1989): 4-17.

[2] George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Europe* (Bloomington, 1986), xii.

[3] Henry Lloyd's sister Caro wrote *Henry Demarest Lloyd, 1847–1903: A Biography* (New York, 1912), a two-volume work, in the years immediately after his untimely death. It is an excellent biography and, although there are later ones, it remains a standard. Unless otherwise noted, biographical information about HDL comes from this source.

[4] Jessie Bross Lloyd's pocket calendar in the family's possession.

[5] Jessie and Henry sent numerous letters to their children who stayed at home. These letters are in the possession of the family.

[6] Caro Lloyd, *Biography,* 1:74.

[7] For a thorough discussion of the Haymarket incident and subsequent events and Henry Lloyd's involvement in them see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ, 1984).

[8] Quoted in Caro Lloyd, *Biography,* 2:351–64.

[9] Much of this material is contained in the Henry Demarest Lloyd Papers (microfilm edition), State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1970; correspondence for this period can be found on reels 10, 11, 12; and the materials he gathered for the book are on reel 39.

[10] Caro Lloyd, *Biography,* 1:208–9; John A. Hobson, *Imperialism* (Ann Arbor, 1972; 1st ed. 1902).

[11] John A. Hobson, "Preface" in Henry D. Lloyd, *A Sovereign People* (New York, 1970), v–xiii.

[12] H. Lloyd, *Sovereign People,* 1.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Christopher Hughes, *Switzerland* (London, 1975), 106; on pp. 106–11, Hughes provides a succinct picture of the political structures that form the context for the issues Lloyd raises.

[15] See, e.g., the chart in Lloyd, *Sovereign People,* 4.

[16] Ibid., 29–46.

[17] Ibid., 33.

[18] Ibid., 35.

[19] Ibid., 126–53.

[20] Ibid., 183–207.

[21] A note of thanks is due Ms. Sigrid Ellis who combed through the microfilm edition of Lloyd's papers, identifying those documents that pertained to Lloyd's Swiss work.

[22] References to all of these events can be found in the papers of Georgia Lloyd. Some remain in her possession and others have become part of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection of the New York Public Library.

[23] Special thanks are due Edith Wynner, Consultant to the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, and the only one who really knows the contents of that collection, which she indeed helped to create. Ms. Wynner was good enough to share her research notes and to find and photocopy material for this portion of the essay.

[24] Anne Wiltshire, *Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War* (London, 1985), deals with this effort in detail. Lola Maverick Lloyd's diary entries for this time period (part of the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection), are a key source for these events.

[25] *Biographical Dictionary of Modern Peace Leaders,* 1985 ed., s.v. Gobat, Albert; Gobat, Marguerite.

[26] Georgia Lloyd in conversations during late winter and spring of 1988.

[27] Ibid.

[28] William Bross Lloyd, "Autobiographical Notes Prepared for the Antioch Peace Seminar, July 21-28, 1978," mss. in Georgia Lloyd's papers; see note 22.

[29] There is a great deal of correspondence among the principals of the Campaign for World Government, including Bill Lloyd, regarding the shortcomings of that body. The UN charter was seen to resemble the United States Articles of Confederation (replaced by the US Constitution) in that there was no independent source of revenue and only

"sovereign states" were represented, thus giving the UN (or the Continental Congress) little if any enforcement power except for a military one. Even that has remained for the most part an impossibility.

[30] See, e.g., William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Town Meeting for America: How Citizens Can Set the Course for United States World Relations* (New York, 1951).

[31] William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Waging Peace: The Swiss Experience* (Washington, DC, 1958), 1.

[32] William Bross Lloyd, Jr., "Behind the Cuckoo Clock," paper read at the Chicago Literary Club, 19 January 1976. In the W. B. Lloyd Papers, Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, New York Public Library.

[33] Ernst Schwarcz, "Vorwort des Herausgebers," in William Bross Lloyd, Jr., *Neutrale als Friedenstifter: Das Beispiel der Schweiz* (Vienna, 1964), 5–6.

[34] Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 1; the book he cites is William E. Rappard, *Collective Security in Swiss Experience 1291–1948* (London, 1948). Rappard wrote the "Preface" to Lloyd's book. (Lloyd's italics.)

[35] Ibid., 2.

[36] Ibid.

[37] William Rappard, "Preface" in Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, vi.

[38] Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 9.

[39] Ibid., 34–38.

[40] Ibid., 70.

[41] Ibid., 67.

[42] Ibid., 95, notes 25 and 26.

[43] Lloyd to Georgia Lloyd-Berndt, letter dated 5 March, 1950; in Georgia Lloyd's possession.

[44] Lloyd's letter to Hadji Agus Salim, 15 July 1950. Note on copy in Lloyd's hand "Similar letter sent to Pres. Prasad of India." Copy in the possession of Georgia Lloyd.

[45] Correspondence in the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection, New York Public Library.

[46] Lloyd, "Solidarity and Autonomy: Africa and the Swiss Example," *Acta Africana, Geneva-Africa* 5.2 (1966): 179–88.

[47] Lloyd, "Behind the Cuckoo Clock."

[48] Read at the 21 January 1980 meeting; Lloyd, *Waging Peace*, 70.

PART THREE

SWISS IN AMERICAN LIFE

Leo Schelbert

Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia: The Making of Two Winegrower Settlements

Some philosophers insist that history as written and taught is little more than "a fable agreed upon."[1] Not that they accuse historians of inventing their data; they stress, rather, that as humans, they too are epistemologically bound to use "paradigms," "disciplinary matrices," or "frameworks of knowing," thus transforming their stories into reconstructions.[2] The practitioners of migratory history are no exception to this observation. Although they follow a variety of competing interpretive models, one paradigm predominates in American immigration history as well as in general consciousness. It may be called the crisis view of migrations. The catalogue of disasters that allegedly drove people to promised lands includes economic disasters, social upheavals, political convulsions, and religious persecutions.[3] Although not without occasional foundation in fact, this paradigm falls short in doing justice to people on the move and overlooks not only the complexity of motivations, but also the concerns of statecraft. An inquiry into the emergence of Vevay, Indiana, in 1803, and of Chabag, Bessarabia, in 1823, may illustrate this view. First the essay features the founders of the two colonies, then describes the beginnings and early decades of each of the two settlements and, finally, probes the historical contexts within which Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia, emerged.

I

Although a generation apart, the two men who founded Vevay in North America and Chabag in South Russia had grown up in the same region. Jean Jacques Dufour, born in 1767, was a citizen of the village of Chatelard in the parish of Montreux on the northeastern shore of Lake Geneva.[4] Louis Vincent Samuel Tardent, born in 1787, was raised in Vevey, a town situated about four miles west of Montreux, although he was a citizen of Ormont-Dessous in the Ormont Valley in the neighboring district of Aigle.[5] In prehistoric times lake dwellers had inhabited the

region, later Vevey was a Roman vicus. In its vicinity vines have been cultivated at least since the sixth century.[6]

Thus both Dufour and Tardent grew up in a land of winegrowing where, however, only "exacting and sustained work" guaranteed success, as the pamphlet of Vevey's 1819 wine festival declared. In Swiss regions, viticulture demanded five times more labor than agriculture and included twenty to twenty-five different processes such as cutting and binding of vines, several cultivations of the soil, care of foliage, and harvesting. Yet autumn was a season of pleasure when with great rejoicing the grapes could be harvested that had escaped "the triple scourge" of "frost, steady rain, and hail."[7]

The region's beauty is deservedly famous, and towns such as Montreux, Caux, and Leysin rightly enjoy international renown.[8] In 1802, for instance, a British traveler noted that Vevey was situated "in a small plain close to the waters [of Lake Geneva], and everywhere else environed by vineyards." The evening view from the church was especially stunning; there "you overlook this neat well-built town," the visitor observed. "You behold the brilliant surface of the lake . . . [and the] abrupt rocks of the Mellerie which nothing can brighten." Yet to the east, in "the mountains of the lower Valais, a spot of perennial snow guides the eye to something cheerful among those enormous masses of shade."[9]

The area was not only beautiful, however; it was also "placed between the south and the north of Europe, at the crossing of the greatest routes," as Frédéric César de la Harpe (1754–1838) explained. "We are passably informed about goings on," he declared. "Some sixty scientific, literary, and political journals in four languages provide us with a nearly complete collection of circulating truths and lies, yet without disturbing the public peace."[10]

Why then would men like Dufour and Tardent leave such an enchanting world? Neither was poor, and the families of both were economically established and socially respected. Dufour's father owned substantial properties and his grandfather had served as judge and mayor.[11] Throughout the nineteenth century members of the Chatelard branch of the Dufours served as professors at the University of Lausanne or were members of the medical profession.[12] Louis Tardent, too, was a recognized teacher of botany and a member of national and cantonal associations for the promotion of the natural sciences.[13] He owned a library of some four hundred books which he was to take along to Bessarabia,[14] and his grandfather had served as a "regent" of the college of Vevey.[15]

In his book on wine growing, published in 1826 in Cincinnati, Jean Jacques Dufour explained what had prompted him to found a new Vevey. At fourteen he read the newspapers "which were full of the American Revolutionary War, and contained many letters from officers of the French Army aiding the Republicans, which complained of the scarcity of wine among them." A study of maps had shown him that

America was in the parallel of the best wine countries in the world. . . . I

> then made the culture of the grape, of its natural history, and of all that was connected with it my most serious study, to be the better able to succeed here. It is that resolution which made me a vine-dresser, although some may think that I am not fit for it, being maimed in my left arm.[16]

No such declaration is available for Tardent. Yet Frédéric César de la Harpe remarked to Czar Alexander I (1777–1825), whom he had served as tutor, in a letter of 22 December 1819, that the veterinary François de Saloz (1774–1881)[17] had spread the word about "neglected crown vineyards" in Bessarabia. Several people had inquired of de la Harpe, therefore, if the Russian "government would be disposed to deal with them concerning their cultivation." They also sent Tardent to him whom he knew as a botanist. Since he did not know the facts, de la Harpe explained to the Czar, he could not respond to their query, but encouraged those interested to contact Aleksey Bakhmetiev (1774–1841), Bessarabia's governor general from 1816 to 1822.[18] De la Harpe then added:

> The ease for the cultivators to arrive in your Southern provinces on water, makes them prefer those [lands] to Brazil or America if they were assured of improving their lot by their efforts after arrival and of being allowed to return freely to their native country, an assurance from which very few would profit, but which would establish a circulation of individuals profitable to both countries.[19]

Between 1817 and 1822 emigration had been a much discussed subject in Switzerland. In 1819 over two thousand people left to establish a Nova Friburgo in the Portuguese king's South American domain.[20] Proposals of founding a twenty-third canton abroad were tossed about in the press, and one reader exuberantly proposed that the Swiss government should "negotiate with Austria for Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Banat; with Piedmont for the island of Sardinia; with England for Canada; with Russia for Poland, Bessarabia, and the Crimea." Another reader submitted detailed calculations concerning the cost of "the formation of a colony and a canton in America."[21] Tardent was too knowledgeable to revel in such gradiose schemes; instead he pursued the Bessarabian venture with the skill and tenacity of a seasoned entrepreneur and pragmatic leader who loved to be in charge and to deal with people of influence.[22]

II

On 20 March 1796 Jean Jacques Dufour set out on his journey to implement his youthful dream. A travel ledger details his monetary and commercial dealings and charts his extensive travels between March 1796 and October 1801.[23] At departure he carried "736 pounds in cash," also "two notes against Isenschmid, Kinkelin and Roupp of Bern" for 2,000 pounds which he used in Paris to purchase jewelry, clothing and fifty-nine silver and gold watches.[24] He took passage on the brig *Sally*, bound for Wilmington, Delaware, where he paid duty on his goods on

12 August. During the next two years Dufour engaged in trading and traveled from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, Kaskaskia, and St. Louis.[25] He was tempted to become a merchant, yet remained determined to introduce viticulture in the United States and to find a suitable place for the founding of a winegrower settlement.[26]

In the fall of 1798 Dufour went from Pittsburgh to Lexington, Kentucky, then on to Frankfort; he met John Brown (1757–1837), a United States senator, who actively furthered the newcomer's plan.[27] With his encouragement and the financial backing of several other people, Dufour selected 630 acres in Jessamine County at the "Big Bend of the Kentucky river four miles above Hickman creek."[28] A joint stock company was formed that issued two hundred shares at fifty dollars each. "Forty of the shares," Dufour explained, were to be his as "salary to conduct business" until the vineyard became productive. Then he was entitled to keep $1,000 per year from the profits, "and nothing if there should be none, so that the subscribers put their money and . . . [he his] time at stake." The 160 shares of fifty dollars each were to be used as follows:

For 633 acres of land	$ 633
For 5 families of Negroes	5,000
For tools, victuals and other support until the place would be productive	1,000
Expenses of getting wine scions	800
Incidental Expenses	567
	$8,000[29]

In the spring of 1799 Dufour began his vineyard. He planted five acres with thirty-five different species of vines which he had obtained from Baltimore, New York, and Spring Mill near Philadelphia. He proudly named his place of settlement "First Vineyard" and in 1801 paid "taxes on 633 acres of land, . . . on two white males, seven slaves, and two horses."[30] He also informed his father about his success whose sons and daughters now readied themselves to join their oldest brother. On 13 Janaury 1801 Jean Jacques Dufour, Sr., transferred his parental authority to the oldest son, declaring him his siblings' "second father" who was to do "all in his power to advance their welfare . . . , [to] teach them to work, each according to age and sex, accustom them to industriousness and diligence, . . . to turn them away from laziness, idleness, sloth, pride, debauchery, and evil passions." He was to instruct them in the Christian faith and they, in turn, were to "show him honor, respect, submission, obedience and loyalty."[31]

Early in 1801 seventeen people, six of whom were Dufours,[32] left Vevey for La Rochelle where they took passage on the ship *Woodrop* on 20 March.[33] They set sail on 25 March and reached the "southern point of the Newfoundland Banks" in the early afternoon of 10 April. The ocean crossing had taken but sixteen days, yet some violent storms slowed the coastal journey southwestward so that the James River "about three hours from Norfolk" was not reached until the evening of

30 April. The journey had been good, the chronicler noted, and added somewhat rashly: "With a good ship not very heavily loaded and with good sailors to manage, there is no danger in crossing the sea at all between equinox and autumn."[34]

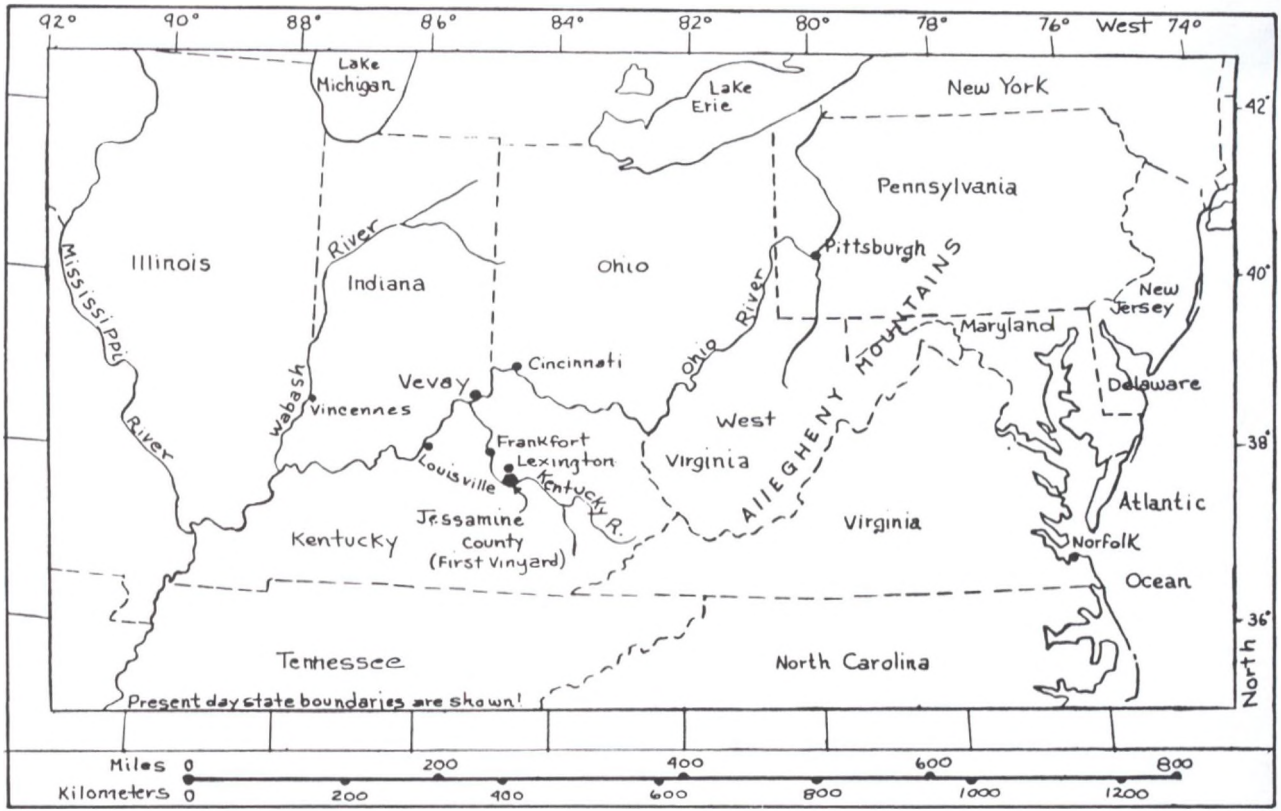
From Norfolk the immigrants traveled by wagon over the Alleghenies to Pittsburgh where they took a boat down the Ohio. In Marietta they met up with John James Dufour on 18 June and continued their journey to Maysville. From there they went overland to Lexington, Kentucky, which they reached on 3 July. Three days later they arrived at the First Vineyard and were all admitted into free and equal partnership in the Vineyard Association.[35] They planted the vines they had brought from their native Vevey and, as John James Dufour wrote, for "three years we were in full expectation and worked with great courage—a great many species of vines showed fruit, the third year." But then disaster struck. The plants sickened and died from *phylloxera vitifoliae*, some stocks of Cape and Madeira excepted.[36]

The "First Vineyard" had failed, the Kentucky Vineyard Association dissolved, and the undertaking became the sole responsibility of the immigrants. Although some held out on the Kentucky property until 1809, the winegrowers decided to try again some fifty miles north on the Ohio, not too far from where the Kentucky River joins that stream and in an area that was added to Indiana Territory in 1802. Supported by Senator Brown, John James Dufour petitioned Congress on 15 February 1802 for a land grant of 2,500 acres. The Senate approved the proposal on 17 March, the House on 30 April. The Act of Congress, passed on 1 May, read in part:

> . . . to encourage the introduction and to promote the culture of the vine in the Territory of the United States . . . it shall be lawful for John James Dufour, and his associates, to purchase any quantity not exceeding four sections . . . at the rate of two dollars per acre, payable without interest, on or before the first day of January, 1814.

The land could be registered and paid for at Cincinnati and a "six percent discount shall be allowed on any payments which shall be made before same become due."[37] The winegrowers acted with dispatch. They selected 2,500 acres under the congressional dispensation, added some 1,200 acres under outright purchase, and called their colony "New Switzerland"; it was situated about eight miles northeast of the mouth of the Kentucky River on the north side of the Ohio. Indian Creek which ran through their purchase was renamed the Venoge.[38]

On 20 January 1803 the winegrower families Mennet, Raymond, Deserens, Gex, and Obousier joined New Switzerland and concluded with the Dufours "A Covenant of Association for the Settlement of the Lands of Switzerland on the Ohio River." The document stated that they, "vine dressers by trade or sons of Vine dressers, forming exclusively this association," had agreed "to plant the vine and make their cultivation their principal business." Of the land purchase, 2,509 acres



Map 1: The Old Northwest.

were to be divided into thirteen shares of 193 acres each. It was agreed, further, "that each lot shall meet the river" and,

> to establish order from the beginning, . . . to leave a road 100 feet in breadth along a line run on the second bank, which shall be planted with four rows of trees at 33 feet distance, and fronting said road shall the buildings be placed.[39]

Thus the second, much larger winegrower settlement emerged. Houses were built, fields cleared, cornfields and orchards planted, and vines set out. The first wine was made in 1806 or 1807 and judged to have been "of very good quality."[40]

In 1805 John James Dufour returned to his native Vevey to settle financial matters and get his father's approval for arrangements made between him, his brothers and sisters, and in-laws. He may also have hoped to convince his wife to join him, but without success.[41] Their son Daniel, however, did join New Switzerland probably in the 1820s after having attended a military school in Paris.[42] The War of 1812 delayed John James Dufour's return to Vevay, Indiana, and during his eleven years absence, the colony's leadership passed to John Francis Dufour. It was he who successfully petitioned the postmaster general that a post office be established in New Switzerland which occurred on 23 March 1810; it was named Vevay although the town proper was not laid out until 1813.[43] On 7 September 1814, the territorial legislature carved a "new county out of the counties Dearborn and Jefferson," to "be known and designated by the name and style of the county of Switzerland" and with Vevay as county seat.[44] Thus despite his absence, John James Dufour's youthful resolve had become a reality.

III

If the Dufour undertaking initially had been primarily a family affair, Louis Vincent Tardent tried from the start to gain official approval for his plans. On 22 June 1820 he reported to the authorities of the canton of Vaud that there "exists in the South of Russia a vineyard that offers advantages and resources to a certain number of winegrowers." He had approached "his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias," and the monarch had, in his munificence, given him a positive reply. The project was, in his view, of genuine interest to the government. "Your approbation," Tardent declared, "will decide the success of my enterprise which I deem to become very useful to those who will partake in that small establishment."[45]

To muster the right people, Tardent had drawn up a document titled "Mode of Subscription" which contained twenty-one articles. A first article requested the deposition to a common fund from each potential member of the intended colony. A second provision stipulated that the interest would be used for those in need, a third that the amount was not refundable. The document further specified that the distribution of "vines, meadows, and fields" would be proportionate to the number of persons in a family, that each needed a baptismal certificate and would

be able to leave the colony at will. Once thirty or forty subscribers had been gained, a commission consisting of a chairperson and four adjuncts were to be elected by those assembled and were to serve without pay. The commission was given these tasks:

> To keep records of the costs of the journey, to be apportioned after arrival;
> to distribute vines, meadows, pasture and fields;
> to draw up rules and regulations subject to approval of all subscribers;
> to select the site, form, and extent of the future colony and to make sure that it was built "in a pleasing manner";
> to set the date and place of departure.

Each member was to take along a family Bible, a book of Psalms and a catechism for each child, also a rifle and farming equipment. Nobody would be allowed to sell property to a stranger without previous approval of the commission. Four subscribers were to be sent to Bessarabia to inspect possible sites and to insure their quality and size. Article twenty-one was perhaps the most important:

> The subscription is available only to those who are known to be honest and capable winegrowers and who can prove that they possess what was needed for the cost of transport and establishment [in the colony].[46]

On 5 July 1820 the cantonal government denied Tardent its support, viewing his enterprise as "a merely particularist undertaking."[47] On 13 August a group of potential emigrants met nevertheless and decided to grant Tardent a travel allowance of eight hundred francs for going to southern Russia to inspect the available lands and select a site of settlement. Soon thereafter Tardent left for Odessa where he contacted the local authorities and influential compatriots. In the late summer of 1821 he sent word to Vevey that good land had been granted and a first contingent of settlers should get ready for their move early the next year.[48]

On his return in April 1822, Tardent and his associates drew up a new document titled "Convention of the Colonists of Akkerman" and had it notarized on 18 June. It incorporated the agreements reached between Tardent and Ivan N. Inzov (1768–1845),[49] the new governor general of Bessarabia. It was "to provide all the solidity and confidence possible to the emerging community." The earlier provisions were included or modified, others added. Article two, for instance, specified:

> Nobody will engage in seeking or accepting any kind of privilege or title which might interfere with the freedom of his associates or put any kind of onerous obligation on them.

Also the right of members to import or export any commodity was made explicit. The village administration was to consist of a general council, composed of all members having reached age twenty-three, and of a village executive consisting of a mayor and two adjuncts. The executive body was to implement these tasks:

Map 2: Bessarabia.

> To draw up police regulations, subject to council approval; to administer communal affairs and the laws of the village with annual reports to the general council; to negotiate with the governmental authorities.

The document further specified that each colonist was to pay one hundred francs into the communal fund and that the first group arriving in Akkerman would approve the site. All were to live in the village, and domestics could become members after six years of satisfactory service. A key provision repeated that only Swiss could join who were known to be honest and capable agriculturalists.[50]

In the late summer of 1822 some thirty emigrants left for southern

Russia. The group consisted of the families Louis Tardent and Jacob Samuel Chevalley, of Jean Louis Guerry and Jean Louis Plantin, two married men, and of Henri Berguer, François Noir, George Amadée Testuz, and Henry Zwicky.[51] They traveled by wagon from Vevey to St. Gallen, from there to Munich and Vienna, then via Bukovina to Kishinev. "Our journey has been happy and . . . none of us has encountered any calamity," Tardent reported. One wagon proved defective when they reached St. Gallen and some fifty miles outside of Vienna Juste Chevalley broke his leg. His sister Suzanne seemed to waste away from severe diarrhea, but recovered fully two months later.[52] After arrival, furthermore, Tardent's horses perished, for him a severe setback.[53]

In Bessarabia's capital Kishinev, Governor General Ivan Inzov who chaired the czar's Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers from 1818 to 1845,[54] received the newcomers, in Tardent's words, "like his children" and arranged free winter lodgings for them in Akkerman.[55] In the spring 1823 the winegrowers received 4,310 acres adjoining the village Posad Chabag, located about six miles south of Akkerman. They were presented with a plan of settlement which, as Tardent wrote, "pleases us fully and makes us anxious to put it soon into operation." The houses were to be about three hundred yards apart along rectangular streets. The only change the colonists requested was, "that for good effect, each building face the street rather than the corner or side lot."[56] The site was a good choice. Its fertile sandy soil was well suited for vineyards, meadows and pastures. Produce could be sold in nearby Akkerman, day laborers hired from the neighboring Posad Chabag, and the Liman formed by the Dniestr and resembling a fresh water lake was rich in fish and offered various recreational opportunities. Like Dufour's New Switzerland of 1804, Tardent's Helvetianopolis[57] was off to a good start.

IV

Ten years after the founding of New Switzerland on the Ohio, a Swiss newspaper reported in detail about its success. By 1813 each of the winegrower families had a dwelling surrounded by vineyards and pastures. Daniel Dufour's house, for instance, stood "in the midst of a wide tract of over two hundred acres . . . , the richest and most beautiful of all." His wife, furthermore, was busy making straw hats which she knew how to market "even in faraway places." They owned cattle, made butter and cheese, and gained sugar from maple trees. According to the 1813 report, Jean Daniel Morerod was the most successful proprietor whose vineyard in that year yielded over seven hundred gallons of wine. He had begun with eighty saplings, in 1812 he had 1,200 vines and "sold 200 gallons of wine, each for about two piasters." Next came the properties of Bettens, Golay, the Siebenthals, and of Luc and Gex Obousier. The latter, too, had "a very fine property, a good house, a barn and excellent land with vines" as did the Raymonds.[58] The homesteads "fronted the river about four and a half

miles'' and their wine ''was thought by good judges, to be superior to the claret of Bordeaux.''[59]

Year after year wine production increased. In 1812 some 800 gallons were produced, 7,000 in 1818 and, at the height of the grape culture more than 12,000.[60] When Thomas Hulme visited the winegrower colony in 1817, he praised it as ''a very neat and beautiful place,'' inhabited by about a dozen families. They ''planted vines in rows, attached to stakes like espaliers, and they plow between with a one-horse plow.'' Each family also worked a farm so that their wine was the principal cash crop. Hulme bought two gallons ''at a dollar each, as good as I wish to drink,'' he declared.[61] With the passing of the first generation, however, viticulture declined in favor of ''raising corn and potatoes'' so that by midcentury ''but little wine was made.''[62]

The region also grew considerably in population. In 1812 what is now Switzerland County had some nine hundred people, in 1816 it counted 377 males above twenty-one and a ''total of 1,832 inhabitants.''[63] They were ''emigrants from every part of the Union, & as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons.''[64] Samuel R. Brown characterized the Swiss winegrowers as ''a temperate, industrious and polished people, fond of music and dancing, and warmly attached to the United States.''[65] Families tended to be large, and by midcentury the Dufours alone had grown to more than one hundred and fifty people.[66] Immigrants intermarried with native-born white Americans from the start; John Francis Dufour, for instance married Mary Critchfield on 12 September 1805, who was born 11 March 1789 in Surrey County, North Carolina.[67] Property rights were shared equally among the Swiss winegrowers, and Jean D. Morerod, for example, specified in his will: ''And I hereby constitute and appoint my dear wife Antonia Morerod sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and guardian over the persons and property of my minor children, without having to account to any person.''[68]

Samuel Brown's 1817 ''emigrant directory'' found Vevay proper to be ''a delightful village,'' forty miles ''nearly equidistant from Cincinnati, Lexington, and Louisville'' as the crow flies. It had ''eighty-four dwelling houses, besides thirty-four mechanics shops . . . , a courthouse, jail, and schoolhouse of brick.'' A market house and a church, also of brick, were being built. The town had ''eight stores, three taverns, two lawyers, two physicians, and a printing office printing a weekly newspaper called the Indiana Register.'' The library had three hundred volumes, and a literary society united ''several persons of genius, science, and literature.''[69]

The winegrowers were also politically active, especially John Francis Dufour, the founder's brother. He successfully engineered the establishment of a post office, of a separate county named Switzerland, and of Vevay as county seat and meeting place of the circuit court. In 1815 he was trustee for the leasing of the school section in Jefferson Township and he paid with his brother Daniel Dufour the uncollected amount for the subscription of public buildings in the town of Vevay. In the same year he brought the printing shop of William C. Keen to the town and

personally paid an outstanding mortgage of two hundred dollars that had imperiled the move. From 1816 to 1820 he owned the weekly *Indiana Register,* in 1817 he was appointed trustee of the Vevay branch of the state-chartered Bank of Vincennes and, in 1818, Vevay's agent for the Ohio Canal Company. Although a Genevan Calvinist, John Francis Dufour gave a bond for a deed to the newly formed Baptist congregation, and from 1839 to 1847 he served as judge of the probate court.[70] None of the other winegrowers were as vitally involved in the affairs of town and county, but Elisha Golay served as captain of the militia and, in 1814, as county surveyor. John Francis Siebenthal was sheriff from 1814 to 1817 and again from 1822 to 1826, and he served as tax collector from 1814 to 1820 and again in 1828.[71] In state and national politics the winegrowers were Jeffersonian Democrats and, after 1824, supporters of Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson.[72]

In religious practice the Swiss newcomers stayed aloof, at least in the first generation. Perret Dufour, Vevay's chronicler, who was born in the First Vineyard in 1807 as the oldest child of John Francis and Mary Dufour, reported that his uncle "Daniel from the time of his first coming to the colony in 1804 until as late as 1817 was in the habit of reading a sermon to the colonists every Sunday." A Presbyterian church was not built until 1828 on land donated by Daniel Vincent Dufour, the founder's son.[73] Thus the Swiss immigrants finely balanced their ethnic separateness with an active civic involvement and had friendly contacts with native-born white Americans as well as Scottish and Dutch foreign-born who eventually settled in Vevay's environs.[74]

V

Like the winegrower colony on the Ohio, the one on the Dniestr also took definite form within a generation. The Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers[75] allotted some 4,300 acres to the new settlement which, the Russian authorities hoped, would eventually attract sixty families. In the spring of 1823 the Swiss newcomers restored the neglected vineyards and planted 30,000 saplings in rows of about four feet apart just as those in Vevay, Indiana, had done, so that a one-horse plow could move between the rows. Yet the settlers soon realized that size and quality of grape harvests fluctuated widely from year to year as did those of wheat, barley, millet, and flax. The colonists also raised cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses, and even experimented with silkworms. As in Vevay, Indiana, the emerging mixed economy of the village protected them from the risks of a monocultural orientation.[76]

Also Chabag, which Louis Vincent Tardent had intended to call Helvetianopolis,[77] soon grew in size. Between 1823 and 1831 twenty-five more families joined the initial settlers; after that year frequent inquiries about settlement opportunities were received, especially from neighboring German-speaking colonies like Alexanderhilf, Grossliebenthal and Worms. Yet only ten families actually joined of whom four were from Württemberg, four from Switzerland, one from Prussia and one from Alsace; they had names such as Alwin, Heintzelmann, Heingstler,

Jundt, Singeisen, Stohler and Wagner,[78] and formed the nucleus of a group that was German in language and Lutheran in religion. Tensions especially as to the schooling of their children emerged, but were solved amicably by making Russian the village's common language and by fostering at the same time French or German according to a child's ethnic origin. By 1841 about forty families lived in Chabag, by 1850 fifty-three.[79]

For the first nine years Louis Vincent Tardent dominated the administrative and political affairs of the colony. He issued directives, set fines for trespassers, and negotiated with the authorities. At the time of joining he requested 150 roubles from each family for the village treasury. Families such as the Golders, Kalenbergs, and Konderts left the colony, others like the Huguenins and Mermods were expelled.[80] In 1830 Tardent's one-man rule came to an end. Jacob Gander, whose family had arrived the year before, was formally elected mayor, Louis Hachler and Frédéric Kiener village councilors. Besides administrative functions the mayor's office also had minor judicial powers and prepared contracts for village appointees such as coachman, guardian of vineyards, fields, or boats.[81]

Although initially intended as a village exclusively for Swiss winegrowers, centrifugal tendencies soon became dominant; the villagers mingled freely with Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks, Turks, Moldavians, Bulgarians and Germans. Appointments of teachers and ministers proved difficult because few of the villagers were prepared to meet the cost for their services. Even such a practical matter as communal fire insurance found insufficient support. Chabag's people wanted to live off the community, but not for it, as one scholar observed. To become prosperous seemed to be of paramount concern, communal cohesion of only secondary importance.[82] As in Vevay, Indiana, a church was built late, more than two decades after Chabag's founding. At the groundbreaking in 1846 five commemorative coins were deposited in the foundation that intimated the community's multiple relationships. One coin was

> of the Canton of Vaud, because most of the colonists were Vaudois; one of Geneva, center of Calvin's Reformation; one of Zurich . . . , of first rank in the Swiss Confederation, because the colony was Swiss; one of Turkey because the village name was Turkish; one of Russia because the colony was in that empire.[83]

Within a generation Chabag had become part of the complex ethnic and linguistic world of Bessarabia; it had been planted in a region of transit that had served as a "highway for Scythians, Slavs, and Mongols, a battleground for the Russian and Ottoman empires and a prize in the contest between Russian and Romanian patriots."[84] Gradually Chabag's vocabulary, diet, and customs became permeated not only by German and Russian, but also by Turkish and, later, Romanian elements.[85] In contrast, by the third generation the winegrowers of Vevay, Indiana, had become monolingual and fully Americanized in cultural orientation.[86]

VI

Why were these winegrowers of the early nineteenth century welcome in the United States as well as in Russia? Both immigrant groups were to build their settlements in parallel racial and national-ethnic contexts and to help fulfill major needs of their respective states. At the end of the American Revolution in 1783 the United States was an Atlantic coastal nation soon to be engaged in a century-long continental conquest. "President Washington's Indian War," as a scholar named it, waged from 1790 to 1795, was the conquest's first act and secured what is known in white history as the "Old Northwest Territory (embracing modern-day Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) . . . , long the domain of various Indian nations." When John James Dufour arrived in 1797 in what is now "the heartland of the United States," it was a recently "conquered territory" in a war that was "as vicious and bitterly fought as any conflict in the nation's past."[87] Effective indigenous power collapsed except in the region's northwest where twenty-five years later the so-called Black Hawk War fully secured exclusive white dominance and set the stage for further, trans-Mississippi conquests.[88]

When the Swiss winegrowers started their New Switzerland and then the town of Vevay, they were only marginally touched by these events. From the winter of 1810 to the spring of 1812 sporadic indigenous attempts to halt white expansion and possibly to reconquer lost territory caused the colonists to be on the alert, as Perret Dufour reported, and all were to "meet at one house to pass the night and have sentries posted; this was kept up for some time, the men working through the day in the fields and clearings." The captain of the militia, Elisha Golay, furthermore, had received orders to activate his company "by voluntary enlistment."[89] His men scouted the western and northern boundary of Jefferson County and built a blockhouse that could "most securely and conveniently accommodate a detachment of from forty to fifty men including officers." During the War of 1812 fourteen men from New Switzerland joined a company of rangers "to guard the frontier."[90] Thus the Swiss of Vevay had become, if ever so marginally, agents of empire for the nation in which they had settled; theirs was one minor outpost of a nation in conquest, and they played a twofold role in the struggle between the indigenous defenders and the invaders from the east to whom they belonged: By creating vineyards, farms, and a village, they helped make the white advance irreversible and expand the white agricultural frontier, thus implementing, if ever so modestly, a national need, as Jefferson observed: "Our country wants nothing but skillful laborers to raise with success wine, oil, and silk."[91]

Also Tardent's enterprise was embedded in a nation's conquests that transcended and eluded the winegrowers' personal motivations. Russia's 1812 annexation and constitution of Bessarabia as a separate administrative unit of the empire to be bounded by the Prut to the east, the Dniestr to the west, and the Danube to the south, was part of a centuries-long thrust towards the Bosporus.[92] Thirty thousand Roma-

nian-speaking families lived in the region's northern two-thirds, whereas the southern third had been virtually depopulated "by the expulsion of the Turks and Tartars living there during the 1806–1812 war."[93] Thus also Chabag's people helped to fill a void created by conquest and were a small contingent in the repeopling of Russian Bessarabia's southern tier. In contrast to the winegrowers on the Ohio, however, they were spared any direct involvement in the conduct of war.

Yet Chabag's winegrowers served a further purpose and contributed to what the Romanian historian Alexandre Boldur called "allogénisation," that is a state-directed alienation process.[94] Between 1818 and 1842 twenty-four settlements of mostly German-speaking foreigners had been created in lower Bessarabia, involving some ten thousand people and the granting of nearly 350,000 acres of crown lands.[95] Just as Vevay, Indiana, was enmeshed in an Americanization process, Chabag on the Dniestr was part of a process of Russification. It entailed, in Boldur's view, that the foreign settlers had "nothing in common with the native Moldavian people," that the newcomers effectively reduced indigenous numerical and cultural strength, and that they formed the nucleus of a people wholly dependent on the Russian government.[96] The Chabag settlers helped fulfill those aims, but did more: they too were part of an agricultural frontier, brought to Bessarabia in conformity with the physiocratic claim "that only the productive class cultivating the land produced a net product."[97]

VII

This brief inquiry into the making of Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia, allows several interpretive conclusions. First, in the founding of each settlement the force of the leading personality stands out. It was John James Dufour's youthful resolve and Louis Vincent Tardent's determined ambition that shaped the establishment and initial decades of the two colonies. Learning, relative wealth, status, and expertise in the ways of government were assets of both founders and gave them access to those in power who were willing to grant both settlements most favorable terms.

Second, the migration of neither group was rooted in crises, whether personal, regional, or national. Both founders and the families that joined them were well-to-do or of a middling sort. Dufour's people seemed to have remained untouched by the shock waves of the French Revolution which were to topple also the anciens régimes of the Swiss cantons. The winegrowers cherished their native land's democratic ideals[98] and referred to Europe's post-1815 political reaction only in most general terms on the occasion of General Lafayette's 1824 visit to the United States.[99] Also Tardent's group remained silent as to the pre-1848 political events that transformed the Swiss polity from a league of states into a federal state.[100] The years before their move had been economically prosperous and the 1819 winegrower festival displayed an optimistic and self-assured mood. Only one complaint surfaced, the lack of available and affordable land for winegrowing in Vevey's environs.[101]

Third, the winegrowers seem to have been in tune with both political systems of their respective countries of destination, but viewed them as secondary to personal considerations. Dufour strove for a place in history by introducing viticulture into the newly formed United States of North America. He did not know that numerous previous attempts had also been hampered by phylloxera and fungi that harmed most imported vines if they were not grafted on indigenous varieties, a fact not recognized until the mid-nineteenth century.[102] As far as American political institutions were concerned, the Swiss settlers found them fully compatible with those they had known in their native country. Chabag's people seem to have been just as content with the political institutions of czarist Russia. Tardent had nothing but praise for the authorities' foresight and concern, and Jacob Gander, Chabag's first elected mayor, wrote the communal authorities of St. Saphorin that "neither negligence nor disorder reigned" in his jurisdiction. A settler, Gander declared, "by adopting the fatherland which we [now] inhabit, has become a Russian subject, thus must be judged by the norms of that land." Gander insisted that Chabag's relationship with the Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers in Kishinev was the same as that between St. Saphorin and the cantonal authorities in Lausanne.[103] Russia gave Chabag's people what they had desired: access to fertile land for winegrowing, a basis for economic prosperity, freedom of movement, and the preservation of ethnic uniqueness within the framework of Russian culture. Neither group had been driven by America fever and, as strange as it may sound, despite positive news about the winegrowers of Vevay, Indiana, the Chabag group had preferred Czar Alexander's Russia to Thomas Jefferson's America.[104]

Fourth, both immigrant groups built their settlements in parallel racial and ethnic-national contexts. The United States and Russia were then both nations in conquest; both had just created new administrative units, the one the territory of Indiana, the other that of Bessarabia; both successfully fought rival powers intent of controlling those units, Great Britain in the case of the United States, Turkey (and, later, Romania) in the case of Russia; both had driven out indigenous peoples, the Americans people such as the Shawnee and Delaware, the Russians the Crimean Tartars; both victors fantasized the vanquished into bellicose and savage tribes that supposedly knew neither the arts of peace nor of civilized war.[105]

In sum, the making of Vevay in America and Chabag in Russia shows that human migration is shaped by a complex interplay of personal concerns and the aims of statecraft. Most often individual goals did not include escape from bad conditions, but the search for leadership as for Tardent, the hope for a place in history as for John James Dufour, or the winegrowers' quest for elemental satisfaction that derived from the transference of a familiar pursuit like viticulture into new domains. As long as immigrants felt assured, furthermore, that they could pursue their personal goals unimpeded on the familial, village, and district level, they readily gave allegiance to a republican as well as an autocratic polity. They embraced, finally, reasons of state such

as the dislocation or encirclement of indigenous peoples unhesitatingly as their own as soon as their communities seemed threatened by indigenous strategies of resistance. This made the newcomers not only architects of their own personal, familial, and communal destinies, but also partners in the pursuit of national goals as defined by governmental elites. The private and the public, the personal and the collective quests thus were inseparably to merge.

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Notes

[1] Michael E. Hobart, "The Paradox of Historical Constructionism," *History and Theory* 28 (1989): 43; reference to Jack W. Meiland, *Scepticism and Historical Knowledge* (New York: Random House, 1965).

[2] Hobart, "Paradox," 44.

[3] Studies in that tradition include Moses Rischin, ed., *Immigration and the American Tradition* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976); William S. Bernard, *The United States and the Migration Process* (New York: American Migration and Citizenship Conference, 1975); Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Free Press, 1983); David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[4] Heidi Gander-Wolf, *Chabag: Schweizer Kolonie am Schwarzen Meer: Ihre Gründung und die ersten Jahrzehnte ihres Bestehens* (Lausanne: Multi-Office, 1974), 37. This is the key work on Chabag (also called Schaba or Schabo) and contains numerous primary documents, mostly in French. Valuable is also André Anselme, *La colonie suisse de Chabag (Bessarabie): Notice historique 1822–1922* (Cetatea Alba [Akkerman]: Imprimerie 'Le Progrès,' 1922). For the larger context see Carsten Goehrke, et al., *Schweizer im Zarenreich: Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung nach Russland* (Zurich: Hans Rohr, 1985).

[5] Perret Dufour, *The Swiss Settlement of Switzerland County, Indiana,* intro. by Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Collections, vol. 13 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1925), 7. This is a key work on Vevay, Indiana, written by the American-born son of one of the first settlers and critically edited with much additional documentary material; see also Perret Dufour, "Early Vevay," *Indiana Magazine of History* 20 (1924): 1–36; 194–220; 308–45; 364–99. Valuable, if partly conjectural detail offers Julie le Clerk Knox, *The Dufour Saga 1796–1942: The Story of the Eight Dufours Who Came from Switzerland and Founded Vevay, Switzerland County, Indiana* (Crawfordsville, IN: Howell-Goodwin Company, 1942). On Knox see "Honoring a Long-standing Contributor: Julie le Clerk Knox," *Indiana Magazine of History* 51 (March 1955): 55–58.

[6] On viticulture in Switzerland see *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (Neuenburg, 1934), 7:457–58; on Vevey, ibid., 235–38; on Montreux, ibid. (1929), 5:152–53, cited hereafter as *HBLS;* the general historical context of viticulture for German lands is sketched by Alan Mayhew, *Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), 87–89, 102–4, 170, 173. He stresses the labor-intensive, highly skilled and profitable nature of viticulture.

[7] *Description de la fête des vignerons, celebrée à Vevey, le 5 août 1819* (Vevey: Chez Loertscher et fils, 1819), 3. The festival was organized by the "Venerable Abbaye de l'Agriculture," a winegrower society dating from the sixteenth century. Its main objective was the supervision and improvement of viticulture. The festival combined elements of the submerged cult of Bacchus, patriotic lore, and the celebration of winegrowing; on the Abbaye see *HBLS* (1921), 1:44.

[8] See, e.g., Margaret Zellers, ed., *Fodor's Switzerland 1979* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1979), 205–7.

[9] William James Macnevin, *A Ramble Through Swisserland* [sic], *in the Summer and Autumn of 1802* (Dublin: J. Stockdale, 1803), 188–89.

[10] Jean Charles Biaudet et Françoise Nicod, eds., *Correspondance de Frédéric César de la Harpe et Alexandre Iier* (Neuchâtel: A la Baconniere, 1980), 3:644.

[11] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 221.

[12] *HBLS* (1924), 2:760.

[13] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 220–21: "Convention Colons d'Akkerman," 18 June 1822.

[14] Anselme, *Colonie Suisse*, 24.

[15] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 37.

[16] John James Dufour, *The American Vine-Dresser's Guide, Being a Treatise on the Cultivation of the Vine and the Process of Wine-Making; adapted to the Soil and Climate of the United States* (Cincinnati: J. S. Browne, 1826), 7; cited in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 12–13.

[17] Jean François Saloz, chief veterinary of the administration of Cherson, Russia; see *HBLS* (931), 6:21.

[18] On General Bakhmetiev's Bessarabian tenure see George F. Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia: 1774–1828*, East European Monographs, vol. 15 (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1976), 97–109, 119–26.

[19] Biaudet et Nicod, eds., *Correspondance*, 3:416.

[20] Martin Nicoulin, *La Genèse de Nova Friburgo: Emigration et colonisation suisse au Brésil, 1817–1827* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaries de Fribourg, 1973), is an authoritative monograph.

[21] *Der aufrichtige und wohlerfahrene Schweizer-Bote* 15 (29 January 1818): 34–35; (5 March 1818): 75–76; (2 April 1818): 105–7; the influential weekly was edited by Heinrich Zschokke, a naturalized Swiss from Germany; it offered excellent coverage on emigration; see Leo Schelbert, "Die Fünfte Schweiz in der Berichterstattung des 'Aufrichtigen und Wohlerfahrenen Schweizer-Boten,' 1804–1830," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 67 (1971): 83–114.

[22] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 60–65 passim, based on his correspondence.

[23] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 234–347; French original with English translation.

[24] Ibid., 234–35.

[25] Ibid., 8.

[26] Ibid., 13; quoted from J. F. Dufour, *Vine-Dresser's Guide*, 7.

[27] On Brown see *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929), 3:130.

[28] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 9.

[29] Ibid., 14; the price of less than $1.25 an acre was quite favorable; for a discussion of the issue see, e.g., Paul W. Gates, *Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontiers: Studies in American Land Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 9–11, 140–42. He accepts the view that "unimproved wild land remote from settlements . . . had little or no value. It was the pioneer who gave value to the land . . ." (11).

[30] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 14; Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 33; a visitor's view of the First Vineyard in 1802 in F. Michaud, *Travels* (London 1805), chap. 15; reprinted in Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1743–1846* (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1905), 3:206–10.

[31] See facsimile in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 218; translation, 219.

[32] The members of the emigrant group were: Daniel Dufour (1764–1854) and his wife Françoise (1777–1865); Jeanne Marie Dufour (1779–1861); Antoinette Dufour (1781–1859); Jean François Dufour (1783–1850); Susanne Marguerite Dufour (1785–1860); Jean David Dufour (1783–1845); Peter Boralley, his wife, and their son Peter (†1854), and daughter; Philip Bettens, his wife and daughter; Jean Daniel Morerod (†1838) who married Antoinette Dufour in 1802; François Louis Siebenthal and son Jean François; see Knox, *Dufour Saga*, passim. P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 11, gives 1 January as the date of departure which seems unlikely since the document transferring parental authority to Jean Jacques Dufour is dated 13 January. It appears more likely that they departed in late February or early March.

[33] See [Anon.], "The Ocean Crossing of Vevay's Founders," *Indiana Magazine of History* 35 (1939): 192–93; the rendition *Voodsop* for the boat's name appears to be a misreading for "Woodrop"; Joseph Woodrop Sims was a wealthy Philadelphia merchant; the firm is also given as "Woodrop & Sims, merch't"; see William H. Egle, ed., *Provincial Papers: Supply and Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1779, 1780, and 1781* (Philadelphia: WM. Stanley Ray, 1871), 207, 289, 646; see also *Pennsylvania Magazine of*

History and Biography 30 (1906): 162, 18 January 1794 entry in "George Washington's Household Account Book."

[34] "Ocean Crossing," 194.

[35] For the route traveled see John A. Jakle, *Images of the Ohio Valley: A Historical Geography of Travel, 1740–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 169; map drawn by Miklos Pinther; see also P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 303, J. J. Dufour's entry of 9 June and 6 July.

[36] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 14; quoted from J. J. Dufour, *Vine-Dresser's Guide*, 7; the small greenish insect is native to North America and attacks roots or leaves. North American vines, however, are resistant to the predator.

[37] See *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, Seventh Congress, 11 (Washington; Gales and Seaton, 1851): For the action of the Senate see cols. 188, 199, 200; for the action of the House see cols. 1018, 1025, 1126–27, 1253; for the final act cols. 1355–56. Since J. J. Dufour was prevented from returning to the United States from Vevey, Switzerland, due to the War of 1812, he successfully petitioned Congress to extend the deadline for payment that became due in 1814; the extension was granted for five years, but Dufour settled the account by 1817 at two dollars per acre and six percent interest; see *Debates and Proceedings*, 26 (1854), cols. 157–58; 470–71.

[38] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 16–17; in between these pages a facsimile of a map with sections; the river name "Indian Creek" is crossed out and replaced by "Venoge," a river entering Lake Geneva's northern side west of Lausanne.

[39] See ibid., 19–21, for full document.

[40] Ibid., 25.

[41] Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 27.

[42] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 17, 20, 307; details on Daniel Vincent Dufour in Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 7, 29, 33.

[43] Documents in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 26–28.

[44] See "An Act for the formation of a new county . . . ," of 7 September 1814, in Lewis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1809–1816* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1934), 538–42.

[45] Document in Gander, *Chabag*, 213–14.

[46] Ibid., 216–19.

[47] Ibid., 220.

[48] Ibid., 44–45.

[49] General Ivan N. Inzov (1768–1845) served as chair of the Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers in Southern Russia from 1818 to 1820; he was governor general of Bessarabia from 1821 to June 1823; see Jewsbury, *Annexation*, 127–31, for a portrait of Inzov's activities. In July 1823 Michael S. Vorontsov (1782–1856) became South Russia's and Bessarabia's first civil governor general; see ibid., 146–51; also L. Hamilton Rhinelander, "Vorontsov, Mikhail Semenovich (1782–1856)," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, Joseph L. Wieczynski, ed. (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1986), 43:50–55.

[50] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 221–24.

[51] Ibid., 48.

[52] Ibid., 49–50, letter of Jacob Chevalley.

[53] Ibid., 66, letter of Tardent, dated 17 March 1823.

[54] The Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers [popecitel'nyj komitet ob inostrannyck poselencach] was established 3 March 1818; its seat was moved to Kishinev on 14 January 1821, because its chair, Ivan Inzov, had also been named governor general; see Erik Amburger, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 251.

[55] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 66, letter of Tardent, 17 March 1823.

[56] Ibid., 53, Tardent to a Mr. de Guldenschantz.

[57] Ibid., 66; the name was not adopted.

[58] *Schweizerische Monathschronik* (1816), J. J. Hottinger, dem jungeren, ed. (Zurich: J. J. Ulrich, 1817), 1:30–32, 46–48.

[59] Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory* (Auburn, NY: Robert Taylor, 1817); quoted in Harlow Lindley, ed. *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 154–56.

[60] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 33–34.

[61] Thomas Hulme, "Journal," in William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 257–58.

[62] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 363.

[63] Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, vol. 1, *1780–1851* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 69.

[64] Ibid., 72.

[65] Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 15.

[66] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 363.

[67] Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 48.

[68] Ibid., 122, 164–65; the partible inheritance system and a woman's unimpeded inheritance rights appear to have been a transfer of Swiss traditions; the complex general issues are addressed in Jack Goody, et al., eds., *Family and Inheritance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), esp. 10–36, 96–111.

[69] Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 155; see also John Scott, *The Indiana Gazetteer or Topographical Dictionary* (1826; repr. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1954), 117. By water Vevay was "100 miles . . . below Cincinnnati, 18 above Madison, and 95 southeast from Indianapolis." For photographs of buildings see Janet Miller, et al., eds., *An Architectural and Historical Survey of Switzerland County* (Vevay: Switzerland County Junior Historical Society, 1969), esp. 6–10.

[70] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, passim; "Index," 418.

[71] Ibid., "Index," 421, 439.

[72] Ibid., 19; 162–66; William H. Crawford who had selected the Genevan Albert Gallatin as running mate in the 1824 presidential election received no support in Vevay; see ibid., 164.

[73] Ibid., 63, 69, 64.

[74] Ibid., 73–74.

[75] See note 54.

[76] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 96–137.

[77] Ibid., 66; letter of Tardent of 17 March 1823.

[78] Ibid., 69–70. On German settlements see "Bessarabia," *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, Carl Petersen et al., eds. (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933), 390–422.

[79] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 157–63.

[80] Ibid., 61–64.

[81] Ibid., 78.

[82] Ibid., 81, 93.

[83] Ibid., 191, 193; photograph of church.

[84] George F. Jewsbury, "Bessarabia," *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (1977), 4:84.

[85] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 198–99. See also Shirley Fischer Arends, *The Central Dakota Germans: Their History, Language, and Culture* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 24–29, esp. 29: Interview with E. Riethmuller.

[86] Teaching school in French seems to have ceased by about 1815; Perret Dufour, John Francis Dufour's son, was taught in English in the Hewed Log Seminary whose trustees were "John Dumont, Phil Averil, Elisha Golay, Daniel Dufour, and James Rous"; see Effa M. Danner, *Educational Development, Early Schools and Teachers at Vevay, Indiana*, Carolyn Danner Beach, ed. (Vevay: The Switzerland County Historical Society, 1974), 1, 3; see also P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 195–96.

[87] Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790–1795* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), xiii; this monograph disentangles the complex events.

[88] See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Prelude to Disaster: The Course of Indian-White Relations Which Led to the Black Hawk War of 1832," in *The Black Hawk War 1831–1832*, vol. 1, *Illinois Volunteers*, comp. and ed. by Ellen M. Whitney (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Historical Library, 1970), 1–51.

[89] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 31.

[90] Ibid., 32, 33.

[91] *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* Julian P. Boyd, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 2:211.

[92] See Michael Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (London: Mansell, 1988), esp. 103–38, for the general context; within it, however, the annexation of Bessarabia was "a relatively unimportant episode"; Jewsbury, *Annexation,* 1.

[93] Jewsbury, "Bessarabia," 85.

[94] Alexandre Boldur, *La Bessarabie et les relations russo-romaines: La question bessarabienne et le droit international* (Paris: Librairie Universitaire, 1927), 142.

[95] Petersen, ed., "Bessarabien," *Handwörterbuch,* 398–99; see also Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Krushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Winnipeg, MB: Marian Press, 1974), 118; map 119.

[96] Boldur, *Bessarabie,* 142.

[97] Joseph J. Spengler, "Physiocratic Thought," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* D. L. Sillls, ed. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), 444; Petersen, ed., *Handwörterbuch,* 400; Roger Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia 1762–1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 230: The Russian rules of 1804 "focussed firmly on the cultural and didactic role of foreign settlers."

[98] See Shirley S. McCord, ed., *Travel Accounts of Indiana 1679–1961* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970), 93, the comment of William Tell Harris of 30 September 1818: "They still preserve the remembrance of that land, in its language and its pastimes, and in their houses are seen prints illustrative of its history, particularly that recording the enthusiasm caught by the people, as resulting from the well-known exploits of the heroic William Tell."

[99] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement,* 395.

[100] See Edgar Bonjour, et al., *A Short History of Switzerland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 211–56; James Murray Luck, *A History of Switzerland* (Palo Alto, CA: SPOSS, 1985), 275–385.

[101] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag,* 197; based on François Recordon, *Statistique du Canton de Vaud* (Lausanne, 1829), 93–94; the vineyards belonged to Europe's most expensive cultivated land.

[102] On viticulture in North America see Vincent P. Carosso, "Wine and Winemaking," *Dictionary of American History,* rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 7:305; a scholarly monograph is David J. Mishkin, *The American Colonial Wine Industry: An Economic Interpretation* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); on Vevay, IN, see Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), esp. 117–26.

[103] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag,* 72–73.

[104] The "America fever" view is critiqued by Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Eleventh International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Rapports* (Goteborg: Almquist and Wiksell, 1960), 5:32–60.

[105] See Edward Lazzerini, "The Crimea under Russian Rule: 1783 to the Great Reforms," in Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion,* 123; P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement,* 1; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), esp. 98–115; Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. 55–65.

Christa Landert

Johann Heinrich Lienhard (1822–1903) and His Manuscript: A Biographical Sketch

> The beautiful view of the broad valley where the family's home stood; the mountains, valleys, rivers, and lakes of four closely connected cantons; the magnificent view of Lake Zurich with its numerous splendid villages! It was down there, over there, that I always knew I, too, would have to go some day . . . .[1]

Fernweh, the longing for faraway lands, could, indeed should serve as a motto for Heinrich Lienhard's manuscript. This longing shaped his childhood, his youth, and was the driving force during many years of traveling. At the time when he composed his manuscript, he had reached his fifties and for about twenty years had been living in his stately house on the Mississippi; it is a picturesque place where the broad river calmly flows by, embracing the little town in a sicklelike bend. Quite early this scenic beauty had attracted the Mormons[2] and the Icarians[3] to Nauvoo. Yet it was not the historic significance of that place with which the author was concerned, it was his own past that absorbed his thoughts. The time for reminiscence seemed to have come: he was gradually withdrawing from farm work, and the children were growing up. They were doing so in the New World and no longer conversed in the language of their parents; the home of their forebears, the years of their father's wanderings, all this they knew only from his narration. Yet these were things that had shaped his life and that he did not want to be forgotten. He explains his undertaking as follows: "Often I have toyed with the idea of writing down my past, that is, as far as I can remember it, assuming that such an account of my experiences might be of some interest at least to my children, perhaps even to my grandchildren."[4] Thus, as in his youth he had turned his sight on far horizons, he now looked back on the Old World, on his parents' home in Switzerland.

I

Heinrich Lienhard was born on 19 January 1822 at a place called

Ussbühl in Bilten, Canton Glarus. He spent his childhood and youth on the small farm of his parents Kaspar and Dorothea Lienhard-Becker, together with his elder siblings Peter and Barbara and his younger brother Kaspar. Living conditions were modest, and the hardworking and strict father expected wholehearted work and obedience from the entire family. Heinrich performed his tasks on the farm without much enthusiasm, because they allowed little time for hobbies. Drawing, painting, handicrafts, and roaming in nature fascinated the boy far more than the duties imposed on him by his father. As he grew older, he took advantage of Sundays as far as possible for long walks. "In particular I had the urge to see something new," he recalls, "especially new landscapes, which the mountains of my homeland so amply provide."[5]

School opened up a new world to him. Thanks to the dedicated pastor Johann Rudolf Schuler, Bilten was one of the first villages of the Glarus region to introduce regular instruction for children. For many years, however, the pastor struggled against the opposition of parents, most of whom wanted to see their children engaged in more useful tasks than daily lessons and homework. Besides fulfilling his pastoral duties, he personally taught the upper grades and knew how to awaken the pupils' interest by his varied and stimulating instruction. He recognized their individual talents and strove to develop them. Heinrich liked geography and composition, but he loved natural history "with body and soul."[6] Among his fellow students he soon became known as a wizard at drawing, and the pastor, too, discovered his talent soon enough. Often he would bring the boy pictures, and Heinrich zealously copied them at home. Yet his father was not at all pleased: "Out with the lazy fellow," he would scold; "how dare he draw in the middle of the day when so much pressing work is to be done! Your drawing craze does not put bread on the table and is totally useless to farming people!"[7] And he did not even change his view when the pastor himself tried to convince the parents "that they should apprentice me to a painter, designer, or sculptor; that it was a sin not to develop such a good talent which would provide me with a good income in the future; yet all was to no avail, and my father was not to be reasoned with in this matter."[8]

At Pentecost of 1838 Heinrich Lienhard was confirmed. Since Bilten did not provide further educational opportunities, and since he had to remain at home, he now assisted his father on the farm. Yet he never forgot how he envied his former schoolmates who could attend distant schools and who "returned home cheerfully for vacation as so-called students, their caps gaily adorned, and draped in sashes."[9] In those years he held out on the parental farm only because of his dearly beloved mother; now that he was grown up he wanted to protect her from his father's fits of anger, as she had done so many times for him when he was still a child. When she died in Janaury 1842 it was clear to him that nothing could keep him at home much longer: "I will go to America,"[10] he vowed at her deathbed. Half a year later he sold the plot of land he had inherited from his mother.

Although firmly resolved to emigrate to America, he did not want to

leave Switzerland without his father's consent. Therefore he decided to make use of the time until he could obtain it, and learn a trade. First he became an apprentice of a furniture maker in Wädenswil, soon after of a gunsmith in Stäfa. Yet at both places he had to spend more time working in the house and the garden than learning his trade, despite an agreement to the contrary; therefore he quit both apprenticeships prematurely. Back home, after long disputes, he finally gained his father's consent to his plans. Without further delay he prepared for his departure and, in August 1843, bade his father, brothers and sister farewell. Together with Jakob Aebli, a young man from the same village, he traveled via Basel, Le Havre, New Orleans, and St. Louis to New Switzerland, later Highland, in Illinois.

He spent the next two and a half years mainly at that place. It was a time of adjusting to the New World and of experimenting with the freedom he had yearned for so long. In Highland he earned his livelihood as a farm hand; at first he worked without pay, later for a few dollars a month. In the course of time he occasionally left the Swiss settlement to travel up the Mississippi, taking on several jobs along the way in the hope of finding better-paid work soon.

In the spring of 1846 the farmer Jakob Schütz made Heinrich Lienhard an offer: he planned to open a store with a post office and hoped to win over his young friend as a partner. The latter, however, was not yet ready to settle down. As early as 1843, on his way to Highland, he had heard that each year in the spring small groups of emigrants gathered in Missouri to embark on a westward journey of many months. Such an idea had intrigued him at once. Although until 1845 most of these groups emigrated to Oregon, it was the magic word "California" that he could not get out of his mind. Before answering Schütz, therefore, he went to St. Louis in the hope of finding other persons interested in such a trip. Yet at that time the Mexican province on the distant Pacific coast was not known to many people in the United States, and thus his search for traveling companions was greeted with sheer amazement. "I am afraid," he comments, "that more than one of those I asked must have thought that I was out of my mind, because they stared at me as if I were asking them about a trip to the moon in a balloon: 'To travel to California—where on earth is such a place?' they wondered."[11]

Disappointed he returned to Highland and now agreed to learn the shopkeeper's trade with an acquaintance of Schütz who owned a store in St. Louis. Returning to the city, he was luckier this time. After a few weeks he by chance met some old friends from Galena[12] with whom only a year before he had talked about emigrating to California and who were just preparing for that very venture. Little effort was needed on their part to persuade him to join them in their undertaking! Besides his restless longing for faraway lands and for adventure, there was another reason why he wanted to leave the region: in Highland he suffered regularly from malarial fever and had learned from his physician that he could not expect relief in that climate.

The journey of the "Five German Boys," as Heinrich Lienhard and

his four companions were called by the other emigrants,[13] was to be a very special experience. It led them from Independence, Missouri, to New Helvetia or "Sutter's Fort" in California and lasted six months. The means of transportation, mainly for their baggage, was a covered wagon drawn by oxen; the emigrants themselves went most of the way on foot. In 1846, there was no trail to California yet for emigrants, let alone for their wagons, so that especially the second half of the way required the utmost effort and skill of humans and animals alike. In a lively way, obviously reflecting his happy mood during those months, Lienhard describes the exact route and the various aspects of daily life on the trail: the shifting relationships among the emigrants, encounters with the Indians, the changing landscapes as well as the trials and dangers met with on difficult passages such as the Great Salt Lake Desert or the Sierra Nevada.

Even before arriving at Sutter's Fort, the emigrants were met in California by a recruiting agent of the United States Army. Like many a young man traveling alone, Lienhard, too, signed up for a three months' volunteer service in the war against Mexico.[14] He was urged to join the army by a companion who had lent him a few dollars and wanted his money back as soon as possible. Although Lienhard was reluctant to sign up, he consoled himself with the prospect of getting to know the country right from the start.

It was only some weeks later, however, when on his way to the provincial capital of Monterey, that he fully grasped the consequences of his new assignment. He observed the Spanish-Mexican people, whom he met there for the first time, with great interest. He was deeply impressed by their appearance, their way of dress, their manners, their riding skills and by the many other things he saw in the pueblos. As a matter of consequence the thought of making war on them made him feel quite unhappy. A severe fever, however, was to prevent him from being sent to the front lines; it barely allowed him to reach Monterey, where his friends immediately took him to the hospital. The following weeks may well have been the most difficult ones of those years, and more than once Lienhard wished to die. Having overcome the crisis, he changed from the hospital to headquarters; freed from field sevice as a convalescent, he became responsible for the kitchen, where he worked with two Indians until his discharge. In his spare time he enthusiastically took long walks along the picturesque bay of Monterey; there, by examining the rich flora and fauna, his spirits quickly revived.

During the next years Heinrich Lienhard worked for John A. Sutter, the owner of New Helvetia. From February to September 1847 he lived some forty miles north of Sutter's Fort near the Indian village of Mimal, where he tended a fruit and vegetable garden on the Yuba River. Next he served for some months as major-domo of the fort, and at the end of the year 1847 he traveled to San Francisco as the supercargo on Sutter's wheat-laden schooner. Although Sutter would have liked to entrust him further with these regularly dispatched wheat transports, Lienhard made no other such journey. Regular trips on the Sacramento would

have become monotonous and, besides, navigation was in the hands of Indians who were far more skilled than he in such matters.

It was all the more eagerly that he accepted the next task the fort's owner offered him. After the gardens in distant Mimal had been abandoned, Sutter wanted to plant new ones near the fort. Heinrich Lienhard was free to plan, arrange, and then maintain them according to his own wishes. The undertaking required hard work, but also brought him great satisfaction. A varied selection of fruit trees, vines, vegetables, and flowers grew abundantly and soon supplied the fort with a rich harvest.

In these early months of 1848 the news spread that on the south fork of the American River, at the site where Sutter's sawmill was being built, gold had been found. Soon Heinrich Lienhard was almost the only white employee who continued his assigned work at the fort. The gold fever spread quickly: whoever could, hurried to the mines to take advantage of the moment, before the expected rush from all over the world. It was only in August that Lienhard joined the miners, yet he did so remaining Sutter's partner. Sutter provided him, as he had done for the garden, with several Indian youths and with tools; the profits were to be shared fifty-fifty between the two of them. Now Lienhard learned how to wash gold, and his efforts soon paid off. Conscientiously he weighed the newly found metal and gave half of it to Sutter; at Sutter's urging, however (he wanted to impress his son at the fort), Lienhard also handed him his own half on loan.

Returning to the fort some weeks later, he had an unpleasant surprise: Sutter's son August, who had arrived from Switzerland that summer and had immediately taken charge of his father's business, was so beset by creditors that, contrary to the agreement his father had made with Lienhard, he was unable to return the loan. Heinrich Lienhard was thus forced to give up his long-cherished plan of riding to the mountains to trade with the Indians. After three weeks of idle waiting, so as not to lose everything, he finally agreed to accept Sutter's flock of about one thousand sheep in lieu of payment. As soon as the deal was struck, he moved to the sheep farm at some distance from the fort, happy to have escaped the chaotic conditions which the gold rush had brought about at New Helvetia.

The winter of 1848–49 was unusually cold and wet, so that a large number of sheep perished. Luckily, with the return of warmer days, the rest of the flock soon recovered. This induced Jakob Dürr,[15] a Swiss who had been living on the sheep farm for some time, to become Heinrich Lienhard's partner. In the spring of 1849 they set out to migrate and trade the animals. Because Lienhard—rightly as it turned out—distrusted Dürr's Indian companion from Oregon, he soon decided to sell his own half of the flock to his partner and leave their camp. Dürr was reluctant at first, but when Lienhard offered him the animals at a favorable price, he eventually agreed. He washed gold in the nearby river for several days to procure the sum agreed upon, and soon after, Heinrich Lienhard, in excellent spirits, rode back to the fort with gold worth six thousand dollars under his saddle. He was determined to

become independent at last and to take up a business of his own choosing, a step which in the past Sutter's chronic insolvency had repeatedly thwarted.

Yet this time it was Sutter's eldest son that thwarted his plans: August Sutter begged him to bring his mother, brothers and sister,[16] who were then still living in Switzerland, to California. Lienhard would have preferred to stay in California at that moment, but since Sutter wanted to entrust this task to no one else, he finally consented after advantageous conditions had been worked out. He left San Francisco in June 1849, traveling via the Isthmus of Panama to New York and from there via England and Germany to Switzerland. As several relatives and acquaintances of Mrs. Sutter had decided to join her, Lienhard, in the fall of 1849, returned with a group of ten people; he traveled via the same route back to San Francisco where all arrived safe and sound in early January 1850. Besides a visit to his own family, the journey had provided him with an abundance of unforgettable impressions and new experiences.

The months that followed proved to be a prolonged farewell rather than a new beginning: only six months later Lienhard was to leave California for good. The hotel that he had built in Eliza City, a newly founded town named after Sutter's daughter, soon turned out to be a bad investment, because speculators were promoting the neighboring Marysville. In the spring of 1850 he sold his property in Eliza City to August Sutter, Jr., a transaction that, at the end of his stay in California, led to an unpleasant dispute in that Sutter refused to pay the installments agreed upon. Lienhard then leased the land he owned in Sacramento and entrusted a friend with its management. In June, as the year before, he traveled to San Francisco for the last time to book his passage to New York.

Leaving California proved to be difficult. Lienhard had taken root there and made many friends. He loved the land with its pleasant climate, its wide prairies, and attractive hunting grounds. Furthermore the discovery of gold had, in a very short time, won him a fortune greater than he had ever dreamed of. Yet with increasing disgust he had also become witness to the other side of that apparently fortunate circumstance. The gold rush had provoked lawlessness of every kind, had most brutally sealed the fate of the Californian Indians, and had changed the life of the white settlers as well.

While waiting for the steamer, Lienhard often walked up Telegraph Hill; from there he could view the splendid bay and the bustling city filled with the noise of construction, the city that, as Yerba Buena, had numbered less than fifty small wooden cabins on his arrival just four years before. "My stay and the many adventures filled my thoughts," he remembers,

> I had lived here for just a short time, and yet—how rich and varied were my experiences!—"Is it right," I pondered, "that you now leave this land where you have worked for and gained everything you own?" Such thoughts, however, were always quickly countered by another: If only

the laws of the land and its conditions were better established—yes, I could tell myself, then I might want to stay.[17]

Lienhard took his time returning to Switzerland. For the third time he crossed the Isthmus of Panama, spent several weeks on the East Coast, and then traveled across the Atlantic to France. From Le Havre he went for the first time to Paris which, together with Versailles, he toured with a hired guide. On the last day of 1850, after a journey of seven months, he again walked up the narrow footpath, so familiar to him, towards his parental home. Seven bountiful years of apprenticeship and travel thus came to an end. The longing for faraway lands had been stilled; tired of traveling, and ready to settle down, he now turned to other things.

By bringing his reminiscences to a close at this point, the author underscored the fact that with his return home an important period of his life had ended. The last folio of the manuscript in its present form is number 238. Most of its text is crossed out, and on its front page we find the following remark dating from later years: "From this point on, no one outside my family shall read my recollections."[18] The last four folios have not been preserved, and one may assume that the author himself removed them. That they are missing is evident from a table of contents; the headings of the four missing folios read as follows: "239: Meeting my future wife; 240: Honeymoon; 241: Return; 242: Maria Einsiedeln; a purchase in Kilchberg." We shall deal with this period in a later section.

II

Leafing through and studying Heinrich Lienhard's manuscript today, well over a century after its composition, we cannot help being amazed at the care and perseverance with which the author, probably over a period of several years, devoted himself to his task of writing, leaving us a legacy of a very special kind. In regular, fluent lines of nineteenth-century German handwriting, he fills page after page of once-folded folio sheets, numbering them in the upper left-hand corner of the front pages. Soon he disregards the fine lines on the paper, choosing a smaller spacing. Neither chapter headings nor subdivisions break the narrative flow, and it is only after nearly a thousand closely written pages that he finally puts his pen down. One may assume that he relied in his narrative not only on his excellent memory, but also on diaries or at least on diarylike notes. He mentions a diary only once, however, in connection with the journey to California where, at one point unable to provide exact dates, he remarks that the entries for the first part of the journey were lost. Yet he does not simply compile his diaries and notes, but writes the whole story anew and gives it its own form. Starting with his earliest childhood he progresses chronologically and closes with the founding of his own family. He does not, however, strictly adhere to a past-tense perspective; occasionally he shifts into the narrative present, reflecting on an event, offering a short commentary, or making a formal reference, when, on occasion, he anticipates or adds an occurrence.

Throughout the text, written in black ink, numerous minor emendations in red ink are to be found; they usually represent insignificant linguistic or topical additions. The handwriting of these emendations reveals a Lienhard grown older; presumably he wrote them before the first partial publication of his manuscript (see below), when he reread his work and strove to improve certain words or expressions. It was also probably on this occasion that he crossed out the text of folio 238 and removed the last four folios. The separate table of contents at the end of the manuscript reproduces, with minor changes, the notations that, within the text, are entered perpendicularly in the left-hand margin of the front page of each folio. For the dating of the manuscript, the following entry in the margin of the passage describing Lienhard's arrival at the Great Salt Lake is significant: "This was written about sixteen years ago, now it is the end of December 1890."[19] This remark shows that Lienhard must have composed his text during the mid-1870s.

For a long time the manuscript remained in the hands of the family. But we must assume that the following generations found it increasingly difficult to read and understand their forebear's text. In 1949, a granddaughter sold the manuscript to the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, California, where it is accessible today in its original form as well as on microfilm. Yet it had already awakened the interest of people outside the family in Lienhard's own lifetime. The first to deal with the text was Kaspar Leemann, a friend from Lienhard's days in Kilchberg (1850–54), whose edition was published in 1898.[20] The book was undoubtedly successful, for only two years later a second printing appeared. However, Leemann's version contains many errors of transcription, substantial omissions and changes in the text, so that, in many places, the original is hardly recognizable. Understandably, Lienhard, then approaching his eighties, was deeply disappointed, as the notes in the margins of his personal copy reveal.

In the United States the first partial edition, prepared by Marguerite E. Wilbur, was published in 1941 as *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846–1850: The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard.*[21] As indicated by the title, Wilbur translated the sections relating to Lienhard's stay in California, excluding his trip to Switzerland in 1849. On the whole she follows the original, yet often omits episodes that, according to her judgment, "proved to be of slight historic value."[22] This fails to do justice to the original intention of the text, in that it mainly eliminates such passages that center on Lienhard's more private experiences, for example, his illness in Monterey. Yet it is in such passages that various facets of his character are reflected that are vital to a personal account of this kind.

In 1951 J. Roderic Korns and Dale L. Morgan were the next to use Lienhard's original text as an important source in their research on the "Hastings Cutoff,"[23] Lienhard and his friends being among the first to cross that section of the trail. Ten years later E. G. and E. K. Gudde edited a textually accurate partial translation under the title *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort.*[24] In their preface the editors characterize Lienhard's text as "one of the three classical reports of the great western

migration of 1846,"[25] thus indicating its prominent place among the copious sources on this topic. In contrast to the above-mentioned editions, a few smaller works and partial translations from earlier years are based on the unsatisfactory Leemann edition.

Two newspaper articles written by Heinrich Lienhard were published independently of his manuscript. The first appeared in the *Glarner Zeitung* after his stay in Switzerland in 1849;[26] it is a firsthand account of California, Sutter's Fort, the discovery of gold, and life in the mines. Lienhard also describes the most advantageous route to California, undoubtedly of much interest to many readers. The second article appeared in 1885 in the San Francisco *Daily Examiner.*[27] Lienhard had sent it as a letter to the editor to recall that eventful time in and about Sutter's Fort and, as he pointed out, to divert his mind from the recent death of his daughter Dora.

Thus to this day Lienhard's manuscript has not been published in its entirety. The following segments are available: the 1846 journey to California (Gudde, 1961), and the stay in California from 1846 to 1850 (Wilbur, 1941, with omissions). At present two editions are in preparation: in English a translation of the first part of the manuscript up to Lienhard's departure to California in the spring of 1846,[28] in German the text relating to California before, during, and after the discovery of gold.[29]

The length of the manuscript—a transcription of its 238 folios resulted in some two thousand pages—is such that a partial edition will probably remain the only possible approach to the text. Although its chronological structure does not preclude a division into sections, a partial edition will always remain somewhat unsatisfactory. Themes running through the entire text are taken up at certain points, then dropped again, thus disrupting a continuity of over thirty years; yet it is this very continuity that allows a deeper understanding, associations and conclusions, making the reading experience particularly attractive.

One of the themes that run through the text and that we follow with great interest is, of course, the forming of the author's personality. We can observe his development from a simple Glarnese farm boy to a well-to-do, cosmopolitan young man over a period of nearly thirty years. His almost insatiable thirst for traveling only comes into full view if we know how often as a child he had yearned to leave home, and that the years after his confirmation had been little more than years of waiting for the great moment of departure. Yet his childhood memories also reveal that his craving for freedom and independence was not limited to geographic horizons, but also comprised intellectual curiosity and an almost unquenchable thirst for knowledge. He read a lot, always carrying books in his suitcase and, whenever possible, borrowing some. For a long time he had been determined to learn a trade; having failed to achieve this aim at home, he tried once again in St. Louis to find a job that was suited to this goal, unfortunately without success.

His curiosity led to a constant search for new experiences. Since earliest childhood he had felt the urge to observe, discover, and learn. After leaving school, for instance, it was not a lack of interest in farming

that caused him to perform his tasks on the parental homestead with little enthusiasm; rather, it was his father's opposition to all innovation that he found so frustrating. He vividly recalls a Sunday in July 1841, when he rose at four o'clock in the morning and hiked to the distant town of Glarus in order to buy a newly published book on agriculture.[30] "I would have liked to try out quite a few things that I read in Simon Strüf," he reports, "yet my father wanted to have nothing to do with it; he always pointed out that people with quite a lot of money could indeed make all kinds of experiments, and that for them the information in the book might be good, but little of it for our kind."[31] Nevertheless, Heinrich planted several young trees according to the new method, and he soon had the satisfaction of observing that they thrived far better than the others. Later, when in California Sutter gave him a totally free hand in the care of the fort's gardens, Lienhard still found the book useful. Wherever he was, he also strove to learn the local language. When working in Highland he had arranged for English lessons as part of his wages, and in the winter of 1845–46 had attended elementary school at Greenville, Illinois, to improve his English. Later, in California, he learned Spanish and an Indian dialect. On journeys, therefore, he frequently served his fellow travelers as an interpreter.

For a full seven years Lienhard made the best of his freedom, of the joy of discovery, of constantly striking out anew. Then he was suddenly forced to realize that he had reached a state of exhaustion, when, for no apparent reason, he almost fainted on a Philadelphia street. This occurred in the fall of 1850 before his return to Europe; he had traveled far and wide in the states of New York and Pennsylvania, had gone to Niagara Falls, visited relatives, and toured the Philadelphia area in the hope of finding a farm suitable to him. The physician he consulted after the sudden dizzy spell attributed his condition to his incessant traveling; he suggested that Lienhard should take things easy, marry and establish a family, a therapy that obviously made sense to the young man.

Important passages of Lienhard's reminiscences are devoted to descriptions of people. A succession of varied portraits runs through the text, depicting friendships lasting over years as well as brief, yet unforgettable encounters. First there are his parents, his brothers and his sister, soon followed by the pastor who, as a teacher, was so important to him; then we accompany the Swiss emigrants of 1843 who, having become weary of one another in the course of their long journey to America, more than once got involved in a brawl; there are the people of Highland: farmers, friends, a first timid falling in love (without a happy ending); later we get to know the emigrants on their trek to California and, on arrival, the colorful company of volunteers in Monterey; we meet Californian Indians and observe many aspects of their life; we come across well-known names of the few early white settlers, too, and finally witness some of the fortune-seeking adventurers who, in their greed for gold, overran the land. Thus innumerable people Lienhard had met in those years come to life again through his pen, by means of which many an impressive character sketch is formed.

Among these is, for instance, that of Jakob Schütz of Burgdorf,

Canton Bern, on whose Highland farm Lienhard had lived since March 1844. Through Schütz, whom he called his "dearest friend,"[32] he regained his courage, for in the previous winter, after a bad experience with another Swiss farmer, he had begun to toy with the idea of returning to France so as to learn French and then emigrating to Brazil. Yet Schütz's farm became home to him: here he enjoyed his work and was always pleased to return after his journeys, and it was here that he was nursed back to health during his frequent attacks of fever. In the baptismal record of Kilchberg, Jakob Schütz is registered as godfather of Lienhard's second-born son, Johann Heinrich; thus we may assume that the two friends kept up contact in later years, especially after Lienhard settled in Illinois for good.

In California we meet a particularly impressive character in the person of Jakob Dürr of Pratteln, Canton Basel. When Lienhard had taken over Sutter's sheep, Dürr joined him at the sheep farm and became his partner. During that time they got to know each other quite well. The older friend was an adventurer who, together with his Indian wife, roamed about, living in a tent. In Europe he had been in French military service for eleven years, later emigrating to Canada where he worked as a messenger for a French fur company for some time. He deserted from this strenuous job in a bold escape, taking refuge in an Indian village where only the loyalty of his hosts saved him from his pursuers. Next, he lived for several years as a hunter and trapper in the Rocky Mountains. Scars on his body, as well as beautiful furs of bears were proof of his courage. His reputation of being an expert marksman gained him the greatest respect in California, too, as Lienhard himself had occasion to observe. Sometimes he asked Dürr to tell about his past, and the image Lienhard portrays of his friend closing his eyes and becoming immersed in his memories is unforgettable. Dürr, of course, could not have wished for a more attentive listener than Lienhard was, especially when he recounted his first bear hunt, which nearly cost him his life. Lienhard was prepared to believe him, because he knew that his friend was not a braggart; moreover Dürr always told the story of that dangerous struggle in the same way and could, in addition, show "the two deep tooth marks"[33] behind his ears. It was typical of his suspicion of such accounts, however, that Lienhard asked friends of Dürr's whom they had met by chance in Sacramento and who themselves had taken part in that memorable hunt to tell the story again. He observed with satisfaction that they told it "exactly the same way Dürr himself had done."[34]

All these encounters, the way Lienhard was interested in other people, getting involved with them, and then portraying them, always reflect his own personality as well. In particular this applies to his relationship to John A. Sutter, the owner of New Helvetia, whom he got to know well in the course of working for him. On the trail at the latest, Sutter's name was one known to all California travelers. The certainty of finding shelter in Sutter's Fort on arrival was undoubtedly for most of them the only reliable information they had about the reputedly wild and inhospitable Pacific coast region. Thus it was understandable that,

during the long trek into an uncertain future, a mythical image of Sutter arose that was strongly influenced by the immigrants' hopes and desires. Even Lienhard, who in this respect tended to be down-to-earth, greeted the owner of New Helvetia in the fall of 1846 with deep reverence and admiration, proud to be his countryman.

Yet not only the newly arrived and generally destitute immigrants regarded Sutter as a model to emulate: all visitors to the fort were greatly impressed by his imposing manner, his charisma, and generous hospitality. Sutter undoubtedly enjoyed his role as lord of New Helvetia and, in the early years of his undertaking, played it brilliantly. The legend around his person, however, was spun by people who either did not know him personally or had met him only fleetingly. Those who dealt with him closely and over a longer period of time could not help discovering other significant traits: his drinking habit, his empty promises in money matters, his susceptibility to flatterers and swindlers, his open inclination to grandeur, and his endless swaggering when he had drunk too much (a condition that had become nearly permanent after the discovery of gold).

Astonished and with disbelief Lienhard gradually became aware of these facts during his work at the fort. In time, his observations as well as his personal experience inevitably led to a demythologizing of the admired figure. Having grasped the true situation, Lienhard nonetheless found it difficult to free himself from Sutter's charismatic personality. Sutter evaded facing conflicts head on. Whenever someone approached him, determined to discuss a problem or an irregularity in a face-to-face conversation, Sutter managed to reassure the person in his polite and obliging manner (''in a fatherly voice,''[35] as Lienhard once put it). Lienhard recognized his entanglement, which was a result of his initial admiration; he was all the more annoyed with himself when he had once again struck a deal with Sutter, quite aware that it would end to his disadvantage. When washing gold, for instance, he himself knew, as his friends kept telling him, that it would be far more profitable for him to work independently of Sutter. Yet at the crucial moment he felt unable to break their arrangement. By reflecting on his relationship to Sutter, by clearly recognizing and stating his own role in the disenchantment, Lienhard never gives the impression of wanting to settle an old account with his former employer. On the contrary: although they were hardly on speaking terms any more at the end of Lienhard's stay (due to the quarrel with Sutter, Jr.) all of Lienhard's comments on Sutter reveal ongoing respect, even affection, and express the loyalty with which he had worked for him. Thus a realistic image of Sutter as a person emerges at the very time when all the world was envying him for his good fortune, whereas he himself in private life as well as in business matters had reached the nadir of his life and was trying to escape reality by drinking.

Wherever Lienhard happened to be during those years, his full attention was drawn to nature in all its variety: to landscapes, climatic conditions, soil quality, geological details, and plants and animals previously unknown to him. Aboard ship he was always the last

passenger on deck in the evening and the first in the morning, in order to miss as little as possible of the coastline they passed. He possessed an amazing gift of observation, absorbing everything new, and he retained his enthusiasm in later years, as his memoirs clearly show. He captures the haunting barrenness of the desert just as accurately as the lush profuseness of the tropical forest. At times he could not understand the indifference of his fellow travelers, as, for instance, on leaving Panama City:

> After riding some three English miles, we reached the tropical forest, which only a person who has studied botany for many years might be able to describe adequately. As for myself, I could only marvel at the fullness and variety of this lush nature, and I was astonished to observe how some of my fellow-travelers who, like myself, saw this magnificent plant life for the first time, barely saw anything that caught their attention. I thought it impossible, and yet they rode on as if they had seen this magnificent plant life all their lives.[36]

Lienhard's keen sense of observation was not limited to outward features; it always comprised heart and mind as well. This is most impressively shown in his encounter with the indigenous people of California. He had already met Indians in the United States, and again on the way to California and in Monterey, and had always gotten along well with them. Yet although he respected them as the natives of the land and rejected the arrogance of many immigrants, his own comments in the beginning are not entirely free from the typical ethnocentric perspective of the European. In the course of time, however, a change in his way of thinking took place, a change to a new perspective that very few whites manifested at that time.

This process was in large part a consequence of his stay at Mimal. Here, on the Yuba River, where he lived for six months in total isolation from other white settlers, a closer relationship to the Indians of the surrounding villages soon developed. Some of his Indian neighbors gathered regularly at his house, observing his activities with interest, trading, or occasionally helping him with garden work. They taught him to become a first-rate archer, took him along to their families now and then, and nursed him back to health when he was ill. Thus Lienhard began to observe their daily life. He marveled at their skill in making all sorts of objects, at the sophistication of their tools, at their creativity and good taste in decorating basketry. Their skill in hunting and fishing fascinated him; he often joined them in those pursuits and describes their methods of procuring and preparing food. Gradually his observations led him to understand that these people had organized their life as they had known it in harmony with nature, that strange customs were not necessarily inferior ones, and that he did not do justice to them by assessing everything from his own point of view.

This approach to evaluating the culture of the Californian Indians, a culture that was considered by the whites to be particularly primitive, is an extraordinary one in the context of the time, running counter to the

public frame of mind and to political propaganda. The exploitative settlement policy of the rancheros was not questioned by the whites because all of them profited from the "useful Indian."[37] Settlers who drove indigenous people from their land and forced them into service could count on being viewed as "pioneers," although the territories the whites took into possession were not uninhabited. This was part of an aggressive expansionist propaganda on the part of the United States government; it viewed that native culture which had managed to survive the Spanish missions and the Mexican rancheros as mere obstacles to permanent white settlement.

The growing understanding of the Indians' way of life that Lienhard had gained during his stay in Mimal inevitably led to conflict: it was incompatible to recognize, even to admire Indian culture as unique, but at the same time to coerce its people into a system which was destroying that very culture. Lienhard was slow to grasp that contradiction; significantly it was in Mimal that a nasty incident occurred when, having forbidden the Indians to take melons from the garden (that to them was situated on *their* land), he one night shot one of the "thieves" in the leg, wounding him seriously. The resulting tensions and sense of guilt caused him nightmares; this was one of the reasons why he wished to leave Mimal.

For all further projects Sutter assigned to Lienhard several indigenous youths who were to help him in his work. It appears that at first he had no basic objections to this system; he found that in contrast to other whites he treated "his" Indians justly and well (which no doubt was true). Then, on the sheep farm in the winter of 1848–49, he one night overheard a conversation among his young herdsmen. They talked of the times before white settlers had invaded their valleys, and of the momentous change their and their parents' lives had undergone since. Lienhard, who pretended to be asleep, was deeply impressed by what he heard:

> The subdued talk of the Indians caused me to ponder. In my thoughts I tried to put myself in the position of the Indians; and I wondered whether I would acquiesce if I were driven out of my and my ancestors' homeland as had been the fate of the poor Indians. I confess that I was overwhelmed by strong feelings of revenge, always coming to the conclusion that I would take revenge on the shameless, greedy invaders in every possible way.[38]

A year after the discovery of gold, however, he knew from firsthand experience that an Indian, whether he resisted or fled, was ultimately powerless in the face of the whites' efficient "weapons of murder."[39] Anger and sadness mingle at this point in his text, manifesting that over twenty-five years later he had not forgotten the terrible events of those days. To him, leaving California had at that time indeed been the only possible solution.

Critical awareness, perceptiveness, and sound self-confidence characterized Heinrich Lienhard's personality. These traits derived from the

influence of his family and schooling; it was there that he had also developed the clear moral principles that formed the basis for his keen sense of right and wrong. Insincerity, hypocrisy, and injustice of all kinds were among the qualities he appreciated least. Although on occasion his judgment was considered to be rather strict, most people respected his integrity. His objective way of looking at things was in any case so well known at Sutter's Fort that even people who knew him only from hearsay came up to him to ask his opinion.

An author's credibility is, of course, the crucial aspect of a manuscript. To report objectively and truthfully throughout was Lienhard's main concern, and this is expressed in various ways. First we may mention the spontaneous manner in which he, as a father, wished to tell a story to his family rather than to convey a particular message. He writes with frankness, hiding neither his strong points nor his weaknesses, which were no secret to his family anyway. In addition there is his precision: he spares no effort in dealing with a topic as comprehensively as possible and in controversial matters he is far too conscientious to present merely his own view. On occasion his tendency to justify himself adds clarity. That trait as well derived from his childhood when, to forestall unjust punishment by his father, he had often felt obliged to give a detailed account of an event. This remained a pattern above all in conflict situations, manifesting connections even where the reader may not wish to accept his arguments on a certain issue.

Another feature of Lienhard's narrative style that strengthens its credibility is his clear distinction between his own experiences and those of others. In the latter case he not only offers introductory remarks to that effect, but often himself weighs the credibility of the person involved. For the stories of others, furthermore, he uses indirect discourse leaving no doubt whatsoever as to their origin. This clear, often even repetitive distinction[40] indicates two things: Lienhard's deeply rooted suspicion of rumors and exaggerations—he never liked braggarts—and his wish to maintain the necessary distance to his own experience, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted. Himself an interested listener, he never forgoes that distinction, even when weaving longer adventure stories of friends into his text. On such occasions he skillfully avoids narrative clumsiness by relinquishing the role of narrator to the other.

He himself was a passionate narrator. To him, recollecting was an active undertaking to which he remained committed with admirable and untiring devotion to detail. Given his unpretentious manner of expression, a result of his modest formal education, we cannot help being amazed at the rich vocabulary he had acquired by reading, traveling, and a wide range of interests. He was not only a subtle observer, but also knew how to describe what he had seen fluently and vividly. Despite the passage of time, he tells his story with great enthusiasm, evoking good times with joy, but not omitting the bad ones. Explicitly as well as between the lines we can always sense his satisfaction, sometimes even pride, with the path he had chosen. He brings to life the thoughts and feelings that had directed his steps and actions in those

days; sometimes it is hard to say whether his dry sense of humor is of Glarnese origin or already American. All this gives color and vividness to his style—we feel that we are taking part in his wanderings!

III

In contrast to the first thirty years of his life, we know very little about the time after 1850. Two letters are extant, yet the first one dates from his early years. Heinrich Lienhard wrote it to his family in Bilten on 3 May 1847, giving his first impressions of California, where he had been living for about six months. The other, dated 20 February 1893, was sent to his younger brother Kaspar in Bilten and contains the only detailed information about his later years. Other documents of the family reveal little about his daily life after 1850. Source material of various kinds is kept in the courthouse of Carthage, the county seat of Hancock County, Illinois; numerous deed records regarding his property in Nauvoo and in neighboring Appanoose and Sonora townships, a box with notes written by himself and his children, his last will, as well as several official documents pertaining to his death. The letter of 1893, official and family documents, and news items in the local newspaper allow us to trace some important events of his later life; they shall be mentioned here to round out the picture.

As to the months immediately following his return to Switzerland, the last pages of folio 238 give us a brief, albeit unauthorized impression. They show young Lienhard looking for a wife; at the same time we gain some interesting insights into his long-range plans, since he went about this task in a circumspect way. He had attended dances at a club in Stäfa several times, commenting as follows:

> I was, of course, old enough to get married, being in my thirtieth year; and since I had been thoroughly fed up with life as a bachelor for a long time, I seriously considered taking a wife as soon as I had found the right one. I am sure that I would have been able to find one in Stäfa, and I have no doubt that each of the girls I got to know would have made a good housewife. Yet I always asked myself: "Would these girls, once married, consent if I told them that we were going to America?" As some of them made it clear that, if they were me, they would now settle down in Switzerland for good, I had reason to believe that with such a person as a wife a return to the United States could not be considered in the near future; yet this was precisely an item I did not want to commit myself to; I even thought of returning to America soon.[41]

On an excursion at Pentecost in 1851, Lienhard became more closely acquainted with Elsbeth Blumer of Bilten, who was then seventeen years old. "She had attracted my attention for some time already," he recalls, "for she was rather good-looking, if somewhat small; but precisely because she was an orphan I thought that she would be all the more suited to me, no parents being able to object should I wish to return to America one day."[42] At this point folio 238 comes to an end,

yet we know from family documents that the two were married by Pastor Schuler in the church of Bilten on 3 July of the same year.

The following month Lienhard bought the rural homestead "Auf Brunnen" in Kilchberg near Zurich, where their two sons, Kaspar Arnold (1852) and Johann Heinrich (1853), were born. Only two years later, in September 1853, he sold his property. From the letter of 1893 we learn that the young family left Zurich on 17 April 1854. Next we find their names on the passenger list of the steamer *Washington* which arrived in New York on 15 May 1854. In the United States the family first settled in Madison, Wisconsin. That state offered good farming opportunities and had already attracted many Swiss immigrants. In Madison their third son, Johann Jakob, was born in 1855.

We do not know what prompted the family to leave Madison after only two years and move to Illinois. The town of Nauvoo had been known to Lienhard as early as 1845, when he took a trip up the Mississippi from St. Louis to Galena and noted the settlements along the river; Nauvoo was then, just a year before the Mormon exodus, the most important of them. He heard about it again in California when, after the Mexican War, many Mormons found employment with Sutter. In Madison, Lienhard undoubtedly also heard about the Icarians, who had immigrated mainly from France and Germany and whose communal society in Nauvoo was disintegrating in the mid-1850s, making farmland and houses available.

Considering Lienhard's predilection for beautiful landscapes, it comes as no surprise that, in 1856, his choice fell on this very town on the Mississippi. He was to live here as a farmer and respected citizen for forty-seven years. As we can see from the minutes of the city council, he was elected mayor in 1864, serving a one-year term. In Nauvoo Elsbeth Lienhard became the mother of six more children: Elsbeth Henrietta Augusta (1858), Johann Peter (1860), Adam Hugo (1862), Dorothea Albertina (1865), Maria Christina (1866), and Barbara Adela (1876).

The family remained complete for only three years, after which there followed a succession of heavy blows: in 1879 their eldest son Kaspar, a dentist by profession, died of consumption at the age of twenty-seven; in 1884 they suffered the loss of their daughter Dora, who died, only nineteen years old, as a result of an accident; the shock must have been so great that just a few months later the mother passed away, too. In 1892, Lienhard mourned the death of his youngest daughter Adela, a victim of consumption at the age of sixteen.

In the letter of 1893 Heinrich Lienhard, then seventy-one, laments the ailments of old age. A growing paralysis of his left side, back pain, insomnia, and chronic bronchitis made life difficult for him. According to a newspaper item, his daughter Mary, a teacher who later moved to California, lived with him. He died, after a brief illness, on 19 December 1903, nearly eighty-two years of age. The children sold the house and auctioned off the remaining property. Only John Henry, Jr., stayed on in Nauvoo, where he had established a family of his own. The parents and seven children are buried in the family grave in Nauvoo's Presbyterian cemetery.

In 1954 Lienhard's house, which had been built by the Mormon apostle Heber C. Kimball, but had been lived in for just a few months after its completion in 1845, was bought and restored by Kimball's great-grandson, J. LeRoy Kimball. The Mormons have again been active in Nauvoo for many years now. They cherish and document the memory of their ancestors in the "Nauvoo Visitors Center" and by means of plays as well as guided tours through the renovated and rebuilt houses of the former Mormon owners. The "Heber C. Kimball Home," Lienhard's property from 1856 to 1903, is justly considered the most beautiful house of historic Nauvoo. Somewhat set back from the busy thoroughfare, it is situated on the so-called Flat near the river, surrounded by well-tended meadows and splendid old trees. In the large, shady backyard there is a restored outhouse and a washhouse; a stone plate with a wrought-iron hand pump indicates where the well once was. The documents relating to the building's restoration maintain that the smaller part of the house dates from a later time. No plans or other records of this addition have been found so far, yet it may well be that Lienhard had it built for his growing family.

Today, nearly a century after his death, there is nobody in Nauvoo who knew Heinrich Lienhard personally. Yet as late as the summer of 1989, the aged Dick Baxter well remembered his father telling him about Lienhard. His words had been full of respect for the old man who, as everybody in town knew, had gone to California in his youth and there become a witness to the gold rush.

Two great-grandsons and their families preserve the memory of their Swiss ancestors: John and Jean Lienhard of Walla Walla, Washington, and John and Carol Lienhard of Houston, Texas. They have re-established ties with the descendants of Heinrich Lienhard's younger brother Kaspar, who had stayed on in Bilten; the family still owns the house at the Ussbühl where Heinrich and Kaspar were born and where today the American relatives are always welcome guests.

Zurich, Switzerland

Notes

[1] Ms 4/3, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, CA. Stephen Herz, Zurich, Switzerland, together with Kirsten and Leo Schelbert, Evanston, IL, assisted the author in translating this article from German into English.

[2] The Mormons had settled in Nauvoo in 1839; in the following years the town grew rapidly to over 11,000 inhabitants. In 1846 the Mormons were driven from the town and, under the leadership of Brigham Young, migrated to the Great Salt Lake.

[3] The Icarians arrived in Nauvoo in 1849 where Etienne Cabet (1788–1856) hoped to establish a socialist utopia. Yet after a few years the experiment failed and the community dissolved. By 1856 Cabet and his followers had left Nauvoo.

[4] Ms 1/1.

[5] MS 4/4.

[6] Ms 3/3.

[7] Ms 2/2.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ms 4/3.

[10] Ms 8/2.

[11] Ms 50/1.

[12] For a short time Lienhard had worked in the lead mines of Galena, Illinois.

[13] Lienhard's companions were Heinrich Thomann and Jakob Rippstein from Switzerland, and the Germans Georg Zins and Valentin Diel.

[14] The war against Mexico by the United States began in 1846 and ended in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; by its stipulations Mexico was forced to cede California and the southwestern portion of the present United States.

[15] He came from Pratteln, Canton Basel.

[16] Anna Sutter-Dübeld and the children Anna Elise, Emil and Alphons.

[17] Ms 222/3-4.

[18] Ms 238/1.

[19] Ms 68/2.

[20] Johann Kaspar Leemann, ed., *Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes: Bilder aus dem Leben von Heinrich Lienhard von Bilten, Kanton Glarus, in Nauvoo, Nordamerika: Ein Beitrag zur Jubiläumsfeier der Goldentdeckung und zur Kulturgeschichte Californiens* (Zurich: Fäsi und Beer, 1900; repr. of 1898 edition).

[21] Marguerite E. Wilbur, ed. and trans., *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846–1950: The Adventures of Heinrich Lienhard,* Calafia Series, 3 (Los Angeles: The Grabhorn Press, 1941).

[22] Ibid, xv.

[23] J. Roderic Korns, "West from Fort Bridger: The Pioneering of the Immigrant Trails Across Utah, 1846–1850: Original Diaries and Journals, Edited and with Introduction," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 19 (1951). The "Hastings Cutoff" was that segment of the California Trail that was named after Lansford W. Hastings; it covered the stretch between Fort Bridger and the place where the Humboldt River's south arm joins the main river.

[24] Erwin G. Gudde, and Elizabeth K. Gudde, ed. and trans., *From St. Louis to Sutter's Fort, 1846, by Heinrich Lienhard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

[25] Ibid., p. ix. The other two are Edwin Bryant's *What I Saw in California,* and U. Q. Thornton's *Oregon and California in 1848.*

[26] Heinrich Lienhard, "Schilderungen aus Kalifornien, die Entdeckung des Goldreichthums und dessen Folgen," *Glarner Zeitung* 95–99 (1849).

[27] Heinrich Lienhard, "The Early Days: Reminiscences of a Pioneer Settler of '46," *The Daily Examiner* (San Francisco), 8 March 1885.

[28] By John C. Abbott, Edwardsville, IL, with Raymond J. Spahn, Tucson, AZ, as translator and coeditor.

[29] By the author of this article.

[30] Joh. Evangelist Fürst, *Der wohlberatene Bauer Simon Strüf, eine Familiengeschichte: Allen Ständen zum Nutzen und Interesse, besonders aber jedem Bauer und Landwirthe ein Lehr- und Exempelbuch* (Augsburg: Kollmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1841).

[31] Ms 7/1.

[32] Ms 51/1.

[33] Ms 149/4.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ms 130/2.

[36] Ms 163/1-2.

[37] Cf. James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984). Rawls examines the changing image Anglo-Americans depicted of the Californian Indians in the 19th century. Early travelers viewed the indigenous population as "victims" of the Spanish-Mexican colonists, thereby discrediting the Mexican claim to the territory; when the Anglo-Americans themselves adopted the ranchero-system, the Indians were increasingly seen as a "useful class"; in the years following the discovery of gold and the founding of the new state they became mere "obstacles" to be eliminated.

[38] Ms 146/4-147/1.

[39] Ms 147/1.

[40] English translation sometimes fails to keep Lienhard's form of reported speech. Thus statements become attributed to him although, in the manuscript, the distinction is made clear in the above-mentioned ways.

[41] Ms 238/4.

[42] Ibid.

O. H. Ammann, 1904; taken shortly after his arrival in the USA. (Ammann sent this photograph to his fiancée, Lilly Selma Wehrli, in Switzerland; he returned to Switzerland in 1905 to marry her.) Courtesy of Margot Durrer Ammann.

Jameson W. Doig

Politics and the Engineering Mind: O. H. Ammann and the Hidden Story of the George Washington Bridge

> Othmar Ammann was at once a mathematician, a forerunner in the industrial revolution and a dreamer in steel. He was a master of suspension and a builder of the most beautiful architecture known to man, a combination of realist and artist rarely found in this highly practical world. (Robert Moses, *Poet in Steel*, 1968)

O. H. Ammann is generally viewed as one of the great bridge builders of the modern world. He designed and then supervised the construction of most of the major water crossings completed in the New York region during the past seventy-five years—the Bayonne Bridge and the George Washington span during the 1920s and early 1930s; the Bronx-Whitestone in the 1930s; the Throgs Neck and Verrazano-Narrows bridges in the 1950s and 1960s. He had a crucial role in the design and building of the Golden Gate Bridge in the 1930s. As bridge engineer and chief engineer at the Port of New York Authority, he supervised the building of two other bridges—the Goethals and Outerbridge—as well as the construction of the first tube of the Lincoln Tunnel.

Ammann's bridges are important not only as engineering structures, but because of their impact on urban development in the New York area—for they have had a major influence in shaping the residential patterns, and the patterns of employment and recreation, across a vast bistate region.[1] As the quotation from Robert Moses suggests, Ammann's bridges also have an artistic quality which gives them, and their designer, a distinctive place in the long history of bridge-building, and of civil engineering more generally, in the Western world.

Much has been written about Ammann—about his early life in Switzerland, his professional development in Europe and in the United States, and his engineering accomplishments. The articles and commentaries began as the great towers of the George Washington Bridge were being erected in the late 1920s; for the attention of engineers and

journalists was drawn to this Hudson River crossing, which would be the longest single-span bridge in the world, and to its Swiss-American creator.[2] Ammann's artistic achievement was highlighted in a well-known essay by Le Corbusier in the 1930s:

> The George Washington Bridge over the Hudson is the most beautiful bridge in the world. Made of cables and steel, it gleams in the sky like an arch upturned, blest. It is the only seat of grace in a disheveled city.[3]

During the past five decades the outflow of articles and papers has continued, and Ammann's ranking as one of the major figures of bridge design and engineering administration has been solidified.[4]

What is missing from the written record of Ammann's life and contributions is a crucial chapter on Othmar Ammann as "political entrepreneur"—on Ammann's major role in organizing public support for the first of these great bridges, the George Washington. This chapter in Ammann's life is critical to understanding why a bridge was constructed across the Hudson in that decade, permitting the rapid suburbanization of northeastern New Jersey and the surrounding hinterland. It is also crucial in explaining why a young engineer of only moderate reputation was chosen to design and build that gigantic span, and how it came to pass that this engineer was able to use his technical and artistic talents to create the series of great bridges that stamped him as a major figure in the engineering profession. Finally, Ammann's political activities are significant for an understanding of why the Port of New York Authority left the field of railroad planning to become a leading player in the new age of rubber-tired transportation.

The purpose of this essay is to sketch out an answer to these questions, and in doing so to illustrate two broader points: (1) that biographical analysis can be valuable as a route to increasing our understanding of patterns of political power and social causation in a society; and (2) that close biographical probing may be especially helpful when previous writings have treated an individual as an example of an "ideal type" of his or her specialized profession.

The essay is divided into several parts. The first section provides a brief summary of Ammann's life and work, as they have been described in a dozen biographical essays and magazine articles, a book-length biography, and commentaries on Ammann in many books dealing with bridge engineering, the development of the New York region, and the history of the George Washington Bridge.[5] In these published accounts, there are some puzzling aspects and apparent gaps. The second part of the essay identifies these and briefly notes how the events of the "missing years" in Ammann's early career were uncovered.

Then we turn to those missing years and summarize the steps through which Othmar Ammann confronted a contentious and often hostile environment, found his early hopes for a major span across the Hudson shattered, sketched out his own approach to a Hudson bridge, and then entered the ranks of the unemployed. At this point he began, haltingly, to put together a coalition which would provide political

support for a Hudson River bridge, and which might indeed endorse his own vision of such a bridge, placed where *he* thought it should go. It is his efforts in building this coalition, and in orchestrating its activities toward a successful conclusion, that justify calling Ammann, the engineer and artist, by the additional title of political entrepreneur.[6] The final part of the essay considers the broader questions listed above.

The Life of a Great Bridge Engineer: The Standard Account

> Keen instruments, strung to a vast precision
> Bind town to town and dream to ticking dream.
> (Hart Crane, *The Bridge*)

Ammann was born in 1879 in Canton Schaffhausen in Switzerland. In 1898 he entered the ETH Zurich (the Swiss Federal Polytechnic Institute), where he studied with Wilhelm Ritter, a distinguished bridge designer. Graduating in 1902, he worked as a structural draftsman in Europe for two years and then, at the urging of one of his former professors, left for America.[7]

Ammann arrived in New York in the spring of 1904 and found employment with a local engineering company. During the next several years he worked for engineering firms in Manhattan, Chicago and Pennsylvania, and he worked on several major bridges, including the Queensboro in New York City. The possibility of a bridge across the Hudson also attracted his early attention.[8] In 1912 Ammann joined the firm of Gustav Lindenthal, a railroad-bridge engineer with an international reputation, and Lindenthal soon appointed him as his chief aide in work on the Hell Gate Bridge.[9] Much of Ammann's time during the years 1912–17 was devoted to the Hell Gate, where he was in charge of all office and field operations, supervising a team of ninety-five engineers.[10]

The Hell Gate Bridge was completed in early 1917, and Lindenthal then had very little engineering work to occupy his staff. He suggested that Ammann take a temporary position in New Jersey, managing a clay pottery mine in which Lindenthal had invested. Ammann took that job, at the Such Clay Pottery Company in Middlesex County; and with his managerial skills he turned a shaky financial enterprise into a healthy firm, which earned a modest profit for Lindenthal and other investors. In 1920 Lindenthal called him back to assist in developing plans for a gigantic railroad-vehicular bridge which would cross the Hudson at 57th Street.[11]

Ammann worked on this project with Lindenthal from 1920 until 1923. By the middle of 1922, however, Ammann had become concerned that the 57th Street bridge could not be constructed in the near future, because of its great cost, the reluctance of the railroads to commit themselves to using the bridge, and the opposition of Manhattan business and political leaders to a project that would dump twenty lanes of traffic into the midtown area. Ammann urged Lindenthal to cut down the size of his project and to shift its location north of midtown Manhattan. Lindenthal resisted, and in the spring of 1923 Ammann left his employ and entered private practice on his own.[12]

After two years in private practice, Ammann was hired by the Port of New York Authority in July 1925 as its bridge engineer, and he was placed in charge of the design and execution of the proposed span across the Hudson between Fort Lee in North Jersey and 179th Street in Manhattan. He was also given supervisory control over construction of three smaller Port Authority bridges, between New Jersey and Staten Island. All of the biographical and other accounts agree that the Port Authority's decision in 1925 to commit its energies to constructing a bridge at 179th Street, and to hire Ammann to carry out that challenging task, were the crucial steps in the flowering of his career.[13]

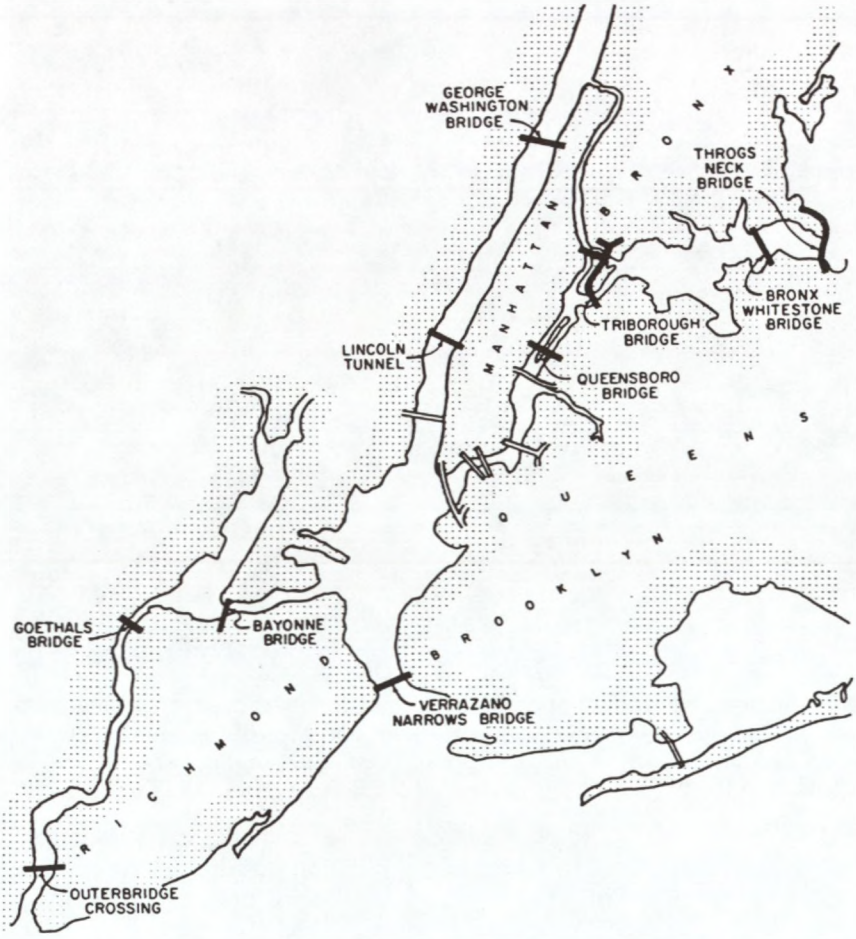
Ammann stayed with the Port Authority, as bridge engineer and then as chief engineer, until 1939, with collateral duty in the 1930s as chief engineer for Robert Moses's Triborough Authority. During these years, he designed and constructed the George Washington, the Bayonne, and the Bronx-Whitestone bridges; he also supervised construction of the Goethals, Outerbridge, and Triborough spans in the New York region, and he was an influential adviser in the designing of the Golden Gate Bridge. By 1939, however, the Great Depression had taken its toll on the financial health of the Port Authority, and on its energy and vision. There were no challenging projects in the offing, and Ammann then left the agency, joining forces with another engineer to found the firm of Ammann & Whitney, which in the next several decades worked on a wide range of projects around the world.

During the 1940s and early 1950s, Ammann's old employers—the Port Authority and Robert Moses—engaged in intermittent warfare over control of airports and vehicular projects in the New York region, but by the mid-1950s they agreed to combine their energies on behalf of several new highway projects. Once again they called upon Ammann, this time to design and supervise construction of a new bridge across the East River (at Throgs Neck), a lower deck for the George Washington Bridge, and a structure that would again give to New York the longest single-span bridge in the world, the Verrazano-Narrows Bridge across the entrance to New York harbor.[14] The Verrazano Bridge was completed in 1964, and the next year, at the age of 86, Othmar Ammann died. On the centennial of his birth, in 1979, celebrations were held in New York and in Switzerland, and the Swiss government issued a stamp in honor of this leading citizen of both countries.

The Puzzle and a Search for the Missing Pieces

> Luck is important to those who work in the structural arts; great engineering assignments are comparatively rare, and it takes great assignments to make great engineers. In that respect, Ammann has been lucky . . . .
>
> ("Poet in Steel," *The New Yorker,* June 1934)

The paragraphs above summarize the well-known biographical account. But there are some gaps, or puzzling aspects of the story. For example, why did the Port Authority hire Ammann in 1925 to take charge of designing and constructing a giant bridge across the Hudson?



New York City River crossings designed or supervised by O. H. Ammann. Courtesy of The New York Academy of Sciences.

Could "luck" possibly explain the happy choice? In view of the size and regional importance of this project, prominent engineers around the world might have been expected to seek the commission; and because of the importance of the project to the Port Authority (in 1925 it had no operating facilities at all), that agency might have been expected to reach out for a bridge engineer with a major reputation and a record of independent accomplishment. Ammann had neither; he had been second in command to Lindenthal on the Hell Gate and other, smaller projects, and he had won a prize for a published paper on the Hell Gate Bridge. He had no significant engineering achievements to his own

O. H. Ammann at the dedication of the second deck of the George Washington Bridge (1962), shown with Governor Richard J. Hughes of New Jersey (center) and Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York (right), with a bust of Ammann in the background. Courtesy of the Port Authority of NY&NJ.

individual credit. Ammann's limited reputation had in fact cost him a commission at the Port of New York Authority only a few months earlier. In the fall of 1924, he had submitted a bid to design two smaller bridges for the Port Authority, but his offer had not been accepted; the agency concluded that for their first operating projects, they would need to turn to "an engineer of long established reputation."[15]

Related to the question of why the Port Authority chose Ammann is a second issue: why did the Port Authority—which had been expected to carry out a plan for better railroad connections and rail freight terminals in the New York region—decide to build a gigantic bridge for motor vehicles? Published materials provide important elements of an answer, but they leave significant gaps as well. Part of the answer lies in the attitude of the railroads, and in the growing importance of motor trucks. During the 1920s, the Port Authority's efforts to improve outmoded rail facilities made little progress, primarily because of resistance from the region's dozen rail corporations. Meanwhile, freight distributors expanded their use of over-the-road vehicles for goods

shipments within the New York region and beyond; but efficient truck movement across the region was stymied by the Hudson River, which had no tunnel or bridge crossings.[16] To overcome the Hudson barrier, New York State and New Jersey had created bridge and tunnel commissions, which in 1920 began a tunnel under the Hudson, between Jersey City and Canal Street in Manhattan. During the next two years, the "cooperating" commissions disagreed about engineering and financing issues, and progress on the tunnel was delayed. After 1922, however, the joint effort proceeded harmoniously, and commission members began to think about constructing a *series* of vehicular tunnels, possibly at 40th Street in Manhattan, at 125th Street, and several in between. Private investors began to gather support for a tunnel crossing too, perhaps at 125th Street.[17]

At this point, Alfred E. Smith, who was elected governor of New York in 1922, entered the picture. Smith did not believe that private corporations should build and control major highway arteries across the Hudson, and in early 1923 he vetoed a bill that would have authorized such ventures. He was also skeptical of relying on the existing interstate commissions, which had shown a proclivity to internecine warfare, and which would need state funds to construct a series of interstate tunnels. Smith's clear preference was to place the development of all interstate crossings for motor vehicles as well as railroads entirely in the hands of the Port of New York Authority, which was authorized to use toll revenues to pay for its own projects—potentially sparing Al Smith and other state officials from the burden of using tax revenues for bridge and tunnel projects.[18]

Smith's views were important, but they could not be determinative. The Port Authority could assume these wider duties only if both New York and New Jersey passed new legislation, and there was strong sentiment in the Republican-dominated houses in both states to rely on the joint tunnel commissions or on private ventures. New Jersey's governor Silzer also sought to interest private capital, and through most of 1923 and perhaps well into 1924 the Port Authority's own staff did not appear much interested in adding vehicular bridges to its duties.[19] Throughout much of 1923, one might reasonably have predicted that the Canal Street tunnel would be followed by a series of other tunnels under the Hudson—perhaps next at 40th Street and 110th Street—built by the joint commissions, and possibly with one or two financed by private investors.

However, in 1924 local civic groups and public officials in North Jersey began to demand that the Port Authority construct a great bridge at Fort Lee, an influential Republican senator from that area championed the cause and introduced legislation, and Governor Silzer joined the public campaign, urging that the Port Authority take action. In New York, local business groups took up the cry. Early in 1925, both state legislatures passed legislation which compelled the Port Authority—which may still have been reluctant to take on the task—to turn its energies to designing a Hudson River bridge.

To restate the second question, therefore, in altered form: why was

the divided sentiment on *where* to cross the Hudson and *how* (bridge versus tunnel; joint commission versus Port Authority versus private initiatives) replaced during 1924 by a clear, sustained demand for Port Authority action to build a great bridge at 179th Street?

The published biographical record on O. H. Ammann suggests a third question as well: What was Ammann doing between the time he left Lindenthal in the spring of 1923 and the summer of 1925, when he joined the staff of the Port Authority? The published materials indicate that he was in private practice as an engineer, and that he investigated various sites for a trans-Hudson vehicular bridge and decided a span between 179th Street and Fort Lee would be the best location. But beyond that sparse description, the published record provides little information. As it turns out, the detailed answer to this third question also provides major clues to answering the first two queries.

In the spring of 1987, my primary motivation in thinking about these issues was not biographical, with a focus on Othmar Ammann. Rather, it was historical and political, as I tried to sort out the forces that led the Port Authority to change direction in the 1920s, leaving the field of rail freight and embracing the automotive age—a field in which the agency would become famous, or infamous, depending on one's point of view. It seemed evident that the decision to hire Ammann and to put him in charge of the Hudson Bridge project signaled the Port Authority's commitment to this new direction. To determine why the Port Authority hired Ammann might cast light on the larger issue. Unfortunately, the published literature on the Port Authority's early history and on the politics surrounding the building of the George Washington Bridge, though quite extensive, is not very helpful on this point. Ammann seemed to appear, essentially, from nowhere.[20]

One possible research strategy at this point, and the one I adopted, was temporarily to set aside the wealth of materials on institutional history, interest group pressures, and the dynamics of interstate conflict, and to pursue the issue biographically—looking for information on Ammann's earlier career which might help to clarify the political issue of direct concern. A search of the Port Authority's files revealed no information on Ammann's early career or why he was chosen.[21] However, David Billington, professor of civil engineeirng at Princeton, did have some materials on Ammann, including one booklet with a section titled "Autobiography"—which contained four pages of notes in Ammann's handwriting, listing brief information on his birth and education and on his activities from the late nineteenth century through 1956.[22]

Ammann never fleshed out these sketchy notes, but a few lines reproduced here provided useful clues in answering the questions noted above:

> Own studies & promotion activities for bridging Hudson at 179th Str.
> Promotion of G. W. Br;
>
> Rea - Silzer Dwight Morrow Binder

Creation of the Port of N.Y. Auth. in 1921? - its primary purpose - incidental functions of
financing & building of bridges (Arthur Kill Br - G. W. Br. - Bayonne Br. Later

Holland T. - Lincoln T. P.A. Bldg. Commissioners & Manager

Chf. Eng of Br. - Chf Eng.

The first line indicated that Ammann was active in promoting the idea of a bridge at 179th Street, but it was not clear whether this was before or after the Port Authority was created in 1921. The reference to "Silzer" in the second line suggested that Ammann had had some contact with Governor Silzer during this period, and a search for biographical information on Silzer yielded an early connection between the two: before his election as governor in 1922, Silzer had been a political leader in Middlesex County, New Jersey, *and* a member of the board of directors of a local business, the Such Pottery Company, where Ammann was the operating manager from 1917–20!

The next step was to look at the official gubernatorial papers, stored in the State Archives in Trenton. An hour with those materials suggested that the Silzer files would go a long way toward answering all three of my questions.[23] The files contain more than one hundred letters, drawings and notes, most of them between January 1923 and July 1925. The great bulk of the materials is correspondence between Silzer and Ammann, but there are also letters between the governor and Port Authority officials, the governor and Gustav Lindenthal, and the governor and Dwight Morrow, a member of the J. P. Morgan banking firm, who provided advice to Silzer and Ammann on the possibility of private financing for a bridge across the Hudson.

There were other leads to pursue. Billington had suggested that Edward Cohen, currently the managing partner at Ammann & Whitney, might be helpful. Cohen sent a paper he had written, and he suggested that I call Othmar's daughter, Margot, and his son, Werner. Werner had some recollections of the early 1920s, but he had been away at college during part of the "missing years," and he had no detailed knowledge of his father's activites on the Hudson Bridge project. Margot had fewer recollections of the early 1920s (she was one year old in 1923), but she did have a most valuable source—letters from Ammann to his mother in Switzerland, written between his arrival in the United States in 1904 and her death in 1928. These were in German, and she offered to translate them, an offer I gladly accepted.

Margot Ammann and Edward Cohen also suggested another important source of information—the Ammann archives in Winterthur, Switzerland, which are maintained there, together with an exhibition on his works, by Urs Widmer, mayor of the city and at one time a staff member at Ammann & Whitney. During the summer of 1988, Widmer went through Ammann's diaries and other materials on file in Winterthur and sent me dozens of pages of diary entries and other information, which helped to fill in the story of Ammann's "missing years."

To confirm and amplify Ammann and Silzer's descriptions of the bridge campaign, it was also desirable to locate newspapers published during the 1920s which carried articles on the organizing activities of Ammann and others concerned with Hudson River crossings. The most detailed accounts appeared in the *Palisadian,* a weekly newspaper published in a town near the New Jersey terminus of the George Washington Bridge. The *Palisadian* has appeared continuously since 1906, its reporters gave extensive coverage to the campaign for the bridge, and—unlike the old issues of many weeklies in the state—the editions had been bound every year and were stored at its offices. More than two dozen articles on the activities of Ammann and other supporters of a vehicular bridge in that area were published during the years 1923–25.

The Team of Ammann and Silzer

> To take a stand, to be passionate . . . is the politician's element, and above all the element of the political leader.
>
> (Max Weber, "Politics as a Vocation")

What emerges from the records in the New Jersey State Archives—supplemented by Ammann's letters to his mother, his diary entries, and newspaper articles—is the creation of an informal but close alliance between Ammann and Silzer beginning in the winter of 1922–23. Ammann was certain that the technology was now available to permit a single-span bridge to be cast across the Hudson in the vicinity of 179th Street in Manhattan—even though such a span would be nearly *twice* the length of any bridge span yet constructed.[24] And the new technologies should make it possible to meet high standards of esthetic as well as technical achievement—a combination that might attract any first-class engineer. Moreover, the expanding use of automobiles and trucks across the New York region—exemplified by long lines of vehicles waiting to use trans-Hudson ferries from Bergen and northern Manhattan—indicated to Ammann that there was a real need for a bridge located well north of congested mid-Manhattan. Therefore Ammann was ready to throw his considerable energies into the dual task of working out the detailed design requirements needed to show that such a bridge was technically feasible, and helping to create the public support needed before the great span could be approved and constructed.

For his part, Silzer could see the economic advantages to New Jersey that would flow from improved transportation between New York City and the North Jersey suburban areas, and he could see the advantage to his own political prospects that might follow if the great bridge, with its stimulus to commerce across the northern part of the state, were commenced during his term in office. However, Silzer was a Democrat, and the area of his state that would be most directly affected by a new bridge at Ammann's preferred location was Bergen County, a major Republican stronghold. Silzer and his party were not much loved in that northern suburban area, nor in the state legislature, which was also controlled by the Republicans. If Silzer hitched his political star in a

public and sustained way to a campaign to build a great Hudson bridge, *neither* would be likely to benefit. It would be better for Silzer to leave the visible organizing efforts to local interests in North Jersey and New York, which would probably be ready to campaign vigorously once Ammann had demonstrated the engineering and economic feasibility of the great design.[25]

During the next two years the campaign went forward, with Ammann frequently spending his days in the political trenches, while at night he was bent over engineering drawings and calculations.[26] Silzer was absorbed largely in other policy issues, accompanied by recurring political battles with an unfriendly state legislature; but he provided constant encouragement to Ammann and occasional guidance on political strategies. At several important points he also intervened directly to promote Ammann's interests, which he made essentially his own. Before describing the nature of that alliance and Ammann's activities in more detail, I should say a little more about related developments in the years just prior to and during the winter of 1922–23.

Two engineering mentalities. The divisions and conflicts between Ammann and Gustav Lindenthal—Ammann's mentor, benefactor, and boss for many years—are crucial to the story of the George Washington Bridge. And they illustrate two very different relationships between "politics and the engineering mind."

Both Lindenthal and Ammann were civil engineers on a grand scale—bridge-builders who came from Europe to the United States because the young nation had the vast expanse, the wide rivers and deep ravines, that could provide great challenges to engineering designs and construction skill for years to come. Moreover, America had the commercial vitality and urge for "efficiency" in transport that would require that great bridges be cast across the East River, the Hudson, the Mississippi and other waterways; and she had the wealth that would allow resources—great amounts of manpower and matériel—to be gathered and orchestrated and used according to the designs of great engineers. Also, more generally, by the late nineteenth century the nation which had built the Erie Canal and the transcontinental railway seemed imbued with a philosophy about planning and building that fit the hopes and aspirations of these two engineers and their compatriots. The planner Daniel Burnham expressed the basic American value that underlay the great projects and that attracted Lindenthal and Ammann from their home countries:

> Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood . . . . Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble logical diagram once recorded will never die . . . . Remember that our sons and grandsons are going to do things that would stagger us. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty.[27]

Lindenthal got here first. Born in Austria in 1850, Lindenthal studied engineering in Europe and crossed the Atlantic in 1874. After working

for several years in Pittsburgh, he came to New York and drew up his first plan for a bridge across the Hudson in 1888. The span would rise on the Jersey shore at Hoboken, land at 23rd Street in Manhattan, and carry trains over the river on ten railroad tracks.[28] The Pennsylvania Railroad, which had to transfer its thousands of rail passengers each day to ferries crossing the Hudson, was strongly interested; but the project was delayed as the Pennsylvania tried to work out a joint plan with other rail lines that also deposited their Manhattan-bound passengers at ferry terminals on the Jersey shore.

Meanwhile, Lindenthal was appointed bridge commissioner for New York City in 1902, where he completed the Williamsburg Bridge and planned the Manhattan and the Queensboro bridges (all three spanning the East River, from Manhattan to Brooklyn or Queens). He found working in the political environment of New York City to be personally and professionally frustrating, and in 1904, after a series of conflicts with city officials on engineering and esthetic issues, he resigned.[29] Thereafter Lindenthal devoted his energies mainly to privately sponsored enterprises. His most important project after 1903 was the Hell Gate Bridge, commissioned by the Pennsylvania Railroad, which he began designing in 1907 and completed in 1917. It was the largest single-span arch bridge in the world.[30]

With the Hell Gate project completed, Lindenthal turned his attention once again to the great bridge across the Hudson. Now he moved it uptown, to 57th Street; and, noting the increasing importance of automobiles and trucks, he added twenty lanes for vehicular traffic. The entire structure would cost $180 million, Lindenthal estimated, but he was certain that private capital could be raised to meet this total, and that the Hudson bridge would be a profitable undertaking—as well as an immense benefit to North Jersey and New York.

As Lindenthal prepared to develop the designs needed for the 57th Street bridge, and to begin a campaign to raise the necessary money and political support,[31] he turned to Ammann for assistance. As noted earlier in this essay, Ammann had been one of his top aides on the Hell Gate during the years 1912–17; and during the years 1917–20, Ammann had been manager of the Such Clay Pottery Company, working under the board of directors—which included both Lindenthal and George Silzer.

In 1920 Ammann rejoined Lindenthal in New York, becoming his principal assistant at the North River Bridge Company—the corporate vehicle, created by Lindenthal, through which he hoped to obtain funding for the 57th Street span as a private bridge, and the organization which would build the huge structure. For two years, Ammann worked loyally and energetically on engineering issues associated with the plan. At first, he worked with considerable enthusiasm, judging from his report home:

> The new project brings me great satisfaction, it is a great noble structure, and . . . the concept and modeling of the project demand intense attention and work . . . . It will be possible for one-half million passen-

gers and 12,000 vehicles and 4,000 tons of freight to pass over it per hour . . . . The towers will be as high as the tallest skyscraper in New York.[32]

During these two years, however, Lindenthal's plan received a series of debilitating blows: influential civic and business interests announced their opposition to a bridge at 57th Street, fearing that it would make traffic congestion in the midtown area intolerable; the bistate Port of New York Authority rejected it for the same reasons, and was pressing ahead with an alternative plan, involving rail tunnels under the Hudson and under New York Bay; and the major railroads and other potential investors refused to invest the millions needed to make the project a reality. By the fall of 1922, Lindenthal's financial situation was very rocky, and his company could only afford to pay Ammann part of his monthly wages.

At this point, the close alliance between the two men began to sunder; and it soon became clear that their underlying values and worldviews were quite different. Both men shared the enthusiasm for the great project that Lindenthal had created in his mind and on paper. But to Lindenthal, there was no alternative; neither tunnels under the Hudson, nor bridges farther upriver, nor a bridge limited to motor vehicles (and therefore much cheaper than a bridge strengthened to carry railroad trains)—none of these could possibly meet the vast need for improved transportation between Manhattan and the western regions. Moreover, as New York City's bridge commissioner, Lindenthal had had a taste of engineering work in a highly political environment, and he was not inclined to rely on that uncertain and conflict-filled route. The rational working environment, the corporate sponsorship, the freedom to design, and the international acclaim accompanying his Hell Gate project had demonstrated the right way to do it. In Lindenthal's mind, insulation and professional integrity were crucial, and the engineer could be relied upon to work out the best way to meet the other goals and constraints within which all great engineering projects must be designed and carried out—concerns with economy and with the esthetic quality of the project itself, and an understanding of how the project would fit into the broader patterns of economic and social relationships within the region.[33]

Ammann's perspective was different. Lindenthal's great bridge, in its original dimensions, would be wonderful. To Ammann, however, the substantive arguments and the political strength of the opponents deserved the same steely-eyed analysis that a good engineer devoted to understanding the stresses on bridge cables and the stability of the ground under proposed bridge towers. If influential opponents thought the bridge too large, or badly located, Ammann could draw on his engineering experience and perhaps find ways to modify the plan, rather than let it go down to defeat. And as to the financing problem, private funding would be welcomed—since that would reduce the prospect that the project would become mired in the conflicts of politics. But if private investors could not be attracted, then a great bridge

sponsored by government was better than no Hudson crossing at all—or the awful alternative (to a bridge engineer) of tunnels in the mud, under the Hudson.[34]

On the subordinate issues of location, type of bridge, sponsorship and financing, Ammann was a pragmatist. His main goal was to span the Hudson. Of course he had the psychological advantage, in thinking about alternatives, that the original design was not *his* plan; Lindenthal had been working on a railroad bridge across the Hudson to the middle of Manhattan since 1888—for more than thirty years. Ammann was a mere forty-two, nearly thirty years younger than his boss; possibly youth permitted greater flexibility.

Perhaps most important, however, Ammann—in contrast to Lindenthal—could encompass political obstacles, and strategies to overcome them, within the analytic framework of his engineering mind. Any good engineer knew, for example, that you had to design your bridge in relation to the character of the terrain where the towers would sit. Therefore, if preliminary studies suggested the tower footing would be solid rock and closer exploration revealed softer ground, adjustments and even major redesigns would be necessary; and sometimes long weeks and months of arduous work would be needed to solve the problem and ensure that the tower and the bridge would hold. Moreover, bridge engineering was not an armchair activity; you had to go into the field continuously, marshal and motivate your workers, and modify your abstract designs as the land and the weather and the impact of human mischance required.

So too, close exploration of the *political* terrain associated with any large project was essential; and this exploration might require meeting with local politicians and business people and interested citizens, in towns and county courthouses across the region, in order to work through the proper combination of engineering, esthetic and political designs.

Or does this stretch the concept of an "engineering mind" too far? Perhaps Ammann can simply be viewed as a first-class engineer who, for a brief time and when it was absolutely necessary, showed that he also had the separate talents of the first-class political entrepreneur. My guess is that the talents were more closely joined, at least in this taciturn but passionate Swiss-American.

When Ammann pondered the problems that confronted Lindenthal and the 57th Street bridge in the fall of 1922, he concluded that the best way to meet these difficulties was to reduce the size and cost of the proposed bridge. If the bridge were limited to motor vehicles and light rail transit, the heavy, expensive structure needed for freight trains could be replaced by a lighter span, at much lower cost, and private investors might well be attracted to invest in a moderate-cost toll bridge for vehicles. Also, if influential citizens opposed a bridge at 57th Street, why not construct a bridge farther north, away from the congested midtown area? Once that crossing proved successful, a modest bridge at 57th Street might also receive wide support.

During the fall and winter of 1922, Ammann urged Lindenthal to

reduce the size of the 57th Street project, and to consider shifting his short-term goal to an uptown bridge for autos, trucks and light transit. But Lindenthal thought a crossing uptown would be too far north to attract much vehicular traffic; also, railroads as well as motor vehicles needed better access to New York, and a railroad bridge would bring freight and passengers to mid-Manhattan with marvelous efficiency. To Lindenthal, the 57th Street project was the only satisfactory way to solve the region's major freight and passenger problem of integrating New York City's vast economic strength and its people with the economies of New Jersey and the rest of the continent.

As 1922 drew to a close, it seemed evident to Ammann that he would have to take some initiative on his own. His diaries and other writings during these months do not provide clear evidence that he was deeply distressed, and his letters to his relatives are guarded. But a year later, Ammann expressed his feelings about Lindenthal, the 57th Street bridge, and the possibilities for a brighter future, in a frank letter to his mother:

> In order for you to understand my situation for many months, in fact for a whole year, I will no longer conceal from you that the giant project for which I have been sacrificing time and money for the past three years, today lies in ruins. In vain, I as well as others have been fighting against the unlimited ambition of a genius who is obsessed with illusions of grandeur. He has the power in his hands and refuses to bring moderation into his gigantic plans. Instead, his illusions lead him to enlarge his plans more and more, until he has reached the unheard of sum of half a billion dollars—an impossibility even in America.
>
> However, I have gained a rich experience and have decided to build anew on the ruins with fresh hope and courage—and, at that, on my own initiative and with my own plans, on a more moderate scale. It is a hard battle . . . .[35]

But if Ammann felt compelled to strike out on a new course at the end of 1922, perhaps breaking free of Lindenthal, he would need to forge a new alliance which could help him achieve his goal. And this brought him to George S. Silzer.

Silzer's aspirations. In November 1922, George Silzer, Democrat from Middlesex County, and a former state senator, was elected governor of New Jersey. He would serve as the state's chief executive from January 1923 until January 1926, with the state legislature controlled by the Republicans throughout those years.

Silzer was an activist in his philosophy of government, a Wilson Democrat. Indeed Silzer had been one of Woodrow Wilson's chief aides in the legislature when Wilson was governor in 1911–13.[36] One of Silzer's strongest interests before and during his years as governor was the improvement of highway transportation; he viewed this goal as crucial to the state's economic growth. Thus he supported extensive road-building programs, as well as bridges which would connect his

own Middlesex County to nearby Staten Island.[37] Consistent with his reputation as a Wilson Democrat, Silzer denounced the log-rolling methods and inefficiencies of the existing county and state highway agencies, he created a new state highway body to devise an efficient road system, and he urged "scientific planning" in all areas of state government.

The possibility of opening the large rural areas of northeast New Jersey to rapid economic development was attractive to Silzer; and a crucial step in achieving this goal would be improved access from the northern counties to New York City. So the new governor might be in a receptive mood if Othmar Ammann could bring him a feasible plan to dissolve the Hudson barrier.

The alliance. Silzer's victory in the 1922 election provided Ammann with an opportunity to reach out for assistance, as he tried to extricate himself from Lindenthal's fixation. Ammann, Lindenthal, and Silzer were already well acquainted through their mutual interest in the Such Clay Pottery Company.[38] Moreover, it seems clear that Silzer and Lindenthal had discussed the 57th Street bridge.[39]

At some point in the weeks before George Silzer took office in mid-January, Ammann talked with him about the need for a Hudson River crossing, about the economic and political problems that surrounded the Lindenthal bridge, and about the advantages of a bridge farther north, joining vast and rural Bergen County to the urbanized eastern shore. The bridge could be limited to motor vehicles and light trolleys, which meant that its cost would be far less than the Lindenthal colossus. Ammann had studied various sites, and he preferred a bridge that swept from the Palisades cliffs, in the town of Fort Lee, across the river to 179th Street in Manhattan.[40]

We have no direct account of the views which Silzer expressed at this meeting, but later evidence (discussed below) clearly indicates that he was enthusiastic about Ammann's proposed bridge, and that he hoped it might be financed by private capital. Moreover, Silzer was wary of the alternative "low-cost" way to overcome the Hudson barrier—a series of tunnels under the Hudson.[41]

But if a Fort Lee bridge was a promising idea, what role should Silzer take in advancing the cause? Bergen County was Republican territory, and Democrat Silzer apparently felt it would be unwise to associate his name too closely with a crossing that would need active Republican support if it were to be approved by the state legislature; if it were viewed as "Silzer's bridge," Ammann's proposal might fail. However, Silzer could offer guidance on how Ammann and others interested in the Fort Lee bridge might gain public support; he could contact financial people confidentially, in the hope that private capital might be attracted to the scheme; and he could approach the recently created Port of New York Authority to ask if it would endorse such a bridge as consistent with its general goals.[42]

The major burden, then, fell to Ammann, and as the new year opened he faced a difficult task. He would need to develop local interest

in his Fort Lee bridge—within the communities of Bergen County and nearby Passaic County, and across the river, in northern Manhattan and the Bronx, and perhaps farther north in Westchester and southwestern Connecticut. Indeed, he would need to persuade local business leaders and elected officials not only that his bridge was an interesting idea, but that it was the *best solution* for the near future, in that it was better for the communities and for the economic growth of the region than the alternatives which were already being actively discussed. Two of these alternatives—underwater tunnels at 110th Street and 125th Street—also promised economic benefits for Bergen and Passaic counties, and for New York City; moreover, a private association had already been created to press for the 125th Street tunnel, and editors at Bergen County's major daily newspaper, *The Bergen Record,* were supporting that plan.

Then there was the 57th Street bridge. Ammann had not yet broken with Lindenthal; and he still hoped the great man might be persuaded to join forces with Ammann, perhaps take the leading role, and attract the private capital and political support needed for the Fort Lee plan. But if Lindenthal stood firm, the prominent civic leaders and financial men who had joined his board of directors would probably stand with him. While that combined force might never produce a real bridge at 57th Street, its opposition might doom Ammann's uptown scheme.

For Ammann, the answer to that situation came in three parts: He would need to sketch out a bridge design that was so dramatic, so arresting, that it would claim the attention and approval of the attentive publics of northern New Jersey and New York. And he would need to work out the probable cost for the bridge, so that it would strike a chord as financially feasible, in contrast to Lindenthal's gigantic scheme. Then he would need to take this design, and his ideas on how the bridge would benefit the region, directly to the public officials and local groups on both sides of the Hudson.

The first two steps were, for Ammann, comparatively easy. Trained in the great Swiss tradition, and apprenticed with Lindenthal, Ammann's developed engineering skills were a match for his considerable esthetic instincts. He had had many years of experience, with Lindenthal and earlier, in working out the detailed costs associated with bridges large and small.[43] In addition, Ammann's training and experience had led him to conclude that bridges of longer span might carry sufficient deadweight to make extensive vertical trusses unnecessary. Ammann's own careful analysis supported this intuition, and he was then able to design a bridge which was strikingly light in appearance, and which carried a cost estimate proportionately lower than other long-span bridges.[44]

The third step, which involved knocking on doors and trying to convince skeptical or preoccupied local officials, newspaper reporters and shopkeepers, was a different story. Ammann had confidence in his professional abilities, and in the value of a great bridge at Fort Lee. But he was a modest man, and one who did not talk easily of his interests and his passions, especially when those interests would be linked to

advancing his own career.[45] However, if he were to make any headway in developing public support for a bridge between Fort Lee and 179th Street, Ammann would have to break through his natural reticence and advocate action on his plan, until a civic organization could be formed to take the leading role in this public relations effort.

This third step would also mean that Ammann would have to break formally with Lindenthal, unless he could convince Lindenthal to join him, so that Ammann could campaign openly for the uptown bridge. In the short run, this break would almost certainly mean that Ammann would have to join the ranks of the unemployed: to carry out the engineering studies for the Fort Lee crossing, and to campaign for approval, would absorb almost all his waking hours. There would be no time available to work on other projects with another engineering firm.

Finally, before the campaign could be successful, he and Governor Silzer would have to find an operating organization which could take Ammann's designs, raise the funds needed, and actually build the bridge. If Lindenthal were to change his views, the great man's North River Bridge Company could do the job. Otherwise, Ammann and Silzer would need to explore ways of creating a separate private corporation, or perhaps consider what kind of governmental agency might undertake the complex project.

Into the political arena. In the first months of 1923, Ammann and the governor began their joint campaign. On 9 January Ammann reported to Silzer that he had met with the governing board of Bergen County, and that their initial reaction was to support "the bridge at Fort Lee." They also agreed, Ammann said, with Silzer's view that no new vehicular tunnels under the Hudson should be constructed until the Holland Tunnel was in operation.[46]

A week later, Silzer was sworn in as governor, and in his inaugural address, he referred to the advantages of northern New Jersey: "It is especially attractive to those who find the congestion of New York City unbearable, and who seek to live in a section at once high, healthy and accessible." But North Jersey was not really accessible, Silzer pointed out, especially to motor vehicles, which had to wait for hours to cross the Hudson by ferry. It was now time, Silzer argued, to give close consideration to building a bridge across the Hudson, a bridge "of ample size to care for vehicular and passenger travel, and for railroad terminal service."[47]

During the spring of 1923, Ammann met with several local groups in North Jersey, described his idea for a wide span at Fort Lee, and received some encouragement, but no one offered to take on the major task of organizing support across the counties that would benefit from the bridge. Meanwhile, Silzer contacted Dwight Morrow, a Wall Street expert in finance, for an evaluation of the prospects that Lindenthal's bridge could be built with private capital; Morrow's response on 2 March was decidedly pessimistic. Ammann, noting that opposition by Manhattan interests had not abated, and that the large cost of the 57th Street bridge was a major obstacle, urged Lindenthal to cut down the

size of the bridge and move it northward. But Lindenthal was adamant, and by the end of March, Ammann had left his firm.[48]

During the summer and fall of 1923, Ammann made little progress in gaining support for his own bridge. The possibility of a vehicular tunnel at 125th Street, financed by investors, appeared to be of greater interest in the area of Bergen County, and a private association had begun to raise funds for that enterprise which would almost certainly kill any prospects for a Fort Lee bridge, at least in the near term. Other investors began to look at 110th Street, and at 40th Street, as possible sites for private undertakings. But the tunnel investors, and their supporters in the New Jersey legislature, soon ran into double-barreled opposition: the governor of New York, Al Smith, said that he was strongly opposed to *any* private tunnels or bridges across the Hudson River; and the recently created Port of New York Authority objected, noting that it had developed a set of tunnel projects too, and arguing that all river crossings should be constructed as part of a comprehensive plan for transportation in the bistate region.[49]

Helping the Port Authority to redefine its goals. In November 1923, the Port Authority announced that it would hold a public hearing on "the proposed additional vehicular tunnels." Now Governor Silzer and his bridge-building adviser saw an opportunity to enlist the Port Authority for service in their own campaign. That agency, which had been created in 1921 primarily to help solve a freight railroad problem, had studied Lindenthal's railroad-bridge plan in 1921–22 and rejected it as infeasible. As a result, the Port Authority commissioners and staff thought in terms of *tunnels,* which could be used to bring the rail lines from New Jersey and the west under the Hudson River and into Manhattan and Brooklyn. But bridges as well as tunnels were (at least in the abstract) in their domain; and though they thought mainly about railroads, they also had some interest in freight movement by truck, and trucks could travel on bridges as well as in tunnels.

On 20 November Silzer met with Julian Gregory, an influential member of the Port Authority board of commissioners, and said that he thought it unwise for the Port Authority's hearing to be limited to tunnels. That restriction, Silzer argued, "might be construed as limiting him [the governor], and the Port Authority, exclusively to tunnels," whereas he was "open-minded to any bridge proposition that might come forward." Indeed, the governor told Gregory, "he understood there was a strong sentiment on the part of some in favor of a bridge across the Hudson River." At the board meeting the next day, Gregory summarized Silzer's views and suggested that the December hearing be expanded to include the question of bridges across the Hudson as well as tunnels, and the Port Authority board agreed.[50]

The Port Authority's hearing was scheduled for 5 December, and during the intervening weeks, Ammann worked furiously to strengthen the analytical case for a bridge at Fort Lee. His calculations indicated that a long-span bridge at that location would cost no more than $30 million in contrast to more than $500 million for the Lindenthal project.

Moreover, the immediate cost could be reduced to $25 million, if the electric railway tracks he had included in the design were deferred until later.

Based on existing ferry traffic and studies done by the recently formed Committee on the Regional Plan, Ammann then estimated that three million vehicles would use the Fort Lee bridge in the first year. This would be enough to meet all annual charges, if a reasonable toll charge were levied. Assuming continued increases ("in a few years the traffic should treble," he told Silzer), capital costs could also be paid off, and the bridge would in time be self-supporting.

He then suggested to Silzer that they talk with "some of the prominent bankers" to see if private investors might be willing to underwrite such a bridge, and Silzer sent Ammann to talk with Dwight Morrow of the J. P. Morgan firm. Meeting in early December, Morrow and Ammann agreed that the bridge might well be self-supporting, but Morrow doubted that adequate private capital could be attracted; both wrote to Silzer to recommend that *public* funds be used, either state moneys, or bonds floated by the Port of New York Authority.[51]

The Port Authority's public hearing strengthened Ammann's position. Most speakers agreed that more vehicular crossings of the Hudson were needed; and while there was support for new tunnels below 57th Street, the prestigious Committee on the Regional Plan and other speakers argued for a bridge farther north. The crucial question was, *who* would take responsibility for such a bridge, and here Ammann's own views were clear. "The most practicable way" to proceed, he wrote to Silzer the day after the hearing, would be to have the Port Authority take on the challenge. This would also allow that agency, which so far had no construction or operating projects at all, to "test its working ability." Therefore, he urged Silzer to place Ammann's Fort Lee plan "at the earliest possible moment before the Port Authority."

A few days later, the two men talked by telephone, and Ammann suggested that the Port Authority should be asked to make definitive studies not only of the Fort Lee plan but also of other interstate crossings that had been proposed—for example, bridges from Perth Amboy and Bayonne to Staten Island and a scaled-down version of the 57th Street span. If the Port Authority were to conduct such studies, Ammann noted, it would need an expert bridge engineer, and "I shall be frank in stating that I should be glad to occupy such a position."[52]

Ammann and Silzer had agreed that Ammann would put together an extensive report on the Fort Lee project, which would cover technical engineering issues, traffic projections, financing questions, and probable impact of the bridge on regional development. On 17 December Ammann's twenty-two page analysis reached Silzer's desk. That afternoon the governor forwarded the report to the Port Authority, with a letter from Ammann which concluded that the Fort Lee bridge could be paid for in twenty years. Silzer also released a public statement on his actions, noting that the Ammann plan was consistent with his own 1923 inaugural statement on the need for more Hudson crossings, and suggesting that the Port Authority could finance the Fort Lee bridge by

issuing tax-exempt bonds, with "ample security" to be provided by tolls on the bridge.

The governor's efforts for the day had not yet ended. He also wrote a private letter to Commissioner Julian Gregory at the Port Authority, suggesting that, in carrying out its studies of the various bridge plans, the Port Authority might want to secure the services of "such a man as Mr. Ammann, who is thoroughly skilled in this kind of work."[53] Gregory responded quickly, expressing his personal preference for bridging the Hudson at some point north of 125th Street. He also noted that Port Authority officials were now considering whether they should continue to focus their energies so strongly on moving freight by *rail* or whether there might be a large role for trucks, in tunnels and over bridges. The Port Authority's staff then reviewed Ammann's report and on 21 December the commissioners reported to the two governors that they would carry out a detailed study of the Fort Lee plan.[54] Perhaps the Port Authority would now join Ammann in embracing the new automotive age![55]

Ammann's efforts were beginning to bear fruit. But the events thus far brought a measure of pain as well as pleasure. Most hurtful was the behavior of Lindenthal. Silzer had sent him a personal copy of Ammann's detailed report on the Fort Lee plan, and on 20 December the great engineer responded with a letter condemning his former assistant, and alleging that Ammann had stolen Lindenthal's own ideas:

> Mr. A. had been my trusted assistant and friend for ten years, trained up in my office and acquainted with all my papers and methods. But I know his limitations. He never was necessary or indispensible [sic] to me . . . . Now it appears that A. used his position of trust, the knowledge acquired in my service and the data and records in my office, to compete with me in plans for a bridge over the Hudson and to discredit my work on which I had employed him. He does not seem to see that his action is unethical and dishonorable . . . .[56]

In addition, since the Port Authority now agreed to make a close study of Ammann's proposal, he waited for a call to join the Port Authority's staff and take part in that study, but in vain.

On the campaign trail. Christmas came, and went, and Ammann was still an unemployed engineer—unemployed, but with much to do. The Port Authority would study his Fort Lee plan and would, he hoped, find that his engineering design and his analysis of costs, traffic flows, and financing were sound. But Ammann knew that the bistate agency, which had been created to solve railroad problems, and staffed by railway engineers and statisticians, would be far more likely to take the next step and agree to *build* the great bridge if it found a ground swell of popular support for Ammann's 3,000-foot span. Moreover, legislative approval and probably some initial state funding would be required to get the project underway; here again, Trenton and Albany would be much more willing to commit their funds and the Port Authority's

efforts to this project, if local groups on both sides of the Hudson *demanded* action, for a bridge they felt was sorely needed.

So Ammann once again threw his energies into the effort to organize public support for the Fort Lee enterprise. Between late December 1923 and April 1924 he held dozens of meetings with chambers of commerce and other groups in Bergen and nearby Passaic and Morris counties in New Jersey; he wrote to and visited similar associations in the Bronx, Harlem, Washington Heights, Westchester and Yonkers in New York State; and he traveled into Connecticut and explained his arguments for the Fort Lee bridge before the civil engineering society of that state.

By December 1923 he had developed working sketches of the proposed bridge, with its thin, graceful roadway, and its great towers, which would be vast metal structures, sheathed in monumental stone. And now, when he spoke, Ammann could show his audiences some visual hint of his own deep motivations, which lay beyond engineering technique, beyond matters of practicality. It was true that the bridge would be a major engineering achievement; moreover, it would have a great impact on the efficiency of travel across a wide region, and so it might provide real benefits for residential choice, and recreation, and economic growth. But a vast structure like this could also be—*should* also be—a work of art, and here was a large part of Ammann's incentive as he worked, without pay, to design and encourage the building of the Fort Lee bridge. Years before, reflecting on the Hell Gate Bridge, a monument to Lindenthal's own esthetic imagination and engineering skill, Ammann had argued that

> a great bridge in a great city, although primarily utilitarian in its purpose, should nevertheless be a work of art to which Science lends its aid. An elaborate stress sheet, worked out on a purely economic and scientific basis, does not make a great bridge. It is only with a broad sense for beauty and harmony, coupled with wide experience in the scientific field, that a monumental bridge can be created.[57]

Now *he* might have the opportunity to create such a bridge, if the public and the state legislatures would approve it and if some other engineer, of "greater reputation," were not chosen!

With increasing evidence of local support for the project, Ammann met with a state senator from Bergen County, William Mackey, and found him ready to press for legislation authorizing the Port Authority to construct a bridge at Fort Lee and smaller spans between Staten Island and New Jersey. During the spring of 1924, the New Jersey legislature took the first step, endorsing Port Authority study and construction of two Staten Island bridges, and New York State approved similar legislation. In late May, Governor Silzer sent a brief note to the Port Authority's general counsel, Julius Henry Cohen:

> It has just occurred to me, in connection with the two bridges over Staten Island and your other bridge work, that the Port Authority ought to avail itself of the services of Mr. O. H. Ammann . . . . I understand that just at the moment he is available . . . .[58]

Ammann's sketch of his proposed bridge at Fort Lee (about December 1923). Courtesy of Margot Ammann Durrer.

He was indeed available and had been for more than a year. But still the Port Authority did not call.

Although Ammann was willing to continue his organizing efforts, he had hoped that the various local groups might form a citizens' association to press for the bridge project. In April, the Englewood Board of Trade and other business groups in the Fort Lee area seemed ready to create such an organization to coordinate efforts throughout northern New Jersey. Ammann then took his case across the river and was gratified when, early in May, the Harlem Board of Commerce, which had been a strong supporter of a tunnel at 125th Street, shifted its position and unanimously endorsed the Ammann bridge. Back in New Jersey, Ammann met with a committee of North Jersey mayors which had been formed to press for action on the bridge, and he drafted a strategic plan which the committee could use in gathering further support.[59] Unfortunately, neither the business associations nor the mayors developed a viable organization, and neither was able to carry out a sustained campaign during the summer and fall of 1924. Silzer told Ammann that he still did not think it desirable for him, a Democratic governor, to become actively involved in trying to organize support in Republican territory. So Ammann once again found himself taking the lead, engaged in a series of meetings with local groups and state legislators.[60]

By the fall, the Port Authority began to organize in order to carry out the authorized bridge studies. During the autumn, the agency sought bids for design work on the two Staten Island crossings, and Ammann responded. As he wrote to Governor Silzer on 2 November: "I have submitted to the Port Authority a bid for the preparation of plans for the Arthur Kill Bridges and am now anxiously awaiting their decision." While he waited, his political efforts produced important results: In late January 1925 the New Jersey senate passed a bill authorizing the Port Authority to construct a bridge across the Hudson at Fort Lee, and the state assembly soon followed suit. Ammann then crossed the Hudson to New York, where companion legislation had been introduced, and met with local and state officials, urging favorable action; and in late March, New York State approved the bill.[61]

From political entrepreneur to bridge builder. The Port Authority now moved forward to build a bridge from Fort Lee to 179th Street, and to construct the two spans which had been authorized between New Jersey and Staten Island. But would Ammann have any role in their design and construction? In a letter on 27 March Ammann conveyed his concern to the governor. He expressed his hope that he would be asked to "take charge of the working out of the preliminary plans" for the Fort Lee bridge, but he thought there would be opposition, and that an engineer "with long practice and wide reputation" might be selected instead. Reviewing his many activities on behalf of the bridge project, Ammann concluded that he would appreciate "anything you may be able to do to help" achieve a favorable outcome.

Two weeks later, with the Port Authority bills signed in Trenton,

Governor Silzer once again wrote to Julian Gregory, who was now chairman at the Port Authority. Noting that the Port Authority would soon be proceeding with the Fort Lee bridge, Silzer suggested that "you take into consideration for the doing of this work the name of O. H. Ammann . . . ." Silzer continued: "Mr. Ammann was one of the pioneers in this project, has spent two years of his time in advising the public of its advantages, has drawn freely upon his own ability as engineer, and in every way has probably done more than any other one man to bring this bridge into being."[62] Silzer also sent a copy of this letter to Chief Engineer William Drinker at the Port Authority; and he sent a copy to Ammann, with a note: "I have it in the back of my mind somewhere that Mr. Drinker had an impression that you were an able assistant, but that you had not had the experience to independently undertake work of this kind." The governor suggested Ammann talk with Drinker about this impression.

A few days later, Ammann met with Drinker. He thought it was an "encouraging interview," though it contained disappointing news: Drinker told him that the Port Authority had concluded that their first projects—the two Staten Island bridges—should be awarded to "an engineer of long established reputation."[63] The job went to an independent engineering firm on an outside contract.

However, in its short and thus far uneventful life, the Port Authority had already begun to develop a few traditions. One of these was a preference for hiring its own engineers and other experts as regular members of the staff, rather than relying heavily on outside contractors. By late April, Drinker (himself a railroad man) had concluded that the Port Authority ought to hire an engineer with bridge-building experience. Chairman Gregory subsequently wrote to Governor Silzer that Drinker had recommended Othmar Ammann for the post.

The commissioners soon concurred with Drinker's recommendation, and on 3 July Ammann sent a letter to Silzer noting that he had assumed his duties as "bridge engineer on the Port Authority staff" on 1 July and thanking the governor for his "goodwill and efforts on my behalf." The long and active campaign ended on a restrained note, with the governor's final letter to an engineer who had at last landed a job, and who would now have to show that he had the capacity not only to fight for but also to build a great bridge.

July 15, 1925.

My dear Mr. Ammann:

I have your letter of July 3d, and am, as you know, pleased at your appointment, because I am sure that you will be of much service to the two states.

Yours very truly,
s/George S. Silzer
Governor

Mr. O. H. Ammann
Boonton, N.J.

Ammann's Engineering Triumphs and the Dying of Political Light

> Gongs in white surplices, beshrouded wails,
> Far strum of fog horns . . . signals dispersed in veils.
> (Hart Crane, "Harbor Dawn")

There the story ends, and Ammann is lost from sight. Not, of course, the story of Othmar Ammann, engineer and artist. This tale of Ammann had yet forty years to run and would be filled with activity and achievement. But the story of Ammann's political efforts, and their important role in permitting him to exercise his engineering genius—*that* story was at an end in 1925; and within a few years it was erased from the historical record.

The triumphs. With the Port Authority now committed to his dream, the engineer poured his energies into the tasks before him, completing the detailed design for the Hudson River Bridge, organizing the staff and consultants to carry out that large effort, and at the same time supervising the construction of the two smaller Staten Island bridges authorized in 1924. In 1925 the legislatures authorized a third Staten Island span, from Bayonne, New Jersey, and so Ammann, while building the longest suspension bridge in the world at Fort Lee, also designed what would turn out to be the longest arch bridge in the world for the Bayonne crossing. The Fort Lee span, later renamed the George Washington Bridge, was initially expected to be finished in mid-1932; but the Port Authority's political insulation, and the willingness of the agency's senior executives to allow Ammann to set his own course, permitted him to exercise his considerable organizing talents once again. The effort moved ahead with unusual speed, and the crossing was completed eight months ahead of schedule and at a cost far below the 1925 estimate. The Bayonne Bridge was also opened in 1931, ahead of schedule and below cost; and both bridges won applause from engineers and observers for their engineering and esthetic merits.[64]

These efficient and spectacular achievements stamped the Port of New York Authority as a strikingly effective organization and, especially in view of the halting efforts of its rival—the joint state bridge and tunnel commissions—ended the debate on how bridges and tunnels in the New York region should be constructed and operated.[65] With the support of the governors of both states, the Port Authority absorbed the joint commissions' staff in 1931, and its lucrative project, the Holland Tunnel; and the Port Authority was then authorized to begin work on a second tunnel, to mid-Manhattan.[66] Had the Port Authority performed in a mediocre manner in these early bridge projects, it is quite possible that the bridge and tunnel commissions would have retained control of the Holland crossing; and if that had occurred, the Port Authority would have faced a very uncertain future.[67]

What Ammann and his engineering team had done, therefore, was to ensure that the Port Authority would have the reputation for effective action and the strong financial base which would permit it, in the 1940s and 1950s, to reach out into new fields—into airport activities, marine

Ammann and other Port Authority staff members at the site of the George Washington Bridge in 1925; Ammann is third from the left; Chief Engineer William Drinker of the Port Authority is third from the right. Courtesy of the Port Authority of NY&NJ.

The George Washington Bridge shortly after completion, taken from the Manhattan shore. Courtesy of Port Authority of NY&NJ.

terminals, and other urban development enterprises. Meanwhile, in the 1930s, Ammann would continue his engineering achievements, supervising construction of the Lincoln Tunnel, helping to design the Golden Gate Bridge, and, working with Robert Moses, creating a series of important bridges for his Triborough Authority.

History rewritten. The story that ends in 1925 is the tale of Ammann the political entrepreneur, as his energies were absorbed in the technical and administrative activities summarized above. Since Ammann would henceforth be associated with the Port Authority's leaders and with Robert Moses, with men and women who could take the political lead (and the political heat) while Amman toiled in his favorite garden of structural art, that ending should not be surprising. What is remarkable, however, is that the story of how Ammann got there—into his favorite garden, as a dominant structural artist and engineer—was soon lost from sight; and the story of the Fort Lee bridge and the Port Authority's change in direction was rewritten without him, or nearly so.

The fading of his political light did not occur at once. In the *New Yorker* profile in 1934, Ammann's role in the development of the great bridge is briefly described: "He prepared his blueprints and became his own advocate; he spoke before public gatherings and interviewed public officials. Eventually he convinced Governor Silzer of New Jersey that the two adjoining states should erect the bridge . . ." (p. 25). However, in that essay and in other early articles, Ammann's personality and his reputation are described in ways that must soon overshadow all else, making it difficult to imagine Ammann appealing for support among local gatherings in Teaneck and Leonia, or making his way by ferry, sketches of his bridge under his arm, to dark halls in Washington Heights and the Bronx, or draining his savings while waiting for others to act. By 1934, Ammann is "one of the immortals of bridge engineering and design, a genius . . . ." What kind of a man is he? He is "quiet . . . tactful and courteous in his relationships with other men, calm in his judgments, flawless in his engineering . . . ." In "contrast to the mightiness of his work, [Ammann] is quiet, mild spoken and retiring."[68]

By the 1940s, Ammann's entrepreneurial role in the origin of the George Washington Bridge vanishes from sight. In *Bridges and Their Builders,* David Steinman and Sara Ruth Watson, whose goal is to tell the story of great bridges as "an epic of human vision and courage, high hopes and disappointments, heroic efforts and inspiring achievements," offer rich descriptions of the campaigns to obtain approval of the Brooklyn Bridge, the Golden Gate, and many others. But of the Fort Lee bridge they tell the reader only that Silzer advocated it in 1923, that he and Al Smith wanted the Port Authority to build it, and that "two years later" the state legislatures gave their approval.[69]

A far more detailed description of the political activities leading to the approval of the George Washington span is provided in Jacob Binder's 1942 book. Binder was an active member of the Bergen County coalition that came to life in 1924–25 to press for state approval, and his

Ammann at his Port Authority desk in the 1930s. Courtesy of Port Authority of NY&NJ.

lengthy discussion conveys a sense of authenticity. In his account, however, Ammann's contribution is that of dedicated bridge designer; others do all the political work.[70]

In the 1940s two other books treated Othmar Ammann and the George Washington Bridge in some detail. Both books were concerned with the political forces that shaped the creation of the Port of New York Authority and its first decades of operation, and Ammann was once again relegated to his engineering role. In his classic volume, *The Port of New York Authority,* Erwin Bard described the efforts of Al Smith to persuade the Port Authority to take on vehicular projects, and Bard indicated that the Port Authority's staff was at first not eager to add that task to its rail-improvement plans. Then, in 1924–25, the state legislatures authorized Port Authority action to construct three Staten Island bridges and a Hudson River span. At that point, negotiations with the railroads were collapsing, and within the Port Authority, Bard noted, "the center of gravity began shifting to vehicular traffic," since bridge-building "offered a chance" to show that the agency could accomplish something. So the Port Authority's staff was "reshaped to fit the needs of construction," and "Othmar H. Ammann was engaged as Bridge

Engineer." Of Ammann's background, Bard says only this: "Coming to the Port Authority with no great reputation, he became widely known as designer of its bridges and head of its Engineering Department."[71]

The other volume was written by Julius Henry Cohen, author of the legislation creating the Port Authority, as well as its general counsel from 1921 until his retirement in 1942. During his years with the Port Authority, Cohen kept careful track of the political activities affecting the agency.[72] Therefore, it would seem unlikely that he was entirely ignorant of Ammann's crucial political role in the campaign for the Fort Lee bridge. Yet Cohen's discussion of Ammann omits that effort, and in fact Cohen cites Ammann to illustrate the gulf that separates the methods of the engineer from those of the political leader.[73]

Since Ammann's death in 1965, several extensive biographical essays on his life and work have appeared. Almost all have been written by engineers who, perhaps naturally, have concentrated on Ammann as bridge designer and engineering administrator. They do offer brief hints of the "crucial years" of 1923–25, but little more. In a 1974 biography of Ammann, for example, Fritz Stüssi reports that Ammann left Lindenthal's employ in the spring of 1923, that he submitted a detailed report on the Fort Lee bridge to Silzer in December 1923, and that he was hired by the Port Authority sometime in 1925.[74]

Urs Widmer's perceptive 1979 essay provides detailed information on Ammann's early training and on his engineering activities. He also notes that the break with Lindenthal occurred in 1923 in part because Ammann feared that the campaign for tunnels would soon sweep aside the possibility of a bridge across the Hudson.[75] Widmer's article provides one of the two best summary descriptions of Ammann's activities in the two years after he left Lindenthal.[76] The other is found in a brief essay by Ammann's daughter.[77]

In the most recent paper on Ammann's work, by Edward Cohen, the "missing years" are again touched on briefly. Cohen indicates that Ammann left Lindenthal after a spring 1923 argument about trimming the size of the Hudson bridge, and that Ammann then worked on his own for two years, designing a more modest span, which would be attractive to Governor Silzer and others in terms of financial cost and esthetic appearance. In 1925, with the Port Authority authorized to construct the bridge, it thereupon "appointed Ammann Bridge Engineer."[78]

Why the political entrepreneur was lost. So Ammann's early role as political organizer has continued in eclipse. There are undoubtedly several reasons for this gap in the biographical and historical record, some of them attributable to individual authors.[79] I am inclined to place considerable emphasis, however, on Ammann's position as exemplar of the engineering profession in its ideal form. That image of Ammann has, I would argue, tended to prevent any close consideration of other important aspects of Ammann's talents and behavior, even by those—including Widmer and Cohen—who have had access to a fair portion of the evidence regarding Ammann's political activities in the early 1920s.

What I mean is this. When one reads the engineering literature, one

learns that the highest standards of the profession (perhaps particularly of the profession of civil engineering) are *efficiency, economy,* and *grace,* captured in a structure that is actually *built,* and that works.[80] The goal of "efficiency" entails "a desire for minimum materials, which results in less weight, less cost, and less visual mass." The discipline of "economy" means a desire for simplicity in construction as well as "a final integrated form." The search for grace, or "engineering elegance," involves the visual expression of efficiency and economy "through thinness and integration," and through contrast with the surrounding environment.[81]

All of Ammann's engineering achievements—from his designs for the George Washington and Bayonne bridges in the 1920s through his Verrazano-Narrows span in the 1950s—emphasize these values at a very high level of distinction.[82] Moreover, his writing, which also strikes a high level in clarity and detail, underscores the importance of these values in his own work.[83]

But Ammann was exemplar for a profession for reasons that go beyond the "daring elegance" of his designs, and beyond the fact that these structures were built at low cost and remain standing. To those who knew him, he also personified the traits of character which had stamped the best members of the engineering craft extending back into the nineteenth century and beyond. As John Jervis, builder of the Erie Canal and other large projects of a previous era, had written:

> A true engineer, first of all, considers his duties as a trust and directs his whole energies to discharge of the trust . . . . He is so immersed in his profession that he has no occasion to seek other sources of amusement, and is therefore always at his post. He has no ambition to be rich, and therefore eschews all commissions that blind the eyes and impair fidelity to his trust.

Also, like the engineers of the earlier period, Ammann was "independent, austere" and "self-confident."[84]

In addition, Ammann's distinctive abilities and personality were underscored by contrast with some other prominent bridge builders of the twentieth century: Lindenthal and Steinman, whose bridge-tower embellishments did not reach the high standards of economy and grace found in Ammann's structures, and especially Joseph B. Strauss, the chief engineer for the Golden Gate Bridge. Any story of the building of that great structure would have to devote considerable attention to Strauss. But since Strauss was widely understood to be a bridge designer of very modest capacities, any effort to examine why he headed the engineering team, and how the bridge was designed and public support obtained, would soon lead the historian into the complex story of Strauss as political entrepreneur, the field in which he made his major contributions.[85]

In contrast, from the early 1930s onward Ammann was viewed by members of his profession and by the wider public as "one of the immortals of bridge engineering and design"; and his quiet manner and

self-assurance reinforced the perception that this was an engineer's engineer. Therefore, when the historian or engineer asks why Ammann was chosen to design the George Washington Bridge, the answer may seem self-evident: the Port Authority chose Ammann because he was the best man for the job. Thus, in exploring why the Port Authority shifted gears to take on this task, and how public support for building the bridge was obtained, the researcher easily passes by Ammann, and looks for the answers in the activities of real estate developers and other interest groups in the region, and in the imperialistic visions of an ambitious Port Authority.[86] Not that these factors are irrelevant; but it now seems clear, I think, that they do not provide an adequate explanation.

The Study of Political Power and the Role of Biography

In their efforts to understand how political power is organized and used in a society, political scientists have generally directed their energies toward examining the actions of interest groups and the behavior of government bureaucracies. With few exceptions, that perspective treats the role of individuals as insignificant in shaping government policy and the use of public resources, except insofar as individuals act "in role," as members and leaders of pressure groups and bureaucracies whose aim is to maximize the economic profit or other goals of their own, narrow organizations.[87]

The general argument illustrated by this study of the "George Washington Bridge case" is that the traditional political-science perspective is too narrow, and that close biographical studies—scrutinizing the evolving perceptions, motivations and activities of specific individuals—will often be rewarding, opening up lines of inquiry that extend beyond role-bound behavior and the kind of reductionism that the traditional mode of inquiry often entails. In this case, the evidence drawn from a biographical study of Ammann, joined with an exploration of institutional and other factors, indicates that Ammann's activities in the 1920s were influential in several directions. Some of these were noted in earlier sections of the essay; let me at this point identify these areas of influence and suggest their relationships with broader forces at work.

Ammann's impact on urban development in the New York region. If one asks, for example, why the vast reaches of Bergen County and nearby areas in northeastern New Jersey remained as a rural enclave until the 1920s, while areas on Long Island equally distant from Manhattan had become densely populated, it seems clear that the absence of bridges and tunnels connecting North Jersey to Manhattan's major employment centers was a major factor. Geography and technology joined forces here, since the Hudson River was far wider than the waterway separating Long Island from Manhattan. East of Manhattan, technological advances had permitted bridges to be cast across the East River beginning in the 1880s, supplanting the several ferry routes; and as a result, the pressure for "suburban" living soon sent the

population flowing into Brooklyn, Queens and Nassau County. Then, as the automobile grew in popularity after 1910, residences spread widely across Long Island, far from the rail lines that crossed the river.

By 1910, however, geography no longer stood in the way of bridges and tunnels across the wide Hudson. Engineering advances would permit bridge spans of 3,500 feet and longer; and except for some uncertainty about how to remove carbon monoxide, engineering techniques would also permit long vehicular tunnels under rivers like the Hudson. Widespread popular demand was present too; automobiles and trucks crossing the Hudson by ferry sometimes had to wait five or six hours in long lines at ferry terminals.[88]

What was missing in 1910 and subsequent years was the organizational and political capacity to span the Hudson. Two states had to agree on where to locate interstate bridges and tunnels, on private versus public financing, and on what governmental bodies would build or monitor the building of these major arteries of commerce and communication. By 1919, *one* vehicular tunnel had been started, haltingly, by two state commissions working uneasily together; but that tunnel would provide only two lanes in each direction, and projections indicated that three or four times that capacity was needed. Should there be two or three more tunnels, distributing traffic (and suburban population growth) across Union, Essex, Morris and southern Bergen counties? Or should there be one great bridge with capacity equal to all those tunnels—and if a bridge, should it lead into midtown Manhattan, or be farther north, shifting population growth to northern Bergen and Passaic counties, and perhaps diverting some traffic away from congested mid-Manhattan?

Local government officials and real estate developers at the terminus of a tunnel in Jersey City or Weehawken could see the advantage in tax ratables if one of the river crossings was located near that local community, so an incremental series of tunnels was probably likely to be the result of interest-group and local community pressure. It was more difficult to gather the political support needed for a large bridge; a bridge would cost more than any single tunnel, and this meant that political (and financial) support would have to be gathered more widely—which was difficult especially in Bergen County, where there were dozens of small towns, and little tradition of cooperation among these towns and villages. Moreover, to build a bridge with eight to twelve lanes meant that there might be no need for tunnels for a long time; so the bridge was a threat to those who wanted tunnel crossings near their own communities.

To simplify only slightly, what Ammann did was to alter the political environment significantly, perhaps dramatically. He wanted a great bridge flung out from the high Palisades. He had wanted one since 1904; it was an engineer's dream. When Lindenthal proved unequal to the task of understanding the complex reality of the political environment, Ammann broke free. By the start of 1923, he had achieved the first step, convincing one state governor that a vehicular bridge at the Palisades was feasible and desirable. During the next two years he overcame the

political fragmentation and mutual suspicion that made cooperation among local civic groups and political officials so difficult: he had an idea, he could show it visibly and dramatically, and he was persuasive in arguing that the citizens of Englewood and Teaneck and Boonton—and their counterparts in the North Bronx and Westchester—should exercise their political muscle in order to help accomplish his dream, rather than waiting in long ferry lines until someone else could put another tunnel down, under the mud.[89]

Perhaps most important in terms of his short-term and long-term impact on the New York region, Ammann exercised a profound influence on the direction and the reputation of the Port of New York Authority. He did this in part by recognizing that the Port Authority—in contrast to the joint bridge and tunnel commissions—had the political characteristics required to get the great bridge built, and to get it built efficiently.[90] If the Port Authority had not been created precisely to build large vehicular bridges, it still might be persuaded to do the job—especially if his ally, New Jersey's governor, could help to stretch the Port Authority's collective mind.

In the long run, of course, Ammann's influence on the agency depended on his performance as a bridge builder and administrator; the argument regarding that role and his impact are set forth in the previous section. There are other factors, certainly, that come into play in mapping the causes of the Port Authority's expanding domain and power in the 1940s and beyond. However, Ammann's early efforts, through 1931, probably rank as necessary if not sufficient in understanding why that agency would later prosper, why it had the reputation and funds needed to permit it to take over the region's airports and build the world's largest bus terminal in the 1940s, and then, in the 1950s, to define and take the lead in meeting the region's highway needs, defeating Robert Moses when he resisted, and joining with him when that strategy was consistent with the Port Authority's vision of how to shape the bistate region.[91]

Benefits and dangers. What is true in this case applies to other cases as well. That is, biographical analysis often adds an important dimension of understanding regarding the uses of political power and the evolution of social policy. We have biographical studies now, for example, which advance our knowledge of how the American navy came to accept—though reluctantly—major improvements in gunfire technology and technique in the early 1900s; of why the American social security system evolved as it did from the 1930s to the 1980s; and of the factors that were crucial in the creation and evolution of the United States forest service.[92] We could use more such studies, particularly in fields in which interest groups, bureaucratic incentives, and "underlying" economic and social forces are generally viewed as providing an adequate understanding of the patterns of power and the structure of social outcomes.

A further point worth noting here is that a sustained effort of biographical analysis tends to "stretch the mind" of the researcher, suggesting additional perspectives from which a problem can be and

perhaps ought to be studied. The biographer needs to be able to see the situation from "behind the eyes" of the (political) actor, and that effort leads one to attempt to understand the situation as it was perceived by those involved—at a time when the future was unknown and obstacles which now seem unimportant loomed large. As a consequence, the researcher may uncover important causal variables that are not readily identified when we view the problem from "the outside," when the future is known. Interviews and written records approached through other perceptual lenses than biography can be used in this way too, of course, but the biographer may be more likely to immerse herself or himself in the situation as it was seen and felt by participants at the time, and therefore may be able to unearth additional lines of causal inquiry.[93]

In addition, biographical studies may be helpful in encouraging individuals to find meaning in their lives—by suggesting that individuals can act, even if they live in complex and fragmented societies, with some hope of "making a difference." As Jean Strouse, biographer of Alice James, notes:

> Future historians may characterize the late twentieth century by its sense of fragmentation, its lack of confidence in history's progress, its loss of consensus about what an 'exemplary' life might be. People still long for models of wholeness, though—for evidence that individual lives and choices matter.

Biographical studies, she argues, may provide useful cases to illustrate those positive themes.[94]

Having been absorbed now for several years in a set of three intertwined biographical studies, I should conclude on a cautionary note. The biographer needs to be alert to the danger that the subject of his or her attention may threaten to swallow the researcher. Lippmann's biographer recalls his concern partway through his many years of work:

> I came to fear the way in which he would insidiously take over my life—take it over in time, until I often felt I hardly had any life outside of Walter Lippmann, and also by forcing me constantly to define myself in terms of him and him in terms of me.[95]

Equally important, all biographers run the risk of becoming so attracted to the subject, or so repulsed, that the objectivity which is essential to careful analysis is lost.[96] As I argue elsewhere, this is a danger well illustrated by Robert Caro's important but one-sided biography of Robert Moses.[97] It is a danger not easily avoided, but perhaps less likely for those—such as political scientists—who use biographical analysis as an adjunct in probing patterns of power and influence than for the researcher whose central goal is biography.

Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Appendix

Letters to Governor Silzer

(Courtesy of State Archives, New Jersey.)

O. H. AMMANN
CONSULTING ENGINEER

470 - 4th Ave.,
7 DEY STREET
NEW YORK. Jan. 9, 1923.

Personal

Hon. George S. Silzer,
Governor of New Jersey,
Trenton, N.J.

Dear Governor :-

I had a very satisfactory meeting today with the Board of Freeholders of Bergen County. They are unanimously and strongly in favor of the bridge at Fort Lee, and pledged their influence not only locally, but all over the State, towards effecting whatever legislation is necessary to provide funds with which the project can be developed. They expressed themselves in sympathy with your policy that no money should be spent for additional vehicular tunnels until the one now under construction has been tried out.

They asked me to communicate on their behalf at once with you and the Port Authority and to suggest that steps be taken at once to introduce the necessary bill in the legislature.

Respectfully yours,

O. H. Ammann

The North River Bridge Company

New York

December 20, 1923

My dear Governor:

I have your letter of Dec. 18th with enclosure. I had already seen the matter in the newspapers and of course I was surprised. Mr. Ammann on Monday morning before I reached my office, got hold of my unfinished draft of my address which I delivered last evening (copy enclosed). Later in the day he called to inform me that he had written to you and to the Port Authority about his idea of a bridge at Washington Heights. It now appears that he had done this to forestall my address and used you as the channel to do so.

A bridge at Fort Lee of the kind described by him, cannot be built for $25,000,000. The estimate is far too low. It is the same old way to mislead the public either from design or from ignorance, just as the estimate of Gen. Goethals of $10,000,000 for the vehicular tunnel, which when fully completed will now cost $45,000,000. The public cannot judge of such vagaries in estimates of which engineers are constantly guilty.

Mr. A. had been my trusted assistant and friend for ten years, trained up in my office and acquainted with all my papers and methods. But I know his limitations. He never was necessary or indispensible to me. Many other assistant engineers are very able and glad to fill his position. But one does not like to make changes and train up new men as long as it is not necessary.

Now it appears that A. used his position of trust, the knowledge acquired in my service and the data and records in my office, to compete with me in plans for a bridge over the Hudson and to discredit my work on which I had employed him. He does not seem to see that his action is unethical and dishonorable.

I believe that in the public interest all proposed crossings of the Hudson River, including any bridge at Fort Lee, should and will be investigated, but it seems to me that it should be done without violation of professional ethics.

I attended a meeting yesterday of a Special Committee appointed by the Board of Estimate and Apportionment at which the appointment of a Board of Engineers was proposed as per enclosed list. It will probably be passed upon favorably.

Yours very truly,

O. Lindenthal

Hon. Geo. S. Silzer,
Metuchen, N.J.

PS - The Special Committee consists of
Hon. Grover A. Whalen, Chairman
Commissioner John H. Delaney
Corporation Counsel
Mr. Arthur Tuttle.

O. H. AMMANN
CONSULTING ENGINEER
MEM. AM. SOC. C. E.
MEM. AM. RY. ENG. ASSOC.
MEM. AM. SOC. TESTG. MAT.

471 - 4th Ave.,
7 DEY STREET
NEW YORK

Jan. 23, 1904.

Personal

Hon. George S. Silzer,

Governor of New Jersey,

Metuchen, N. J.

Dear Governor :-

Permit me to report to you the situation relative to the Fort Lee bridge. While progress is apparently slow, it is nevertheless encouraging. There are quite a number of communities whose chambers of commerce or other civic bodies are giving the proposition earnest consideration. That so far no public meetings have been arranged is due to two factors. First, these bodies act very slowly, they appoint committees which have to report back before the boards will take action. Second, there are a number of cross currents due to the many projects which are just now being laid before these bodies. Thus in Paterson the bridge proposition was delayed by the Jersey City transit plan and important local matters. It will come up only next monday, but I am assured that it will then be given earnest consideration. A number of influential men are back of it. Passaic has the matter under consideration today. Englewood with the surrounding smaller towns is arranging for a public meeting in the near future. The project is also before a number of associations on the N. Y. side.

So far I had to act single handed with no organization available to take immediate charge of and back the proposition. I am now endeavoring to form such an organization but that too takes time. I feel confident, however, that when the movement is once started it will bring out strong public opinion in favor of the proposition.

I trust that I do not impose too much upon your valuable time, but I consider it my duty to keep you informed on the situation.

Respectfully yours,

O. H. Ammann

O. H. AMMANN
CONSULTING ENGINEER

470 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK January 29, 1925

Hon. George S. Silzer,
Governor of New Jersey,
METUCHEN, NEW JERSEY.

Dear Governor:-

I was glad to note that the Hudson River Bridge Bill passed the Senate without opposition. The Assembly will undoubtedly follow suit.

As you may know a similar bill has recently been introduced in the New York Legislature by Assemblyman A. Spencer Feld (Democrat). I have, therefore, concentrated my efforts to the New York side. Besides the local organizations I have secured strong endorsement by various organizations in Rockland and Westchester Counties. The matter is also before the State Automobile & the State Realty Associations which have considerable influence in Albany.

One thing that has puzzled me in my efforts is the utter lack of a spirit of co-operation between the various civic organizations, due not only to indifference but to a good deal of antagonism and jealousy. I trust, however, that the individual endorsements will help much in getting the bill passed in Albany.

Very sincerely yours,

O. H. Ammann

P.S. The enclosed "interview" was with Mr. J. W. Binder of Hackensack, Secretary of the "Modern Hudson River Bridge Association" & former advocate of the 125th Street Tunnel. He is now an ardent supporter of the bridge. I also understand that Mr. Ecker of Bergenfield the brother of Mrs. Hindenthal bridge, who publicly opposed the Fifty-ninth bridge, has joined in the movement for the former.

OHA.—

Notes

[1] On their impact on residential and employment patterns in the New York region, see M. N. Danielson and J. W. Doig, *New York: The Politics of Urban Regional Development* (Berkeley, CA, 1982), chap. 6.

[2] See "A Monumental Bridge: New York Will Soon Possess Another 'World's Greatest' . . . ," *Scientific American* (November 1927): 418–20, and M. K. Wisehart, "The Greatest Bridge in the World and the Man Who is Building It," *The American Magazine* (June 1928): 34, 183–89.

[3] Le Corbusier, "A Place of Radiant Grace," in his *When the Cathedrals Were White*, trans. F. Hyslop and J. Finney (New York, 1936).

[4] As David Billington comments: "No twentieth-century engineer has left more of a mark on steel bridge design than Othmar Ammann. Taken as a whole, his designs . . . provide the best example of structural steel bridge art done in this century." Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge* (New York, 1983), 129. When the American Society of Civil Engineering prepared to commemorate its 100th Anniversary in 1952, it chose an Ammann creation; the U.S. stamp that year honoring the Society shows a wooden covered bridge in the lower lefthand corner, with the George Washington span extending across the main body of the stamp.

[5] See in particular the items listed in notes 7, 8, 10, 13, 20, and 22.

[6] The entrepreneur identifes new goals, works out the steps essential to achieving these goals, and marshals the resources needed to move forward toward his or her preferred ends. Generally the entrepreneur's efforts require overcoming hostile forces and other obstacles, and they often entail some risk to the entrepreneur's financial security and career. See J. W. Doig and E. C. Hargrove, eds., *Leadership and Innovation* (Baltimore, MD, 1987, 1990), 7–8, and sources cited there. On the concept of the "political entrepreneur," see also John H. Mollenkopf, *The Contested City* (Princeton, NJ, 1983), 6ff.

[7] The professor, K. E. Hilgard, had worked as a railroad-bridge engineer in the United States, and he pressed Ammann to go to the U.S.A., where "the engineer has greater freedom in applying individual ideas" and where young men were sometimes put in charge of work "which, in Europe, only graybreads would be allowed to perform." Hilgard as quoted in Wisehart, "The Greatest Bridge," 183.

[8] Ammann later reported that "my first serious interest in the problem of bridging the Hudson was awakened shortly after my arrival in New York," when he visited the top of the Palisades cliffs on the Jersey shore across from Manhattan. "For the first time I could envisage the bold undertaking, the spanning of the broad waterway with a single leap of 3000 feet from shore to shore, nearly twice the longest span in existence. . . . From that moment . . . I followed all developments with respect to the bridging of the Hudson River with keenest interest." Quoted in Urs C. Widmer, "Othmar Hermann Ammann, 1879–1965: His Way to Great Bridges," *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter* 15 (1979): 5–6. During these years, the only way that horses and motor vehicles could travel between New Jersey and New York City was via ferry—unless they journeyed fifty miles north, where the Hudson was much narrower and smaller bridges had been constructed. Travelers without horse, auto or truck could cross the Hudson as railroad passengers, once the Pennsylvania Railroad tunnel and two smaller rail tunnels under the Hudson were completed in 1908–10. The question of whether and how a bridge might be cast over the Hudson had been debated sporadically since the early 1800s.

[9] The Hell Gate crossing would span the East River between Queens and The Bronx, two sections of New York City, and would fill the major gap in the Eastern rail system, allowing railroad trains to travel from New England to New York City and then into New Jersey and across the continental United States. The Hell Gate would be the longest arch bridge in the world. See Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge*, 125–28.

[10] See Edward Cohen, with Frank Stahl and Susan Wilson, "The Legacy of Othmar H. Ammann," TMs, 1 May 1987, Ammann & Whitney, New York, NY, 8.

[11] The proposed bridge, as Lindenthal sketched it out in 1920, included 12 railroad tracks and 20 vehicular lanes on two levels, carried by a single gigantic span across the Hudson. The cost was $180 million or more. See Widmer, "Othmar Hermann Ammann," 10, and Rebecca Read Shanor, *The City That Never Was* (New York, 1988), 142.

[12] See Widmer, "Othmar Hermann Ammann," 11; Cohen, "The Legacy," 9.

[13] On Ammann's career at the Port Authority and subsequently, see Leon Katz, "O. H. Ammann, Master Bridge Builder: A Remembrance," *Embassy News* (August 1979): 20–21; Leon Katz, "A Poet in Steel," *Portfolio: A Quarterly Review of Trade and Transportation* 1 (Summer 1988): 33–39; Fritz Stüssi, *Othmar H. Ammann: Sein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Brückenbaus* (Basel, 1974), 46ff.; Urs Widmer, ed., *Othmar H. Ammann: 60 Jahre Brückenbau* (1979), 38–94; and the papers by Widmer and Cohen cited earlier.

[14] On the highway studies in the 1950s and the earlier battles, see J. W. Doig, "Regional Conflict in the New York Metropolis: The Legend of Robert Moses and the Power of the Port Authority," *Urban Studies* 27 (1990): 209–25.

[15] Ammann wrote on 21 Nov. 1924 to George S. Silzer, "I have submitted to the Port Authority a bid for the preparation of plans for the Arthur Kill Bridges and am now anxiously awaiting their decision." When he met with the Port Authority's chief engineer on 17 April 1925, however, he learned that since these would be the Authority's "first work, it appeared advisable to give it to an engineer of long established reputation" (Amman to Silzer, 17 April 1925). The two bridges over the Arthur Kill—a narrow waterway between New Jersey and Staten Island—are the Goethals and the Outerbridge Crossing; they were designed by two private consultants whose names are now largely erased from the Port Authority's institutional memory. Ammann is often listed incorrectly as the designer of these two metal monsters.

[16] Trucks and passenger automobiles could cross the Hudson only by waiting in long lines for a ferry, or by traveling dozens of miles north to pass over the narrower Hudson via a bridge near Poughkeepsie.

[17] For summaries of these developments, see Erwin W. Bard, *The Port of New York Authority* (New York, 1942), 180–81, and Jacob W. Binder, *All in a Lifetime* (Hackensack, NJ, 1942), 174–80.

[18] Smith's favorable inclination toward the Port Authority was also shaped by his earlier involvement: During his first term as governor (1919–21), Smith had pressed for the creation of the bistate agency. Defeated for reelection, he had then been appointed by the new governor (Nathan Miller) in 1921 as one of the Port Authority's first set of commissioners. Elected governor once again, he took office in 1923 convinced that the Port Authority had an important role to play in overcoming the fabled inefficiencies in the New York region's transportation system. See Erwin W. Bard, *The Port of New York Authority,* 32–33, 181–82, and J. W. Doig, "Entrepreneurship in Government: Historical Roots in the Progressive Era," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Washington, DC, 1–2 Sept. 1988, 58–62, 72–76, 81.

[19] On the Port Authority's attitude, and Silzer's views, see Bard, *The Port of New York Authority,* 182–85, and several items in the Silzer files in the New Jersey Archives: E. Outerbridge to G. Silzer, 9 March 1923; Silzer's veto message on New Jersey bill for private bridges and tunnels, October 1923; Ammann to Silzer, 22 Nov. 1923; Silzer to D. Morrow, 27 Nov. 1923; Morrow to Silzer, 5 Dec. 1923; J. Gregory to Silzer, 18 Dec. 1923.

[20] The classic study of the Port Authority's first decades is Erwin Bard's 1942 book, *The Port of New York Authority.* Bard indicates that Governor Alfred E. Smith urged the Port Authority to take on bridge-and-tunnel projects for motor vehicles in 1923–25, and that the Port Authority staff was reluctant to embrace that new task. But the possibility that the Port Authority could carry out its preferred program—large rail projects—faded by 1925–26, since the railroads were unwilling to cooperate. A bridge-building program "offered a chance" for some kind of achievement in an organization that was floundering. At that point, Ammann "was engaged as Bridge Engineer." He arrived, Bard concludes, "with no great reputation" (185, 193). The book offers no information on why he was chosen. Two other books—Julius Henry Cohen, *They Builded Better than They Knew* (New York, 1946), and Jacob Binder, *All in a Lifetime,* 1942—discuss the political activities surrounding the Port Authority's Hudson Bridge project. Both refer to Ammann's engineering activities at the Port Authority but provide little information on why he was selected to take charge of the bridge project. Cohen appears to assess Ammann as a "pure engineer" who lacked the talents and inclination needed to be an adept political organizer (123).

[21] The relevant materials from the 1920s appear to have been destroyed when the Port Authority offices were moved to the World Trade Center in the early 1970s.

[22] In discussion, Billington agreed that it was surprising the Port Authority had chosen

Ammann to carry out the George Washington Bridge project, rather than a more prominent engineer or consulting firm. Billington had the impression Ammann might have put his own name forward in some way, but he had no details. Billington has also written on Ammann; his book, *The Tower and the Bridge,* discusses Ammann's engineering and his esthetics, and earlier, in 1977, he had written an article, "History and Esthetics in Suspension Bridges," which criticized Ammann's George Washington Bridge design on both technical and esthetic grounds, raising a modest flurry among the faithful.

[23] A brief vignette on the search: When I called the State Archives in July 1987, I knew that the papers of many of the state's governors had not yet been organized, and I thought that Silzer's—like the gubernatorial papers of Woodrow Wilson and others—might still be in folders without subject headings. "You're in luck," a staff member responded when I called, "we've had a student here this summer, and he's just finished organizing Silzer's papers." I asked whether there were any files titled Hudson River Bridge, or George Washington Bridge. The answer was "no." Perhaps this was a dead end. Did she see *any* files on bridges? "Well, yes," she responded, "there's a very bulky file here labeled 'Ammann Bridge.'" I soon headed for Trenton.

[24] The main span of a bridge at 179th Street would be 3,500 feet; the longest spans then in existence or under construction were the Manhattan Bridge (1,470 feet) and Williamsburg (1,600 feet), both across the East River to Manhattan, Bear Mountain Bridge over the narrower Hudson farther north (1,630 feet), the Delaware River Bridge to Philadelphia (1,750 feet), and the Ambassador Bridge over the Detroit River to Canada (1,850 feet). The engineering advances that would, in Ammann's opinion, make possible this giant step in span length included the creation of new alloy steels, development of more accurate methods of shop fabrication and shop assembling of bridge parts, better methods of calculating stresses and of model experimentation, and an improved conception of how to evaluate the forces that stabilize (or "stiffen") a massive bridge. Ammann's views on these issues are set forth in several speeches and papers during the 1920s and 1930s; for a summary discussion, see his paper, "Brobdingnagian Bridges," *Technology Review* 33 (July 1931): 441–44, 464.

[25] Silzer did not set down these views systematically in one place. However, I believe this is a fair summary of his thinking in 1922–25. My main sources for his views are Silzer's inaugural address in January 1923, his public addresses in January 1924 and 1925, and the correspondence and newspaper clippings found in the "Ammann Bridge" file in the New Jersey Archives—particularly his letters of 7 June 1923 (to the managing editor of the *New York Times*), and 27 Nov. 1923 (to Dwight Morrow), Silzer's public statement of 17 Dec. on Ammann's plans, Ammann's letters to Silzer on 12, 13, 17, and 24 Dec. 1923 (which summarize their several discussions), Silzer's letter to Port of New York Authority commissioner Julian Gregory, 31 Dec. 1923; and a number of similar materials in 1924 and early 1925. Some specific examples will be given later in this essay.

[26] "Our neighbor knew how much midnight oil father was burning because she often had to attend to her sick mother during the night. 'Whenever I looked over to the Ammann house, at one o'clock, three o'clock, there was always a light burning in Mr. Ammann's study and I knew he was working.'" Margot Ammann Durrer, "Memories of My Father," *Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter* 15 (1979): 29.

[27] The quotation is from a 1907 paper by Burnham, a Chicago architect and planner, and is widely reprinted; it is quoted here from the frontispiece of a recent book that describes the wondrous hopes of Lindenthal and a large band of engineers and others who sought to reshape New York: Rebecca Read Shanor, *The City That Never Was: Two Hundred Years of Fantastic and Fascinating Plans that Might Have Changed the Face of New York* (New York, 1988).

[28] For this summary of Lindenthal's life and work, I draw mainly on Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge,* 123–32, and Shanor, *The City That Never Was,* 136–49.

[29] See Sharon Reier, *The Bridges of New York* (New York, 1977), 41–57. The City engineers were under constant pressure to allocate contracts to firms associated with influential politicians. On the strategies used by Tammany Hall in obtaining Queensboro Bridge contracts in 1903, for example, see the summary of court hearings reported in "Dummies in City Contract," *New York Times,* 25 March 1911.

[30] The Hell Gate Bridge spans the upper part of the East River and is a key link between

the rail lines in New England and the railroad system that extends from Manhattan under the Hudson River to the rest of the nation.

[31] Lindenthal's aim was to finance the bridge project with private capital. However, he would need *some* governmental assistance—approval of the federal government for a bridge across a navigable waterway; and perhaps monopoly rights, in order to ensure investors in his bridge that toll revenues would not be drained off by any competing bridge to Manhattan.

[32] Ammann to his mother, Rosa Labhardt Ammann, 24 April 1921; trans. Margot Ammann, 1988.

[33] Lindenthal was fairly explicit in sketching out his perceptions and values on these several issues, particularly in his reports in 1921–22, and in his letters to Governor Silzer in 1924 and 1925. See specific citations later in this essay.

[34] Indeed one of those tunnels had been started already, in 1920, between Canal Street in lower Manhattan and Jersey City; and there were plans afoot to follow that effort with a series of other underwater crossings, which might in time (so argued *tunnel* engineers and their associates) entirely eliminate the need for bridges over the wide Hudson. Perhaps a bridge could be more esthetic—even a work of art; the tunnelers would admit this, though a look at the Queensboro Bridge suggested to some that such promise could easily be despoiled. Tunnels, however, were probably cheaper; and since they could be constructed at *many* locations up and down the river, they would disperse traffic, not concentrate it into one monstrous traffic jam, as Lindenthal's great bridge seemed likely to do. As Othmar's son Werner points out (letter to the author, 15 December 1989), his father was not invariably opposed to tunnels; indeed, in the 1930s he would supervise the construction of the Lincoln Tunnel under the Hudson River (to 40th Street in Manhattan). In the early 1920s, however, when a series of tunnels might have eliminated the possibility ever of constructing a great bridge over the Hudson, I believe that Ammann viewed the tunnel option as very undesirable. On Othmar Ammann's attitude in 1923, see note 75, and associated text.

[35] Ammann to his mother, 14 December 1923; trans. Margot Ammann, 1988.

[36] See Arthur S. Link, *Wilson: The Road to the White House* (Princeton, NJ, 1947), 245–46.

[37] On Silzer's values and programs, see his inaugural address (January 1923), his first and second annual messages to the legislature (January 1924 and 1925), Irving S. Kull et al., *New Jersey: A History* (New York, 1930), 3:1080–83, and Paul A. Stellhorn and Michael J. Birkner, eds., *The Governors of New Jersey, 1664–1974* (Trenton, NJ, 1982), 194–96.

[38] Ammann's diary entries during the years 1917–20, when he was manager of the company, list several meetings with Silzer and other directors, including Lindenthal.

[39] The tone of Lindenthal's 30 January 1923 letter to Silzer suggests that earlier discussions of engineering and financial details had taken place between the two men.

[40] And so Ammann's 1904 vision might be reclaimed, and converted into steel. "I could envisage the bold undertaking, the spanning of the broad waterway with a single leap of 3,000 feet from shore to shore, nearly twice the longest span in existence . . . ."—Ammann's recollection of his visit to the top of the Jersey Palisades, shortly after his arrival in America; see note 8.

[41] The effort to build a vehicular tunnel between Jersey City and Canal Street, started in 1919, had been carried forward with much quarreling and many delays by two state commissions, and in 1923, completion of the Holland Tunnel was still years off. There was also some concern that the ventilation system in the underwater tunnel would not carry off the carbon monoxide; why build a second death trap, skeptics asked, until the first has been tried out?

[42] The Port Authority had been created by the two states in April 1921 and was mandated to devise a plan to improve freight transportation in the bistate region around New York Bay. The agency's first plan, published in 1922, focused on ways to improve railroad service, including the construction of underwater rail tunnels between North Jersey and New York City. But the agency also viewed trucks as relevant to its task, serving as feeders between rail terminals and customers. So it might view a bridge at 179th Street as valuable for moving feeder trucks across the region.

[43] The Swiss heritage included his student years in Zurich with Wilhelm Ritter, who emphasized esthetic as well as technical principles in bridge-building. See David P. Billington, "Wilhelm Ritter: Teacher of Maillart and Ammann," *Journal of the Structural*

Division: American Society of Civil Engineers (1980): 1103–16. And, at a genetic level, Ammann may also have drawn upon his maternal grandfather, Emanuel Labhardt, a well-known landscape artist. Margot Ammann, "Beauty and the Bridge," TMs, 1977, 1.

[44] Since early in the nineteenth century, engineers had attempted to make suspension bridges "more and more rigid, in order to eliminate the wavelike motion due to flexibility." Rigidity was obtained by using heavy trusses, which required large amounts of expensive steel. Ammann's studies convinced him that "for a long-span suspension bridge a rigid system was not necessary." By eliminating large, stiff trusses, Ammann reduced the cost of the bridge by about 15 percent. The quotations are from the form nominating the George Washington Bridge to be a National Historic Engineering Landmark, as quoted in Leon Katz, "A Poet in Steel," 34.

[45] As he wrote to his mother in 1921: "Toward strangers one is always covered with a veil. . . . The human soul must not expose itself to the profanities of the world." 12 February 1921; trans. Margot Ammann, 1988; my comments on Ammann's personality also benefited from discussions with Margot Ammann and Sylva Brunner.

[46] O. H. Ammann, letter to Governor George S. Silzer, 9 January 1923; from the George Silzer files in the New Jersey Archives, Trenton. In general, when the writer, addressee and date of a letter are provided in the text, footnote references will be omitted below. The 9 January letter is the first correspondence between Ammann and Silzer in the Silzer files; see letters reproduced in Appendix.

[47] Silzer, "Inaugural Address," 16 Jan. 1923, 8. As his reference to "railroad terminal service" suggests, neither Silzer nor Ammann were yet ready to break entirely with Lindenthal; part of Lindenthal's plan was a railroad terminal at the Manhattan end of the 57th Street bridge.

[48] Ammann reported one of their final exchanges in his diary entry of 22 March 1923: "Submitted memo to G.L., urging reduction of H.R.Br. program dated Mar. 21. G.L. rebuked me severely for my 'timidity' and 'shortsightedness' in not looking far enough ahead. He stated that he was looking ahead for a 1000 years" (quoted in Widmer [1977], 8). "Lindenthal took the first opportunity to lay Ammann off," Edward Cohen concludes, "and in 1923 the two men parted" (Cohen [1987] 9).

[49] The Port Authority's 1922 Comprehensive Plan, which had been endorsed by the legislatures of both states, included an array of rail tunnels under the Hudson River and other waterways in the region. Governor Smith's opposition was motivated in part by his belief that the Port Authority should have control over all interstate tunnels and bridges, and in part by his general opposition to monopoly control by a private corporation over a crucial transportation facility. Since New York State's official approval would be needed for a private tunnel into that state, the threat of a gubernatorial veto was an important obstacle for the private assocation.

[50] Port of New York Authority, Board of Commissioners, Minutes, meeting of 21 Nov. 1923.

[51] This summary is drawn from Ammann letters to Silzer, 22 Nov., 6 Dec. 1923; Silzer letter to Morrow, 27 Nov. 1923; Morrow letter to Silzer, 5 Dec. 1923.

[52] Ammann to Silzer 12 Dec., 13 Dec. 1923. Having left Lindenthal's employ early in the spring of 1923, Ammann had continued to work full-time on the Fort Lee bridge project without pay, using his savings to support his family, during the remainder of 1923.

[53] Amman to Silzer, 17 Dec. 1923 (with attachments); Silzer to the Port Authority Commissioners, 17 Dec. 1923; Silzer to Gregory, 17 Dec. 1923.

[54] Gregory to Silzer, 19 Dec. 1923; Port Authority Commissioners, Minutes, 19 Dec. 1923; Port Authority Commissioners, letters to Governors Silzer and Smith, 21 Dec. 1923.

[55] Both Ammann and the Port Authority had their roots in the era of railroads and rail freight, but Ammann had found it easy to respond—in his general thinking about transportation patterns, and in developing detailed designs—to the increasing use of trucks and automobiles. In part, this reflected his broad disposition to let his mind absorb new facts and use them to modify his views about the world (rather than reinterpreting new facts so they were consistent with his fixed views). In addition, to a bridge engineer, designing wide spans for cars and trucks offered great advantages over railway bridges, for the structures could be lighter and less costly, and their location was not limited to the endpoints of existing rail lines. To Ammann in particular, with his driving esthetic interest in constructing bridges which had a "light and graceful appearance," the automotive age

offered possibilities for artistic achievement denied to those who built in the railroad era. On Ammann's esthetic perspective, see Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge,* 128–46.

[56] Lindenthal to Silzer, 20 Dec. 1923 (reproduced in the Appendix). I have no direct evidence that Governor Silzer showed this letter to Ammann, but Silzer's general habit was to send letters he received to other interested parties, and Ammann's letters to Silzer in subsequent months make it clear that he knew Lindenthal had criticized his behavior on professional and personal grounds. As earlier sections of this essay indicate, Lindenthal's characterization of Ammann's actions was quite unfair.

[57] Ammann, "The Hell Gate Arch Bridge and Approaches of the New York Connecting Railroad Over the East River," a paper delivered at a civil engineering meeting in 1917 and published in the American Society of Civil Engineering, *Transactions* (1918): 863.

[58] Silzer to Cohen, 22 May 1924.

[59] These events are described in Englewood Board of Trade, letter to Silzer, 3 April 1924, and Ammann to Silzer, 7 and 27 May 1924. For newspaper reports of Ammann's efforts during these months, see "Fort Lee Bridge is Advocated by Engineer Ammann," *Bergen Evening Record,* 5 March 1924; "Bridge at Fort Lee Sure, Says Ammann," *Palisadian,* 25 April 1924; and "Bridge the Hudson Meeting Monday: Engineer Ammann Will Tell of Proposed Structure," *Bergen Evening Record,* 3 May 1924.

[60] Ammann to Silzer, 23 July, 23 and 29 Nov. 1924; Silzer to Ammann, 24 Nov. 1924; *Palisadian,* 14 Nov. 1924; *Boonton Times,* 28 Nov. 1924.

[61] See *Bergen Record,* 13 Jan. 1925; Ammann to Silzer, 29 Jan., 25 Feb. and 27 March 1925. See also J. W. Binder letter to Silzer, 4 March 1925, informing the governor that the "Mackay Hudson River Bridge Association" has now been formed to urge that the Port Authority build the Fort Lee bridge.

[62] Silzer to Gregory, 14 April 1925.

[63] Ammann to Silzer, 17 April 1925.

[64] The initial Staten Island spans, the Goethals and the Outerbridge, were completed under Ammann's supervision in 1928. On the Port Authority's political insulation and Ammann's administrative abilities, see Bard, *The Port of New York Authority,* chap. 7. The stone coverings on the George Washington Bridge towers, shown in Ammann's 1923 sketch and in his detailed plans, were omitted for reasons of cost.

[65] The Port Authority also attracted support because, as Al Smith had noted years earlier, it had the potential to pay for its projects via toll receipts and rents, and therefore without direct use of tax revenues.

[66] Completed in 1927 after eight years of political and technical problems, the Holland Tunnel between Jersey City and Canal Street in Manhattan took in millions of dollars a year in automobile and truck tolls.

[67] The Depression sharply reduced the number of motor vehicles using the Port Authority's crossings in the 1930s, and traffic across the three Staten Island bridges was additionally hurt by construction of the Pulaski Skyway. Traffic over the George Washington and the three Staten Island bridges turned out to be insufficient in the early and mid-1930s to pay operating expenses and debt on the bonds. Without the toll revenue from the Holland Tunnel, which maintained high traffic levels, the Port Authority would have been close to bankruptcy in the 1930s. See the analysis in Bard, *The Port of New York Authority,* chap. 8.

[68] The last quotation is from "They Stand Out in a Crowd," *Literary Digest* (28 April 1934): 13; the others above are from "Poet in Steel," 23, 24.

[69] David B. Steinman and Sara Ruth Watson, *Bridges and Their Builders* (New York, 1941), xv, 341. It should be noted, however, that Steinman was also a prominent bridge designer, that he worked with Lindenthal and Ammann on the Hell Gate Bridge, and that his relationship with Ammann was always competitive and perhaps at times antagonistic. See Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge,* 141–46, for an interesting analysis of the relationship between the two men. That Steinman disregarded the drama leading to the 1925 decision might be ascribed partly to his animus toward Ammann and his success. Steinman does describe the construction process at the George Washington Bridge in some detail and with admiration (340–45), but Ammann is barely mentioned.

[70] Here, in summary form, is what Binder says: In 1923, after Governors Silzer and Smith vetoed the legislation approving private tunnels, Binder himself took the initiative, studying the question of whether the Port Authority might take on the task of constructing

a bridge or tunnel across the Hudson to Bergen County, Binder's home territory. In the course of his explorations, Binder visited the Port Authority's offices, where he met the staff, including "a quiet, retiring man" named Othmar Ammann, whose table "was covered with sketches of a great bridge which he hoped some time to build across the Hudson." After talking with "this quiet man who never raised his voice under any provocation," Binder concluded that "here was a master of his profession." But as to Ammann's idea for a great bridge, "no one knew anything about it," except a few "engineering societies" which Ammann had addressed. "What was needed," Binder saw, was "a campaign of education" in the region, "creating public sentiment in its favor." Binder and his allies thereupon organized a campaign which was "opened by Senator Mackay" with a speech in October 1924. A series of meetings followed, and an association to advance the bridge project was formally organized on 7 January 1925. Jacob W. Binder, *All In a Lifetime,* 182–88, and see also 174–208. Binder's recollection that he met Ammann prior to the fall of 1924 in the Port Authority's offices is difficult to credit. In the winter of 1924–25, we know that Senator Mackay wrote to Ammann at an office (which he had borrowed for professional work) on Fourth Avenue. In any event, the Binder-Mackay organization began long after Ammann's efforts.

[71] See Bard, *The Port of New York Authority,* 181–85, 193. Bard goes on to describe at length Ammann's design and administrative accomplishments at the Port Authority (193–201). Bard's conclusion is that "insofar as any joint effort may be attributed to one man, the success of the Port Authority" as a construction agency "may be attributed to Othmar H. Ammann" (193).

[72] See the recollections of Willam Pallmé, one of Cohen's legal aides at the Port Authority in the 1930s (letter to J. Doig, March 1988), and, generally, Doig, "Entrepreneurship in Government," 16ff.

[73] "I learned the difference between the technique of engineers and the technique of Al Smith," Cohen writes, when he looked at blueprints and other engineering work carried out at the Port Authority by Ammann and his colleagues. "The engineer prepares every detail. He does not begin construction until all his plans are tested. . . ." But "if there is a statesman's job to do, another method must be evolved." Al Smith and other political leaders might have a goal in mind, but in order to win "concurrence from others—especially legislators"—they must engage in continual negotiation and compromise, an approach antithetical to that of the non-political engineer. Cohen, *They Builded Better Than They Knew,* 123–24.

[74] Fritz Stüssi, *Othmar H. Ammann: Sein Beitrag zur Entwicklung des Brückenbaus* (Basel, 1974), 13–14, 26, 46.

[75] As Ammann wrote to Samuel Rea, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad on 12 June 1923: "If this bridge proposition is not carried out the tunnel projects already underway will be pushed and supported by popular demand. . . . A popular notion, fed by tunnel advocates and . . . widely distributed sensational statements about the enormity of a bridge undertaking, appears to be gaining ground that tunnels are preferable" (quoted in Widmer, "Othmar Hermann Ammann," 12). Rea had for several years encouraged both Lindenthal and Ammann in their bridge projects.

[76] "In daytime he worked on his project, and in the evening he made speeches wherever there was an opportunity. When he returned to his Boonton home around midnight, he was tired, but still looked forward to the distraction of a game of chess with his wife. Obstinately he fought for his idea and his project. In 1924 he became a U.S. citizen, and at last, early in 1925, the States . . . gave the green light to the Port Authority . . . to build a bridge [at Fort Lee]." Widmer, "Othmar Hermann Ammann," 15.

[77] In "Memories of My Father," Margot Ammann Durrer writes that after leaving Lindenthal, Ammann "prepared plans for and advocated construction of a more moderate bridge to cross the Hudson River between Fort Lee and Upper Manhattan. . . . Father modestly glossed over the hard struggle to get the bridge under way: the bitter controversies with others of his profession, the years of working without any income, the many lectures to political groups and ladies clubs" (29).

[78] Cohen also notes that Ammann was provided with working space—on "huge cutting room tables"—by a Boonton neighbor who was a senior official of a firm in Manhattan's garment district, and that this neighbor and Ammann's brother Ernst (who lived in Switzerland) provided some financial support in 1923–25. And Cohen refers to

Ammann's work at the Such Clay Company, which provided him with contact with George Silzer, "who would become governor of New Jersey and an influential figure in the Port Authority." The connections are not further explored. Edward Cohen, "The Legacy," 9–12.

[79] For example, Binder clearly wanted to emphasize the importance of his own role in organizing public support for the Fort Lee bridge; therefore, he had little incentive to lay out the activities of Ammann and others who worked at that task before Binder arrived. On Steinman's motivation, see note 69.

[80] For valuable discussions of engineering ideals, see Elting E. Morison, *From Know-How to Nowhere: The Development of American Technology* (Cambridge, MA, 1974), esp. 6–8, 88–96, 127–29, and David P. Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge*, esp. chap. 1 and pp. 266ff.

[81] Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge*, 267, 269. Some of these characteristics are clearly focused on the kinds of works produced by the civil engineer. Perhaps the phrasing in Morison (*From Know-How to Nowhere*, 8) captures a value which would apply to engineers more generally: "a daring elegance . . . the ultimate morality of the engineer—if it works."

[82] For an extensive discussion of these aspects of Ammann's work, see Billington, *The Tower and the Bridge*, esp. 130–34, 137–40.

[83] See in particular his 1918 paper, "The Hellgate Arch Bridge over the East River in New York City," which won the ASCE prize that year for its quality of analysis and exposition, his 1931 article, "Brobdingnagian Bridges," in *Technology Review*, and his extensive 1933 report, "George Washington Bridge—General Conception and Development of Design." When teachers of English at an engineering school (Polytechnic of Brooklyn) prepared a book of essays to assist their engineering students to write clearly, one of several essays they selected from twentieth-century engineers was another Ammann paper, his March 1926 "Tentative Report on the Hudson River Bridge" (Walter J. Miller and Leo E. A. Saidla, eds., *Engineers as Writers* [New York, 1953], 237–51).

[84] The references to nineteenth-century engineers are taken from Morison, *From Know-How to Nowhere*, 68, 93.

[85] For a detailed discussion of Strauss and "his" bridge, see John van der Zee, *The Gate: The True Story of the Design and Construction of the Golden Gate Bridge* (New York, 1986).

[86] For an analysis that emphasizes these factors, see, for example, Danielson and Doig, *New York*, 186–94.

[87] See, for example, the studies by Herbert Kaufman, Pendleton Herring, and others, discussed in Doig and Hargrove, eds., *Leadership and Innovation*, chap. 1.

[88] To simplify the discussion, I leave aside the issue of why an extensive network of rail tunnels was not built under the Hudson River. Most New Jersey railroads terminated at the Hudson, although two did go via tunnel to Manhattan.

[89] The difficulties that Ammann encountered in attempting to persuade local groups to pull together in support of the Fort Lee bridge are suggested by his letters to Governor Silzer; see, for example, his optimistic assessment of 9 Jan. 1923, and his less happy reports of 23 Jan. 1924 and 29 Jan. 1925 (all reproduced in the Appendix).

[90] The Port Authority's commissioners were appointed by the two governors for fixed, extended terms, and the agency was expected to make its decisions as to appropriate projects (for regional development) based on broad planning criteria. The fact that the Port Authority was expected to undertake projects only if they could be financed without recourse to tax revenues added to the agency's apparent political insulation.

[91] For a review of the Port Authority's evolution after 1931, and of the conflicts with Moses, see Doig, "Regional Conflict in the New York Metropolis," 206ff.

[92] On these three cases, see respectively Elting E. Morison, *Admiral Sims and the Modern American Navy* (New York, 1942), and two essays in Doig and Hargrove, *Leadership and Innovation:* Theodore R. Marmor, "Entrepreneurship in Public Management: Wilbur Cohen and Robert Ball," and John Milton Cooper, Jr., "Gifford Pinchot Creates a Forest Service."

[93] See the discussion of "imaginative reconstruction" as a crucial step in analyzing patterns of power and social outcomes, in Robert MacIver, *Social Causation* (New York, 1964), esp. 258–59 and 391.

[94] Jean Strouse, "The Real Reasons," in William Zinsser, ed., *Extraordinary Lives: The Art and Craft of American Biography* (Boston, 1988), 184–85.

[95] Ronald Steel, "Living with Walter Lippmann," in Zinsser, *Extraordinary Lives*, 124.

[96] "The relation of the biographer to the subject is the very core of the biographical enterprise. Idealization of the hero or heroine blinds the writer of lives to the meaning of the materials. Hatred or animosity does the same." Leon Edel, *Writing Lives* (New York, 1984), 14.

[97] See Robert Caro, *The Power Broker* (New York, 1974), and Doig, "Regional Conflict in the New York Metropolis," 225–32.

Acknowledgments

An earlier version of this essay was presented as a lecture at the annual meeting of the Swiss American Historical Society on 22 October 1988 in New York City. The Society provided a grant in 1987 to further the research reported in this paper, and additional funds were provided by the foundation Pro Helvetia and by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. The author is grateful for this financial support and for the research assistance of Alexis Faust, Janice Finney, and Paul Margie, whose activities were funded through these grants.

The author is also grateful for the encouragement, advice and documentary materials provided by Margot Ammann Durrer, Werner Ammann, Sylva Brunner, David Billington, Robert Mark, Michael Mahoney, and Rebecca Read Shanor, and by Edward Cohen of Ammann & Whitney, Urs Widmer in Winterthur, Switzerland, Leon Katz and Vincent DeConzo at the Port Authority of NY&NJ, Karl Niederer and his staff at the New Jersey Archives, the staff of the New York State Archives, Elizabeth Lukach at the *Palisadian*, and Malcolm Borg and his associates at the *Bergen Record*.

Regula A. Meier

EPILOGUE

Readings on Switzerland: An Introductory Guide

The following selection of thirty titles relating to some of Switzerland's many facets derives from *World Bibliographies: Switzerland,* published in 1990 by Clio Press of Oxford, England. Permission to use material already published in that bibliography for the following guide is gratefully acknowledged. The authors, the late Heinz K. Meier and his wife Regula A. Meier, both of Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, have selected nearly a thousand annotated entries that carefully describe the content and significance of each title in some one hundred categories and subcategories. The sampling offered below may serve as an initial guide to Switzerland's complex geographic, linguistic, historical, and cultural world, and it will also give an impression of the nature and scope of the Meiers' bibliographical work. The thirty titles have been arranged under the following eight headings:

I. The Country (1–3)
II. Languages (4–8)
III. Economy (9–12)
IV. Society (13–15)
V. History (16–20)
VI. Politics (21–23)
VII. Religion (24–26)
VIII. Culture (27–30)

In the selection of titles, book-length studies and those available in English were preferred, without prejudice however to their thematic counterparts in other languages. Surveys received preference over titles dealing with individuals or with single institutions. Given the wealth of available material, it would have been possible to create a different, equally representative list.

I. The Country

1. Emil Egli. *Switzerland: A Survey of Its Land and People.* Translated from the German by Britta M. Charleston, Paul Swain, Walter Sorell. Bern: Haupt, 1978. 229 pages.

Egli divides his scholarly but very readable book into two parts. The first is entitled "Nature: Origin and Aspects of the Country." Since prehistoric times the Alps, the Central Plateau, and the Jura have undergone great changes caused by climatic and glacial shifts, erosion, the flow of water, landslides, etc., so that the topography of present-day Switzerland is totally different from that of thousands of years ago. Tables and sketches illustrate what natural forces were at work and how they affected the landscape. The second part is entitled "Settlement, Economy and Population" and shows how man had to adapt to his surrounding and in turn how the presence of man has changed the face of the landscape. Due to the geographic contrasts so pronounced in Switzerland and the multicultural population, settlements are distinct from one region to another. Switzerland has no natural resources and much of its land is unproductive, yet it enjoys a high standard of living, which Egli attributes to the historical and political development of the country, its early adoption of modern industrial technology, and its "national character" that inspires the trust of others. This is an important book by one of the leading twentieth-century Swiss geographers.

2. Fritz R. Allemann. *26 Mal die Schweiz: Panorama einer Konföderation.* 4th ed. Munich: Piper, 1985. 603 pages.

Allemann, Swiss journalist and writer, provides in this substantial book a picture of the twenty-six ministates or cantons that make up the Swiss Confederation. Each of these cantons has a character and a history of its own, and Allemann succeeds in bringing out the individuality of each of them in fascinating detail. Central Switzerland *(Urschweiz),* where the country's history began, retains many of the old traditions. Zurich, Bern, and Lucerne, the leading states in the Old Confederation, are centers of different kinds of power, with metropolitan Zurich being the undisputed financial and economic leader in the country. French Switzerland *(Welschland, Romandie)* is the land of grain and wine production and watchmaking, where cosmopolitan elegance is combined with puritan discipline. There is no more informative, reliable, and at the same time enjoyable guide to the cantonal diversity of Switzerland than Allemann's book.

3. Gavin R. de Beer. *Early Travellers in the Alps.* [1930]. New York: October House, 1967. 204 pages.

This is the first of half a dozen books that Sir Gavin de Beer has written about his great love and hobby: traveling in Switzerland. It recounts the experiences of people who traveled in the Alps from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. De Beer defines travelers as persons "who wander about for no purpose other than the interest and enjoyment which the region affords them." He retells the adventures and achievements of the early humanists and scientists attracted to the Alps, of the first Englishmen to venture into the mountain valleys, of poets and writers, and, finally, of "the greatest Alpine tourist," the

Genevan physicist, geologist, and mineralogist Horace Bénédict de Saussure who produced a wealth of scientific reports and materials on his seven trips to the Mont Blanc and Matterhorn regions. The book is illustrated with forty plates and thirty-two figures in the text, all woodcuts and engravings from the works of early travelers, depicting personalities and scenery. Books on similar subjects by the author include *Escape to Switzerland* (London, New York: Penguin, 1945) and *Alps and Men: Pages from Forgotten Diaries of Travellers and Tourists in Switzerland* (London: Edward Arnold, 1932).

II. Languages

4. Rudolf Hotzenköcherle. *Die Sprachlandschaften der deutschen Schweiz.* Edited by Niklaus Bigler and Robert Schläpfer. Aarau, Switzerland: Sauerländer, 1984. 496 pages.

The book was compiled following the death of Professor Hotzenköcherle, the undisputed authority on Swiss dialects and creator of the *Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz.* It contains material from lectures and writings by Hotzenköcherle on phonological and morphological problems of contemporary Swiss German as manifested in different regions. The historical background and the maps illustrating the geographic location of the examples given make this work on dialectology interesting even for the layperson.

5. Pierre du Bois, ed. *Union et divison des Suisses: Les relations entre Alémaniques, Romands et Tessinois aux XIXe et XXe siècles.* Lausanne: Editions de l'Aire, 1983. 239 pages.

This book contains the text of twelve scholarly papers on various aspects of the relationship between the ethnic groups of Switzerland presented at a colloquium at the Federal Institute of Technology in Lausanne in November 1980. Half of these articles are historical treatments of specific issues such as the ethnic relations before the founding of the new confederation in 1848 or the tensions between German-speaking and French-speaking Swiss during the two world wars of the twentieth century. The other articles analyze the bilateral relationships between ethnic groups and the impact on the *Romandie* of the recent linguistic development in Alemannic Switzerland of increasing use of the dialect even in schools.

6. Alfred Wyler. *Dialect and High German in German-speaking Switzerland.* Translated from the German by Maureen Oberli-Turner. Zurich: Pro Helvetia, 1989. 43 pages.

Swiss German is not a single language but consists of a number of dialects differing from one another in vocabulary, pronunciation, and intonation. "Schwyzertütsch" as it is called, is spoken in eastern, central and northwestern Switzerland by about 68 percent of the population. All children from Swiss German-speaking areas learn standard German in the first years in school. With some training, this standard written form differs little from High German, while the spoken form retains the local coloring of the speaker. The Swiss do not want

to sound like Germans. Even though they may feel uncomfortable in the presence of a native German, the Swiss make little effort to hide the characteristic patterns of intonation typical for the dialect when speaking High German. In other cultures, use of the dialect may show the social and educational level of the speaker; this is not so in Switzerland. Only in schools, on official occasions or when speakers from other language areas are present is High German, or what the Swiss call "Schriftdeutsch" (written German), used in oral communication. The recent trend to increased use of the dialect in school, church, and the media is welcomed by some and frowned upon by others for various reasons. Wyler begins with a brief description of various dialects from different regions, traces some phonetic changes from Middle High German to Swiss German, and shows differences in inflection and vocabulary between the two languages. Wyler ends with a brief history of the development of the Swiss German dialects and their limited use in literature.

7. Jürgen B. Heye. *A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Multilingualism in the Canton of Ticino.* The Hague: Mouton, 1975. 87 pages.

After World War II, Canton Ticino began to attract large numbers of Swiss from other cantons and foreigners. The mild climate of the southernmost Swiss canton was one attraction. The influx of non-Italian speakers did not create social friction. Heye examined language performance and language attitudes with the aid of a questionnaire in Italian and German which was randomly distributed in the major population areas of Lugano, Locarno, and Bellinzona. Samples of this questionnaire, the results and their interpretation form the major body of this work. Heye finds that regardless of socio-economic status, the attitude toward the standard languages is more positive than toward the corresponding dialects.

8. Douglas B. Gregor. *Romontsch: Language and Literature: The Sursilvan Raeto-Romance of Switzerland.* Cambridge, England: Oleander, 1982. 388 pages.

The Rhaeto-Romance language, spoken by less than 1 percent of the Swiss population, consists really of five languages, each with its own history, idiom, and literature. They are: Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, and the Ladins of the Upper and Lower Engadin valleys. The author deals in a lengthy introduction of eighty-one pages with the geography of the isolated mountain valleys and villages and the history of the Romansh territory that was at one time part of the Roman province Rhaetia. He then touches on language, literature, and folklore and shows the consequences of the absence of a unified language. Only strong support by the federal government, the media, and linguistic societies working toward the creation of a common written language, can halt the disappearance of Switzerland's fourth national language. A 110-page grammar provides an introduction to the phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax of the Sursilvan language, spoken in the Vorder-Rhein Valley of the northwestern part of Canton Graubünden. The anthology that follows consists of ninety poems, letters, and prose pieces in Sursilvan, translated by Gregor on the facing pages and accompanied by biographical notes about the different authors. The book is produced from a typewritten manuscript and has the look of a not entirely reliable work of an enthusiastic amateur.

III. Economy

9. François Gross, ed. *Focus on Switzerland: Economic Life and the Export Industries.* Translated from the French by Roger Glémet. 2d ed. Lausanne: Swiss Office for the Development of Trade, 1982. 115 pages.

This richly illustrated book provides an excellent overview of the character of the Swiss economy. The Swiss economy is intimately tied to the economy of the world and depends on successfully marketing its products abroad. The historical roots of this development are sketched, as are the major industries from the dairy and food industry to the chemical and pharmaceutical, watchmaking, engineering, hydroelectric and nuclear power, machine tool, and textile industries. The role scientific research, consulting, customer service training, banks, insurance companies, the merchant marine, and the "sixth Switzerland" of Swiss companies abroad play in maintaining Switzerland's competitive position in the world market is also outlined. The Swiss are able to sell their products abroad thanks to the quality of those products and of their services and the stability of the Swiss franc. The book with its many striking photographs is in itself a quality product and as such the best possible propaganda instrument for the subject it describes. The *Focus on Switzerland* series has also been published in German, French, Italian, and Spanish. It is available from the publisher or Pro Helvetia, Swiss Council for Culture, in Zurich.

10. Paul B. Bernard. *Rush to the Alps: The Evolution of Vacationing in Switzerland.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1978. 228 pages.

As Bernard points out, "vacationing in the Alps is a relatively recent phenomenon." In Switzerland it began less than two hundred years ago, and it became an economically significant factor only during the last century. Bernard traces this development from the early stirrings of interest in the mountains during the Renaissance to the transformation of Alpine Switzerland during the tourism boom of the pre-World War I era. The evolution of concepts such as "leisure," "free time," and "vacation" are historically delineated; the difficulties of travel and the changing modes of lodging and transportation are graphically described; a presentation of the history of taking the waters ("balneology") is as much part of this book as is the characterization of the psychology of hotelkeeping; the sociological and economic analysis of life in the mountain valleys before and after the advent of tourism is balanced by the description of the no less important changes brought about in the vacationer. Bernard puts appropriate stress on the role that the English played in the rush to the Alps. His last two chapters give an entertaining detailed account of how the "little Upper Engadine village of St. Moritz" became "the platinum melting pot" that illustrated like no other place the variety and complexity the Swiss vacation had achieved by 1914.

11. Ernest A. Brugger et al. *The Transformation of Swiss Mountain Regions: Problems of Development between Self-Reliance and Dependence in an Economic and Ecological Perspective.* Translated from the German and French by Barbara Stuckey et al. Bern: Haupt, 1984. 699 pages.

The more than sixty scholarly articles in this book deal with the economic,

political, ecological, and cultural problems affecting the mountain regions of contemporary Switzerland. The mountain areas of the Alps and the Jura, which make up two-thirds of the territory of the country but have only about 14 percent of its population, have not participated in the economic growth of the lowlands of the Central Plateau. The authors of the articles, representing different scientific disciplines, address three basic questions. First, what ecological, economic, cultural, and political disparities characterize the development of the mountain areas of Switzerland? Second, what are the causes and consequences of these disparities? Third, how have the various actors, including governments, reacted to desirable and undesirable structures and processes? The result of their investigations is an impressive interdisciplinary inventory of issues and possible solutions.

12. Willy Zeller. *'Europe 92' und die Schweiz: Blickpunkt Integration.* Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1988. 122 pages.

A first part of this book contains seven articles dealing with the general question of how the program of the European Community (EC) to establish an internal common market by 1992 affects Europe as a whole, and the countries of the EFTA (European Free Trade Association) in particular. The second part consists of ten articles on the partnership between Switzerland and the EC. The prospect of the abolition of all trade barriers within the EC presents a tremendous challenge to Switzerland. It calls for a strategy that builds upon the many existing ties between Switzerland and the EC, without reaching the level of membership in the EC, which is not feasible politically. The Swiss government must strive to reduce differences in legal and economic matters with the EC member states. The task of Swiss business, on the other hand, is to maintain its competitiveness. See also *Schweiz-EG: Stimmen der Schweizer Wirtschaft zur europäischen Integration* (Switzerland-EC: Voices of the Swiss Economy on the European Integration) edited by Richard Senti (Zurich: Neue Zürcher Zeitung, 1988).

IV. Society

13. René Levy. *The Social Structure of Switzerland: Outline of a Society.* Translated from the German by R. Bandi. 3d ed. Zurich: Pro Helvetia, 1986. 136 pages.

This brief study deals with some of the most important aspects of the social structure of Switzerland. After a description of Switzerland's position and role in the international scene, Levy, who is senior lecturer in sociology at the University of Lausanne, provides an analysis of life and living conditions in Switzerland with attention to such factors as the material and spiritual standard of living, life patterns from childhood to old age, including family and work roles of both sexes, education, economic conditions, politics, and decision making across the spectrum of society. In a further part Levy describes "the organisation of living conditions at the local, cantonal, and national levels," stressing differences that exist between urban and rural communities and rich and poor cantons. Finally, he assesses strengths and weaknesses of the system and what might be done to improve it. This panorama of the social and cultural diversity of Switzerland and the everyday problems of its inhabitants is an

excellent, sober introduction to the complexity of Swiss society. The book is illustrated and has a number of charts, tables, and graphs, as well as a good bibliography of mainly German-language titles.

14. Robert Billigmeier. *A Crisis in Swiss Pluralism: The Romansh and Their Relations with Germans and Italian-Swiss in the Perspective of a Millennium.* The Hague: Mouton, 1979. 450 pages.

Canton Graubünden is a Switzerland in miniature in its geographical, ethnic, and linguistic diversity. It has three language communities, German, Romansh, and Italian, in order of size. Billigmeier's focus is the fate of the Romansh people and their language. They constitute less than 1 percent of the entire Swiss population and are in danger of losing their identity in the wake of the powerful economic and social forces that engulf them. Billigmeier describes the evolution of the Romansh language through the centuries and its division into seven distinct dialects in the various mountain valleys. This division makes the creation of a common written language very difficult. The revivalist movement that began in the 1830s has had some success, but has been hampered by constant internal bickering. The expansion of Swiss-German enterprises into the Romansh areas since World War II and the impact of tourism, among other things, present real dangers for this unique component of Swiss pluralism.

15. Armin Gretler and Pierre-Emeric Mandl. *Values, Trends and Alternatives in Swiss Society: A Prospective Analysis.* New York: Praeger, 1973. 241 pages.

This book was undertaken at the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology in Zurich in order to develop a guide *(Leitbild)* for town and country planning in Switzerland. Successful planning "will be related to ethical, cultural, social, political, administrative, economic, aesthetic, and other factors," and "the identification and comprehension of all these factors" is a "prerequisite for a valid overall conception." Gretler and Mandl present the results of that portion of the study *(Teilleitbild)* that deals with Swiss society. The subject area of society was divided into the subcategories of demography; the labor force; the condition of women; the family; work and leisure; standards of living; property ownership; urbanization; types of housing and social relations; cantonal party systems and political participation; and external influences on the development of Switzerland, and worldwide interdependence. Each of these topics is given a chapter in which possible developments in the last decades of the twentieth century are outlined. Seventy-eight tables provide statistical data of existing conditions, trends, and forecasts to the year 2040 in some cases. This brief and interesting book manages to present a wealth of information about most aspects of Swiss society and digests many of the results of the vast literature generated by futurologists.

V. History

16. *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte.* 2 vols. Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972, 1977. 1,320 pages.

The first volume begins with an essay on the content and meaning of Swiss

history by Helbling and then treats Swiss history from prehistoric times to the age of the Counter Reformation in six chapters. The second volume continues the story from the ancien régime to the 1960s in seven chapters. Most of the authors are or were professors at Swiss universities; all are established authorities in their fields. They have produced a thorough chronological account of Swiss history. As contributors to a handbook they were especially concerned to incorporate the available historical literature into their presentation. To this end, copious footnotes throughout provide an exhausting annotated commentary on the scholarly output by Swiss historians. Each chapter also has a listing of source materials in archives and in printed form and, in some cases, an extensive bibliography. This handbook will be a valuable resource for years to come.

17. Georg Thürer. *Free and Swiss: The Story of Switzerland.* Adapted and translated from the German by R. P. Heller and E. Long. London: Wolff, 1970. 198 pages.

Thürer sets the scene by dwelling on the diversity of the Swiss people and the regions where they live which, nevertheless, did not prevent them from achieving unity in the course of seven hundred years of history. He divides the book into thirteen chapters and focuses his narrative on historical periods: the origins of the people, their first attempts at an alliance, their struggle for independence, the conflicts caused by the Reformation, the effects of the French Revolution and Napoleon, the emergence of a federal state in 1848, economic developments in the nineteenth century, the two world wars, and the period from 1945 to 1969. An appendix details briefly the history of the individual cantons. Twelve photographs depict characteristic Swiss scenes and influential Swiss personalities. This condensed history is easy reading. It draws from broad knowledge of the country's past, and presents it in a favorable light.

18. Marc-R. Sauter. *Switzerland: From Earliest Times to the Roman Conquest.* Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1976. 208 pages.

The varied relief of Switzerland resulted in diverse ethnic and cultural developments already in its prehistoric and protohistoric past. Sauter, one of the foremost Swiss archaeologists and anthropologists concisely introduces this involved subject matter. His information, written in precise, scholarly language, is based on the most recent evidence and interpretations. Beginning in the distant past of the world of glaciers, mammoths, and rock shelters, the story moves on to the Neolithic farmers and builders of lake dwellings, constructed on the shores of Switzerland's many lakes. During the Bronze Age migrant groups of people wandered into the country across the Alpine passes and began the period of continuous settlement on the Swiss Plateau and the Jura, which culminated in the flourishing La Tène culture of the Second Iron Age found near Lake Neuchâtel. The Celtic tribe of the Helvetii were the first inhabitants of Switzerland who can be identifed by name. They were first mentioned when they were defeated by Julius Caesar in 58 B.C. Good maps, many illustrations and line drawings, and a comprehensive bibliography enhance the scholarly value and the enjoyment of this fine publication.

19. J. Murray Luck and Lukas F. Burckhardt, eds. *Modern Switzerland.* Stanford, CA: SPOSS, 1976. 515 pages.

This book consists of twenty-six self-contained articles by individual Swiss authors that aim "to describe present-day Switzerland to the English-speaking world." The topics covered include demography, geography, energy resources, agriculture, banking, research, technology, public health, labor relations, social security, education, religion, sports, tourism, federalism, the judicial system, politics, national defense, the status of women, the constitution, Swiss relations with the European Community and the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, Swiss neutrality, and modern art. Each article ends with a brief bibliography. This work is complemented by J. Murray Luck, *A History of Switzerland* (Palo Alto, CA: SPOSS, 1985). Chapter eleven, titled "The Twentieth Century," provides a richly textured update of *Modern Switzerland.*

20. Leo Schelbert. *Einführung in die schweizerische Auswanderungsgeschichte der Neuzeit.* Zurich: Leemann, 1976. 443 pages.

With this work Leo Schelbert confirmed his expertise in the field of migration history in general and Swiss emigration in particular. In a first part he describes the causes of emigration and the process of emigration. A historical survey of Swiss emigration, military and civilian, into all parts of the world forms part two. Schelbert illustrates his points by means of a collection of some thirty documents, consisting of official statements, travel reports, and letters. Finally, a "historiographical introduction" leads to the primary and secondary literature, arranged according to topics and geographic areas. From one of the thirty statistical tables we learn that an estimated 347,000 Swiss lived abroad in 1928, the year with the largest number of Swiss abroad, 73 percent of them in Europe, and 24 percent in the Americas.

VI. Politics

21. Kenneth D. McRae. *Conflict and Compromise in Multilingual Societies: Switzerland.* Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1983. 274 pages.

Switzerland is made up of German, French, Italian, and Romansh-speaking people living in different geographic areas of the country who are characterized by distinctive cultures and lifestyles. Despite these differences, Switzerland is an example of peaceful coexistence and remarkable social and political stability. McRae gives a historical overview of how this came about and how the social and political institutionalization of the linguistic cleavages was achieved. Political parties, federal and cantonal institutions, the media, and educational and cultural policies are analyzed in turn, with special attention given to the attitudes and behavior of the members of the four language groups toward one another. A few maps and many tables and figures are part of the scholarly apparatus of this impressive monograph.

22. Frederick W. Dame. *Continuity and Change in Swiss Neutrality from 1815 to 1980: An Analysis.* Saarbrücken: University of the Saarland, 1981. 331 pages.

This political science dissertation examines continuity and change in Swiss neutrality since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, where a "permanent" neu-

trality was imposed on the country. The author examines the influence neutrality had and has on the Swiss people, their society, economy, and political system and how it affects foreign relations. Switzerland has not been involved in a war since 1815 and has been able to preseve its security and national interest while adapting to changing situations. In the years following World War II, the conflict between the capitalist and communist systems and between highly industrialized and underdeveloped countries has put Swiss neutrality to new tests. A book that examines Swiss neutrality during the same period as Dame's is *Neutralität—Ideal oder Kalkül? Zweihundert Jahre außenpolitisches Denken in der Schweiz* (Neutrality—Ideal or Calculation? Two Hundred Years of Thought on Foreign Policy in Switzerland) by Daniel Frei (Frauenfeld, Switzerland; Stuttgart, FRG: Huber, 1967).

23. Heinz K. Meier. *Friendship under Stress: U.S.-Swiss Relations 1900–1950.* Bern: Lang, 1970. 423 pages.

The two world wars of the twentieth century affected U.S.-Swiss relations in important respects. During World War I Switzerland came to depend on American raw materials and food supplies. Both were hard to come by once the United States had joined the war. During the interwar years American tariff laws stirred up negative reaction in Switzerland. In the second half of World War II Switzerland was subjected to intense pressure by the United States and Great Britain to change its economic policies toward Germany. The aftereffects of the tensions created were felt into the early 1950s. Meier points out that in spite of such difficulties, feelings of respect and friendship provided the underlying continuity in the relationship. This book is the only large-scale and detailed scholarly study of twentieth-century relations between Switzerland and any other country. An account that follows Meier's work closely in organization and documentation without acknowledgment is "American Wartime Relations with Neutral European States: The Case of the United States and Switzerland" by Arthur L. Funk in *Les états neutres européens et la Seconde Guerre mondiale,* edited by L.-E. Roulet and R. Blättler (Neuchâtel: La Baconnière, 1985), pp. 283–302.

VII. Religion

24. Ulrich Gäbler. *Huldrych Zwingli: His Life and Work.* Translated by Ruth C. L. Gritsch. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986. 196 pages.

Gäbler's book is an excellent short biography of Zwingli in which a thorough knowledge of the entire range of Zwingli literature is coupled with an easy, readable style and presentation. The book begins with a chapter on the historical environment of the Swiss Confederation at the beginning of the sixteenth century and ends with one on Zwingli's historical impact. In between Gäbler tells the story of Zwingli's life in eight chapters from his childhood in Wildhaus in Toggenburg to his death in 1531 on the battlefield in Kappel. Zwingli's intellectual and spiritual growth is described through the analysis of his writings and in its interaction with the communities in which he was active, first and foremost among them Zurich. In addition to an annotated "bibliographical survey" at the end of the book, there are separate bibliographies after each

chapter. A bibliography with 1,619 titles can be found in *A Zwingli Bibliography* by H. Wayne Pipkin (Pittsburgh: The Clifford E. Barbour Library, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, 1972).

25. Robert W. Lovin. *Christian Faith and Public Choices: The Social Ethics of Barth, Brunner, and Bonhoeffer.* Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984. 183 pages.

Karl Barth (1886–1968) of Basel and Emil Brunner (1889–1966) of Zurich were two of the most influential twentieth-century Protestant theologians. Lovin analyzes their theology and teaching for their ethical content against the historical background of the crisis years of the 1920s and 1930s. Both believed that the theology and ethics of the preceding generation were inadequate to meet the demands of their time. They set out on a common path toward renewal but soon parted ways and spent some of their energies in the sometimes bitter "Barth-Brunner debate." For Barth, the meaning of good can only be established by the will of God, thus preventing humans from deifying their own choices, yet providing no ethical guidance for making choices. Lovin concludes that "for all its theological integrity, Barth's position is impossible for public ethics." At a personal level, however, Barth made clear choices, as is exemplified by the Barmen Declaration of the German Confessing Church of May 1934, which, drafted by him, put the church in bold opposition to the totalitarian regime created by Hitler. Here at last, Lovin comments, was "a working version of the ethic of the Word of God." Brunner, even though he, too, believed that the meaning of moral terms is tied to the will of God, maintained that this will had to be interpeted in a way that fit the needs of human choice and action. He was a theological realist whose message of "critical cooperation" calls for the union of faith and reason.

26. Hermann Häring and Karl-Josef Kuschel. *Hans Küng: His Work and His Way.* Translated from the German by Robert Nowell. Garden City, NY: Image Books, 1980. 254 pages.

Hans Küng was born in 1928 in Sursee, Canton Lucerne. After his training for the priesthood in Rome he went to Paris where he earned a doctorate in theology at the Sorbonne with a dissertation on his Protestant compatriot, Karl Barth. Küng went on to become one of the most important and controversial Catholic theologians of the second half of the twentieth century. This book is a tribute to Küng by two of his former students and associates at the Institute for Ecumenical Research at the University of Tübingen. A chronological summary provides access to the significant dates in Küng's life and to the sequence of events that led to his conflict with Rome. The bulk of the book consists of a collection of essays by contemporaries of Küng and by Küng himself on key elements of his theology, designed to provide an introduction to his major writings. This section is followed by a fifty-page interview of Küng by the two editors in which he is given the opportunity to "speak on questions connected with his development, on the background to his work, and on how he sees himself both as a theologian and as a member of the Church." A bibliography of Küng's published works 1955–78, compiled by Margret Gentner, completes the book. The bibliography consists of 219 titles, not counting the many translations of his works, which are also listed, and some sixty published interviews.

VIII. Culture

27. Alfred Berchthold, Andre Kuenzi, and Kurt von Fischer. *Focus on Switzerland: Intellectual and Literary Life, the Fine Arts, Music.* 2d ed. Lausanne: Swiss Office for the Development of Trade, 1982. 175 pages.

This book provides a fine introduction to the intellectual, cultural, and artistic life of Switzerland. Excellent illustrations of individual personalities and their creations give an idea of the richness and the variety of the forces that shaped modern Switzerland. The illuminated manuscript page from the monastery of St. Gallen is part of the rich cultural heritage, as is the animated machine sculpture by Jean Tinguely; Arthur Honegger's *Jeanne d'Arc au bucher* (Joan of Arc at the stakes) is an expression of the twentieth century, as is the Swiss Jazz School in Bern; a play by Dürrenmatt belongs to the literary scene, as does a Romansh poem. Scientists, psychologists, theologians, educators, inventors, and architects have left their marks. The cities lend their support to cultural organizations and the performing arts and provide a meeting ground of the minds not only for the country's citizens but also for the foreign visitors.

28. John L. Flood, ed. *Modern Swiss Literature: Unity and Diversity.* New York: St. Martin's, 1985. 146 pages.

This book is made up of eleven papers which were presented at a symposium on Swiss literature in London in March 1984. Four papers of a general nature analyze the forces that shape the works of Swiss writers. Despite the existence of three major cultural and language entities, each with special ties to its neighbor across the border, there is a national responsibility and a sense of loyalty to the fatherland. But pride about the country's history and its democratic political system is mixed with criticism of, among other things, the materialism that seems to dominate Swiss life and of the country's disregard for the preservation of nature. The Romance literatures of Switzerland are treated in four essays. A paper on the emergence of a distinct French-Swiss literary culture during the first half of the twentieth century is followed by an account of the development of the French-Swiss novel after 1945. The smallest of the Swiss languages, Romansh, receives a brief review of its limitations and perspectives. The paper on Italian-Swiss writers shows how closely tied their work is to the soil and the history of their native Ticino. Even though the body of their writings is small, they form an important part in the diversity of Swiss literature. Three papers deal with German-Swiss literature, one essay each on the *Künstlerroman* from Gottfried Keller to Max Frisch, one on aspects of the contemporary German-Swiss theater, and one on contemporary Swiss poets writing in German.

29. Richard Weiss. *Volkskunde der Schweiz: Grundriss.* 2d ed. Zurich: E. Rentsch, 1978. 435 pages.

This well-documented work by a leading Swiss folklorist presents a subject matter that was relatively new when the book was written. Still, the content of the book is not outdated. Scientific research in folklore attempts to collect and interpret objects and visible expressions of the imagination of the common people, the folk. Weiss carefully investigates such expressions of human endeavor as they are manifested in Switzerland. The number and variety of

customs and traditions in the cantons and regions of this small country are truly astounding. Weiss points out that the task of protecting these customs and traditions is in the hands of the special interest groups who practice them. There are 314 photographs, depicting old houses, artifacts of all kinds made from all sorts of materials, scenes from religious and folk festivals, and local customs.

30. Eugene V. Epstein. *Once Upon an Alp.* Zurich: Atlantis, 1968. 165 pages.

Epstein is an astute observer of little things in the daily routine of Swiss life that, while quite natural to the Swiss, seem peculiar to the foreigner. The love of *Fondue, Schüblig* and *Kirsch,* the universal excuse the *Föhn* provides for laziness and headaches, the popularity of newspapers in a land where nothing much happens, the experience of learning how to ski or to play the Swiss national card game *Jass,* the variety of dialects and the impossibility for a non-native to learn them are all topics that provide the fabric for Epstein's funny stories. Epstein has written four more books with further humorous vignettes about the idiosyncracies of the Swiss, namely *Lend Me Your Alphorn* (1977), *Take Me to Your Chalet* (1982), *Malice in Wonderland: Titillating Tales of Life in Switzerland* (1985), and *Who Put the Wit in Switzerland?* (1988), all published by Benteli, Bern.

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Book Reviews

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The Germans in Indianapolis.
By George Theodore Probst. Revised and edited by Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis: German American Center & Indiana German Heritage Society, 1989. 200 pages. $14.70.

The First Mayor of Cincinnati: George A. Katzenberger's Biography of Major David Ziegler.
By George A. Katzenberger. Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Lanham, New York, London: University Press of America, 1990. 72 pages. $18.95.

Probst's work on the Germans of Indianapolis is one of the most important works written on how German settlers influenced the development of an American city. It chronicles the important role of leading German citizens in the formation of Indianapolis, a city often regarded as the quintessential all-American city. If anyone still gives credence to the argument that Germans came to America, dropped their German ways and assimilated into the existing, primarily English-American culture, this work should provide sufficient proof that the argument is wrong. The Germans came to Indianapolis, by and large, with the idea of playing a role in the formation of the life of the city. Probst shows this is exactly what they did. They influenced the development of financial and business institutions, schools, and churches. Music and art were produced and supported by them. Many of the architectural treasures of the city were designed and built by them. Even the Indiana Capitol building was completed by Adolf Scherrer, a Swiss-American. As the largest of the immigrant groups, they touched every aspect of life in Indianapolis.

It is also clear that the German settlers were a very varied group. They covered the religious spectrum from staunch Catholic to anti-cleric free thought. They were from various regions of the German-speaking world. They were often not in agreement with each other, nor with the other groups that constituted the population of Indianapolis. Probst documents the conflicts that resulted, particularly between different generations of immigrants and those of different religious and political persuasion. Probst also documents in an even-handed way the backlash against America's German element during and after World War I as well as the clash between the Puritan cultural trend reflected in Prohibition and German-American cultural and economic interests.

It is understood that the book has the limitations of a work which was written originally in 1951 and which treats German-Americans only from 1840 to 1918. It also has a limited social-historical point of reference. The lower social strata of the German population in Indianapolis are not as fully treated. However, the work has been very much enriched by the excellent illustrations, an index, and an appendix with lists of various early *Verein* members. Reichmann has done a great service to German-American studies and historians of American history by providing access to this work which serves as prolegomena to any future treatment of Indianapolis's ethnic or general history.

In a similar way, Tolzmann has done a great service in again making available Katzenberger's biography of Cincinnati's first mayor, the Revolutionary War hero David Ziegler. Ziegler had a fascinating career before he became mayor of an American city. He served Frederick the Great of Prussia and the German-Russian Czarina, Catherine the Great. After his emigration to North America, he served in the American Revolution against England. He was in charge of Fort Washington in what was to be Cincinnati, became ultimately a very successful businessman and the city's first mayor. While the work reflects the limitations of a less than exhaustive historical study, it is valuable for the insight it provides in the life of early German settlers and the leadership role many of them played. Unfortunately, even before World War I produced an anti-German bias in American historiography, Katzenberger noted the lack of interest on the part of historians in the role of German-Americans in the history of the United States. The availability of Tolzmann's new edition, which contains some valuable additional information on Ziegler and the period, comes at an opportune time when interest in the German background of the Midwestern United States is increasing.

Both books, in effect, stand between being primary and secondary sources. Both authors had access to some of the people about whom they are writing and are thus able to report on interviews held with them.

The two studies make it clear that German-Americans helped define American culture, and that there is a great deal of German heritage in the lives of Americans in the two Midwestern cities treated. Even though the two books, each in its own way, may be limited in their scope and approach, they are invaluable.

Indiana University-Indianapolis *Giles R. Hoyt*

The Riddle of Amish Culture.
By Donald B. Kraybill. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 304 pages. $8.95.

Amish Roots: A Treasury of History, Wisdom, and Lore.
Edited by John A. Hostetler. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 319 pages. $29.95.

I looked forward to reading these two works by major researchers of the Amish lifestyle, men who have lived and worked in Amish communities. Each promised to bring the reader into the Amish community and to shed light on the Amish way of life. Unfortunately, neither delivered fully on its promise.

Kraybill's work, *The Riddle of Amish Culture,* is intended as an introduction to Amish culture rather than a comprehensive exploration of the Amish way of life. By studying the Amish community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, he

attempts to resolve for the reader the riddle of the many apparent contradictions in Amish communities: Why, for example, do they use telephones but refuse to install them in their homes? Why will they ride in cars but not own them? Why do they adopt technological innovations like the pocket calculator and not others? And, most importantly, how do the Amish survive in the face of growing pressure from the modern, non-Amish world?

It is an impressive and fascinating exploration. Kraybill begins by taking the reader from the struggles of the first Anabaptists to the founding of the Amish settlement in Lancaster County and through the subsequent divisions in the Lancaster community, demonstrating at each step both the Amish resistance to change and the Amish willingness to negotiate with it. He then explores the results of this on-going, uneasy negotiation with the world in everyday Amish life, looking first, in general, at the social structure of the community and then, more specifically, at the changes in Amish life that are the result of their acceptance and rejection of technological advances in the society around them. In short, the reader is led to understand how, as Kraybill puts it, "compromises between tradition and modernization . . . have both safeguarded Amish survival and spawned the perplexing riddles of Amish life" (21).

Nevertheless, the reader may also come away with a false picture of the Amish, for, although Kraybill announces in the introduction his intention to focus on the Amish community in Lancaster (viii), in the rest of the book he writes as if he were describing all Amish. The introductory note is insufficient to blunt the impact of constant references to "Amish" rather than "Lancaster Amish." Indeed, statements such as "This chapter explores the link between Amish society and the larger world," "This chapter explores the religious rites that reaffirm and preserve the Amish moral order" (94), and "We have been tapping the wisdom of a traditional society as we explored the riddle of Amish culture" (250), can only indicate that what is being said is true of all Amish. Even the title, *The Riddle of Amish Culture,* suggests a broad look at all Amish groups.

Although many of Kraybill's assertions may hold up in Lancaster, they may not hold up elsewhere. On page 65, for example, we are told that Amish buggies are gray because "Amish leaders insisted on the traditional gray as the best expression of *Gelassenheit*. . . . Retaining gray was the surest way of preserving Amish identity for tourist, neighbor, and fellow Amish alike." Only in a footnote on page 270 is it acknowledged that the insistence on gray may be unique to Lancaster. Earlier, in his discussion of carriage accessories, Kraybill writes that "Today's carriage is equipped with battery-operated front lights, turn signals, flashing rear lights, and a large triangle reflector. All these modern accouterments are required by state law" (64). The implication is that all carriages are adorned with these devices; there is no mention of the problems numerous Amish groups have had because, despite state law, they will not use these things. Saying that "The Amish, in essence, have refused to concede the traditional form and color on the carriage's exterior but have accepted modern technology under the surface" (68) is to make an overgeneralization that can only mislead the reader.

The reader must ask constantly whether what Kraybill says applies to all Amish or just to those in Lancaster. Was Bishop Beiler's anti-electricity influence felt only in Lancaster or, since Kraybill refers often to "the church's decision," did it reach other groups? In discussing "the history of Amish dress" (56), Kraybill notes that "Today the beard symbolizes marriage rather than church membership" (57); is this true in all Amsh communities? Further complicating matters, in his discussion of the controversy that followed school consolidation, Kraybill refers often to Amish communities elsewhere in Pennsylvania, and to

state-level politics, making it clear that the conclusions he draws apply to Amish groups outside Lancaster (cf. ch. 6) and leading the reader to believe that other assertions are also generally true.

Even assuming that references to "Amish" or "the church" refer to "Lancaster Amish" and "the Lancaster Amish church," a reader with some knowledge of the Amish will be confused. The *Ordnung* is presented as if there were but one for the entire community under discussion, yet there seems to be considerable variation in what some Amish accept and others do not. Do the conservative districts to which Kraybill refers have the same *Ordnung* as the liberal ones (e.g., 64)? Are they in communion with each other? Kraybill notes that "Some bishops permit phones in shops, but others do not" (148). Are there two different kinds of *Ordnung,* as an Amish friend of mine insists there must be to allow such variation?

Purporting to be a study of the Lancaster Amish, there is no discussion of the differences between the Lancaster community and other groups. Having as a more ambitious goal the explanation of the "riddles" of the Amish lifestyle, it explores the history, culture, and beliefs common to all Amish groups yet without noting the subtle and not so subtle variations between groups that arise from these beliefs and this common history. Thus, it fails to explain the most confusing riddle of all, why one Amish group accepts things others do not. The picture of a homogeneous Amish community minimizes the often major differences between various Amish sects and distorts the relationship many Amish groups have with the non-Amish world.

Like Kraybill, John Hostetler also sets out to explain the Amish lifestyle, yet his approach is radically different. He begins his work with a brief introduction that explores Amish history, values, survival patterns, and contributions to the American way of life, and then he lets the Amish speak for themselves. Contemporary and historic Amish voices combine with modern scholars to comment on a host of topics, from early Anabaptist history to schools, legends, misfortunes, and controversies.

Reading *Amish Roots* is often like listening in on a conversation; most of the pieces have an informal tone, and they cover topics of everyday interest. There are selections from such well-known and prolific Amish writers as David Luthy, who covers such diverse topics as "Pests in New Mexico" and "*Rosanna of the Amish,*" Uria R. Byler, who discusses "Discipline in School," and Gideon L. Fisher, who writes about "The Lancaster Farmers Market" and "Tourists in Lancaster County." Then there are excerpts from letters written by Amish who could never have imagined their words being published in a book. A special delight for me was coming across a story by an old friend, Susan Wickey's "Troyer's Dead Cows." Numerous full-color plates display Amish embroidery, drawings, and illustrated book plates, and shed new light on the culture of a people thought of as "plain."

Yet, although the overall effect is fascinating, not all pieces are equally informative, interesting, or relevant. John Wenger's exploration of "The Anabaptists: Their Beliefs and Practices," a valuable introduction to the Anabaptist movement, stands in sharp contrast to Franklin H. Littell's work on the same subject; Littell makes broad claims that go unsubstantiated and, worse, unanalyzed (e.g., "The nation-states demanded that the church bless their ambitions and sanctify their warring" [15]), and refers to Amish "views" and teachings without explaining what these views and teachings are. This piece served well in its original context, as introduction to a larger work, but it is not very useful in this collection. Other pieces seem to have little relevance to the collection. For example, in Paul I. Speicher's retelling of "The Legend of Nancy

Zook,'' it is never clear that the child is Amish or that her history or upbringing is typical or even illustrative of the Amish.

There are, moreover, voices missing. Of over two hundred selections in this anthology only nineteen are attributable with any certainty to female authors, and not all of these are Amish. The selection on ''Amish Women and Their Kitchens'' is written by a man (Bill Randle), and an ''outsider'' at that. Where are the women talking about child rearing and teaching, quilting and canning? The section on ''Legends'' contains none of the Amish equivalents of ''urban myths,'' the stories I have heard Amish mothers tell teenage daughters of the terrible things that happen to innocent Amish girls who disobey their parents to go out with English boys. Where are the photographs of dolls and quilts, the art of women that serves the daily needs of the family and helps the community economically? In Hostetler's book, half the Amish world is silent.

Amish Roots is an absorbing work that gives the reader an introduction to Amish culture unlike any other. In reading it one can begin to understand how the Amish think and why their culture survives in the face of challenges from the outside world. But, it gives us only the world of Amish men and, thus, is incomplete.

Hostetler and Kraybill have produced books that will hold the interest of the reader who knows nothing about the Amish and be useful to fellow researchers of Amish life and culture. Each book covers a range of topics, and each has an extensive bibliography. Each, in its own way, provides the reader with a detailed portrait of Amish lifestyle, values and concerns. Yet neither provides a complete picture, and some of the omissions are disappointing.

Clarkson University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

The German Forty-Eighters in America.
Edited by Charlotte L. Brancaforte. German Life and Civilization, vol. 1. New York: Peter Lang, 1989. 305 pages.

The German-Speaking Forty-Eighters: Builders of Watertown, Wisconsin.
By Charles J. Wallman. Madison: The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989. 110 pages.

In the past there have been only three major works dealing generally with the forty-eighters: Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (1952), A. E. Zucker, *The Forty-Eighters in America: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (1950), and Eitel Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika: Die Achtundvierziger und ihre Schriften* (1958), so that the two works by Brancaforte and Wallman represent welcome additions to the historical literature on the topic, especially in view of the fact that the year 1998 will mark the 150th anniversary of the 1848 Revolution. Although quite small in number, the forty-eighters exerted a profound influence on American society in general, and on German-America in particular. Brancaforte has edited a solid collection of seventeen essays based on the contributions presented at a 1986 symposium on the forty-eighters, sponsored by the Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, while Wallman has examined a community, Watertown, Wisconsin, where he has identified more than sixty forty-eighters who settled there. The former represents the work of professional scholars, while the latter is that of a highly qualified local historian. They both enrich our knowledge of the forty-eighters, providing us with illuminating

perceptions, which not only deepen our understanding of a fascinating group, but also raise questions, and suggest areas in need of further research. Rather than attempt to comment on the individual contributions, historical information and analyses provided by these works, it would appear to be more constructive to focus in this review on the major themes which emerge from these books, and to address them in terms of the challenges they provide for those in the field of German-American studies interested in the role of the forty-eighters.

A first question which comes to mind is definitional: What constitutes a forty-eighter? Are all the ca. one million Germans who came to the United States in the 1850s forty-eighters, or only the ca. 4,000 who came after participating in the 1848–49 revolutions? In the Wallman book Brancaforte, who apparently subscribes to the broad definition, writes in the preface "About 70,000 people, it is estimated, fled from the German-speaking countries to the U.S. because they had experienced, or feared, reprisals for their participation in the revolts of 1848–49" (vii). However, in her volume the opening essay by James F. Harris on "The Arrival of the *Europamüde:* Germans in America after 1848" indicates that there are two ways of defining a forty-eighter: A forty-eighter can be defined "as a radical participant in the revolutions of that year—that is, one who resorted to force to achieve his or her goals . . ." But he notes that if a forty-eighter is so defined "then we have a problem, because very few did that" (1). The other, broader definition, he writes is to equate forty-eighters "with those who left for political reasons in a very broad sense . . ." (2). Wittke, Zucker, and Dobert have defined the term in the narrow sense; Wittke writes, for example, "the term Forty-Eighter is used in a limited sense, and applies only to those who in some way actually participated in the liberal movements and the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, and left their homes" because of this (*Refugees of Revolution,* 4). In short, there appear to be two definitions, the limited and the open definitions, of what constitutes a forty-eighter. Perhaps this is something which bears further discussion and definition, especially as we approach the 150th anniversary. In this regard, Theodore S. Hamerow's essay on "The Two Worlds of the Forty-Eighters" provides direction by arguing that emigrants chose to leave by a ratio of ten to one for economic, rather than political reasons. This would seem to underscore the limited definition, that few came for political reasons and, moreover, even fewer were actually involved in the revolution.

A second theme which emerges is that of the diversity of the group in terms of the social, cultural, and political orientation of each individual forty-eighter. The most famous forty-eighter, Carl Schurz, presents a model with which others can be compared, and many present quite different experiences and activities. We are dealing here with a quite diverse group, and there is a need for more individual studies of individual forty-eighters.

A third theme one encounters is the deradicalization of the forty-eighters. Some of them remained radical, some returned to Germany, others despaired, but most of them shed their radicalism, and most had probably done so by the time of the outbreak of the Civil War. This point needs further investigation. This evolutionary process and development would provide further insight into the forty-eighters and their role in American society.

Finally, another fascinating aspect is the relationship of the forty-eighters to the German heritage in the United States as this relates to the acculturation process. As they were primarily political in their orientation, they appear to have been mainly concerned with active involvement in the political process, which meant the central focus was outside the German community. Especially La Vern J. Rippley's essay on New Ulm suggests that what defined German-American heritage was not the forty-eighter influence, but rather the conservative German

Catholic and Protestant religious bodies. He notes that New Ulm, considered one of the most German towns in the Midwest, is not so because of the turners there, but because of the German religious groups.

Both of these works are of exceptional value for enriching our understanding of the forty-eighters, and also for identifying some emergent themes worthy of further investigation and study. First, the definitional question of what constitutes a forty-eighter. Second, the question of the internal diversity within the forty-eighters as a group. Third, the whole process of the deradicalization of the group. And, finally, the role they played with regard to acculturation and the German heritage. These two new works on the forty-eighters have made important contributions to the field of German-American studies by focusing on and identifying the status of our current understanding of a significant group in German-American history, and by pointing the way for future researchers in the area.

University of Cincinnati *Don Heinrich Tolzmann*

Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen.
By Peter Pabisch. Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika, vol. 1. Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1989. ill + 63 pages. $5.00.

Der Morgen leicht wie eine Feder: Gedichte.
By Peter Pabisch. Lyrik aus Österreich, vol. 47. Baden bei Wien: G. Grasl, 1989. 64 pages. ÖS 90.00.

Peter Pabisch's creative writing career began in 1984, when his first volume of poetry, *Arroyo Seco: Amerikanische Stimmungen,* appeared. His two recent volumes are similar in mood, subject matter, form (free verse with no capitalization or punctuation), and length of poems, but there are significant differences. *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen* (1989), the first publication of a series entitled "Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika," contains an afterword which provides an introduction to the poetry and some biographical information.

Peter Pabisch, born in Vienna in 1938, moved with his family to the United States in 1969: first to Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, where he received his Ph.D. Since 1972 he has taught at the University of New Mexico. A frequent visitor to Europe, in 1985–86 he spent a full academic year teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Vienna, thus reinforcing his bonds to his native country.

The first poems of *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen* focus on the American Southwest during several seasons and at different times of the day. The volume's first section, "Amerika," consists primarily of nature poems; an awareness of mortality ("vanitas," "gerippe") and recollections of his former homeland are also common themes. Variations on the nature poems recur in the shorter second section, "Europa," with an emphasis on Vienna and Middle Germany. There is a delicate balance between the two sections.

A European-born poet experiences the new homeland with all his memories of his own traditions, his past, his history. The reader finds seven drawings ("Sekundenskizzen") by the author that illustrate the themes of his poems. Two of them ("Taos Ski Valley," "Rio Grande mit Manzanobergen," both dated Albuquerque 1987–88) bear a resemblance to the Austrian Alps. A similar blend of American locations and memories of the former homeland is found in a number of poems, for example, a flower in the Taos valley evokes joy in "Calypso Bulbosa": "sieht dem frauenschuh der alpen/ sehr ähnlich/ wächst aber/ im long canyon von taos" (11). In "Kakadu: Erinnerung an ein ölbild in

Wien,'' a picture seen in a specialty shop in Santa Fe triggers playful puns on the word ''Kakadu'' and memories of Vienna: ''kakanien/ k und k/ ka lust ka freud/ kakashit/ die blaue donau blüht/ wo der wein/ der wein ich aber sehr/ wein um 1900/ hört man sie jetzt lehren'' (23).

Poems in which a balance between the humorous and serious—when grammatical structure breaks down at the end of a verse in an unusual way—is successfully attained, are most memorable. One such poem, ''15. Mai 1988,'' combines both elements so characteristic of Pabisch's work—a playful blending of European historical events against the background of an American Southwestern landscape:

new mexico
sonntagsglocken läuten
restlaute des heiligen römischen reiches
in dem die sonne nicht unterging
zur ehre gottes
und
zum zweck des goldes
nie gefunden

in meinem wien
dem goldhaupt ohne körper
feiern sie einen staatsvertrag
der freiheit brachte

der herrgott in frankreich
feiert mitterand

karl der fünfte
hat seinem francois nie verziehen
wegen suleiman

karl brauchte geld für seine kriege
zur ehre des katholischen gottes

aus dem reich läuten restlaute

suleiman der große
schenkte seinen frauen
türkis auf gold

türkis auf silber
schätzen wir
hier in new mexico
während wir von jungen orchestern
mozarte türkenmelodien genießen

so lebt heute alles ineinander

es lebe der staatsvertrag
der supermächte
die um die sonne streiten
an sonntagen
da die glocken glucksend läuten
und
eine aussicht auf heitren himmel
so belvedere
wohlklang
vortäuscht (26–27)

Sunday bells in New Mexico trigger memories of historic importance "in meinem wien," namely the signing of the treaty on 15 May 1955 which restored the country's sovereignty. References to leaders of France (mitterand) and Turkey (suleiman) and the "mozarte türkenmelodien" are blended, culminating in the sentence "so lebt heute alles ineinander," which could serve as a motto for the entire Sioux collection.

Much of the success of this poem is a result of its direct and unpretentious language. The regular rhythm, suggesting both the ordered world on a Sunday morning and the unbroken connections between vastly different traditions, continues almost to the end of the poem. In the last five lines, however, the pause (after "und") and the rhythmic shift (in "so belvedere") as well as the pun on "aussicht auf heitren himmel" and "belvedere" slow the poem down and underscore the irony of its final words. The bells, which initially recall an ordered world, become an image of deception: "die glocken glucksend läuten/ . . . so belvedere/ wohlklang/ vortäuscht."

The diversity of the collection as a whole would not be apparent if one failed to draw attention to the many poems that help create a playful, humorous, and at times silly tone. "Gerippe" (14) is a comical love poem that compares the sound of the lover when he/she was alive ("muschelmund deine zunge/ lalalalala") with the skeleton ("fleischlos/ dein mund/ klipperdiklapp"). The poem "Der Kakadu" (21–22) plays with comically transposed English and German words and phrases: "zweitausendvierhundert/ . . . / dollars? dollars!/ dallasdollars?/ what?/ . . . / nana du/ loveloveyou/ kein kakadu/ . . ." (22).

What is surprising in the "Amerika" poems is the lack of reference to the American people. Apart from a series of dedications to and reminiscences of a number of specific friends, the absence of the human element in these poems is striking.

The second section, "Europa," begins with a drawing entitled "Flughafen Tegel, Berlin, 14. 3. 1988," depicting various people in an airport setting. The first poem, "Larissa—mehr nach hinten zu" (39), begins as a typical Pabisch landscape poem which highlights in a snapshot fashion various aspects of nature, but then attention shifts to people ("zigeuner stöbern darin/ . . . / in fröhlicher gesellschaft/ vertraute augen lachen mir zu"). In the second half the horizon expands to include people who live and shape the landscape before us.

The rhythmic movements and the general tone shift slightly in the later poems. Memories of youth and visions of destruction are awakened when looking at people, objects, or specific locations. Although some poems are longer and more reflective than in the first section, they are presented in a fragmented, laconic style: "Wien—Straßenbahnlinie 60 in der Früh—Auf Besuch aus Amerika nach 16 Jahren" (43–44) and "Landschaftsblitzlichter: Mitteldeutschland vom Zug aus" (53).

Pabisch's colorful, picturesque language creates powerful visual effects. The use of capitalization and punctuation is lacking for the most part. A rhythmic pattern is revealed by the blending of poetic descriptions and the flow of conversational language, and dialect ("de uhudla is mei brennstoff/ ohne den konnend oaweidn"; " 's soll ja nich alles schteaba!"). He even draws on the tradition of phonetic poetry (Kurt Schwitters) and shows similarities with concrete poets such as Ernst Jandl.

A playful-ironic (even self-ironic) element as well as a tendency to a conversational tone is evident in Jandl and in some of Pabisch's poems:

> On a clear day
> (singet die melodei)

in schwaben
schonnensein
und die welt
kervehrt

sprache wird chraspe
ein mensch schnappt über
sorgt sich nicht mehr darum
ob man in stervehen kann
sieht die schandlaft
und senkt dich eins

seine manusprikte
ablegehnt

slödbinn puzlibieren nir wicht
nir wicht!

na tho wath
(wie englisch *th*ousand)

da wird dem kerl
alles blu zöd
oh
die scheenä schwäbschä derflä
ruft er
tervräumt
zum henster finauscklibend (52)

On the surface the poem plays with comically transposed, backwards-written words, phrases, and whole lines, but it is ultimately a commentary on two very different literary traditions. The last stanza seems to be a parody of a Romantic motif, but the combination of Swabian dialect with reversed High German phrases unexpectedly broadens the scope: when his manuscripts are rejected ("slödbinn puzlibieren nir wicht/ nir wicht") he gives up ("da wird dem kerl/ alles blu zöd") and turns backwards himself, ("tervräumt/ zum henster finauscklibend") but not to conformity (he changes the words). His language shows a refusal to conform and the poem becomes a playful rejection of traditional images.

The remainder of the Europe section reaffirms what the writer has experienced when driving through Europe. The title "Landschaftsblitzlichter: Mitteldeutschland vom Zug aus" (53) captures this mood and point of view. A succession of fragmented visions of German towns and their people pass before the reader's eye. The rhythmic regularity indicates an unbroken rhythm in the lives of these people. "Spätfrühling am Rhein" (56) achieves much of its success through the juxtaposition of a list of flowers and trees with the reality of modern-day technology ("kräne/ tolldreiste schellstationen/ stahlbetonkonstruktionen"), but seen from the perspective of an old woman who says: "tja/ . . . / viele sehen nur das böse." With a tinge of melancholy in her voice, but without illusion, she captures the mood.

Pabisch's second collection, *Der Morgen leicht wie eine Feder,* contains forty poems. Many are reminiscent of *Sioux und andere Er-Fahrungen,* but seem to have a wider perspective. The human element, already indicated in the motto, "patricia sagt seufzend/ die leut/ die leut" (4), becomes increasingly more significant. Nature poems can still be found in abundance, but they include the subjective perspective of an observant and critical speaker: "über dem rio grande/ meinem neuen lebensstrom/ . . . / schwankt er so wie ich" ("kraniche" [10]).

The title poem suggests images of nature and lightness and a personal reaction to nature and time:

der morgen leicht
wie eine feder

ein hauch schwankt zur erde
da mußte eine friedenstaube feder lassen
kühl
sitzen wir in der dämmerung
erahnen einen strahlenden tag
voll der motorisierten betriebsamkeit
saugen das dasein
heller sinne
in unsere sparkassen der erinnerung

das frühstück schmeckt

die hohe pinie
pinonschwanger
gewinnt konturen

es tagt (5)

The winter-autumn landscape of the *Sioux* collection is interwoven with hints of light. Themes of remembrance ("sparkassen der erinnerung") and a critical stance toward modern technology ("voll der motorisierten betriebsamkeit") remind the reader of the *Sioux* poems. Equally important are references to America and Europe. Roughly the first half is devoted to the American experience whereas the latter half deals with memories of Europe and its history. The Rio Grande, the Manzano Mountains, New Orleans, Houston, Spokane, Mesa Verde, Albuquerque are some of the geographical locations that are mentioned. The attitude toward some American cities has changed from one of admiration and awe (in the *Sioux* collection) to a more critical view: "new orleans/ . . . / wo/ sklaven verkauft/ franzosen und spanier sich abwechselten/ und anglos/ ihre macht beanspruchten/ wo/ weiße früher sterben/ wo /romantik und kaufkraft/ sich die waage halten" (15–16); houston/ . . . /seine dynamik ein vulkan/ nimmerendendes grollen des schlundes/ die reichsten der reichen/ hochburg des kapitals/ pompeij des dollarflusses" (17–18).

A Sunday walk along the Rio Grande triggers a comparison of different groups of people ("albuquerque/ . . . / der reiche golf club/ und/ die armen sonntagsfischer auf tingley beach" [24]) and geographic settings ("die frischbeschneiten sandias/ drüber/ strahlender federwölkchenbezogener himmel / . . . / naturschutzgebiet/ verkommene joggerpfade/ wilde motorradjugend" ([24–25]).

As the self-questions grow louder ("albuquerque/ unsere stadt?/ noch lange?" [25]) the reader anticipates a turning back or return to Europe. By way of Greece ("gedanken zu dion" [27]) and Italy ("toskana" [29]) the journey goes to "hallstadt" where again the present clashes with the past: "älpler jodeln heimatlich/ gasmasken als schaustücke" (30) and "geballte kraft von gestern/ . . . / eitel gähnt das heute" (33).

These critical observations are made in a poetic style and language that play with traditional phrases ("wien/ du stadt meiner ängstlichen träume" [34]; "kunst und leben/ wie ein weben" [37]) and adjectival combinations ("langgeschrillte herrscherpfiffe/ . . . / voll jugendstilschem schwung/ . . . / sargenhaftes bunt" [35]). A rejection of European tradition ("unsre graecolatinische

tradition/ hinter mir gelassen/ pflücke ich ginkoblätter/ für die erben'' [38]) is evident, but one still finds respect (''symbole ideale brauchen wir/ meint ein freund/ . . . / wasserschauer/ erfrischen/ griechen römer den weibmann/ mäni und mich'' [38–39]).

Not all of Pabisch's poems are equally successful. An occasional poem employs a technique that seems contrived and artificial, and therefore unconvincing. Those examples are rare.

Pabisch, however, has displayed again and again that he is at his best when he plays with words, puts common phrases in unexpected witty contexts, comically transposes whole lines, and achieves a balance between serious awareness and playful rhythmic patterns. The last poem of this collection, ''wortspiel,'' again combines the unpretentious with the humorous and forges a skillful link between form and content:

wortspiel

dem tag noch schnell eins zugespielt
ein wort
aus trug und fug
klingt gut
sagt manches
füllt raum und zeit
zeugt von verzug
atmet
wehrt der stille
lacht mit uns
tut uns gut
sagt viel
fordert lächeln
wärme
springt vor freude in die luft
bringt jugend
wo längst steifer sinn bedroht

wort für wort
erspielt
sagt nichts und alles (62)

Wright State University *Elfe Vallaster*

The Mysteries of St. Louis: A Novel.
By Henry Boernstein. Translated by Friedrich Münch. A modern edition by Steven Rowan and Elizabeth Sims. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr, 1990. xvi + 303 pages. $12.95.

Students of nineteenth-century German-American fiction will be familiar with a literary genre which George Condoyannis has called the ''urban mystery novel,'' a type of work which flourished briefly between 1850 and 1864. All of the novels belonging to this class were palpably influenced by the writings of the liberal French author Eugène Sue (1804–57), whose lengthy popular novels were originally written for newspaper serialization. Sue's novels, particularly *The Mysteries of Paris* and *The Wandering Jew,* were soon translated into German and found an enthusiastic reception among liberal-minded German readers in both Europe and the United States. This popularity soon gave rise to imitation, so that German novels with titles such as *Die Geheimnisse von Berlin* and *Die*

Geheimnisse des Praters soon began to make their appearance. Not long afterwards several German-American authors produced novels in a similar vein, but utilizing such American urban settings as New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. The writers who produced these novels were all journalists who initially wrote for newspaper serialization. Without exception they were also political radicals who were in sympathy with Sue's liberal ideas, including his rampant anticlericalism.

Heinrich Börnstein (1805–92) was a typical specimen of the type. He arrived in St. Louis in 1849 and a year later acquired the *Anzeiger des Westens*, a local German-language newspaper which he then used to campaign in behalf of the antislavery issue and similar liberal causes. Börnstein was a man of singular gifts whose life was nonetheless clouded with controversy. At once a journalist, practical businessman, politician, and man of the theater, Börnstein ultimately returned to Europe after having become embroiled in various political squabbles in St. Louis. His last years were spent in Vienna, where his attention was mainly turned to the theater.

Börnstein's novel was originally published as a newspaper serial under the title *Die Raben des Westens* (''The Ravens of the West''). Beginning serialization in February 1851, it was one of the earliest of the German-American urban mystery novels. It was soon published in book form as *Die Geheimnisse von St. Louis* and was immediately translated as *The Mysteries of St. Louis*. The translator, Friedrich Münch (1799–1881), shared Börnstein's liberal views, though he belonged to an older generation of German immigrants to Missouri.

The Mysteries of St. Louis is a melodramatic, at times polemical work revolving, like Sue's *Wandering Jew*, around an insidious Jesuit conspiracy. Father Antonio, the chief Jesuit villain, is a monster whose crimes include rape and murder. As in *The Wandering Jew* there is a legacy which the Jesuits are bent upon seizing for themselves. Although the story is centered on the Böttcher family, the legitimate heirs to the legacy, other characters in the novel have mostly French or English names. An interesting detail in the plot is the introduction of a band of counterfeiters whose subterranean hideaway is reached from a house on a hillside. This motif reappears virtually unchanged in Mathilde Franziska Anneke's 1864 novel *Das Geisterhaus von New York*, another book in the urban mystery tradition.

Whether in the original German or in the Münch translation, *The Mysteries of St. Louis* must be taken as a quaint piece of mid-Victorian Americana, of greater historical than esthetic interest. It is, however, better written and more interesting than most German-American novels of its time and is unusual in having been translated into English.

The present edition provides, however, a good deal more than a reprint of a literary curiosity. The editors have succeeded admirably in producing a version for the modern reader by judiciously adjusting spelling and punctuation to current standards and by providing useful explanatory notes. Best of all, this edition comes with an illuminating introductory essay by Steven Rowan. Local historians should find particular satisfaction in this book, the earliest full-length novel to be set in St. Louis. Its broader significance, however, is that it provides a glimpse into a seldom visited alcove in the many-chambered museum of American's diverse cultural legacy.

Florida Atlantic University *Peter C. Merrill*

Amerika zwischen Traum und Desillusionierung im Leben und Werk des Erfolgsschriftstellers Balduin Möllhausen (1825–1905).
By Horst Dinkelacker. American University Studies, series 1, Germanic Languages and Literatures, vol. 86. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris: Lang, 1990. 189 pages.

We are indebted to Horst Dinkelacker for resurrecting still another important figure in German-American literature, Balduin Möllhausen. Möllhausen, as Dinkelacker informs us, was one of the most widely read authors in Germany between 1860 and 1880. However, like many representatives of the *Amerikaroman* (e.g., Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, Armand, Ruppius), he fell into literary neglect by the turn of the century (to be eclipsed by the literary phenomenon of Karl May) and is now only familiar to a few specialists.

Möllhausen began his literary career, similar to many practitioners of the *Amerikaroman*, with an autobiographical account of his travels in America—*Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi nach den Küsten der Südsee* (1858). Dinkelacker describes young Möllhausen's contribution to the historically significant Whipple expedition (1853–54), which was not only an important rite of passage for Möllhausen, but a significant event in the exploration of the United States.

Möllhausen, however, differed from other German-American authors in one important respect: he had at an age critical for a would-be author an extraordinarily famous patron—Alexander von Humboldt. Dinkelacker's treatment of the relationship between the two men illuminates new aspects of Humboldt research as well as the cultural history of Berlin in the *Vormärz*. The fact that Humboldt wrote an introduction to Möllhausen's first book enabled Möllhausen, who was otherwise unknown and without connections, not only to gain entry into the literary world, but also into the Humboldt household, where he eventually married the daughter of Humboldt's secretary.

But Dinkelacker illuminates other important literary-historical connections. We discover, for example, that Friedrich Gerstäcker wrote a very critical letter to Hermann Costenoble, the publisher of both writers, in 1861, dismissing Möllhausen's work as literary pulp. On the other hand, we learn that Theodor Fontane, who, like Möllhausen, was a member of the *Dreilinden-Kreis*, wrote approvingly of Möllhausen's narrative skills. Most interesting is Dinkelacker's description of Möllhausen's relationship to Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg—a relationship which contains the initiation drama so common to German-American literature.

What is perhaps most significant about Dinkelacker's book is the scholarly feat of locating, collating, and assessing what Dinkelacker refers to as "ein kaum überblickbares erzählerisches Werk" (74). Möllhausen's literary production, according to several experts, bordered on two hundred volumes with the additional difficulty that Möllhausen's work—at least for his publishers—is not easily classified into the novel, the novella, and the short story. Hence the difficulty of deciding on an authoritative edition of Möllhausen's oeuvre still remains unresolved.

Möllhausen is assigned by Dinkelacker to "the tradition of the transatlantic-exotic novel" (61) to which he applies the appellation of an earlier scholar—Preston Barba—who labeled Möllhausen "the German Cooper" (61). It is not clear in Dinkelacker's book whether he endorses this literary judgment completely, but, of course, it is quite obvious that given the enormous complexity of Cooper's work and the fact that nearly all writers in this tradition were profoundly influenced by Cooper, such a judgment becomes difficult to support.

Other judgments in Dinkelacker's book also become difficult to sustain. For example, to categorize Sealsfield's work as being suffused with "republi-

kanischem Pathos'' (63) is perhaps not to appreciate the significance of the republican vision in Sealsfield's work as well as in the transatlantic political tradition in general. Still, Dinkelacker offers important insights into the ideology and the reception of the *Amerikaroman*. Möllhausen's literary efforts were successful for various reasons. First they appealed to the moral perceptions of the middle classes in Germany, the principal readership of the *Amerikaroman*, in that moral ambiguity was studiously avoided. Second, Möllhausen's novels reflected and nurtured conservative attitudes and values that tended to legitimize the newly established German Empire. Finally Dinkelacker argues that Möllhausen's work satisfied the needs of his middle-class public in their affirmation of German culture and national identity. In Möllhausen's work as well as in the *Amerikaroman* in general, ''der überlegende und überlegene Deutsche'' (148) as a basic motif appears with the corollary that America is transformed into a symbolic foil for the emergence and consolidation of German national identity. Thus, Horst Dinkelacker's study provides a valuable introduction to a vast, yet neglected area of scholarship—the transatlantic novel, an area which, despite recent significant publications, further invites new attempts at synthesis.

University of Turku, Finland *Jerry Schuchalter*

Pragmatic Prophet: The Life of Michael Robert Zigler.
By Donald F. Durnbaugh. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1989. 416 pages. $24.95.

Pragmatic Prophet is a most fascinating work dealing with the life of Michael Robert Zigler (1891–1985). In twenty-four chapters the author traces in detail the remarkable life of one of the major figures of the Brethren Church in this century. One is presented with an individual who rose from humble origins to excel in higher education and to dedicate his life to the mission of peace for which the Brethren have always stood.

The format of this volume concentrates upon the chronological events of Zigler's life. It is meticulously evolved from his birth to his leadership in his church, through his work after World War II, especially in Europe but also in Asia, to his energies in the quest for greater ecumenical activities among all churches of Christendom.

Each chapter is developed in detail and concentrates upon a particular aspect of Zigler's work within the service of his church. Some chapters begin with an introduction to the material to be presented; some end with a summation of the preceding writing. Perhaps it may have been prudent to organize each chapter upon such a basis. In any event, the reader will never be at a loss to follow the life and thoughts of this most dynamic and loving man.

This tome offers valuable insight into the work of the Brethren Church and focuses extensively upon its mission on behalf of peace, including pacifism, which, of course, is a major tenet of Brethren teaching. It illuminates the work in common with the two other Christian pacifist groups and with additional Christian denominations which, if not pacifist as such, are dedicated to the sacredness of human life and to the responsibility of each individual for the dignity of his fellow man. This includes also interracial concerns, internationality concerns, and interreligious beliefs. How else could Zigler express his Christian agape if he were not active in each one of these areas?

Of particular interest to the scholar, and to readers in general, are the chapters dealing with the ecumenical outreach of the Brethren within their own

five separate branches to one another and to other Christian denominations. One gains major insight into the delicate balance within the Brethren Church.

Of major import are the chapters dealing with the relief work of the Brethren Church, especially in Europe after World War II. Working out of Switzerland, the Brethren were active, not only in devastated Central Europe, but also in Western and Eastern Europe. It would seem that the Brethren and especially, Zigler, made a humanitarian contribution of such a magnitude which only those who suffered can really appreciate.

This study is a major source not only for a theologian but also for a historian, especially one interested in the cultural and intellectual history of the twentieth century. One finds oneself in American society of the twentieth century with all its advantages and disadvantages and in the traumatic years of Europe following the Second World War.

The organization of this volume can be followed with alacrity. Extensive footnotes appear at the end of each chapter; the reader is never at a loss for source material. Interspersed throughout the chapters are quotes from Zigler's letters and speeches and from letters written to him. These offer other scholars incentive for further research.

The appendices, too, are extensive and offer further impetus for future work. A bibliography of Zigler's writings, of major scholarly value needless to mention, rounds out this volume together with a bibliography of articles and books dealing with the thoughts and the undertakings of Zigler. Printing errors are extremely few. This book culminates in an extensive photo collection which highlights the life of such a remarkable individual. An extensive index will assist all in researching still further in the life and thoughts of Zigler and the Brethren Church in general.

So much can, has been, and will continue to be written about Zigler. Perhaps the following quote by the actor Don Murray will offer further insight into a remarkable life:

> Unlike Caesar, Napoleon, Hitler, M. R. Zigler left no armies, no altered borders, no booty to divide. Unlike Homer, Plato, Shakespeare, Voltaire, he left no great literature as his legacy. He has left only us. Left us to each other. Left us to ourselves. But insofar as he's left an enlightened us, a dedicated us, he has not left children of a lesser god, but children of the Only God.
>
> He has left PEACE-MAKERS.

Lehigh University *Alexander Waldenrath*

The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825–60.
By David A. Gerber. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989. 531 pages. $34.95.

This is a major work, centered in Buffalo and its German community, but with implications that go far beyond them. David Gerber could draw upon a solid basis of earlier works on the city by Laurence Glasco, Andrew Yox, Michael B. Katz and others. But the interpretations are very much his own, buttressed by a prodigious amount of research and an eye for the telling detail in German and English primary sources that is documented by an even one hundred pages of notes.

Gerber has been able to reconstruct the social geography of his home city

even below the ward level, almost on a block-by-block basis. Using the R. G. Dun credit reports to good effect, he presents a vivid portrait of the modest but widespread property holdings and the mentality that accompanied it in the artisan and small business milieu of the German neighborhoods on the East Side. But this is more than just urban history "from the bottom up."

This book goes beyond the garden-variety ethnic community study in several important respects. The first is the concept of "ethnicization": ethnic consciousness did not arrive fully formed; it only gradually developed through a fusing of "Old World cultural inheritance . . . and New World experiences" (118). Second is the multi-ethnic perspective. Besides the Germans it also examines the Irish, and old-stock Anglo-Americans and their more recently arrived British and Canadian cohorts. But because of the German numerical prominence in Buffalo and because they, in their interactions with Americans, provide the best example of the developing pluralism that is the central thesis of the book, Germans loom large in Gerber's overall account. (They rate more than a full page of index entries; Irish less than one half.)

Gerber draws upon the insights of various "new" histories of the last generation while avoiding most of their shortcomings, particularly their compartmentalization. And he presents their (and his) findings in language accessible to the general reader, getting by with only one table and a handful of correlation coefficients for the entire book. While his picture of antebellum ethnicity does not diverge greatly from existing scholarship, he contributes a much more nuanced view that gives proper attention to the interrelationships involved. His social history is not isolated from the political, and his political history is cognizant of the crucial variable of power. Ethnoreligious identity and social class are posed as interactive rather than alternative sources of political affiliation. Like many other historians, Gerber recognizes the diversity of the German element, but he also realizes that the fault lines ran in different directions on various issues, and by no means inevitably led to fragmentation or impotence. Catholicism did not always mean hostility to the Republican party, nor were German Catholics themselves always unified. A good example of these complex interrelationships is the bitter trusteeship controversy in St. Louis Parish. The lay trustees who faced down the bishop were largely Alsatians, the oldest and most prosperous subgroup of Catholic Germans and one with a strong tradition of trusteeship in their homeland, they were likely to be active in secular *Vereine,* and they were among the most promising Catholic recruits to the Republican party. Similarly, most scholars of both labor and religious history have assumed that there was minimal overlap between *Kirchendeutsche* and *Vereinsdeutsche,* but Gerber actually investigates the question and finds that independent-minded Alsatian Catholics and more liberal Protestants often belonged to secular societies.

The Making of an American Pluralism traces political developments through the nativist crisis of the 1850s down to the Republican triumph of 1860. By this time, most Americans realized that the quasi-official status of interdenominational Protestantism and its accompanying cultural agenda could no longer be upheld in the face of increasing ethnocultural diversity. What emerged was "not always equal but nonetheless mutual accommodations" (317), a pattern that has continued with subsequent immigrant groups ever since. While restricting his focus to Buffalo, Gerber documents developments which took place to a greater or lesser extent in most cities in the "German quadrangle" between Buffalo, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Milwaukee, though native Republicans were not everywhere as capable of learning or as successful in recruiting German allies as those in Buffalo.

Thus both methodologically and substantively, this book has much to offer to members of the SGAS. One can only hope that it will be widely emulated, particularly in its comparative aspects.

Texas A&M University *Walter D. Kamphoefner*

Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America . . . . Edited by Samuel Urlsperger.
Edited by George Fenwick Jones. **Volume XI (1747),** *translated by Eva Pulgram;* **Volume XII (1748),** *translated by Irmgard Neumann. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. 132 pages.* **Volume XIII (1749),** *translated by David Roth and George Fenwick Jones;* **Volume XIV (1750),** *translated by Eva Pulgram, Magdalene Hoffman-Loerzer and George Fenwick Jones. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1989. 245 pages.* **Volume XV (1751–1752),** *translated by George Fenwick Jones. Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1990. 327 pages. $40.00 per book.*

In 1734, just two years after the colony's founding, some two hundred Lutherans from Salzburg arrived in Georgia, thereby beginning a most remarkable and fascinating chapter in southeastern German-American history. Like so many of their fellow countrymen to the north in Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Virginia, the Salzburger Exiles, as they are now known, have left us with extensive written records of their experiences in the New World, mostly in the form of letters and diaries. Their spiritual and secular leader, the Pastor Johann Martin Boltzius, theological graduate of the University of Halle and a man of multiple talents including agricultural and commercial, was even charged by colonial authorities in England and church sponsors in Augsburg, Germany, with submitting his daily reports to them at year's end, so that they might be examined to determine the progress of the community and eventually published. Thus, Boltzius's journals came into the hands of the senior Lutheran clergyman in Augsburg, Samuel Urlsperger, whose job it became to edit the contents and oversee their publication. Urlsperger apparently deleted, wherever possible, all mention of unpleasantness, and suppressed the proper names of those criticized by Boltzius for wayward or unchristianlike behavior. The first expurgated edition, containing extracts of journals 1–10 (Volumes I–X), was entitled *Ausführliche Nachrichten* (published 1743). This was followed by an inexplicable three-year lapse during which no reports were printed. Beginning in 1747 the series just as mysteriously resumed.

Over a quarter century ago George Fenwick Jones, then professor of German at the University of Maryland-College Park and since retired, assumed the mammoth task of overseeing the translating, editing and publishing of these chronicles into English, the first of which appeared in 1968. Jones, whose highly readable history *The Salzburger Saga: Religious Exiles and Other Germans Along the Savannah* (Athens: University of Georgia Pr., 1984) earned him widespread praise in this field (see my review in the *Society for German-American Studies Newsletter* 6.1 [1985]: 8), is without a doubt the foremost authority today on the subject of the Germans in colonial Georgia. Like Klaus Wust for Virginia and the late Dieter Cunz for Maryland, Jones exhibits his expertise through copious and ongoing publication. These volumes, too, should do much to enhance and strengthen his reputation.

The works themselves are quite extraordinary. After extremely concise, yet sufficient background remarks to each year's report, along with obligatory acknowledgements of financial support, Jones yields to Pastor Boltzius for

month-by-month, day-by-day accounts. Recurring themes include examples of Christian charity by the God-fearing citizens of the German community of Ebenezer; their many illnesses, sufferings, and, with God's mercy, deaths; and their frequent temptations and torments at the hands of godless outsiders—most of whom, it seems, were English-speaking. Far more interesting to today's scholars are likely to be the slightly less frequent discussions of weather, crop conditions, trade, and social events. On 17 January 1748, for instance, Boltzius comments at length about problems encountered with the rather limited amount of available currency in the colony:

> In this country there is a lot of confusion about money in trading and in our dealings: we see hardly any English gold and silver money (since the law prohibits in strict terms the export of such coins from England), and copper coins do not stay in this country for very long either, since the captains of vessels from New York and Pennsylvania buy them up because their value there is almost twice what it is here and in England. (7–8)

He concludes somewhat wistfully by stating: "I cannot understand why the money in a king's country cannot have the same value, regardless of whether it is made of silver, paper, or leather" (9). Would that he could have lived a few centuries later! In agricultural affairs Boltzius seems to have been exceptionally gifted, advising the planting of hardy Sicilian wheat rather than the weaker northern strains; and supervising the growing silk and timber industries, which by 1750, according to Jones, provided the principal economic sustenance of the community. Through Boltzius's eyes—and pen—one can still relive the daily occurrences of a place and time nearly two-and-a-half centuries past. These people become amazingly familiar to us; their joys and sorrows incredibly real.

Less satisfactory is, at times, the translation itself. Although it is unquestionably accurate, it is also too often literal. When, for example, on Thursday, the 28th of April 1748 "[t]he pious Mrs. Thomas Bacher received a deep impression from her old husband's departure from the world . . ." (40), there can be no doubt as to how the original German text reads. Nevertheless, such an archaic style detracts from the expected flow of a twentieth-century rendition. Jones would have been better served by making all his translations modern and idiomatic, and, if necessary, saying so in his introductions. More to his credit, however, is the fact that each meticulously documented volume concludes with a thorough index which will be invaluable to future scholars using these reports for reference.

The dedication of Jones, the organizations which sponsored him, and the University of Georgia Press to this painstaking endeavor is most commendable. It is rare that a venture of this sort gets the attention, let alone the support it deserves. What both George Fenwick Jones and Johann Martin Boltzius have done through these fine volumes is to insure evermore that the history of the Germans in colonial Georgia will not be neglected.

Marshall University *Christopher L. Dolmetsch*

Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration.
By Frederick C. Luebke. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. 198 pages. $22.95.

Eight of these ten essays have been published elsewhere in whole or in part.

They range from a piece first appearing in 1965 which gave reasons for the conservatism of Luebke's own religious denomination, the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, to a new historiographical essay on "what historians have learned during the past quarter-century about German immigrants and their place in American history."

In a brief introduction, Luebke explains how he broke away from the Missouri Synod historiography of "leaders, theology and institutional change" to a socio-historical interpretation based on his reading Oscar Handlin and H. Richard Niebuhr. Then he turned to socially interpreted political history inspired by historians Lee Benson and Samuel P. Hayes along with sociologists and political scientists. Later in his career, he explains, the cultural geographers and anthropologists guided his interests and methods.

Along the way, Luebke also broadened his concerns from the Great Plains and the Midwest to Germans all across the United States, and from the nineteenth century to the twentieth as well. His essay on German-American national leadership between the two world wars seems especially original. Three essays represent a further broadening of interest to study Germans in Brazil and to compare them with Germans in the United States. In pursuit of this interest, Luebke learned to read Portuguese.

In short, these essays form a documentary intellectual history of their author's development into a major figure in the revival of interest in German-America during the last twenty-five years. But the essays only refer to, and occasionally draw upon, their author's three book-length monographs: *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1800–1900* (1969), *The Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (1974), and *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict during World War I* (1987). The reviewer believes *The Bonds of Loyalty* remains Luebke's most impressive effort.

Concerning the individual essays, it is surprising how well the 1965 essay on the Missouri Synod has aged. The new epilogue is not to be missed for its blunt description of the "traditionalist revolution" which took place in the Missouri Synod from 1969 to 1974. The reader who wants more on this topic may wish to consult a little-noticed work not cited by Luebke: James E. Adams's *Preus of Missouri and the Great Lutheran Civil War* (1977) is filled with revealing detail despite an exposé tone and journalistic approach.

One of the best essays in the collection is the last one concerning recent historiography. While few German-language works are cited, the essay cites a wide array of English-language material and contains surprising insights. Note 34 is a valuable characterization of the body of historical writing about German-American religious groups. Note 37 is a brief but informed guide to basic works on German Jews in the United States. Toward the end of the essay, Luebke describes much of the research about Germans in the colonial period as lacking "sophistication of concept and method." He notes several exceptions at different places in the essay. Another exception he might have noted is A. G. Roeber, "The Origin and Transfer of German-American Concepts of Property and Inheritance," *Perspectives in American History,* n.s. 3 (1986): 115–71.

For all its attempted breadth, a social-scientific approach to the issues of the historiography of German immigration to the nineteenth-century Midwest seems to flavor this entire collection. To what extent that is due to its author and to what extent that is due to the field of German-American history in our day is open to question.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

States of Progress: Germans and Blacks in America over 300 Years: Lectures from the Tricentennial of the Germantown Protest against Slavery.
Edited by Randall M. Miller. Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1989. 101 pages.

This collection of five lectures is a first attempt to analyze inter-group relations between blacks and Germans in America. Readers expecting to find a wealth of information on interpersonal relationships, shared cultural experiences, economic ties, or political alliances between the two groups over a three-hundred-year time span will be disappointed. Most of the articles focus on one aspect of the subject—namely, the German-American position towards slavery and related issues. The editor's comprehensive introductory essay, in which he identifies the circumstances under which Germans and blacks interacted with each other throughout the nation's history, is a welcome supplement to the lectures.

One common thesis which emerges from the book is that, contrary to popular belief, the German-Americans were not champions of the antislavery movement, and did not as a group support abolitionism. This reassessment of German attitudes toward slavery is especially brought out in three of the papers: Gary B. Nash's article on the events leading to Pennsylvania's gradual abolition act of 1780, Leroy T. Hopkins's study of Germans and blacks in nineteenth-century Lancaster County, and Terry G. Jordan's paper focusing on Texas Germans. Richard Blackett's article analyzes the responses of several ethnic groups to a proposal made by the American Colonization Society, which would relocate free blacks in African settlements. It does not, however, devote a great deal of attention to German-American reactions to the movement.

The complexity of German-American attitudes toward slavery is well portrayed in James M. Bergquist's article, "The Mid-Nineteenth-Century Slavery Crisis and the German Americans." Bergquist shows how it was not always possible for German-Americans to cast their votes for antislavery candidates, without endorsing at the same time certain political positions that were discriminatory against Germans and other ethnic groups. When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was introduced in 1854—an act which provided a legal basis for introducing slavery in these territories—most of the candidates opposing the bill also espoused nativist or temperance views.

Each article in the book is amply documented with notes that will be helpful for further research into this uncharted subject. The correspondence of German immigrants to those left behind in Europe is one source that was not fully utilized in this study. A number of letters in recently published collections, including *"Amerika ist ein freies Land . . ."* (1985), and *Briefe aus Amerika* (1988), show the range in attitudes of German immigrants toward blacks.

There is a consensus among the contributors that there was no single German viewpoint toward blacks. It would be interesting to turn the equation around, and see if any conclusions can be reached about the blacks' perceptions of Germans. Some answers might be found by investigating the interaction between the two groups in the educational sphere. Consider, for example, that Moravian schools extended bilingual instruction to blacks as early as the eighteenth century, and other German religious denominations organized German-English schools for black children in the nineteenth century. The Indianapolis public school board's first petition for German language instruction in schools came *not* from the German-Americans, but from a group of the city's black citizens. At their own request, the blacks in Cincinnati public schools received German instruction, at first in segregated "colored" schools, then later

in the city's integrated school system. Today, black children comprise approximately one-half of the enrollment in public German-English magnet schools in Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Pittsburgh.

In his preface, the editor lists several intriguing facets of the German-black experience in America that ought to be addressed. He further states that the book's success "hinges on the questions it raises more than any that it might answer" (xi). *States of Progress* certainly meets that goal by leaving the reader with a desire to see additional research into this provocative subject.

Ohio State University/Mansfield *Carolyn R. Toth*

Sketches of Urban and Cultural Life in North America.
By Friedrich Ratzel. Translated and edited by Stewart A. Stehlin. New Brunswick, NJ, and London: Rutgers University Press, 1988. xiii + 319 pages. Cloth, $38.00. Paper, $15.00.

Historians have long recognized the value of travel accounts for viewing a particular age through the eyes of contemporaries. This is especially true, as Stewart A. Stehlin points out in his valuable introduction, in the case of an observer who himself was a trained academic, in this instance a geographer who later gained prominence through his analysis of the relation of politics and the structure of the state to geographic forces—what he termed *Lebensraum*. Ratzel's account of his journey of 1873–74, first published in Germany in 1876, is significant because of his central thesis: that urbanization was the principal factor of progress and modernization, and that in this respect the United States was ahead of Europe. At a time when most Americans romanticized the frontier and rural life, Ratzel's emphasis on urban development was unique.

Although he visited numerous American cities, by organizing his observations and analysis around this urban theme, Ratzel was able to create an internal coherence for his sketches, as well as provide a comparative framework for the reader. Thus, Ratzel investigates the geographic location of a city, its effects on that city's development, the process of urbanization, the layout of a city, its educational, economic, transportation, and cultural facilities, and its potential for further development and growth. At the same time, he integrates these urban sketches into a broader perspective, showing not only how cities acted as a magnet for regional growth, but also how rural isolation was being overcome by the steady encroachment of urban influences. And in all of this, Ratzel sees the United States as a forerunner of an urbanizing process just then beginning to transform Germany and Europe.

In his analysis of American cities, Ratzel cites four distinguishing characteristics: the broad, straight streets; the heavy traffic; the small size of the average house (i.e., the prevalence of single-family housing); and the sharp division between business and residential areas. In addition, Ratzel emphasizes the extensive park areas in American cities and the vital importance of the superb American transportation system.

Although focusing on environmental factors, Ratzel makes it clear that a city grows to importance primarily because it knows how to exploit its location. Thus, Boston lags behind New York and Philadelphia because it cannot shake a certain provincial narrow-mindedness. By the same token, the southern cities cannot keep pace with their northern rivals not only because of the impact of the Civil War and the end of slavery, but because they exhibit a higher degree of indolence and lack of energy. Along the same lines, Ratzel provides a fascinating

analysis of why Chicago, the quintessential railroad city, was bound to outdistance St. Louis and Cincinnati, its contemporary rivals.

Nestled alongside his scholarly analyses are personal observations of various facets of American life—the open talkativeness of the people; the more advanced role and position of women; a distaste for American architecture; an ambivalence toward blacks, whom he regards as indolent and slovenly while sympathizing with their long years of oppression; and a recognition of some of the negative consequences of too rapid development.

Ultimately, though, Ratzel's account is fascinating because of his uncannily accurate insights into the ways American cities developed, why some grew more significant than others, and the impact they had on the general culture. This, then, is not a typical nineteenth-century travelogue, but the obervations of a man who sensed that he was witnessing an era of great change and who understood that urbanization was becoming the motive force for modernization in the Western world.

East Tennessee State University *Stephen G. Fritz*

Amerikanische Einwanderungswerbung in Deutschland 1845–1914.
By Ingrid Schöberl. Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, vol. 6. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990. 254 pages. DM 48.00.

Ever since William Penn published an appeal to Germans in 1681 to immigrate and join him in his "holy experiment" in Pennsylvania, there have been several attempts by individuals or groups to encourage German immigration to the United States. But not until 1845, when Michigan became the first American state officially to attempt to encourage immigration, did the scope of efforts to attract immigrants to the United States become broader. Through the Civil War's dreadful manpower drain, several American states became increasingly active in the postwar years in promotion of immigration.

It is this subject Ingrid Schöberl examines in her meticulously researched and well-written study on the activities on the part of several states to promote immigration in Germany from the mid-nineteenth century until the outbreak of World War I. In this first comprehensive study of its kind, Schöberl examines in seven well-organized chapters subjects such as the first beginnings of states' initiatives in the 1840s, the federal act of 1864 to encourage immigration, the organization, methods, and means of advertisement, cooperation as well as competition of states, the latter especially between northern and southern states. Although the southern states invested the most in trying to attract immigrants, immigrants preferred the North because land was more plentiful and cheaper than in the South. Schöberl properly limits herself to the states' initiatives, but also includes private sector efforts, such as the railroad companies, when they overlapped with the states' interests. She concludes with a chapter on official German reaction toward the American endeavors to promote immigration.

The promotional activities reflected sociodemographic conditions, economic cycles, shifting immigration policies, different perceptions of immigrants, e.g., with the "new immigration" from eastern and southern Europe beginning in the 1880s, and needs of the American labor market. But they also indicate social and economic conditions in Germany. It is always difficult to balance the amount of information on these complex issues with the main story, but Schöberl is able

to find the appropriate framework without rewriting the social and economic history of Germany and the United States in the nineteenth century.

The flow of information by letters between the already immigrated and the potential emigrant is pivotal in understanding the process of chain migration. Nobody chooses a *terra incognita* as his or her new home. Undoubtedly, personal ties between already emigrated family members, friends, and neighbors possess a greater priority in explaining the motives for emigration, especially when one considers the German social context where there existed a general mistrust against published official information.

Schöberl demonstrates in her concluding remarks that she is quite aware that American endeavors to attract immigrants were but one contributing factor in the complex structures of motivations which underlay the emigration process. She realizes the difficulty in assessing the actual success of the promotional efforts, especially since state legislatures did not approve funds for a statistical evaluation. Quantitatively speaking, we will never know how many immigrants actually left their home because of American promotional activities. This question, as Schöberl rightly points out, is not the appropriate one when examining emigration motivations. Presumably only a potential emigrant was interested in the promotional brochures the American states distributed in Germany. Their very existence for a considerable time span and their reception demonstrates their relevance. We have to know about these activities to understand better the complexities of push and pull forces within the migration process.

In addition to illustrations and statistical tables, this book includes an excellent index, which one seldom finds in German research literature.

Schöberl's study is another fine work in the series "Von Deutschland nach Amerika: Zur Sozialgeschichte der Auswanderung im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert" (vol. 6), edited by Günter Moltmann, who also was Schöberl's adviser for this dissertation.

German Historical Institute, Washington, DC *Jörg Nagler*

The First Description of Cincinnati and Other Ohio Settlements: The Travel Report of Johann Heckewelder (1792).
[Translated by H. A. Rattermann.] Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1988. 71 pages. $13.25.

This slender volume was a most appropriate German-American birthday present for the Queen City's 200th anniversary in 1988: the first description of the fledgling community and other pioneer settlements in the Ohio Valley. In 1792–93 Johann Gottlieb Ernst Heckewelder, the eminent Moravian missionary to the Indians, traveled, mostly in the company of General Putnam, from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to St. Vincent (Vincennes), Indiana. Fortunately, he captured his observations in a diary that was then published by the Halle historian and geographer Matthias C. Sprengel in the series *Auswahl der besten ausländischen geographischen und statistischen Nachrichten zur Aufklärung der Völkerkunde und Länderkunde* (1797). The genesis of the rediscovery and translation of this little gem is told in the editor's introduction. The original German version had remained virtually unknown in this country until H. A. Rattermann published excerpts in *Der Deutsche Pionier* (1881). In 1887 the meritorious German-American historian translated the Cincinnati-area parts of the diary for

a lecture on the occasion of the city's centennial. The unpublished Rattermann manuscript was rediscovered by Tolzmann in time for the city's bicentennial.

The volume is divided into "Editor's Comments," "Rattermann's Introduction," "Heckewelder's Journal" with a conclusion by Rattermann, and "Notes" by Tolzmann.

Heckewelder was a keen and impartial observer of life in the Ohio Valley and its settlements during the late eighteenth-century frontier period when the Indians struggled fiercely against the white man's intrusion. With a few words he captured the essential features of the area, both natural and human. While basically quite impressed by what he saw, he did not hesitate to state that Cincinnati seemed "chiefly filled with bad people" (54). Despite the ever present dangers—ambush, kidnapping, scalping, killing—Heckewelder subscribed to Judge Symmes's policy that "love and friendship" with the Indians was "a better protection . . . than a regiment of soldiers" (57).

Rattermann, a German-Cincinnatian by choice, rated Heckewelder's account as "the most vivid picture of Cincinnati and the Ohio settlements." Tolzmann points to the publication of Heckewelder's journal in Germany as a contributing factor in making Cincinnati the destination for thousands of German immigrants.

The Travel Report of Johann Heckewelder in Rattermann's English-language version is not only fascinating for the scholarly community but for the general public as well.

Indiana University *Eberhard Reichmann*

Catalog of the German-Americana Collection: University of Cincinnati.
By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. 2 vols. München, New York, London, Paris: K.G. Saur, 1990. xxxi+447, 391 pages.

From the founding of the Society for German-American Studies in 1968 to the emergence of this field as a legitimate arena of academic endeavor, we have at long last—after perhaps excessive delays from the publisher, and after baited anticipation on the part of the academic community—the catalog of one of the major collections of German-Americana.

Consisting of two volumes, this catalog contains just over 5,000 entries of monographs, journals (and journal articles), letters, manuscripts, and newspaper clippings by and about German-Americans and German-Americana in the United States dating from the early periods to (essentially) the present day. The scholarship of Tolzmann as both librarian and historian of German-Americana is without a doubt paralleled by but few others. This, together with the wealth of material held in the German-Americana Collection at the University of Cincinnati has resulted in a magnificent reference tool.

The purpose of the catalog, as defined by Tolzmann, is fourfold:

> . . . to provide access to one of the largest collections of German-Americana in the United States. . . . [To] provide the user with a basic reference manual to a substantial amount of source material in the field . . . [to] encourage further research and study of these various source materials. And, . . . to provide a model for the cataloging of the many fine regionally or specially focused collections of German-Americana. (ix)

The subject arrangement of the catalog basically runs the entire gamut from reference works, through history, literature, education, and social life, to

agriculture. Entries contain bibliographic data, collection numbers (as the collection itself comprises seven smaller collections), annotations (in most cases), and further references (in some cases).

The first aforementioned purpose is initially accomplished by a meticulously thorough historical description of the collection. In providing further access, Tolzmann has undertaken the indexing of fifteen major journals and series devoted to German-Americana. Among these are perhaps the best known and longest running: *American-German Review, Der Deutsche Pionier,* and *Pennsylvania German Society, Proceedings and Addresses.* Also included are some lesser known journals: *Atlantis, Deutsch-Amerikanische Dichtung, Der Deutsche Kulturträger,* and *Die Glocke.* Additionally, "when considered necessary" (x), most of the entries for these journals, as well as the entries of the approximately two thousand monographs, carry with them annotations, some of which are quite lengthy, especially in the section entitled "Works by German-American Authors." Finally, an index to entry numbers, rather than page numbers, fills out the work.

The catalog itself proves to be the embodiment of a basic reference manual, thereby satisfying the second of the proposed purposes. The third purpose is a noble aspiration indeed—the desire to encourage further research and study. However, the catalog can by no means accomplish this on its own, although it certainly establishes a firm foundation where before only scattered pieces could be found. Providing a model for the cataloging of other collections—the fourth purpose—would be more than helpful. Were other indexers and bibliographers to take a similar, if not identical, approach (at least within the foci of specific collections), the task of researching German-Americana would be greatly simplified. This, however, will only be proved over the course of time.

If there is one weakness of this work, it would have to lie in the content of some of the annotations. In many instances the annotations are simply English translations of the German title. This may or may not be indicative of the entire content of an article or monograph. On the other hand, there does not seem to be much purpose in annotating, for example: "Die Deutschen in Illinois" simply as: "On Illinois Germans" (265). Perhaps a bit more specific information could have been extracted from this article (as well as others) in order to indicate a special slant or focus taken by the author, or even any notable names. Granted, the "aim has been to keep [the annotations] . . . concise . . ." (xi), however, it is disappointing that the number of annotations falling into this category is so high.

Perhaps the greatest achievement manifested by these two volumes is the enduring efforts of Tolzmann to bring to the scholarly community the treasures within the walls of the University of Cincinnati. In conclusion, I highly recommend this work and believe it will be of invaluable use in the field of German-American studies.

Ohio State University *Cary S. Daniel*

German-English Bilingual Schools in America: The Cincinnati Tradition in Historical Context.
By Carolyn R. Toth. New German-American Studies / Neue deutsch-amerikanische Studien, vol. 2. New York, Bern, Frankfurt a.M., Paris: Lang, 1990. xii + 201 pages.

Toth's informative and readable study, the second volume in a promising new series, is divided into nine chapters. The first two examine the early history of German schools in America. In some senses, this section is a condensed

summary of a complex topic. But it is not merely a recapitulation of the basics. In the first place, a thorough history of the subject, which might have been summarized, does not exist, so the author has had to locate many short studies devoted to aspects of the topic, regions of the country, and even individual schools; in the second place, Toth offers interesting comments on nineteenth-century pedagogy from a twentieth-century perspective.

The next two chapters turn to the Cincinnati schools, from the pre-history of the founding of the first public bilingual program in 1840 to the end of the tradition with the First World War. The program was remarkably successful. From 327 in 1841, enrollment climbed to 15,119 in 1875. It then remained fairly constant ranging from 13,000 to 18,000 until it declined sharply in 1917 and disappeared a year later. "It was not until 1959 that foreign languages were reinstated in Cincinnati's public elementary schools" (91), and by then the damage—from a German perspective—had been done: whereas more than 50% of Cincinnati children were enrolled in a German-American bilingual school in 1875 (61), of the FLES classes initiated in 1959 only 20% were German, the rest French and Spanish.

Chapters five through seven are devoted to the rebirth and evolution of German bilingual education in Cincinnati after World War II. Originally created by the school board as part of an alternative-school system for the purpose of avoiding involuntary busing, the German bilingual school was—and remains—an unqualified success. Not only was racial balance achieved, but the pupils excel in English and math, as well as in German. The degree of fluency attained by pupils in the program is perceived by teachers to be rather high, although no objective way to verify the degree of fluency has been found.

The final two chapters return to the "historical context," in this case other contemporary examples, and their relationship to the Cincinnati experience. Programs in Milwaukee, Kansas City, and Pittsburgh that are similar to Cincinnati's are briefly discussed; as Toth rightly remarks, with reference to the difficulty in evaluating the effectiveness of the German instruction noted above, "Now that the Kansas City German bilingual school has enlarged the German bilingual pupil population, it is becoming feasible to design studies of a comparative nature in German bilingual education" (174). Contemporary Amish and Hutterite schools are also discussed. A sixteen-page bibliography and comprehensive index conclude the book.

Toth has written a specialized, detailed study, primarily aimed at those interested in the history of education and more specifically, of course, in German bilingual schools. The scholarship is consistently impressive, but not stupefying: both the German and educationese are translated. The appropriate secondary literature has been utilized, and especially in chapters 5–7 extensive use is made of personal interviews and unpublished materials. One missing element, which can and surely will be the subject of a future study, in the otherwise meticulous research is a systematic selection of interviews with graduates of the present program. It is, of course and alas, too late to conduct a significant number of interviews with the graduates of the original program.

The potential readership, however, does not end with pedagogues. Most members of the SGAS will find at last some aspects of the book valuable. And given the political framework of recent bilingual education, any of the following could benefit from Toth's final two chapters: concerned parents in troubled school districts, school board members and other politicians, and, for that matter, any taxpayer, any citizen concerned about the quality of American schools.

University of Cincinnati *Jerry Glenn*

Changes in an Obsolescing Language: Pennsylvania German in West Virginia. *By Silke Van Ness. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1990. xiv + 161 pages.*

Changes in an Obsolescing Language: Pennsylvania German in West Virginia (COL) examines the variety of Pennsylvania German and its variation as spoken in Sugar Grove and Franklin in Pendleton County, West Virginia. By analyzing forms elicited from eleven informants, *COL* focuses on the structural consequences of language attrition. Chapter one presents very abbreviated summaries of past research in language attrition, on Pennsylvania German language maintenance, and on the history and geography of Pendleton County. Chapter two describes each informant and gives Van Ness's subjective evaluation of their Pennsylvania German language skills. Chapter three presents the data and analysis for phonological changes, chapter four for morphological changes, and chapter five for syntactic changes. Each of the three chapters on structure emphasizes the features which exhibit "the most profound differences between Standard PaG and the West Virginia PaG"(4). *COL* analyzes the differences by viewing the diverging structures as innovations due to contact with English, as archaisms due to the isolation of the West Virginia communities, or as decayed variants due to the language attrition process.

Because of flawed methodological assumptions, *COL* fails to achieve its purpose of documenting changes in West Virginia Pennsylvania German (WVPaG) as an example of a dying language. Additional questions regarding the fieldwork and the failure of *COL* to view WVPaG within the context of attested varieties of Pennsylvania German limit the usefulness of the data and render the analysis suspect. I will focus on some of the most disturbing problems.

The greatest obstacle to a presentation of change in *COL* is its unacceptable answer to the question, change from what? *COL* uses Standard Pennsylvania German (SPaG) as a comparative norm, defined as follows: "The term 'Standard PaG' is not meant to imply the existence of a homogeneous standard, but rather a 'generalized, normed' PaG, from which none of the other dialects have changed significantly" (vii). The *COL* version of the SPaG relies most heavily on Buffington and Barba (1954) and several works by Carroll E. Reed. Buffington and Barba state as their goal the establishment of a norm of usage (vi), not the presentation of attested forms of a community located in time and space; some of Reed's works are based on fieldwork (1941, for example), but others are not (1947, for example). One cannot assume that the SPaG with which *COL* compares specific grammatical structure was ever spoken in these West Virginia communities at any given time. In addition, *COL* argues that the West Virginia settlements were established before the so-called leveling of Pennsylvania German; this argument would also indicate that a SPaG was *not* spoken in these communities. The listing of differences between a hypothetical, unattested SPaG and WVPaG does not provide acceptable evidence for language change or attrition.

COL presents data elicited in interviews with eleven informants, only five of whom completed the questionnaire. Van Ness conducted the fieldwork within a two-week period using a revised and expanded version of the Reed-Seifert questionnaire of approximately one thousand lexical items and syntactic structures. Informants were asked to supply the translation for isolated lexical items, the Pennsylvania German equivalent of English sentences, and a free text narrative on taking a trip. Van Ness reports some of the informants' reactions to the interview tasks: "If I could have had your list the day before then I could have practiced some" (27) and "If I had long enough time to study these things,

maybe they'd come back in my mind'' (26). This reviewer is very sensitive to such comments. I recall when Van Ness as a graduate student asked to interview some of my informants in central Pennsylvania. Afterwards, one complained to me, ''She went so fast. I didn't have no time to think.'' I knew the informant to be an excellent speaker, as did the community where she often performed in Pennsylvania German skits. My point is not to criticize Van Ness, but to indicate that the methodology developed by the dialect geographers in the late 1930s is not adequate to provide evidence for language attrition.

Research on receding languages requires substantially more than a two-week visit on site, not only to gain the trust of the informants, but also to understand the discourse contexts in which informants find it appropriate to use the language. The fieldwork procedures used to gather data for *COL* preclude the full demonstration of the informants' Pennsylvania German language skills. Speaker #69, for example, states, ''If I were with my brother (speaker 67) just a little while, I could pick it up right away again. I wish we could get together . . .'' (22). This speaker is expressing how unnatural the interview task is for her. It is no wonder that informants became embarrassed (18), needed extensive coaching (29), or did not complete the questionnarie (17). One informant, for example, could not provide discourse on the topic taking a trip (23), but many rural (and especially elderly) informants would not be able to talk about a trip, not because of limited language skills, but because they do not take trips! Van Ness cannot know by using this methodology during a two-week stay whether speakers do not have the requisite language skills or simply find the interview task alien.

The analysis of translation data presents still other problems in *COL*, where pragmatically acceptable renderings are often considered linguistic deficiencies. For example, the speaker was to translate 'These apple trees are ours,' but produced the Pennsylvania German counterpart to 'These apple trees belong to me.' *COL* questions this translation as follows: ''In this case, one can not be certain whether it was not again the case of a communication problem as opposed to linguistic deficiency.'' Similarly, *COL* interprets the past tense as ''a form which to most of the speakers seemed to 'feel' more natural and, consequently, presented fewer problems'' (110) when informants produced it instead of the required present. *COL* does not recognize that direct translation requires a skill quite separate from other language skills. In this unfamiliar task, speakers attend to items of content in the sentence to be translated, not to grammatical form. How well one can translate does not indicate how well one can speak a language.

Because *COL* does not present the data within the context of attested Pennsylvania German, the analysis is severely hampered. In many cases explanations are only very tentative; in other cases they are ad hoc, often ascribing change unnecessarily to contact with English. The *COL* treatment of aspect is a case in point. Reed's (1947) study of aspect is based on published Pennsylvania German, and his analysis is skewed because of that. Huffines (1986) finds substantial disagreement between spoken Pennsylvania German across interview tasks and Reed's analysis. Van Ness relies on Reed and her version of SPaG. Consequently, *COL* explains the frequent use of the progressive aspects (122) and the use of /duds/ (132) as interference from English. The aspectual usage of /du:ne/ is incorrectly analyzed as the emphatic used in interrogative and negative statements. No mention is made of the aspectual use of *als* to express repeated action in the past. Van Ness also misses some interesting features in her data which would support the argument of an early separation of WVPaG from other varieties of Pennsylvania German. The

exclusive use of /tsu/ with infinitives, for example, contrasts with other varieties of Pennsylvania German which have replaced /tsu/ with /far/ (Huffines 1989).

What value does *COL* have for the language research community? The value does not lie in its analysis of change. The methodology does not support that analysis. *COL* is valuable for its presentation of elicited forms by individual informants grouped by location. While the forms are limited and may not present a complete picture of the status of Pennsylvania German in West Virginia, their existence will be helpful to others who use attested forms as a point of departure within a broader Pennsylvania German context. For that contribution, we can be grateful.

Bucknell University *Marion Lois Huffines*

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Annual Bibliography of German-Americana: Articles, Books, Selected Media, and Dissertations

Giles R. Hoyt and Dolores J. Hoyt
in collaboration with the Bibliographic Committee of the
Society for German-American Studies

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The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations, and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

Abbreviations:

AA	=	*Annals of Iowa*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJH	=	*American Jewish History*
CG	=	*Canadiana Germanica*
DR	=	*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*
GCY	=	*German-Canadian Yearbook*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GR	=	*Germanic Review*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*
HSR	=	*Historic Schaefferstown Record*

IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
JAHSGR	=	*Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*
JW	=	*Journal of the West*
KH	=	*Kansas History*
MH	=	*Monatshefte*
MHB	=	*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*
MHR	=	*Missouri Historical Review*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NDH	=	*North Dakota History*
NH	=	*Nebraska History*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter of the Society for German-American Studies*
NGTHS	=	*Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society*
NSHR	=	*Nova Scotia Historical Review*
OHQ	=	*Oregon Historical Quarterly*
PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
PMHB	=	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
SDH	=	*South Dakota History*
SIGA	=	*Studies in Indiana German-Americana*
SAHSN	=	*Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter*
UP	=	*Die Unterrichtspraxis*
WHQ	=	*Western Historical Quarterly*
WMH	=	*Wisconsin Magazine of History*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*
ZK	=	*Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*

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