

YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

Volume 26

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General Information

The Society for German-American Studies was founded for the purpose of encouraging and advancing the scholarly study of the history, language, literature, and culture of the German element in North America. This includes coverage of the immigrants and their descendants from Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and other German-speaking areas of Europe. Members of the Society include representatives from various academic disciplines and others who share a common interest in German-American studies.

The *Yearbook* is published annually. The editors welcome contributions in English or German on all aspects of German-Americana from members of the Society. 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, four 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, University of Kansas, Lawrence, KS 66045-2127. 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 Treasurer/Membership Chair of the Society, William Roba, Scott Community College, 500 Belmont Road, Bettendorf, IA 52722. The Society for German-American Studies is open to membership from individuals, societies, libraries, and organizations.

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YEARBOOK OF GERMAN-AMERICAN STUDIES

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FROM THE EDITORS

After having presented the readership a special volume focusing on Swiss-American topics last year, we are now offering a set of essays that deal with a wide variety of German-American themes. Included in this *Yearbook* are articles on politics, immigration, dialects, journalism, religion, historiography, and the World War I experience. The immigrants featured in these essays are of diverse origin: from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, from Switzerland, and from a number of German territories (Schleswig-Holstein, Hesse, Saxony, the Rhineland, Franconia, the Bavarian Palatinate, and Baden). The regions in the United States which felt the impact of these immigrants are similarly diverse, comprising all the states in the so-called German Belt from New York to Nebraska and from Wisconsin to Georgia.

This volume has a slightly different appearance from its predecessors because of modernization in the preparation of manuscripts for printing. As we rely more and more on word processing technology for the production of the *Yearbook*, we have secured the support of the Joyce and Elizabeth Hall Center for the Humanities at the University of Kansas whose assistance in this process we gratefully acknowledge. Another change that has occurred is the move of our editorial office to the remodeled Sudler House on the university campus, the new home of the Max Kade Center for German-American Studies.

With sadness we note the death of our respected colleague on the editorial board, Hans Galinsky, professor emeritus of English and long-time director of the Institute of American Studies at the University of Mainz. His suggestions for substantive improvements of manuscripts contributed significantly to the quality of the *Yearbook*.

This *Yearbook* would not be possible without the cooperation and efforts of so many of the Society's members. The editors would like to express their appreciation to all those who assisted in compiling the current volume.

*Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
August 1992*



Robert E. Cazden

Party Politics and the Germans of New York City, 1834-40

In 1834 German-born New Yorkers emerged as a voting bloc that could no longer be ignored, a consequence of increased immigration and the changing structure of American politics. But it was not until 1838-40 that the Whigs became a united, efficiently-run party; and only then was the city's German population fully integrated into the second American party system.¹ This account of these eventful years is divided into four sections, the first being an introduction to city politics in 1834. The second section opens with a profile of the German community and goes on to describe the meeting of German Democrats held on 27 October 1834, at which an enduring organization was created—the Deutsche Demokratisch-Republikanische Association—and the groundwork laid for a German Democratic newspaper, the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*. A counter demonstration of Germans sponsored by the Whigs took place on 31 October. The programs of both meetings are discussed and, as far as possible, the named supporters, elected officers, and public speakers identified. These men were the first cohort of New York Germans to come forth as actual or potential political leaders. The third section traces the fortunes of the German community in the context of national and local politics from 1835 to 1840. This study concludes with an occupational analysis of the political leadership, both old (1834) and new (1835-40), a comparison of Whig and Democratic tactics vis-à-vis the Germans, and a final note on German voting behavior.

I

The New York City elections of 1834 were of more than local importance, for the overriding issue was the struggle between Andrew Jackson and Nicholas Biddle, president of the Second Bank of the United States. One of the first key events of the Bank War had been Biddle's ill-advised request to Congress in 1832 for a new charter, four years before the old charter was to expire. Although the bill for recharter passed the Senate and House, on 11

June and 3 July 1832, respectively, Jackson's Veto Message of 10 July stunned the nation. On 25 September 1833 an executive order announced a shift from national banking to deposit banking; beginning on 1 October all future government deposits would be placed in selected state banks, "and that for operating expenses the government would draw on its remaining funds from the Second Bank of the United States until they were exhausted."² Biddle struck back in October by persuading the Second Bank's board of directors to permit "a general curtailment of loans throughout the entire banking system," inducing a financial panic and general economic distress in hopes of forcing Jackson to retract his new measures and recharter the Second Bank.³ The curtailment eased slightly by the following spring and by July 1834 Biddle was compelled by his own supporters to end all arbitrary measures inimical to the economic health of the country.⁴

City politics were profoundly affected by the Bank War as Jacksonians and anti-Jacksonians blamed each other for the economic crisis. In New York County, the executive body of the Jackson party—called Democratic Republicans (later Democrats)—was the Democratic Republican General Committee, usually referred to as "Tammany Hall." The Hall itself (or "Wigwam"), built in 1812, was actually the property and home of the Tammany Society, a fraternal order dating from the eighteenth century. Because the Democratic Republican General Committee met in Tammany Hall, "people gradually came to use the terms 'General Committee' and 'Tammany Hall' synonymously."⁵

Anti-Jackson forces in New York, before 1834, consisted of National Republicans (an appellation adopted by supporters of Henry Clay in 1828) and Anti-Masons, a third party that originated in western New York State during 1827. The conflict between Jackson and the Second Bank gave new life to National Republicans in New York, who in the elections of fall 1833 ran as "Independent Democrats," and who by 1834, to further broaden their appeal, began calling themselves Whigs. The New York Whigs of 1834 were a coalition of National Republicans, Anti-Masons, conservative "Bank Democrats," and disgruntled workingmen, as well as some of the city's Irish population, traditionally loyal Tammany men.⁶ Political invective on both sides was confrontational. Democrats, especially radical Democratic papers, such as the *Man* and the *Evening Post*, attacked the "monied aristocracy" and "Bank Vermin," characterized all banks as "Hydra-headed monsters" and framed the contest as a war between the poor and the rich.⁷ Whigs inveighed against "King Andrew" and the "Tories." "The question was not one of rich versus poor, said the Whigs, but whether we shall 'continue to live under a government of laws, or shall we live at the mercy of a despot?'"⁸

Both Whigs and Democrats took great pains to attract the city's workingmen, who in 1829 had emerged as an independent political movement with remarkable success.⁹ Though the Working Men's party split into factions and lost any effective power after 1830, the "workies," as they were labeled,

remained an important bloc of voters. Early in 1834 the workingmen "reentered politics in the Democratic cause."¹⁰ They were led by George Henry Evans, editor of the *Working Man's Advocate* and also of the *Man* (1834-35), which spoke for the recently organized General Trades' Union of the City of New York. Many "workies," however, blamed their economic miseries on Jackson and went over to the Whigs prior to the April election.¹¹ The two parties also sought the support of adopted citizens, who in 1834 were mainly naturalized Irishmen.

Ballots were cast on 8, 9, and 10 April for mayor and Common Council (aldermen and assistant aldermen). By an act of the legislature, New Yorkers in 1834 were going to the polls for the first time to elect a mayor by direct vote. This alone added to the excitement of the day. Congressman Cornelius W. Lawrence was the Democratic candidate, while the Whigs put forward Gulian C. Verplanck, a gentleman with literary inclinations who had served eight years in Congress before losing his seat for opposing Jackson's bank policy.¹² The campaign was heated, though the Democrats were apparently too complacent. Lawrence did win the mayoralty by 181 votes, but the Whigs took control of the Common Council.¹³ On 10 April, the last day of balloting, a riot began in the Irish Sixth Ward, and looting, arson, and crime spread through the city. Only the arrival of the state militia restored order. Though the election was in truth a victory for the fledgling Whigs, the narrow loss of the mayoralty provoked accusations of election fraud. Whig editors were outraged and printed wild charges that the workingmen and the Irish had stolen the election, which only alienated many who had crossed party lines to vote for Verplanck.¹⁴

Anti-Catholic sentiments had already been inflamed during January and February by a series of twelve letters from the pen of "Brutus" printed in the *New York Observer*. These letters by Samuel F. B. Morse became a basic text for the awakening nativist movement.¹⁵ Nativism in New York was nothing new, although not always publicly proclaimed. The more pragmatic Tammany Hall Democrats were far more successful than their opponents in restraining such feelings. "Ever since 1817, Tammanyites had sought to transcend their latent bigotry and reconcile it with their primordial Americanism and desire for office."¹⁶

Mob violence, the unfortunate display of Whig anti-Irish (anti-Catholic) rhetoric, only increased the fear and anxiety of the population during the months before the crucial fall elections. On 3, 4, and 5 November New Yorkers were going to vote for state and national offices. After the Democrats' weak showing in April, the fall elections were all the more important as a mandate for Andrew Jackson and his heir apparent, Martin Van Buren. A major goal for Tammany was to bring back the disaffected workingmen. The Democrats accomplished this by supporting—at least temporarily—the workingmen's special grievances, which were explicated at length in the *Working Man's Advocate* and the *Man*. Labor found a new ally

in the Democratic *Evening Post*, edited from June 1834 to October 1835 by the eloquent radical, William Leggett. Tammany and governor William Marcy, who was up for reelection, finally conciliated the workingmen by having all Democratic candidates sign a pledge against "the extension of monopolies and other exclusive privileges."¹⁷

As November third drew closer, Tammany, searching out every potential voter, for the first time orchestrated meetings of adopted citizens other than the Irish. The *Evening Post* of 1 November, a Saturday, announced that "natives of France and Italy, and their descendants" were to meet that evening at eight o'clock.¹⁸ Citizens of Spanish and Portuguese origin were also invited to the gathering where officers were appointed and a Vigilance Committee formed.¹⁹ It was Tammany's custom to organize vigilance committees for each ward to monitor the polling (a practice imitated by the Whigs). Committee rosters published in party newspapers were often padded by duplicate entries and by the inclusion of citizens without their knowledge or consent. If the account in the *Evening Post* implied an enthusiastic turnout, the Whig *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* ridiculed "this Tory concern" as consisting "of sixteen all told." The appointees to the Vigilance Committee, continued the *Courier*, were not even consulted "by the self styled 'Large meeting,' and at least half of them have denounced the whole affair."²⁰

II

In 1834—except for English-speaking immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland—Germans almost certainly comprised the largest foreign-born group in New York City.²¹ Unfortunately, no official statistics were recorded until 1845. Howard F. Barker's study based on the United States census of 1790, estimates that 25,800 persons of German descent then resided in New York State. From these data, Ira Rosenwaike extrapolated a figure of 2,000-2,500 for New York City.²² The first state census to include country of origin was that of 1845, and it listed 24,416 residents of New York City as "born in Germany."²³ More to the point is an unsubstantiated reference in the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* that New York City's German population in 1834 was around ten thousand.²⁴ This number may not be too unreliable, since in 1833 there were reportedly some three thousand German Catholics living in the city.²⁵

To properly interpret what the "German population," the "German vote," and what may be termed the "German presence" meant to contemporaries, an important distinction should be kept in mind: that between the German-born (naturalized citizens or not), and the American-born descendants of Germans. Some very wealthy and socially prominent New Yorkers fell into the latter category.²⁶ Among the city's elite were German families that had come to America in the eighteenth century. The Wolfe, Schieffelin, Bergh, Arcularius, and Bininger families, and their descendants living in New York during the

1830s, are discussed in detail by Edward Pessen; and the list can surely be extended.²⁷ American-born Philip Hone, of German and French ancestry, rose from relative poverty to wealth, political influence, and high social status. During his term as mayor in 1825, he served on the board of directors of the German Society of the City of New York; from 1828 to 1834 he was president of the society. As a leading Whig, Philip Hone was much in demand at political rallies throughout 1834.²⁸

Wealthy and influential New Yorkers of German descent, or even of German birth—such as John Jacob Astor—were thoroughly Americanized. So were their institutions. The socially prestigious German Society had recorded its minutes in English since 1794; and the Lutheran congregation of St. Matthew, which catered to upper-class Germans, conducted services in English.²⁹ It is safe to assume that the lack of any local German newspaper in 1834 was most keenly felt by more recent immigrants.³⁰ However, as the year progressed, potential readers did have access to at least two out-of-state German papers: Johann Georg Wesselhoeft's *Alte und Neue Welt*, which commenced publication in Philadelphia on 4 January 1834; and *Die Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* (Wilkes-Barre), edited and published by Wilhelm Schmoele and owned by Charles J. Christel. The first issue of this Democratic campaign paper appeared on 28 August 1834.³¹

From its inception, Wesselhoeft's newspaper tried to avoid any taint of partisan politics; yet by year's end pro-Democratic sentiments did emerge.³² Beginning in March 1834, the increasing number of classified advertisements,³³ letters, and other communications from New York, testified to a growing readership in that city. At the same time the paper expanded its coverage of New York and its German community. Reactions to Mayor Gideon Lee's public declaration that German states were deporting criminals filled many columns,³⁴ as did accounts of cholera deaths, riots, and politics. By August the *Alte und Neue Welt* had two subscription agents in New York, one of whom also handled the new *Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* (Wilkes-Barre).³⁵

If students of New York City politics have ignored the German vote of 1834,³⁶ historians of German America have not. The first detailed account was published by Gustav Körner in 1880.³⁷ Here is Körner's chronology in brief:

1. A German political meeting wholeheartedly endorsing the Democratic cause was held at Tammany Hall in the summer of 1834.
2. On 3 August a Whig-inspired meeting of Germans was convened to protest the resolutions approved by the German Democrats. Francis Joseph Grund was the main speaker.
3. On 27 October over three thousand Germans assembled at Tammany Hall to unite behind the Democracy.

Close examination of the contemporary press demolishes this chronology. The "summer" meeting of Democrats never took place. What Körner describes is the meeting of 27 October, the first mass gathering of German Democrats held in New York, and the only rally of German adopted citizens sponsored by Tammany Hall in 1834. It was a calculated attempt to capture the German vote before the fall elections (3, 4, and 5 November). The counter-demonstration instigated by the Whigs that Körner states took place on 3 August was actually held on 31 October.³⁸

The Democratic rally of 27 October was announced by the *Post* three days in advance, "by order of the Committee": John G. Rohr, president, John A. Stemmler, secretary. Rohr and Stemmler had been chosen by Tammany Hall to be Democratic power brokers in the German community. What were their credentials? John G. Rohr was born in Baden and naturalized on 3 November 1826 at twenty-five or thirty years of age. A member of the German Society from 1830 to 1838, he first made his mark as a merchant tailor and by 1838 also owned a platform balance and jack screw manufactory; after 1842 the foundry disappears from directory listings.³⁹ Despite his relative youth, Rohr was already a wealthy man in 1828 and thus a prize catch for the Democrats.⁴⁰ John A. Stemmler (1806-75) was a native of Rhenish Bavaria whose academic career began in Mainz and continued at the universities of Munich and Heidelberg. In 1829 "he took a leading part among the students who had imbibed ultra liberal ideas, and rebelled against the constituted authorities. To escape punishment, he was obliged to leave his country."⁴¹ Arriving in New York, Stemmler worked as a correspondent for the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung* while reading law in the office of Thomas S. Brady, an influential attorney and politician.⁴²

On the day of the "GREAT GERMAN MEETING" attendance was estimated at "ueber dreitausend Deutsche der Stadt New-York," which may be taken cum grano salis.⁴³ John Stemmler delivered the keynote speech exhorting Germans in both city and state to unite, despite all difficulties, as Germans and as Democrats. Political apathy, he emphasized, must become a thing of the past:

A great deal has been done here towards the culture and preservation of the German language, and to make German arts and sciences flourish in this country, but the political field has been totally deserted by the Germans. . . . There is no organ here by which the Germans can communicate with their fellow countrymen in their own language; therefore it seems very important to establish here a German newspaper . . . to advance the interest, and promote the benefit of the German fraternity in general, and sustain and disseminate Democratic Republican principles.

The crowd was then addressed by Anthony Buchenberger, Augustus Gotthilf, Francis Lasak, and others. Buchenberger's stirring words were aimed specifically at his "Deutsche Brüder und Landsleute! besonders aber Ihr Handwerker und Tagelöhner!" J. G. Wesselhoeft, for one, was very impressed: "Nicht mit Unrecht wird diese musterhafte, eindrucksvolle Volksrede unter die erfreulichsten Erscheinungen der deutschen demokratischen Welt in Nordamerika gezählt."⁴⁴

After all the oratory, a set of resolutions was adopted creating a German Democratic-Republican Association loyal to Tammany Hall, not only for the upcoming election but as a permanent political entity. Essential to its success was a German newspaper, and the first issue of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* appeared within two months. At the apex of the new political organization was a committee of fifteen charged with meeting every month and empowered to call a general meeting whenever necessary. This committee was also ordered to keep a book listing the names and addresses of all resident Germans. Aiding in this task was a system of ward committees. The statistical tables thus compiled would enumerate all German citizens, all applicants for naturalization, and also those Germans who had not yet declared their intentions. While ward committees were installed, though probably not immediately, the proposed record book does not seem to have been implemented. Indeed the latter suggestion drew considerable criticism.⁴⁵ A list of all officers and committeemen appointed at the 27 October meeting can be found in the appendix, part 1.

Whig party leaders, still hopeful of sending William Seward to the governor's mansion, were clearly irritated by the German Democratic meeting: "An impudent attempt" to "deceive the public," wrote Philip Hone; it "occasioned great dissatisfaction" among the Germans.⁴⁶ Thirty-four indignant New Yorkers immediately called a protest meeting for 31 October. "As this is to be essentially a meeting of GERMANS, none are desired to attend who are not *Germans, or descendants of German[s]*." Fourteen of the signees, including Philip Hone, were officers or speakers at this last-minute rally. Of the remaining twenty at least nine were merchants and importers (see appendix, part 2).

Philip Hone noted that the rally at Masonic Hall "was a grand affair." "The lower Room and Entry were crowded by a Mass of honest and intelligent men, Germans all, with their German blood properly up for the insidious attempt to make them subservient to a set of desperate Jackson men."⁴⁷ Hone's comments notwithstanding, the Whigs were in a dilemma. Under the aegis of Tammany Hall, German Democrats had been promised a tightly knit political organization, a party newspaper, and (inferentially) a share of the spoils. The Whigs were neither willing nor able to do the same. Their strategy was clear from the opening remarks of Charles de Behr, who "[deprecated] all manoeuvres of drilling the Germans into a political body [,] stating that the present meeting was called in self-defence, and expressing the

hope, that this would be the last time that Germans, as such, would meet for political purposes." (The word "Whig" was never mentioned in the published proceedings.)⁴⁸ Hero of the day was Francis J. Grund, who had come down from Boston to deliver his maiden political address. Grund was followed by George J. Bachmann, Jacob Hartmann, Philip Hone, and Jonas Humbert, Sr., who "made the only exclusively political speech heard at this meeting . . . [and] was called to order several times." It would be interesting to know what this "entrepreneur, political adventurer, and baker" had to say.⁴⁹

The resolutions adopted by the assemblage were largely the work of Grund. They assailed German Democrats for presuming, "in the name of their countrymen, to organize themselves in a separate political body and establish an odious system of espionage over the Germans in this city."⁵⁰ Though reaffirming the brotherhood of all Germans, the line was drawn at politics: Germans will not sell themselves to any party. And in this spirit the meeting endorsed a nonpartisan German newspaper.⁵¹ Officers and speakers at this "Whig" gathering are listed in the appendix, part 3.

From 31 October through the polling days of 3-5 November, Democratic papers printed ad hominem attacks on a number of prominent German "Whigs" in order to undermine their influence. The *Man* of 31 October accused Theodore Meyer, John F. Wolf, Joseph Landwehr, and Christian Wittmeyer of keeping "'houses of entertainment,' where emigrants not 'up to trap,' are 'taken in and done for' to their pockets' depths and their hearts' content." "Machel" Miller was denounced as "one of those speculating 'forwarders' or 'agents,' who waylay such fresh arrivals from the old country as bring money in their purses, and sell them land—the Lord knows where." When the votes were counted, Marcy and the Democrats had won a sweeping victory. The Whigs lost every election in the city by at least two thousand votes—and the Germans took full credit.⁵² There are no statistics on the German-born voters of 1834 and most cited estimates are inflated. Thus Francis Grund writing in 1836: "In the city of New York the Germans have already a great influence on the election of mayor and other city officers; the number of those who are entitled to vote amounting now to three thousand five hundred."⁵³ The claim that 2,000-2,300 Germans voted in the mayoralty election of April 1834 is certainly exaggerated.⁵⁴ More credible is an estimate of "over 700" German voters reported by a New York Democrat in November 1834.⁵⁵

III

Seward's defeat and the Democratic landslide in the city were severe blows to Whig morale, and for several years little was done to influence the German vote. Tammany, however, had a German Democratic-Republican Association (GDA) and a loyal German newspaper in place. The first issue of the *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung* appeared on 24 December 1834, and was

warmly greeted by J. G. Wesselhoeft as "das Werk eines Vereines deutscher Demokraten und das Resultat des letzten Parteikampfes."⁵⁶ The paper was financed by selling shares of stock. Shareholders selected the tailor Conrad Bräker as publisher: "Von ihnen mit allen Vorrechten und Verantwortlichkeiten eines Eigenthümers derselben bekleidet."⁵⁷ Stephan Molitor, editor of the first fifty-two issues, was apparently succeeded by Gustav Adolph Neumann, who purchased the paper from Bräker on 23 January 1837.⁵⁸

The *Staats-Zeitung* was immediately embroiled in a bitter political struggle within the New York Democracy, an unstable coalition of Bank Democrats, firm believers in the existing credit system; moderate, Marcy Democrats, who supported (in public at least) the policies of Jackson and Van Buren; and radical, Equal Rights Democrats, who championed the cause of hard money, opposed state-licensed monopolies, and sought to abolish the credit system. Just prior to the November 1835 elections, the radicals defected from the regular party and selected their own slate of candidates consisting of seven Tammany Democrats and five rebels. These Equal Righters, or "Locofocos," enticed many Germans away from Tammany Hall, including the "famous" *Volksredner*, Anthony Buchenberger.⁵⁹ Another cause for German unease during 1835-36 was the sudden prominence of the Native American Democratic Association. With its xenophobic platform, the association won over some Democrats (particularly Locofocos) but was most heartily embraced by the Whigs.⁶⁰ After April 1836 the Native Americans disappeared as an independent party, and the Locofocos soon followed suit. Except for a few intransigents, most Locofocos were reunited with Tammany before the elections of November 1837.

As if the vagaries of city politics were not enough, the German community also had to confront new internal problems created by an influx of radical students and revolutionaries, veterans of the ill-fated Frankfurt *Wachenturm* and other conspiracies. On 24 January, a number of these exiles founded the Germania society, whose goals were to awaken feelings of solidarity among Germans in all parts of the Union, to cultivate German character, morality, and culture, and to further democratic principles here and in the Fatherland. The formation of affiliated clubs was encouraged, though without much success. Germania's immediate plans included establishing a library, assisting political refugees, sending revolutionary leaflets to Germany, and building a "New Germany" on American soil.⁶¹ At first the society was sympathetically received, and although many affluent merchants viewed it as a pestilence, the *Staats-Zeitung* was very supportive. But controversies arose when Germania entered the arena of politics as Locofoco partisans. John A. Stemmler gave up his membership in the fall of 1835 along with other Tammany loyalists; and the *Staats-Zeitung* became an implacable foe.⁶² Under these circumstances Germania founded *Der Herold* (February [July?] 1836), a semiweekly with a Saturday literary supplement. Edited by Friedrich E.

Zerrlaut, *Der Herold* gave considerable space to European news while also publishing translations of all Locofoco manifestos and speeches.⁶³

The Whigs, as noted above, were a dispirited lot in 1835. They fielded no mayoral candidate that year and in the fall joined forces with the Native American party. Clearly, wooing the immigrant vote was not a Whig priority.⁶⁴ In any event the Whigs did not form a German organization or publish a German Whig newspaper until after the Panic of 1837. However, they may have been involved in launching the *Allgemeine Zeitung* as a counterpoise to the *Staats-Zeitung*. A nonpartisan German newspaper had been called for at the anti-Democratic meeting of 31 October 1834; and Henry Ludwig, an honorary vice president on that occasion, began to publish such a paper on 10 October 1835. The first editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* was Moritz August Richter, who did try to keep the paper out of party politics.⁶⁵ But this proved an impossible burden for Richter, and in January he endorsed the Locofoco critique of America's financial system. Later, with equal conviction, he opposed returning the party of Jackson and Van Buren to power, though he did not explicitly favor any of the Whig candidates.⁶⁶ At the conclusion of volume one Richter was replaced by Stephan Molitor, and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* became an openly Democratic newspaper.⁶⁷

When Van Buren took over the presidency the nation faced grave problems. During May 1837, banks all across the country suspended specie payments creating a financial panic; a second crisis in 1839 was followed by a depression that lasted until 1843. Fairly or unfairly, Jacksonian policies were blamed. Whigs responded by demanding the rechartering of a national bank. But Van Buren, desiring complete separation of bank and state, submitted his proposal for an independent treasury. Conservative Bank Democrats in New York were horrified by their president's decision; and in the fall of 1837, while moderate Democrats and Equal Righters were mending fences at Tammany Hall, Bank Democrats allied themselves with the Whigs. Among the apostates were two founders of the German Democratic Association—John G. Rohr and John F. Engold.⁶⁸ Their defection may have influenced the reunited Democrats to nominate Francis W. Lasak for assemblyman. Another German Democratic Association veteran, Lasak thus became the first naturalized German to run for state office, although in a losing cause. The November elections for state assembly and senate, and for county sheriffs and clerks, revealed the depth of anti-Democrat sentiment and resulted in a massive Whig victory. Now with access to state patronage, and guided by very capable men, the Whig party became a potent and effective organization.⁶⁹

In 1838 the Whigs retained control of city hall, Seward defeated Marcy for governor, and the German vote was sought by all.⁷⁰ Before the 1839 Charter elections, which the Democrats won, Francis Lasak was given equal billing with such dignitaries as Peter Cooper and Prosper Wetmore at a Tammany meeting convened on 28 March to approve Isaac Varian's nomination for mayor. It was a signal honor. City Democrats continued their

winning ways in November and Lasak, again the "German" candidate for assemblyman, was one of the beneficiaries. However, it was alleged that Lasak had been opposed by some members of the German Democratic Association on the grounds that he was a "Bohemian" and not a "real German," and only Neumann's persistence got him the nomination.⁷¹ This local politicking was only a prologue to the presidential contest of 1840. In an unprecedented appeal to the common man, Whig strategists held mammoth celebrations and remade General Harrison into "Old Tip." The ubiquitous log cabin became an American icon; and many Germans suddenly acquired a taste for hard cider. In the city, the well-established German Democratic Association held extra demonstrations that were more than matched by German Tippecanoe Clubs and their festivities. But with the *Staats-Zeitung* at their disposal, Democrats still had the most influential German paper in the state. To remedy this, the Whigs purchased the *Allgemeine Zeitung* from Henry Ludwig sometime during 1839. Georg Heinrich Paulsen became the new editor, but the paper suffered from a continual shortage of funds and abruptly ceased publication on 11 July 1840.⁷²

The year of the Log-Cabin Campaign began with physical violence against immigrant Germans, a nativist folkway usually reserved for the Irish.⁷³ In mid-March German Democrats were subjected to violence of a different sort when, without warning, their champion in Albany turned traitor. During debate on "An Act requiring banks to redeem their circulating notes in the city of New-York," Francis W. Lasak defended the utility of bank notes and came out in favor of a national bank.⁷⁴ At that moment Lasak abandoned the party that had elected him and within days was urging his fellow Germans to support the Whigs. The outraged Democrats expelled him from the German Democratic Association, and the Washington Riflemen unanimously demanded his resignation as captain. On 25 March the *Staats-Zeitung* printed a "Sendschreiben an den slawonischen Apostaten F. W. Lasak in Albany." Characterizing Lasak as a "*sinnlos gewordenen* 'half fledged political stripling'" was Neumann at his mildest. But the damage done was not easily repaired and Lasak's conversion was a cause célèbre for months to come.⁷⁵

Some of the old guard from 1834 were still on the scene in 1840, although in both parties the leadership was dominated by newer men. The original Democratic twenty had all but disappeared. At least four had become Whigs--Rohr, Engold, Lasak, and John G. Weise; only Jacob Bindernagel and Henry Boese remained active Tammany workers. In contrast, of the eighteen participants in the Whig meeting of 1834, at least six were still playing very public roles: Dr. Deffinbough, John F. Wolfe, Joseph Landwehr, Henry Handschuch, Jacob Hartmann, and Christian Wittmeyer.⁷⁶ But the star in the Whig firmament was Francis Lasak.⁷⁷ Early in April he was back in the city chairing a meeting of the German Democratic Whig Association. His former colleagues could hardly contain themselves, and on 27 May, after a rally by the *Deutscher Tippecanoe-Club*, Lasak's house was stoned by resentful

"Locofocos." The final gathering of German Harrison Men was held on the evening of 3 November at the Washington Hotel, where Lasak shared the platform with Jacob Hartmann and Anglo-American luminaries: "The multitude adjourned to meet at the polls."⁷⁸ Although the Whigs lost the city, they won the state and the nation: German Whigs as well as Democrats had now joined the mainstream of New York politics.

IV

In preparation for the 1840 campaign Whigs and Democrats sought out new leaders from the German community; Tammany had been doing this since 1835. While a listing of German political leaders from 1834 through 1840 is not feasible here, a tabulation by occupation may prove useful (see table 1).⁷⁹

According to table 1, both parties put forward representatives of crafts and trades that in later decades would be German preserves, or nearly so. These occupations included furriers, tailors, shoemakers, furniture makers, bakers, and food dealers, as well as precision instrument makers and jewelers. With such a cross section of tradesmen and master artisans, Democrats and their opponents sought to win broad support particularly among wage workers. German hotel and tavern keepers were already valued as political assets.⁸⁰ The large number of retailers and artisans may seem at variance with Brian Danforth's views regarding the low status and political influence of these occupational groups in New York. But the German community was not simply a microcosm of the general population; and men like Rohr (merchant tailor) and Lasak (furrier) were wealthier than many a city merchant. Moving up the social ladder, Danforth writes that "industrialists [and perhaps Rohr could be so classed] had a slightly higher status while doctors and lawyers were considered even more elevated socially, and this was reflected in their increased political power."⁸¹ So it was with the Germans; for the titular party leaders in 1834 were John Stemmler, lawyer, and Henry Deffinbough, physician.

The most striking disparity between Democrats and Whigs in 1834 was the public stance taken by the economic elite. While twelve merchants endorsed the Whigs, not one committed publicly to the Democrats. Indeed from 1834 through 1840 Whig leadership was dominated by merchants and brokers, eighteen in all. German Democrats studiously avoided any open association with "Bankites," monopolists, and aristocrats. On the surface this Whig preemption of the German mercantile class runs counter to Danforth's conclusion that between 1828 and 1844 wealthy New York merchants "lent active support in approximately equal measure to both national parties."⁸² If there were any German merchants in the Democratic camp, perhaps prudence kept them anonymous. As German voters were overwhelmingly wage earners, the German Democratic Association pitched its message accordingly, especially

Table 1.

German Political Leaders in New York City (1834-40) by Occupation

Occupation	Dems 1834	Whigs ^a 1834		New Dems 1836-40	New Whigs ^b 1839-40
		A	B		
UNIDENTIFIED	1		2	5	7
NO OCCUPATION LISTED	1				2
CAPITALISTS					
Merchants/Importers		3	9		3
Brokers/Agents		1			2
SMALL PROPRIETORS & SHOPKEEPERS					
Hotel & boardinghouse keepers	1	1			
Saloon and tavern keepers	1	2		2	
Restaurateurs	1				
Food dealers	1	2	2	2	1
Distillers			1		
Tobacconists				1	
Boot & shoemakers	2	1		1	3
Furriers	1		1		1
Hatters				2	1
Merchant tailors	2	1	1	4	1
Dealers in dry goods					1
Dealers in paper goods					2
Dealers in sheet metal goods					1
Apothecaries		1	1		
Booksellers		1			
PROFESSIONALS					
Lawyers	1			1	
Notaries public				1	
Doctors		2	1	4	
Teachers	1			2	
Editors				1	1
Clergy				1	
MASTER ARTISANS					
Bakers	2	1	1	4	3
Cabinetmakers	1				2
Upholsterers				1	
Ornamental ironworkers	1				
Umbrella makers	1				
Precision instrument makers	1				
Clock & watchmakers	1			1	
Printers		1			
CLERKS					
Accountants		1			
WORKERS IN TRANSPORTATION					
Cartmen					1
LABORERS & PORTERS					
Lamplighters			1		
TOTAL	20	18	20	33	32

Sources: *Courier, Post, AZ, NYSZ*, and city directories.^aColumn A=all participants in the 1834 rally except Grund and Hone; B=Whig supporters who did not participate.^bThese figures do not include Democratic defectors.

after the return of the Locofocos in 1837 and the subsequent depression. By 1840 announcements of German Democratic Association meetings printed in the *Staats-Zeitung* were always accompanied by an upraised arm and hammer modeled after the symbol of the General Trades' Union in 1836 and the seal of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen of the City of New York, designed in 1785.⁸³

Just below merchants in level of political involvement between 1834 and 1840 were bakers, food dealers, shoemakers, and merchant tailors. Eleven bakers, split along party lines, presaged the future domination of that trade by Germans; and as the career of Jonas Humbert illustrates, bakers were not loathe to assert themselves. Shoemaking and the clothing trades were two artisan crafts already being transformed by New York's expanding market economy, and it is unlikely that German masters were not also profiting. There are no data on the seven shoemakers, but among the ten Germans in the clothing trades, John Rohr and Conrad Bräker certainly, and others, very likely, were producing ready-made garments. The social position of American tailors, and the role they played in civic affairs, were a constant surprise to visitors from Europe. Egal Feldman points out that "the fluidity of society in America enabled a number of New York tailors and clothiers who had enjoyed a few successful years in business to drop their needles and enter into real estate, politics, banking, or a comfortable retirement."⁸⁴

It is no surprise that members of the professions exerted an influence disproportionate to their small number. They soon dominated the Democratic hierarchy, though after 1837 the reformed Whig leadership included only Dr. Deffinbough. Every year the German Democratic Association selected new officers and a Standing Committee of some fifteen to twenty members. (There are hints that the Democrats did not always strictly adhere to this policy.) The organizational structure of the German Whigs from 1838 to 1840 is unknown and was probably an ad hoc affair. Among the new German Democratic Association officers in 1836 were Dr. J. F. Daniel Lobstein (1777-1840) and a promising young lawyer, Philip J. Joachimsen. In 1837 Lobstein was joined by Drs. G. Christian Scherdlin and Louis Anthony Gescheidt. The party chief at this time was still John Stemmler.⁸⁵ By 1839 G. A. Neumann had taken over the presidency, a post he also held in 1840 when the Democrats fielded an exceptionally able team of political workers.⁸⁶ Two of them, Dr. Dominick von Quenauodon and Johann August Försch, were men of singular character.

Quenauodon's background is obscure (directories list him as de Quenauodon), but he apparently began practicing medicine in the United States around 1828. By 1835 he was living in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, a self-described evangelical pastor and vendor of botanic medicines. Quenauodon came to New York in 1839 and for three years practiced as a German physician, surgeon, and accoucheur, imported Hungarian wines, and operated a medicinal bathing establishment. "Herr Baron," as the Whig press called him, also immersed himself in political and cultural affairs. In June 1842 Quenauodon founded a

society to investigate the mineral resources of North America. Two weeks later he announced his departure on a nationwide scientific tour (although by May 1843 he was again residing in New York City). Dr. von Quenauon was last heard from in 1846, living in Windsor, Pennsylvania, the author of a small book that sheds more light on an adventurous life.⁸⁷

The career of J. A. Försch was also an adventure, albeit of another sort. During the early 1830s he toiled as a Reformed minister in rural York County, Pennsylvania, then moved to Chambersburg in 1837. But Försch's unorthodox views soon forced him to seek a pastorate in Washington, D.C. Some months into 1838 he exchanged pulpits with Friedrich Rulemann Eylert, who had founded a nonsectarian Protestant congregation in New York the previous year.⁸⁸ Försch quickly transformed the church into a German rationalist congregation and started a newspaper, *Der Vernunft-Gläubige* (late 1838-39). A charismatic speaker, Försch attracted such crowds that a new and larger Temple of Reason was dedicated with much fanfare on 7 April 1839. The German Democratic Association eagerly welcomed this newcomer and appointed him to its Standing Committee. Sudden fame apparently had a destabilizing effect on Dr. Försch. In June 1840 the governing board of the congregation held a special hearing and the unfortunate minister was denounced for drunkenness and grossly immoral behavior. The Democrats did not seem too disturbed by this, and in fact they probably aided Försch to start the *Wächter am Hudson* (10 October 1840-?), a partisan Van Buren paper.⁸⁹

At a time when all Democrats were painted as "Fanny Wright Infidels" or "blasphemous Atheists," Försch and the German rationalists were easy prey. Editor Paulsen of the *Allgemeine Zeitung* took on the task of keeping his pious countrymen from reaping the whirlwind sown by those many misusers of reason.⁹⁰ This was only one facet of a boisterous campaign during which the Whigs shed their nativist past to win the hearts and votes of the foreign-born. Although the German Democrats had better journalists and a stronger organization, the Whigs proved masters of political theater, and German Tippecanoe meetings, enlivened by song and cider, drew enthusiastic crowds. The *Courier* of 20 October described one meeting at which sixteen vice presidents and four secretaries were chosen by acclamation. Whigs conferred the dignity of office with a lavish hand. All the new leaders—and many of the men of 1834, including Democratic defectors—came from the world of business. Presiding over the German Harrison meetings was Samuel Bromberg, unrecorded in directories until 1842 when he is listed as partner in the brokerage firm of Bromberg and Bell. There is no evidence that Bromberg was German-born, and his associate was obviously not. Given the latent nativism of that era, where a person was born was important when choosing party chieftains or nominees for office.⁹¹

The Whigs further ingratiated themselves with local Germans by appointing Bromberg a secretary of the citywide Central Democratic Republican Committee of the Tippecanoe and other Harrison Associations.

Tammany Hall never went that far. Some other leading Harrison men were: Joseph Gutman, notary and customhouse broker; George Ruben, drygoods dealer; William Murtfeldt, clothier; and Lewis Bleidorn, importer.⁹² It was a surprise to find that apparently more German Whigs than Democrats were either nominated for public office, named to ward committees, or given jobs in city government. Despite the pro-immigrant rhetoric of the Democrats, their only German nominee during 1834-40 was Francis Lasak; and as far as can be determined, Germans received only one patronage appointment, that of Teunis Fokkes (a secretary of the German Democratic Association in 1840) as marshal.⁹³ In comparison, the Whigs named Henry Gable to the Tenth Ward Vigilance Committee in 1836; nominated Dr. Deffinbough for assistant alderman of the Tenth Ward in 1838, and John F. Wolfe for State Assembly in 1840. Leonard Hoffman and Jacob Hartmann were appointed marshals of the court in 1839. All of these men had been stalwart Whigs in 1834.⁹⁴

Tammany's reluctance to reward its foreign-born colleagues with political office did not deter the German Democratic Association from proselytizing German voters even beyond the city limits. On 8 October 1840 the German Democrats of Newark held a political rally to which a number of New Yorkers were invited, including Dr. von Quenaudon and G. A. Neumann. Both addressed the gathering to ringing applause. Newark in 1840, with a population of 17,290, was still a Whig stronghold, and this rally is one of the first of its kind recorded.⁹⁵ Philip J. Joachimsen, another emissary from New York, was dispatched to Albany where on 15 October he spoke for almost two hours in that city's Tammany Hall. The assembled Van Buren supporters then adopted a constitution which was essentially identical to that of the German Democratic Association. Also in October, five Democratic spokesmen drafted a letter in German to their candidate for governor, William C. Bouck. The signatories were Neumann, Quenaudon, the schoolmaster August Marpe, the watchmaker Johann Maerz (who was a Catholic), and Leopold Bissinger, a prosperous hatter. Ostensibly the letter was meant to ascertain Bouck's political opinions, but its probable purpose was to emphasize his German ancestry. Both the letter and Bouck's reply were printed in the *Staats-Zeitung*.⁹⁶

All this hard work and seven years of loyal service bore bitter fruit as Tammany continued to disregard German demands for office. By 1841 this resentment could not be contained. "Our city government," complained the *Staats-Zeitung*, "notoriously at the mercy of adopted citizens has found room for but one officer, the *Regulator of Public Clocks*; out of 85 or 90 Candidates but 4 were naturalized citizens--none of these Germans! Call you that 'backing your friends?'"⁹⁷ The consequences of this neglect was a temporary split with Tammany in 1843.

Up to now we have considered the origins, organization, tactics, and leadership of German Democrats and Whigs through the year 1840. It is only fair to ask what impact this political activity had on the voting behavior of New

York's Germans. That is not easy to answer, since election results give no clue to voter nativity and the enumeration of German-born citizens by ward only begins with the state census of 1845. Amy Bridges's analysis of municipal elections (1834-43) shows that the second American party system in New York was highly competitive and, assessing the German vote, that ethnicity was not a decisive factor. Based on a correlation of "selected ward characteristics with Democratic percentage of total vote for mayor," Bridges concludes:

There are positive, though weak, relationships between the Democratic vote and the presence of Germans, mechanics, and Methodists and Baptists. There is a negative but even weaker relationship between the presence of immigrants born in Great Britain (the majority of whom were Irish) and Democratic voting. These relationships disappear, however, when the class composition of the ward is controlled. *The Democratic vote is strongly related to the class composition of the ward* [italics added]. . . . In these early years, it would have been difficult for a voter to make a partisan choice on the basis of ethnicity alone.⁹⁸

During the 1960s and 1970s, the ethnocultural school of American politics, inspired by Lee Benson's analysis of Jacksonian New York, published a number of heavily quantitative studies of voting behavior that explain political divisions largely in terms of religion and ethnicity. These works have been criticized by scholars of various persuasions. Sean Wilentz argues that "(even if their correlations had been perfectly accurate), the voting studies did not prove why anyone—not one single voter, let alone an entire electorate—voted the way he did. . . . The revisionists had construed politics far too narrowly."⁹⁹ As this study has tried to demonstrate—and much has been omitted—German-American "politics" in New York, during a period generally passed over in silence, was more than voting and holding office. "A meaningful assessment of political behavior," contends Frederick Luebke, "takes in any discussion of political issues and the relationships of an ethnic group to governmental and political processes, in newspapers, editorials, public addresses, or sermons. . . . One cannot easily separate political behavior from other activities. It is woven into the fabric of life, with all its complexities and contradictions."¹⁰⁰

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Appendix

1. Officers and Committeemen Appointed 27 October 1834

President:

John G. Rohr, merchant tailor and manufacturer, GS (1830-38).¹⁰¹

Vice Presidents:

Augustus Gotthilf, professor of languages. August Philip Jurdes Gotthilf, subject of the city of Lübeck, naturalized on 26 January 1832.

Christian Cäpe/Cape, provisioner, GS (1830-33).

Jacob Bindernagel, baker, GS (1827-47).

John F. Engold, umbrella and parasol maker.

Francis W. Lassack/Lasak (1800-89), furrier, GS (1831-55). Born in Prague, naturalized on 22 September 1828.

Henry Bösse/Boese, grocer.

N. Hodel/Heddell.¹⁰²

Secretaries:

John A. Stemmler, attorney, GS (1838-55).

Anthony Buchenberger.* Andrew Buchenberger, cabinet-maker, is listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1836).

Conrad Bräcker/Braker/Bräker, tailor, GS (1831).

N. Plank.*

John J. Ricker/Rickers, listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1827-29) as piano and music store owner. Subsequent entries give no occupation; but listed in (1840) as agent.

Committeemen:

John Imbery, clockmaker.

John G. Weise, bootmaker.

Charles A. Zeitz, surgical instrument maker.

Francis Oertle, ran a boardinghouse in 1834; later listed as jeweller and watchmaker.

Charles Schmitt/Schmidt.* *Longworth's Directory* lists a Charles Smith, porterhouse (1829) and a Charles F. Schmidt, porterhouse (1837). Identification uncertain.

Joseph Heim, bootmaker.¹⁰³

Francis A. Reitz, baker. In 1837 he owned the Sixteenth Ward Hotel and put his bakery up for sale. *NYSZ*, 29 March 1837.

2. Twenty Signees of the Call for a Protest Meeting 31 October 1834

James Benkhard/Benkard (1799?-1865), merchant (by 1841 as Benkard & Hutton, importers), GS (1831-62). Born in Frankfurt, naturalized on 16 March 1830.¹⁰⁴

John G. Beyrer/Beyer, grocer.

August F. Diettrich/Dieterich, wholesale and retail furrier, GS (1831).

George F. Duckwitz (Victor & Duckwitz, importers), GS (1833-64).

Conrad W. Faber (1798-1855), merchant and importer, GS (1828-54). Born in Hesse and consul for the Electorate of Hesse.

Henry Gable, druggist.

George F. Gerding (Gerding & Siemon, importers), later a shipowner, GS (1831-52). American consul in Mannheim (1845-47) and a founder of the Wartburg colony in East Tennessee.

Luther Hein/Heins, lamplighter.

Charles Henschel, M.D., GS (1838-71).

H. H. Hoffman.* Directories list two Henry Hoffmans, a baker and a stonemason. Identification uncertain but probably the former.

Leonard G. Hoffman, grocer.

George Meyer (1774-1850), merchant, GS (1805-49).

Theodore Meyer (Meyer & A. W. Hupeden, merchants), GS (1811-41). Hanoverian consul.

"Machel," probably Michael Miller, distiller.

Nicolaus D. C. Möller (Möller & Oppenheimer, merchants), GS (1830- 59). Venezuelian consul.

Born in Bremen. His firm, which did business with Puerto Rico, failed before 1839 when Möller became a partner in B. Aymar & Co. In 1866 he joined the house of Möller, Sands & Rieva, steamship agents.

Jacob Pfozter.*

Frederick S. Schlesinger (F. S. & P. Schlesinger, merchants), GS (1828- 60).

Abraham Wartele.*

G. G. Winter, probably G. E. Winter, importer.

John Bernard Wobbe, tailor. Born in Münster, naturalized on 20 September 1824.

3. Officers and Speakers at the "Whig" Gathering

Chairman:

Henry Deffinbough/Deffenbach/Diefenbach, M.D. Born in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he moved to New York in 1827 where he died on 15 November 1840, at the age of forty-six.¹⁰⁵

Vice Presidents:

Francis Mickel, owner of a porterhouse; later listed as a druggist.

George J. Bachmann, shoemaker.

John F. Wolf/Wolfe, grocer, GS (1842 as J. F. Wolff).

Henry Ludwig, printer, GS (1839-72).

Hofer [i.e., Joseph] Landwehr, grocer and porterhouse owner.

Henry A. Handschuh/Handschuch, tailor.

George H. Siemon (Gerding & Siemon, importers), by 1837 also Bavarian consul, GS (1837-70).

Theodore Vietor (Vietor & Duckwitz, importers), GS (1829-64). Born in 1802, probably in Hesse-Cassel, Vietor came to New York in 1824 and established the firm of Vietor & Duckwitz in 1832. He died in 1867.

Charles de Behr, bookseller and publisher, GS (1827-38).

Secretaries:

George F. Veaupell/Vaupell, accountant (though described in the *Courier* as a porter).

A subject of Great Britain, Vaupell was naturalized on 2 January 1830.

Philipp Schlesinger (P. & F. S. Schlesinger, merchants), GS (1829-30). Naturalized on 31 July 1829, a subject of Hamburg.

Committeemen:

Francis J. Grund, who after his return to Boston became a staunch Van Buren Democrat.

J. F. Wilkens, M.D., GS (1833-37). Jacob Frederick Wilckens, subject of Bremen, naturalized on 1 March 1831.

Christian Wittmeyer, boardinghouse owner.

John Reinecke, probably John Reinicke, produce broker, listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1834-38). A John F. Reinicke, sugar refiner, is listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1837-40).

Lewis Feuchtwanger, druggist and chemist. Introduced "German silver" to America. A German Jew from Fürth, Dr. Feuchtwanger (1806-76) graduated from Heidelberg University before emigrating in the late 1820s.

Speakers:

Jacob Hartmann, described as a journeyman baker by the *Courier*, but listed in *Longworth's Directory* (1834-41) as owner of a porterhouse. He was probably a son of Philipp Jacob Zimpelmann (1772-1841), who came to America from Rhenish Bavaria in 1801 and legally changed his name to Hartmann. P. J. Hartmann died in Philadelphia.

Jonas Humbert, Sr., baker.¹⁰⁶

Notes

¹ For an overview of this political shift see Richard P. McCormick, *The Second American Party System: Party Formation in the Jacksonian Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 3-16, 104-24, 329-56.

² Remini, *Andrew Jackson and the Bank War: A Study in the Growth of Presidential Power* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967), 125; see also 75, 80, 82. Important complements to Remini are: Peter Temin, *The Jacksonian Economy* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1969); John M. McFaul, *The Politics of Jacksonian Finance* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1972); and for the entire period, Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality, and Politics*, revised ed. (1978; Urbana: University of Illinois Press, Illini Books, 1985).

³ Remini, *Andrew Jackson*, 126.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 166-67.

⁵ Jerome Mushkat, *Tammany: The Evolution of a Political Machine, 1789-1865* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 1.

⁶ "The word 'Whig' first appeared on a ballot in the New York City elections of 1834." Glyndon G. Van Deusen, *The Jacksonian Era, 1828-1848* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1959), 96.

⁷ Leo Hershkowitz, "New York City, 1834-1840: A Study in Local Politics" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1960), 13, 25-26. On the symbolic import of the Bank War see Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion: Politics and Belief* (1957; reprint, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 24-28.

⁸ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 27, interior quotation from the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, 1 April 1834. See also Van Deusen, *Jacksonian Era*, 96.

⁹ The leader of the original Working Men's movement was Thomas Skidmore, author of *The Rights of Man to Property* (1829), "the most thoroughgoing 'agrarian' tract ever produced by an American." This movement "linked artisan radicalism and journeymen's unionism." A Working Men's ticket for the State Assembly garnered about one-third of the vote in November 1829. That December the Working Men's party was organized and a cabal of Skidmore's opponents and rivals simply read him out of the movement. With a few loyal supporters Skidmore formed a Poor People's (or Poor Man's) party and managed to field a slate of candidates for the fall elections of 1830. The best account is Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (1984; corrected reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 8-9, 182-216, quotations from 184 and 212. See also Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: The Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1967), 58-66.

¹⁰ Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class: A Study of the New York Workingmen's Movement, 1829-1837* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), 24, who also notes that in local politics, the workingmen still harbored an "inveterate suspicion of both Tammany and the Albany Regency [the ruling state Democratic party]."

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

¹² For another account of the campaign see Robert W. July, *The Essential New Yorker: Gulian Crommelin Verplanck* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1951), 180-97.

¹³ The figure 181 is cited by Hershkowitz, "New York City," 51. Mushkat (*Tammany*, 156) gives the margin of victory as 171 votes.

¹⁴ Mushkat, *Tammany*, 156-157; Hershkowitz, "New York City," 50-53. This was not the only violence to plague the city. A race riot broke out at the Chatham Street Chapel on 7 July and violent anti-abolitionist mobs raged at will from 10 to 13 July. In August the stone-cutters rioted because prison labor was being used to hew and cut marble. See Hershkowitz, 67-69.

¹⁵ Published in book form as *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (1835). It went through at least seven editions. See Louis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1901), 20-22; and Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (New York: Columbia University, 1919), 373.

¹⁶ Mushkat, *Tammany*, 202.

¹⁷ Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy*, 35. Leggett's coeditor, William Cullen Bryant, was traveling in Europe during this time.

¹⁸ The announcement, printed in French and English, was signed by L[aurant] Bonnefoux [importer], president; Charles Del Vecchio [looking glass manufacturer, later auctioneer], vice president; Joseph Dreyfous [importer] and Jean Milani, secretaries. First names and occupations within brackets are taken from *Longworth's American Almanac, New-York Register, and City Directory* . . . , publication years 1834-38. Hereafter cited as *Longworth's Directory*. Jean Milani could not be identified or was unlisted. Charles Del Vecchio, born in Milan (d. 1854), was a leading Democratic politician who was named one of the city's three fire commissioners in 1839. Giovanni Ermenegildo Schiavo, *Italian-American History* (1947; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975), 1:509-10.

¹⁹ "MEETING OF THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN adopted citizens. The French and Italian naturalized citizens of this country, having never before endeavored to form a body distinct from the American family, found it nevertheless necessary to meet tonight, November 1st, at the House of Mr. Broyer, owing to the strenuous efforts made by the aristocrats, to lead the public opinion to the belief that all this class of citizens had voted last spring and will vote this fall, with the hirelings and minions of the Mammoth Bank—considering that this assertion is not founded in truth, and that but a small portion of them who have to rely on Bank favors, have done so—considering that the French and Italian Mechanics and Workingmen especially, are and always will be the opponents of all kinds of monopolies, from the knowledge they have of their disastrous effects on their native countries—therefore they have organized . . ." Here follows a list of officers, members of a Resolutions Committee and the Vigilance Committee. *The Evening Post*, 3 Nov. 1834. Hereafter cited as *Post*.

²⁰ *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer*, 4 Nov. 1834. Hereafter cited as *Courier*. Eleven indignant citizens, listed as Vigilance Committee members, denied any participation. *Courier*, 4, 5 Nov. 1834.

²¹ A rough definition of "Germans" would include persons born in German states, or of German-speaking parents in other sovereignties.

²² Howard F. Barker, "National Stocks in the Population of the United States as Indicated by Surnames in the Census of 1790," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1931*, 1:305. Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), 20.

²³ Rosenwaike, *Population History*, 42.

²⁴ *New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 1 Jan. 1884. Hereafter cited as *NYSZ*. Reprinted as "Das Entstehen der 'New Yorker Staatszeitung'," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 15 (January 1884): 411-16 (text reference to p. 413).

²⁵ Jay P. Dolan, *The Immigrant Church: New York's Irish and German Catholics, 1815-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 70.

²⁶ Both categories would have been lumped together in the population figures derived from the 1790 Census. In Rosenwaike's statistics for 1845-60, American-born citizens of German descent are included in the total "native" population. *Population History*, 42.

²⁷ Edward Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power before the Civil War* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1973), 104-5. Abraham Bininger, the founder of the family, was born in Switzerland.

²⁸ Richard Hofstadter's comments on Hone are worth repeating: "In New York the pre-eminent example of the mercantile ideal was the famous diarist, Philip Hone (1780-1851). Hone's experience shows how capable a well-knit local aristocracy was of absorbing a gifted newcomer, for no one lived more fully the life of the civilized merchant than this parvenu, who began life as the son of a joiner of limited means." *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 248.

²⁹ Klaus Wust, *Guardian on the Hudson: The German Society of the City of New York, 1784-1984* (New York: The Society, 1984), 21. According to Anton Eickhoff, the minutes were kept

in English for forty-eight years until the use of German was reintroduced in 1844. "Die Deutsche Gesellschaft der Stadt New York," 40; separately paged supplement to Eickhoff, ed., *In der neuen Heimath: Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die deutschen Einwanderer in allen Theilen der Union* (New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1884). On St. Matthew's and other German congregations, see Agnes Bretting, *Soziale Probleme deutscher Einwanderer in New York City, 1800-1860* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1981), 121-27.

³⁰ The only German paper in New York before the NYSZ was *Der Deutsche Freund: Eine Zeitschrift für Unterhaltung und Belehrung*, published by the Reverend Friedrich Christian Schaeffer. The first and probably only issue is dated October 1819 (New York: bei Peter Schmidt, No. 80 Maidenlane). It was printed in Philadelphia by Simon Probasco.

³¹ On Schmoele and Christel's paper see *Alte und Neue Welt*, 6 Sept. and 4 Oct. (their prospectus) 1834. Hereafter cited as *ANW*. See also Gustav Körner, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika, 1818-1848* (Cincinnati: Verlag von A. E. Wilde & Co., 1880), 44.

³² Wesselhoeft abandoned his apolitical policy on 11 October 1834. "Als Herausgeber 'der alten und neuen Welt' war es nie unsre Absicht, der Politik des Landes eine fortlaufende oder stehende Rubrike zu eröffnen. . . . Doch manche Leser scheinen zu wünschen, dass wir die Tagesereignisse unseres bürgerlichen Lebens gleichfalls berücksichtigen möchten. Wir erfüllen ihren Wunsch mit der heutigen Nummer. Unsere Absicht ist auf diesem Wege fortzufahren." On 18 October Wesselhoeft reiterated his nonpartisan position, but at the same time echoed the anti-Bank rhetoric of radical Democrats. "Der Gedanke der Monarchie ist uns völlig fremd. . . . Auf welchem Grund es stehe, auf den Goldsäcken einer incorporirten Bank, oder auf sogenannten legitimen Thronen, es hat keinen grösseren Feind als uns."

³³ For example: J. N. Rothermel of 241 Houston Street, a teacher of German, Latin, drawing, and piano, wanted students. C. G. Christman's musical instrument store, 398 Pearl Street, needed customers. J. Ad. Stemmler, attorney, 24 Duane Street, sought clients. *ANW*, 8, 15 March, 5 April 1834. More such notices were to follow.

³⁴ *ANW*, 15, 22 March, 5 April 1834. Jacob Bindernagel of New York informed the mayor of negative reactions to his comments in Pennsylvania and Maryland newspapers. Mayor Lee sent back an apologetic letter post haste; a German translation appeared in the *ANW*, 5 April 1834.

³⁵ Agents for the *ANW* were George Weidemeyer, owner of a German Coffee House at 231 William Street, and Ferdinand Marwedel, a dyer, located at 143 Elm. *ANW*, 9 August 1834. Weidemeyer also distributed the Wilkes-Barre paper, which had agencies in Philadelphia, Baltimore, and St. Louis as well. See prospectus dated August 1834 but printed in the *ANW*, 4 Oct. 1834. The *Allgemeine Staats-Zeitung* was absorbed by the *Susquehanna Democrat* in 1835. Unfortunately, no files seem to have been preserved. Dr. Wilhelm Schmoele, by birth a Westphalian, came to the United States ca. 1833-34 and first settled in Wilkes-Barre. He moved to Philadelphia in 1835 and became one of the leaders of the German community. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 73-76 et passim. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas* (München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1973-80), 1:600. Hereafter cited as Arndt and Olson.

³⁶ E.g., Hershkowitz, "New York City," and Mushkat, *Tammany*. Fox does mention that "in Tammany Hall special meetings were arranged for Irish, French and Germans [in 1834]." However, the reference is to a meeting of primarily Irish "Adopted Citizens." *Decline of Aristocracy*, 374. Amy Bridges takes no cognizance of German voters prior to 1838-43; *A City in the Republic: Antebellum New York and the Origins of Machine Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 64-65.

³⁷ *Das Deutsche Element*, 107-8.

³⁸ What was the cause of Körner's confusion? Apparently a typographical error in the *ANW*. In the issue of 8 November 1834 the proceedings of the 31 October meeting were printed under the date—in large type—"am 31sten August 1834." (Elsewhere in the same issue, the correct date is given.) This initial error was then inadvertently altered by Körner to read 3

August 1834. And since these proceedings attacked a Democratic rally of Germans, an earlier "summer" meeting at Tammany Hall had to be assumed. To my knowledge, all subsequent descriptions of these events more or less follow Körner's scenario: Ernest Bruncken, *German Political Refugees in the United States during the Period from 1815-1860*, special print from "Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter" (Chicago, 1904), 22-23; Georg von Bosse, *Das deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines politischen, ethischen, sozialen und erzieherischen Einflusses* (Stuttgart: Chr. Belsersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1908), 141; Irmgard Erhorn, *Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreissiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Stellung zur nordamerikanischen Politik: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutschamerikanertums* (Hamburg: Hans Christians Druckerei und Verlag, 1937), 22; Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863* (1949; reprint, Port Washington, NY: Ira J. Friedman, Inc., 1965), 166-67; Robert E. Cazden, *A Social History of the German Book Trade in America to the Civil War* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 97. Bretting, who only mentions the 27 October meeting in her short description, cites Erhorn and Körner as sources (*Soziale Probleme*, 156).

³⁹ Kenneth Scott, comp., *Early New York Naturalizations: Abstracts of Naturalization Records from Federal, State, and Local Courts, 1792-1840* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1981), 334; Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 109; *Longworth's Directory* (1827-42); *Doggett's City Directory* (1842-44). The entry in Scott is somewhat ambiguous regarding Rohr's age. Occupations listed in city directories are often misleading since low status occupations, such as carpenter or bootmaker, may be wholly at odds with an individual's real wealth. On the other hand, it was also common for men of influence and wealth to have only their names listed. Poorer citizens were often excluded entirely. Brian Joseph Danforth, "The Influence of Socioeconomic Factors upon Political Behavior: A Quantitative Look at New York City Merchants, 1828-1844" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1974), 82-83, 111-12; Pessen, *Riches, Class, and Power*, 49; Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 221.

⁴⁰ Edward Pessen has carefully sifted the manuscript tax rolls to compile lists of New York City's "Wealthiest Five Hundred" in 1828, and "Wealthiest One Thousand" in 1845. "The Wealthiest New Yorkers of the Jacksonian Era: A New List," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 54 (April 1970): 145-72. While the tax records did substantially underassess property values (149-50), they do enable one "to ascertain who the wealthiest persons in the community were (152)." In 1828 the assessed wealth of John G. Rohr was between \$50,000 and \$100,000 (157).

⁴¹ Stemmler's obituary, *New York Times*, 30 March 1875.

⁴² Stemmler was elected Justice of the Seventh District Court in 1863 and again in 1869 (obituary, n. 41). See also *ANW*, 5 April 1834. His mentor and patron, Thomas S. Brady, represented the Sixth Ward as assistant alderman (1835) and alderman (1836-37). Brady's name appears on a list of twenty-three Democratic party leaders for the period 1834-40 compiled by Hershkovitz, "New York City," 524; see also 507-12.

⁴³ *ANW*, 1 Nov. 1834. I have used the translated proceedings published in the *Post*, 29 Oct. 1834, which also appeared in the *Working Man's Advocate*, 1 Nov. 1834. The original German text was printed in the *Philadelphier Wöchentliches Anzeiger und Unterhaltungsblatt*, supplement to the *ANW*, 1 Nov. 1834. This version retains the German spelling of personal names, includes some additional matter omitted in the English text, and prints the resolutions adopted in a different order.

⁴⁴ *ANW*, 1 and 22 Nov. 1834 (the latter issue contains Wesselhoeft's comments). Wesselhoeft not only printed Buchenberger's speech in his paper (15 Nov.) but also as a broadside—within a decorative border—for 6 1/4 cents.

⁴⁵ A New York Democrat, signing himself "Ein Volksfreund," claimed that this census of Germans was only meant to locate "die Hausarmen" in order to assist them, "und die Arbeitslosigkeit, die Wurzel der Armuth zu vertilgen." *ANW*, 15 Nov. 1834.

⁴⁶ Philip Hone Diary, 29 Oct. 1834, New-York Historical Society, as quoted in Holman Hamilton and James L. Crouthamel, "A Man for Both Parties: Francis J. Grund as Political Chameleon," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 97 (October 1973): 467.

⁴⁷ Philip Hone Diary, 31 Oct. 1834, quoted in Hamilton and Crouthamel, "Man for Both Parties," 467.

⁴⁸ *Courier*, 1 Nov. 1834, "GREAT AND OVERWHELMING MEETING OF GERMANS."

⁴⁹ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 207. The characterization is apt. On 3 November 1801, when bakers went on strike to protest the assize on bread, a group of wealthy citizens agreed to form the New York Bread Company. Humbert publicly opposed this monopolistic threat. In 1813 he drafted a petition for repeal of the assize (which was discontinued in 1821). But in 1824, "disenchanted with open competition," Humbert petitioned for reinstatement of the assize. Howard B. Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic: The Tradesmen of New York City in the Age of Jefferson* (New York: New York University Press, 1979), 186-91, 196-97, 203 (quotation). Humbert's political adventurism is well documented. In 1809, while Inspector of Flour of the City of New York, Humbert ran unsuccessfully as a Madisonian Republican in a three-way race for alderman from the Sixth Ward. *American Citizen*, 7, 9, 10, 27 Nov. 1809; *Public Advertiser*, 14, 18, 21 Nov. 1809. Surprisingly, in 1829 Humbert became an ardent supporter of Thomas Skidmore (see n. 9) and was the Skidmore party candidate for lieutenant governor in November 1830. The city gave him a minuscule 118 votes. *Working Man's Advocate*, 11, 25 Sept., 13 Nov. 1830. When the journeymen bakers went on strike in June 1834, Humbert attacked trade unions (in the *Gazette* of 20 June) as "very dangerous combinations, pregnant with alarming consequences." In rebuttal, John Bowie of the General Trades' Union pointed out Humbert's recent affiliation with the Skidmore Agrarians and their "Levelling system." In another response, "A Journeyman Baker" called Humbert an aspiring office hunter and political weathercock hoping to procure a "lazy berth that would afford him ease and peace in his age of dotage." *Man*, 24, 26 June 1834.

⁵⁰ Those attending the Tammany Hall rally were described as "principally . . . persons unknown as Germans, and unacquainted with the German language; and that of the Germans present, a large proportion were not aware of the political objects of the meeting, very many of them but recently arrived in this country, and of course but superficially acquainted with its institutions, and not qualified to interfere in its political concerns." The last observation is probably correct; and a small percentage of these new arrivals were political exiles who would have an immediate impact on the German community.

⁵¹ The proceedings were sent to the *ANW* in English so that a translation had to be made before publication on 8 November—after the election; and Wesselhoeft did not hide his irritation at not receiving a German text.

⁵² Hershkowitz, "New York City," 89; Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 108.

⁵³ Francis J. Grund, *The Americans in Their Moral, Social, and Political Relations* (Boston: Marsh, Capen and Lyon, 1837), 215-16.

⁵⁴ *NYSZ*, 1 Jan. 1884, reprinted in *Der Deutsche Pionier* 15 (January 1884): 412-13. The *NYSZ*, 12 April 1837, appraised the number of eligible German voters at roughly two thousand—but that was for 1837!

⁵⁵ "Es ist ausgefunden worden, dass über 700 Deutsche in den verschiedenen Distrikten gestimmt haben." Letter dated "New York, den 11. Nov. 1834," signed "Ein Volksfreund" (*ANW*, 15 Nov. 1834, supplement). Whatever their number, the value of the German vote, present and future, was fulsomely recognized by the Democratic press. See the *Post*, 12 Nov. 1834.

⁵⁶ *ANW*, 10 Jan. 1835.

⁵⁷ *NYSZ*, 8 Feb. 1837.

⁵⁸ See Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 202. Molitor's letter of resignation appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (NY), 19 Dec. 1835; hereafter cited as *AZ*. For Bräker's statement of sale, dated 23 January 1837, see *NYSZ*, 8 Feb. 1837. The *NYSZ* was published weekly through 1840, but the earliest years have not all been preserved. Prior to 1840, the existing file consists of a fragment of the 21 December 1836 issue, the year 1837 (lacking six numbers), and the issues of

18 and 25 December 1839. Consequently, the early history of the paper is not at all clear. Compare the accounts in Arndt and Olson, 1:399, and 2:470-76 (which include the findings of F. Peter Schulz). About Neumann himself, little is known. Schulz contends that the *NYSZ* in its anniversary issues barely mentions him, perhaps deliberately. Carl Wittke describes Neumann as a "Silesian who had studied theology at Jena and Marburg," but gives no sources (*The German-Language Press in America* [Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957], 44). Neumann died on 11 December 1886, "Age 79 years, 6 mos. & 22 days," according to his tombstone in Sullivan County discovered by Schulz.

⁵⁹ Fitzwilliam Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party . . .* (1842; reprint, New York: Burt Franklin, 1967), 21-32; Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 168-69. Charles G. Ferris, Loco-foco candidate for Congress in November 1835, garnered 3,600 votes and captured the heavily German Tenth Ward. Hershkovitz, "New York City," 139-43. Buchenberger, in a political pasquinade, "Der böse Hund," criticized the partisanship of the *NYSZ* and its personal attack on him (*AZ*, 7, 14 Nov. 1835). That the Locofocos were not really a labor party but essentially middle-class, is the conclusion reached by Hershkovitz, "The Loco-Foco Party of New York: Its Origins and Career, 1835-1837," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (July 1962): 305-29. See also Carl N. Degler, "The Locofocos: Urban 'Agrarians,'" *Journal of Economic History* 16 (September 1956): 322-33.

⁶⁰ For example, James Watson Webb, editor of the *Courier*. See Hershkovitz, "The Native American Democratic Association in New York City, 1835-1836," *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 46 (January 1962): 41-59; and Mushkat, *Tammany*, 162-63. On Locofoco support of nativism see Hershkovitz, "Loco-Foco Party," 328. The complex interrelations among Locofocos, nativists, Whigs, and labor are succinctly described by Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 267-69, 293-94.

⁶¹ See *ANW*, 14 Feb. 1835 (Germania's initial manifesto); *AZ*, 31 Oct. 1835; and C. F. Huch, "Die Gesellschaft Germania," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins von Philadelphia* 9 (1908): 22-25. For the names and backgrounds of Germania officers and prominent members, as well as their publications, see Cazden, *Social History*, 97-98, 498, 585-87, 608 and passim. One correction: The apothecary Wenzeslaus Fortenbach, president of Germania, was also a newcomer and not a long-term resident. A native of Bavaria, Fortenbach was naturalized on 30 September 1840. Scott, *Naturalizations*, 167. Additional information, drawn from German archives, may be found in Herbert Reiter, "Politisches Asyl im 19. Jahrhundert: Die deutschen politischen Flüchtlinge des Vormärz und der Revolution von 1848/49 in Europa und den USA" (Ph.D. diss., Europäisches Hochschulinstitut, Florence, 1988), 133-41. A branch of Germania with forty members was established in Newark (*ANW*, 18 Feb. 1837).

⁶² *AZ*, 24 Oct. 1835, 9 Jan. 1836 (on Stemmler). See also Franz Löher, *Geschichte und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika* (Cincinnati: Verlag von Eggers and Wullop, 1847), 281-82 (on German merchants); Heinz Kloss, *Um die Einigung des Deutschamerikanertums: Die Geschichte einer unvollendeten Volksgruppe* (Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1937), 189-91; Bretting, *Soziale Probleme*, 140.

⁶³ *ANW*, 27 Feb. 1836; *NYSZ*, 21 Oct. 1840; Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 105. No issues of *Der Herold* appear to have survived. The *AZ* of 23 July 1836 reported that the now defunct *Herold* would soon be replaced by the bilingual *Vetter Michel* and *John Bull*. There is no record of any such newspaper. By October the *Herold* printing shop was up for sale (*ANW*, 15 Oct. 1836). Zerlauth was a political refugee from Baden, and some information on his European career is contained in "Lettre du Substitut d'Altkirch au Garde des Sceaux, du 4 octobre 1836," reprinted in Jacques Grandjonc, "La France et les émigrés allemands expulsés de Suisse (1834-1836)," *Cashiers d'Histoire* 13 (1968): 419-21. It reads in my translation: "As early as 1833, [Armand] Eichborn and someone named Frederic Zerlauth had printed in Metz a proclamation or circular aimed at reuniting the German patriots and inducing them to form a large association." Soon after *Der Herold* ceased publication, Zerlauth moved to Baltimore where he opened a bookstore and found employment as professor of modern languages at Annapolis. In 1837 the learned doctor was named a delegate to the first national convention of Germans held in Pittsburgh. However, Zerlauth was criticized for his authoritarian manners, and his quixotic

plan to establish a German Academy of Arts and Sciences proved a failure. By late 1839 or early 1840 the former Locofoco was in New Orleans, hired to edit *Der Deutsche* and transform it into a Whig campaign paper (*ANW*, 6 Jan. 1838 [misdated 8 Jan.]; *NYSZ*, 21 Oct., 25 Nov. 1840; Arndt and Olson, 1:176, 369).

⁶⁴ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 123, 506-10. Perhaps a contributing factor was the Whigs' deeply-rooted "distaste for party." Since "the Whigs were, on the whole, slower to set up political organizations than their Democratic counterparts," they "had more difficulty in getting out their vote" (Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979], 53).

⁶⁵ M. A. Richter was a lawyer from Chemnitz, Saxony, brother of Karl Ernst Richter, editor and publisher of *Die Biene* (1827-33) and part owner of the Richter'sche Buchhandlung in Zwickau. During 1832 Moritz Richter began agitating among the farmers in various Saxon villages for the abolition of still existing feudal prerogatives and in 1833 was sentenced to a term in prison. He escaped arrest and emigrated to America in 1834 followed soon after by his brother. On M. A. Richter see Veit Valentin, *Geschichte der deutschen Revolution von 1848-1849* (Berlin: Ullstein, 1930-31), 1:229; Reiner Gross, *Die bürgerliche Agrarreform in Sachsen in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Untersuchung zum Problem des Übergangs vom Feudalismus zum Kapitalismus in der Landwirtschaft* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1968), 90-91; Rudolf Muhs, "Zwischen Staatsreform und politischem Protest: Liberalismus in Sachsen zur Zeit des Hambacher Festes," in Wolfgang Schieder, ed., *Liberalismus in der Gesellschaft des deutschen Vormärz* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 208-9 (K. E. Richter), 230 (M. A. Richter). See also M. A. Richter's own account of the "Revolutionäre Aufregung in Sachsen," and of his and K. E. Richter's tribulations in New York: *AZ*, 30 Jan., 17 Sept., 1836. Much on K. E. Richter may be found in Emil Herzog, *Chronik der Kreisstadt Zwickau* (Zwickau: R. Zückler, 1839-45), 2:797-828. On Moritz Richter's subsequent American career and publications see Cazden, *Social History*, 599, 602, 616-17.

⁶⁶ *AZ*, 7 Nov. 1835, 30 Jan., 5 March, 2, 30 April, and 23 July 1836.

⁶⁷ *AZ*, 1 Oct. 1836. The paper's Democratic affiliation under Molitor is noted by Wilhelm Weber, "Die Zeitungen in den Vereinigten Staaten; mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der in deutscher Sprache erscheinenden Blätter," *Das Westland* (St. Louis and Heidelberg) 1 (1837): 208-9. Whether the *AZ* backed the Locofocos or Tammany Hall is not known, since only vols. 1 and 5 (12 Oct. 1839-11 July 1840) are extant. It may be significant that Molitor resigned from the *NYSZ* when the Locofoco rebellion began, and joined the *AZ* three months after Zerlauth's *Der Herold* ceased publication. Stephan Molitor (1806-73) was born in Scheßlitz, Upper Franconia, and studied philosophy and jurisprudence at Würzburg. He apparently came to the United States in 1830. Molitor's tenure at the *AZ* ended before December 1837, for on 2 December of that year the first issue of the Buffalo *Weltbürger* appeared with Molitor as editor. The *Weltbürger*, published by George Zahm, soon became a Democratic paper, but by March 1838 Molitor had departed for Cincinnati to become editor of the *Volksblatt*. George Zahm, the first printer of the *NYSZ*, was a Catholic from the Palatinate. In Buffalo he became the first local German asked to do campaign work and also helped organize the first German Democratic rally (1838). His brother Jacob was a founding officer of Buffalo's German Democratic Association. George Zahm and two other politicians died in 1844, crushed by a falling hickory tree in Cheektowaga, New York. Körner, *Das deutsche Element*, 202-3; Arndt and Olson, 1:454-55; David A. Gerber, *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 212-19; *ANW*, 17 March 1838, 5 Oct. 1844.

⁶⁸ Both Rohr and Engold were among the vice presidents of a meeting of Whig "mechanics" held on 6 February 1838 to protest the sub-Treasury bill then before the Senate. *Courier*, 5-7 Feb. 1838. See also Mushkat, *Tammany*, 177-79, 182-83; McFaul, *Politics*, 178-209; James C. Curtis, *The Fox at Bay: Martin Van Buren and the Presidency, 1837-1841* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1970), 64-151; Temin, *Jacksonian Economy*, 113-77; and James Roger Sharp, *The Jacksonians versus the Banks: Politics in the States after the Panic of 1837* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 3-49, 297-305.

⁶⁹ Jabez D. Hammond, *The History of Political Parties in the State of New York* . . . , 4th ed. (Syracuse: Hall, Mills & Co., 1852), 2:479-80; McCormick, *Second American Party System*, 121-22.

⁷⁰ On 2 November German Democratic Whigs met to attack the sub-Treasury scheme. The following day German Democrats heard their chairman Francis Lasak lash out at Whig candidates James Monroe, George Bruen, and Mayor Aaron Clark for declaring "all immigrants to be vagabonds and paupers." Hershkowitz, "New York City," 346-47 (quote from the *Post*, 5 Nov. 1838), 359.

⁷¹ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 384. Details of Lasak's nomination and Neumann's role in the affair, were reported in a not unbiased communication (signed "Philo") printed in the *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839. It reads in part: "Die Tammany-Parthei hatte längst ausgefunden, dass F.W. Lasack ein zu einfältiger Pinsel ist, und zu wenig Einfluss und Popularität besitzt, überhaupt unter den Deutschen, und er ist ja auch gar nicht einmal ein Deutscher, und kann weder richtig Deutsch sprechen noch schreiben, sondern ein 'Böhmack,' um ihn freiwillig als Kandidaten zum zweitenmal aufzustellen." Lasak served in the assembly during the sixty-third session, 7 January to 14 May 1840.

⁷² According to Neumann, the former almshouse commissioner Engs (probably Philip W. Engs) purchased the *AZ* on behalf of the Whig General Committee of New York. *NYSZ*, 3 June 1840. Little is known about Paulsen. In 1837 he was associated with Wilhelm Radde, a German bookseller and publisher in New York. The partnership lasted barely a year, though during that time the firm issued the first American edition of Goethe's *Faust I and II* (in German). After the *AZ* expired, the German Society hired Paulsen as its first salaried agent, a post he resigned in 1845. See Cazden, *Social History*, 296-98; *NYSZ*, 30 Sept. 1840; Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 129. Paulsen began publishing the *AZ* before 12 October 1839, the date of the earliest issue preserved (apart from volume one). From the outset the paper was hampered by lack of money due largely to a lack of subscribers. The Buffalo *Weltbürger* reported that New York Whigs were circulating a letter requesting friends of the party to make every effort to prevent the only German Whig paper in New York State from ignominious extinction. Quoted in *ANW*, 12 Oct. 1839. On 1 August 1840, the *ANW* announced: "Die New-Yorker 'Allgemeine Zeitung' ist todt. Dagegen hat ein anderes Whig-Blatt unter dem Titel: 'Der deutsche New-Yorker' seine Erscheinung gemacht." No copies of *Der Deutsche New-Yorker* are known. As noted in the *NYSZ*, 29 July 1840, this new paper was financed by Joseph Gutman on behalf of the German Tippecanoe Club. Its first number at least was simply a rehash of material taken from Francis Grund's *Pennsylvania German*, a bilingual Harrison paper published in Philadelphia. Gutman, a prominent German Whig, was already the New York agent for Grund's newspaper. See *AZ*, 25 April 1840.

⁷³ See Hershkowitz, "New York City," 431-32, for details.

⁷⁴ New York State, *Journal of the Assembly*, 63d sess., 1840, 776-79 and passim. A summary and evaluation of Lasak's speech was printed in the *AZ*, 21 March 1840, and reads in part: "Er erklärte in der vorigen Woche in der Assembly bei Gelegenheit als die Geld-Bill unter Verhandlung war, dass er zu Gunsten der Banken und einer National-Bank wäre, weil unserm jetzigen Banksysteme eine Seele fehle, um dasselbe zu reguliren und nützlich für das Wohl des Volkes zu machen. Er erklärte im Laufe der Rede, man habe ihm von Pennsylvanien aus, eine deutsche (Locofoco) Zeitung gesandt, und einen Artikel darin angestrichen, bezeichnet: 'Das Beispiel des österreichischen Papiergeldes, welches sich mit unserm gegenwärtigen Zustande sehr gut vergleichen liesse.' Er wäre nach Durchlesung desselben mit Abscheu erfüllt worden, da der Schreiber nur die eine Seite der Frage welche ihm von Nutzen wäre, darin behandelt hätte, und erklärte, es wäre bloss geschrieben um seine Landsleute irre zu führen. Er stellt dann einen Vergleich zwischen Oesterreich und den V. St. an, und bemerkte, dass sowohl in Oesterreich als Frankreich, Banknoten oft eine Prämie über Gold und Silber hätten. Zuletzt erklärte er, dass er in der Assembly nicht als Parteimann sondern als Repräsentant seiner Constituenten stände."

⁷⁵ See *NYSZ*, 25 March, 1, 8 April 1840; *ANW*, 28 March 1840. The Washington Riflemen, German Democrats all, were founded in 1840. *NYSZ*, 8 April 1840.

⁷⁶ *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1840 (Weise); *NYSZ*, 12 Feb. 1840 (Bindernagel and Boese). On the Whig veterans see *Courier*, 20 Oct., 2, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 7 March 1840.

⁷⁷ After the 1840 campaign, Lasak, already a rich man, devoted most of his time to amassing more riches. His assessed wealth in 1845 was between \$45,000 and \$100,000. Pessen, "Wealthiest New Yorkers," 168. When Lasak died on 13 February 1889, at the age of ninety, the estimated worth of his estate was five or six million dollars: "He accumulated his large fortune through early association with the Astors and by successful operations in real estate and good management as a furrier." *New York Times*, 14 Feb., 8 March 1889 (quote). He left four daughters, all of whom married into socially prominent families (including the Schermerhorns). Lasak's complex will resulted in over six years of litigation and was finally settled on 30 April 1894, when "the greatest auction sale of realty this year took place." Ten parcels of land were sold for \$904,300. Lasak's brownstone residence on Fifth Avenue brought \$184,000 and was purchased by Charles Astor Bristed, "a descendant of Mr. Lasak's old partner." *Times*, 1 June 1894. Unfortunately, Lasak is not mentioned in Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931).

⁷⁸ Hershkowitz, "New York City," 454, 476; *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 23 May 1840. Lasak also spoke to German communities around the state, for this was a campaign without precedent in its reliance on itinerant speechmakers. It was really only fitting that Francis Grund, Whig "hero" of 1834 and recreant Van Burenite, returned to address the German Tippecanoe Club on the evils of the sub-Treasury. *Courier*, 16 Oct. 1840. See also Neumann, "Des böhmischen Whigmissionärs Lasak Bekehrungsversuch unter den deutschen Loco-Foco-Heiden in Rochester (Seitenstück zur Biographie eines Verrücktgewordenen)," *NYSZ*, 16 Sept. 1840; and Robert Gray Gunderson, *The Log-Cabin Campaign* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 161-62, on "the craze for stump oratory."

⁷⁹ For post-1834 Democrats see: *AZ*, 24 Sept. 1836, 9 Nov. 1839; *NYSZ*, 8 Nov. 1837, 1 Jan. 1840 (GDA officers for 1839), 12 Feb. 1840 (GDA officers for 1840 and members of the Standing Committee). For Whig leaders see: *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 15 Feb., 7 March 1840; *Courier*, 20 Oct., 24, Nov. 1840. The list of occupations in table 1 is based on Robert Ernst's classification, *Immigrant Life*, 206-12. The hierarchical arrangement was suggested by Amy Bridges's class structure analysis, *City in the Republic*, 45-46.

⁸⁰ See Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 72, 214-17; and especially Stanley Nadel, "Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1981), 128-82. Democrat Francis Oertle, who kept a boardinghouse in 1834, was a watchmaker and a jeweler by training and opened his own shop before 1836.

⁸¹ Danforth, "Influence of Socioeconomic Factors," 119.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 105. Danforth's list of some seven hundred wealthy merchants includes only four that figure in this study: James Benkard (identified as French); George F. Gerding (identified as Dutch); George Meyer and Conrad W. Faber. It may be argued that most of the fifteen German merchants listed as Whigs were not yet wealthy enough to make Danforth's list. This seems doubtful as Benkard's assessed wealth was less than \$10,000 in 1828, and \$28,000 in 1845; Gerding's wealth in 1845 was assessed at less than \$10,000 as was Faber's in 1828. Others on Danforth's list had even smaller fortunes. George Meyer, however, went from less than \$10,000 (1828) to \$45-100,000 (1845). Faber's assessed wealth in 1845 was \$37,000. Danforth, 215, 229, 231, 251. Since many German merchants were engaged in overseas trade, it might be expected that they would sympathize with antitariff Democrats. But as Danforth points out, this "was not the case; for anti-tariff merchants were almost evenly split between the two major parties." In most instances "these merchants' political behavior is correlated to economic determinism—business interests, kinship, or patronage." Danforth, 142. However, Frank Otto Gatell claims that "the Democratic response to the Bank War and Panic of 1837 temporarily solidified the New York City business community into an anti-Democratic force." "Money and Party in Jacksonian America: A Quantitative Look at New York City's Men of Quality," *Political Science Quarterly* 82 (June 1967): 245. Pessen discusses these two contrasting views in *Jacksonian America*, 252-53.

⁸³ See illustrations in Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, between 216 and 219. The NYSZ for 1839 has not been preserved.

⁸⁴ Egal Feldman, *Fit for Men: A Study of New York's Clothing Trade* (Washington, DC, Public Affairs Press, 1960), 121. On tailors and shoemakers see Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 120-25; Rock, *Artisans of the New Republic*, 239; Nadel, "Kleindeutschland," 164-65.

⁸⁵ Very many New York physicians were then engaged in politics because of "their interest in amending laws relating to medicine." Hershkowitz, "New York City," 121. Dr. Gescheidt, a native of Dresden, came to New York in 1831, retired in 1870 and died in 1876. "Since his retirement," wrote the *Times*, "he has been consulted in many important cases, one of which was that of Commodore Vanderbilt. He was noted for his benevolence, having for many years attended the poor gratuitously." *New York Times*, 22 August 1876. P. J. Joachimsen (1817-90) was a German Jew from Breslau and a precocious scholar, fluent in seven languages. In 1827 or 1831 (sources differ) Joachimsen arrived in New York and studied law in the offices of Clinton and Kane, Samuel Meredith, and John L. Lawrence. By 1837 he was already a member of the bar. In 1840 Joachimsen was appointed Assistant Corporation Attorney of the city of New York. Fifteen years later he was named Assistant United States Attorney, and under special provision of an act of Congress, was appointed Substitute United States Attorney. Among several noteworthy cases, he secured the first capital conviction for slave trading. During the Civil War Joachimsen organized and commanded the 59th New York Volunteer Regiment. After injuries received at New Orleans, he was honorably discharged and made Brigadier-General by brevet. In 1870 he was elected a Judge of the Marine Court of New York City, returning to private practice in 1877. For information on his writings and charitable works see Isaac Markens, *The Hebrews in America* (1888; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1975), 223-24; and the *New York Times*, 7 Jan. 1890.

⁸⁶ They included two teachers, August Marpe and Charles Julius Hempel (George Templeton Strong studied German with him in 1845). Hempel (1811-79) was much in demand as a public speaker in 1840. A native of Solingen, Hempel spent some time in Paris where he lived with and assisted Jules Michelet in the preparation of the latter's *Histoire de France*. Hempel emigrated to New York in 1835 and in 1845 earned his M.D. degree. By 1840 he was already an elder in the Swedenborgian New Church and a pioneer American Fourierist. Subsequently Hempel became a distinguished homoeopathic physician and author (his translation of Schiller's complete works was published in 1870). Among his original books is *The True Organization of the New Church, as Indicated in the Writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, and Demonstrated by Charles Fourier* (New-York: William Radde, 1848). See Cazden, *Social History*, 529-30, 688, 704; *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Hempel, Charles"; and Strong, *The Diary of George Templeton Strong*, ed. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York: Macmillan, 1952), 1:254 (the editor's note is incorrect). For an example of Hempel's political oratory see NYSZ, 16 Sept. 1840.

⁸⁷ *Praktische Anwendung des Animalischen oder Thierischen Magnetismus, als Heilmittel für Nervenkrankheiten; mit allerley, nützlichen Recepten und Kräuter- u. Hausarzneimittel*. Herausgegeben und bearbeitet von D. v. Quenaudon, Der Heilkunde Doctor, Professor der Kräuterkunde in Charleston, S.C., Begründer und Arzt des Kräuter- und Badekur Anstalt in Windsor, Berks County, Premier Lieutenant der Uhlanen Garde in Philadelphia, Staatsnotar in der Stadt Neu-York, Regimentskapellan des 2ten Regiments Neu-York Artillerie, Oberst des 1sten Regiment Freiwillige Washington Dragoonier im Feldzug gegen die Seminol Indianer in Florida, Freibürger der Vereinigten Staaten, ordentliches Mitglied mehreren medizinischen, theologischen und naturwissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften in Amerika und Europa. Gedruckt in Berks County für den Verfasser, im Jahre 1846 [title page sic]. Transcribed from Thomas R. Brendle and Claude W. Unger, "Folk Medicine of the Pennsylvania Germans: The Non-Occult Cures," *Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society* 15, pt.2 (1935), 251. See also ANW, 21 Feb. 1835; NYSZ, 18 Dec. 1839, 27 May, 24 June 1840, 15, 22, June 1842, 3 May-29 July 1843.

⁸⁸ The congregation, which included such worthies as Dr. Scherdlin and G. H. Paulsen, was soon embroiled in a nasty dispute that led to the pastor's resignation. ANW, 2 June, 15, 29, Sept.,

6 Oct. 1838. For a summary of Eylert's novel, *Rückblicke auf Amerika* (1841), in which Dr. Hempel and Paulsen make appearances, see G. T. Hollyday, *Anti-Americanism in the German Novel, 1841-1862* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1977), 23-35. Eylert's father, Rulemann Friedrich, was a bishop, chief court preacher and personal advisor to Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia.

⁸⁹ G. A. Neumann did become outraged when Försch, who had been struck from the roster of Reformed ministers, publicly recanted in 1842. By 1843 Försch had a pastorate in Pottsville, Pennsylvania; but his reconversion was short and the church expelled him a second time. Försch then resettled in New York. See Cazden, *Social History*, 499-502; *ANW*, 9 Feb., 2 March, 13 April 1839, 10, 17 June 1843; *NYSZ*, 22 July 1840 (the denunciation of Försch), and 1 Oct. 1842. Arndt and Olson do not list the *Wächter am Hudson*.

⁹⁰ Gunderson, *Log-Cabin Campaign*, 132; *AZ*, 12 Oct. 1839.

⁹¹ The Pennsylvania-born Dr. Deffinbough is a case in point. Another example is the selection in 1841 of George W. Bruen, a former assemblyman, to be chairman of the German Whigs of the Seventeenth Ward. Bruen's father, Matthias, was a close associate of Thomas H. Smith, the greatest tea merchant of his day; and George Bruen was Smith's son-in-law. See *Courier*, 12 April 1841, and Walter Barrett [i.e., Joseph A. Scoville], *The Old Merchants of New York City* (New York: Carleton, 1863-64), 1:33, 37, 87, 91; 2:51.

⁹² *Courier*, 20, 27 Oct., 2, 4 Nov. 1840; *AZ*, 2 Nov. 1839, 15 Feb., 7 March, 23 May 1840.

⁹³ On Fokkes, a notary public, see *Longworth's Directory* (1840), *NYSZ*, 12 Feb. 1840, and 12 May 1841 (which states that he was employed at the Court of Common Pleas as a translator to assist new arrivals to declare their intention of becoming citizens, or obtain naturalization papers). It is true that in March 1840 the Common Council, acting on a petition submitted by Alderman Daniel F. Tiemann, granted the *NYSZ* the privilege of publishing its transactions and a fee of \$100 (\$200 according to Paulsen). *NYSZ*, 18 March 1840; *AZ*, 23, 30 May 1840.

⁹⁴ *Courier*, 4 Nov. 1836 (Gable); *New York As It Is*. . . (New York: T. R. Tanner, 1840), 32-33, and *AZ*, 12 Oct. 1840 (Hoffman and Hartmann). On Deffinbough and Wolfe, both of whom were defeated, see *Courier*, 4 April 1838 and 20 Oct. 1840. Wolfe, a grocer in 1834, was now general passage agent for the American Transportation Company. I have found no information on the nativity of these men apart from Deffinbough and possibly Hartmann.

⁹⁵ *NYSZ*, 14 Oct. 1840. See also Susan E. Hirsch, *Roots of the American Working Class: The Industrialization of Crafts in Newark, 1800-1860* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), 17, 112-21. Hirsch makes no mention of this meeting or its officers, J. Schuller and a Mr. Pierson.

⁹⁶ On Joachimsen and Bouck see *NYSZ*, 21 Oct. 1840. Though Bouck lost in 1840 he was elected governor in 1842.

⁹⁷ *NYSZ*, 20 Oct. 1841, as translated by Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, 165-66.

⁹⁸ Bridges, *City in the Republic*, 65 (quote) and 66 (table 7), which uses the 1845 census for the number of German-born per ward. The so-called "German" wards, the 10th, 11th, 13th, and 17th, were also working-class neighborhoods. There were, however, some Germans living in every ward. When the Deutscher allgemeiner Wohlfahrts-Verein was founded in 1840, it estimated New York's German population at over 40,000. The Verein appointed committees in all seventeen city wards as well as Brooklyn, Williamsburg, Hoboken, and Staten Island. *NYSZ*, 16 Sept. 1840.

⁹⁹ Sean Wilentz, "On Class and Politics in Jacksonian America," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 48. For critiques of Lee Benson, *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy: New York State As a Test Case* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), and other products of this school, see Wilentz, "On Class and Politics," and Pessen, *Jacksonian America*, 247-50, 354-55.

¹⁰⁰ Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 79.

¹⁰¹ Surnames are given as printed in the *ANW*, followed, if necessary, by the most frequently found variants. Occupations are taken from *Longworth's Directory* (1827-42). An asterisk means that the name could not be found, or identified with certainty, in the directories.

The abbreviation GS, with inclusive dates, indicates membership in the German Society of the City of New York as listed in Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 89-118. Biographical information comes from Scott, *Naturalizations*, 65 (Lasak), 368 (Gotthilf), and the *New York Times*, 16 March 1889 (Lasak).

¹⁰² *Longworth's* (1827) does list a John Hodel, grocer. However, the most likely identification is Paulus Hedl, who in 1835 emerged as a leading Locofoco Democrat. Fitzwilliam Byrdsall describes him as follows: "Paulus Hedl has lived in the city of New-York nearly forty years, and so upright and blameless has been his conduct, that he has not a personal enemy, though few men have had more intercourse with their fellow citizens. It would not be easy to find in any part of the world, an honest man and a more ingenious mechanic than Paulus Hedl. Excellent as a draughtsman, skilful as a practical workman, he stood at the head of the business he followed, the originator of the ornamental and fancy iron railing and palisading for which New-York has been distinguished above any city in the Union. So just a man could be nothing else in politics than a Loco-Foco." *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party*, 106 and passim.

¹⁰³ But in the *Courier*, 5 Nov. 1834, Heim "disclaims any connection with the [party] of Germans which met at Tammany Hall."

¹⁰⁴ *Courier*, 30 Oct. 1834. Names taken from the *Courier* followed, if necessary, by variant spellings as found in directories. Format of entries is described in n. 101. Occupations from *Longworth's Directory*; places of origin from Scott, *Naturalizations*, 66 (Benkard), 293 (Wobbe); and Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 134 (Faber). Additional information from Danforth, "Influence of Socioeconomic Factors," 215 (Benkard), 229 (Faber), 251 (G. Meyer); William Thompson Bonner, *New York, The World's Metropolis*. . . . Commemorative Edition, New York City Directory (New York: R. L. Polk, 1924), 720 (Möller); Doggett's *New York Business Directory, for 1841 and 1842* (1841), 32 (Benkard & Hutton). On Gerding, a native of Osnabrück who emigrated in 1825, see Klaus G. Wust, "Wartburg: Dream and Reality of the New Germany in Tennessee," *Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland: Report* 31 (1963): 21-45.

¹⁰⁵ Personal names are taken from the *Courier* followed by commonly found variants. Format of the entries is described in n. 101. Biographical information from NYSZ, 18 Nov. 1840 (Diefenbach), 3 March 1841 (Hartmann); Scott, *Naturalizations*, 9 (Wilckens), 67 (Vaupell), 282 (Schlesinger), 344 (Vieter); Eickhoff, "Deutsche Gesellschaft," 147 (Vieter). On Feuchtwanger see Edgar H. Adams, "Dr. Lewis Feuchtwanger," *The Numismatist* 26 (June 1913): 297-302. On Henry Ludwig (born in New York State) and Charles de Behr see Cazden, *Social History*, 99-102. Behr's bookstore was consumed by fire on 3 March 1836. See George Templeton Strong's vivid account in Strong, *Diary*, 1:10-11.

¹⁰⁶ "Mr. Jonas Humbert, a baker, and a German by birth, but so long in this country that the language of his father is no longer so familiar to him as that of his adopted country, begged to be heard in English." *Courier*, 1 Nov. 1834. John Bowie also confirmed Humbert's foreign birth. *Man*, 13 June 1834. But in an affidavit sworn before Special Justice James Warner, aldermanic candidate Humbert stated that he "was a native of the state of New Jersey, and was born, as I learn from my mother, the family papers being now in the possession of Stephen Humbert, residing in New Brunswick, in the year 1764, on the 13th of April" (*Public Advertiser*, 21 Nov. 1809). The elusive Humbert has intrigued other historians besides Wilentz and Rock: e.g., Mark A. Lause, "THE 'UNWASHED INFIDELITY': Thomas Paine and Early New York City Labor History," *Labor History* 27 (Summer 1986): 387.

Hans L. Trefousse

Friedrich Hecker and Carl Schurz

In 1929, in his justly renowned study, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz*, Chester Verne Easum considered the possibility that the German revolutionary Friedrich Hecker may have influenced Schurz to become a Republican. In describing the meeting between Schurz and Hecker near Belleville, Illinois, in October 1854, he mentioned their mutual pledge "to meet on the old field in a common endeavor" if the antislavery movement should ever need such service. Stressing the fact that Hecker had been an ardent Republican from the beginning, Easum wrote, "it is not impossible that the older man's influence may have counted toward the younger's decision also to cast his lot with the Republicans."¹ Ten years later, Rudolf Baumgardt, in his biography of Carl Schurz, not only repeated this speculation but carried it further. Again detailing the meeting between the two German-Americans and adding unsubstantiated conversation, he attributed the following words to Hecker:

Is Schurz a member of the Republican party? No? He must join. It is the solution of the future, its program timely with a protective tariff to benefit factories, measures to build up traffic spanning the country's great distances, [and] congressional supervision of Negro slavery in the territories.

According to the author, Hecker then spoke about the history of the German antislavery movement in America, about Franz Daniel Pastorius, the Salzburg settlers in Georgia, and Professor Carl Follen in Boston who lost his life on a burning ship. "The reasoning in Hecker's talk enchants the listener," Baumgardt insisted, concluding his story with this climax:

It is a magic hour. For right then and there Schurz is taken in by Hecker's demoniacal power and thus by the Republican party. His path in this direction may already have been laid out; nearly driven instinctively by aversion to Douglas and thus to the Democrats and intellectually by objective reflection; yet that had only been a feeling,

not a very clear one, or based on reason and therefore devoid of fervor, but that evening Hecker's ardent enthusiasm has a magic effect upon a receptive mind.²

These are strong words and interesting surmises. But whether there is any real foundation for them, whether they correspond to the facts, is another question. It deserves an answer.

Friedrich Hecker was a well-known German radical. Born in 1811 in Echersheim in Baden, the son of distinguished parents—his father served as court counselor to Prince Primate Carl von Dalberg—he studied law at Heidelberg and Munich. After a visit to Paris in 1835, he settled in Mannheim, where he established a flourishing practice. In 1842 he was elected to the second chamber of the legislature of Baden and made a name for himself as the leader of the liberal movement and an opponent of the incorporation of Schleswig-Holstein by Denmark. On a visit to Berlin he was expelled from Prussia and later took a lead in the Offenburg convention of 1847. In the Revolution of 1848, he sought to sway the pre-parliament at Frankfurt in favor of a liberal republic; when this effort resulted in failure, he went to southern Baden to raise an army and establish his republic. Defeated by the combined armies of various German states, he fled to Switzerland and eventually to America, where he settled near Belleville, Illinois, to become a "Latin farmer." A colonel in the Civil War, he was supportive of Republican politics until the founding of the Liberal Republican party, which he joined. His devotion to Republican ideals was beyond question, and his fame as a revolutionary preceded him in his new country.³

Carl Schurz was the most famous German-American of the nineteenth century. Born in Liblar near Cologne in 1829, the son of a schoolmaster and the daughter of the local *Burghalfen*, or farmer-tenant, he was educated at a Catholic *Gymnasium* in Cologne and at the University of Bonn, where he fell under the influence of his German professor, Gottfried Kinkel. With him Schurz joined the most radical democratic republican faction during the Revolution of 1848 and then served in the revolutionary army in the Palatinate. Almost captured when the Prussians took the fortress of Rastatt, he managed to escape through a sewer and eventually reach French soil across the Rhine. He returned to Germany incognito to rescue his professor, then condemned to a life sentence in the penitentiary at Spandau near Berlin. This effort was successful; after bribing a prison guard, Schurz arranged for Kinkel to be lowered from the prison's roof by means of a rope and spirited him away to Mecklenburg and from there to Scotland, a feat that made Schurz famous. After marrying a wealthy Hamburg heiress, he emigrated to the United States in 1852 and finally settled in Watertown, Wisconsin, where he became a leader of German Republicans. He was nominated for lieutenant governor of Wisconsin in 1857, before he had even taken out his final citizenship papers, and was active in the election of 1860. Earning the gratitude of the

Republican party and of the administration of Abraham Lincoln, he was appointed minister to Spain but returned to join the army in 1862 as a brigadier general. He saw action at Second Bull Run, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and the battles around Chattanooga, rising to the rank of major general. He used his oratorical powers in support of Lincoln in the election of 1864 and ended his military career as chief of staff of General Henry W. Slocum's Army of Georgia.

After the war, Schurz returned to his newspaper work. He undertook a trip through the Southern states for President Andrew Johnson, but, because of his disapproval of the President's Reconstruction policies, fell out with the administration. His incisive report was printed by Congress and became a powerful radical campaign document. In 1867 he assumed the position of editor and part owner of the *Westliche Post*, a leading German paper in St. Louis. He was the keynote speaker at the 1868 Republican National Convention that nominated U. S. Grant for President, and in 1869 was elected United States Senator from Missouri. But, interested in civil service reform, reconciliation with the South, and resistance to the acquisition of the Dominican Republic, he broke with Grant and became one of the founders of the Liberal Republican party. He presided over its 1872 Cincinnati convention and was deeply disappointed at the nomination of Horace Greeley, whom, however, he loyally supported.

After rejoining the Republicans to campaign for Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876, he was appointed Secretary of the Interior, a position he filled with distinction by introducing civil service rules, conservation measures, and a new Indian policy. In 1881 he moved to New York where he continued to be active in journalism. He also devoted himself to business, civil service reform, and opposition to imperialism. When he died in 1906, he had established an enviable record as an ethnic leader, a conservationist, a foe of slavery, and a reformer.⁴

What concrete evidence do we have to show that the conversion of Carl Schurz to Republicanism was influenced by Hecker? Are there any contemporary documents or does the Easum-Baumgardt speculation rest on nothing more than later recollections and surmise?

The main source for the story is found in Schurz's own *Reminiscences*, in which he described fully his visit to the old revolutionary. Because of its importance concerning this problem, the passage ought to be cited in its entirety. "Before leaving the vicinity of St. Louis," he wrote,

I visited the German revolutionary leader, Friedrich Hecker, on his prairie farm near Belleville in Illinois. I had never personally met him in Germany, but had heard much about his brilliant qualities and his fiery, impulsive nature. He had started a republican uprising in South Germany at an early stage of the revolutionary movement of 1848, which, although quickly overcome by military force, had

made him the hero of popular songs. His picture, representing him in a somewhat fantastic garb, was spread all over Germany, and as an exile he had become sort of a legendary hero. Being a man of much study and large acquirements, he was entitled to high rank among the "Latin farmers." His new home was a log-house of very primitive appearance. Mrs. Hecker, a woman of beauty and refinement, clad in the simple attire of a farmer's wife, plain but very tidy and tasteful, welcomed me at the door. "The Tiedemanns announced your coming," she said, "and we have been expecting you for several days. Hecker is ill with chills and fever and in very bad humor. But he wants to see you very much. If he uses peculiar language, do not mind it. It is his way when he is out of sorts." Mrs. Tiedemann, Hecker's sister in Philadelphia, had already told me of his tantrums. Thus cautioned, I entered the log-house and found myself in a large room very scantily and roughly furnished. Hecker was sitting on a low couch covered with a buffalo skin. "Hallo," he shouted in a husky voice. "Here you are at last. What in the world brought you into this accursed country?"

"Do you really think this country is so very bad?" I asked.

"Well—well, no!" he said. "It is not a bad country. It is good enough. But the devil take the chills and fever! Only look at me!" Then he rose to his feet and continued denouncing the chills and fever in the most violent terms.

Indeed, as he stood there, a man little over forty, he presented a rather pitiable figure. As a young lawyer at Mannheim and deputy in the legislative chamber of Baden, he had been noted for the elegance of his apparel, now he wore a gray woolen shirt, baggy and shabby trousers, and a pair of old carpet slippers. Mrs. Hecker, who noted my look of surprise, whispered to me with a sigh, "Since we have lived here I cannot make himself look decent." I had always heard that Hecker was a handsome man. And he might have been with his aquiline nose, his clear blue eyes, his finely chiseled features, and his blond hair and beard. But now that face looked haggard, sallow, and weary, and his frame, once so elastic, was drooping and hardly able to bear its own weight.

"Ah," said he, "you see what will become of an old revolutionary when he has to live on quinine pills." Then again he opened the vast resources of his vituperative eloquence on the malarian fever, calling it no end of opprobrious names. Gradually he quieted down, and we began to discuss the political situation. His wrath kindled again when speaking of slavery and the iniquitous attempt of Douglas to permit slavery unlimited expansion over the Territories. With all the fine enthusiasm of his noble nature he greeted the anti-slavery movement, then rising all over the North, as

the dawn of a new era, and we pledged ourselves mutually to meet on the field in a common endeavor if that great cause should ever call for our aid.⁵

Of course, all this was written some fifty years after the event. But at the time of his trip, he also described his visit to the old revolutionary in a letter to his wife. Only in this contemporary account, there was no mention of the pledge. "Between the first half of my letter and this," he reported on 5 October 1854,

comes my visit to Hecker. I reached him in the morning toward eleven and found him in a pitiable condition: countenance sunken and peaked, eyes languid, voice weak, skin yellow—parchment-like. I was affrightened to look upon him and still more to hear him. For four weeks he had not slept and was perpetually tossing back and forth with restlessness, though hardly master of his limbs. His illness is the so-called "congestive fever," which manifests itself in a sudden rush of blood to breast and head, the third recurrence of which is generally regarded as fatal. In addition he suffers from abdominal ailments. I believe one can arrive at the true ground of his illness by hearing him talk. His sanguine-choleric temperament throws him from one extreme to the other, often in the most contradictory manner. His recollections of the past constantly torture his spirit and drive him to combat through the hardest bodily exertions. He has become exceedingly nervous and permanently irritable. The violent, thoroughly foolish bodily exertions, the bitter rashness with which he exposes himself to the dangerous effects of the climate, have broken down his resistance, and the present distressing solitariness has confirmed him in the darkest possible views of life. When he complains, he accuses; when he censures, he damns outright. He feels old; believes it is no longer worth the trouble to live, and often wishes for rest merely to be at rest. . . . I sat sorrowfully by his bed and tried, by dint of the greatest efforts, to cheer him up. At last we got into the swing, and as I brought up matters about which he could talk with some satisfaction all went well. Finally both of us became lively and got to laughing. I did my utmost and we kept on talking till late in the evening. . . . I advised him to leave his farm and seek the benefits of a water cure. He was agreeable to the suggestion, but I fear as he comes to feel better he will not do it. He is being treated wholly according to the old methods and takes unbelievable quantities of medicine. I have done all I could to dissuade him from it, but with only apparent result. I had intended staying longer with him, but two-days' visit drove me forth, partly because I was deeply dispirited by what I heard and

saw, and could not wholly conceal it longer, partly because your letter was waiting for me in Chicago⁶

To compare this contemporary account with the corresponding passages in Baumgardt's book is disappointing. According to the German author, Hecker apparently sought to influence Schurz. In reality, however, it was Schurz who tried to influence Hecker. Judging by the letter, Baumgardt's assertions amount to pure speculation. The contemporary description of the visit in 1854 obviously differs markedly from that in the *Reminiscences*. Apparently, Schurz was so little impressed with the revolutionary's antislavery opinions that he did not even mention them.

In fact, at that period in his life, Schurz was not particularly taken in by Hecker. As he wrote to his old mentor Kinkel describing an election trip Hecker had just undertaken in the fall of 1856,

Hecker did not live up to general expectations. He spoke in New York, Philadelphia, and other Eastern cities. He was surrounded by others who spoke better . . . others who merely failed to surpass Hecker in the magic of his name.⁷

Later on, he thought better of the hothead from Baden, but he still had reservations. "He is just the same as ever," Schurz wrote to his wife after meeting Hecker in Belleville in July of 1860, an expression which can be taken either way, and seven years later in St. Louis, he still thought Hecker "is still the same: astonishes one occasionally with his abundant knowledge and keen mind, and then gives himself over to the wildest and craziest narrations."⁸ It would seem evident from these quotes that Hecker's influence on Schurz, if it existed, was not very great. But when it came to antislavery, Schurz really did not require any urging to join the crusade. He was a foe of human bondage by instinct.

That love of liberty in Europe and hatred of slavery in the New World went hand in hand is not surprising. Carl Schurz, who had fought for democracy in the old country, came to America with a most positive attitude, so much so that his wife occasionally jested with him for finding "every shanty" in the New World charming. He discovered that democracy was working; its success showed how little government was actually needed for human happiness. But one shortcoming marred the favorable picture, and Schurz was not loath to admit it. As he put it, there "is [only] one shrill discord, and that is slavery in the South." He made this observation in a letter to his friend Charlotte Voss in October 1852, shortly after he arrived in the United States and long before he ever met Hecker. The problem upset him so that shortly afterward he explained to her that there was a party in America that called itself Democratic but was at the same time the mainstay of slavery!⁹ When in his first years in America he met the abolitionist Lucretia Mott in Philadelphia,

the famous Quaker must have strengthened his antislavery convictions. Moreover, Kinkel, his friend and mentor, was a great admirer of the English foe of slavery William Wilberforce, so that antislavery ideas were second nature to Schurz.¹⁰

It is true that when the young German first came to the United States, like most immigrants, he was mindful of the Democrats' more positive attitude toward newcomers and therefore not hostile toward the Jacksonian party. In 1854 he traveled to Washington to see Congress in action; among the Senators he visited were several Democratic leaders, including James Shields of Illinois and Richard Brodhead of Pennsylvania, and he even talked with Stephen A. Douglas, whom he later despised. But then he was anxious to obtain American aid for the expected European revolution, and Douglas and his Young America promised to sustain liberals abroad, at least in a moral sense.¹¹

This situation soon changed, however. It was while Schurz was in Washington that the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, repealing the time-honored Missouri Compromise and potentially opening the territories to slavery, was being debated, and its passage so shocked him that, like millions of others, he acquired an intense dislike for the grandiloquently named "Democracy."¹² To be sure, when in 1854 he came to Indianapolis on a business trip, he still entertained friendly relations with Democratic Governor Joseph A. Wright of Indiana, but by the time he reached Wisconsin, a state in which he was anxious to settle, he refused to lend his support to the Democratic incumbent, Governor William A. Barstow. The party faithful in Watertown, where he was to make his future home, asked him to deliver a speech for the candidate, but he declined. The Democrats' political principles were too different from his own.¹³

As time went on, the last obstacle to a full endorsement of the Republicans seemingly crumbled. The Whigs, the new party's predecessors, had long been close to various nativist groups, a combination which created suspicion among immigrants. Moreover, when the Whig party virtually disintegrated following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, many former adherents, bereft of their organization and unwilling to join the hated Democrats, began to support the new nativist American party, which in turn often made common cause with the Republicans. By 1856, however, this Know-Nothing influence was waning, and by the fall of that year, Schurz was a full-fledged Republican campaigning actively for the party ticket.¹⁴

Contrary to the assertions of many writers, not all Germans were natural supporters of the new party. Like immigrants everywhere, they had faithfully followed the Democrats, and while they were generally opposed to slavery, they, like other Americans, were intensely racist. Thus when the Republican party was being organized, only the so-called Greens, particularly the forty-eighters, joined the new grouping. The majority, including many of the Lutherans and especially those Catholics afraid of liberal freethinkers, remained Democratic.¹⁵

Schurz was aware of these trends, but hoped to overcome them. For the rest of his life, he sought to wean his countrymen from their prejudices.¹⁶ He was anxious to emerge as an ethnic leader and purposely selected Wisconsin, more particularly Watertown, as his new home because of the political possibilities offered by the Germans there. "After my return from Europe," he confided to Kinkel in March 1855,

I expect to go to Wisconsin The German element is powerful in that state, the immigrants being so numerous, and they are striving for political recognition. They only lack leaders that are not bound by the restraints of money-getting. There is the place where I can find a sure, gradually expanding field for my work without truckling to the nativistic elements, and there, I hope, in time to gain influence

In spite of his desire for exercising leadership, however, he was not willing to truckle to prevailing Democratic trends, as he made very clear to the professor by stating: "From now on there can only be two parties in the Union: a Northern and a Southern party—an anti- and a proslavery party, and at present the Democrats up here are only the outpost of the slave-power in the free states."¹⁷ His antislavery convictions were firmly grounded, and his decision which side to join had already been made; in fact, though he lost, he had been nominated for the state legislature on the Republican ticket.¹⁸ Thus Schurz was a Republican by conviction. He did not need encouragement to join the new party, from Hecker or anyone else. And he remained a faithful Republican until 1871.

Whatever may have been Schurz's feeling toward Hecker during the 1850s, he later became quite friendly with the older man. During the Civil War, when Schurz was the commanding general of the 3d Division of the XI Corps, Hecker served under him as a regimental and brigade commander. Wounded at Chancellorsville, Hecker recovered in time to rejoin the division so that he was present at Wauhatchie, where he was unjustly accused by Joseph Hooker of not having carried out orders to come to the aid of General John W. Geary with sufficient dispatch. Outraged by this unjust imputation upon his subordinate and, by indirection, upon himself, Schurz fully supported Hecker, assumed responsibility himself, and demanded a court of inquiry. The court cleared both men, whose friendly relations continued, though as we have seen, Schurz still found Hecker peculiar when he met him in 1867 in St. Louis.¹⁹ By 1872, the two collaborated in the Liberal Republican party. At the convention in Cincinnati, Hecker was present when Schurz, devastated because of the nomination of Horace Greeley, walked into a sad gathering of friends to play Chopin's *Funeral March* on the piano.²⁰ Old suspicions had been dissipated in mutual comradeship, but the fact remains that in 1854, Hecker's influence upon Schurz was slight.

It thus appears that, while Schurz and Hecker enjoyed tolerable relations, there is no real evidence that it was Hecker's advice that impelled Schurz to join the Republican party. Aside from the fact that Schurz was sympathetic to the antislavery movement before he came to Belleville, at the time of the visit in question Hecker was too ill to evoke anything but pity in Schurz. The great immigrant leader always appreciated the older man, but he found him peculiar, and it is most doubtful that he was ever materially swayed by him.

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Notes

¹ Chester Verne Easum, *The Americanization of Carl Schurz* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929), 92-94.

² Rudolf Baumgardt, *Carl Schurz: Ein Leben zwischen Zeiten und Kontinenten* (Berlin: Wilhelm Andermann, 1939), 249-51.

³ *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (New York: Scribner's, 1936-88), 4:493-95.

⁴ Hans L. Trefousse, *Carl Schurz: A Biography* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982).

⁵ Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York: McClure, 1907-8), 2:41-43.

⁶ Joseph Schafer, *Intimate Letters of Carl Schurz, 1841-1869* (New York: Da Capo, 1970), 132-33.

⁷ Carl Schurz, *Lebenserinnerungen von Carl Schurz* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1906-12), 3:147-48.

⁸ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 397.

⁹ *Speeches, Correspondence and Political Papers of Carl Schurz*, ed. Frederick Bancroft (New York: Putnam, 1913), 1:1-5.

¹⁰ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:14; Adolph Strodtmann, *Gottfried Kinkel: Wahrheit ohne Dichtung* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1851), 2:167.

¹¹ Trefousse, *Schurz*, 49-50.

¹² Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:37.

¹³ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 124; Bancroft, *Speeches*, 1:23.

¹⁴ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 173-75.

¹⁵ *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln*, ed. Frederick C. Luebke (Lincoln, NE, 1971).

¹⁶ Schafer, *Intimate Letters*, 435, is an example.

¹⁷ Bancroft, *Speeches*, 1:19, 25.

¹⁸ *Watertown Democrat*, 6 November 1856.

¹⁹ Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 3:85-94.

²⁰ *Memoirs of Gustav Koerner, 1809-1896*, ed. Thomas J. McCormack (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1909), 2:557.

Stephen D. Engle

**"Yankee Dutchman":
The Early Life of Franz Sigel**

The revolutions of 1848 and 1849 were significant events in both German and American history, since thousands of German revolutionaries were cast upon the shores of the United States seeking political exile. In Germany, aristocracy had crushed the advance of republicanism and liberalism, and the idea of individual freedoms, popular self-government, and a unified fatherland vanished in the clouds of repression and militarism. According to George Trevelyan and Carl Wittke, it "was one of those turning points in human history when history failed to turn."¹

The revolution that failed to turn German history ultimately helped to shape the character of nineteenth-century American history. The transition from Germany to America in the 1850s forced the refugees of the 1848 Revolution to struggle with the pressures of assimilation. The attitude of many forty-eighters toward assimilation was one of great concern, especially since the early German émigrés had developed little Germanies in the United States. One of the reasons for this cultural maintenance was the anti-foreign reaction by Americans towards the Germans. The nativist agitation of the 1850s made them more determined to preserve their language and defend their culture. Therefore, a crisis in assimilation occurred impeding the Americanization process. When the German forty-eighters arrived in the early 1850s, imbued with the spirit of liberalism, idealism, and opportunity, they tried to infuse some new life into German-American culture. They had great aspirations for the German element in America and were prepared to battle with equal courage in America for the rights they had been denied in Germany. However, by the end of the decade many frustrated forty-eighter idealists had sought the American political system to provide some common ground for shared ideals. By 1860, it was the political structure that became the channel for Americanization for many exiled Germans.²

Franz Sigel was among this excited group of refugees known as the forty-eighters. He was among the thousands of uprooted Germans, who shared the common experience of exile and assimilation in Europe and America in the

pre-Civil War decade. His experience as a refugee in America epitomized the essence of the revolution that failed and his desire to achieve liberal reforms in an adopted land. Despite his attempts to become more American, he could not escape the cultural barrier that separated him from the very political, economic, and social structure he came to support. By the end of the 1850s, Sigel's life extended beyond the immigrant community. He had been absorbed into the American mainstream on economic, social and political levels, while maintaining his native culture. His early life in America helps to fill the void in nineteenth-century studies of Americanization and provides a closer look at one of the most prominent German-Americans of this period.

Born in the village of Sinsheim, in the Grand Duchy of Baden, 18 November 1824, "little Franz" was the third child and eldest son of Moritz and Anna Marie Pauline Lichtenauer Sigel. He received an exceptional education at the Karlsruhe Military Academy, which he recalled "was as fine a school as West Point."³ It was a grueling three years that tested his loyalties and devotion to the German hierarchy, since the academy attempted to infuse more than just a military education. It tried to instill duty, patriotism, and honor in the young man, which eventually brought him into conflict with his superiors, since he never gave ground on issues of judgment. The Baden uprisings, however, afforded Sigel the opportunity to put his own sense of righteousness over the military's. He believed he should prescribe the terms of virtue to which he would adhere. Although a champion of idealism, liberalism and democracy, he failed to achieve the goals of his followers. The lack of leadership, organization, focus and total commitment all led to the demise of the revolution in Germany. The authority of the German states was united in demonstrating its position over the people and more uncompromising in its principles. Sigel, like many young intellectual revolutionaries, was among those who believed German unification would provide greater economic opportunities for the German people and was willing to sacrifice his life to achieve greater democracy. He fought intensely against the Prussians and "the generalship displayed in [the] Baden campaign won for him among German-Americans a prestige which amounted to idolatry."⁴ His failures on the battlefield were overshadowed by his devotion to the revolutionary movement. Although the revolutionaries failed in their attempt to defeat the Prussians, they immortalized their common experience as the last great struggle for humanity and with it they immortalized Sigel. When he crossed the Rhine into Switzerland in July 1849, his friends and comrades never forgot his devotion to the revolution and most remembered him as the "great general."⁵

If the Badensians clung to the hope that one day Sigel would return to stir up new revolutions, the Prussians wanted to capture him and crush that hope. After the fall of Rastatt, Sigel became a political refugee desperately seeking safety. He was one of a diverse group of European revolutionary dreamers who had fled to Switzerland for protection. His passage through the rugged terrain of southern Europe nearly killed him. Although he utilized

some underground contacts to make his way to safety, Sigel often had to live off milk and chestnuts and remain in hiding since he knew the Prussians were pursuing him closely. Throughout August and September he remained in Switzerland but out of the social circles. He contemplated traveling to Austria to participate in the insurrection in Vienna. In October he secretly left St. Gallen with a false passport, passed through enemy lines, went to Tyrol and eventually to Vienna. He looked forward to meeting the patriot Robert Blum, a well-known revolutionary, and fighting with the Austrian people against their emperor. Before he reached Vienna, however, the Austrian government had suppressed the rebellion. Sigel appeared to be a rebel without a cause. He then traveled to Hungary to "fight with Kossuth." Louis Kossuth was a radical nationalist seeking independence and a parliamentary government for Hungary. Like the German revolutionaries, Kossuth also was influenced by the French revolution and by 1849 was involved in a civil war in Hungary. By 31 October, however, the revolution was spent and nationalist impulses were destroyed. Unfortunately, the Austrians arrested Sigel along with hundreds of radicals. He was about to be handed over to the German authorities who, Sigel said, "would have made short work of me," when friends helped him escape. He returned to Switzerland in late 1849 where he remained for some time.⁶

Switzerland was good to Sigel. Under the assumed name of Monsieur Roberts, he was able to travel more freely but was always aware that the Prussian spies were after him. He traveled through Zurich, Bern, and finally arrived in Geneva. He took up residence outside the city in the village of Aux Paquis and remained there for almost a year. Geneva was, as Sigel heard, filled with "such an atmosphere of freedom and liberty" and perhaps the "freest city in the whole world." He studied the Italian language and kept abreast of events in Germany. He made frequent visits to the hotel Campagne Brandt, which had become a center for exiled revolutionaries. There he met several refugees and discussed the possibilities for future campaigns in Germany.⁷

Sigel became a close friend of Giuseppe Mazzini, the Italian nationalist. He was immediately taken with Mazzini, exclaiming, "he made at once the impression of a very important man on me, but also seemed to be an honest man for whom his convictions went above everything else." "His pale features," Sigel described, "showed a restless work and worry," and "his high forehead, [and] big dark eyes showed a clearness and depth of thought and his way of speaking showed the feeling of a noble heart."⁸ Mazzini treated the young German as a father would his son and often gave him advice. He stressed to Sigel that the German revolutionaries should get money through contributions of friends to sponsor an agitation league. Mazzini's idea would eventually be utilized and Sigel would become part of such a league when he later moved to London. These ideas were also emphasized by the Italian romantic adventurer Giuseppe Garibaldi, a fervent republican, who became an acquaintance of Sigel's. Garibaldi immortalized his name, when in 1860 he led his "red shirts" to rescue his fellow Italians from the oppression of the Bourbon

King Francis II. Both men unknowingly made an impact on the impressionable German, but it was difficult for Sigel to conceive of such plans under the present circumstances since he feared being captured.⁹

At twenty-five Sigel was still searching for some direction in his life. He agonized over whether or not to return permanently to the fatherland. Because of his Baden military blunders, he questioned his leadership abilities but the immodest opinion he had of himself as a soldier removed doubts about his performance in the field. For a while he thought of returning to Germany and wrote articles for Italian and German newspapers about the need for a new revolution. He contributed articles to Mazzini's Italian newspaper including one entitled "Tyranny," an exposé on the problems with the existing German structure. He wrote an essay for the *Basler Nationalzeitung* entitled "A Project of Invasion," which he hoped would inspire a new revolution. In his spare time he edited a series of army journals in German, some of which were eventually adopted by the Prussian army corps, which, if nothing else, reflected his military education at Karlsruhe despite his combat experience. By early September, two friends of Sigel's, James Fazy and Louis Frappolli, informed him that the Prussian spies were on to him because of his writings and that he needed to leave. Frappolli urged Sigel to journey with him to Lugano, located in Italian Swiss Tessin. In mid-September 1850, the two men left Geneva and headed for Lugano.¹⁰

It was difficult for Sigel to leave the "freest city in the world," and be on the run again, but he had no alternative. After traveling by carriage and on foot through the Rhine Valley Sigel and Frappolli finally made it to Lugano in late September. Sigel's first impressions of what he called "one of the most beautiful cities in Switzerland" were lasting impressions. He later compared the grandeur of this region to the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia when he was transferred from the Western Theater to the Eastern Theater of the Civil War in America. At Lugano he met refugees from all over Europe, including members of an agitation league. He lived with an Italian family who helped him master the Italian language. He toured the city incognito and managed to get to the theater quite often, something he had been unable to do since before his exile. He had acquired a taste for the finer things in life and the theater was one of his fancies but his social pursuits had been overcome by the revolutionary upheaval in 1848 and his subsequent participation in the movement. He had not played the piano with any intensity since his school days and longed for the days when he could once again engage in the luxuries afforded him by free time. But he knew that as long as the Prussians pursued him he had to keep traveling.¹¹

Frappolli stayed with an English woman in Lugano to avoid suspicion by local authorities. Sigel benefitted greatly from this situation because when he visited Frappolli the woman taught him the English language, which eventually made his transition from Europe to America much smoother. He made good use of his time in Lugano and continued his quest for inspiring a new German

revolution, the very reason the Prussians wanted him captured. His determination to foster such ideas was indicated by the continuance of his contributions to newspapers and journals, despite his knowledge of being pursued by the enemy. His radical literature appeared in major newspapers in Switzerland and France and had become the reason and now the justification for which he would be banished from the country he had come to love. Although the Swiss people were sympathetic to the exile, his radical ideas and potential for troublemaking had convinced the Swiss government that his presence was no longer desirable.¹²

One day in early April, Frappolli and Sigel were having lunch at a café when they were approached by a gentleman, who turned out to be a Swiss soldier in disguise and arrested Sigel. He was escorted by the Swiss gendarmes back to his apartment where he packed a suitcase and hid his writings in the fireplace. When word spread that Sigel had been caught a crowd of rioters protesting his arrest gathered in front of his apartment. Sigel was personally called upon to disperse the crowd. After this incident Sigel was given the choice of either being sent to Germany or France. He graciously chose the latter and was transported to Basel, given a passport to the United States, and handed over to the French commission.¹³

In France it became apparent to Sigel that he could never return to Germany. He had been reading about the hundreds of imprisonments by the Prussians in Germany and hoped his family had escaped. Unfortunately, several members of Sigel's family had been captured by the Prussians. Sigel feared for all their lives since he had heard only rumors about the whereabouts and safety of his family. He hoped that they would one day be reunited and eventually they were reunited on foreign soil where he, like his brothers, became American citizens.¹⁴

In the meantime, Sigel made the most of his time in France. He stayed in Paris and in the company of a French friend went to the theater and the numerous cafés, which were scattered along the Champs Élysées. It was at a German-French café where he met General Alexander Schimmelfennig, a Prussian officer who fled after the 1848 revolt with Ludwig Blenker and Friedrich Hecker. Sigel and Schimmelfennig became friends and eventually fought together in the Shenandoah Valley during the American Civil War. Schimmelfennig introduced Sigel to Carl Schurz, a doctoral candidate at the University of Bonn when the 1848 Revolution broke out, who had joined the revolutionary forces to fight for the same ideals shared by his comrades. Schurz later fled to Switzerland but returned to Germany and was among those in the fort at Rastatt when it succumbed to the Prussians in 1849. He escaped through a sewer and later fled to the United States, fought in the Civil War and eventually became a champion of the Liberal Republican movement of the 1870s. When Schimmelfennig introduced the two to one another, he took off his hat, placed it on Sigel's head, gave him his coat and said, "now you are free." Sigel, however, was not free, and like other German exiles, realized

that it was not safe to stay in Paris, since the Prussian authorities pressured the French government for their return. Soon after he left Paris under police escort and near the end of April, Sigel boarded the steamer *Franklin*, which was en route to England.¹⁵

By this time England had long become the stepping stone to America for thousands of refugees. Sigel stopped off in England mainly because he was not sure about leaving the Old World. He was still too young, he thought, to be confronted with such major decisions concerning his future and needed more time to think about his situation carefully and about the possibilities still afforded him. He could not help but feel traitorous to the cause of liberalism and to those he left behind. When he arrived in London he took up residence with a Protestant minister who was sympathetic to the young refugee. He was fortunate to make friends with a Dr. Goetz, whose wife was known as the "mother of the exiles." Mrs. Goetz tutored Sigel in English and helped him get a job using his musical talents in the World Exhibition in the Crystal Palace. He was an accomplished pianist and earned his keep playing the piano in the Chinese Exhibit, a sideshow of the World's Exhibit. He continued his literary pursuits by writing for the *Times* of London and other newspapers and journals. In his spare time he socialized with other exiles including Amand Gögg, Gottfried Kinkel, Joseph Fickler, Gustav Struve, and occasionally Karl Marx. Together, these exiles made up a "colorful and turbulent colony" of political refugees who tried to influence Germans in America to support a second "republican uprising in Germany." Sigel became active in the organization of a German democratic opposition and agitation league, which, from the very beginning, was plagued with internal problems. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels detailed these problems and ridiculed Sigel for his participation in this league in "Die Großen Männer des Exils." The German Agitation Union of London, of which Sigel was also a member, included several of Sigel's friends, in particular Arnold Ruge, a well-known German writer and philosopher. Ruge, who lived in Brighton, asked Sigel to translate his German works into English. Sigel graciously accepted and did most of his work at the New Brighton Library where he had access to a variety of materials. It afforded him the opportunity to study American history and government, perfect his English writing skills, and for the time being relieved him from the pressure of making monumental decisions.¹⁶

Sigel became quite popular in England by moving in the right social circles. He was often entertained by exiles and friends including Gottfried Kinkel, August Willich, Joseph Mazzini and Alexander Schimmelfennig. By the end of 1851 he had met a young woman who would change his life. Elsie Dulon, born in Bremen, was the eldest daughter of Rudolph Dulon, who had been a pastor in Bremen and Magdeburg, and was a Prussian revolutionary in 1848 and 1849. He was a noted freethinker and had been arrested in 1851 for publishing radical material in the press. He was forced into exile and journeyed to New York City two years later where he became well-known for

his educational activities among the Germans. In 1855 he opened the Feldner School, a German-American Institute, and employed Sigel as a professor. Elsie and Franz courted frequently and the young German fell in love immediately. Elsie was the embodiment of the perfect woman, in his eyes. She was bright, pleasant, proper and a stickler for detail. She came to admire him for his ambitious nature and unflinching desire to promote the causes of the people. They would eventually marry, but for the time being they had to be content with courting since Sigel was preparing to leave for America.¹⁷

In the spring of 1852, Sigel reached yet another turning point in his life. He recalled at the time that "after a great struggle within myself . . . I [decided] to set sail for a new home." With the aid of an American consul, "Mr. Crosby," Sigel made the necessary preparations to embark for the United States. The indecision of whether to leave Europe or stay made him ill. He could think of several reasons to stay including Elsie, but ultimately knew the Prussians would catch up with him. On 1 May 1852, Sigel boarded the steamer *George Washington* and departed for the United States. He had great expectations of the land of "Jefferson, Franklin and Washington."¹⁸

Many refugees who sailed from England harbored romantic illusions of America. "These new argonauts seeking the golden fleece of liberty," were men of spirit, devotion, education and idealistic notions.¹⁹ They were determined to preserve their culture in the high tide of nativism in the New World. After two weeks of "weary travel" the German forty-eighters, as they came to be known, arrived in New York harbor. The forty-eighters were few in number when compared to those Germans who came to America because of material hardship. They brought with them the "legacy of Europe's revolutionary traditions from Jacobin republicanism to utopian socialism and Marxian communism."²⁰ They were a community of exiles who had a common bond of language and experience in a new world, but the new experiences they encountered forced them to adapt their political ideas to realities. They viewed the United States as the constitutional republic they failed to achieve in Germany, and yet now questioned their place in the American political party process. Some accepted America as home, while others, less tolerant of American institutions, did not and tried to reorganize a revolutionary movement in their adopted land. They received sympathy but no support. Sigel recalled at the time that it was a difficult experience for the exiles who arrived in 1852-53 since the political upheaval in the United States left even Americans searching for new parties. It was hard for the Germans to understand the party system and a federalized structure, since their culture had not yet politically unified. The forty-eighters almost immediately had to choose between parties, issues, and concepts that were unfamiliar to them. Slavery, nativism, temperance, and reform clouded their romantic illusions and their assimilation into the American culture would depend on how their native leaders would lean.²¹

When Sigel arrived on 15 May he was met by his younger brother Emil, whom Sigel had informed of his departure from England some weeks prior. His first glimpse of America was overwhelming. New York was a metropolis of over a half million people and the embodiment of the ethnic melting pot of the United States. Sigel was among those intellectuals and professionals who had idealistic visions of America, and of the "grand portal entrance to the Republic of Freedom." The forty-eighters, however, were perceived by native Americans as "hair-lipped Germans and red republicans," who by their very nature were pompous, arrogant, and critical of many American institutions including education, politics, and slavery.²² Although many refugees initially found assimilation difficult, Sigel was fortunate to view his trip across the Atlantic as a liberating experience. What he had been vainly seeking in Germany he discovered in rich abundance in his adopted land. He found new opportunities in an environment filled with freedom and livelihood, which had previously been "forbidding, alienating and hostile." Like many of the mid-century emigrants from Central Europe, Sigel continued to cling to his native culture and language, but enthusiastically embraced all he had hoped to find in the American culture.²³

Sigel's first employment in the United States was tutoring in four of the five languages he had mastered, including French, Italian, English and his native tongue. He also gave fencing lessons at the local gymnasiums associated with the turner society. For the first few weeks he managed to survive by working on the railroads and canals. He sympathized with those forty-eighters who "had learned everything except what would be useful to them in America," and he consequently saw professors and writers who could quote Shakespeare but were forced to support themselves "by making cigars, acting as waiters or house servants, boot-blacks or street sweepers," and mere laborers.²⁴ At night Sigel used his musical talents by playing piano in local German-American clubs. By early summer he managed to get full-time employment with a drafting company on Staten Island and worked as a surveyor and apprenticed as a draftsman. By the end of 1852 Sigel had achieved some economic independence and decided to remain in New York City. His parents and his brother, Albert, had finally ventured to the United States and Sigel was now reunited with his family.²⁵

In the summer of the following year, Franz and Albert founded a cigar store on Canal Street and became devoted tobacconists. For the time being Sigel seemed satisfied with earning a modest living and later wrote that his experience as a tobacconist made him aware of the truly American dream of becoming successful. In just a short time the Sigel brothers managed to make their new enterprise a financial success. This allowed Franz sufficient time to become involved in German societies and committees. He never forgot he was "a citizen of two worlds," a refugee from the old and an intruder in the new. Toward that end he maintained ties with the fatherland and devoted some time to propagandizing the need to restore liberalism and republicanism in Europe.

He joined Arnold Ruge's and Amand Gögg's "People's League," which advocated financial assistance from Americans who called themselves republicans to help their comrades in Germany. Both Ruge and Gögg were close friends of Sigel, and both men emigrated to America after the German revolution. Gögg, like Ruge, had known Sigel in England and apparently had a high opinion of the "General" saying on one occasion, "this little beardless man who reminds one in his whole being of Napoleon . . . a hero, a man of the future, most of all in genius, productive in spirit and restlessly busy with new plans."²⁶ Karl Marx, who ridiculed Sigel and other radical forty-eighters, differed greatly in his estimation of the German's abilities saying,

the battles in which he did not fight are the best known . . . he was really not able to understand well-done maneuvers . . . and in his daily orders . . . seems like a priest and while he develops very little style his intentions [are] better than Napoleon and holier than the Pope.²⁷

Clearly the factions within the German émigrés of the mid-century either approved of Sigel and assessed his abilities positively or disapproved of the German commander and portrayed him as a blunderer.²⁸

In America the so-called radicals created plans to encourage support for German republicanism, and Sigel insisted on some of Mazzini's techniques including propagandizing financial assistance to those in the fatherland. One of the foremost advocates of a second German revolution was Gottfried Kinkel, also a friend of Sigel's. Kinkel had participated in the 1848 Revolution, was wounded, and eventually captured by the Prussians. Carl Schurz finally helped him escape from Spandau Prison and flee to Switzerland and then to England. Recently arrived in New York, Kinkel demonstrated the need for a new revolution and tried to acquire a loan to finance one. The faction of the forty-eighters that opposed Kinkel was led by Joseph Fickler, Amand Gögg, August Willich, Carl Heinzen, and Sigel.²⁹

Although Sigel associated with radical German elements, and indeed was a radical, he never considered himself one, and merely fought for what he considered right on "both sides of the ocean." He wrote in his later years that during the German revolution and his subsequent exile to America he had encouraged people to fight for the rights entitled to them as individuals. He believed that this should not have been viewed as radical but revolutionary, and even that seemed too strong a word. To establish a reform-oriented government and social structure was something the Americans had done in 1776, and Sigel knew that although the American Revolution was in its very nature a revolutionary break from the age of kings and queens, it served as a unifying device for an emerging nation. He was very concerned about how governments functioned, and he utilized his literary talents to raise the political conscience of the Germans in America, especially since the idea of a second

revolution had worn off by the mid-1850s. He wrote articles for the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and the *New York Times*, espousing his liberal views and urging his comrades to channel their revolutionary zeal into reform in America to combat against nativism, temperance and slavery.³⁰

In January 1854 Sigel reached another turning point in his life, one he later recalled as the most memorable. He married Elsie Dulon after almost two years of a courtship that had once spanned the Atlantic, but now spanned only a few city blocks. Elsie had recently moved to the United States with her family and resided in New York City. Elsie was everything Franz could hope for in a wife. The charming bride fully understood Sigel's ambitious nature. She was devoted to helping her husband achieve the goals in which he so passionately believed. After they were married Sigel left the family cigar business and helped his new father-in-law organize a German-American Institute. Both Dulon and Sigel were concerned over the "shortcomings" in the American school system, especially in the training of teachers, and that the present educational system manifested "certain defects." The German-American Institute or Feldner School was created, according to its founders, out of a need for a more challenging curriculum and higher educational standards. The Feldner School opened in 1855 and Sigel became a professor of mathematics, American history, and languages. He also gave piano lessons and was the fencing master. He instantly became popular for his teaching ability and the school became widely known for its educational contribution in the German community throughout the United States. He broadened his educational endeavors by teaching English in the night school of Public School Number One. He drilled students at the institute three times and gave them instructions on military tactics. At one point he issued and edited *Die Revue*, a monthly literary, military, and technical magazine devoted to educating local military organizations.³¹

Meanwhile, Sigel became involved with the German turner movement in New York. The turners, first organized in 1811, in Berlin, by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn were devoted to physical training, which at that time included gymnastic activities and prescribed various fitness programs. The American version of the turner society was patterned after the German *Turnvereine*. It created a demand for gymnasiums where students could go to learn the essentials of physical fitness. The first turner society in New York was organized in 1848 where the ideals included more than just the development of a sound body. This organization advocated a "sound mind in a sound body." The New York turners helped the forty-eighters and Sigel become Americanized. Though it continued to be predominantly a German organization and used German as its official language, it served as a bridge between the newcomers, those arriving in the United States in the 1850s, and other, more established German-Americans who participated in the turners' activities. Both Americans and Germans benefitted greatly since it allowed them the opportunity to come together on some common ground.

Sigel was fortunate because he was conversant in English and was able to become a leader in the New York turners through the use of his language skills. He was involved in the chess club, library club, the choir and became the first fencing master. He became an ardent spokesman for the society in New York. He wrote several pamphlets promoting the society including "School of People," which emphasized the need for more involvement in such organizations. He also published a manual of gymnastics and fencing that sold over two thousand copies. On Sunday he conducted a German-American church school for children at the turner hall. Sigel became popular enough to be elected president of the *Turnverein* and on one occasion was the Grand Marshal of the annual *Turnfest* and gymnastic spectacle. It was his association with the turners that allowed Sigel to become more involved with American institutions and assimilate more easily into the American culture.³²

In the fall of 1854 Sigel joined the 5th New York militia, of which he would eventually become an honorary member. The 5th New York was the oldest and considered the best of the German militias. He became involved as an instructor in military tactics and was instrumental in the organization of other local German militias. One regiment in particular, the 52nd, was called the "Sigel Rifles" and earned fame in the Civil War as part of the 3rd Brigade under Union General Edwin Sumner. Sigel enjoyed the opportunity to return to the military and the use of his teaching skills proved valuable to the 5th New York. Even if he had not earned fame in the German revolution as a military commander, his military education and subsequent teaching in America earned him respect.³³

The general political ferment of the 1850s included such issues as slavery, abolition, nativism, immigration reform, and the temperance movement. Like many of the forty-eighters, Sigel was trying to fit into the American political process, cast his vote, and fulfill his newfound political obligation. He was confused about his place as a German-American in the German community as well as in American institutions. He questioned whether or not the political decisions he had made would be representative of his ethnic group or whether he had risen above such considerations. For the most part he made decisions that were in accordance with his ethnic group.

The Germans in America in the 1850s were a remarkably diverse and divided group. Sigel viewed the German relationship to the issues of the day as essential to achieving political unity, an idealistic and rather naive notion. Like many forty-eighters, he was outraged by slavery or what he called the "Black institution." He looked to those parties that condemned slavery to cast his vote. Unfortunately, the anti-immigrant sentiment, prevalent in the urban areas, found its way into the only parties that condemned slavery. Sigel was faced with a dilemma since he knew that the only two choices he had were the dying Whig party, which at the time was no match for the Democratic party, or the Know-Nothing party, which had been successful in restraining the increasing political power of the immigrants. Sigel despised the Know-Nothing

party and reluctantly joined the Whig party, which in 1848 had elected a slaveholding president. Although he joined the Whigs at a time when the party was dying, he hoped that a coalition of all the northern constituents would unite into one party and defeat the slavocracy of the southern Democrats. Sigel, because he was impatient for reform, became increasingly involved in the local political machinery designed to combat nativist organizations and found a new cause in which to espouse the same ideals he had fought for in Germany. The emergence of the sectional crisis concerned Sigel deeply, and the states' rights issue did not excite him as he refused "to follow those constitutional theories."³⁴

It was the slavery issue that drew Sigel and many Germans directly into national political activity, especially since they needed to unite with Americans on some common ground. He utilized his newfound idealism and talents for reform in the slavery crisis. He was Americanized by his opposition to the "peculiar institution," because in this way he could join northern counterparts who shared the same ideals and fulfill his American duty of voting. Both Americans and Germans shared the experience and the problems of the Kansas-Nebraska crisis of the mid-1850s. Sigel perceived, however, that "the problem of slavery [was] not the problem of the Negro. It [was] the eternal conflict between a small privileged class and the great mass of the non-privileged class, the eternal struggle between aristocracy and democracy."³⁵ He viewed the crisis on the frontier as larger than slavery and popular sovereignty. It was directly associated with class struggle all over America, not just in the slaveholding South but also in the wageholding North.³⁶

Out of the turmoil over the "Bleeding Kansas" crisis and other subsequent events the Republican party was born and in 1856 made its first bid for the presidency. John Charles Frémont, the pathfinder from California, was the party's candidate. It was during the 1856 election that political factionalism among the Germans became evident as thousands of German Democrats deserted the party and allied themselves with the Republican party. Obviously the German press was instrumental in persuading these Germans to abandon the party of slavocracy and follow them into the Republican ranks. These Germans were also concerned about both Catholic leadership in the party and Irish competition. Apparently, ethnic leaders like Sigel, who wrote for the German newspapers, were influential in convincing Germans that despite the fact that the Republican party harbored members of the old Know-Nothing party they were not the leaders of the new party. The Republican party recognized the potential for large numbers of German votes and "utilized every device to woo the [Germans]" into the party. Many turner societies, including the New York turners, endorsed Frémont because of his compassion for immigrants and his antislavery stance, chanted "Free Speech, Free Press, Free Soil, Free Work, Free Kansas, Frémont."³⁷

Sigel became immersed in the political activity and vigorously promoted the new party, urging the German-American community to follow his lead. In

the 1856 campaign he joined with former Whigs like Friedrich Kapp, and moderate forty-eighters like Rudolph Lexow, editor of the *Belletristisches Journal*, and communist forty-eighters like Fritz Jacobi to hold a rally in support of the Republicans. Sigel was one of the elected officers of the meeting. The New York *Tribune* reported that the rally attracted almost four thousand Germans in its August meeting and in October attracted almost ten thousand.³⁸ Although his name became well-known at the local level, it was his western counterpart, Carl Schurz, recently returned from Europe, who performed the "herculean labors" of channeling the Germans into the party on the national level. Schurz had become influential in building Republican strength in the West from St. Louis. Both leaders favored the economic reforms proposed by Republican leaders and both opposed slavery, but they were concerned with temperance crusaders and religious fanatics within the party. Sigel was not a sectional fanatic, but based on what he knew from contemporary newspaper accounts and listening to what others had to say about slavery, he loathed the South's aristocratic, arrogant leadership and its barbaric "dirty institution." He viewed the Southern culture or condition as distinct but had never been to the region and formed his opinion based largely on the judgment of others. He did, however, educate himself on Southern culture by reading as much as he could on slavery. He recognized the dilemma of the slaves as having a dual character, one involving them as property, the other involving them as human beings. He believed he could identify, however, with the institution because it involved a class struggle of one class dominating another. The fact that the lower class was rendered ignorant and used as property compounded his abhorrence for the South. He therefore became a champion of the new party and was accepted as a leader among his native constituents in New York City.³⁹

In many ways the 1856 presidential campaign proved exciting and beneficial to the Germans. Although Republican John Frémont and Millard Fillmore of the American party lost to Democrat James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, the election had raised the political conscience of the Germans and had drawn thousands of Republicans and Democrats into the political arena. It also indicated that in the next four years both political parties would be looking for leaders among the Germans. Sigel had already become popular among the Germans for his work in the turner society and the 1856 campaign, and now Americans began to recognize his educational, military, and political talents.

By this time the center of German Republican strength was in the American Midwest and after the election Sigel had notions of traveling to St. Louis. Fortunately, in mid-August 1857 he had a chance to make an opportune move. Realizing that Sigel would be an asset to the popular Deutsches Institut in St. Louis, Dr. Adam Hammer, president of the institute, offered him a position as a professor. At first Sigel was hesitant about moving to the Midwest and leaving his work with the Feldner School and the New

York turners. He had finally found a home in New York City and had established some roots in the German-American community, something he had not been able to do since the German revolutions. He knew little about St. Louis but felt that Missouri was enmeshed in the sectional crisis and his antislavery views might lead to problems for his family. Other factors compounded his indecision. Elsie had borne their first child, Robert, in August 1856, and was pregnant with their second child, Paul, who was due in March of 1858. Despite her condition and the fact that she would be leaving her family in New York, Elsie encouraged her husband to make the career change. Sigel was reluctant to expose his family to the journey west but since the professorship increased his annual salary to \$800, he believed it would be good for his future and provide more security for his family. Therefore, in late August 1857 Sigel made preparations to leave New York City. He resigned from the Feldner School, the positions he held in the turners, the 5th New York militia, and embarked for the "gateway to the West."⁴⁰

If Sigel was active in New York City, he became even more enterprising in St. Louis. He arrived filled with a renewed vigor that only the booming Midwestern city could absorb. He received his teaching certificate in October and entered into his professional duties. He taught mathematics, English, French, German, American history, and military tactics, instituting the same demanding principles he established at the Feldner School. He became active in the fencing club and gave lessons in the art of swordsmanship, and joined the St. Louis turners. At one point, Sigel was appointed to the committee of safety and secret police designed to protect civilians from bandits, thieves and sectional fanatics. He was influential in the Union Clubs devoted to preserving the United States and abolishing slavery. The *Westliche Post*, a radical Republican German newspaper, was organized by Carl Dänzer, an opponent of Know-Nothingism and slavery, and provided an outlet for Sigel to espouse his views and encourage the Midwestern Germans to look to ethnic leaders within the Republican party for leadership in the national crisis.⁴¹

Meanwhile, Sigel joined Friedrich Kapp, Hugo Wesendonck, Frederick L. Olmstead, and George Opdyke in forming and promoting the *Interpreter*, a new monthly designed to educate Germans and Americans to better understand one another. The journal was a success and became widely read. He became active in the local militias and continued to write tactical journals. One such journal, entitled *Kavallerie-Reglement für deutsch-amerikanische Miliz-Compagnien*, was published in 1859. It soon became apparent that the name Sigel was synonymous with educational and military affairs and he became respected and popular among both Germans and Americans.⁴²

By early 1860 Sigel had reached another turning point in his life. He was now the father of two sons, a third child was expected in February, he was a professor at the highly acclaimed Deutsches Institut, active in the turners and various other organizations, an American citizen, and recently appointed a district superintendent in the St. Louis public school system. It appeared as

though the middle-aged professor had accepted the genteel life of teaching and raising his children. The coming election, however, changed his life because he could not refrain from getting involved in politics and campaigning for the Republicans. There was no question about his commitment to the Union or to the party of Lincoln—just as there had been none to the liberal views and abolition of monarchy in Germany—and these commitments eventually drew him into the Civil War. Sigel, like many Germans prior to the 1860 election, supported John Frémont but now campaigned for Abraham Lincoln. By now the Republican party became the chief means by which forty-eighters entered mainstream politics. While some Germans, including Sigel, privately doubted Lincoln's commitment to abolition and the destruction of the Southern culture, they publicly supported him and felt confident that their vote could win him the election. Toward that end, Sigel traveled the Midwest vigorously campaigning for the Republican party and Lincoln. Although he became known locally for his patriotic appeal, it was again Carl Schurz who traveled the national circuit urging Germans to support Lincoln. The Republicans looked to Schurz to reduce the normal Democratic majority among German-Americans. Despite their efforts, a significant number of Germans remained Democratic simply because they felt alienated by some Republican issues.⁴³

The outcome of the 1860 election is well-known; Lincoln won a decided victory over three other presidential candidates, Stephen A. Douglas, John C. Bell, and John C. Breckinridge. The issues of slavery and states' rights split the Democratic party, giving the Republicans a distinct advantage. The German vote may not have been as decisive as it was wanted or expected to be but it was significant, especially in the Midwest. Sigel's political popularity increased as a result of the election because of his association with the victorious party. He continued to expound the issues even after the polls closed. In an article written for the *Mississippi Blätter* entitled, "Can the United States Tolerate a Black Confederacy at its Side," he expressed his desire to prevent the establishment of a confederacy.

The Free States cannot tolerate an American Russia as a neighbor. The men of the Free States cannot submit to the care and the cost of protecting their frontier by a girdle of forts and maintain a large army to face the mercenaries of the Southern despotism. Nor will they submit to an examination of passes in going from state to state nor find a path to California by way of British America or round Cape Horn. Free unhampered states in the South and free communication through the whole South—freedom of speech and the press, no restriction to the right to meet and to arm, sacredness of the person in political and religious convictions, free untrammelled ballot; these are the rights which the real republic and national government must maintain even with force of arms if necessary in the North as well as in the South,

because they are the essential attributes of a republican constitution, and because they are clearly expressed in the Constitution of the United States.⁴⁴

Sigel's political views concerning the South and a republic in this instance reflect his increasing Americanization. He was concerned about issues which had divided the United States, and although he had always considered oppression as an element leading to the destruction of a nation, it was the first time he could use his Americanness to share these ideals and unite with Northerners on some common ground. In this way, Sigel assimilated into American society through politics. Fortunately, his Republican American counterparts viewed his antislavery stance as beneficial to their cause, since the Germans could swell the Republican ranks.

As a result of Lincoln's election, South Carolina seceded from the Union in December and by February of the following year six other states bolted as well. Confederates believed secession to be a legal and revolutionary right, although Unionists felt otherwise. Unionists believed secession a treasonable offense, punishable by death. While Lincoln remained without authority, President Buchanan declared secession illegal and condemned Republican leaders for their antagonism toward the South's peculiar institution. He thought they were provoking disunion. Throughout the "great secession winter" compromise measures were undertaken but seemed hopeless at best since, according to New York Senator William Seward, the country was on the verge of an "irrepressible conflict" between "opposing and enduring forces."

Meanwhile, Southern delegates formed a constitution in Montgomery, Alabama, elected Mississippian Jefferson Davis as president, and on 22 February 1861 the Confederacy was born. As Americans anxiously looked on awaiting the inevitable, the "Damned Dutch" looked to their native comrades for leadership. Like many Germans, Sigel questioned his mission in the approaching conflict. Gustav Struve, an old comrade of Sigel's in Germany and now one of those forty-eighters in search of some direction summoned up the position of the Germans:

In Germany, disunion was our curse; but in this country we are united with all people who have found an asylum in this glorious country, and before all with the sons of the patriotic founders of the great republic which has adopted us. The same spirit which lived in us in 1848 is still living in us The question now is between secession and Union and liberty and slavery.⁴⁵

Because a majority of the German forty-eighters had military experience they were among the first Germans to join the Union ranks. Sigel was no exception as he saw the war as an opportunity to advance his German ideals in an American context. It has been said that the Civil War finally

Americanized these Germans, but the emphasis on their Germanness actually became stronger during this era. Sigel became an exponent of all these ideas. He had been absorbed into mainstream American political, economic and social structures during the 1850s. It was in the pre-Civil War decade that Sigel asserted his Americanness to achieve some common ground with Americans. The Civil War ultimately forced him to use his ethnicity and the political system to accomplish military objectives.

Although he was still teaching at the Deutsches Institut when hostilities broke out, he believed war was justified since the South had formed a Confederacy. He became a role model for hundreds of Missouri Germans who wanted to aid in the preservation of the Union, and fight for their adopted country, while maintaining their ethnicity. He had been lionized earlier in America by the German press for his role in the German revolution and many Germans felt he would fight with the same vigor against the Confederates as he had against the Prussians. It was Sigel's misfortune, however, that he, like many German soldiers, would have to fight two enemies, one in the front and one in the rear. The opportunity to give up the pen, take up the sword, and get back in the saddle to fight for his beliefs as he had in Germany had arrived. This time, however, he donned the blue coat which earned him the name "Yankee Dutchman."⁴⁶

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Notes

¹ Carl Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution: The German Forty-Eighters in America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952), 1-2; Adolf E. Zucker, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters: Political Refugees of the German Revolution of 1848* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), 187.

² Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58-60.

³ "Autobiographical Sketch," Franz Sigel Collection, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, OH. Hereinafter cited as "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁴ Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 187; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁵ "Autobiographical Sketch," Franz Sigel Collection, New York Historical Society, New York, NY. Hereinafter cited as "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS.

⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Franz Sigel, "Memoirs," *The Nation* 76 (January 1903): 35; Franz Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten des Generals Franz Sigel aus den Jahren 1848 and 1849* (Mannheim: Verlag von J. Bensheimer, 1902), 137-38.

⁷ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁸ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁹ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-38; Personal Papers, Franz Sigel Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, MO. Hereinafter cited as Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

¹⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel, "Memoirs," *The Nation*, 35-36; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 137-39.

¹¹ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; C. W. Schlegel, *Schlegel's German-American Families in the United States* (New York: American Historical Society, 1915), 1:23-24; Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

¹² Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

¹³ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 142-43; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 23-24; *The Missouri Republican* 19 July 1861; Ella Lonn, *Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), 177; Alfred von Rohr Sauer, "The Curious Career of General Franz Sigel," presented at St. Louis Civil War Round Table, February 1987.

¹⁴ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 22-28; Paul F. Guenther, "Albert Sigel: St. Louis German Poet," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society* 36 (1980): 156-61. There are few manuscripts in any of the Sigel Collections, in Europe or America, which contain information about Sigel's family during and after the German revolution, and virtually no secondary sources which trace his family's migration from Germany to the United States.

¹⁵ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 143-44; Alfred C. Raphelson, "Alexander Schimmelfennig: German-American Campaigner in the Civil War," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 87 (April 1963): 158-59; *Reading Gazette and Democrat*, 16 September 1865; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 22-24; see also Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, biographical listings in the appendix; Wilhelm Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege* (München and Berlin: Druck und Verlag von R. Oldenburg, 1916), 553.

¹⁶ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 144; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; see also the George Bliss Papers in the NYHS; Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS; Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, *Marx Engels Werke* (1964) 8:233-335, especially 313-15, 328-29; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 90-95; Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Carl Heinzen, 1809-80* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), 89, 262; see also Steven Rowan, "The Strange Fate of the Sigel Papers in St. Louis," paper presented at the 14th Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Indianapolis, April 1990, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷ Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 144; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Steven Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri. Translations from the St. Louis Radical Press, 1847-1862* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1983), 295; Franz Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives, Washington, DC; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, Baden-Württemberg, *USA und Baden-Württemberg in ihren geschichtlichen Beziehungen* (Stuttgart, 1976), 80-82; The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison was extremely helpful in locating some invaluable material on Franz Sigel.

¹⁸ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, 147; Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, *USA und Baden-Württemberg*, 80-82.

¹⁹ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 58.

²⁰ Stanley Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters and the Politics of Class in New York City," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 51.

²¹ James M. Bergquist, "The Forty-Eighters and the Politics of the 1850's," in Hans Trefousse, *Germany and America: Essays on Problems of International Relations and Immigration* (New York: Brooklyn College Press, 1980), 112-14; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-60; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Rowan, "Sigel Papers," 8-10; Bonnie J. Krause, "German-Americans in the St. Louis Region, 1840-1860," *Missouri Historical Review* 83 (April 1989): 296; Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters" 51; see also Stanley Nadel, *Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

²² As quoted in Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 61.

²³ Nadel, "The Forty-Eighters," 51-52; Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters*, 34; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 24; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-63; Blaich Family Papers, Blaich Family Collection, Bentley Historical Society, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; see also *New York in a Nutshell: Visitor's Handbook to the City* (New York: T. W. Strong, 1853), 9.

²⁴ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 60-65; see also Heinrich Börnstein, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulbestrebungen* (Leipzig, 1884), 55.

²⁵ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 50-63; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 295; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Guenther, "Albert Sigel," 156-61; Kaufmann, *Die Deutschen im Amerikanischen Bürgerkriege*, 553.

²⁶ Marx and Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," *Marx Engels Werke*, 8:315.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 90-108; Marx and Engels, "Die Großen Männer des Exils," *Marx Engels Werke*, 8:315; Eitel W. Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1958), 157-61.

²⁹ Dobert, *Deutsche Demokraten in Amerika*, 157-61; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, see biographical listings in the appendix for Kinkel; see also Gottfried Kinkel Collection, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI.

³⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS: see also prewar journals, manuscripts and miscellaneous correspondence; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117.

³¹ Records of German-American Conferences, German-American Institute Records, New York Public Library, New York, NY; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 295; "Autobiographical," and prewar journals, manuscripts and miscellaneous correspondence, Sigel Papers, NYHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; *New Yorker Criminal Zeitung und Belletristisches Journal*, 23 February, 13, 27 July, 28 September 1855; 18 July 1856; 14 July 1857—this was a weekly journal devoted to poetry, novels, cultural and literary materials; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, chap. 20; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 24-25; Bettina Goldberg, "The Forty-Eighters and the School System in America: The Theory of Practice and Reform," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 207-10; Rudolph Dulon, *Aus Amerika über Schule, deutsche Schule, amerikanische Schule und deutsch-amerikanische Schule* (Leipzig und Heidelberg: C. F. Winter'sche Verlagshandlung, 1866), 141-62, 235-55.

³² Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 112; Robert Wild, "Chapters in the History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 9 (December 1925): 126; Alfred F. Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein 100th Anniversary," *American German Review* 16 (August 1950): 8-10; *New Yorker Staatszeitung*, 11 August 1859; *Baltimore Wecker*, 10 July 1858; *Wächter am Erie*, 16 April 1870; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Army*, 43; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 147-60, 195-200, 227, 282-83; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS.

³³ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Records of the 5th New York Militia, New York Historical Society, New York, NY.

³⁴ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 177-201; Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117, 212; Frederick C. Luebke, "German Immigrants and American Politics: Problems of Leadership, Parties and Issues," in Randall M. Miller, ed., *Germans in America: Retrospect and Prospect* (Philadelphia: The German Society of Pennsylvania, 1983), 60-63; Krause, "German-Americans," *Missouri Historical Review*, 308. Historian Carl Wittke suggests that much of the nativist antagonism was linked to intellectual Germans: "The superior attitude of German intellectuals toward American culture and institutions was partly responsible for the unfavorable reaction of many Americans toward the German immigrants" (178-79).

³⁵ Zucker, *Forty-Eighters*, 117; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; on the Americanization of immigrants during the Civil War; see Fred Tangwell, "Immigrants in the Civil War: Some American Reactions," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962. Franz Sigel really became Americanized in the decade before the American Civil War, since the process of

assimilation forced him to adapt more readily to the American political, economic and social customs. The Civil War itself ultimately allowed Sigel to assert his Germanness as a political weapon against the republican administration. It became Sigel's custom to use his ethnicity and political pressure during the Civil War to gain military pursuits.

³⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 212-13; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Army*, 43; Wild, "History of the Turners," *Wisconsin Magazine of History*, 131; Krause, "German-Americans," *Missouri Historical Review*, 302; Thomas J. McCormack, ed., *Memoirs of Gustav Koerner* (Cedar Rapids, IA: The Torch Press, 1909), 1:316, 341; 2:4; see also A. A. Dunson, "Notes on the Missouri Germans and Slavery," *Missouri Historical Review* 59 (April 1965): 359-65; Carl Schurz, *The Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* (New York: McClure Company, 1907), 2:39; see also the German radical press, for example, *Der Anzeiger des Westens*.

³⁷ Allan Nevins, *Frémont: The West's Greatest Adventurer* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928), 492-95; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 207-17; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 26-27; Virgil C. Blum, "The Political and Military Activities of the German Element in St. Louis, 1859-1861," *Missouri Historical Review* 42 (January 1948): 107.

³⁸ *New York Tribune*, 22 August 1856; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Nadel, *Little Germany*, 135.

³⁹ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Nevins, *Frémont*, 492-95; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 207-17; Blum, "Activities of the German Element in St. Louis," *Missouri Historical Review*, 107; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 26-27.

⁴⁰ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein," *American German Review*, 8-10; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 28-32, Robert Sigel was born 12 August 1856, Paul Sigel was born 1 March 1858, Rudolph Sigel was born 28 February 1860, Leila Sigel was born 27 August 1864, and Franz Sigel, Jr., 23 September 1872.

⁴¹ Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 41-43; Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 25-26; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Sigel's Pension Records, Pension Records, National Archives; Hans Christian Adamson, *Rebellion in Missouri, 1861: Nathaniel Lyon and His Army of the West* (Philadelphia and New York: Chilton Co., 1961), 14-15.

⁴² "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 277-78; Kierschner, "New York Turn-Verein," *American German Review*, 8-10; Rowan, *Germans for a Free Missouri*, 128; George A. Townsend, *Campaigns of a Non-Combatant and His Romaunt Abroad During the War* (New York: Blelock and Company, 1866), 232-33; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 17 September 1860; *Belletristisches Journal*, 20 January 1860; Schurz, *Reminiscences*, 2:39-41; see also Personal Papers, Sigel Collection, MHS.

⁴³ "Autobiographical," and miscellaneous personal journals, and correspondence, Sigel Papers, NYHS; Andreas Dorpalen, "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 29 (January 1942): 61-64; *Daily Gazette* (Cincinnati), 2 February 1860; Wittke, *Refugees of Revolution*, 46; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 22 March 1860.

⁴⁴ Schlegel, *German-American Families*, 26; *Mississippi Blätter*, 2 December 1860; Jay Monaghan, "Did Abraham Lincoln Receive the Illinois German Vote," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 35 (1942): 133-39; see also James McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) for the best general study of the Civil War.

⁴⁵ Frank Moore, ed., *Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events With Documents, Narrative, Illustrative Incidents, Poetry* (New York: G. P. Putnam's, 1861-1868), 1:108; Jörg Nagler, "The Lincoln and Frémont Debate and the Forty-Eighters," in Charlotte Brancaforte, ed., *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States* (New York: Peter Lang, 1989), 157; *Anzeiger des Westens*, 17 December 1860; "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, WRHS.

⁴⁶ "Autobiographical," Sigel Papers, NYHS; Lucy M. Schwienher, "The St. Louis Public Schools at the Outbreak of the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review* 13 (October 1956): 10-22.

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**"Stay at Home and Live with Integrity":
Advice to German Emigrants to the United States
from the Journeymen's Father**

In recent decades, American historians have asserted that a broad chasm existed between the rhetoric of equality in Jacksonian America and the actual economic reality that existed. Several years ago, Edward Pessen observed that the so-called "Era of the Common Man" brought no startling social or economic improvements for the common sort of people. More recently, authors like Alan Dawley, Paul E. Johnson, and Sean Wilentz have argued that not only was there no improvement in the conditions for working men, but the universe of options for skilled journeymen was undergoing a radical contraction, which endangered their integrity as an independent productive class.¹ Furthermore, eroding economic conditions seem to have led to a decline in the commitment to democratic ideology. Michael Holt posits that economic dislocation of the artisan class as a result of the industrial revolution and increased pressure for jobs created by rising immigration led many Americans to support programs which were designed to reduce immigration, or at least to reduce the political influence of incoming immigrants. This support resulted in the rise of such antidemocratic organizations as the nativist societies which eventually formed the American Know-Nothing party.²

Although these conclusions seem quite apparent in light of recent scholarship, documentary substantiation from within the period is difficult to find. There was, however, at least one nineteenth-century European observer, a German craftsman's advocate, Father Adolph Kolping, who recognized the chasm between the rhetoric of equality of the American Revolution and the reality of American freedom during the antebellum period. Founded in his own antidemocratic bias and unique in its realization of the shrinking opportunity for the artisan, Kolping's writings provide corroboration for our current understanding of the processes at work in Jacksonian America and peculiar insights into the role of those processes in the industrializing world at large during that era of upheaval.

Father Kolping assumed the leadership of the Journeymen's Association (*Gesellenverein*) in 1847 and headed it until his death in 1865. Headquartered in Cologne, the Association grew until it had 420 clubs with a membership of sixty thousand by Kolping's death. With the expansion of the Journeymen's Association throughout the German-speaking parts of Central Europe, Kolping became a prominent spokesman for the Catholic wing of the Christian social movement and an influential Catholic leader. The Journeymen's Association was founded to aid this "most rootless segment of German society" and to guide them in the right direction so that they would become good middle-class citizens.³ Kolping was convinced that the fortune of the artisan class rested on individual ability tempered with religious and middle-class virtues. The purpose of the Journeymen's Association was to take the young journeyman and make of him a religious and able master.⁴

Because the Journeymen's Association emphasized education as a crucial factor in achieving middle-class status for journeymen, Kolping began publication of the *Rheinische Volksblätter* in 1854 to disseminate information to the members. The *Rheinische Volksblätter*, a weekly newspaper, contained information about other clubs in the association, articles on morality, articles on religion, poetry, and a section on politics entitled "Politisches Tagebuch" (political diary). The newspaper reflected Kolping's opinions on any number of issues, especially politics. During the twelve years he edited the paper, he wrote over 45 percent of the articles. The "Politisches Tagebuch" section was written almost entirely by Kolping.⁵ Because the *Rheinische Volksblätter* was the link between Kolping and the members and reflected Kolping's opinions, it provides us with an excellent forum to study and analyze Kolping's opinions on the United States between 1854 and 1865.

As a champion for independent journeymen, especially as an outspoken advocate of their gradual transition into a politically responsible, economically independent, and morally upright middle class, Kolping reacted in horror to what he perceived as the artisan's fate upon emigrating to the United States. In the news coming from the United States prior to the Civil War, Kolping believed he detected a society in decline. Although he was in no position, either geographically or philosophically, to diagnose fully the disease, Kolping recognized symptoms in American political, economic, and religious life that he felt would be fatal to his hopes for a strong German middle-class labor force.

Political stability was an essential component in Kolping's program for middle-class development. He favored monarchy over republicanism, though he vehemently opposed the revolutionary overthrow of a legitimate government.⁶ This promonarchical position can be seen in his denunciation of the United States for its lack of freedom, despite American claims to the contrary.⁷ He wrote that "one should thank God if a clever prince, with the fear of God in his heart, has the regiment in hand, and protects rights, law and order." Kolping's sentiments toward democracy are abundantly clear from his

statement that a monarchy brings order and rights while a republic, even if it claims to be free, brings only anarchy.⁸ Kolping was negatively disposed toward the American democratic experiment on general principle. This prejudice was greatly aggravated, however, by the peculiar forms of political instability characteristic of the years just prior to the American Civil War.

Given its startling newsworthiness, peculiarly American character, and immediate relevance to Kolping's audience, it is not surprising that he seized upon the Know-Nothing party as an example of American democratic excess. Kolping's appraisal of the Know-Nothings is aptly illustrated in an article from the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* which reprinted accounts of a Know-Nothing attack on foreign-born voters during an election in 1855 in Louisville, Kentucky. The implication of the article was that "free" America allowed indiscriminate attacks on Catholics and foreigners.⁹ He continued this theme by reprinting a personal letter from a German emigrant to America which warned potential emigrants about the Know-Nothings whose goal it was to deny civil rights to foreigners and to outlaw the Roman Catholic Church.¹⁰ In another case, Kolping reported that, because of the Know-Nothings, bishops needed bodyguards to go to church. His editorial comment: "Oh, the praised American tolerance!"¹¹

In seizing upon the Know-Nothings, Kolping came much closer than one might expect to identifying a real problem for journeyman laborers—native or German—in America. Lurking beneath the nativist rhetoric in Know-Nothingism was a structure of sentiments not unlike Kolping's own. Like Kolping's constituency, support for the Know-Nothing party was drawn primarily from small-scale masters and journeymen who practiced as yet non-industrialized skilled trades.¹² In the face of the twin threats of industrialization and competition from skilled and unskilled immigrant workers, threats to both their socio-economic integrity and middle-class aspirations, American journeymen struck out at the most obvious and vulnerable source of their discomfort—the immigrants. Hence the Know-Nothings had much the same goal as the *Gesellenverein*, championing the causes of American journeymen as Kolping championed that of their German counterparts. Kolping was thus in a good position to understand the severity of the Know-Nothing threat to German immigrant workers, and he used his various publications to dramatize the gross actions of his American counterparts in an effort to dissuade his own constituents from entering into a conflict that they could not win.

But to Kolping, the evils of Know-Nothingism were only the tip of the iceberg in the catalog of social ills in the United States. He also pointed to political corruption as indicative of the general depravity in America and as another reason not to emigrate. Astonished by reports that the election of the Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1856 cost bribes of \$100,000, he agreed completely with an American journalist who had written that in American politics anarchy and shabby tricks are the rule.¹³ The railroad land scandal in Wisconsin gave Kolping another chance to report on the dishonesty

of Americans. The Wisconsin state legislature awarded over two million acres of land, which it had received from Congress to help in railroad building, to the Milwaukee and LaCrosse Company. Upon investigation, it was revealed that the company had bribed several state officials, including the governor, for the acquisition of the land. Kolping expressed shock at the example this set for the public and naively commented that such a scandal would never happen in Europe.¹⁴

The caning of Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts by Congressman Preston Brooks of South Carolina in 1856 provided Kolping with another example of American barbarism. After recounting the incident, Kolping sarcastically editorialized: "In America freedom stands at its prime. The representatives come to Washington armed to the teeth in order to defend their skins. If this country is not on its way out of freedom to barbarism, then I miss my guess."¹⁵ He later added that the men of the Revolution were dead and a degenerate generation now ruled. The race was totally corrupt and consumptive and only the fresh, healthy blood of the new immigrants held it together. The people were morally corrupt as well. Even the church ministers who publicly condemned the bloodletting in Kansas collected money for guns and ammunition. Kolping commented that he had not heard of any Catholic priests doing this.¹⁶

Between 1854 and 1865 Kolping reprinted several letters from German emigrants, complaining about the bad economic conditions in the United States. The most common complaint was high prices. He reported that New York was more expensive than London and that in 1854 alone these high prices had caused three to four thousand emigrants to return to Europe. One artisan complained that a married craftsman, even when he could get work, could not earn enough money to have any left for savings.¹⁷ Kolping claimed that one result of the high prices was a rise in poverty that led to an increase in crime. He used the high incidence of robbery and murder in the United States to reinforce his basic position against emigration.¹⁸ Some of the letters concluded that unless conditions improved economic misery might lead to revolution.¹⁹ To Kolping, the United States was a land of want, hunger, unemployment, steadily increasing cost of living, and great unrest. "Whoever comes to America," he wrote, "is ruined." He claimed he had not received a single, good report about America, only a river of complaints about the people and the conditions.²⁰

This pessimistic view of economic conditions in America continued to be a major theme in the *Rheinische Volksblätter* for the rest of the 1850s. Besides his own editorial comments, Kolping reinforced his position by reprinting a warning from the German Society of New Orleans. This report advised Germans not to emigrate because poverty and misery were major problems. Many immigrants were forced to become beggars because the victuals were so expensive, work was difficult to find, and the pay was low.²¹ During the Panic of 1857, Kolping reported that in America honest people were forced into

bankruptcy because they could not collect what was owed them. The speculators, however, used the crisis to declare bankruptcy because it was to their advantage.²²

Kolping's nickname for America was Brother Jonathan, a name he equated to the word "speculator."²³ Because the number of speculators far outweighed the honest people, he reported, you needed a lantern to find the honest ones.²⁴ Kolping blamed the crisis of 1857 on the speculators. He wrote that the mistrust was so great that father and son could not even trust each other.²⁵ The strongest warning against emigrating printed in Kolping's journals during the financial crisis of 1857 came from the *Präses*²⁶ of the St. Louis Journeymen's Association, Father Jacob Meller. In 1856 German immigrants, who had been members of the Journeymen's Association in Germany, organized a Journeymen's Association in St. Louis. Some one hundred young men joined the club.²⁷ In October 1857 Präses Meller sent a report to Kolping about the economic crisis and warned potential emigrants about the high unemployment, the hard times, and the danger of losing their faith.²⁸

Kolping's partisan view of conditions in the United States prevented him from including any positive reports on America in the *Rheinische Volksblätter*. The closest he came to this was a letter he received in 1854 from a former member of the Cologne Journeymen's Association. But even here, he presented the letter in the worst light. The young man who wrote the letter was a cabinetmaker who had emigrated to Utica, New York. He wrote that he was working in a furniture factory, and that the four furniture factories in Utica produced more furniture than all the masters of Cologne together. Kolping used the letter to make the point that the journeyman was not working as an independent artisan but as a factory worker. He warned the journeymen that they would lose their independent standing and become nothing more than factory workers, a decline in status, if they emigrated.²⁹ This aspect was an important one for Kolping because the preservation of the independent artisan was one of the major goals of the Journeymen's Association.³⁰

Kolping rejected emigration also for religious reasons. He was extremely pro-Catholic and the United States was predominantly Protestant. Mid-nineteenth-century America was marked by a resurgence of political nativism. Foreigners and Catholics especially were attacked. German Catholic emigrants, like the Irish, were prime targets of nativistic groups such as the Know-Nothings. The anti-Catholic wave in the United States was commented upon frequently in the *Rheinische Volksblätter*. Writers warned potential emigrants that the goal of the nativistic parties was to deprive all foreigners, especially Catholics, of the rights of citizenship and that the ultimate goal of nativism was the extinction of the Catholic faith in America.³¹ One writer reported that the Know-Nothings had demolished ten Catholic churches.³² Another writer warned about the personal dangers Catholic immigrants had to endure, including personal injury, loss of property, and the destruction of

their churches.³³ Still another writer reported similarly that the hatred Americans had for Catholics resulted in the demolition of Catholic churches and in the murder of Catholics.³⁴

In 1855 Kolping ostensibly wrote about slavery in the United States, but the article really was about religion. He wrote that there were two political parties (but never named them) in the United States, one which wanted to retain slavery while the other wanted to abolish it. Kolping argued that these two parties had only one point of commonality, their hatred of the Catholic church. Without indicating to which party program he referred, Kolping wrote that in the party program there was a plank that opposed the encroachment of Catholicism which said, "No one who is a subject, direct or indirect, of a foreign ruler (the pope) should accept a government position. Americans should rule America." Another plank indicated that children should be educated in state schools without religious instruction, but should be taught that the Bible is the source of Christian faith.³⁵

These references were almost direct quotes from the Know-Nothing party platform of 1855. The platform specifically states in article 8 that "Americans only shall govern America." The same article states the party's intent to resist the inclusion of those who hold allegiance "to any foreign power whether civil or ecclesiastical" as office holders in any branch of government. In many ways this document mirrors Kolping's views of American society. The platform calls for the reform of corrupt government, the return to the purer days of the Republic, reformation of the national legislature, and the restriction of executive patronage. These calls for reform were integral to the Know-Nothing perception of American society and to their political agenda.³⁶

There are several interesting parallels between Father Kolping's assessment of American political, social, and economic circumstances to the assessment of that same situation offered by the very group which Father Kolping assumed to be the root of the problem for German emigrants to the United States, the Know-Nothings. Both were concerned with perceived political corruption in the party structure of American politics, and related much of that corruption to a breakdown of morality and religious instruction. Both were concerned over the deterioration of economic conditions in the United States and the role of immigrants to the United States as a factor in that deterioration. Both were concerned with the preservation of the independent artisan. Both were vitally concerned with the educational process and the role of religion in that process. Both feared that immorality and godlessness in American society would result in barbarism and the ruin of the nation, and both argued that the generation of the American Revolution was dead and had been supplanted by a new generation which did not possess the same moral character and commitment to virtuous government as the revolutionary founders of the United States.

Many participants in the Know-Nothing party felt that American society was in a state of decline. While the solutions the Know-Nothings presented

to solve these societal problems bore no resemblance to the proposals of Father Kolping, the Know-Nothing assessment of the problems facing American society is remarkably similar to that of Kopling. Nativist leaders like Thomas Whitney defended Know-Nothing platforms on the grounds that American society had slipped from the high ideals of the revolutionary fathers.³⁷ Whitney and other nativists attributed the decline to the increasing flood of European immigrants. Whitney particularly pointed out that economic dislocation for American artisans was exacerbated by a flood of paupers from Europe. The immigrants were further singled out because of their religion and rapid entry into political life. Nativists believed that they detected symptoms of religious, social, and economic decay that led to political instability and corruption. Not only was there decay, but there was the distinct possibility of the nation sinking into some form of barbarism.³⁸

Know-Nothings, as well as Father Kolping, feared the excesses of democracy. The official party line was anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic, but the thrust of the party's position emphasized moral decay and political fraud within the structure of democratic politics. It was not the immigrant alone who was the problem, rather it was the immigrant as a tool of corrupt political leaders that was destroying American democracy. In the election of 1852, both the Whig and Democratic parties courted the Catholic vote. The official Know-Nothing platform called for a twenty-one year naturalization period as a palliative to the excesses of the political system. Cited instances of voter fraud and immigrants who became registered voters almost upon entry into the country fueled the call for reform of the political system.³⁹ Alliances between Democratic party leaders and high-ranking Catholic priests merely increased the perception of corruption. As one nativist writer put it, political parties "have long since, like all humanly devised things, given unmistakable signs of corruption" and "need repairing, and sometimes reconstruction, just as any other structure of which man is the author."⁴⁰

The Know-Nothing position for a twenty-one year naturalization period was based on the premise that it took twenty-one years for a native-born citizen to acquire the necessary education to learn the American system in order to vote correctly. The same time limit should be required for immigrants to acquire the necessary education and learn the fundamentals of the democratic process before they were granted the privilege of voting. If the nation was to remain committed to the principles of the founding fathers, the alliance between the current corrupt political leaders and the incoming hordes of immigrants must be broken. The political structure must be returned to the integrity and political honesty of the revolutionary period.⁴¹ The commitment of the American nation to its heritage of Protestantism and democracy which were perceived to be two parts of the same whole were under attack both from without and within—from unscrupulous politicians allied with not only Catholics, but with "socialists and infidels."⁴²

The Know-Nothings also stressed the corruption and degeneration of American society and based their dogma on the idea that America had lost the true faith of the revolutionary generation. One of the major issues of nativism was the possible corruption of the democratic process and American society. This corruption and degeneration was found not only in the incoming immigrant population, but within the native-born as well. Many of the early nativistic writers were also active in a variety of reform movements, especially the temperance movement and abolitionism.⁴³ Sean Wilentz points out,

The main questions . . . centered on native distress at the political parties, municipal misdeeds, and public immorality. Democrats had long made appeals to the Irish as an important part of their campaigning; with the immigrant vote secure, the nativists charged, Tammany had enriched itself with shady public contracts, at the taxpayers' expense.⁴⁴

Ever reformers, many nativists would join forces with abolitionists, temperance advocates, and Northern ex-Whigs in 1856 to form the American Republican party.⁴⁵ This alignment pulled Know-Nothings firmly into one of two schismatic political camps that divided the nation in a Civil War.

During the 1850s the Know-Nothings also had a very pessimistic view of the economy and the plight of immigrants. Thomas Whitney noted that the poorhouses were full of immigrants, many of whom were Irish and German Catholics. The Know-Nothing party reacted violently to the social and economic dislocation caused by industrialization and increased immigration. Whitney questioned whether it was wise to allow "paupers and criminals" to enter the country when native residents could not find work.⁴⁶

This view of the problem facing the immigrant was shared by others besides Kolping and the Know-Nothings. Even the American Catholic journals began to advocate restrictions on immigration. The plight of the immigrant in the seaboard cities was so bad that American Catholics began a colonization plan for Irish Catholic immigrants to relocate them to the frontier areas away from the poverty of the industrial cities.⁴⁷

It is particularly ironic that Kolping would pick the Know-Nothing plank on religion and the schools to illustrate the lack of religious instruction in American society. The entire reason for the inclusion of such a plank in the party's platform was to combat what nativists perceived as a potential loss of religious instruction in the American common school system.⁴⁸ This perception was the result of American Catholic attempts to alter the nature of religious instruction in the public school system.⁴⁹ The public school issue arose in the early 1840s and again in 1851. The support for the nativist position was overwhelming. The public school controversy and the alliance between high-ranking Catholic leaders and the Democratic party again caused many moderate Protestants to join in the anti-Catholic sentiment of the nativist

movement.⁵⁰ Protestant leaders decried attempts to place the Catholic Bible in the public school system, and perceived this to be a threat to the moral and spiritual fiber of the nation.⁵¹ The plank in the Know-Nothing platform states that common schools should be free from denominational or partisan character, but argues that the Bible was the source of Christianity, the foundation of civil and religious freedoms, and concludes that the party would oppose all attempts to exclude it from the schools as a means of combating rising immorality in American society.⁵²

Kolping's statement that there were only two political parties in America, one slavery and one antislavery, and that their only point of commonality was a hatred of the Catholic Church appears on the surface to be merely a rhetorical statement designed to enhance his argument against emigration. A closer look at American politics, however, reveals that there is some truth in Kolping's allegations. As early as 1824, Martin Van Buren stated that political parties that were truly national in scope were necessary to prevent the sectional, factional nature of the slavery issue from destroying the nation.⁵³ During the Mexican-American War territorial conquest placed slavery and sectionalism high on the political agenda and created a major stumbling block that eventually disintegrated the existing party structure and caused a structural realignment of national politics.⁵⁴ Increasingly throughout the 1850s, the major political issue was slavery and eventually it superseded all others on the political agenda.⁵⁵ As sectional tension increased, many people in both the North and the South feared immigrants. The proslavery forces feared that immigrants were antislavery, particularly as the political refugees from the European revolutions of 1848 made their way into the United States. These so-called "red republicans" were antislavery, which enhanced the fears of proslavery advocates that immigrants as a group were a political problem for the proslavery forces.⁵⁶ The antislavery forces, on the other hand, feared that because so many of the immigrants were Catholic, and since the Catholic Church as a political entity tended to favor non-democratic forms of government in European affairs, that the majority of the immigrants were proslavery.⁵⁷ In the Know-Nothing party, in particular, both of these groups were able to find commonality and attempted to form a national party by using the immigrant as the external enemy. When it became necessary to define why the immigrant was the enemy in the party's platform, the commonality, which was based on entirely different perceptions of the problem, disappeared and the party fragmented over the slavery issue.

The attempt to rebuke immorality in the political arena reflected the fears of the party over issues that were a result of the social dislocation of the Jacksonian period as new and different groups grew in political power and the structure of politics changed vastly. These fears also reflected the economic dislocation caused by increased industrialization, and the accompanying loss of social and political status for those classes who became downwardly mobile as a result of that economic dislocation. This was particularly true of the artisan

class.⁵⁸ It seemed somehow that society and politics had changed and that the change was not only undesirable, but was the result of immorality in American society caused by a loss of religion and virtue possessed by previous generations of Americans. The dangers confronting the nation as a result of that immorality were immense. The only potential solution was a return to the ideals upon which the nation had been founded—both by altering the internal structure and removing the potential for change by limiting the influence of incoming persons of different beliefs.⁵⁹

Father Kolping agreed wholeheartedly with the Know-Nothings that America displayed a rising immorality, and he too blamed that immorality on the lack of religion, which to him meant Catholicism. He reported that ten million Americans belonged to no church and that most of the children of these ten million were not even baptized. He sarcastically editorialized that "they would be a good brood for America's future!" He further stated that the ten million followers of the different Protestant churches represented a true Tower of Babel.⁶⁰ Kolping was under the impression that the suicide rate was increasing in the United States, and he attributed this upswing to a lack of religion.⁶¹ He even criticized the normally praised separation of church and state because it meant that the citizens, and not the state, had to underwrite all of the costs of their churches. This worked a hardship on the German immigrants who did not understand this principle.⁶²

Kolping also criticized the moral character of the Americans. He wrote that American friendship resembled the nature of a fox.⁶³ He especially liked to use American politics to show the depravity of the American people. In the "Politisches Tagebuch" he frequently described with horror the physical violence that occurred in the Congress and interpreted it as a symptom for a depraved people. American freedom was not the freedom of children of God, he concluded.⁶⁴ After recounting another episode of physical violence in the Congress, Kolping affirmed that the "praised America is either on the way to a moral wilderness or ripe enough that one can take control and finally rule it."⁶⁵ In general, however, he saw no hope for America and expressed the opinion that it carried its death seed in its birth.⁶⁶

Kolping viewed not only politicians, but also the man on the street as depraved. Although he agreed that there were some virtuous Americans who did good, he argued that there was a rawness, a viciousness, and a wildness in them that was not found anywhere else in the world. He attributed this to the collapse of the family brought on by an uncontrolled search for material pleasures. "Man," he concluded, "could not live by bread alone but needed the word of God."⁶⁷

Recent scholars have come to much the same conclusion about the rawness and violence of American society in the antebellum period. Michael Feldburg examines the phenomenon of rioting in the Jacksonian period and concludes that this violence was perceived as a viable means of political participation.⁶⁸ David Grimsted also examines rioting in its antebellum setting

and concludes that it was a means of participation and expression that was based on a perception of moral right and political expediency. He argues that Jacksonian Democracy is best understood as a psychological construct, and that participation in mob violence was a valid means of expressing concerns over perceived social and political injustice. As the reality of American society and politics failed to match the rhetoric of democracy, many varied groups chose general mob violence, vigilante justice or violent attacks aimed at those groups perceived to be the root of the problem.⁶⁹ Most of the reform movements of this period have a certain commonality with nativism because they reflect fears of society gone awry and immoral, overly materialistic tendencies in the individual members of that society.⁷⁰

Kolping's attacks on American materialism provide the real clue why Kolping begged his journeymen members to stay at home. St. Thomas had criticized the abuse of private property for the benefit of the individual and to the detriment of society, a view that was part of the social teachings at the University of Munich, where Kolping had studied.⁷¹ Thus he judged American materialism as anti-Christian and as a repudiation of the teachings of St. Thomas and of the Christian social movement of the mid-nineteenth century.

From Kolping's perspective the Civil War was God's punishment of the United States for this false worship of materialism. He claimed that the poor military and civilian leadership of the Republicans was the fatal fruit of the dollar religion. There were plenty of "smart" speculators but no heroes in the military and civilian leadership. Brother Jonathan should come to his senses, he advised, and honor the true God.⁷² "America was suffering through her misery [the Civil War] today," he wrote on another occasion, "because American freedom was based on material values." That meant that evil was also free. And where evil was free he concluded, then both the men and the country were ruined.⁷³

Perhaps Kolping's overall impression of American ills is best conveyed by a fictional short story he published in 1861 in his *Calendar for the Catholic Population*. The story concerned Johannes Dörner, who abandoned his two sons, ages five and three, after their mother died and emigrated to America. Because this is a morality story, the two sons fortunately were taken in by an uncle, a priest, and grew up to be fine, Christian young men. They were taught to pray for their father and for his return. Johannes, on the other hand, endured many hardships in America. His partner swindled him out of his money, and he lost his business. After rebuilding his fortune, his new wife took all of his money and ran off with another man.

Johannes learned that Americans were only interested in business and profits. Morality was pushed into the background. Even religion was a business. For Americans, their hero was the smart man who used all means to achieve his ends. Finally, Johannes had enough of this materialistic culture and, after thirty years, sailed home to search for his sons who had become respectable, God-fearing citizens; they were delighted to see their father again

and welcomed him back with open arms. Johannes lived happily with his sons until his death.⁷⁴

A dilemma, however, confronted Kolping regarding America. On the one hand, he believed that, of all places in the world, America needed the Journeymen's Association and what it stood for the most.⁷⁵ That meant, of course, that German members who had emigrated would establish the Journeymen's Association in the United States. On the other hand, however, he strongly advised his members against emigrating. Kolping reported regularly on the progress of chapters of the Journeymen's Association in the United States. The first American chapter was founded in St. Louis in 1856 by two members of the German association;⁷⁶ in 1858 a second chapter was founded at Quincy, Illinois,⁷⁷ in 1859 a third in Racine, Wisconsin,⁷⁸ and the fourth at Milwaukee.⁷⁹ Eventually all of the American chapters dissolved, but after the Civil War new chapters in Dayton and Chicago were founded and some of the earlier ones revived.⁸⁰

Although proud of the expansion of the Journeymen's Association to the United States, Kolping advised Germans not to emigrate to the United States.⁸¹ He warned his readers about the increasing cost of living, the immorality, barbarism, and misery in America. He concluded that the country was only a bundle of religious and political sects carrying its own death seed in its birth.⁸² He also warned potential emigrants that the United States wanted them only for servile duties and that those who emigrated would live in misery. In fact, he wrote, thousands of emigrants were now coming back to Europe because of the miserable conditions in America.⁸³ Kolping also cautioned his readers that freedom in America was not what was promised.⁸⁴ He pointed out that vigilante groups were multiplying rapidly. As a result, the people were beginning to take justice into their own hands. When that happens, he warned, anarchy and lawlessness are at the door.⁸⁵ He concluded that America was "a sick country, despite protests to the contrary."⁸⁶

Poignant as the morality story of Johannes was, neither it nor any of Kolping's above litany of ills concerning the United States was very successful in persuading either Catholic journeymen or Germans in general from emigrating. The four American chapters of the Journeymen's Association, founded by men who had been members in Germany, indicates that Kolping could not even prevent his own members from emigrating. He also had no success in hindering German emigration to the United States in the nineteenth century. It is always possible, of course, that anonymous, individual members of the Journeymen's Association stayed home because of the warnings of the "journeymen's father," but probably even this number is not significant. Kolping, then, despite his dire predictions of what would happen if one emigrated, could not prevent German emigration.

Despite his geographical distance from the United States, Kolping presented a remarkable assessment of the ills that plagued American society. That assessment, with its similarities to the assessments advanced by the

Know-Nothings, offers a unique opportunity to reevaluate the understanding of the period preceding the Civil War. Although Kolping suffered from prejudices that colored his perception of conditions in the United States, still his observations stand as remarkable testimony to the social, economic, and political tumults that characterized the era leading up to the American Civil War. His failure to persuade his countrymen to "stay at home and live with integrity" does not detract from the insights he provided of the conditions for and aspirations of both German and American artisans and the clues he furnished concerning their perceptions of each other and their role in the industrialization of the American nation.

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Notes

¹ See Edward Pessen, "The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility, and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man,'" *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 989-1034; Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *American Historical Review* 78 (1973): 531-88; Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976); Paul E. Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978); and Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

² Michael F. Holt, "The Politics of Impatience: The Origins of Know-Nothingism," *Journal of American History* 60 (1973): 309-31; and "The Antimasonic and Know-Nothing Parties," in *1789-1860, From Factions to Parties*, v. 1 of *History of U.S. Political Parties*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), 575-740.

³ Christian Hermann Vosen, *Trauerrede beim Begräbnis des Gesellenvaters Adolph Kolping, gehalten am 7. Dezember 1865 in der Minoritenkirche zu Köln* (Cologne: J. P. Bachem, 1865), 13; George S. Werner, "Traveling Journeymen in Metternichian South Germany," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 125 (1981): 199; Adolph Kolping, *Der Gesellen-Verein* (Cologne and Neuß: L. Schwann'sche Verlagshandlung, 1849), 6-14; and *Der Gesellenverein und seine Aufgabe* (Cologne: Kolping Verlag, 1952), 11-12, 21. For further information on the *Gesellenverein*, see Sarah C. Neitzel, "The Salzburg Catholic *Gesellenverein*: An Alternative to Socialism," *Journal of Religious History* 12 (1982): 62-73; "Priests and Proletarians: The Catholic *Gesellenverein*, 1846-65," *Fides et Historia* 16 (1983): 35-44; and *Priests and Journeymen: The German Catholic Gesellenverein and the Christian Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (Bonn: Kommissions-Verlag L. Röhrscheid, 1987).

German Catholic Gesellenverein and the Christian Social Movement in the Nineteenth Century (Bonn: Kommissions-Verlag L. Röhrscheid, 1987).

⁴ Kolping, *Gesellenverein und seine Aufgabe*, 11-12, 21; *Mitteilungen für Vorsteher der katholischen Gesellenvereine*, Heft 4 (1865), col. 107.

⁵ Michael Schmolke, *Adolph Kolping als Publizist: Ein Beitrag zur Publizistik und zur Verbandsgeschichte des deutschen Katholizismus im 19. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Verlag Regensburg, 1966), 194-95; Kolping to Anton von Schmit, 26 September 1855, Kolping to Anton Gruscha, 14 April 1859, in Adolph Kolping, *Adolph Kolping Schriften* (Cologne: Kolping Verlag, 1975-85), 2:185, 258-59.

⁶ Kolping, *Gesellenverein und seine Aufgabe*, 21.

⁷ "Politisches Tagebuch," *Rheinische Volksblätter für Haus, Familie und Handwerk* (hereafter cited as *RV*), no. 26, 28 June 1856, p. 413; no. 36, 6 September 1856, p. 573; no. 40, 4 October 1856, p. 635; no. 1, 1 January 1859, p. 14.

⁸ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 1, 1 January 1859, p. 14.

⁹ "Amerikanisches. Scenen in Louisville," *RV*, no. 37, 15 September 1855, pp. 591-94. The Know-Nothings attempted to deny German immigrants the right to vote and on "Bloody Monday," 6 August 1855, twenty were killed and hundreds lay wounded. See James Hennessey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 125-26.

¹⁰ "Amerikanische Geschichten," *RV*, no. 2, 13 January 1855, p. 29.

¹¹ "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 31, 28 October 1854, pp. 494-96.

¹² Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 316-17; Holt, "The Politics of Impatience," 329-31.

¹³ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 10, 8 March 1856, p. 155.

¹⁴ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 26, 26 June 1858, p. 412.

¹⁵ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 25, 21 June 1856, p. 398; no. 26, 28 June 1856, p. 413.

¹⁶ "Was die Amerikaner von sich selber sagen," *RV*, no. 28, 12 July 1856, 446-47.

¹⁷ "Beitrag zur Kenntnis amerikanischer Zustände," *RV*, no. 7, 13 May 1854, pp. 103-4; "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 10, 3 June 1854, pp. 152-154; "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 32, 4 November 1854, p. 506; "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 10, 8 March 1856, pp. 155-59; "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 12, 22 March 1856, pp. 187-91.

¹⁸ "Beitrag zur Kenntnis amerikanischer Zustände," *RV*, no. 7, 13 May 1854, pp. 103-4; "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 10, 3 June 1854, pp. 152-154; "Amerikanische Geschichten," *RV*, no. 5, 3 February 1855, pp. 76-79.

¹⁹ "Amerikanische Geschichten," *RV*, no. 5, 3 February 1855, pp. 76-79.

²⁰ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 8, 24 February 1855, p. 125; "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 10, 3 June 1854, pp. 152-54; "Beitrag zur Kenntnis amerikanischer Zustände," *RV*, no. 7, 13 May 1854, pp. 103-4.

²¹ "Circularschreiben der deutschen Gesellschaft von New Orleans an alle auswanderungslustigen Deutschen," *RV*, no. 20, 19 May 1855, pp. 311-14.

²² "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 45, 7 November 1857, pp. 714-15.

²³ This was probably a reference to the American magazine titled *Brother Jonathan*, which reprinted European novels, ran political features, and was primarily funded through ads which were inserted throughout the magazine.

²⁴ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 45, 7 November 1857, pp. 714-15.

²⁵ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 46, 14 November 1857, pp. 728-29; no. 49, 5 December 1857, p. 778.

²⁶ The German word *Präses* is used as the clerical title for the head of the Journeymen's Association instead of the secular word president.

²⁷ "Katholischer Gesellenverein," *RV*, no. 10, 8 March 1856, pp. 159-60; no. 30, 26 July 1856, pp. 479-80; Kolping to Franz Josef Ficke, 29 February 1856, in Kolping, *Schriften*, 2:202.

²⁸ "Eine Stimme aus Amerika," *RV*, no. 48, 28 November 1857, pp. 764-66; no. 49, 5 December 1857, pp. 780-82.

²⁹ "Amerika," *RV*, no. 2, 8 April 1854, pp. 30-32.

³⁰ Kolping, *Gesellen-Verein*, 6-14; Kolping, *Gesellenverein und seine Aufgabe*, 11-12, 21; *RV*, no. 15, 14 April 1855, p. 236.

³¹ "Amerikanische Geschichten," *RV*, no. 38, 16 December 1854, pp. 597-98; no. 2, 13 January 1855, p. 29.

³² "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 31, 28 October 1854, pp. 494-96.

³³ "Amerikanische Geschichten," *RV*, no. 2, 13 January 1855, p. 29.

³⁴ "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 8, 24 February 1855, pp. 125-28.

³⁵ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 28, 14 July 1855, pp. 447-48.

³⁶ Holt, "The Antimasonic and Know-Nothing Parties," pp. 701-5.

³⁷ Thomas R. Whitney, *A Defence of American Policy* (New York: Dewitt and Davenport, 1856).

³⁸ See Horace Bushnell, *Barbarism the First Danger* (New York: American Home Missionary Society, 1847).

³⁹ Charles E. A. Gayerre, *Address to the People of Louisiana on the State of Parties* (New Orleans: Sherman, Wharton, 1855); and *Address of Charles Gayerre to the People of the State on the Late Frauds Perpetuated at the Election Held on the 7th November, 1853, in New Orleans* (New Orleans: Sherman & Wharton, 1853); John H. Lee, *Origin and Progress of the American Party in Politics* (Philadelphia: G. D. Miller, 1855).

⁴⁰ Frederick Anspach, *The Sons of Sires* (Philadelphia: Lippincott Grambo and Co., 1855), 82. See also his assessment of the role of Bishop John Hughes in American politics and the connection between the Catholic Church and the Democratic party, pp. 30, 46.

⁴¹ "The American Party Platform of 1855," reprinted in Holt, "The Antimasonic and Know-Nothing Parties," pp. 701-5.

⁴² Anspach, *Sons of Sires*, 103.

⁴³ One of the primary leaders of early nativism was Lyman Beecher, his *Plea for the West* (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1836) was one of the most influential documents in early nativistic literature. Beecher was heavily involved in the temperance movement. See *Six Sermons on the Nature, Signs, Evils and Remedy for Intemperance*, 10th ed. (New York: American Tract Society, 1843). One of the dominant political slogans of the day was "Rum, Romanism, Rebellion."

⁴⁴ Wilentz, *Chants Democratic*, 315.

⁴⁵ William E. Gienapp, *The Origins of the Republican Party, 1852-1856* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987). Gienapp traces the fusion and coalition of these groups on a state by state basis.

⁴⁶ Whitney, *A Defence of American Policy*.

⁴⁷ Robert Francis Hueston, *The Catholic Press and Nativism, 1840-1860* (New York: Arno Press, 1976).

⁴⁸ Anspach argues that the attacks on the Protestant Bible were the primary cause of the Know-Nothing party. See *Sons of Sires*, 31-37.

⁴⁹ The major instances of violence between nativists and Catholics in the 1840s were triggered by debates concerning the Bible and public education. The Catholic Church under the leadership of Bishop John Hughes pushed for the inclusion of the Catholic Bible as well as the Protestant one within the public school teaching curriculum. This issue brought numerous moderate Protestants into the ranks of nativism and eventually led to the Philadelphia riots of 1844. Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study in the Origins of Nativism* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1938), 142-235, presents a detailed study of the crisis over public education and the events which culminated in the Philadelphia riots of 1844. See also Michael Feldburg, *The Turbulent Era: Riots and Disorder in Jacksonian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 3-32.

⁵⁰ This period from 1851 to 1856 was the height of Know-Nothing strength, and the issue of the Bible and the public schools was a critical factor in the rise of the party. For most Protestants, the ties between education and religion were exceptionally strong. See Billington, *Protestant Crusade*, 262-343.

⁵¹ For extended views of the relationship between religion and education in America, see Timothy L. Smith, "Protestant Schooling and American Nationality, 1800-1850," *Journal of American History* 53 (1967): 679-95; Merton J. England, "The Democratic Faith in American Schoolbooks, 1783-1860," *American Quarterly* 15 (1963): 194-96; and Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1979).

⁵² Holt, "The Antimasonic and Know-Nothing Parties," 705.

⁵³ Van Buren's statement is quoted in Michael Wallace, "Changing Concepts of Party in the United States: New York, 1815-1828," *American Historical Review* 74 (1968): 490.

⁵⁴ Eric Foner, "The Wilmot Proviso Revisited," *Journal of American History* 56 (1969): 262-79.

⁵⁵ Larry Gara, "Slavery and Slave Power: A Crucial Distinction," *Civil War History* 23 (1969): 5-18. See also William E. Gienapp, "The Republican Party and the Slave Power," in *New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America*, ed. Robert H. Abzug and Stephen E. Maizlish (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1984), 58-69.

⁵⁶ W. Darrell Overdyke, *The Know-Nothing Party in the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 153. Overdyke also quotes Congressman A. R. Sellers of Maryland as saying, "the immigrants were the backbone of settlement of the West where they became abolitionists because of the competition of slave labor" (203). See the denunciation of "red republicanism" in the Virginia Know-Nothing platform reprinted in Holt, "The Antimasonic and Know-Nothing Parties," 720. See also William G. Bean, "An Aspect of Know-Nothingism—the Immigrant and Slavery," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 23 (1924): 319-34. Bean was the first to suggest that Southern Know-Nothings were unionist and had different perceptions of immigrants than did northern nativists.

⁵⁷ Robert Francis Hueston, *The Catholic Press*, 206-15, discusses at length the reasons that abolitionists and free-soilers feared Catholicism and felt that it was proslavery. He attributes part of the fear to the connections between nativism, abolitionism, and free-soil thought in the North.

⁵⁸ Holt, "Politics of Impatience," 329-31.

⁵⁹ Anspach, *Sons of Sires*, 50, 62.

⁶⁰ "Amerikanisches. Streiflichter auf amerikanische Verhältnisse," *RV*, no. 15, 8 July 1854, p. 236.

⁶¹ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 38, 19 September 1857, pp. 605-6.

⁶² "Amerikanisches," *RV*, no. 9, 3 March 1855, pp. 139-43.

⁶³ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 16, 15 July 1854, p. 251.

⁶⁴ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 6, 9 February 1856, p. 95; no. 32, 9 August 1856, p. 510; no. 12, 20 March 1858, p. 189.

⁶⁵ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 12, 20 March 1858, p. 189.

⁶⁶ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 6, 9 February 1856, p. 95.

⁶⁷ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 47, 21 November 1857, p. 747; no. 41, 9 October 1858, pp. 654-55.

⁶⁸ Feldburg, *The Turbulent Era*.

⁶⁹ David Grimsted, "Rioting in its Jacksonian Setting," *American Historical Review* 77 (1972): 361-97.

⁷⁰ Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), xiv, argues that downward social mobility and noble idealism are not sufficient alone to explain the reform movements of any period. By examining the rhetoric of the group and the social and political circumstances in which they find themselves, he attempts to evaluate the reform of the period and illustrates the relationships between the various groups that make up what he calls the "sisterhood of reforms." Jean H. Baker, *Ambivalent Americans: The Know-Nothing Party in Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), argues that the Know-Nothings were a reform party intended to cleanse and purify American politics and that their appeals were as often pro-American as anti-Catholic or anti-immigrant. Baker offers evidence that the party is as reflective of the antebellum reformist tradition as those groups traditionally classified as part of that general category.

⁷¹ Glenn Blackburn, "Franz von Baader: Precursor of Christian Socialist Thought," paper read at the Southern Historical Association Conference, November 1980, pp. 2-5; Eric Dorn Brose, *Christian Labor and the Politics of Frustration in Imperial Germany* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1985), 22-23.

⁷² "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 3, 17 January 1863, pp. 46-47.

⁷³ "Politisches Tagebuch," *RV*, no. 44, 31 October 1863, pp. 697-700.

⁷⁴ "Lebensschicksale eines Heimatlosen," *Kalender für das katholische Volk 1861* (Cologne: Verlag der M. DuMont-Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1860), 31-86.

⁷⁵ "Katholischer Gesellenverein," *RV*, no. 10, 8 March 1856, pp. 159-60.

⁷⁶ "Das Kolpingwerk in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika," in *Kolping in Berlin* 23 (1978): 8; *RV*, no. 10, 8 March 1856, p. 159; no. 30, 26 July 1856, pp. 479-80; Kolping to Franz Josef Ficke, 29 February 1856, in Kolping, *Schriften*, 2:202.

⁷⁷ *RV*, no. 45, 6 November 1858, p. 719.

⁷⁸ *RV*, no. 4, 28 January 1860, p. 63; no. 9, 2 March 1861, p. 143.

⁷⁹ *RV*, no. 17, 28 April 1860, p. 271.

⁸⁰ "Das Kolpingwerk in den Vereinigten Staaten," 8; *RV*, no. 52, 28 December 1872, p. 826; *Mitteilungen*, Heft 36 (1874), cols. 375-76. A scholarly study of the Journeymen's Association in the United States is needed.

⁸¹ *RV*, no. 15, 12 April 1856, p. 236.

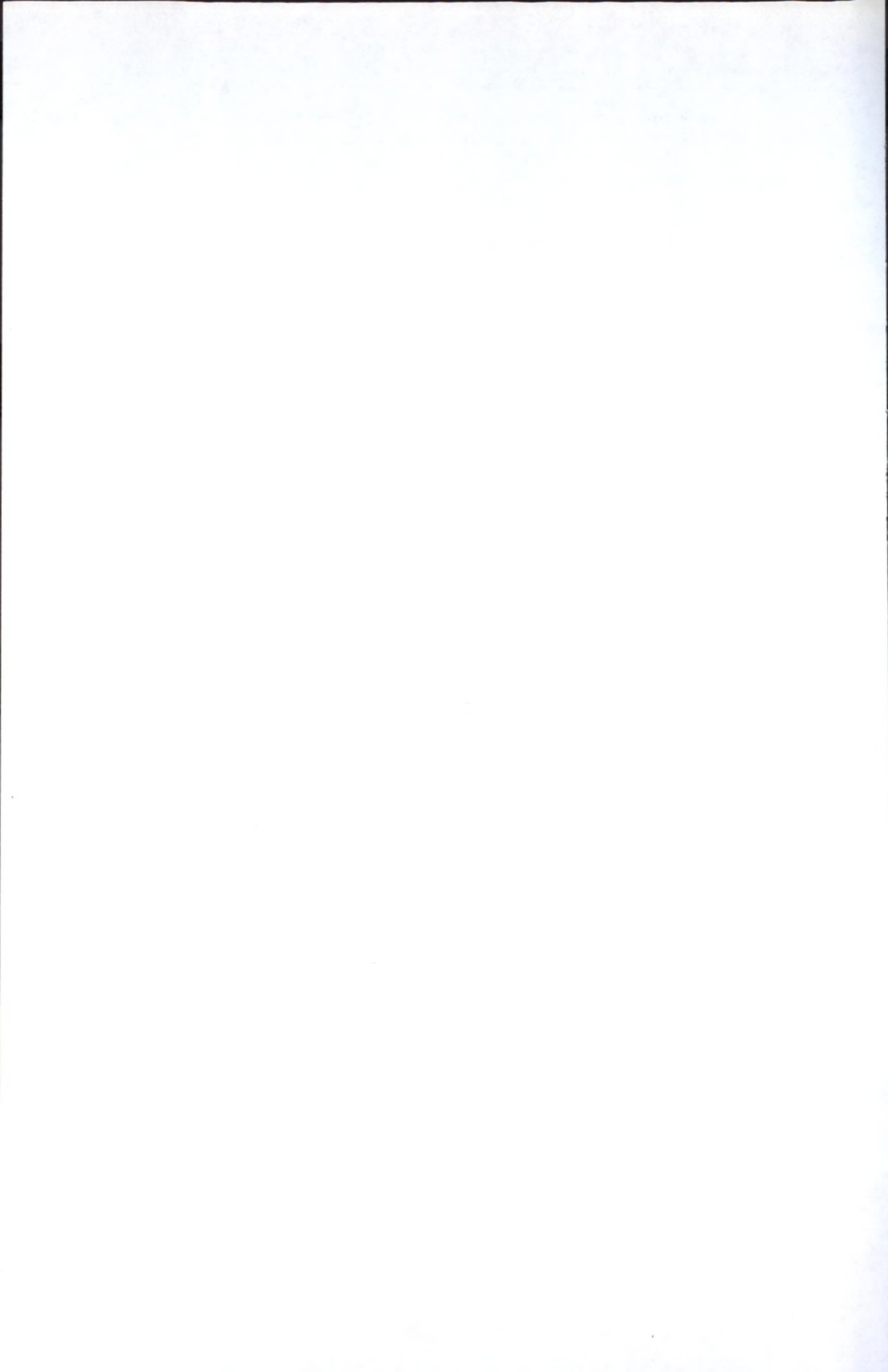
⁸² *RV*, no. 32, 4 November 1854, p. 506; no. 40, 30 December 1854, pp. 622-23; "Politisches Tagebuch," no. 6, 9 February 1856, p. 95.

⁸³ *RV*, no. 32, 4 November 1854, p. 506; no. 3, 20 January 1855, p. 44; no. 15, 12 April 1856, p. 236.

⁸⁴ *RV*, no. 32, 4 November 1854, p. 506.

⁸⁵ *RV*, no. 36, 6 September 1856, p. 573.

⁸⁶ *RV*, no. 9, 1 March 1856, p. 141; no. 10, 8 March 1856, p. 155.



Peter Winkel

Emigration from Hesse-Darmstadt in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

On a single day, 8 June 1852, 457 citizens of Viernheim, a village of four thousand citizens, in Heppenheim County, in the Grand Duchy of Hesse-Darmstadt, left their homes for North America.¹ They were part of the second largest exodus of Germans to North America in modern times. In all, 145,918 human souls sought to improve their lives by emigration from Germany to the New World in 1852. More than twelve thousand of these came from Hesse-Darmstadt.²

The emigration explosion of the 1850s was a continuation and spread of a movement of discontent well under way by 1848. Deeply structured social problems and economic hardships that arose from bureaucratic inflexibility and centuries-old laws coupled with contemporary agrarian crises and industrial impotence caused more than 140,000 men and women to emigrate from Hesse-Darmstadt to the United States between 1848 and 1861.

Most of these emigrants were responding to economic uncertainties and social injustice. Subjective factors also contributed to widespread unrest felt not only by those wishing to leave, but also by those left behind. A feeling of impending catastrophe pervaded Hesse-Darmstadt. It joined with undeterminable personal expressions of unhappiness to form an invisible dynamic discontent. By the 1840s concern for conditions spread to every area of Hesse-Darmstadt. The increase in emigration demonstrated the breakdown of social and economic patterns that spilled over into every phase of life. The economic threat was all-pervasive, and emigration was the only alternative left for the poor and hungry. They saw no hope and anticipated no cure.

Social injustice and material hardship were the principal causes of dissatisfaction and unrest had steadily grown to major proportions. Although political decisions by the ducal government were contributing factors, allowing the underemployed to leave might be seen as a politically wise decision to relieve dangerous pressure, yet the thousands of applications for mass and individual emigration by villagers bear witness to general desperation and suffering. The volume of emigration also began to rise in Southwest Germany

between 1851 and 1855. The populations of Baden and Württemberg "each suffered absolute declines of about 4 per cent" during the early fifties.³ The situation in Hesse-Darmstadt thus reflected a national trend.⁴

Viernheim, a small town in the southwest corner of the province of Starkenburg, does not present a unique chapter in Hessian emigration history nor is the availability of official documents for this town extraordinary. There are hundreds of towns and villages with similar experiences and documentation. What is striking is the sheer number of emigrants leaving on one day to seek a better life in North America.

The following concentration on Viernheim is intended to serve as an example of how prospective emigrants proceeded to receive official permission to depart legally. The Hessian laws were clear, and rarely were exceptions granted by officials. Thus Viernheim may be considered a model illustrating general practices, demographic composition, and reasons for departure. This essay examines briefly the social, economic, demographic, and climatic conditions which generated political actions and reactions, and considers at length the emigration process itself between 1848 and 1861. The traditional reasons for emigration do not apply for this period. Religion, politics, and the desire to establish a business in North America did not constitute major reasons for emigration, as Peter Marschalk also found true for German states during the 1850s.⁵ Those few who did flee political persecution after 1849 or 1850 should be considered refugees and not emigrants in the traditional sense.

The two years—1848 and 1861—represent major events in the history of the two nations: the former witnessed the explosion of an unsuccessful revolution in Hesse-Darmstadt and the latter the beginning of the Civil War in North America. The advent of industrialization left a distinct impact on the citizens of Viernheim. In Hesse the importation of manufactured goods eliminated cottage industry and forced thousands of women and men to seek employment in other states, or to emigrate to North America or other foreign countries. Industrialization, however, did not develop in Hesse during the middle of the nineteenth century. The Hessian ducal government, supported by both legislative chambers, did not encourage industrialization, possibly because of the available importation of cheap textiles and other goods.⁶ One of the results of the introduction of cheap goods in Hesse was the unprecedented unemployment in the cottage industries in the Odenwald and the Vogelsberg. The fear of a proletarian uprising with its social consequences convinced leaders to discourage economic changes in the three provinces of Hesse-Darmstadt. Ingomar Bog succinctly stated: "Hessen erlebte keine industrielle Revolution."⁷

In Hesse-Darmstadt inequalities in land tenure and short harvests caused food shortages and inflation. Similar processes occurred in neighboring Baden and Kurhessen in the 1850s. No decade before 1850 experienced similar mass emigration from Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Kurhessen as did the 1850s.⁸ Neither Viernheim nor Hesse-Darmstadt represents a unique chapter in

German emigration during this decade. In neighboring Nassau, Kurhessen, and Baden similar reasons for an unprecedented exodus existed and the inhabitants' willingness to take chances on emigration was shared by most Germans.

Associated with the severe political process was the inflexible and harsh economic system. Guild regulations and the restriction of commercialism impeded the free flow of commerce and changes in occupations. Young men trained in one occupation could not change their professions at a later point. Equally important, citizens did not enjoy the right to move to other towns within Hesse without the express permission to leave and an invitation by the new town.

Hereditary laws contributed to the fragmentation of land. Many peasants owned as little as six acres of land and could no longer support their families. The cost of land increased steadily, making its purchase impossible for the poor.

Fragmentation of land in all of Hesse-Darmstadt had decreased the yield of crops. Small plots were simply too inefficient. Among the small farmers and households with gardens the dependency on homegrown food became acute as unemployment grew in the rural areas. Furthermore, the communal land for grazing had either been returned to or bought by the local lords. The removal of these lands from the community reduced either the number of grazing animals for individual farmers or the amount of firewood available.⁹

The emigration laws underwent drastic changes between 1848 and 1850 in most German states, and even after the return of conservative governments there were few willing to revoke those liberal laws.¹⁰ On the contrary, governments acted to protect the interests and welfare of their departing citizens. Stricter laws passed after 1850 curtailed questionable activities of shipping agents, and pressure was extended to the ports of Bremen and Hamburg to make travel more humane.¹¹ Shipping agents were instructed to submit to emigrants contracts stipulating fare, amount of food available, and size of berth. The latter two were determined by the amount the emigrant was willing to pay.¹² Similar policies emerged in Wiesbaden and Kassel and other German capitals. These laws were intended to ease the process of emigration. Despite this the deterioration of living conditions had become too acute in Baden, Württemberg, the Palatinate, Nassau, and Kurhessen to impede the flow of emigrants. Still there were those who saw the process as too slow and who therefore departed secretly.¹³

The conditions causing emigration from Hesse were not unique in the history of German emigration. While particulars differed from state to state in the southwest region, the overall conditions and motivations were similar. It is these home circumstances that caused emigration rather than the conditions in North America itself. Emigrants did not learn of a recession, for example, until much later, and recessions in the United States during the 1850s were usually localized. The Hessians did not respond to the North American

economy in terms of its ebbs and flows. Rather these mostly agrarian workers were reacting to their own social and economic conditions. When the availability of food improved and inflation decreased during the late 1850s, emigration dropped considerably. The fluctuating conditions of the North American economy did not have an impact on the highs and lows of Hessian emigration, an observation also made by Walter Kamphoefner in his study on emigration from Westphalia. Hessian emigrants responded to their own plight caused by climatic and economic changes. Hessians were rarely disturbed by the uncertainties of the American economy and politics, and as Kamphoefner succinctly observed, the "pull-effect" remained constant for most of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ Only where industrialization was encouraged to develop, such as in Saxony and Prussia, did different conditions and policies prevail.

The economic conditions fostering emigration should not be treated as the sole reasons for people leaving Hesse-Darmstadt. There were also the blandishments of the shipping agents and propagandists whose roles have not yet been thoroughly examined in detail. While emigration clubs played a dominant part in Braunschweig and Nassau, for example, such organizations were short-lived and of no consequence in Hesse-Darmstadt.¹⁵ There were also the letters written by immigrants to friends and relatives at home, new protection laws for voyagers passed by the United States and German states, and the decrease in transatlantic fares. All these factors may have influenced the prospective emigrant.¹⁶

A clear correlation between economic crisis and emigration existed between 1848 and 1861. The early 1850s witnessed rainy summers and severe winters causing short harvests and inflation, and at the same time emigration rose to its highest peak. The heaviest rainfall between 1848 and 1861 occurred during the summer of 1854; the second heaviest in 1852. December 1853 and February 1854 were the coldest and the third-coldest months in the fifties.¹⁷ These two years produced the highest number of emigrants from Hesse and from Germany, suggesting a direct relationship between bad weather and increased emigration.¹⁸

Analyzing the total crop per year for rye, potatoes, and turnips reveals startling shortages among these three crops for the years 1850 to 1854, using 1849 as the best harvest year. Devastating reduction in crops harvested plagued the inhabitants of Hesse. In 1849 almost one million *Malter* of rye were harvested. Two years later the intake dropped by 24 percent. Only once during the fifties, in 1857, the rye harvest exceeded the 1849 production. A similar drastic decrease occurred for potatoes. By 1854, at the peak of emigration, the potato harvest had dropped by 46 percent, or slightly over three million *Malter*. The potato harvest exceeded the 1849 production in 1857 and 1858, but not by much. Turnips also experienced a decline and never regained their 1849 yield in the 1850s. By 1855 the harvest was still about 900,000 *Malter* short of 1849. For all three crops, 1854 was the worst year. It

was also the wettest and coldest year in the 1850s, with emigration then reaching its highest peak in Hesse's history.¹⁹

Between 1849 and 1861 more than 140,000 men, women and children joined an exodus never experienced for any other twelve-year period in Hesse's history. Officially, slightly more than 100,000 Hessians left the principality.²⁰ Between 1846 and 1861, Hesse-Darmstadt experienced a net growth of only 5,797 inhabitants, or less than a single percentage point for any given three-year period.²¹ The only decrease in population (-155) during the forties occurred between 3 December 1846 and 3 December 1849, caused by economic misfortunes and political uncertainties. The largest reduction of all occurred between 1852 and 1855, when the census listed 17,900 fewer inhabitants. Each province listed a net loss for this period.²² Thirteen of the nineteen communities located in today's Odenwaldkreis east of Darmstadt registered a decrease in population between 1846 and 1858. The increase for the other six towns was minimal.²³

The relationship among emigration, population density, and marriage and birth ratios is complex. Generally, emigration came from those counties with high population densities, such as Lindenfels. Throughout the 1850s a rise in emigration coincided with a decline in marriages and births and an increase in death rates. The changes were greatest in the rural counties.²⁴

The departures of so many people within a relatively short period had, as already mentioned, definite effects on every aspect of life in Hesse-Darmstadt. It also affected basic demographics. No county was spared the embarrassment of the massive outflow. When there were more men than women leaving, the number of marriages and births shifted. Yet these fluctuations did not correspond to emigration between 1846 and 1861. During the 1849-52 period, over three thousand more men and women left Hesse than in the preceding three-year time span. At the same time there was also, strangely, a gain in marriages and births—approximately 500 and 2,400, respectively. The following period, however, mirrored the expected changes. About 8,400 more people emigrated and marriages dropped by slightly over 1,000 and births by 3,500. After 3 December 1855, marriage and birth figures increased and reflected a feeling that the worst was over and stability might again return. Marriages jumped dramatically, while births gained at a lesser pace.²⁵

The ratio of men to women indicated the greater number of single men departing. Viernheim in 1852 reflected this ratio. Among the single persons between 16 and 30 years old, 36 men and 24 women left the town. That same year the local government reported 18 single men and 3 single women having illegally left Viernheim. (They had not sought official exit visas permitting them to emigrate.²⁶) Almost every local register, which listed the emigrants by family status, showed a greater number of single men than women. The ratio of men to women remaining in Hesse therefore changed accordingly.²⁷ The largest change occurred during the period of greatest hardship and when illegal emigration by single men was heaviest. It is impossible to determine

whether men traveling alone were actually married. Statistics did not differentiate between married and unmarried. Most married men who emigrated without their families did so not because of marital differences, but because of bureaucratic delays and to accumulate money in North America to bring their families over later. Between 1856 and 1861 about 150 former Hessians had returned with United States passports to pick up their families.²⁸

Viernheim is one of many towns and villages that granted financial aid to its citizens. The amount varied depending on the town's fiscal condition. Most communities, however, did not provide monetary incentive; they were too insolvent to allocate any funds. Viernheim's population was approximately four thousand inhabitants. It was a rural community, yet it maintained a school with six teachers and two apartments, a church, and a morgue (seventy-two persons died in 1849). There was no hospital. A doctor lived outside of town where he worked also on his farm. Viernheim, like most towns and villages in Hesse-Darmstadt, depended on its agriculture for survival. There were no industries, except for two brickyards which employed two workers each. Seventy-seven craftsmen (*Handwerker*) and thirty-three merchants including a pharmacist were registered in the town hall. Numerous inns, many with their own distilleries, also engaged local laborers. Still a large percentage of men were day laborers working for farmers. The workers' economic conditions were tenuous at best. Thievery and begging increased at such an alarming rate that the community hired eight policemen in 1851. Each year the community purchased bread and potatoes to be disbursed to the poor. The community even purchased shoes for its needy inhabitants. Although some workers might have small gardens to supplement their incomes, most of them were living below or barely at the level of subsistence in the late 1840s and early 1850s.

When the 457 emigrants left Viernheim on 8 June 1852, they followed emigration procedures that involved the town council, the county government in Heppenheim, and the Department of Justice in Darmstadt, as well as shipping agents in Mainz and various local businesses. More than one hundred citizens of Viernheim petitioned the town council in 1851 for permission to emigrate and for financial assistance. Gradually the list grew to 457 citizens. The petitioners approached Mayor Minnig, who sent letters to Heppenheim stating the citizens' wish to emigrate and to receive financial support. The communiqué also included biographical information including the names and ages of all members of their families and a character evaluation of the petitioners. Since the request for emigration was amended over the two-year period and because of the unusual nature of this petition, the communication between Viernheim, Heppenheim, and Darmstadt was extensive. For the ducal government the payment of debts, fulfilling military obligations, and family responsibilities became primary concerns. After receiving a preliminary approval from Darmstadt in April 1852, the petitioners

advertised their intention to emigrate in the *Darmstädter Zeitung* and requested creditors to submit claims within four weeks.²⁹

The ducal government agreed to the request after receiving assurances that the town could pay the financial obligations, that all debts had been paid, and that the military had not objected to any young man's departure without having served in the army. Passports were issued when the county government or, in this case, the ducal government was convinced that every requirement was fulfilled by the petitioners.³⁰

The council approved this mass petition primarily because the community's welfare costs were rising at a staggering rate. There were too many poor and starving citizens. Officially the town council wanted to get rid of "derelicts and lazy workers." The mayor, in order to receive a positive response from Heppenheim and Darmstadt, needed to paint a picture of hopelessness and desperation. A few of these petitioners had been convicted of vagrancy, of the theft of two turnips or of a wheelbarrow of grass. Most of the violations reflect a destitute citizenry stealing food to survive the misery and hunger plaguing the entire province. Three petitioners were serving prison sentences at the time of the application. No personal records exist stating the reasons for emigration, but the public documents speak for themselves.

Not all of the applicants were poor. Twenty-five emigrants owned houses and land. However, they had to sell their properties in order to pay their debts before departing. Several of these homeowners were able to take money to North America, and they bought land within a short period after their arrival. In order to receive exit visas and financial aid, the petitioners had to renounce their rights and privileges in communal properties such as grazing land and forests. In return, the town paid the debts and the passage of those who were unable to do so themselves. It clothed them, provided them with cooking utensils, and gave each emigrant a cash payment upon arrival in New York.

Once the permission was granted, the town also assumed responsibility for negotiating with a shipping agency the passenger contract, which specified the route to be taken, the available food, the sleeping area for each passenger on the transatlantic ship and the cost. On 12 June, four days after leaving Viernheim, the emigrants boarded two ships in Antwerp. Upon arrival in New York in August, they received their allowance and sent letters of thanks to the agent and to the mayor. They praised the crew's friendly service and the good food on board. (Unfortunately, no official records exist indicating the destination of these emigrants from Viernheim. However, according to letters written by the emigrants and reports by some of their relatives, at least seventeen families settled in New York or New Jersey. The town allocated 34,150 guildens for this emigration. The Strecker Agency in Mainz received most of the money. A few interesting expenses were recorded: unidentified expenses for council members, making boxes for the emigrants' belongings, moving them to Mannheim, and transporting three prisoners to Viernheim.

A comical aspect of this financial statement is an entry for payment for clothing a prisoner had borrowed from a fellow male inmate and never returned.

The group consisted of seventy-nine families, six widows, three widowers, five single men and three single women. The average family size consisted of four to five persons. Sixteen occupations were represented of which farm laborer was the largest category. Among the craftsmen there were masons, shoemakers, weavers, and one carpenter, a barber, a blacksmith, a butcher, a barrelmaker, and one merchant. The number of single men is surprising considering it was difficult for young men to emigrate legally. The age range of the five single men was from 20 to 31; four were farm laborers and one did not list an occupation. The ages of the three single women were 15, 26, and 29. There were thirty-one young men of draft age from 16 to 26. Of course, some might have already served in the military, but not those under eighteen. This age group was usually denied emigration. This high number contrasts with the practices of other Hessian towns and villages. An exemption must have been granted, but the reason is not listed in the official records.

Emigration had become a matter concerning all. No longer was it restricted to individuals. Mass emigration of groups of citizens or even entire villages was not uncommon in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Three villages, Pferdsbach, Grosszimmern, and Wernings, petitioned the ducal government to sell communal and private properties with the intent that the citizens emigrate en masse to North America. All three received approval. Mass emigration and public financial support continued into the 1850s. Local government were cognizant of the long-range savings of letting the poor leave. Only one more town, Seehof, received ducal permission to emigrate en masse during the 1850s. In neighboring Nassau, three villages received permission to emigrate as groups in the early 1850s. Their reasons reflected those of their neighbors in Hesse-Darmstadt.³¹ Many towns granted financial assistance ("auf Kosten der Gemeinde") to emigrants after 1852. The process of receiving permission to emigrate as a group was cumbersome and slow. For example, over thirty residents of Haingrundau, Kreis Büdingen, petitioned their council for financial support and permission to emigrate in 1852. The final papers were signed in 1854 after the list of emigrants had swollen to thirty-five families and single men and women totaling 114 persons. At the end the mayor included himself and his family in the list.³²

The movement drew from all counties and the approximately 1,200 villages and towns of Hesse-Darmstadt, most heavily in the eastern regions. Between 1846 and 1861, twenty-five villages in the Vogelsberg region lost more than 20 percent of their populations. The Vogelsberg and eastern Odenwald lost more residents than any other area in Hesse-Darmstadt. The transport of hundreds of emigrants from different parts of Hesse to the Rhine River ports could not go unnoticed by those through whose villages the emigrants traveled. Something must be wrong to force them to leave their homeland.

Illegal emigration became a major concern by 1851. The county government of Worms warned the secretary of justice of an increase in secret emigration based on that year's census figures. More than one thousand men, women and children were listed in the report. At the same time it was admitted that not all illegal emigrants had been included in that report. Secret emigration must have increased sharply in 1852, creating worries among officials. In November 1852, the Department of Justice instructed each county government, regiment, and the port of Mainz to submit lists of illegal emigrants who had left Hesse-Darmstadt since May.³³ At the same time German states were working closely together to prevent illegal emigration, and treaties were signed to allow governments to return such men and women to their homelands.

Most of the illegal emigrants did not leave secretly in order to avoid military or financial obligations, rather they were avoiding delays in receiving the exit visas. The decision to emigrate involved also the liquidation of assets, assuming there were any. When the application process became too lengthy, the petitioners had to live from their savings and often did not receive any welfare. The best way to circumvent this capital-consuming delay was simply to leave, a decision especially easy for those with little or no money.

Although some food was imported, there was no way to make up for the extreme crop deficiencies. Statistics, newspaper articles, appeals from charities, town council minutes, pamphlets, and the emigrants' own accounts reveal not only severe shortages of food but express these deficiencies in terms of greater human suffering and misery. Hunger reached every village in Hesse-Darmstadt in the early 1850s. The misery was clearly documented. Government reaction was limited, but private charities appealed in the winter of 1851-52 for financial support for these freezing and starving men and women in the Odenwald and Vogelsberg regions. Newspaper articles spoke of failed harvests, terrible misery, and cries for help. In June 1852 the Offenbach committee announced the distribution of 945 florins to the starving in the Odenwald and 728 florins to the destitute in the Vogelsberg region. Similar actions were taking place in other parts of the grand duchy.³⁴

Unemployment and hunger were not the only reasons for leaving Hesse-Darmstadt. Legal offenses, whether criminal or political, also caused men and women to flee Hesse. On several occasions, even the government freed prisoners with the stipulation that they emigrate. Viernheim serves as an example. Direct political discontent was not the prime reason for emigrating. Instead Hessians spoke of the unjust and hopeless political climate in Hesse. Dissatisfaction with arbitrary dealings by police and civil servants was a greater factor for emigration than the absence of civil liberties and a democratic government. Those who emigrated for political reasons usually had participated in the revolution. They saw North America as a land without revolution and war, providing stability and liberty. For the Hessian government their departure meant the removal of possible future unrest.

The social structure kept the citizens within their classes, allowing barely any upward movement. The economic restrictions prevented material improvement for the poor and undereducated. There was very little hope, if any, for most Hessians to improve their conditions. Letters from friends and relatives in North America encouraged the hungry and destitute to seek their fortunes—or at least improve their present conditions—in the New World. There, conscription and taxes did not exist, and freedom of movement and commerce provided new opportunities. Not all the emigrants experienced material improvement. Many worked hard and never enjoyed affluence. Even some of their children did not achieve material success. However, no stiffly structured social environment or rigid economic system existed in North America. This absence of limitation gave those men and women the opportunities to improve their lives and realize the freedom they thought did exist for them and their children.

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Notes

¹ Hans Knapp, ed., *Viernheimer Auswandererbuch* (Viernheim, 1975), 115ff. Encouraged by Knapp to expand the research of Viernheim emigrants, I examined the existing records in the Stadtarchiv. All discussions about Viernheim are based on the documents in the Stadtarchiv Viernheim, Abteilung XI, 4, Fasz. 1-9. Hereafter VSA.

² *Statistical Review of Immigration: 1820-1910* (Washington, DC, 1911), 24. There are different numbers for this year, but all statistics for 1852 fluctuate between 140,000 and 150,000 German immigrants, making it the second-highest year for German immigration to the United States.

³ Mack Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-1885* (Cambridge, MA, 1964), 157.

⁴ Wilhelm Monckmeier, *Die deutsche überseeische Auswanderung* (Jena, 1912), 74-75; and Peter Marschalk, *Deutsche Überseewanderung im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1973), 38.

⁵ Marschalk, 83.

⁶ Ingomar Bog, "Die Industrialisierung Hessens," in *Hessisches Auswandererbuch*, ed. Hans Herder (Frankfurt, 1984), 190ff. A similar argument is made by Robert Müller, *Die industrielle Entwicklung Offenbachs* (Offenbach, 1932), 59ff. Several writers try to establish industrial development in Hesse-Darmstadt. However, when comparing economic indicators such as railroads with those of other German states, it is clear that Hesse-Darmstadt did not progress in the same manner as Saxony and Prussia.

⁷ Bog, 192; see also Walker, 112.

⁸ Inge Auerbach, "Auswanderung aus Kurhessen 1832-1866," in *Der grosse Aufbruch*, ed. Peter Assion (Marburg, 1985), 30-33.

⁹ Walker, 47ff.

¹⁰ Wolf-Heina Struck, *Die Auswanderung aus dem Herzogtum Nassau 1886-1866* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 72-75.

¹¹ There are many memoranda by the ducal government instructing the counties and towns to observe carefully the Hessian laws protecting emigrants from unscrupulous shipping agents. For example, no. 28, 26 October 1852, reference: "... insbesondere den Transport und die Proviantierung der über englische Seehafen reisenden Auswanderer." Hessisches Staatsarchiv für Hessen-Darmstadt, G 15 Büdingen J 5. Hereafter HSA.

¹² "Postschiff-Überfahrts-Vertrag," HSA G 15 Heppenheim J 12.

¹³ Monckmeier, 235-41; Walker, 168-69; Auerbach, 21; Struck, 72-75.

¹⁴ Walter D. Kamphoefner, *Westfalen in der Neuen Welt* (Münster, 1982), 19.

¹⁵ Kamphoefner, 90.

¹⁶ Peter Winkel, "Skepticism Turns to Enthusiasm: Seventeen Letters Written by a German Immigrant in New Jersey to his Father in Hesse-Darmstadt between 1852-1859," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 24 (1990), 47-48. Similar enthusiasm even during economic uncertainties can be found in some letters published by Wolfgang Helbich, *"Amerika ist ein freies Land..."* (Darmstadt, 1985).

¹⁷ *Beiträge zur Statistik des Großherzogthums Hessen* (Darmstadt, 1862), 112ff.

¹⁸ *Statistisches Handbuch für das Großherzogtum Hessen* (Darmstadt, 1909), 6.

¹⁹ *Mittheilungen der Großherzoglich Hessischen Centralstelle für die Landesstatistik* (Darmstadt, 1871), 314ff.

²⁰ The Hessian government published two different emigration numbers for this period: in 1864, the official figure was 108,277 persons; in 1909, the number was 102,393. Either number is too low, since they do not include illegal emigrants and emigrants who were not reported to the county governments. Evaluating the existing records ("heimliche Auswanderung" reports, desertion lists, unreported individuals and others), this writer believes an increase of 33 percent seems appropriate.

²¹ The Hessian census was taken every three years on 3 December. The time periods were 1846 to 1849, etc.

²² *Statistisches Handbuch*, 5-6.

²³ Ella Gieg, *Auswanderung aus dem Odenwaldkreis* (Lützelbach, 1988), 14.

²⁴ *Beiträge* (1864), 26. For the year 1853 HSA, Abt. G 1 136/2.

²⁵ *Statistisches Handbuch*, 16.

²⁶ HSA, Verz. 11, Konv. 54, I, 372-73.

²⁷ *Statistisches Handbuch*, 17.

²⁸ Stadtarchiv Mainz, "Auswanderungsmappe." Hereafter MSA. The "Mappe" contains numerous lists of more than 60,000 German emigrants in the 1850s. Bavarians, for example, began their journey to North America from here. Unfortunately, these lists are not complete.

²⁹ *Darmstädter Zeitung*, 3 April 1852 (no. 94), 532. Before 1848 the waiting period had been four months. This had caused severe hardship for those who had sold their belongings and saw their profits disappear while waiting. Many of them joined the welfare rolls.

³⁰ VSA, Abt. XI, 4, Fasz. 1-9.

³¹ There are numerous references to these four towns. Otto Hübner, ed., *Jahrbuch für Volkswirtschaft und Statistik* (Leipzig, 1855), 303ff; Struck, 86; Walker, 76-77; Hans Richter, "Hessen und die Auswanderung 1815-1855," in *Mittheilungen des Oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins* 32 (1934), 117ff. U.S. authorities were also concerned about these mass immigration waves. They were partially responsible for stricter immigration laws passed by Congress and the emergence of societies dedicated to the protection of immigrants.

³² HSA, Abt. G 28. F 16a-173: Hain-Gründau, 1716-1903. There are different spellings for this town in Kreis Büdingen.

³³ The numerous lists from the port of Mainz, the regiments and county governments can be found in HSA, Verz. 11, Konv. 54, 55 and 56. The Mainz lists are also in MSA.

³⁴ The *Offenbacher Intelligenz-Blatt* during this period contains many articles describing the misery, appealing for help, and listing donations and distributions.

Edith Robbins

German Immigration to Nebraska: The Role of State Immigration Agencies and Agents

In January 1861 influential Germans of Nebraska City and vicinity gathered at the local courtroom for a meeting of some importance. The chairman of this meeting—Friedrich Renner, a medical doctor from Baden in Germany—tried to impress on the audience the necessity for a publishing company which could issue a newspaper in the German language in Nebraska. The foremost duty of this paper would be to make Nebraska known to Germans as a territory for immigration. In the resolution for this "Deutsche Zeitungsgesellschaft," which was adopted that night, it was emphasized that the paper should be neutral in political and religious matters but it should be published and distributed in order "to enlighten those wishing to come amongst us, as to the fertile soil, the rich products, the ready market, the healthy climate of Nebraska."¹

On 4 April 1861 the first number of the *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung* was issued, Dr. Friedrich Renner being the editor. One hundred and fifty copies were sent regularly to the German-speaking areas in Europe, "the postage being two cents a copy."² With undiminished enthusiasm Renner collected information and printed articles in his paper promoting Nebraska and the German settlements in Nebraska.³ As the National Homestead Law went into effect in January 1863, the *Deutsche Zeitung* received another impulse to encourage Germans to come to Nebraska. This law provided Renner with a strong promotional weapon: free land, 160 acres as a gift from the government, a farm within the reach of the poorest man. As Renner later wrote in his reminiscences:

It goes without saying that the *Zeitung* did its level best to spread as quickly as possible the glorious news to the farmer boys of the eastern states as well as in Europe, that millions of fertile acres of the public domain in Nebraska were lying open for selection.⁴

The federal law of 1864—"An Act to Encourage Immigration"—signaled the beginning of governmentally assisted immigration promotion, not only for the nation as a whole but also for the different states and territories as well. Under this law—in addition to providing funds for a National Bureau of Immigration—the United States government was willing to promote a program by which it would loan money for one year for the Atlantic passage of the immigrant workers. This program was inaugurated in order to alleviate the chronic labor shortage aggravated by the Civil War and to attract farm laborers to build up the agricultural component of the western frontier. Little coordination between the National Bureau of Immigration and the various states and the lack of money moved Congress to repeal this federal law after only four years of existence.⁵

Again it was through the initiative of Renner and the German businessmen of Nebraska City that the promotion of Nebraska was continued. On 22 July 1865—four years after the founding of Renner's German newspaper—the *Nebraska City News* carried an invitation for a "German Mass Meeting" appealing to all "German fellow citizens, as well as others, that may take an interest in the matter, . . . for the purpose of organizing an Immigration Association." This invitation was signed by Renner and others. The *Nebraska City News* endorsed the movement with the following commentary:

It is time that the citizens of Nebraska, without regard to nationality, were doing something to encourage immigration to our borders. Since the restoration of peace, and the return of the people to the arts of industry, the exodus of wanderers from Europe has received a vast impetus; and the accession to the tide of emigration is already observable in the arrivals at New York, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. The States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri, have State paid agents constantly on the look out for new comers, and every westbound railway train is laden with families destined to an already determined home. Nebraska has none. Her fertile prairies, offered by the government free to the actual settler, are obliged to be idle because there is no one to direct the home-hunter hitherward.⁶

It should be mentioned that the Germans of Nebraska City must have thought this undertaking to be of great importance since they were willing to invest both their efforts and their money. Unlike the other ethnic groups, the Germans had approximately twice as many people working in the two occupation fields of commerce and industry than would be predicted by their paltry 8.6 percent of the total Nebraska City population.⁷ This fact makes it plausible that the Germans might profit more than other ethnic groups from a continuing flow of immigrants to Nebraska.

The resolutions and bylaws adopted at this "German Mass Meeting" called

loudly upon every citizen of Nebraska, to assist with his influence and means, in organizing such an Immigration Society to encourage emigrants to locate in our territory, as well extend its influence not only to all parts of our own land, but also to England, Ireland, and Continental Europe.⁸

Members of the immigration association collected funds to provide for an agent who could be sent to Europe. John Siemers, a lawyer who had come from Hamburg to Nebraska a decade earlier, was chosen to represent Nebraska in Germany, and on 30 August 1865 he received the commission from the territorial governor to act as Nebraska's agent. Before his departure he wrote an interesting article which appeared in the *Nebraska City News*: "The Means and Ways to Obtain Emigration."⁹ After describing the benefits that increased immigration would bring to Nebraska, he continued with suggestion how to attract those who were willing to leave their homes. He did not recommend the governmental one-year-loan program for the expenses of a passage across the Atlantic, since in his mind this loan would burden the immigrant too much and would eventually lead to misery and poverty. Free passage for the needy would be the only solution to prevent this privation, but such a program would be too costly. A suggestion—far less expensive—was to distribute information about Nebraska directly to the prospective German emigrants. Emigration associations "formed . . . by well educated men" already existed in Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, Frankfurt and other cities. At these offices the emigrant could find reading rooms with maps, handbooks and guides. These associations also published newsletters with advice and instructions on how to arrange a voyage across the Atlantic and how to survive in the New World. Siemers thought that information placed at these offices in Germany would draw the attention of emigrants to Nebraska. He concluded his articles with the words:

The expenses of such a mission will soon be refunded. Our merchants will see European faces and European hard coin at their counters; our farmers will have more hands in harvest time and not so much waste, and the cry of the fair sex for help in the house will cease.¹⁰

The Nebraska territorial government did not have the money to support a promotional program. In January 1866, territorial Governor Alvin Saunders in his opening message to the legislature drew attention to the following:

While all the Western States, and nearly all the organized Territories have adopted active and efficient measures to impart information in regard to their respective advantages as homes for people, not only for our country, but for the old world, the people of Nebraska should not, in my opinion, be idle. Nebraska, as a profitable grain and stock-raising country, has probably no superior in the western country, and yet but little of these advantages is known even among the people of the older States of our own country, much less to the people of Europe, thousands of whom, now that the war is over, are desirous of emigrating to America.¹¹

He then recommended the forming of a society, this time with money provided by the government, "having for its object the promotion of immigration, . . . under the charter derived from your honourable body." It was suggested that this society would appoint an agent to be sent to New York, furnished with information and "maps, to show where first class free homesteads could be taken," in order to draw immigrants to Nebraska. The legislature appropriated funds of \$2,000, a sum proved that too small for the task which lay ahead. The first report of this immigration bureau¹² a year later said that a pamphlet entitled "Nebraska," printed in the English and German language had been published. Ten thousand copies had been issued, "many of these have been distributed through the States, in Canada, and in Europe." The greater part of the funds had been spent to cover the cost of the publication, and there was not enough for expenses and salary for an agent who could travel to the eastern states, much less to Europe in order to aid immigration to Nebraska. Although the immigration board had secured the services of a man from New York—being fluent in English and German—who could act as an agent for the Nebraska Territory, this measure was not sufficient. An appeal had been made to each county in Nebraska to solicit donations for the project but there had been no response. The report concluded that in order to gain its share of immigrants larger amounts of money would be needed to build up a more efficient system of promotion and to maintain agents at home and abroad. Acting Governor Algernon Paddock in his opening address January 1867¹³ urged the legislators to continue appropriating funds for this project but on a much larger scale so that provisions could be made to appoint at least four agents who could travel to the eastern states and Europe. The governor concluded: "All that is necessary is to make known to those seeking homes in the West the rare inducements presented by Nebraska." The governor's enthusiastic recommendation was ignored: the legislature did not increase funds for the immigration board. In fact, it cut the program completely.

In the summer of 1867 Governor David Butler of the new State of Nebraska expressed his strong support for the organization of an immigration program. He declared:

That judicious but liberal appropriation, guided through proper channels, would bring to our people a ten-fold return in population and capital, must be apparent to any one giving the matter the least attention. Our neighboring states have not neglected their interest in this respect, and have sent their agents in every direction to divert a share of the westward tending stream of emigration from overpopulated countries to their own soil.¹⁴

He instigated a campaign, lasting almost three years, to change the legislators' convictions in order to obtain another program. Finally, in 1871 Nebraska passed an act providing \$15,000 for two years covering the expenses of a state immigration agency. The duties pertaining to this state board were:

1st. to encourage and promote immigration, advertising the resources and advantages of our State to the world at large, thereby inviting the hardy yeomanry, mechanic and capitalist of all nations to enhance the production of our soil, develop our commerce and increase our manufactories. 2nd. to advise and aid immigrants.¹⁵

Omaha was chosen as the office site, since for the greater number of immigrants this was the point of entry into Nebraska. It always had been Nebraska's agricultural potential which had enticed the immigrant to settle and the board's promotional campaigns were entirely based on this fact. "Landless men want lands! Manless lands want men!" read the heading of one of the board's pamphlets. "To unite Men and Lands in a sacred loyalty to each other's service, and the service of the State, is the worthy Mission of our great and successful Immigration movement."¹⁶ Part of their operation was to set up an exhibition of Nebraska's agricultural products at their office in Omaha. For that reason farmers in every county were asked to send in specimens of their commodities. All these articles were forwarded without charge by the different railroads.

Provisions had been made to hire four Nebraska citizens who would act as immigrant agents in the East and in Europe; one was sent to Castle Garden, one went to Scandinavia, and one was responsible for Germany's newly acquired Elsass-Lothringen from which the Nebraska state board expected now, at the end of the war, a number of immigrants. Friedrich Hedde, a forty-eighter from Schleswig-Holstein, was chosen to be Nebraska's agent in Germany. Hedde—involved in a town building scheme—had arrived in Nebraska fourteen years earlier. In Kiel he had been a lawyer and had worked as editor and correspondent for several newspapers. Due to his liberal views he had to leave Germany. As a result of his political activity during the territorial period Hedde became well known in Nebraska. His interest in the growth and economic development of the town of Grand Island and the state led him to become energetically involved in the promotion of Nebraska.¹⁷ *The*

Omaha Republican thought Hedde as Nebraska's representative a superior choice. His first-rate education would make it possible "to be introduced into the circles of the well educated and influential classes of Germany."¹⁸ Without his reputation for scholarship and integrity, *The Omaha Republican* went on,

the authorities and the aristocracy of Germany, who in a great many places are opposed to emigration, would successfully work against him. There is hardly a country where the authorities have more influence on the people than in Germany, and that makes the position of the German agent different from that of all others. It probably will also be necessary to effect some alterations of German laws. If the agent understands to gain the confidence of the government, his work is half done. This depends really on the man selected, and only good education will entitle him to it. Brass, so effective in America and England, will do very little good in Germany.¹⁹

Hedde arrived in Germany at an interesting time. Since the close of the Franco-Prussian War emigration from Germany was increasing. Reasons for this increase, according to Hedde, were "heavy taxation, compulsion to serve three years in the standing army, and fear of new great wars soon to break out."²⁰ Hedde expected there a constant flow of emigration over the next years, "especially from the lately annexed provinces of Schleswig-Holstein and Elsass-Lothringen where more or less a strong feeling of dissatisfaction prevails."²¹ The upper classes, especially the landholding nobility, were disturbed, as increased emigration robbed them of their labor and forced them to pay higher wages. Consequently the government was asked to prevent this drain of workers. However, Hedde reported:

Notwithstanding the Imperial government has not done anything but to abolish the system of reduced fare for emigrants on German railroads, and to increase the passage from the German ports to the United States, to closely watch the German steamboat agents in order to punish them whenever they do something contrary to the laws. There is not the least probability that government will do anything that amounts to prohibition of emigration, because this would be against the law, and because Bismarck is smart enough to know that stopping emigration means favoring revolution.²²

The German steamboat companies had a well-organized system of agents all over the country. These agents would gladly distribute without charge pamphlets on Nebraska. Hedde, who had very limited funds for his operation in Hamburg, recognized this opportunity immediately. As Hedde reported to the state immigration board:

These men are the only ones who have regular intercourse with those classes who are apt to emigrate, and it is in the interests of these men to induce as many people to emigrate as they possibly can. On this interest of the said agents alone, I had to rely in order to make them distribute our pamphlets. A monetary inducement I could not offer them having not money enough to pay my own expenses.²³

Hedde urged the state immigration board to have a newspaper printed in Germany as other states had done, which would favor immigration to Nebraska and could be distributed gratis. Most newspapers in Germany had refused to print his articles. Only a few—particularly in Schleswig-Holstein where he still had connections—had been liberal enough to publish such articles. But these newspapers were generally read by the educated classes and did not reach the workers and farmers. Unlike his colleague C. D. Nelson, Nebraska's agent in Scandinavia, who claimed to have convinced personally 10,000 Scandinavian farmers to emigrate to Nebraska,²⁴ Hedde's report to the immigration board noted that

the whole effect of such correspondence [with the German newspapers] of course cannot be proven, not more than the effect of a speech or a publication in a political campaign, or the effect of an advertisement on the trade of a merchant, though nobody doubts their efficiency. Thousands may have been, or in the course of some years may be moved by them to come to Nebraska, without a particle of evidence to show what induced them to come.²⁵

An analysis of Hedde's address book for Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein²⁶ gives us information about the people he contacted there. In Altona and Hamburg he got in touch with all the agencies and companies who were involved in the emigration business and also with bank directors, lawyers, public reading rooms and the different newspapers. In the countryside he approached the teacher and organist of a village, the mill owner, the pastor of the church, and the innkeeper.

On his return to the United States in 1872 Hedde appeared several times before the immigration board and gave detailed information concerning his work as an agent. In one of his publications titled "What Nebraska Ought to Do"²⁷ he suggested ways to improve the methods used to attract immigrants. One of the most serious defects in the promotional material was the inability to explain the homestead law to the German reader.

Though they give a great many particulars about the homestead law, none of them explains the main idea of the law, that it makes a free gift of 80 or 160 acres of land to the homesteader, with such

distinctness that those who have always lived in a country where lands are very high and never donated, can understand it. I have experienced the greatest difficulty in making people conceive this idea, and make them believe that my statements were true. Our own pamphlets were in this respect a great impediment to me.²⁸

Hedde later published a booklet in the German language titled "Nebraska."²⁹ The content of this book was especially directed toward the questions German emigrants would pose. Unfortunately this book was never distributed and used as promotional material for Nebraska.

In 1871 the Nebraska State Board of Immigration suggested the organization of county boards. The commissioner for immigration reported:

A matter of no small importance and assistance to successfully induce immigration, is the formation of local and county boards, who work harmoniously with the State Board, and give the immigrant aid and protection when the State Board, for obvious reasons, would fail. It gives us pleasure to note that several counties in our State have materially assisted our labors by well organized County boards.³⁰

Hall County, Nebraska, was the first to form such a local board and one could read in the *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island) on 25 March 1871: "Hall County, the first in the State to organize a board of Immigration—nothing like being always ahead." The Hall County board consisted of bankers, merchants, and the editor of the local newspaper, about an equal number of Germans and Americans. To assist foreign immigrants and to meet their needs secretaries who spoke German and Danish were appointed. "All letters of inquiry concerning this county, addressed to the Hall County Board of Immigration, Grand Island, Nebraska, will be promptly answered, whether written in the German, English or Danish language"³¹ a note in the newspaper read. Another one read: "Sleeping accommodations for 100 persons are now at the disposal of the Hall County Board of Immigration. All parties coming to Grand Island, for the purpose of locating in Hall or Howard Counties, are invited to address the Board who will tender them all the aid possible."³² The board provided information for land-hungry immigrants. In 1871 a map by the Hall County Board of Immigration was published in every weekly issue of the local paper for half a year, showing the government and railroad land still available to the new settlers. To collect and to communicate reliable information to the state board, information of the quality, quantity and price of land and town lots, of farms to be rented, work to be obtained and advice that might be important to the immigrant were the main services of the local organization.

In a letter to the Hall County board the State Superintendent of Immigration pointed out:

Neither Otoe County [Nebraska City] nor Douglas County [Omaha] [both situated in the eastern part of Nebraska] expect a very large percentage of the emigrants to locate within their border; for the reason that lands are too high for the masses of those coming West. Most persons coming to Nebraska are of limited means, and must of necessity hunt cheap lands, which can be found most anywhere from fifty to one hundred miles west of the Missouri River . . . if the counties lying west of us will only do something in the way Hall County has done, each one of them may expect a large increase of population the coming season. The State Board will do all in their power to bring emigrants to Nebraska, and the county authorities must look to their own interest and see that their county gets its share.³³

By 1873 Nebraska had over fifty county organizations, all looking for their fair share of immigrants.

As often happened with projects of this kind, the enthusiasm for state self-promotion was great in the beginning. State and local boards in reports did not hesitate to hail the success of their work.

The attention of emigrants has been attracted to Nebraska and she has received during this short season of nine months a larger share of the continual increasing tide of immigration than ever before. In consequence thereof our prairies are rapidly settling up, waving fields of grain can be seen, where but a short time ago the antelope and buffalo roamed; the value of our lands, as well as the productions are rapidly increasing and repay our State a hundredfold the small outlay made to bring about these results.³⁴

Although the increase of the number of immigrants to Nebraska during these years was quite substantial—the board taking eagerly all the credit for this increase—such claim by the board cannot be proven.

Lack of funds troubled the operation from the beginning. The two-year appropriation of \$15,000 had been spent in less than six months. State agents who worked in foreign countries received only a part of their salaries. Newspapers in the state started to question the policies of the state board. "An expensive failure," wrote the *Fall City Journal* in 1873. "The whole thing is a contemptible humbug, a swindle on the State, and a burlesque on the aptitude of business. It makes a few more petty offices for somebody to hold—that is all. The County Immigration Agency scheme also has proved

quite as abortive."³⁵ The *Platte Valley Independent* in Grand Island, which had been so optimistic and eager in the support of this venture wrote now:

In Hall County we have yet to meet the first individual who will acknowledge that he was brought here through any efforts made by the board, while we find that fully half of the new settlers readily admit that they were induced to come to this county through the instrumentality of the *Independent*, and the balance claim to have been drawn here through the influence of the Union Pacific Land Department, and friends already residing here. We believe this to be the case in most other counties. The first and greatest cause of attracting immigration is the local paper which is sent throughout the East by publishers and friends, along the line of the Union Pacific. Said company alone does more to advance the cause of immigration in one month, than has been done by the Board of Immigration in a whole year. The same may be said of the B.&M. and other roads.³⁶

Throughout the existence of the State Board of Immigration the railroads of Nebraska had provided assistance. Many thousands of dollars were saved to the immigrant by reduced transportation rates for the newcomers, their household goods and implements. The State Commissioner of Immigration reported, . . . "especially are we indebted to the officers of the popular Burlington and Missouri River Railroad for their prompt response to the call of the Board for an Emigrant House."³⁷ The Burlington Railroad had furnished a building in Lincoln, Nebraska, to accommodate the arriving settlers. Cooperation had benefited both the railroads and the state. As time went on the railroads expended the promotion activities. In 1877 the Nebraska legislature no longer saw the need for a state-funded immigration program and ceased to appropriate any money for such activities.

The Nebraska "Deutsche Zeitungsgesellschaft," the territorial and state immigration associations and the county societies existed only for a brief period. But these organizations and their agents—such as Renner, Siemers and Hedde—developed methods of immigration promotion which could be used in the later 1870s and 1880s by the immigration and colonization agencies of Nebraska railroads.

Grand Island, Nebraska

Notes

- ¹ *Nebraska City News*, 26 January 1861.
- ² Friedrich Renner, *Reminiscences of Territorial Days*, Proceedings and Collections of the Nebraska State Historical Society, 2d. series, vol.5 (1902), 60.
- ³ Not one issue of the *Nebraska Deutsche Zeitung* of that period has been found so far. A few articles here and there had been reprinted by the *Westliche Post* of St. Louis during that time. It is only natural that the *Westliche Post*—in order to fit its own needs—was biased in the choice of articles and therefore it is difficult to receive a true picture of the style and characteristics of Renner's newspaper.
- ⁴ Renner, *Reminiscences*, 60.
- ⁵ *Reports of the Immigration Commission*, Washington, 1911, cited in I. Schöberl, "Auswanderungspolitik in Deutschland und Einwanderungspolitik in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch* 32 (1982): 324.
- ⁶ *Nebraska City News*, 22 July 1865.
- ⁷ C. G. Robbins, *A Tale of Two Cities* (Wherein a Physicist looks at the 1860 Census of Nebraska City and Omaha, Nebraska), vol.2 (Grand Island, NE: Prairie Pioneer Press, 1987).
- ⁸ *Nebraska City News*, 22 July 1865.
- ⁹ *Nebraska City News*, 29 July 1865.
- ¹⁰ *Nebraska City News*, 19 August 1865.
- ¹¹ *Messages and Proclamation of the Governors of Nebraska 1854-1941* (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska State Historical Society, 1941), 197.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 207.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 239.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 271.
- ¹⁵ *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 27 January 1872.
- ¹⁶ *Nebraska* (State Board of Immigration, 1873), pamphlet in the Archive of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, NE.
- ¹⁷ Edith Robbins, "A Forty-Eighter on the Town-Building Frontier," in *The German Forty-Eighters in the United States*, ed. Charlotte L. Brancaforte (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1989).
- ¹⁸ *Omaha Republican*, quoted in the *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 4 March 1871.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ *Omaha Herald*, 4 December 1872.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Omaha Republican*, 4 February 1873.
- ²⁴ *Dakota City Mail*, 1 September 1871, cited in D. M. Emmons, *Garden in the Grasslands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971), 105.
- ²⁵ *Omaha Republican*, 4 February 1873.
- ²⁶ Friedrich Hedde, *Address Book for Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein*, Archive at Stuhr Museum of the Prairie Pioneer, Grand Island, NE.
- ²⁷ *Omaha Herald*, 4 December 1872.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Friedrich Hedde, *Der amerikanische Westen: Der Staat Nebraska* (Kiel, 1874).
- ³⁰ *Report of the Commissioners of Immigration*, quoted in the *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 27 January 1872.
- ³¹ *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 25 March 1871.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 1 April 1871.
- ³³ *Ibid.*, 8 April 1871.
- ³⁴ *Report of the Commissioners of Immigration*, quoted in *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 27 January 1872.

³⁵ *Nebraska City News*, 25 October 1873.

³⁶ *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE) 1 February 1873.

³⁷ *Report of the Commissioners of Immigration*, quoted in *Platte Valley Independent* (Grand Island, NE), 27 January 1872.

Robert A. Selig

**The Price of Freedom:
Poverty, Emigration and Taxation in the
Prince-Bishopric of Würzburg in the Eighteenth Century**

The eighteenth century was a time of vast population movements as the land-starved peasants and underemployed artisans of western and central Europe swept across the plains of eastern Europe as well as onto the coasts of the Americas. This "spillover" of millions of people, as Bernard Bailyn called it, raised established patterns of migration to a new level of intensity. Push and pull factors of emigration supplemented and re-enforced each other and about one million people left the Holy Roman Empire between roughly 1683 and 1803. They became part of that "extension outward and . . . expansion in scale of domestic mobility," analyzed by Bailyn for the British Isles, but which characterized the heart of Europe as well.¹ This voluntary mass migration pushed the issue of emigration from the empire into a new phase of its development. Emigration now took on an economic and, in the form of fees and taxes connected with emigration, a financial dimension as well.

The Edict of Potsdam in 1685, the decisions of the Hungarian diet of 1722, and the emigration manifesto of Catherine II of 1763, all proclaimed the settlement of vast but thinly populated territories a goal of national policy and sought to promote that goal by massive recruitment.² In 1683, Franz Daniel Pastorius founded Germantown in Pennsylvania, thus providing a viable alternative for people determined to improve their lot. A mass exodus of Palatines in 1709-10 proved the lure of this alternative in the New World. Some eighty years later, one of the accusations levied against George III in the Declaration of Independence in 1776 would be that of having "endeavoured to prevent the population of these States" by refusing to pass laws "to encourage their, i.e., new colonists, migration hither."³ This encouragement of migration, however, was not always welcome in the homelands of the emigrants. As varied as the reasons for emigration were on the part of the peoples of Europe, they were reflected in the complexity of argumentation on the part of their governments over whether to promote, tolerate, or hinder this migration.

In the early decades of the century, some attempted to use the outflow of people as a negative selection of their subjects. At best, they gave it their qualified support. But as the century progressed, more and more princes became opposed to emigration as a matter of economic policy and undertook whatever necessary to end it. One of the means employed to achieve this goal was a restrictive system of emigration taxes, and the purpose of this essay will be to analyze the attempts of the prince-bishops of Würzburg to influence the migration of their subjects by means of taxation.

In September 1683, the Ottoman Empire unsuccessfully laid siege to Vienna. This defeat became the starting point for an accelerated expansion of the Hapsburg monarchy into southeastern Europe. It culminated in 1719 with the Peace of Passarowitz, which opened up a vast area for settlement by the land-starved peasantry of central Europe. In the fall of 1722, an imperial recruiter submitted a request for settlers in Würzburg, asking for permission to let surplus population emigrate to the Banat, which, "as a wall of Christianity" against the Turks, "should be settled by Germans."⁴ This use of peasant-soldiers in the protection of central Europe from the infidel had a long tradition in the military border organization of the Hapsburg empire. It was, however, only part of the reasoning behind the request of 1722. Much less publicized, but equally important, was the domestic situation in Hungary. In 1711, the Compromise of Szatmár ended the Kuruc War, which had devastated the country since 1703. After the defeat of the insurgents around Prince Ference II Rákóczi (1676-1735), the monarchy was free to resume its policy of pacification by immigration. Authorities from Vienna still considered Hungary a conquered territory, even though one of the major reasons for the revolt of 1703 had been the blatantly preferential treatment granted to Germans after 1683. The government in Vienna argued that immigration was absolutely necessary: "Hungarian blood, with its tendency to unrest and revolution, will be tempered by German," and "the kingdom, or at least a large part of it, will gradually be germanized."⁵ With the onset of a concerted recruiting effort in Germany in the 1720s, Hungary quickly became the major destination for the landless peasantry of the prince-bishop of Würzburg too, and in the next eighty years, some twenty thousand subjects of the see of St. Kilian took the route along the Danube into the eastern parts of the Hapsburg empire.⁶

In 1722, the imperial government had asked the princes of Germany not only for settlers but also to forego their right of collecting emigration taxes from them. This aspect of the request was challenged in court. With an eye toward the recruitment of settlers, the *Reichshofrat* in Vienna found in 1723, that it "went against the German liberties to deny the subjects their right to emigrate as it is permitted in the Holy Roman Empire even outside the Treaty of Westphalia." But in order to placate the princes of Germany, this timely decision also confirmed the right of collecting emigration taxes as they had been guaranteed in the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 and reconfirmed in 1648

at the end of the Thirty Years' War.⁷ When Johann Philipp Franz von Schönborn (1673-1724), prince-bishop of Würzburg since 1719, granted the request for settlers in 1724, he had the law of the empire on his side when he insisted on the collection of the customary statewide and local emigration as well as manumission fees, through which the government would take in "as much and even more that the emigrants would have paid in many years in taxes."⁸

In Johann Philipp Franz's argumentation the financial interests of the prince-bishopric played an important role. Equally important in its support of emigration were fears of overpopulation in his prince-bishopric. In 1717 the canons of the cathedral had already voiced their fears when they claimed that because of population growth "there are too few homes" in some of the villages under their administration. The long-range consequence of such conditions could only be poverty and vice, thus young people should be urged "to look for their happiness and sustenance elsewhere."⁹ Not surprisingly then the government in February 1724 argued that as a rule all emigrants were but "slovenly people, burdened with debts and children, which were useless for the country and not more than a burden, and whose emigration not only relieved the country," but also improved the standard of living of those who remained behind.¹⁰ In the same month, Lothar Franz von Schönborn (1655-1729), uncle of the bishop of Würzburg and elector and archbishop of Mainz, described the emigrants "*qui vont s'établir en Hongrie que je le regarde comme une preuve vendable*."¹¹ The goal of these early emigration policies was to cleanse the country of its poor. Johann Philipp Franz hoped that a policy of taxation might discourage propertied subjects from leaving. The emigration of unpropertied subjects was encouraged, as long as a country could be found which would take them in. But neither Prussia nor Hungary wanted to be the dumping grounds for the poor of Germany and turned the destitute away. Emigrants who had been denied settlement at their destination, however, were refused readmission everywhere as a matter of principle.¹² When colonizing states, e.g., Prussia in 1724, required proof of sufficient property to start a new life in the east, Würzburg responded by prohibiting all emigration to those states.¹³ The country "was to be relieved from the onerous burden of unemployed idlers and the almost daily growing number of beggars."¹⁴

If emigration had been condoned along the Main between 1724 and 1730, Schönborn family fortunes demanded the active promotion of emigration in the villages around Würzburg after 1730. In 1728 and 1729, Lothar Franz had received thousands of acres of confiscated Rákóczi land. This made the Schönborns not only one of the most influential families in the empire, but also one of the largest landholders in the thinly settled areas of northeastern Hungary. Without settlers these lands would be worthless. After the death of Lothar Franz in 1729, Friedrich Karl (1674-1746), a brother of Johann Philipp Franz and imperial vice chancellor in Vienna at the time, not only became prince-bishop of Würzburg and Bamberg, but also heir (in entail) of

the Hungarian estates. By May of 1730, some twelve hundred printed advertisements praising the benefits of the Schönborn domains in the Carpathian mountains circulated in the lands of Friedrich Karl, who had himself signed the circulars both in his capacity as imperial vice chancellor as well as of prince-bishop.¹⁵

By mid-century, the recruitment of settlers became more difficult. This was true not only for the Protestant principalities of the empire which were gravitating away from Vienna to Berlin for political reasons, but in the Catholic states of the empire as well.¹⁶ Here economic reasons determined a change in attitude toward emigration. By the 1750s, the ideas of mercantilism in their German variant of populationism had found their way into the cabinets of most central and east European states. Within its framework, the increase of population became an end in itself, demanded by the equation of people with power. Populationists like Johann Heinrich Gottlieb von Justi, Josef von Sonnenfels and Felix Egid von Borie in the *Staatsrat* in Vienna formulated the *Impopulationsprogramm* of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. In it the differentiation between "useful" and "useless" subjects, which determined population policies in western Europe, no longer existed. For Justi, the goal of any government had to be "the removal of all obstacles and causes which keep on suppressing the natural increase of the population."¹⁷ There was no danger of starvation or unemployment resulting from overpopulation. If "the majority of people are nevertheless poor and without property it is easy to see that they only have themselves to blame."¹⁸ Everywhere the subject experienced a revaluation as a potential taxpayer, producer and soldier. New economic models based on the twin concepts of cameralism and populationism demanded the reduction, and ultimately the outright prohibition, of all emigration.

In Würzburg the era of benign neglect, which had been in effect since 1724, came to an end in 1755 with the election of Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim to the see of St. Kilian. Seinsheim, an ardent populationist, denied the existence of a right to emigration. In 1764, he decreed that "it was in no way up to the arbitrary decision of the subject to withdraw from the obedience that he owed his government."¹⁹ He was convinced that "the temporal welfare of the subjects is, among others, especially enhanced when the number of the inhabitants is increased." This caused the income of the state to rise whereby "the reputation and power of the prince-bishopric will increase considerably."²⁰ Just as Austria and Prussia stepped up their recruitment of colonists in 1763, competition became even fiercer when Russia, too, began seeking settlers. Traditional recruiting areas were reluctant to let their subjects emigrate as rulers like Seinsheim feared that their "country would become depopulated."²¹ Almost one dozen decrees prohibiting emigration were issued in the 1760s alone. After the death of the last of the Schönborn bishops in 1746, family interests no longer played a role in emigration policies, and in 1751 the general taxrate for emigration from Würzburg was raised from 2 to 5 percent; in the

1760s a 10 percent rate became customary. From now on, these tax laws were to be strictly enforced. Tax rebates were no longer granted, exemptions abolished wherever possible. A regressive and increasingly restrictive system of taxation became an integral part of a general policy designed to prevent any kind of emigration.²²

In order to assess the impact of this policy, we need to address these questions: What was the legal basis of emigration taxes (I), who had the right to levy them (II), when were they due (III), who had to pay them (IV), how and on what basis were they computed (V), how much of a burden were they (VI), and did they achieve their purpose of preventing emigration (VII)?

I. The legal basis for the levying of emigration taxes was fourfold:

1. Municipal rights, derived from medieval city law.
2. Local emigration taxes levied by the mediatized institutions of the prince-bishopric either for the communities which they controlled and which had acquired this right in the Middle Ages, or for their territory as a whole in competition with the claims of the prince-bishop for migration outside their jurisdiction but not necessarily outside the boundaries of the prince-bishopric.
3. Statewide emigration taxes, legalized in the Peace of Augsburg of 1555. This right was also extended to rulers of ecclesiastical states like the prince-bishops of Würzburg, which began collecting a statewide emigration tax in 1556. This treaty brought the general recognition of a separate Protestant faith, the establishment of the principle of the *cuius regio, eius religio*, and the recognition of the *ius emigrandi* for religious reasons.
4. Servitude. Prior to emigration, serfs, who constituted about 5 percent of the population of the prince-bishopric, had to purchase their freedom.

II. These emigration taxes could be levied by four different administrative levels:

1. The 64 (or 36 towns and 553 villages) communities in 18 of the 56 counties (= Ämter) as the *Abzugsgeld*.
2. The four (the Canons of the Cathedral, the Juliusspital, the Julius-Universität, the monastery of Ebrach) of the 25 mediatized institutions of the state, called either *Nachsteuer* or *Abzugsgeld*. Those four institutions controlled 98 of the 162 communities outside the immediacy of the prince-bishop.
3. The central authorities, e.g., the bishop himself, under the title of *Nachsteuer*.
4. The owners of serfs, e.g., the bishop, institutions and monasteries, or members of the nobility, in the form of a manumission fee, called the *Ledigzehlungsgebühr*.

There also existed a variety of fees resulting from the sale of property:

1. The *Handlohn*, a sales tax which was computed as a percentage of the value of the real estate sold.
2. Fees for the compilation of legal documents connected with the sale of property.
3. *Kanzleigebühren* or administrative fees, due local administrators as well as the central bureaucracy in Würzburg.

III. Local as well as statewide emigration taxes were due from the exported property of free as well as non-free subjects every time they decided to leave their home community for good, if that community had the right to collect the *Abzugsgeld*. It was also collected by a mediatised institution with the right to levy the *Nachsteuer* if they left the jurisdiction of that institution. The state itself collected in the form of the state-wide *Nachsteuer*. If serfs left the jurisdiction of their lord they had to pay the *Abzugsgeld* and *Nachsteuer* for exported property and the manumission fee in the form of the *Ledigzählungsgebühr*. The *Nachsteuer* was also due when money left a locality or a territory, e.g., as a dowry or as part of an inheritance.²³

IV. In principle everyone was subject to these taxes, exemptions were extremely rare. They were collected indiscriminately, with only minor exceptions, even if the move of a person, or the transfer of money, was only from a mediatised institution to the immediacy of the bishop, or from one mediatised institution to another within the state.²⁴

V. Taxes and fees were either computed as a certain percentage of the exported property or as a fixed sum from every emigrant, or both, from personally free subjects as well as serfs. Serfs had to pay manumission fees independent of destination, whether they left the state altogether, e.g., for Hungary, or migrated only to a community within the state where serfs were not allowed to settle, and even if they were to become again the serfs of another lord within the boundaries of the prince-bishopric.²⁵ At the same time, the fees and taxes were also collected concurrently, e.g., serfs had to pay the manumission fee to their lord, the local *Abzugsgeld* to the community, and the *Nachsteuer* either to the prince-bishop or the mediatised institution they lived under, if it had the right to collect that levy, or to both. In the *territorium inclausum* of eighteenth-century Franconia, it was not uncommon that the same property was taxed more than once. A subject of the bishop, who in the case of emigration had sold a piece of land lying in the territory of one of the many imperial knights, or even within the area of one of the many communities of the prince-bishopric itself that had the right to collect a local emigration tax, had to pay the tax for the exportation of property from the jurisdiction of the imperial knight, or to the community, to the prince-bishopric

proper. Then, when they emigrated from the prince-bishopric, the bishop would demand his share from the remaining property as well.²⁶

VI. Most of the 64 communities (in 18 counties) which had the right to levy a local *Abzugsgeld* charged either between 1 percent (Bischofsheim) and 10 percent (Neustadt/Saale) of the value of the exported property as their share. Others collected a lump sum from the emigrant, ranging from 4 fl rhein. (Dettelbach) to 10 fl rhein. (Iphofen) per married couple, independent of the amount of property, or both, like Gemünden, where a 10 percent tax was levied on top of a lump sum of 2 fl per person. Single persons usually paid half of the sum levied on married couples. If there were differences in the computation of taxes based on the sex of the emigrant, males usually paid more than women (Ripperg, Iphofen). These local taxes were sometimes subdivided and shared with other institutions or the bishop himself, as was the case in Bischofsheim and Dettelbach. In some cases they were due only if the emigrants left the state, not if they stayed within the prince-bishopric (Münnerstadt), sometimes the opposite was true (Mellrichstadt), while in other communities like Iphofen the local tax replaced the statewide tax altogether. The destination of the emigrant could also decide the amount of taxation as well as the participation of other institutions in the local tax. In Sesslach the central government in Würzburg received one-third of the 6 percent local tax for a transfer of property within the state, and one-half of the 8 percent for any emigration outside the prince-bishopric.²⁷

The central administration levied the *Nachsteuer*, which in the mid-eighteenth century usually meant a tax of between 5 percent and 10 percent of the value of the exported property. Four mediatised institutions which controlled 98 of the 162 communities under mediatised administration levied their own emigration tax. Treaties with other states setting emigration tax rates, normally concluded on the basis of reciprocity, were not necessarily valid for these mediatised institutions nor did they invalidate local emigration taxes; some communities even shared in the statewide tax levied by the bishop on top of their own local tax (Kissingen). Statewide tax rates varied from no tax in the case of Mainz, where the emigration tax was abolished in 1593, to a tax of 10 percent for most areas outside the boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire, e.g., Russia, Hungary, North America, which also were the primary destinations for emigrants.²⁸

Given this wide range of options and tax rates, it is not surprising that we see large fluctuations in the amount of taxes due, dependent on the locality of origin and destination. The tax burden on a free citizen for exported property could be as low as 5 percent for some communities in the county of Aub, which were exempt from statewide as well as local emigration taxes and only paid their sales tax, but could reach 30 percent or more in Gemünden (on the basis of property valued at 100 fl) or Iphofen, where the local tax was levied as a lump sum. This includes the sales tax or *Handlohn* of between 5 percent

and 10 percent of the value of the sold property, depending on the locality, but not the fees to the local administrator for setting up the sales documents. These usually amounted to another 8 batzen for property valued at under 100 fl; 12 batzen for property valued at 100 fl and above.²⁹

Some examples may clarify the computation of emigration taxes in the prince-bishopric of Würzburg. A family of four from the town of Bischofsheim, with real estate and other property valued at 100 fl, wanted to emigrate to Hungary. In an area of partible inheritance like Würzburg, real estate often consisted of ten or more pieces, which would mean a corresponding increase in the legal fees in our model. If we assume, however, that the real estate was in one piece and thus required only one sales contract, the tax bill would have looked like this:

Real estate value:	100 fl		
	- 10 fl		= 10% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	90 fl		
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	89 fl	28 kreuzer	
	- 55 kreuzer		= 1% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	88 fl	33 kreuzer	
	- 8 fl	51 kreuzer	= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	79 fl	42 kreuzer	----> a tax burden of 21%

For burghers of the city of Gemünden, the expenses would have been:

Real estate value:	100 fl		
	- 5 fl		= 5% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	95 fl		
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	94 fl	28 kreuzer	
	- 9 fl	27 kreuzer	= 10% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	- 4 fl		= twice the lump sum of 2 fl/person (children under 8 were exempt)
	81 fl	1 kreuzer	
	- 8 fl	6 kreuzer	= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	72 fl	55 kreuzer	----> a tax burden of 27%

If the family had lived in Iphofen, where local emigration taxes were levied as a lump sum, and if they had had property valued only at 30 fl, the percentage of taxes would have been considerably higher.

Real estate value:	30 fl		
	- 1 fl		= 5% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	28 fl	30 kreuzer	
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	26 fl	58 kreuzer	
	- 10 fl		= lump sum for emigration of a married couple (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	16 fl	58 kreuzer	
	- 1 fl	41 kreuzer	= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	15 fl	17 kreuzer	----> 50% tax burden

This already high tax rate went up considerably if the potential emigrant was personally unfree. In 1745, the *Gebrechenamt* in Würzburg, the administrative branch responsible for aspects of servitude, defined in thirty points the procedure for manumissions, which were valid also for those mediatised institutions which owned serfs.³⁰ Its main features were:

1. Servitude was passed on only through the mother; children of an unfree father and a free mother were free.
2. Servitude could also be acquired *per habitationem* of more than one year in communities composed exclusively of serfs.
3. Manumission was an act of mercy by the owner of the serf; the serf had no right to it, and it could be denied, particularly "wegen besonderer Kunsterfahrenheit."
4. Serfs had to buy freedom, even when migrating to a free community within the prince-bishopric or into the territory of a mediatised institution, where they might become serfs again.
5. There will be no more reciprocal treaties in manumission fees like the one with Mainz of 1669, which had set the fee indiscriminately at 1% for men and women alike.
6. Set rates for manumissions, which were different for men, women and children.

Of paramount importance here is the last point, the difference in treatment of men and women. If males sometimes had to pay a higher local *Abzugsgeld*, the opposite was true in the case of manumissions. If a male serf wanted to migrate to a "free" community within the prince-bishopric or into the jurisdiction of a mediatised institution, his manumission fee was 5 percent of his property; if he left the state altogether, it cost him 10 percent of his property. If his property was valued below 30 fl for a move within the prince-bishopric, or 60 fl if he left it, he had to pay the minimum fee of 2 fl 40 kreuzer; at a property valued at exactly 30 fl/60 fl, the fee was 3 fl. In the case of a female serf, the rates were 10 percent and 15 percent respectively

—since servitude was only passed on through the female line, women as potential mothers were more valuable. If her property was valued below 20 fl for a move within the prince-bishopric or 30 fl if she left the state, the minimum fee was the same as with a man; the same is true for the lump sum of 3 fl at exactly 20 fl/30 fl. If both husband and wife were serfs, the property had to be divided in half and the manumission fee to be computed at the respective rate; children were manumitted free of charge independent of the destination. If only one marriage partner was a serf, and there were no children, half of the property of the serf plus half of all acquisitions during marriage were used as a basis for computing the manumission fee. If there were children, and only the father was a serf, the manumission fee was to be computed from half of the available property, and if the move was only within the prince-bishopric, the children were manumitted free; if the family left the state, 1 fl 30 kreuzer were due per child. If only the mother was a serf, 1 fl 20 kreuzer were due for every child if they stayed within the prince-bishopric, 1 fl 30 kreuzer if they left the state. In all cases the *Kanzleigeühr* of 3 fl 15 kreuzer was levied by the central administration in Würzburg for the manumission plus 15 kreuzer to the local administrator for the compilation of the manumission request of an adult; children under eighteen years of age were not considered serfs and thus did not yet have to be manumitted, even though their parents had to pay a fee for them as potential serfs.

The Computation of Manumission Fees in Würzburg

Single serfs and families where both partners are serfs (total property divided in half) migrating within the prince-bishopric:

<u>Property Level</u>			
Male	over 30 fl	30 fl	under 30 fl
Female	over 20 fl	20 fl	under 20 fl
<u>Manumission Fee</u>			
Male	5%	3 fl	2 fl 40 kreuzer
Female	10%	3 fl	2 fl 40 kreuzer
Children	no charge		

Single serfs and families where both partners are serfs (total property divided in half) wanting to leave the prince-bishopric:

<u>Property Level</u>			
Male	over 60 fl	60 fl	under 60 fl
Female	over 40 fl	40 fl	under 40 fl

Manumission Fee

Male	10%	3 fl	2 fl 40 kreuzer
Female	15%	3 fl	2 fl 40 kreuzer
Children	no charge		

Married couples with only the man a serf:

If the move is within the prince-bishopric ----> property is divided in half, man pays 5%, children free.

If the move is outside the prince-bishopric ----> man pays 10%, children pay 1 fl 30 kreuzer each.

Married couples with only the woman a serf:

If the move is within the prince-bishopric ----> property is divided in half, woman pays 10%, children pay 1 fl 20 kreuzer each.

If the move is outside the prince-bishopric ----> woman pays 15%, children pay 1 fl 30 kreuzer each.

In all cases children were free of the *Kanzleigebühr*.

To draw up the actual tax bill, the order adopted in the following models was used, and if we would use the same example as above, now for a family of serfs with two children from Hardheim where both husband and wife were serfs, we would get these results (again for an emigration to Hungary):

Real estate value:	100 fl		
	- 5 fl		= 5% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	95 fl		
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	94 fl 28 kreuzer		
	- 7 fl 5 kreuzer		= 15% manumission fee for wife from half of the property
	4 fl 43 kreuzer		= 10% manumission fee for husband from half of the property
	- 7 fl		= <i>Kanzleigebühr</i> for two manumissions
	75 fl 40 kreuzer		
	- 1 fl 31 kreuzer		= 2% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	75 fl 09 kreuzer		
	- 7 fl 31 kreuzer		= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	67 fl 38 kreuzer		----> a tax burden of 33%

If only the wife were a serf, we would get the following computation:

Real estate value:	100 fl		
	- 5 fl		= 5% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	<hr/>	95 fl	
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	<hr/>	94 fl 28 kreuzer	
	- 7 fl 5 kreuzer		= 15% manumission fee for wife from half the property
	- 3 fl		= fee for two children at 1 fl 30 kreuzer each
	- 3 fl 30 kreuzer		= <i>Kanzleigebühr</i> for one manumission
	<hr/>		
	80 fl 53 kreuzer		
	- 1 fl 36 kreuzer		= 2% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	<hr/>	79 fl 17 kreuzer	
	- 7 fl 54 kreuzer		= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	71 fl 23 kreuzer		---> 29% tax burden

This already rather high tax burden would have increased considerably if the property of the family had been below the level of 30 fl. Then the tax burden for the same family from Hardheim would be like this:

Real estate value:	25 fl		
	- 2 fl 30 kreuzer		= 10% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
	<hr/>	22 fl 30 kreuzer	
	- 32 kreuzer		= legal fees
	<hr/>	21 fl 58 kreuzer	
	- 2 fl 40 kreuzer		= flat manumission fee for husband
	- 2 fl 40 kreuzer		= flat manumission fee for wife
	- 7 fl		= <i>Kanzleigebühr</i> for two manumissions
	<hr/>	9 fl 38 kreuzer	
	- 11 kreuzer		= 2% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
	<hr/>	9 fl 27 kreuzer	
	- 57 kreuzer		= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	8 fl 30 kreuzer		----> 66% tax burden

If only the wife were a serf, we would get this tax bill:

Real estate value:	25 fl		
	- 2 fl	30 kreuzer	= 10% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
		22 fl 30 kreuzer	
	-	32 kreuzer	= legal fees
		21 fl 58 kreuzer	
	- 2 fl	40 kreuzer	= flat manumission fee for wife
	- 3 fl		= manumission fee for two children
	- 3 fl	30 kreuzer	= <i>Kanzleigebühr</i> for one manumission
		12 fl 48 kreuzer	
	-	15 kreuzer	= 2% local tax (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
		12 fl 33 kreuzer	
	- 1 fl	13 kreuzer	= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	11 fl	20 kreuzer	---> 55% tax burden

One last example: if that family had lived in Ripperg with only the woman a serf, its tax burden in the case of emigration would have been as follows:

Real estate value:	25 fl		
	- 2 fl	30 kreuzer	= 10% sales tax (<i>Handlohn</i>)
		22 fl 30 kreuzer	
	-	32 kreuzer	= legal fees
		21 fl 58 kreuzer	
	- 2 fl	40 kreuzer	= flat manumission fee for wife
	- 3 fl		= manumission fee for two children
	- 3 fl	30 kreuzer	= <i>Kanzleigebühr</i> for one manumission
		12 fl 48 kreuzer	
	- 3 fl		= lump sum for emigration of a married couple (<i>Abzugsgeld</i>)
		9 fl 48 kreuzer	
	-	58 kreuzer	= 10% state tax (<i>Nachsteuer</i>)
leaves	8 fl	50 kreuzer	---> 65% tax burden

How valid are the figures used in these theoretical models? An analysis of 306 cases of emigration from the prince-bishopric of Würzburg in the spring of 1764, in which some one thousand men, women and children were involved, yields the following figures.³¹ Of 306 applicants, 120 had no property

whatsoever, of 45 the property was unknown, while the remaining 141 showed a combined property valued at some 13,200 fl. Of those 141, only

4 owned property valued at over	400 fl
10 owned property valued between	200 fl and 400 fl
30 owned property valued between	100 fl and 200 fl
46 owned property valued between	50 fl and 100 fl
51 owned property valued below	50 fl.

The vast majority, 97 of 141, or 70 percent, owned property valued at below 100 fl, 51 or more than one-third of the total had fortunes of below 50 fl. The average property for all emigrants, including those 120 applicants who owned no property whatsoever, would be some 50.5 fl. If we subtract the 14 top fortunes, those of over 200 fl, held by less than 5 percent of all emigrants for a total of 5,217 fl, the average property value declines to 28 fl (7,000 fl : 247). If we compare those figures with the models used above, we can say that as a rule the tax burden was even higher than in most of our examples, not only because of lower fortunes but also because some of them sold up to 30 pieces of land with correspondingly higher legal fees. Even 50 fl was a minimal fortune, when an acre of arable land or pasture cost between 290 fl and 500 fl and vineyards between 270 fl and 350 fl an acre in the 1770s and 1780s.³² The average amount of land per family of four in the prince-bishop of Würzburg was around 3 hectares or 7.5 acres in 1765, half of what modern historians estimate as the minimum of between 5 and 6 hectares of land necessary to feed a family that size in the eighteenth century.³³ At the same time however, 50 fl were three to four times the annual salary of a maid at a time when it cost 180 fl to 190 fl to feed a family of five for one year.³⁴ Even a bed cost about 20 fl, the same as a weaving loom, a cow about 16 fl, and the price of a passage for a whole freight from Rotterdam to Philadelphia, six to eight pounds sterling (72 fl to 96 fl), was more than what most people could afford.³⁵

Given the ruinous taxation, especially of serfs, this analysis also yields additional, not so surprising, results. Using this group of emigrants from our example, we find that in at least 20 percent (73 of 306) of all cases, the emigration did not come to the knowledge of the central authorities until after the emigrants had already left the state. Among the emigrants, serfs comprised at least 10 percent (31 of 306), possibly 20 percent of all cases, since the status of twenty-eight more people from areas with serfdom cannot be verified any more. This is considerably higher than their average in the population and not solely explainable out of economic reasons, since serfdom in Würzburg was confined to the agriculturally richer areas of the prince-bishopric. Like their free counterparts, most of them left without informing the bishop in time to collect his manumission fees or the emigration tax. Among those who paid the fees connected with manumission, three were

manumitted without cost, since they were too poor, eight paid the minimum fee of 3 fl, the rest (twenty) paid between 3 fl 30 kreuzer and 27 fl 30 kreuzer for their manumissions for a total of 150 fl. This amounts to the equivalent of 7 fl 30 kreuzer per manumission or a property valued at around 50 fl for a woman and 75 fl for a man.

On the basis of these examples a rather diversified picture emerges. The minimum tax burden for free citizens could vary anywhere from 5 percent to 50 percent, depending upon locality of origin, computational basis of taxes and fees, marital status and destination. It was generally rising with decreasing property in those communities where emigration taxes were levied as a lump sum. This regressive system of taxation hit the poorer portions of the population disproportionately hard even where it was always collected as a percentage of the exported property. The same is true for serfs. Here the tax burden could reach two-thirds of the property of the emigrant and more, with the poorer serfs again suffering more, since their manumission fee was collected as a lump sum once their property fell below a certain level. Tax laws like these could wreak havoc on the future of an emigrant as he was deprived of the starting capital for a new beginning if not the means necessary to pay for transportation to his destination in the first place. During the first half of the eighteenth century, when most colonizing states required proof of a certain amount of property before admitting a new colonist, taxation proved a somewhat effective way of curtailing emigration. Its long-range consequences for the home state, however, were disastrous. It prevented only the poorer portions of the population, the potential burdens to the state, those, whom Lothar Franz had called the "preuve vendable," from emigrating. The somewhat better-off subjects had always enough money left to try a new beginning elsewhere.

VII. How efficient were tax laws in preventing emigration? The sheer frequency of the decrees and orders already indicates a certain inefficiency and lack of compliance. In at least 25 percent of all cases (11 of 44), in which the bishop specifically denied emigration requests, in 1764 the emigrants left nevertheless, often with the tacit support of local authorities. Many more emigrants did not apply for a legal emigration. They chose instead to leave secretly by scaling the town walls at night or by selling their movable property to (mostly Jewish) tradesmen, thus saving themselves time as well as valuable resources.³⁶ In the years after 1763, colonizing states started offering travel support and start-up capital to make up for tax losses and to enable the poorer sections of the peasantry of central Europe to emigrate as well.³⁷ Now emigration taxes became not much more than a nuisance. With the help of local authorities they were, however, relatively easy to ignore.

Who were these local authorities who winked at emigration and brought the best intentions of the central government to naught, and what was their line of reasoning for such blatant disregard of law and order? At the basis of

their resistance lies a tradition of a de facto freedom of emigration which is best expressed in the report of the chief administrator of the county of Bischofsheim, who wrote the bishop on 12 July 1764 that "he did not know that it was necessary to report on emigration to Hungary." The *Gebrechenamt* backed up the administrator when it added that until now "emigration to Hungary had never been refused to the subjects of the prince-bishopric and that local administrators had never reported such emigration."³⁸ Throughout the 1760s local officials refused to cooperate, reporting either that they had "not the least knowledge" of any emigration, or that they had been sick and/or absent from their offices for the last few weeks.³⁹ The central administration also procrastinated. When a wave of emigrations to Russia swept across the state in the spring of 1766, the government responded to the admonitions of Seinsheim on 15 May that it was doing all it could, but that it did not know "what else to do but to insist most persistently on the strictest obedience to the decree" prohibiting such emigration.⁴⁰

Contrary to Seinsheim, local and state officials considered emigration "certainly to be beneficial," since "all communities have considerably increased in population in the last 30 or 40 years," and since "there were no factories or manufactures which could provide safe employment and food for the subjects."⁴¹ Five years later, in the spring of 1771, the *Gebrechenamt* again begged Seinsheim to let people emigrate. "It would be very hard if, on the one hand, we would let these truly poor people languish in misery and pain, if, on the other hand, it is in comprehensible why our lands, which are too thickly populated anyway, should suffer from the emigration of a few hundred families."⁴² In the long run, the more realistic evaluation of the employment opportunities and food supply of the village mayors, county officials and the *Gebrechenamt* won out over a policy determined by theoretical principles. After the death of Seinsheim in 1779, his successor Franz Ludwig von Erthal (1779-95), ignored Seinsheim's decrees and did not even publish the imperial decree of 18 April 1786 which, like its predecessor of 1768, prohibited all emigration from the Holy Roman Empire.⁴³

During most of the eighteenth century, emigration taxes constituted an integral part of the economic policies of the smaller states of central Europe, including the prince-bishopric of Würzburg. With the accession of a new generation of rulers in the 1750s, the ideas of populationism began to dominate their economic policies, too. Emigration was no longer desirable. This change of policies was initiated in Würzburg by Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim. It resulted in a general rise of fees levied in connection with emigration of personally free as well as unfree subjects of the prince-bishopric. In 1745, manumission fees were raised and codified. In the 1750s, the *Nachsteuer* went up in Würzburg from 2 percent to generally 5 percent for emigration within the Holy Roman Empire, and 10 percent became customary for emigration to states outside Germany. In the 1760s, more than one dozen decrees were issued by the government prohibiting emigration outright and

admonishing local administrators, who were shocked by this change in policy. If that proved impossible, they were to at least collect emigration taxes to the last kreuzer.

In the late eighteenth century, function and purpose of the emigration taxes changed again. After having proven their uselessness in preventing emigration, they resumed their traditional role as an additional source of revenue, a last opportunity to squeeze a tax out of those "mangy sheep"⁴⁴ who were determined to leave their homes. But here, too, the purpose of the emigration taxes as a means of preventing the emigration of "desirable" subjects becomes obvious. Even in a year like 1764 with a high emigration rate, the total amount of *Nachsteuer* collected from the emigrants was less than 1,500 fl, a paltry sum in a total budget of 830,000 fl in 1760.⁴⁵ As in the 1750s, financial gain dominated legislation in the 1780s and 1790s. In 1751, the *Gebrechenamt* had voted against the abolition of all emigration taxes. That would only bring an advantage to the subject, the state would suffer through a loss of income.⁴⁶ Seinsheim's successor, prince-bishop Franz Ludwig von Erthal, argued similarly in 1781, that a 5 percent or even 10 percent emigration tax was not too much of a burden to anyone.⁴⁷

The end of emigration taxes had to wait until the break-up of the prince-bishopric and the integration of the larger part into the future Kingdom of Bavaria. On 1 January 1803, the Bavarian government abolished the local *Abzugsgeld*. This included the rights of the *Mediatstellen*, which were dissolved with the secularization of the prince-bishopric. From now on until 1817, the *Nachsteuer* was levied from all property that left Bavaria. The German Confederation did not know emigration taxes for migration from one member state to the other, but they were maintained for migration outside its borders.⁴⁸ With the abolition of serfdom for the Bavarian parts of the former prince-bishopric of Würzburg on 1 August 1818, manumission fees no longer had a legal basis and were abolished.⁴⁹ Throughout the eighteenth century, however, most emigrants would have agreed with Count Schönborn, who had written to the Ritterkanton Steigerwald in 1791, that "it seems as if [the emigrant's] property was considered a prize, of which one has to hold back as much as seems possible under the pretense of legality."⁵⁰

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Notes

¹ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1986), 20-25. A comparative analysis of push and pull factors can be found in Hans Fenske, "International Migration: Germany in the Eighteenth Century," *Central European History* 13, 4 (1980): 332-47. A detailed analysis for a specific geographic area is Wolfgang von Hippel, *Auswanderung aus Südwestdeutschland: Studien zur württembergischen Auswanderung und*

Auswanderungspolitik im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, 1984), 56. The figures are taken from Hans Fenske, "Die deutsche Auswanderung," *Mitteilungen des historischen Vereins der Pfalz* 76 (1978): 183-220. Of the 1,000,000 people, approximately 330,000 went to Prussia, 350,000 to Austria, 125,000 to America, 125,000 to Russia and Poland, and the rest to countries like Spain, Denmark, or French Guyana. For migratory patterns in Germany see Steve Hochstadt, "Migration in Preindustrial Germany," *Central European History* 16 (1983): 195-224.

² For the older Prussian colonization see Max Behaim-Schwarzbach, *Hohenzollern'sche Colonisationen* (Leipzig, 1866); for the eighteenth century see Udo Fröse, *Das Kolonisationswerk Friedrichs des Großen* (Heidelberg, 1938). A Marxist-Leninist interpretation is Bruno Zilch, "Das Edikt von Potsdam," *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* 33, 9 (1985): 823-37. On the early policies of the Hapsburgs see Helmut Rössler, "Der Wiener Hof und der ungarische Landtag von 1722/1723," *Südostdeutsches Archiv* 3 (1964): 110-28, and Felix Milleker, *Die erste organisierte deutsche Kolonisation des Banats unter Mercy, 1722-1726* (Wrschatz, 1923), as well as Johann Weidlein, "Über die deutschen Kolonisten der ersten Auswanderungsperiode (1722-1726)," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 1 (1937): 487-92. The best overall treatment of the Austrian colonization movement in the first half of the eighteenth century is still Konrad Schünemann, *Österreichs Bevölkerungspolitik unter Maria Theresia* (Berlin, 1936). For Russia see Karl Stumpp, *Die Auswanderung aus Deutschland nach Russland in den Jahren 1763-1862* (Lincoln, 1973), and Roger Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia 1762-1804* (Cambridge, 1979). Recruiting efforts are analyzed in Lowell C. Bennion, "Flight from the Reich: A Geographic Exposition of Southwest German Emigration 1683-1815" (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse Univ., 1971).

³ Quoted in Mary Beth Norton, et. al., *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, 2d ed. (Boston, 1986), 2:A-5. On Pastorius see Stephanie Grauman-Wolf, *Urban Village: Population, Community and Family Structure in Germantown, Pennsylvania, 1683-1800* (Princeton, 1976).

⁴ Quoted from Lieutenant Kraus's letter in Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Würzburg (BSW), Reichssachen 3. The emperor originally asked for only 600 families. Photostats of these imperial requests are reproduced in Leo Hofmann, "Die Niederlassung der Banater und für Serbien angeworbenen Aussiedler auf ungarischen Privatgütern," *Neue Heimatblätter* 1 (1935): 50-55.

⁵ Quoted in Zoltan Kramar, "The Military Ethos of the Hungarian Nobility, 1700-1848," in *War and Society in East Central Europe*, ed. Béla K. Király and Gunther E. Rothenberg, vol. 1 (New York, 1979): 67-79. On the Kuruc War, Rákóczi and Szatmár see Charles W. Ingrao, "Guerilla Warfare in Early Modern Europe: The Kuruc War (1703-1711)," *ibid.*, 47-66.

⁶ On emigration from Würzburg see Alfons Prenzinger, *Die mainfränkische Auswanderung nach Ungarn und den österreichischen Erbländern im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wien, 1941), and Robert Selig, *Räutige Schafe und Geizige Hirten: Studien zur Auswanderung aus dem Hochstift Würzburg im 18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1988). - The prince-bishopric of Würzburg, situated in modern-day northern Bavaria, was an ecclesiastical state of some 5,290 km² and a population which rose from some 160,000 in 1680 to 210,000 in 1730. In 1790, some 280,000 people lived there, and by 1803 it had almost 300,000 subjects. During that time, the amount of arable land decreased from 1.44 hectares per head in 1680 to 0.96 hectare in 1730 to 0.70 hectare in 1790 (1 hectare = 2.5 acres). Its economy was almost exclusively agrarian, dependent on growing grapes, while the largest factory employed less than 50 people, and then on a seasonal basis only. On the social and economic situation in Würzburg in the eighteenth century see Hildegunde Flurschütz, *Die Verwaltung des Hochstifts Würzburg unter Franz Ludwig von Erthal 1779-1795* (Würzburg, 1965); Ernst Schubert, *Arme Leute, Bettler und Gauner im Franken des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Neustadt/Aisch, 1983), and Selig, 106-26.

⁷ *Reichshofratsconclusum* of 8 March 1723, quoted in *Europäische Staats-Cantzley* 49 (1727): 463. The best treatment of the constitutional issues is Carl Graf Ballestrem, "Zur Theorie und Geschichte des Emigrationsrechtes," in *Grund- und Freiheitsrechte im Wandel von Gesellschaft und Geschichte*, ed. Günther Birtsch (Göttingen, 1981), 162-81, and Rudolf Möhlenbruch, "Freier Zug, Ius Emigrandi, Auswanderungsfreiheit" (Ph.D. diss., Bonn Univ., 1977). In 1530, the Imperial

Diet had permitted emigration for religious reasons "ohne Beschwerde einiger Nachsteuer oder Abzug." In 1555, the right to emigrate was revised in §24 to include the "zimlichen billigen Abtrag der Leibeigenschaft und Nachsteuer, wie es jeden Orts von alters anhero üblichen." Johann Jacob Schmauss, *Sammlung der Reichsabschiede*, 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1747; repr. Osnabrück, 1967), 3:315; 4:15. The only exception to this rule is Württemberg, where emigration taxes were abolished in 1514 in the Treaty of Tübingen. See Walter Grube, *Der Tübinger Vertrag vom 8. Juli 1514* (Stuttgart, 1964).

⁸ Quoted in Alfons Pfenninger, "Auswanderungen aus der Rhön im 18. Jahrhundert," *Fränkische Heimat* 64, 20 (1934): 79ff. The deliberations leading up to this decision of 24 April 1724 begin in BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll of 3 October 1722. For a brief information on the Schönborn family see Max Domarus, *Würzburger Kirchenfürsten aus dem Hause Schönborn* (Gerolzhofen, 1951).

⁹ Alfons Pfenninger, "Amerika als Ziel fränkischer Auswanderer nach dem Siebenjährigen Krieg," *Am fränkischen Herd* 10 (1939), Nr. 10. Würzburg lies in an area of partible inheritance laws, which may have contributed to the rapid population growth. See Selig, 85ff. and comparatively Lutz K. Bergner, "Peasant Household Organization and Demographic Change in Lower Saxony (1689-1766)," in *Population Patterns in the Past*, ed. Ronald Lee (New York, 1976), 53-69.

¹⁰ Quoted in Pfenninger, *Auswanderungen aus der Rhön*, 79.

¹¹ Lothar Franz von Schönborn to Graf Nesselrode, Bishop of Neustadt, in BSW Schönbornarchiv/Korrespondenzarchiv, 527.

¹² In his decree of 24 April 1724 Johann Philipp Franz ordered that returnees should be "als vagbundi gehalten und im Land nicht mehr gelitten (werden)." Philipp Heffner, *Sammlung der Hochfürstlich Würzburgischen (sic) Landesverordnungen*, 3 vols. (Würzburg, 1776/1790), 1:719.

¹³ On 4 July 1724 Charles VI prohibited the further admission of poor colonists to Hungary, since they were "meistens nur müßig-gehende und unnütze leuthe." Quoted in Eduard Diener, "Die Auswanderung aus Bamberg," *Alt-Franken* 1, 19 (1925): 155-58. On the Prussian prohibition of 6 June 1724, see BSW Gebrechenamt V W f 33.

¹⁴ Decree of 10 October 1731, quoted in Otto Morlinghaus, *Bevölkerungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Fürstbistums Bamberg im Zeitalter des Absolutismus* (Erlangen, 1938), 78, note 55. On 8 February 1764 prince-bishop Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim prohibited all further emigration so that "dem fürstl. Hochstift keine gute oder sonst nützliche Unterthanen entzogen, dagegen nur untüchte und dem gemeinen Wesen zu Last liegende Bettel-Leuthe zurück gelassen werden mögten." BSW Gebrechenamt VI G 128.-The policy of "cleansing" one's territory by deportation was standard procedure in Europe. On Austria see Konrad Schünemann, "Der Wien-Temeswarer Wasserschub," *Jahrbuch des Wiener Ungarischen Historischen Instituts* 2 (1931): 203-19 (some 3,130 people between 1752 and 1768 alone); on England see Roger Ekirch, *Bound for America: The Transportation of British Convicts to the Colonies 1718-1775* (Oxford, 1987) (some 50,000 people), and on the Franconian *Bettelschübe* Schubert, 216-22. For the response to this policy in America see Kenneth Morgan, "English and American Attitudes towards Convict Transportation 1718-1775," *History* 72 (1987): 416-31.

¹⁵ On the Schönborn properties in Hungary, approximately 2,300 km² inhabited by some 14,000 people, which had been confiscated from Prince Rákóczi in 1728, see Julius Blumenwitz, *Die Herrschaft Munkacz und Szent Miklos im Beregher Comitate Ungarns* (Wien, 1867); Andreas Sas, "Deutsche Kolonisten auf der Schönborn-Herrschaft Munkacz-Szent-Miklos im 18. Jahrhundert," *Deutsche Hefte für Volks- und Kulturbodenforschung* 3 (1939): 28-45 and 80-98; "Ein Latifundium fränkischer Kirchenfürsten in den Nordostkarpathen," *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 24 (1931): 410-48. A printed copy of the 1730 advertisement together with the handwritten note to print and distribute a total of 1,200 copies can be found in BSW Gebrechenamt V W 79/389.

¹⁶ In the same year, 1724, Würzburg too found itself obliged to let about one dozen mostly Protestant subjects emigrate to Prussia when King Frederick William I requested that favor. The negotiations of 1724 are in BSW Gebrechenamt V W 73/157.

¹⁷ Quoted in Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, *Staatswissenschaft oder Systematische Abhandlung aller ökonomischen oder Kameralwissenschaften*, 2 vols. (Wien, 1758), 1:205. Sonnenfels's major work is *Grundsätze der Polizey, Handlung und Finanzwissenschaft*, 2 vols. (Wien, 1765). For an interpretation of their views see Joseph Karniel, "Josef von Sonnenfels," *Jahrbuch des Instituts für deutsche Geschichte* 7 (1978): 111-58; on Justi see Ulrich Engelhardt, "Zum Begriff der Glückseligkeit in der kameralistischen Staatslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 8 (1981): 37-79. Borie had been a high member of the administration in Würzburg from 1739-54 before moving to Vienna. On him see Schünemann, 21-24 as well as Heinrich Hirsch, "Der habsburgische Staatsrat Egid Felix von Borie," *Heimatjahrbuch des Landkreises Rhön-Grabfeld* 5 (1983): 190-94. - For an overview of mercantilism in Germany see Ingomar Bog, *Der Reichsmerkantilismus; Studien zur Wirtschaftspolitik des Heiligen Römischen Reiches im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1959). The connection between populationism and mercantilism is argued in Erich Frohnberg, *Bevölkerungslehre und Bevölkerungspolitik des Absolutismus* (Gelnhausen, 1930), and Erich Dittrich, *Die deutschen und österreichischen Kameralisten* (Darmstadt, 1974).

¹⁸ BSW Historischer Verein Manuscripten f 1225, ca. 1755.

¹⁹ From Seinsheim's decree prohibiting all emigration to French Guyana, 10 February 1764, reprinted in Heffner 2, 799-800. On Seinsheim see Harald Ssymank, "Fürstbischof Adam Friedrich von Seinsheims Regierung in Würzburg und Bamberg, 1755-1779" (Ph.D. diss., Würzburg Univ., 1939) and Burkard von Roda, *Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim*, (Neustadt/Aisch, 1980).

²⁰ BSW Historischer Verein Manuscripten f 1225. The *Leipziger Sammlungen von Wirtschaftlichen-, Policy-, Cammer-, und Finanz-Sachen*, published from 1744-1767, which is frequently quoted in this memorandum, writes in its Nr. 78, vol. 7, 1750, p. 531: "The more people are in a country, the more consumption, trade and activity, and consequently also more wealth, income and troops."

²¹ From Seinsheim's decree of 22 April 1766, quoted in Ssymank, 123.

²² Decrees prohibiting emigration were issued, among others, on 2 February, 13 March, 14 April and 5 June 1764, on 25 February, 28 April and 19 December 1766, 13 March 1767, and 7 July 1768.

²³ On the historical development of these taxes see Franz Joseph Bodmann, *Pragmatische Geschichte, Grund- und inneres Territorialverhältnis des Abzugs- und Nachsteuerrechtes* (Mainz, 1791); Georg Ludwig von Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, 4 vols. (Erlangen, 1869), especially vol. 1, and the articles by Adalbert Erler, "Gabella Hereditaria" and "Gabella Emigrationis" in *Handwörterbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte* 1 (Berlin, 1971), 1367-68. Modern monographs on the legal and financial aspects of emigration from the states of the empire are virtually non-existent and treated rather cursorily in the standard works on emigration. Preliminary research had shown, however, that the rates for Würzburg were comparable to those charged by other states. Unless otherwise noted, this essay presents the legal situation as of 1803.

²⁴ Only ecclesiastics and their property were exempt as a matter of principle. Jews were usually not included in the agreements between the states but rather assessed a higher percentage of their property as tax. Income from emigration taxes could be quite substantial. Due to large losses in primary sources during the Second World War it is impossible to assess their share of the state budget in Würzburg, but Peter Steinle, *Die Vermögensverhältnisse der Landbevölkerung in Hohenlohe im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Schwäbisch Hall, 1971), 57, computes them for Hohenlohe as twice as much as the income from the sales tax and heriot combined. - The 'fl rhein.' used in this essay is the Rhenish guilder:

1 fl rhein. = 15 batzen = 60 kreuzer rhein.

1 fl fränk. = 15 batzen = 75 kreuzer rhein.

1 reichstaler = 1 fl 30 kreuzer rhein.

²⁵ On the basis of a decree 4 April 1728, all serfs had to buy their freedom before they received permission to settle in a free community of the prince-bishopric. When Michel Helbling left his hometown of Hausseen in the county of Homburg/Main in 1764 to move to Helmstadt, a *Mediatort* of the bishop, he had to buy his freedom, even though he became a serf of the Baron Imhoff within one year's time.

²⁶ Dual taxation was common practice at the time. In January 1764, Johann Adam Köhler of Rottenbauer, a subject of Baron Wolfskeel, wanted to emigrate to French Guyana. Before he left he sold his vineyards that lay in the township of Winterhausen, a community which belonged to Count Rechteren. When he paid his emigration tax and sales tax for the money he exported less than five miles from Winterhausen to Rottenbauer he asked for speed and secrecy, otherwise he was afraid he would have to pay another 10 percent *Handlohn* and 10 percent emigration tax from the sale when he exported the money from Rottenbauer to Guyana. See *Gemeindearchiv Winterhausen, Ratsprotokoll* 11 February 1764.

²⁷ The primary source for the research into the local *Abzugsgeld* are the annual *Amtsrechnungen* (=budgets) of the 64 counties of the prince-bishopric, located primarily in the BSW. An (incomplete) compilation of 1774 is in BSW *Gebrechenamt VII W 228*. For reasons of space I have opted not to list the dozens of archival numbers in six different public and private archives which house the budgets of the various counties and which have been used in the compilation of these lists. They can be found in their entirety in Selig, 339-43.

²⁸ The primary source for the claims of the 25 *Mediatstellen* are their annual budgets in the BSW and the files of the *Gebrechenamt*, where all disputes between them and the central administration were negotiated. Since the right to collect a statewide emigration tax on the part of the *Mediatstellen* implied a certain independence from/within the prince-bishopric, these claims were hotly disputed on both sides. For an (incomplete) compilation of the late eighteenth century see BSW Reg. Sachen 935 as well as the *Gebrechenamtsprotokoll* of 28 July 1774. More complete is the *Gebrechenamtsprotokoll* of 16 October 1802, with a list compiled on the eve of the secularization. For a case in which a treaty between the Bishop and another state did not include the *Mediatstellen* see BSW *Gebrechenamtsprotokoll* of 10 July 1764.

²⁹ The rates for the *Handlohn* as well as the local fees, which varied from town to town, are registered in the annual budgets; the administrative fees for the central government were revised 15 January 1756 and are printed in Heffner 2: 680.

³⁰ The earliest records of a manumission based on a percentage of the property of the serf is a treaty between Rieneck and Würzburg of 1585, quoted in Manfred Tischler, "Die Leibeigenschaft im Hochstift Würzburg vom 13. bis zum beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert" (Ph.D. diss., Würzburg Univ., 1963), 76. The rules for 1745 are laid down in BSW *Gebrechenamtsprotokoll* of 26 February 1745. The case of Mainz, where the rate was set at 1 percent in 1593, is unique, see BSW *Historischer Verein Manuskripten* f 571. The geographical distribution of serfs can be reconstructed from BSW *Gebrechenamt IV W 269*. The manumission could be denied, those who were granted are recorded in the *Gebrechenamtsprotokolle* in the index. The economic importance of serfdom was negligible. Selig, 83, estimates the maximum number of serfs in Würzburg at 10,000 or less than 3 percent of the total population of some 290,000 in 1803. The monetary income which the bishop derived from serfdom was less than 1,000 fl out of a budget of almost 1,000,000 fl annually.

³¹ For a detailed analysis of events see Selig, 165ff. A list of all emigrants is on pp. 210-49.

³² In the community of Winterhausen, a village of 851 inhabitants in 220 families about 5 miles south of the city of Würzburg, one hectare of arable land cost between 713 fl in 1773 and 1,189 fl in 1793. Vineyards cost between 679 fl and 883 fl in the same time period. At 522 hectares of land used for agriculture, grapes and gardens, we have about 0.61 hectare per person. This is comparable to the situation for the prince-bishopric as a whole, where our figure is around 0.7 hectare in 1790. Robert Selig, "Eighteenth Century Last Wills and Testaments as a Source for Social History: Winterhausen as a Case Study," in *Proceedings of the Thirteenth European Studies Conference* (Omaha, 1988), 317-28, 321.

³³ Schubert, 40, 129 et passim; for land prices see *ibid.*, 364.

³⁴ Rudolf Endres, "Die wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des niederen Adels in der frühen Neuzeit," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 36 (1976): 215-37, 236. At the same time the average cost of a house in Dettelbach, a small community to the east of Würzburg, was 97 fl in 1777. Hans Bauer, "Die kulturlandschaftliche Entwicklung des alten Amtes Dettelbach seit dem 16. Jahrhundert," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Würzburg Univ., 1977), 2:458.

³⁵ All figures are based on Selig, *Last Wills and Testaments*, 321. Property requirements for a marriage permit in the prince-bishopric of Würzburg were 200 fl fränk. or 300 fl rhein. in the eighteenth century.

³⁶ In February of 1764, seven families scaled the walls of Tauberrettersheim at night, leaving behind their debts and whatever else they could not carry. BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 27 February 1764, and Gebrechenamt VI G 128. In July 1764, the administrator from Aschach reported that a man from Stangenroth had "secretly" emigrated to Hungary after having paid one reichstaler in *Nachsteuer* to the mayor of the town. See the Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 23 July 1764. In more than one case the village council even provided travel money for whoever wanted to leave. Examples in BSW Gebrechenamt VI G 128.

³⁷ Prussia, Austria-Hungary, Russia, France and even states like South Carolina offered bounties and travel support in the 1760s. On Austria see Alexander Krischan, "Das Kolonisationspatent Maria Theresias vom 25.2.1763 als Beitrag zur Besiedlungsgeschichte des altungarischen Raums," *Deutsches Archiv für Landes- und Volksforschung* 7 (1943): 99-104. A comparative analysis of these advertisements can be found in Schünemann, 285-303, and Selig, 148-52.

³⁸ BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 12 July 1764.

³⁹ Instances of local officials having been sick or absent are reported in BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 28 February and 23 July 1764, 4 July 1766, as well as in BSW Gebrechenamt VI G 128.

⁴⁰ BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 13 May 1766. More than once did the villages even offer to pay for travel expenses if those willing to leave would get permission to do so.

⁴¹ BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 17 March 1766.

⁴² BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 9 March 1771.

⁴³ The imperial decree of 7 July 1768 was duly published in Würzburg on 4 October 1768. It was renewed on 18 April 1786, but there is no record of it ever having been published in Würzburg. Between the imperial decree of 1768 and 1803 only one decree prohibiting emigration was published in Würzburg, 11 October 1798. It is printed in Heffner 3:760.

⁴⁴ On 29 January 1764 the administrator of Hardheim used this term to describe the emigrants. BSW Gebrechenamt VI G 128.

⁴⁵ Ssymank, 128.

⁴⁶ BSW Gebrechenamtsprotokoll 10 May 1751.

⁴⁷ BSW Gebrechenamt VII W 558, dated 15 June 1781.

⁴⁸ BSW Gebrechenamt VII W 1610. Most of these rights were reintroduced between 1806 and 1814, when Würzburg was an independent Grand Duchy, but abolished again in 1814, when it became Bavarian for the second time. The *Wiener Schlussakte* in §18 permitted the levying of emigration taxes. See *Königlich Bayerisches Regierungsblatt*, Nr. 32, 23 August 1817, 748.

⁴⁹ The decree, based on a Bavarian order of 3 August 1808, was published in *Gesetzblatt für das Königreich Bayern*, Nr. 81, 1 August 1818.

⁵⁰ *Journal von und für Franken* 3,3 (1791): 369-73.

Andreas Gommermann

Donauschwäbischer Siedlungsweg im Spiegel einer in Amerika gesprochenen Mundart osthessischen Ursprungs: "Stifoler" in den Staaten Wisconsin und Illinois

In Milwaukee, Wisconsin, und Umgebung sowie in Aurora, Illinois, in der Nähe von Chicago wohnen Sprecher einer Mundart, die sich "Stifoler" nennen, was auf ihre Herkunft aus dem ehemaligen Stift Fulda hinweist.¹ Dem Namen nach könnte man annehmen, daß sie direkt aus dem heutigen Hessen einwanderten, zumal ihr Dialekt nordrheinhessische Merkmale aufweist. In Wirklichkeit aber sind sie Nachkommen von Deutschen, die im achtzehnten Jahrhundert nach Ungarn wanderten, dort unter Beibehaltung ihrer ursprünglichen Mundart etwa 250 Jahre lebten und sich dann in den USA niederließen (siehe Karte 1).

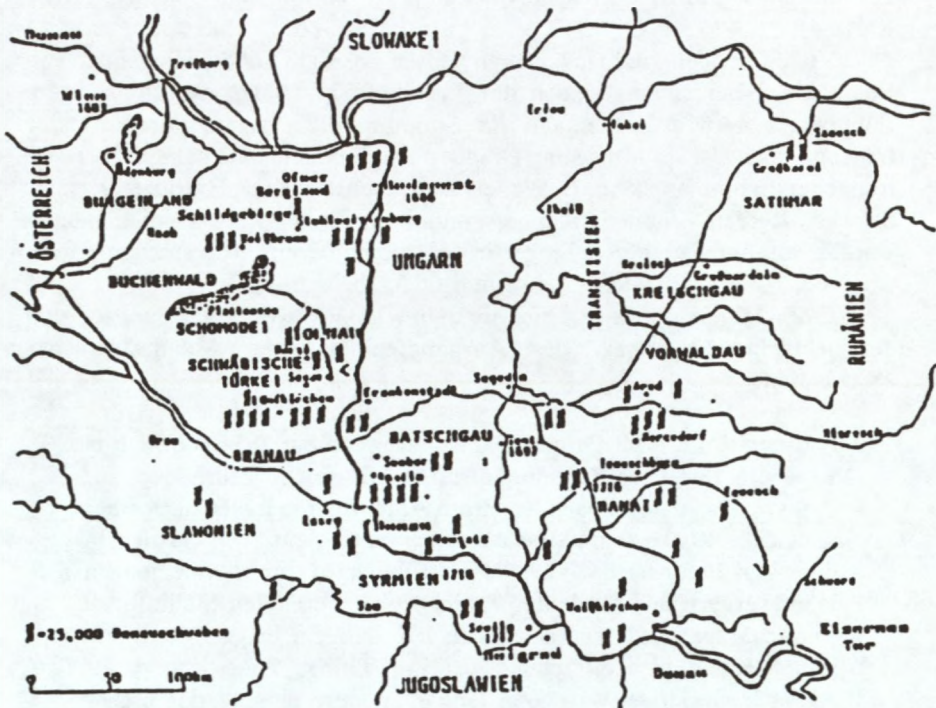
Die ersten Mundartsprecher dieser Gruppe kamen unmittelbar vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg nach Milwaukee aus dem pannonischen Becken, aus Mucsi/Mutsching² im Komitat Tolnau. Viele von ihnen wollten in Amerika Geld verdienen und dann wieder in ihre alte Heimat zurückkehren. Die meisten blieben jedoch und arbeiteten in Fabriken und im Bauwesen. Die größte Gruppe kam aber erst in den fünfziger Jahren nach Milwaukee von der Bundesrepublik Deutschland aus, wohin sie nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg ausgesiedelt worden war. Etwa zehn Familien siedelten sich zur gleichen Zeit in Aurora an.³ Die Mutschinger beider Städte pflegen bis heute eine enge Freundschaft miteinander, was zur Erhaltung ihrer Mundart wesentlich beiträgt (siehe Karte 2).

Bevor der Siedlungsweg der Mundartsprecher in ihrem Dialekt nachgewiesen wird, sollen einige geschichtliche und soziologische Bemerkungen in Bezug auf ihr Ausgangsgebiet vorausgeschickt werden. Es wird hier versucht, das Heimatgebiet der ersten Kolonisten aus den zur Verfügung stehenden geschichtlichen Quellen festzustellen und dann einige Aspekte der Siedlungsmundart mit denen der Stammheimat zu vergleichen.

Die Konskription aus dem Jahre 1720 bezeugt, daß drei deutsche Familien in Mutsching wohnten, die aus dem Fuldischen kamen. Die meisten Kolonisten aus dem Stift Fulda siedelten sich jedoch nach 1722 an; die letzten



Karte 1. Wisconsin und Illinois.



Karte 2. Deutsche Siedlungsgebiete in Südosteuropa 1683 bis 1944/45—auf beiden Seiten der mittleren Donau von der Raab im NW bis zum Eisernen Tor im Südosten. (Nach Anton Tafferner, Josef Schmidt u. Josef Volkmar Senz, *Die Donauschwaben im pannonischen Becken*)

Einwanderer kamen 1803 von Flieden, Kreis Fulda, und von Abtsroda, Kreis Gersfeld⁴ (siehe Karte 3).

Die Angaben in den Matrikelbüchern sind die wichtigsten Wegweiser bei der geschichtlichen Heimatbestimmung der Mundartsprecher. Nach den in Mutsching im Jahre 1745 begonnenen Registrierungen kamen die ersten Kolonisten aus folgenden in dem ehemaligen Bistum Fulda gelegenen Orten: Hettenhausen, Welkers, Fulda, Bronnzell, Niederkalbach, Löscherod, Pilgerzell, Reinhards, Stellberg i.d. Rhön, Lütter, Rothemann, Poppenhausen, Eichenwänder i.d. Rhön, Rückers bei Flieden, Herolz und Döllbach⁵ (siehe Karte 4).

Viele Familien- und Hausnamen weisen ebenfalls auf die Umgebung von Fulda hin. Bei einem Besuch der Friedhöfe in Hilders, Wüstensachsen, Poppenhausen und Rothemann im Sommer 1975 konnte der Verfasser folgende noch 1945 in Mutsching übliche Familiennamen auf den Grabsteinen feststellen: Hohmann, Seifert, Weber, Bott, Gensler, Kres, Hartung, Gärtner, Schwab, Keidel, Kümmel, Ruppert und Erb. Aber auch Familiennamen wurden vorgefunden, deren Träger in Mutsching bereits ausgestorben waren, wie Noll, Hau, Auth, Klose, Lebse und Ölemellersch.

Eine kleine Episode, die sich im Jahre 1934 in Rom ereignete, soll den geschichtlichen Nachweis des Ausgangsgebietes der Mundartsprecher abschließen:

Auf der Reise nach Griechenland im September 1934 hatte ich in Rom ein seltsames Zusammentreffen mit einem "Stiftfulder" aus Ungarn. Da ich mich nach längerem Aufenthalt in Italien nach einer deutschen Küche sehnte, besuchte ich einen deutschen Gasthof in der Via Pettinari, wo ich eine fröhliche Gruppe von jungen Handwerkern und Studenten "beim lecker bereiteten Mahle" traf. Beim anregenden Gespräch hörte ich, daß ein junger Mann von seinen Kameraden oft scherzweise mit "Ungar" angeredet wurde. Als er bemerkte, er wäre kein Ungar, sondern ein ungarländischer Schwabe, fragte ich ihn, ob er nicht, nach seiner Mundart zu urteilen, eigentlich ein "Stiftfulder" wäre. Durch meine Erwiderung ganz überrascht, sprang der junge Mann lachend vom Tisch auf und rief: "Natürlich bin ich ein Stifoler und zwar aus Mucsi bei Fünfkirchen." . . . Und so konnte ich dem jungen Schreiner Adam Erb mancherlei von seinen Vorfahren im Fuldaer Land und ihrer Auswanderung nach Ungarn berichten.⁶

In den folgenden Ausführungen wird versucht, die Heimat der Siedler aus ihrer Mundart nachzuweisen und mit dem Dialekt des geschichtlichen Herkunftsgebietes zu vergleichen.



Karte 3. Hessen. (Nach Otto Siegner, *Hessen* [Verlag Ludwig Simon, München-Pullach])

Nach Ferdinand Wredes Einteilungskarte der deutschen Mundarten (Karte 56) gehört die Ursprungsmundart der Siedler zum Nordrheinfränkischen (Hessischen) als Teil des Hochdeutschen mit den Kennzeichen *appl, fest, das, ich/machen, pund* vs. *apfel, fescht, dat, ik/maken, fund* (siehe Karte 5).

Über die nordrheinfränkischen (hessischen) Mundarten, insbesondere über das Ost- und das Nordhessische, die für den Vergleich der Mundart von Mutsching in Frage kommen, liegen Abhandlungen über die Dialekte der Landschaften um Fulda,^{7,8} der mittleren Fulda (Kreis Rotenburg und Hersfeld),⁹ des südlichen Werra-Fuldaraumes,¹⁰ und des Rhöngebietes¹¹ vor. Zur Abgrenzung der Untersuchung wird die jüngste Arbeit, nämlich die im Jahr 1977 erschienene *Kontrastive Grammatik: Osthessisch-Standardsprache* von Klaus Peter Wegera, herangezogen.

Das von Wegera bearbeitete Untersuchungsgebiet umfaßt das sogenannte "Fuldaer Land" und ist identisch mit dem Verwaltungsbereich des heutigen Großkreises Fulda. Es erstreckt sich von Eiterfeld im Norden bis Gersfeld im Süden und von Bad Salzschlirf im Westen bis Tann im Osten. "Historisch stellt das Gebiet in etwa das Kerngebiet der ehemaligen Fürstabtei Fulda dar, die vom frühen Mittelalter bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts souverän war"¹² (siehe Karte 6).

Die Untersuchungen von Wegera weisen im "Fuldaer Land" zwei Vokalinventare nach.¹³

Mundartsystem I

/i(:)/ /ü(:)/ /u(:)/
 /e(:)/ /ö(:)/ /o(:)/
 /ä(:)/ /ö(:)/ /q(:)/
 /á(:)/ /a(:)/

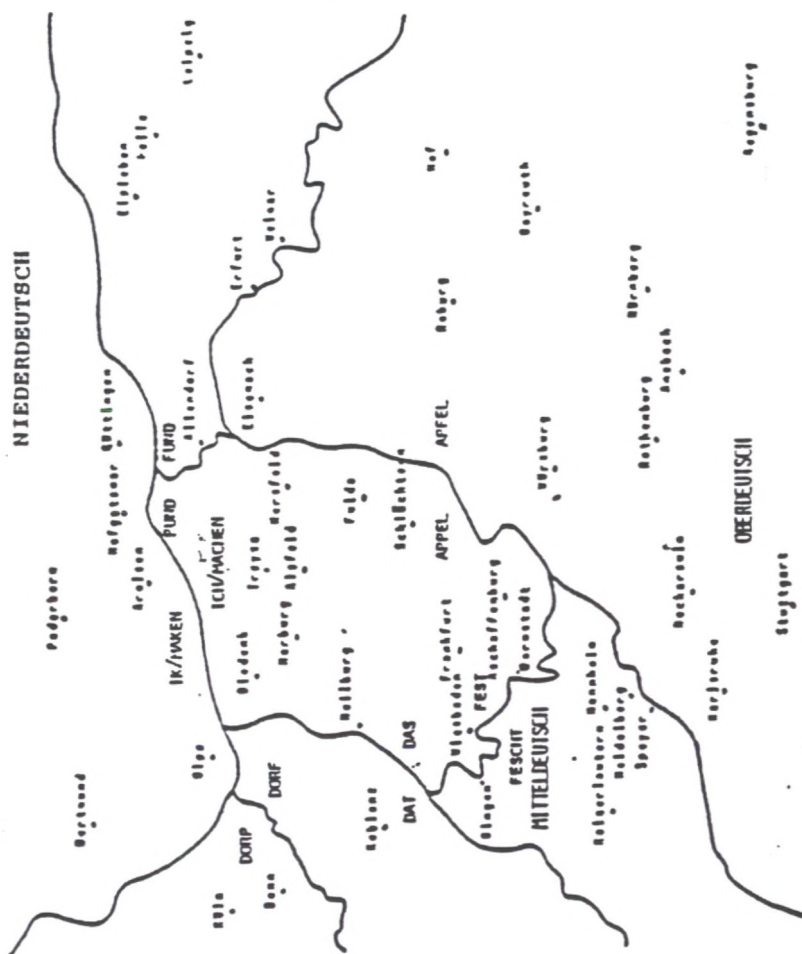
Mundartsystem II

/i(:)/ /u(:)/
 /e(:)/ /o(:)/
 /ä(:)/ /q(:)/
 /á(:)/ /a(:)/

Diphthonge

 /ui/
 /äe/ /qi/ /qa/ /qu/
 /äe/ /ae/ /ao/

Im Vokalsystem I sind die gerundeten Vokale /ö(:)/ und /ü(:)/ belegt, die im Vokalsystem II fehlen. Somit gibt es zwei Mundartgebiete, die sich durch Rundung bzw. Entrundung unterscheiden. Sprachliche Kriterien für eine linienmäßige Mundartgrenze sind jedoch nicht gegeben. Die zwei Vokalinventare sind auf das ganze Gebiet verteilt.¹⁴



Karte 5. Wredes Einteilungskarte.

Für Mutsching läßt sich nur das Vokalsystem II nachweisen.¹⁵ Die Entrundung von /ö(:)/ und /ü(:)/ zu /e(:)/ und /i(:)/ war schon vor der Auswanderung nach Ungarn eingetreten. Alle anderen fuldischen Mundarten in Ungarn weisen ebenfalls keine Rundung auf.

Für die Lautlehre sollen die charakteristischen Hauptmerkmale zwischen dem Dialekt des Fuldaer Landes und der Siedlungsmundart von Mutsching nachgewiesen werden:

1. Die historischen Entwicklungsregeln, d.h. die Senkung des mhd. *ē* zu *a* und die Hebung des mhd. *i* zu *e* gelten sowohl für das gesamte Gebiet des Fuldaer Landes als auch für die Siedlungsmundart Mutsching:¹⁶ /wá:g/ 'Weg' (S. 69).¹⁷ Die Entwicklung des mhd. *i* zu *e* bezeugt: /héd/s/ 'Hitze' (S. 64).
2. In beiden Mundarten ist eine starke Vokalisierung des *r* oder sein Ausfall nachgewiesen wie in /á:de/ 'Erde' (S. 69).
3. Die Diphthongierung von mhd. *ī*, *ū*, *iu* zu nhd. *ei/ai*, *au*, *eu/äu* wurde im Fuldaer Land nur in kleinen Teilgebieten, in Mutsching aber regelmäßig, durchgeführt. /i:s/ (FL) /a:es/ (M) 'Eis', /du:ve/ (FL) /da:ove/ (M) 'Tauben', /mi:s/ (FL) /ma:es/ (M) 'Mäuse'. (S. 73-74).
4. Die hspr. Laute /i:, u:, ü:/aus mhd. *ie*, *uo*, *üe* sind wie folgt nachgewiesen:
 Mhd. *ie*, hspr. /i:/, ist sowohl in Mutsching als auch im Fuldaer Land mit /i:/ als Hauptentsprechung belegt:
 /bri:f/ 'Brief' (S. 68).
 Für mhd. *uo*, hspr. /u:/, erscheint als Hauptform im Fuldaer Land /o(:)/ und in Mutsching /u(:)/ /bo:x/ (FL) /bu:x/ (M) 'Buch' (S. 71).
 Mhd. *üe*, hspr. /ü:/, ist im Fuldaer Land mit /i:/ /ü:/ und in Mutsching mit /i(:)/ als Hauptformen belegt:
 /di:r/ /dü:r/ (FL) /di:r/ (M) 'Tür' (S. 71).
5. Wie in Mutsching so ist auch im Fuldaer Land das mda. /a/ vor *l* oder Nasal + Verschußlaut gedehnt: /wa:ld/ 'Wald'; /ha:nd/ 'Hand' (S. 67).
6. Die Plosive *b d g* sind im ganzen Fuldaer Land wie in Mutsching immer stimmlos.
7. In den Fragepronomen und -adverbien wandelte sich mhd. *w* (westgermanisches *hw*) zu /b/ sowohl in der Siedlungsmda. als auch in der Mda. des Ursprungsgebietes: /bá:r/ 'wer'; /bo:/ (FL) /bu:/ (M) 'wo'; /ban/ 'wann' (S. 221).

Zur Formenlehre des von Wegera untersuchten Gebietes sollen nur einige Bemerkungen gemacht werden:

1. Die Endung *-en* des Inf. wird immer apokopiert: /ix hör ən seŋ/ (FL) /ix hinən sɛŋ/ (M) 'ich höre ihn singen' (S. 170).
2. Nach *können*, in Mutsching auch nach *mögen*, erhält der Inf. die Vorsilbe *ge-*: /ix kon gəkom / (FL) /ix koun gəkoum/ (M) 'ich kann kommen' (S. 170).
3. Die Präsensform des Hilfszeitwortes *sein* lautet: /ix sɛn/ /du visd/ /há is/ /mir sɛn/ /i:r saed/ /si: sɛn/ ganz wie in der Urheimat. Desgleichen die Formen von *wollen*: /ix wəl/ /du wəlst/. Diese Formen kennen die übrigen Dialekte der Schwäbischen Türkei nicht.¹⁸

In Bezug auf Wortstellung bezeugt sowohl die Mundart von Mutsching als auch die des Fuldaer Landes, daß anstelle des hspr. "doppelten Inf." das mda. Part. Prät. des Modalverbs, das grundsätzlich vor dem Inf. des Verbs steht: /ix həd dö(r)fd kom/ (FL) /ix had dirfd koum/ (M) 'ich hätte gedurft kommen', anstatt 'ich hätte kommen dürfen' (S. 225).

Der Vergleich der Mundart mit ausgewählten Karten des Deutschen Sprachatlases¹⁹ soll die Ausführungen über das mundartliche Ausgangsgebiet abschließen. Die Diphthongierungsgebiete des mhd. *i* (nhd. *ei/ai*) sind mit Karte "Eis" und mhd. *u* (nhd. *au*) mit Karte "Haus" belegt.

Karte "Eis" bezeugt, daß die *is/eis*-Linie unmittelbar im Süden des Fuldaer Landes verläuft (siehe Karte 7).

Karte "Haus" weist in der Umgebung von Fulda und gegen den Nordosten bis über Hünfeld hinaus *huis*, im Westen Fuldas *huss*, im ganzen thüringischen Gebiet *hus* und im Süden des Fuldaer Landes *haus* auf (siehe Karte 8).

Zum Nachweis der mundartlichen Herkunft wurden in den dreißiger Jahren zur Heimatbestimmung der Mundartsprecher u.a. die DSA-Karten "Feld" und "Dorf" benutzt.

Feld erscheint als *fald* in einem großen Gebiet des heutigen Nord-Bayern und reicht im Nordosten bis nach Thüringen hinein. Es sind jedoch auch Verschiebungen des Stammvokals /e/ zu /a/ im Raum südlich der Stadt Fulda nachgewiesen (siehe Karte 9).

Die Lautveränderung /o/ zu /u/ zeigt die Karte "Dorf." /durf/ mit kurzem Stammvokal erscheint als Hauptform in einem großen osthessischen, fränkischen und thüringischen Gebiet; /du:rf/ ist im Süden und Südosten des Fuldaer Landes bezeugt (siehe Karte 10).

Bezüglich der mundartlichen Herkunft der Siedler kann man daher sagen, daß sich das Vokalsystem mit den Entrundungen durchsetzte. Die für den Vergleich herangezogenen DSA-Karten bezeugen süd-südostfuldische (osthessische) Mundartmerkmale.

In die Mda. von Mutsching drangen bis 1945 wegen der Abgeschlossenheit des Ortes und infolge der konservativen Haltung der Sprecher nur verhältnismäßig wenig ungarische Elemente ein.²⁰ Der überwiegende Teil von Entlehnungen ist im Lehnwortschatz festzustellen, besonders im Bereich der Landwirtschaft und Viehzucht. Als Beispiele sollennur einige Belege dienen: /hudr/ ung. *határ* 'Dorfemarkung'; /busdē/ ung. *puszta* 'Gutshof'; /bo:ugl/ ung. *pulyka* 'Truthahn'.

Zahlreiche ung. Bezeichnungen und hybride Zusammensetzungen wurden auch für Speisen verwendet. Die ung. Wörter für die Fleischspeisen *paprikás*, *gulyás*, *pörkölt* zeigen je nach Verwendung von Fleisch oder Fisch zahlreiche hybride Wortbildungen wie /hiŋlsbâbrigá:š/ 'Hühnerpaprikás', /šva:enëbërgëld/ 'Schweinepörkölt', /kâlbsgulá:š/ 'Kalbsgulyás'.

Auch für die Bezeichnungen von Kleidungsstücken wurden manche ung. Entlehnungen verwendet. So nannte man die selbstgestrickte Fußbekleidung /budšgr/ ung. *bocskor* und lange Unterhosen /goadjiho:uze/ ung. *gatyá*.

Kurz erwähnt werden soll hier auch der Gebrauch von zahlreichen ung. Vor- und Verwandtschaftsnamen. Allgemein bekannt waren die Vornamen /mišgo/, /jânuš/, /fërends/-/fëri/, /joušgo/, /juri/ ung. *Miska*, *János*, *Ferenc*/*Feri*, *József*, *György* für 'Michael', 'Johann', 'Franz', 'Josef', 'Georg'. Als ung. Verwandtschaftsnamen waren verbreitet /bá:dši/ /né:ni/ /šo:ugr/ /goumâ/ ung. *bácsi*, *néni*, *sógor*, *komám* für 'Onkel', 'Tante', 'Schwager', 'Gevatter'.

Nach 1867, dem Beginn der Österreich-Ungarischen Monarchie, wurden mehr und mehr Entlehnungen aus der Soldatensprache übernommen. Die ung. 'Armee' nannte man /hounvé:d/ ung. *honvéd*, den 'Infantristen' /bâgå/ ung. *baka*.

Der unmittelbare Kontakt mit dem Amerikanisch-Englischen in Milwaukee und Aurora verstärkte natürlich die Aufnahme fremden Lehngutes. Die Entlehnungen wurden von den alteingesessenen Mutschingern und früher eingewanderten südostdeutschen Mundartsprechern bzw. Reichsdeutschen übernommen. Die ersten Einwanderer aus Mutsching hatten in ihrer Mehrzahl kaum Kontakt mit der englischsprechenden Bevölkerung. Die nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg angekommenen Siedler schlossen sich fast ausschließlich ihren Landsleuten und deren Freunden an. Wenn möglich, suchten die erwachsenen Mundartsprecher Arbeitsplätze, wo mehrere Deutsche beschäftigt waren.

Man fragt mit Recht nach den Gründen der Übernahme des englischen Lehngutes und seiner Verbreitung in der Mundart. Es ist eine Tatsache, daß die Mutschinger, wie jeder südostdeutsche Einwanderer in die Vereinigten Staaten, in eine fremdsprachliche und hochtechnisierte Umgebung hineingestellt wurden, was als Folge ein Gefühl der Unsicherheit und Unterlegenheit hervorrief. Jeder hatte deshalb den Wunsch, recht schnell wirtschaftlich Fuß zu fassen und sich rasch einzuleben, zumal es für die meisten aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen keine Rückkehr mehr gab. Eine

Voraussetzung hierfür war die Erlernung des sogenannten "Amerikanisch-Deutschen", um von den früher Eingewanderten verstanden und nicht belächelt zu werden. Die besten Kenner der in den Vereinigten Staaten gesprochenen deutschen Sprachvarianten stimmen heute darin überein, daß niemand ohne englisches Lehngut auskommen könnte. Man würde weder von den Eingewanderten, die das "Amerikanisch-Deutsche" im Land erlernten, noch von denen, die schon längere Zeit im Land wohnen, verstanden.

Neben dem Gefühl der Unsicherheit und Unterlegenheit gibt es noch andere Gründe für die Übernahme englischen Lehnwortes. Die Mutschinger, die aus einer rein landwirtschaftlichen Umgebung kamen, waren wie alle anderen Einwanderer gezwungen, Wortgut in ihre Mundart einzubauen, für das es keine entsprechenden Bezeichnungen gab, zum Beispiel für Maße und Gewichte (*Gallon, Quart, Pint, Yard, Acre*).

Häufig wurden die aus dem Ungarischen übernommenen Vor- und Verwandtschaftsnamen und Entlehnungen aus der Soldatensprache durch englische Lehnwörter ersetzt. So nennt man heute *Michael* /ma:eg/ und die *Armee* /a:rmi/.

Wie das Amerikanisch-Deutsche allgemein, so hat auch die Mundart von Mutsching vor allem Wörter des täglichen Gebrauchs aus dem Englischen übernommen. Es kommen sehr viele amerikanisch-englische Entlehnungen aus dem Gebiet der Wirtschaft mit seinen Geschäfts- und Berufsbezeichnungen wie *air conditioner* 'Klimaanlage', *company* 'Firma', *bill* 'Rechnung', *businessman* 'Kaufmann' und viele andere.

Aber auch das Gebiet des Verkehrs- und Nachrichtenwesens ist stark mit Lehnwörtern durchsetzt wie *car* 'Auto', *interstate* 'Autobahn', *telephone company* 'Fernmeldeamt'.

Eine große Anzahl englischer Lehnwörter wurde aus den Sachgebieten übernommen, auf die der Einwanderer zuerst angewiesen war, zum Beispiel aus dem des Bauwesens, der Hausgeräte, der Kleidung und dem der Ernährung. Auf einzelne Beispiele sowie auf weitere Ausführungen muß an dieser Stelle verzichtet werden.

Zusammenfassend ist zu sagen, daß, dem Dialekt nach zu urteilen, das Ausgangsgebiet der Mundartssprecher im Osthessischen lag, daß sie von hier zuerst nach Ungarn wanderten, wo während des fast 250-jährigen Aufenthaltes ungarische Sprachelemente in die Mundart eindrangen, und daß sie sich dann in Milwaukee und Aurora ansiedelten, wo sie englisches Lehngut in ihre Muttersprache einbauten.

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Anmerkungen

¹ Die nachstehenden Ausführungen sind eine revidierte und erweiterte Fassung eines Vortrages, der auf der Jahrestagung der "Society for German-American Studies" im April 1990 in Indianapolis gehalten wurde.

² Der ungarische Name der ehemaligen deutschen Großgemeinde lautet Mucsi. Im folgenden wird die deutsche Bezeichnung Mutsching verwendet.

³ Die Feststellungen beruhen auf den in den Jahren 1972, 1979 und 1980 in Milwaukee und Aurora gemachten Untersuchungen.

⁴ Eisenbrunner, "Mucsi in der Tolna", in *Unsere Post*, Jg. 23, Nr. 6 (1968), S. 10.

⁵ Die Ortsangaben stammen aus den Heirats- und Sterberegistern in Mucsi von Dr. Carl Müller, "Besuch bei den 'Stiftfuldern' in Jugoslawien und Ungarn," *Buchenblätter*, Jg. 17, Nr. 50 (1936), S. 201. Zum Vergleich siehe auch Johannes Hack, "Fuldaer Landesuntertanen wandern nach Ungarn," in *Neue Heimatblätter*, Jg. 3 (1938/39), S. 115-16.

⁶ Müller, "Besuch bei 'Stiftfuldern' in Jugoslawien und Ungarn," S. 197.

⁷ Fritz Noack, *Die Mundart der Landschaft um Fulda*, DDG, 27 (Marburg/Lahn, 1938).

⁸ Klaus Peter Wegera, *Kontrastive Grammatik: Osthessisch-Standardsprache: Eine Untersuchung zu mundartbedingten Sprachschwierigkeiten von Schülern am Beispiel des 'Fuldaer Landes'*, DDG, 103 (Marburg/Lahn, 1977).

⁹ Lothar Martin, *Die Mundartlandschaft der mittleren Fulda (Kreis Rotenburg und Hersfeld)*, DDG, 44 (Marburg/Lahn, 1957).

¹⁰ Edeltraud Weber, *Beiträge zur Dialektgeographie des südlichen Werra-Fuldaraumes*, Mitteldeutsche Forschungen, 15 (Tübingen, 1959).

¹¹ Karl Glöckner, *Die Mundarten der Rhön* (Darmstadt, 1913).

¹² Wegera, S. 26.

¹³ Wegera, S. 57-58.

¹⁴ Wegera, S. 28 und 54.

¹⁵ Die Angaben über Mutsching gründen sich auf Andreas Gommermann, "Oberhessische Siedlungsmundart in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA: Tochtermundart einer in Mucsi (Ungarn) gesprochenen fuldischen Siedlungsmundart," Diss., University of Nebraska, 1975 (DAI #36, 6064 A). Das phonemische Inventar ist in einem nichtveröffentlichten Manuskript eingehend bearbeitet worden.

¹⁶ Zur Unterscheidung der Belege—sofern lautliche Abweichungen oder Dehnung/Kürzung nachgewiesen—werden für das Fuldaer Land (FL) und für Mutsching (M) als Abkürzung verwendet.

¹⁷ Die den Belegen folgenden Seitenzahlen beziehen sich auf Wegera.

¹⁸ Johannes Hack, "Die Fuldaer Mundarten in Ungarn," *Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter* (1934), S. 75.

¹⁹ Der Vergleich mit den Karten des Deutschen Sprachatlases wurde während eines "Sabbaticals" im Sommer 1982 in Marburg/Lahn durchgeführt. Für die freundliche Aufnahme und Unterstützung sei hier den Mitarbeitern des DSA sowie Professor Joachim Göschel und Herrn Toningenieur Hopf vom Fachbereich 8 der Philipps-Universität gedankt.

²⁰ Über nähere Ausführungen über Entlehnungen aus dem Ungarischen und Englischen siehe Andreas Gommermann, "Hungarian and American Borrowings in a Twice Transplanted Dialect" in Paul Schach, *Languages in Conflict: Linguistic Acculturation on the Great Plains* (Lincoln, NE, 1980), S. 86-93.

Jessica C. E. Gienow

The Decline of the German Language in Early America: The Henkel Family of New Market, Virginia, 1760-1840

Ich danke Gott, daß ich in deutscher Zunge meinen Gott also höre und finde, als ich ihn bisher nicht gefunden habe, weder in lateinischer, griechischer oder hebräischer Zunge. (Martin Luther, 1517)¹

During the colonial and early national period, the use of spoken and written versions of the German literary language by descendants of pre-Revolutionary German immigrants was gradually but ultimately completely assimilated into "the American melting pot." This forms one of the obscure aspects of American immigration history. After all, language is an expression of cultural and national identity. How could an entire national group permit the loss of its linguistic distinctiveness? Did Germans undertake anything to prevent it? This study inquires into the transition from the German to the English language on the American Appalachian frontier between 1760 and 1840. During these decades bilingualism invaded the formerly strictly German-speaking settlements, and ultimately paved the way for English as the accepted form of speech. The ensuing conflict between cultural adherence to the mother tongue and movement towards Americanization was experienced by every German-speaking colonist.

To retrace the course of this development, I have singled out the example of a Lutheran family who came to fight most fervently against the decline of the German language: the Henkel clan of New Market, Virginia. In 1717, the Lutheran pastor Anthony Gerhard Henkel had emigrated with his twelve children from the small town of Neckargemünd near Heidelberg to Pennsylvania.² For the next hundred years, his descendants encountered lingual pluralism, faced the increasing competition between their ancestors' tongue and the language of their new homeland, and ended up preferring the New World's dominant language. This language battle was finally to be decided in the German churches. The Henkels became key figures among

southern Lutherans, and their thoughts and activities during the linguistic disputes—as documented by the vast amount of letters, books and pamphlets they wrote—provide us with a telling example of "linguistic conversion."

This study begins with Pastor Paul Henkel (1754-1825), who was the great-grandson of Anthony Gerhard Henkel. Paul Henkel's parents lived on the frontier in what is now Pendleton County, West Virginia.³ Like all German settlers in America who originated from areas with a distinctive regional idiom, the family probably spoke a dialect—in Virginia known as "Valley Dutch"—at home and in the neighborhood. Martin Luther's *Hochdeutsch*, on the other hand, was used for school and church services, and in communication with other dialect groups.⁴ Accordingly, young Paul Henkel was instructed in German, also. As his earliest diary entries reveal:

We had for our teacher a German lady named Catherina Klein In the German school she taught us how to read, write, . . . and took pains so that in a short time we could all read German. My parents had so much regard for language and church that they took care that I was instructed in them.⁵

But father Jacob Henkel, a carpenter, made religious and linguistic pluralism the basis of his children's education:

[A]n English school was established in the neighborhood, and I and my elder brother, Moses, were also sent to it There we learned reading and writing The head of our school, William Robinson, was from old England, and had studied at Oxford University He was devoted admirer of the Episcopal Church of England. (1768)⁶

It appears that initially none of this family of German descent was committed to the preservation of their peculiar faith or their ancestors' language. This was due to the increasing German-English contacts, particularly after the Revolution. In the Revolutionary War, the joint fighting and the shared pain united German and English-speaking settlers.

In addition, the growing social amalgamation of the two language groups in formerly monolingual communities made many Germans feel along American rather than German lines. Young Paul Henkel, for example, felt attracted by the religious values of English-speaking Episcopalians, Baptists and Methodists, and the German Lutherans alike.⁷ His initial liberalism concerning language and denomination reflected the prevalent religious situation on the frontier. Generally, the English-speaking churches sent out many more itinerant preachers into the South than did the Germans. Not before 1785 was the first Lutheran minister ordained to a congregation south of the Mason-Dixon line.⁸ As late as 1809 the Lutheran register of Virginia

recorded forty-eight congregations in the state—but only eight pastors, mostly in the Shenandoah Valley.⁹

Thus, Germans on the southern frontier had to accept whatever itinerant preacher came along, whether he was an apostle of the Episcopalians or an Anabaptist, whether he promised salvation in English or in German.¹⁰ The overwhelming majority of English-speaking churches impressed young Paul Henkel so much that initially he suppressed his desire to become a Lutheran clergyman. As he explained, only the direct intervention in a dream in 1782 by the great German reformer Martin Luther changed his life:

He said: You are worried because of your calling as a teacher.¹¹ I acknowledged this and said that I was one left alone in the world: I had no people here who were my fellow believers, but they were all of other convictions and were enemies to the faith of our Church, and, I had noticed, also to me because I still held to its faith. He gave me for answer that he had many times been anxious for the doctrines of the Church, and had also had to suffer many things on their account.¹²

Clearly Henkel did not feel strong enough to maintain in an environment dominated by "all other convictions" a German church without the support of "fellow believers." But the dream was the signpost for Paul Henkel's future, and for the rest of his life, he remained a devoted follower of the Saxon reformer. His personal identification with the "German Master of Languages" was to become so strong that he would compare himself with Martin Luther innumerable times.¹³

Though not yet licensed, Paul Henkel now set out to be a minister. Without official authorization he preached to German and English congregations in Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina. He also underwent instruction by the German pastor John Andrew Krug of Frederick, Maryland. Finally, in 1783, he was licensed as catechist for the ministry by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. As a catechist, he had the right to baptize and preach within a limited geographical area. Nine years later the Ministerium of Pennsylvania ordained him as a Lutheran minister.¹⁴ Paul Henkel's diary entries during his early years as a clergyman (1783-92) enumerate tireless travels and successful religious work, but they do not yet tell much about the German language. Henkel's life task was to strengthen the few dispersed Lutheran communities in Virginia and the adjacent states against the much stronger popular churches and sects. Since he wanted to convert both English and Germans to true Lutheranism, he preached daily in German and in English. In 1785 for example, Henkel noted: "I found . . . a very large congregation of German and English. I preached to the Germans and English so that both understood it. The English people invited me to preach to them on the following day."¹⁵

The younger generation of Lutherans usually favored services in English, but many older Lutherans were bitterly opposed. An ugly clash took place in the Hebron Church in Madison County, Virginia, in 1789, with the elders forbidding the pastor to preach in English. The itinerant Henkel, however, was welcome to preach in English occasionally.¹⁶

Some congregations even ousted pastors who dared to try to introduce English-language worship. Others made the transition silently when a deceased German or bilingual minister was replaced by an English-preaching successor. The Germans of Winchester in the Upper Shenandoah Valley, for example, were very grateful for the fact that Christian Streit was bilingual and thus could preach to them in German.¹⁷ But when, after Streit's death in 1812, a new pastor named Abraham Reck arrived, the church secretary noted that "as the German Language is nearly extinct, we are compelled to keep the minutes in the English language."¹⁸

By the time Paul Henkel was ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1792, the language problem was widely debated. Ardent Germans petitioned the House of Delegates of the General Assembly of Virginia,

setting forth that their ignorance of the English language renders it impossible for them at present to become acquainted with the proceedings of the General Assembly and praying that a sufficient number of the laws of this Commonwealth for their use may be printed in the German language.¹⁹

Two years later, the House of Delegates resolved to translate several laws, thus recognizing for the first time a linguistic minority in the state.²⁰ Nevertheless, if a German wanted to enter actively the political scene, he had to promote himself in the country's first language.²¹

At the same time there arose a strong concern for the German language in the Lutheran Church. Until the Revolution this organization had relied on the immediate personal, financial, and moral support from the central Lutheran Church in Germany. After 1776, in sharp contrast to most denominations, the Lutherans did not organize to achieve independence from their European superiors and tradition. However, the authorities in Germany were less willing or able to maintain their American extension.²² As a result, for the next four decades American Lutheran officials were unable to form a strong church body in the New World. For a long time American Lutherans failed to decide the difficult question of whether they should remain a traditional German Church or convert to the spirit and language of the new-born nation. The traditional faith of the Lutheran Church was based on the *Confessio Invariata* (*Unverändertes Augsburger Bekenntnis*). This confession, made at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 by various Protestant groups and turned over to Charles V, included all doctrinal differences by which Protestants set themselves apart from the hated Catholics.²³ While most Protestant groups

later on modified or withdrew from the Augsburg Confession, Lutherans demanded a strict (*unverändert*) adherence to it until the nineteenth century. But the altered conditions in the New World confronted Lutherans with a number of problems: How could a church with a German tradition minister to its own youth, who literally "spoke a different language"? If one transplanted the pietism of their German ancestors into English, what would be distinctively Lutheran in the result? How was a church with a parish-oriented clergy going to cope with the mobile population of this new land? How could the high standards of theological education, which most Lutheran leaders considered necessary, be maintained in the face of a pressing need for clergymen and an obvious lack of interest in establishing a school to educate them?²⁴

The foremost problem, one which soared above all these questions, was the language barrier. The authorities of the German Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania and Adjacent States²⁵ officially rejected the thought of abandoning their founding father's idiom or mixing it up with a foreign language. The ministerium believed that any change threatened the integrity and identity of the true church. Many conservatives argued that their teachings only existed in the German language, and that the truths proclaimed by Luther could never be adequately translated.²⁶

In 1797, the ministerium flatly resolved that no English Lutheran congregation would be recognized in a place where an Episcopal organization already existed. In fact, the resolution recommended that the English-speaking population worship with the Episcopalians rather than form new Lutheran branches.²⁷ When a minority in Philadelphia during the years between 1804 and 1807 demanded the introduction of English, the ministerium constantly declined the appeal, claiming that "it must remain a German-speaking ministerium."²⁸

This ministerial attitude may not be judged as simply stubborn or blind. Early experiments in introducing English into bilingual communities during the 1790s had led to schisms and the formation of separate, exclusively English congregations.²⁹ It appeared that in church these two groups—like oil and water—did not mix. Consequently, Lutheran authorities undertook everything to keep the German element apart from the "American melting pot."

Alerted by the obvious encroachments of the English language among its own ranks, in the 1790s the Lutheran Church in Virginia ordered its congregations to establish local German grammar schools.³⁰ In North Carolina, German preachers dissuaded their parishioners from contracting marriages with settlers of Scottish or Irish descent, in order that "German blood and the German language be preserved."³¹ The same advice was given by pastor Arnold Roschen to his congregation in South Carolina who warned the Germans:

Such mixed marriages are generally unhappy, and sometimes occasion murder and homicide, [because] . . . the English in these regions belong to no religious denomination, and do not permit their children to be baptized, nor send them to school.³²

Dangerous as false religions seemed, German Lutheran leaders were even more concerned about a growing religious indifference.³³ "[R]eligion is one of the objects which occupies the least of the attention of the American people," witnessed a traveler in the late 1790s in Virginia.³⁴ And another contemporary noted the natives' open hostility, their indolence, and their widespread addiction to liquor:

Indeed, throughout the lower part of Virginia . . . the people have scarcely any religion, and in the country parts the churches are falling into decay. As I rode along, I scarcely observed one that was not in ruinous condition with the windows broken, and doors dropping off the hinges and lying open to the pigs and cattle wandering about the woods.³⁵

Paul Henkel, initially open to bilingual preaching,³⁶ remarked that many English audiences favored Methodism, Deism and Anabaptism to Lutheranism—if they were concerned about religion at all.³⁷ But mostly he was frustrated that they did not show any interest, as happened to him in 1794 in Hot Springs, Virginia, where "it was difficult to make an impression upon the English speaking people as the most of them were there seeking pleasure and were not interested in the Gospel. They had come from Old Virginia" [i.e., Tidewater].³⁸

Germans like Paul Henkel concluded that use of the English language was indicative of irreligion and immorality. Henkel's observations were representative of the general trend in the Lutheran Church to keep itself apart from the "alienated" English element, and by doing so to preserve its proper German faith and doctrine.³⁹ Henkel deplored that in the Virginia Valley "the English language is making strong encroachments, and the people are influenced by worldly goods, greed and other vices."⁴⁰

Henkel, along with most German Lutheran leaders, did not welcome the "Great Revival in the South." This awakening started in Kentucky in 1800. In 1801, it swept over the border to North Carolina, and, by the following year, encompassed Virginia, both Carolinas and Georgia.⁴¹ Although the movement was led by English-speaking denominations, notably the Methodists, it attracted a number of both Lutherans and unchurched people of German descent. It is noteworthy that the revivals appealed especially to young people who formed the largest part of the population in most southwestern territories and who had been increasingly disenchanted by the church's traditional

rituals.⁴² These young people came mostly from families of small farmers and had little education and few pretensions.

After Paul Henkel had encountered a number of the revivalists in North Carolina in 1801, he decided to move to the frontier where "the superstition and unbelief is still very dominant among Germans."⁴³ Frontier pioneers had urged Paul Henkel to "take an Inclination to come again for hir there is some of our cuntrey and also of the English Denomenation tha has a great Desior to Heer your Opinjon of the Salvation of their Soles."⁴⁴

In Paul Henkel's descriptions the Germans emerged increasingly as the sober, decent conservatives, while the English appeared revivalist, fanatical and brutal. "The English were ready to attack me," he reported from a revival camp in North Carolina in 1801.⁴⁵ In the same state he noted five years later:

Yesterday I was the first preacher who had been at Brush Creek The first sermon was for the Germans, during which all were quiet and very attentive After this followed an English sermon. But what shall I say to the assembly? Some of them are even drunk and others look very dissolute.⁴⁶

Though after 1805 the awakening rapidly declined, the fear it had stirred among the conservative authorities of the Lutheran Church did not abate. The explicit individualism of the movement, the exaggerated emotionalism, and the interdenominational unionism went much too far for the tradition-oriented Lutherans. English-speaking religious groups became more suspect than ever, and the only means to shelter Lutheran belief against their influence was the barrier of the German language.

Henkel's diary notes in the following years emphasize increasingly this moral and behavioral difference between his German and his English audiences. An Ohio entry in 1808 bears witness to a strange image of the English-speaking population:

Today a number of Germans assembled, and also English people, but more English than Germans. The English people are mostly Methodists; the women are lean and consumptive-looking creatures. Each one has her pipe with her in her mouth, smoking incessantly before and after the service.⁴⁷

For Paul Henkel these English were nearly another race, and their influence on the Germans was especially dangerous when they "requested the Germans to allow me to preach in English."⁴⁸ Henkel himself more and more rejected the country's dominant language. When in 1806 Ohioans desired to hear him preach in the English tongue, he grumbled: "O perverse people! If you are invited you will not come, and now we are overrun with you! Nevertheless I

must preach to you too, so as to get room to continue my instruction of the young."⁴⁹

Clearly, the language issue had become an increasing dilemma. On the one hand Paul Henkel and his colleagues had to preach English in order to reach the young German population. On the other hand they knew that introducing the English idiom in church meant opening themselves to American religious influences. Numerous times Paul Henkel accused the Germans of being "not only very much inclined to the language and customs of the English speaking people, but also to the doctrines of the Presbyterian Church."⁵⁰ Many experiences taught him that the language transition caused severe identity problems for many settlers. "I found an example of how foolishly many of our Germans act in regard to being German," he observed in 1808:

This woman and her husband were Germans, but the woman after coming here did not want to be German any longer, spoke English only with her few small children. But now that she was sick and had to think of death, English had no significance for her Ever since her sickness began her desire has been to hear a German minister.⁵¹

But when eventually, in 1810, the Lutheran Ministerium in Pennsylvania changed its language policy and officially allowed bilingual preaching,⁵² Henkel had to overcome his anti-English bias. Gradually the officials accepted that the English language entered their church not only from outside, by English people interested in Lutheran doctrine, but much more from inside, by the next generation preferring the English to the German idiom. To satisfy the needs of both generations, bilingual services became a necessity.

As Paul Henkel concluded in 1811, to bring the "Word of God" to the bilingual settlements he had to use a vocabulary both language groups would understand. "I also preached in English so plain and clear that the Germans could understand the sermon as easily as the English speaking people . . . the Germans allowed themselves to be persuaded to have the service wholly in English."⁵³

To support Luther's language and doctrine on the frontier, Paul Henkel and his sons Solomon and Ambrosius established a printing press in New Market in 1807. Though the entrepreneurs planned to print religious and schoolbooks, their first major project was a weekly paper, the *Virginische Volksberichter und New Marketer Wochenzeitschrift*. "Meinen und vieler Wohlwünscher Erachten gemässt ist solches höchst notwendig," explained the young editor, Ambrosius Henkel, to his subscribers, "weil sich eben kei-deutsche Presse unter uns befindet [sic]."⁵⁴ With this newspaper, the Henkels hoped to support the German cause even among those Germans who did not belong to their church.

The quite primitive four-page paper provided its readers with international and local news. Little attention was given to the German states,⁵⁵ because the *Volksberichter* clearly despised the "rotten Germany" for its politically unstable condition:

Wärest Du jetzt in Deutschland, so würdest Du kaum Deinen Bekannten mehr kennen; der verderbliche Krieg hat alles verändert und verdorben. "O mein Vaterland! O mein Vaterland! wie tief bist Du gesunken."⁵⁶ So rufen jetzt noch die wenig übrig ehrlich Söhne Hermanns, und seufzen im Stillen: "Ach wären wir nur bey unseren Deutschen Brüdern in Amerika."⁵⁷

But the article "Etwas für die Deutschen," written in summer 1808, was the earliest public effort in which Paul Henkel accused German settlers of neglecting their mother tongue. In this commentary Henkel claimed that assimilation in commercial life and material eagerness were the real driving forces behind the Germans' transition to the English language. Many German merchants, he said, shifted to the English tongue, because their clients were English.⁵⁸ Henkel also accused German-speaking parents of failing to insist on the use of their mother tongue at home and in school. The neglect of a basic bilingual education would split families, he prophesied. This should be prevented by the most rigorous means:

Ihr sagt ja wir können unsere Kinder nichts deutsch sprechen machen. Sprechen wir deutsch zu ihnen, so antworten sie uns englisch. O elende Ausflucht! . . . gesetzt daß deutsch sprechen eurer Kinder trüge euch des Jahrs nur 20 Thaler ein, . . . so wundert mich ob ihr dieselbe nicht mit der Ruthe würdet deutsch antworten machen.

The author vehemently rejected the accusation of being anti-English:

Ich gestehe dass ich glaube, dass redliche und wahre Christen unter ihnen gibt, das manche gute Bücher unter ihnen seid . . . aber dies alles ist bey mir noch keine Ursach dass ich meiner Muttersprache, den deutschen Gottesdienst und Schule verachten sollte.⁵⁹

After all, Henkel concluded, English books could never compete with the distinctive Lutheran literature which existed in the German language.

However, the German newspaper did not prove to be a lucrative enterprise. Due to a lack of subscribers it was abandoned after eighteen months with the bitter comment: "Aus welcher Ursache unsere Deutsche in unserem Staat die Zeitung so gering schätzen, weis ich nicht."⁶⁰ The young editor simply had to accept that German settlers preferred the much more

professional German papers published in the Middle States to Henkel's amateur product, or even switched to periodicals in English.

But the Henkels were extremely successful with their religious and educational publications in the German language. Between 1806 and 1857 the printing office sold thousands of German religious pamphlets, hymn books, catechisms, readers and schoolbooks, some of them bilingual.⁶¹ Paul Henkel's son, David, translated "English pieces," written by his brother, Philip, and even attempted a bilingual grammar.⁶² The underlying purpose of these German and bilingual publications was to develop the moral and religious aspects of life as well as to train children and adults in the basic knowledge of German.⁶³ But as the many business reports of Solomon Henkel point out, right from the beginning he sold many more English than German copies.⁶⁴ The young generation of most German families, even if they spoke German at home, clearly preferred to read their hymns and prayers in English. In 1835 the press stopped publishing German books altogether.⁶⁵

A German school established at New Market between 1805 and 1813 by Paul Henkel and his sons Philip, Ambrosius and Andreas was unsuccessful, too. The project failed due to a lack of students and support from the local congregation which could not agree on the language in which the children were to be taught.⁶⁶

The further the inevitable linguistic transition process developed during the first two decades of the nineteenth century, the more openly Lutheran officials tried to defend the German tongue. It became increasingly clear that the question of language reflected the larger question of "peculiar doctrine" based on a centuries-old Lutheran tradition. Should the doctrine be preserved by the use of German or was its time over? Young Germans were increasingly attracted to English denominations not because of "doctrine," but for social reasons. Nevertheless, the ministerium was convinced that the sloughing off of the German language was inseparably connected with the complete abandonment of Lutheran faith. In 1811 it founded a widely distributed magazine named the *Evangelisches Magazin*, with the explicit purpose: "dadurch einen starken Einfluß auf das deutsche Wesen [zu gewinnen], um dem Geist des Denkens, des Lebens und Webens diejenige Richtung zu geben, die er in diesen gefährvollen Zeiten haben sollte."⁶⁷ This organ deplored incessantly that the time had come "in welchem sich die Glieder von der Gemeinde verliefen, weil in der alten Kirche bei weitem nicht genug Raum war und unterschiedliche . . . entweder daheim blieben oder die englischen Kirchen besuchten."⁶⁸

In an 1812 issue, the journal attacked "den Dienst untreuer Lehrer" in official English schools and churches: "Versehen es die Kinder in etwas, so werden sie sclavisch gehalten und durch Zucht mehr erbittert als gebessert Daher werden sie vierzehn und mehr Jahre alt und können kaum lesen." Those children who did learn how to read were bombarded with most

"unzüchtige Schriften," for they would only study "Romane, Liebesgeschichten, geile Poesien, und andere solche Mißgeburten einer verderbten Phantasie."⁶⁹

But one year later even the most fervent advocates of the German idiom suggested bilingual instruction and described German as principally a "religious language."⁷⁰ Thus, the role of the German language increasingly resembled that of Latin during the Middle Ages: the English-speaking churchgoer encountered it as an artificial, unintelligible, and strictly liturgical language. German was no longer a means to bring the work of God to the common man, as Martin Luther had demanded. It became a distinct feature of a particular religious faith, and an artificial protection against the influences of English religious groups. In fact, since the continuation of German services privileged a certain linguistic group of the population, it was a measure against those who spoke only English.

At that point it was obvious to everybody that the final language battle would be decided in the church. Many clergymen encouraged their communities to oppose the transition to the English as the clerical language. The vast number of letters from German-speaking ministers and settlers in the Henkel correspondence demonstrates an increasing concern. In Tennessee a congregation vehemently forbade Philip Henkel from preaching a single word in English.⁷¹ In South Carolina the people told the young catechist David Henkel: "Dein Vater hat gesagt daß wir die Deutsche Sprache nicht verlassen sollen, und deswegen sollst Du nicht Englisch predigen."⁷² In North Carolina the clergyman Johann Rausch planned "eine Stadt auszulegen für den Gebrauch der Deutschen Gegend Daselbst."⁷³ The Virginia Synod distributed thousands of copies of a proclamation among the Germans, "mit der Erwartung daß unsere deutschen Mitbrüder dadurch aufgemuntert werden, mit . . . Sorgfalt an der Aufrechterhaltung ihrer Muttersprache zu arbeiten."⁷⁴

Nevertheless, in 1815 clergymen described the decline of their language in an *Ansprache an die deutschen Einwohner Virginiens* as follows:

First evangelical teaching gradually disappears, and our children grow up without hymns, without prayer, without catechism, and therefore without religious instruction; for you know that nothing of the sort is done in the English schools Next we gradually lose our German customs, diligence, and thrift, replacing them with English styles which frequently degenerate into pride, laziness and extravagance And finally, through neglect of our mother tongue, we lose our majestic hymns, prayerbooks, and edifying literature—an unspeakable loss.⁷⁵

And another author lamented even more explicitly:

Man vertauscht die alte deutsche Offenherzigkeit und redliche Treue, mit [englischer] Verstellung, Complimente, Spiel und Scherz;

die freye ungekünstelte Ansprache, und Händeschütteln, mit tiefen Vergnügungen Das väterliche Erbe geht auf Putz und Kleiderstaat, auf annehmlichen Hausschmuck, . . . auf Haarkräuseln und die Veränderung der Mode.⁷⁶

Yet, the majority of the Henkels' written communication with other German Lutheran ministers and even their closest kinsmen was conducted in English. Paul Henkel and his uncle John discussed family matters exclusively in English. Paul seems to have been much more familiar with English than with German writing rules.⁷⁷ His imperfect German writings demonstrate that his education in literary German had been scant. With little experience in writing contemporary German, he copied the style of the old scripts of the Reformation, notably Luther's.

Solomon Henkel, although familiar with German writing, could only converse in English with his uncle Moses, as well as with his cousins.⁷⁸ Ambrosius Henkel, the first editor of the *Virginischer Volksbeobachter*, began the transition to English, when, in 1810, he wrote to an old school friend: "I have tried to write to you in the english tongue[.] I always wrote in german, which makes me in the english young."⁷⁹ Many German-written letters reveal an "Anglicized" use of grammar, names and word choice. Correspondents often changed script and language in the midst of a paragraph.⁸⁰

But most striking is the following extract from a letter written by Paul Henkel's most gifted son, David Henkel, to his father in 1815.

Dear beloved,

. . . The reason why I write at this time to you in the English language is because I can express my real and warm sentiments better, and also convey my ideas in a nobler manner. Though you may think it is mere pride and vanity, to chose a strange language for this purpose and that it would be more becoming to chose my mother language. To which I answer: if I am proud in doing this, equally the same I may be in making choice of my mother tongue, and rejecting or despising a neighboring tongue, which too often is the case; this originates from a superstitious self-love; this might indeed shine (if I were always to write in German) a mere pretence to forced humility.⁸¹

David Henkel, licensed as catechist at the age of seventeen in 1812, became known as the most intellectual and eloquent orator among southern Lutherans.⁸² Initially, his missionary zeal lead him to accept the linguistic transition. In his Carolina congregations he observed that "there is a general will for the English Christian Catechisms" and he promised that "thousands could be sold." To his brother Solomon, the book printer, he wrote that he "had to dispense with the German Hymnbook, in order to get the English

established. The English is of greatest value. I advice you not to print any more German Hymnbooks."⁸³ Consequently, he explicitly preferred to preach and correspond in English, and he strongly encouraged the new generation:

die Englische Sprache richtig zu lernen, es ist wahrlich kein Hochmuth darin es zu thun: sondern eine heilige Pflicht; weil in ganz Amerika mehr sind die selbige Sprache verstehen, als die unsrige. Würde man sagen daß es aber nicht so viele [Englischsprachige] von unserer Kirche hat, als unter den Deutschen . . . desto nothwendiger ist es daß wir sie [die englische Sprache] predigen um Glaubensgenossen zu unserer Kirche zu machen.⁸⁴

To his conservative parents, this must have been a veritable heresy.⁸⁵ But his brothers, though never expressing themselves as fervently as young David Henkel, silently took the same direction. They accepted that the New World's first language was English. They preached and wrote bilingually, regarding it as a part of their ministerial task.⁸⁶ In this attitude they stood for the new American generation, on which the historian Marcus Hansen comments:

Eight years of American Revolution, ten years of political uncertainty from 1783 to 1793, nineteen years of European turmoil, and three years of American involvement—these years comprised a period during which immigration was hardly more than a trickle. A society accustomed to constant infusions from abroad found time to adjust itself to a condition where its people were homeborn and homebred. It is one of the fundamental facts of American history that after 1815 signs of nationalism, lacking before, became conspicuous.⁸⁷

Gradually, this spirit of American nationalism entered the ranks of the Lutheran clergy. Until 1818, this denomination had been unable to organize their institution along national lines as an American church.⁸⁸ Stronger than ever before, conservative Lutherans stuck to their strictly separatist German tradition and adherence to the *Confessio Invariata*. To adapt to the American environment with its emphasis on tolerance and unionism, the church now faced painful doctrinal modifications. Moreover, the Lutheran denomination had not yet established a central governing body. In 1818 there were four Lutheran organizations in the United States: Pennsylvania (1742), New York (1796), North Carolina (1803) and Ohio (1818).⁸⁹ Though these synods had cordial relationships with each other, exchanged minutes and gave voting representation to recognized members of other synods, they acted independently from each other. Their ninety-eight ministers were serving congregations in expanding fields.⁹⁰ Many of them sought permission from the synod to which they belonged to form a synod of their own. Ultimately, the

idea of a "General Synod" was born, since many concerns were supraregional and could not be addressed by district organizations.⁹¹

One of the major proponents of an American Lutheran Church was the clergyman Gottlieb Shober. Although coming from a Moravian background, he was counted among the foremost spokesmen of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina. Shober had written a book in which he strongly promoted some un-Lutheran and unionistic ideas: "I see nothing to prevent a cordial union [of all Lutheran synods]; and how happy would it be if all the Churches could unite, and send deputies to a general meeting of all [Protestant] denominations."⁹²

In 1819 Shober reported to the Ministerium of Pennsylvania that "a plan had been agreed upon which had been printed, setting forth how all the Synods could join in one General Synod."⁹³ The outline for this organization suggested that its body be composed of delegates from all existing synods who were to have equal privileges and votes as members of the body. Crucial was section four setting forth that "the General Synod has the exclusive right with the concurrence of a majority of the particular synods" to introduce new books for church services and "improve" the liturgy.⁹⁴ The ministerium adopted the *Plan-Entwurf* by a vote of forty-two to eight.⁹⁵

But shortly afterwards opposition arose among the Lutheran clergy in the country. Isolated from the latest theological discussion in the eastern centers of the church, southern conservatives severely criticized this modern doctrinal laxity and American unionism. They did not want to give up Lutheranism as it had been taught for nearly three hundred years in order to join the American melting pot.⁹⁶ "Ist es möglich daß wir, die wir in einem Republikanischen Lande, wo Freyheytt unser Motto ist wohnen? und doch durch Hierarchie ge . . . [illegible] seyn solen?"⁹⁷ "Nein!," they replied, "[w]ir sind keine Sklaven unter Europäischer Herrschsucht; wir sind freye Amerikaner."⁹⁸ But even as "free Americans" they wanted to keep their European distinctiveness which was anchored in "the teachings, doctrine, and polity of the Word of God, as set forth in the Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."⁹⁹

Shober's most vocal adversary in North Carolina was David Henkel. He and his orthodox minority claimed that "no Christian Synod can have legislative powers, consequently have no right to make rules for churches. All rules . . . are provided in the Scripture; therefore, every body of men, who make rules for the Church are in opposition to Christ."¹⁰⁰ The conservatives objected to majority rule in the church and to the fact that the Bible and the sacred *Augsburger Konfession* had not been mentioned in the *Plan-Entwurf* for the general synod.¹⁰¹

Additionally, at that time David Henkel was on bad terms with his Lutheran superiors in Pennsylvania who had continually refused to ordain him as a minister because of his young age. Seventeen-year-old David Henkel had been licensed as catechist in 1812 by two ministers but not at the annual

meeting of the ministerium in Pennsylvania. This was common custom, born out of the twin forces of constant need and the shortage of ministers. When the ministerium met in 1813, it renewed David Henkel's license, but added "[t]hat after this it should no longer be the custom to allow two ministers the privilege or power, to authorize a young man to preach and baptize."¹⁰² Each year the authorities had added a clause like this to the granted petition. When David in 1816 reached his majority, he was disappointed at not receiving his ordination. Instead, the zealous young candidate was charged with excessive championship of Lutheran doctrine, discord within his own congregations, and resentment from the communities in his area. Finally, David Henkel was ordained by his elder brother Philip in 1819, but the synod claimed this act to be void. However, David refused to accept the ministerium's authority and did not even seek to be restored to membership.¹⁰³

These events—David Henkel's personal feud with the ministerium combined with doctrinal debates and the establishment of the general synod in 1820—made the Henkels unwilling to seek any compromises. In summer 1820, the Henkel clan—with members in Virginia, Tennessee, Ohio, and both Carolinas—severed relations with all existing synods to form its own "German Evangelical Synod of Tennessee."¹⁰⁴ This name was selected to distinguish the new synod from the others, and to express its peculiar championship of the historic Lutheran confessions; the name was not meant to refer to just one group of congregations in a limited geographical area. Most of the members of the new synod lived outside of Tennessee. Paul Henkel who resided in New Market at that time drew many local congregations into the new synod. Many unaffiliated organizations followed suit.¹⁰⁵

Up to this point the entire dispute had concerned exclusively doctrinal and organizational matters. But now the old and yet undecided language question arose again. The constitution of the newly founded general synod had abandoned the pre-eminence of the German language,¹⁰⁶ arguing that it "has sometimes been said, as Lutherans we ought to adhere to the standards of the Lutheran church. This is perfectly true and just, if the standards of the Lutheran church in America be intended."¹⁰⁷ These "standards in America" implied, naturally, the English language.

Trying to find additional arguments against the general synod, the Henkels together with many conservatives now revived the argument once employed by the ministerium of Pennsylvania. They reproached the progressive *Generalisten* that in giving up its language Lutheranism would by no means remain distinctive from any other doctrine. Paul Henkel accused the unionists of trying: "das Englische zu befördern so dass alles in selbiger Sprache geschehen soll. und anstat, dass solches den Anfang zu dem Taussend jährigen Reich machen soll, macht es, den Anfang zur Taussend jährigen Schwärmerey."¹⁰⁸ This contention must seem paradoxical since even David initially had so wholeheartedly confessed his preference for the English tongue.

Nevertheless, the insistence on the German language became a formidable weapon for the promoters of the conservative wing and the German Tennessee Synod. In its first resolution the synod designated German as the official language of its conventions. English-speaking Lutherans could not have a seat and vote until they had properly learned the synod's official language.¹⁰⁹ Services were conducted in German; minutes were kept in German. Any English pamphlet, leaflet, or announcement was deliberately ignored. In his English-language paper *Carolinian Herald of Liberty*, David Henkel emphasized that

there is no minister belonging to this Synod who is not a master of the German tongue, and there are some who understand the English very imperfectly The reason why we wish to preserve the knowledge of the German language is . . . because the most of our theological books are written in the German which contain our doctrine. Luther was a German, and the most of his works are only extant in that language. They never were translated in the English tongue, and if they were to be, they would lose much of their original beauty, which is the case in the most of translations. If knowledge of the German is lost, the peculiar doctrines of our church will be forgotten in another generation.¹¹⁰

The linguistic argument, once so forcefully argued but then modified by the Pennsylvania Synod, was now revived by the new church body. The founders feared that the supporters of the English-speaking national synod served as "Vorläufer" who had "dem Antichrist eine Bahn gemacht."¹¹¹ "The Anti-Christ will not, cannot get into power, without a general union, which is not effected by a divine harmony of godly doctrines; but by common temporal interest and the power of a majority."¹¹² Again, the abandonment of Luther's tongue was viewed as an essential ingredient of the "ungodly conspiracy." English was the language of the Anti-Christ, the black sign on the foreheads of the devil worshippers. Correct German speaking and writing, on the other hand, was not "ein bloßer Genieschwung, . . . sondern ein göttliches Zeichen, welche[s] den Mensch zum halben Engel macht."¹¹³ While the Prince of Darkness swore in English, the heavenly angels sang in German.

The paradox of the Henkels' promotion of the German idiom becomes even more obvious if one considers that many of their pamphlets supporting the German cause were written in English, in which English Lutherans were urged to shift to Luther's vernacular. Having made a complete reversal on the language issue by 1819, David Henkel now fervently insisted on "die Deutsche Sprache fortzupflanzen, nicht nur bey Deutschen, sondern auch bei Engländern."¹¹⁴ The English population should be enthused for the beauty and picturesque qualities of the German style, which was so different from the boring and dry American writings.¹¹⁵ Preachers should exclusively teach in

German—even if the audiences did not understand it. To push forward linguistic instruction, David Henkel proposed to discount rates on German primers, to recreate German Sunday schools and to found a teaching organization, called the Deutsche Gesellschaft.¹¹⁶ "Sobald unsere Deutsche Gesellschaft in diesem Staat [North Carolina] zu Stande kommt . . . so werden viele Deutsche Bücher gebraucht. Wir müssten dan Deutsch Englische Wörterbücher verkaufen."¹¹⁷ How different that sounded from David Henkel's earlier urgent demands of 1815 to stop publishing German books and to accept the language shift!

But in a democratic country where the people determined the course of worship, the traditionalists were not able to force free congregations to be instructed in a foreign and strange language to follow their weekly services. Philip Henkel's frustration in 1824 is significant:

Wir rühmen uns hier in Tennesse mit einer ganz Lutherischen Conferenz aber wann unter allen Deutschen in ganz Tennessee nur ein einziger Jüngling sollte gefunden werden der in das Lehramt treten sollte, so wäre nicht einer zu finden, der nur so viel wüßte daß er ordentlich Deutsch lesen könnte und alle zusammen, würden sich kein Haar breit darum bekümmern.¹¹⁸

Though the Henkels must have been aware of the hopelessness of their stubborn linguistic attitude, it took them a few more painful years to accept their defeat openly. As late as in 1826, Philip fanatically exclaimed:

Es muß eine ganz Deutsch redende Synode bleiben . . . Nur so lange als die Deutschen durch Ihre Sprache von anderen unterschieden bleiben, halten Sie zur reinen Lehre und wann Sie auch dieselbe nicht wissen oder verstehen, Sobald Sie Englisch werden, müssen Sie mit vielen Argumenten Dazu getrieben werden und das geschieht selten.¹¹⁹

In effect, during the first years, the disputes were mostly carried on in German. Makeshift English translations of Lutheran writings were needed only when the debates swept beyond the borders of the German communities. In spite of their "German-oriented policy," the Henkel press made a great effort to promote Lutheranism in the English language. In 1827 they published some of Luther's sermons in English, followed seven years later by the Augsburg Confession. In 1841 the press printed Luther's *Smaller Catechism* and, two years later, an English liturgy. Their endeavors culminated in the 1851 publication of the famous *Book of Concord*. The Henkel press probably issued more Lutheran theological works in English than any similar institution in the world during the nineteenth century.¹²⁰

Though the German Synod with its adherence to the traditional Lutheran doctrine stood apart from the General Synod until 1925, it was not able to keep its German exclusiveness for even another decade. In 1826, one wing of the Tennessee Synod nearly seceded when, after many passionate discussions, the synod adopted the English language as official form of speech for the regular meetings. As a consequence, for a time two synodical conventions, one in German and one in English, were held, but officially the feud was settled to the advantage of the advocates of the English language. As early as 1825, the synod published its minutes for the first time in English. Although German records were distributed until the mid-1850s, the records that were published from the mid-1830s onwards were clearly translations from an English original.¹²¹

As the last German-oriented Lutheran organization in the southeastern states, the Tennessee members finally accepted what their English-speaking adversaries had predicted twenty years earlier. If Lutheran authorities stubbornly stuck to Luther's tongue, their English-speaking children would prefer to switch to another congregation which might even be antagonistic towards Lutheran beliefs. Quite simply, not enough people cared about speaking German any longer. Moreover, the German Lutherans' zeal for linguistic separateness prevented many English-speaking believers from joining the organization. To preserve Luther's doctrine in the New World, Lutherans had to give up speaking German. After all, survival of the Church and not of the language was the foremost consideration.¹²² Once the Henkels and their colleagues had accepted this fact, their emphatic interest in the language issue faded away. Instead, they now undertook the effort to Anglicize the faith of the Lutheran Church by translating its confession and theology into the English language. Although many pastors continued to preach in German, the Henkels' later correspondence after 1827 does not indicate a continuation of the heated debate. Silently, the writers shifted from German script to Latin script and to the English language.

Unfortunately, there are considerably fewer private records left after 1825, when the head of the clan, Paul Henkel, died. But scattered examples give a humorous impression of the Henkels' "split tongue." A letter from the merchant Solomon David, Paul Henkel's grandson, who in 1839 inspected the market conditions at New York, is one moving example:

I presume that I will purchase them in Phil unless I can do better in this Market (was gelt ich zu schären habe, ihr wiset wohl wie viel) money makes the mare go (wo mann nicht bekannt ist) ich gedenke die Bücher und Papier in Phil. zu kaufen fur Cash, as they are much cheaper, there, than in Baltimore, ich habe sie genau gepreiset at Hogan & Thompson's Booksellers and Stationers, in North fourth street Phil.¹²³

It is not necessary to understand the content of this report—the linguistic confusions speak volumes. By 1840, the language battle was decided and the Henkels' cause was lost.

But, interestingly enough, they were not losers. Since the new generation had regarded German not primarily as a cultural heritage but as a temporary tool to save Lutheran doctrine, they could easily abandon it once their initial cause was won. Since they themselves belonged already to the Americanized generation, they could eventually reconcile their European faith with the American spirit, regarding one as an expression of the other. Luther's doctrine flourished because his language died.

In 1851, the Henkels, in the preface to their English version of the *Unveränderte Augsburgische Konfession*, nicely summarized the argument for the use of English:

The descendants of German Immigrants in America, have never cultivated the language and literature of their fathers with due interest; many of them are unable to read German . . . the larger portions of Lutherans in America, are accustomed to read the English language only, and consequently have never had an opportunity to appreciate the value of their Symbols In a land of freedom . . . where the generous spirit of political wisdom encourages the exercise of reason . . . we believe that the doctrines of our Church will ultimately be reclaimed.¹²⁴

Not a single word was uttered about "deutsch-lutheranische Besonderheit," "europäisches Erbe," or the "antichristliche englische Sprache." On the contrary, Germans were reproached for having neglected their language, whereas the English never really had a chance to find access to Lutheran truth. "That these [Lutheran] doctrines and those principles of immutable truth are congenial with the tastes and feelings of the American mind, we may fearlessly deduce from recent facts."¹²⁵ Luther's doctrine, the Henkels finally agreed, had become an expression of the American mind. And as such it did not need a German dictionary.

By 1840, most congregations had solved the language problem by resolving to keep the church records in English while promising to continue German preaching as long as needed. German church services increasingly were only held in rare instances, such as on holidays, in little rural churches, or in the family.¹²⁶ After 1840, only two Lutheran preachers in the South fervently opposed an English ministry. One was the Reverend Nicholas Schmucker (1779-1855) whose congregation in Shenandoah County was so weak that the charge in 1846 was taken away from his control. The other one was the Reverend Jacob Stirewalt (1805-69) whose congregation in Hawksbill, Tennessee, demanded regular German services and Sunday school lessons as late as 1841. Similar aspirations were recorded in what was called "Germany"

in Brock's Gap, Rockingham County, Virginia. Here the last Lutheran pastor who preached occasionally in German to old congregations was Henry Wetzel (1815-90), successor of the German-born pastor Martin Sondhaus.¹²⁷

It must be added that the shift to the English language did not include the disappearance of the peculiar German dialect. Again, English only replaced German as the official and literary language. The dialect, on the other hand, remained the popular form of speech among Germans in many rural communities long after the official transition had been completed.¹²⁸ Even if the church council decided to switch to English services, even if it was obvious that literary German had become useless in public, families and friends would not give up the use of their proper dialect. They would even teach the dialect to the next generation. In 1852, travelers in Virginia still remarked on the common use of dialects, and the *Baltimore Mirror* of 1866 wrote about the Shenandoah Valley that "in many portions the German language is yet the vernacular."¹²⁹

Naturally, the continuation of the spoken German became a matter of personal view, once school and church had abandoned its literary form. Often their strong accent exposed Germans to mockery, and the "dumb Dutch" became increasingly identified with backwardness. Still in 1921, the historians Abraham Funkhouser and Oren Morten outraged the dialect-speaking Valley Germans:

Here are more than a thousand people, who, in conversing among themselves, seldom use anything else than a corrupt jargon now reduced to a very few hundred words. Not only have these words lost their grammatical terminations, but the commonest idea can hardly be expressed without some help from English words. The people who use it as home talk can neither understand standard German nor read the huge German Bibles purchased by their great grand-parents. Because of this devotion to a useless form of speech, the dwellers in these valleys are superstitious as well as unprogressive. It holds them back from entering into the full spirit of American life and American institutions.¹³⁰

Written sources, such as church records, letters, and other documents give the impression that in the 1850s, after a trying period of bilingualism, the transition was definitely over. Dialect studies, on the other hand, reveal that a variety of German was spoken in these former frontier areas as late as in the 1960s.¹³¹

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Notes

¹ Wilhelm Walther, *Luthers deutsche Bibel: Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Reformation im Auftrage des Deutschen Evangelischen Kirchenausschusses*, 2d ed. (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn Königliche Hofbuchhandlung, 1918), 46.

² William-Sumner and Minnie Wyatt Junkin, *The Henkel Genealogy, 1500-1960* (New Market, VA: Henkel Family Association, 1964), 15-21.

³ Ammon Stapleton, "Rev. Gerhard Henkel and His Descendants," *Pennsylvania Germans* 4 (April 1903): 244; Theodor Graebner, "Paul Henkel, An American Lutheran Pioneer in Mission, Organizations, and Publishing," *Concordia Historical Quarterly* 5 (2 July 1932): 58.

⁴ My inquiry deals principally with the decline of Luther's original standard German. Dialects, on the other hand, have been recorded on the former colonial frontier as late as 1962. However, they were restricted to oral conversation, never written out and never accepted as official language. J. Stewart and E. L. Smith, "The Survival of German Dialects and Customs in the Shenandoah Valley," more. *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 31 (1963): 68. See also Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: The University of Virginia Press, 1969), 111, 187.

⁵ Paul Henkel, "Daybook and Tagebuch," (1760-98) translated by Eugene Van Ness Goetchius, M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1948, p. 6. The original, written in German script and language, is located in the Krauth Memorial Library, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, PA. This and all following German and English quotes are given verbatim. In cases where the original was not available but only an English translation (as in the case of this quotation), the English version is mentioned.

⁶ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 4.

⁷ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 5; (1781) 16.

⁸ In 1785 the Lutheran pastor Christian Streit was ordained to the parish of Winchester, VA. William E. Eisenberg, *The Lutheran Church in Virginia 1717-1962* (Roanoke, VA: Trustees of the Virginia Synod, 1967), 74; Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 131.

⁹ Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 136.

¹⁰ Compare John Wayland, "The German Element in the Shenandoah Valley," Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1907; Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 55, 71.

¹¹ At that time, clergymen functioned both as teachers and ministers.

¹² Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 25.

¹³ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 25, 44. Paul Henkel (and later all his sons) knew the Luther biography by heart. Even his robe was an exact imitation of the monk's cowl.

¹⁴ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 44, 64 and passim; Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 76-78. See also Christa Klein's comment on "Lutheranism," in Charles H. Lippy and Peter W. Williams, eds., *Encyclopedia of American Religious Experience* (New York: Scribner, 1988), 433: "In fact no other religious groups with a tradition of educated clergy had as many 'irregular pastors,' that is, men who began to preach and administer the sacraments without benefit of license or ordination according to accepted procedures."

¹⁵ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 1785 (during his first trip to North Carolina), 64, 66 and passim. At that time, Paul Henkel's brother Moses had already completely converted to the English tongue. In 1785, he became a Methodist preacher and henceforth insisted on keeping even his family correspondence in English (most of Moses Henkel's letters are located in Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, henceforth cited as UVA).

¹⁶ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 68, 104-9.

¹⁷ Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 75.

¹⁸ William E. Eisenberg, *This Heritage* (Winchester, VA, 1954), 86.

¹⁹ *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (Richmond, 1792), 53 (the House followed this suggestion two years later). The German "Hochsprache" (literary German) became an important ingredient of politics at the end of the eighteenth century. "Congressmen from the Valley . . . owed much of their success in political life to their knowledge

of German. Other political candidates who were not familiar with the German language had their pamphlets transcribed and they frequently used interpreters when addressing the people in the Valley towns and villages." Stewart and Smith, "German Dialects," 66. See also Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 109-20: "Bilingual Politics."

²⁰ The German edition of 1795 comprised the revenue law, the executive law, the law governing the fees of officers, the law of descent, the law concerning wills, and the law regulating conveyances. *Journal of the House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia* (1794) 96, 111, 175; 7C 424, 454-55; see German edition: *Akten welche in der General Assembly der Republik Virginien passirt worden sind*, transl. Gustav Friedrich Goetz (Philadelphia: Carl Cist, 1795). See also Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 113.

²¹ See example in Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 116.

²² G. D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina: From the Earliest Period of the Colonization of the Dutch German and Swiss Settlers to the Close of the first Half of the Present Century* (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Book Store, 1872), 271. E. Clifford Nelson, *The Lutheran Church in North America*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1975), 85-89.

²³ Roland Bainton, *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1950), 322-25.

²⁴ Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 95.

²⁵ This name indicates the institution's strong tie to its German heritage. In 1789, this label had been selected by the Lutheran authorities explicitly for the purpose of replacing the former "Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium in North America" and to emphasize its German origin. The word German was not deleted from the Ministerium's Constitution until 1892. H. E. Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, American Church History Series, vol. 4 (New York, 1893), 309-15.

²⁶ Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 96.

²⁷ Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 92.

²⁸ Quoted in Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 96. However, one decade later the convention had to review this harsh resolution, when they suggested the establishment of separate English congregations in order to fulfill the incessant appeals of the English population. Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 96-97. Robert Fortenbaugh, "The Development of the Synodical Polity of the Lutheran Church in America, to 1829," Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1926, 87.

²⁹ Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 96.

³⁰ Christopher Dolmetsch, *The German Press of Shenandoah Valley* (Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1984), 57.

³¹ William Gehrke, "Transition from the German to the English Language in North Carolina," *The North Carolina Historical Review* 12 (Jan. 1935): 19.

³² Report of Rev. Arnold Roschen to the Helmstaedt Mission Society, 28 May 1789, quoted in Bernheim, *Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 332.

³³ John B. Boles, *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1972), 10-16.

³⁴ Duc de La Rochefoucault, *Travel Through the United States of North America . . . In the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), 2:50.

³⁵ Isaac Weld, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797* (London, 1799), 101, 118.

³⁶ Paul Henkel, "Tagebuch," 66, 91, 97. William J. Finck, "A Chronological Life of Paul Henkel from Journals, Letters, Minutes of Synod, etc.," New Market, VA, typescript copy (1935-37), 45, 164 (courtesy of Klaus Wust). This is an unpublished assemblage of data arranged chronologically from 1790-1825, gathered and translated from Paul Henkel's German and English assets as well as from other printed matter concerning this period. The original typescript is located in the archives of the Historical Society of the United Lutheran Church Lutheran Seminary, Gettysburg, PA. There exists a huge number of cordial letters to Paul Henkel from

many Reformed, Episcopalian, Presbyterian and even Moravian clergymen—a clear proof of the Henkels' religious and linguistic openness.

³⁷ Finck, "Chronological Life" (1791), 10; (1796), 25.

³⁸ Finck, "Chronological Life" (1794), 20.

³⁹ The whole unexplored West (i.e., Virginia, including counties now in West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana) was later to become Paul Henkel's and his sons' parish.

⁴⁰ Finck, "Chronological Life" (4 April 1807), 181. Although Paul Henkel made this statement in 1807, it refers to the 1790s.

⁴¹ Boles, *Great Revival*, 22, 24-34, 88.

⁴² In 1804 the percentage of the population under sixteen years amounted to 49% nationwide, 54.5% in Kentucky and 55% in Tennessee. Boles, *Great Revival*, 45.

⁴³ Letter of Rev. Paul Henkel to an unidentified "most beloved Co-worker," 8 Jan. 1810, The Henkel Collection, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, VA. Translated by Rev. Becker, Kansas City.

⁴⁴ Letter from John "Ober" or "Starz" (hardly legible) in Sullivan City, TN, to Paul Henkel, Abbots Creek, 27 July 1803, Handley Library, Winchester, VA (henceforth cited as HL). This petitioner, obviously desiring a German minister, wrote his application in English. Thus, even if he was of German origin and spoke a German dialect, he had to write in English.

⁴⁵ Finck, "Chronological Life," 75. Homer M. Keever, "A Lutheran Preacher's Account of the 1801-02 Revival in North Carolina," *Methodist History* 7.1 (1968): 38-55. The study gives a detailed account of Paul Henkel's revival experience.

⁴⁶ Finck, "Chronological Life" (17 Aug. 1806), 143.

⁴⁷ Finck, "Chronological Life" (21 June 1808), 205.

⁴⁸ Finck, "Chronological Life," 96.

⁴⁹ Finck, "Chronological Life" (28 July 1806), 132.

⁵⁰ Finck, "Chronological Life" (10 July 1808), 217. Here, one may easily add the name of any other English-speaking denomination to the "Presbyterian Church."

⁵¹ Finck, "Chronological Life" (16 June 1808), 204.

⁵² Bernheim, *Lutheran Church*, 97.

⁵³ Finck, "Chronological Life" (22 July 1811, Second Creek, NC), 267; (8 Dec. 1811, Ohio), 276.

⁵⁴ *Virginischer Volksberichter und New Marketer Wochenzeitschrift*, 7 Oct. 1807, microfilm in Duke University, Durham, NC. Actually, several efforts had been made to establish a German press in the Valley, but none was so successful as the Henkels'. See, e.g., Klaus Wust, "Bilingual Printers in Maryland and Virginia," *Report of the Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland* 32 (1966): 24-37.

⁵⁵ *Volksberichter*, 6 Jan. 1808, 3; 1 June 1808, 1 and passim.

⁵⁶ At this time Napoleon was just conducting his most successful campaign through Europe.

⁵⁷ "Aus Deutschland," published letter, *Volksberichter*, 1 June 1808, 3.

⁵⁸ Most Germans, once they were involved in Anglo-German commerce, anglicized their names. Fuchs became Fox, Reys became Rice, Zimmermann became Carpenter. Robert Mitchell, *Commercialism and Frontier: Perspective in the Early Shenandoah Valley* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), 130; John Wayland, *The German Element in the Shenandoah Valley*, 98.

⁵⁹ *Volksberichter*, 19 Oct. 1808, 1-2. See for further comments Alton R. Koenning, "The Henkel Press: A Force for Conservative Lutheran Theology in Pre-Civil War Southeastern America," Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1972, p. 76. Note how anglicized Paul's German appears in both excerpts.

⁶⁰ Ambrosius Henkel, *Volksberichter*, 7 June 1808, 1. The paper nevertheless enjoyed a considerable circle of readers. The subscriber list 1808/09 mentions 357 regular supporters located in various places far beyond the Virginian frontier: e.g., Hanover, PA, Salisbury, NC, Franklin, OH, etc. (the list is located in UVA, #5001-c). But a letter from an unidentified

preacher in Franklin informed Paul Henkel: "Ich habe . . . den Versuch gemacht, um etliche Subscribenten zu sameln, aber sie sagen sie können sie nicht lesen" (12 March 1808, HL).

⁶¹ During the winter of 1811-12 alone, the press printed 1,500 catechisms, 2,500 primers and 2,500 hymnbooks, all in German, in addition to other printings. See check list in Dolmetsch, *German Press*, 124-42. Lester J. Cappon and Ira V. Brown, eds., "New Market, Virginia Imprints, 1806-1876: A Check List," 1942, UVA.

⁶² The only witness of this purpose are some references in a few family letters (see, e.g., letter from David Henkel in Lincolnton to his brother Andrew in New Market, 1811, HL) and a broadside: *Proposals by Ambrose Henkel & Co For . . . A German and English Grammar, or a Grammatical System of the Two Prevailing Languages of the United States . . . by David Henkel* (New Market, VA: Ambrose Henkel, 1812). The more the Henkel children of the fourth generation were involved in the linguistic battle, the less clear their positions became: David already had "to translate" the English writings of his brother Philip!

⁶³ Paul Fisher, "The Henkel Press. A Factor in Early Education in Virginia," *American-German Review* 7 (1941): 30-34; Koenning, *Henkel Press*, 77-84. John Stewart, "Ambrose Henkel of New Market: A Brief Analysis of His German Primers," *Madison College Bulletin* 25 (1967): 57-68. See also Mary Ann L. Williamson, "History of the Henkel Press and the Impact on Children's Literature," Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1977.

⁶⁴ Letter from Solomon Henkel in New Market, VA, to Paul Henkel in Point Pleasant, OH, 19 Dec. 1811, HL: "[W]ir verkaufen dan und wan ein teutsches . . . Die Englischen aber kaufen sie herlich sie konten kaum warten bis sie fertig waren." Similar comments appear throughout the entire Henkel correspondence.

⁶⁵ Dolmetsch, *German Press*, 130, 131.

⁶⁶ Since the evidence concerning the existence, location, curriculum etc. of this school is very scarce, there does not exist a published study about it. Yet, in 1986, Nancy Stewart made a private, short inquiry, "The German School in New Market," TMs, Broadway, VA, 1986, from which the above information stems.

⁶⁷ *Evangelisches Magazin* (Oct.-Dec. 1811), Microfilm in UVA.

⁶⁸ *Evangelisches Magazin* (Jan.-March 1812): 106.

⁶⁹ *Evangelisches Magazin* (July-Sept. 1812): 194, 196.

⁷⁰ Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 99.

⁷¹ "Minutes of the North Carolina Synod, 1815," in Gehrke, "Transition from German to English," 14.

⁷² Letter from David Henkel, Saluda, SC, to his parents in Point Pleasant, OH, 13 Jan. 1813, HL.

⁷³ Letter from Andreas Henkel in Point Pleasant, OH, to Paul Henkel in New Market, VA, 12 Dec. 1813, HL.

⁷⁴ Letter from Daniel Kurtz to Paul Henkel, 13 Oct. 1814, UVA.

⁷⁵ Daniel Kurtz and John George Lochman, *Ansprache an die deutschen Einwohner Viginis* (n.p., 1815), 5, transl. in Nelson, *Lutheran Church*, 97. The original was not available at the time when this study was finished.

⁷⁶ *Evangelisches Magazin* (Oct.-Dec. 1813): 70.

⁷⁷ A good comparative example is the private writing from Paul Henkel to Solomon Henkel in New Market, VA, 20 Sept. 1812, HL. Though the letter itself is written in German, its appendix contains a long self-composed English poem.

⁷⁸ Correspondence of John Dreher, Saluda, NC, to Paul Henkel, 1811-12, HL; Paul Henkel to John Henkel, Hanover, PA, 1810, James Madison University Library, Harrisonburg, VA, (henceforth cited as JMU); Moses Henkel, Gideon, Silos, Jehr, and Saul Moses, Jr. (cousins) to Solomon Henkel, New Market, VA, 1800-40, UVA.

⁷⁹ Letter of Ambrosius Henkel, New Market, VA, to John Youngman, Hagerstown, PA, 10 Oct. 1810, JMU.

⁸⁰ E.g., letter from G. Schober, Salem, NC, to Ambrose Henkel, New Market, VA, 10-11 March 1814, JMU. Interestingly the writer changed from German to English when he started

talking about a business. When the authors wrote in German they used the "Sütterlin script." This was current in their mother country until World War II. But once they switched to English they fell back on Latin letters.

⁸¹ David Henkel to his elder brother Solomon Henkel in New Market, VA, 1 Jan. 1825, UVA.

⁸² Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 133; Junkin, *Henkel Genealogy*, 242.

⁸³ Letters from David Henkel to Solomon Henkel, New Market, VA, 28 June 1815, and 29 Oct. 1817, UVA.

⁸⁴ Letter from David Henkel, Lincoln County, NC, to Solomon Henkel, New Market, VA, 15 July 1815, HL.

⁸⁵ David's mother does not seem to have been familiar with English at all. Junkin, *Henkel Genealogy*, 240. The authors quote from a deed of land made in 1819: "And all [witnesses] signed in English except Elizabeth Henkel, wife of Paul Henkel, who signed in German."

⁸⁶ Innumerable letters in the different Henkel collections prove the initially neutral attitude of the fourth generation until ca. 1817.

⁸⁷ Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1961), 71.

⁸⁸ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 214, 230.

⁸⁹ The parantheses indicate the years of foundation.

⁹⁰ Bernheim mentions 85 ministers concluding that there were 57 ministers in the Synod of Pennsylvania, 21 in North Carolina, and 7 in New York. *Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 429. Fortenbaugh, who refers to the roll of the Pennsylvania Synod of 1818, counts 98 ministers including even those ministers who had gone out into the new Ohio Synod. "Synodical Polity," 147.

⁹¹ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 101-3, 147, 214, 230.

⁹² Gottlieb Shober, *A Comprehensive Account of the Rise and Progress of the Blessed Reformation of the Christian Church*. Quoted in Bernheim, *Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina*, 434.

⁹³ Quoted in Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 102. See also Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 154.

⁹⁴ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 150.

⁹⁵ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 149.

⁹⁶ The complicated and often contradictory problematic nature of confessionalism and unionism in the Lutheran Church during this period has been examined by a number of religious historians. The Henkels' role in the course of the events has been best illuminated in Richard H. Baur, "Paul Henkel, Pioneer and Lutheran Missionary," Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1968, 126-94. See also B. H. Pershing, "Paul Henkel: Frontier Missionary, Organizer and Author," *Lutheran Church Quarterly* 31 (1934): 125-51.

⁹⁷ Letter from Andreas Henkel, Somerset, NC, to his parents in New Market, VA, 11 Jan. 1820, HL.

⁹⁸ Letter from David Henkel, Lincoln County, NC, to his brother Solomon, New Market, VA, 9 Aug. 1811, UVA.

⁹⁹ Socrates Henkel, *The History of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod, embracing an account of the causes, which gave rise to its organization; its organization and name; its position and confessional basis, object of its organization, work development, and various session, its policy; and its future* (New Market, VA: Henkel & Co., 1890), 22.

¹⁰⁰ *Report of the Transactions . . . of the German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Tennessee, Ninth Session, etc., also the Constitution which was then adopted and ratified etc.* 1828 (New Market, VA, 1828), 19.

¹⁰¹ The outline's entire name was "Plan-Entwurf zu einer Central-Verbindung der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika" (Baltimore, 1819).

¹⁰² Quoted in Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 133-34.

- ¹⁰³ Eisenberg, *Lutheran Church*, 132-36.
- ¹⁰⁴ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 116. Socrates Henkel, *Tennessee Synod*, 25.
- ¹⁰⁵ S. Henkel, *Tennessee Synod*, 1-42.
- ¹⁰⁶ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 101-3, 147, 214, 230.
- ¹⁰⁷ Samuel S. Schmucker, *The American Lutheran Church, historically, doctrinally, and practically delineated in several occasional discourses* (New York: Arno Press, 1969: reprint of the 1851 edition), 189.
- ¹⁰⁸ Letter from Paul Henkel, New Market, VA, to Charles or Andrew Henkel, 1819, HL.
- ¹⁰⁹ Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 116.
- ¹¹⁰ David Henkel, *Carolinian Herald of Liberty, Religious and Political; or, a Testimony against Attempted Measures, Which in Their Nature are Calculated to Lead to the Establishment of Popery among Protestants* . . . (Salisbury, NC: Krider & Bingham, 1821), 43. Koenning, *Henkel Press*, 52. See also *Report of the Tennessee Synod 1821*, quoted in: Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 113.
- ¹¹¹ Letter from Rev. Jacob Laros, Eaton, OH, to Paul Henkel, New Market, VA, 2 Aug. 1821, HL.
- ¹¹² *Report of the Transactions, of the Second Evangelical Lutheran Conference, . . . Tennessee, the 22d. of October 1821* (New Market, VA: Henkel Press, 1821), quoted in: Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 178.
- ¹¹³ Written in 1815, this quote originally refers to David Henkel's judgement of the art of writing and speaking in general—but five years later he was to incorporate the language in this statement. Letter from David Henkel, Lincoln County, NC, to his brothers Andrew and Solomon, New Market, VA, 15 July 1815, HL.
- ¹¹⁴ Letter from David Henkel, Lincoln County, NC, to his brother Solomon, New Market, VA, 27 Jan. 1820, UVA.
- ¹¹⁵ Letter from David to Solomon Henkel, New Market, VA, 3 Oct. 1820, UVA.
- ¹¹⁶ The whole plan of this society, consisting of nine articles, is developed in a letter by David Henkel, Lincoln County, NC, to his brother Solomon, New Market, VA, 7 April 1820, UVA.
- ¹¹⁷ Letter from David Henkel to his brother Solomon, New Market, VA, 18 Dec. 1820, UVA.
- ¹¹⁸ Letter from Philip Henkel, Tennessee, to his father Paul, New Market, VA, 17 Dec. 1824, HL.
- ¹¹⁹ Letter from Rev. Philip Henkel, Greene County, TN, to his brothers Solomon and Ambrosius Henkel, 20 Nov. 1826, HL.
- ¹²⁰ Alton R. Koenning, *Henkel Press*, 234, 239.
- ¹²¹ Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 140.
- ¹²² Fortenbaugh, "Synodical Polity," 120-22. S. Henkel, *Tennessee Synod*, 30. Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 140.
- ¹²³ Letter from Solomon David Henkel (1815-74), New York, to his father Solomon, New Market, VA, 4 April 1839, JMU.
- ¹²⁴ Preface of the *Book of Concord* (New Market, VA: The Henkel Press, 1851), 3-5.
- ¹²⁵ Henkel, ed., *Book of Concord*, 5.
- ¹²⁶ Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 140.
- ¹²⁷ *Minutes of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Winchester* (VA, 1843), 10; *Bericht von den Verrichtungen der Evangelischen Lutheranischen Tennessee Synode, 1841* (New Market, VA, 1841), 9. References in Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 141.
- ¹²⁸ Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 188.
- ¹²⁹ Quoted in Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 188.
- ¹³⁰ A. P. Funkhouser and O. F. Morton, *History of the Church of the United Brethren Virginia Conference* (Dayton, VA: Ruebush-Kiefer Co., 1921), 90.
- ¹³¹ See Stewart and Smith, "German Dialects," 66-70.

John B. Frantz

Early German Methodism in America

Methodism normally is not associated with German settlers in America.¹ Its eighteenth-century leaders, John and Charles Wesley, were Englishmen. For many decades, Methodism existed as a society within the Church of England. In America, Methodism seemed to appeal to people of English or at least British descent.

In time, however, Methodism developed a significant following among German-Americans as well. In fact, two denominations emerged among them during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that had much in common with the English Methodists: the Church of the United Brethren in Christ that claimed the German Reformed minister Philip William Otterbein as its founder and the Evangelical Association that formed in the aftermath of the ministry of the former German Lutheran Jacob Albright. Several capable historians have written in detail about these two groups.²

What has received even less attention is that simultaneously Methodists, themselves, were conducting a mission to the Germans in America under the leadership of a Methodist bishop. Most descriptions of American Methodism that mention the German immigrants emphasize the Ohio Conference's appropriation of \$100.00 to William Nast in 1835 as the beginning of Methodism's German work.³ One scholar even entitled his study of Nast "Patriarch of German Methodism."⁴ It may be that after 1835 an exclusively German Methodism developed on a significant scale under Nast's leadership. Nevertheless, the point of this essay is that there was a German Methodism that emerged long before 1835;⁵ indeed, the origins of German Methodism in America actually go back as far as the late eighteenth and very early nineteenth centuries.

It is no wonder that Methodism appealed so early to the German immigrants in America. The religious movement known as Pietism had influenced both the early Methodists and at least some of the German settlers.⁶ The Wesleys became acquainted with the pietistic Moravians on their journey to America and during their ministry in Georgia during the mid-1730s. The German "Moravian" Peter Boehler preached at the Aldersgate Chapel in

1738 when John Wesley felt his heart was "strangely warmed."⁷ Shortly thereafter, Wesley "walked across Europe" to the Moravian "community at Herrnhut where he absorbed more of pietism's spirit."⁸

The similarities between German Pietism and English Methodism, as it emerged under John Wesley's leadership, gave Wesley's American missionaries entrée to the German settlers. Methodists emphasized Pietism's basic theme of experiential religion, that Christians must know Christ as their personal savior. Like most Pietists, Methodists were universalists in believing that Christ died not only for the so-called "elect" but for all people. Although both stressed salvation by God's grace through faith, they were "Arminians" in stressing human freedom to accept, reject, and "fall from grace." Neither Pietists nor Methodists were satisfied with a mere intellectual profession of Christianity but insisted that Christians live pious lives.⁹ Pietists developed the practice of organizing seemingly truly pious church members into small classes for Bible study, mutual encouragement, and fellowship,¹⁰ a practice that Methodists adopted and adapted with much success. Not content to be passive, Pietists were evangelistic, often in unorthodox ways, especially the more radical ones. This also became characteristic of the early Methodists, both in England and in America.¹¹

Shortly after Methodists arrived in America, they began to express their concern for the German settlers. The most important of Wesley's missionaries to America was Francis Asbury who entered the British colonies at the port of Philadelphia in 1771.¹² A German convert to Methodism claimed that Asbury had a "great love" for the Germans, that he "always loved the Germans," and that he continued throughout his ministry to feel the "deepest interest in the welfare of the Germans."¹³ Asbury described the "poor Germans" of Pennsylvania as "sheep without a shepherd."¹⁴ Even where there were pastors and churches for the Germans, Asbury was concerned. In Reading and Adamstown, Pennsylvania, he observed that the "fine new churches" for the German Reformed and Lutherans were "citadels of formality-fortifications erected against the apostolic itinerancy of a more evangelical ministry."¹⁵ They were not the only offenders. Asbury complained: "Ah! Philadelphia, and ye, her dependencies, the villages of the state of Pennsylvania, when will prejudice, formality, and bigotry cease to deform your religious profession, and the ostentatious display of lesser morals give place to evangelical piety?"¹⁶

A few weeks before Asbury died in 1816, he wrote to his colleague in the ministry, William McKendree, about what he called the "acute need" for Methodist missions to the Germans. This work, he insisted "must not be taken up and put down lightly."¹⁷ He was anxious about the German settlers' spiritual condition. In 1803, Asbury confided to his journal, "I have felt for thirty-two years for Pennsylvania—the most wealthy and the most careless about God and the things of God; but I hope God will shake the state and the churches."¹⁸ Asbury charged that the German preachers and people were "too

fond of settling and having things established on a regular plan." He believed that a "traveling [itinerant] ministry would be more productive of good among these people" ¹⁹ He appealed for more missionaries, more hymnals, and copies of the "Methodist Discipline for the Germans." If the Germans would not buy the books, he urged that they be distributed to them free of charge. ²⁰

Asbury initiated a Methodist mission to the German settlers immediately after his arrival in America. In 1772, he met the pietistic German Reformed minister Benedict Schwob to whom in early 1774 he "opened the plan of Methodism." ²¹ In order to implement the plan, he wrote to Philip William Otterbein, another pietistic German Reformed clergyman who was serving a congregation in what Asbury called "Little York," in the colony of Pennsylvania. ²² He wanted Otterbein to serve a German Reformed congregation in Baltimore, in the colony of Maryland, and to organize classes of committed people who would study, pray, and testify together, as he was doing among the English-speaking colonists. Asbury and Schwob agreed that they would "persevere" in this plan even if the Reformed authorities objected. ²³ Reformed Church officials acquiesced in Otterbein's move. Otterbein subsequently organized pietistic German Reformed colleagues into the "United Ministers" who set up classes in the Pipe Creek area of Maryland, northwest of Baltimore. ²⁴ The War for American Independence interrupted Otterbein's efforts. When the war ended, however, Otterbein resumed his pietistic evangelism with the former Mennonite Martin Boehm, whom he had embraced after a service in "Long's Barn," near Neffsville in Pennsylvania, many years earlier. Otterbein and Boehm joined with other Mennonite and Reformed preachers in what they called the Society of the United Brethren in Christ. ²⁵ Asbury's and Otterbein's similarities enabled them to become such close friends that Asbury asked Otterbein to participate in his consecration as co-superintendent of American Methodists when they separated from the Church of England in 1784. When Otterbein died in 1813, Asbury preached at a memorial service for him. ²⁶

As early as 1781, Asbury recognized the need for Methodist preachers who were proficient in the German language. He predicted that if "we could get a Dutch preacher or two to travel with us, I am persuaded we should have a good work among the Dutch." ²⁷ In time, the Methodists did attract men of German background who became itinerant preachers, including, among others, John Schwartzelder, William Folks, Joseph and Christian Fry, Henry Weidner, John Hagerty, Peter Beaver, Henry Crum, Moses Henkel, Casper Yost, Simon Miller, Jacob Gruber, and Henry Boehm. Not much is known about some of these men. For example, Asbury notes only that Weidner and Hagerty accompanied him to Virginia in 1781. ²⁸ Beaver is listed in the minutes of the Methodist Conference of 1810 as a "German missionary" in the Chester, Pennsylvania, District. ²⁹ He preached also in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, where he shared a "preaching place" with Jacob Albright. Crum, who preached for the United Brethren also, labored among the Germans in the

Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, as did ex-Lutheran Moses Henkel. Yost "wielded strong influence in Southwestern Virginia."³⁰ More is known of Simon Miller and Jacob Gruber. Miller, native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, became an itinerant preacher in 1791 and labored in Delaware and Pennsylvania until his death in 1795.³¹ A man described as having "genuine piety, deep experience, and useful gifts," he attracted "large crowds" to his ministry and influenced especially Boehm and Gruber. Boehm called Miller Gruber's "spiritual father."³²

Gruber was another Pennsylvania German whose biographer described him as having had the "peculiar characteristics of that people which clung to him with wondrous tenacity."³³ Boehm noted along a similar vein that his colleague was a "fine, intelligent looking man, and his countenance expressed a thing before his tongue uttered it. He had a German face and a German tongue." More to the point, Boehm claimed that a "bolder soldier of the cross never wielded the 'sword of the spirit.'" As a preacher, Boehm wrote, "he was original and eccentric." He served in Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, and New York.³⁴

Henry Boehm was the most prominent of the early German Methodist preachers. He was the son of Martin Boehm, Otterbein's associate, who was a leader of the United Brethren but also a Methodist. Henry Boehm was admitted to "full connection and ordained" in 1802.³⁵ Initially, he was assigned to serve in Delaware where he became a vigorous opponent of slavery, but returned to his native state in 1803. In 1807, he was assigned to a circuit that was labeled simply "Pennsylvania," including the entire area between the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers. He was to preach in German to his countrymen. Because Boehm was able to do so when so few Methodists could, Asbury named him his traveling companion in 1808, a position he held until 1813 when Asbury returned him to the Pennsylvania Germans. Boehm claimed that he had covered forty thousand miles with Asbury, and that throughout his itinerancy he traveled one hundred thousand miles on horseback into fourteen states.³⁶ Of the German-speaking Methodist preachers, Asbury predicted that "thousands will hear our Gospel by these men."³⁷

The Methodist Asbury and his growing group of itinerant preachers carried their message into areas where the German colonists had settled. Robert Strawbridge, one of the first Methodist circuit riders, included heavily German Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in his travels.³⁸ Although the Methodists had difficulty in establishing a society in the city, possibly because it was well-churched, they returned repeatedly to the county.³⁹ The home of Martin Boehm was one of their "favorite stopping places."⁴⁰ Strawbridge preached there at least as early as 1781.⁴¹ Strawbridge's efforts might have been partially responsible for what Asbury described in that year as "a great work among the Germans towards Lancaster."⁴² Other early Methodist itinerants also preached there. Later, in 1801, a chapel was erected on

Boehm's land to house their services.⁴³ Asbury held forth frequently in "Boehm's Chapel" and preached there the funeral sermon for Martin Boehm in 1812.⁴⁴ Methodist preachers, William McKendree, later to become a bishop, Jesse Lee, Asbury's traveling companion in 1799, and others preached there as well.⁴⁵ Lee noted that he had a "very precious season" while preaching in the chapel, that the "power of the Lord was with us: and there were many tears shed by the hearers."⁴⁶ As early as 1783, the Methodists added a circuit to provide preaching on a regular basis to that area.⁴⁷

Methodists visited Germans in other parts of Pennsylvania also. The itinerant preacher Freeborn Garrettson introduced Methodism to York in 1781.⁴⁸ Asbury went there in the next year, preached to "many hearers in the German schoolhouse," and conferred there with German Reformed ministers Otterbein and Daniel Wagner.⁴⁹ As at Boehm's Chapel, Asbury must have felt at home, for he returned frequently.⁵⁰ By 1782, the Methodists had appointed three preachers to the place and listed the society there as having 156 members.⁵¹ Henry Boehm went to Harrisburg in 1803, where he noticed that "most of the inhabitants were Germans," which required him to preach "mostly in German."⁵² Later Asbury sent him back to Dauphin County to "preach to the Germans."⁵³ Asbury and his traveling companion went into the Lehigh River Valley where he observed that the "Germans are decent in this neighborhood," and he added that "they would be more so, were it not for vile whiskey."⁵⁴ Asbury and other Methodists were active among the Germans in southwestern Pennsylvania, such as in Somerset County and Pittsburgh.⁵⁵

Methodists followed the Pennsylvania Germans to areas to the south and west. Asbury in 1772 went to the Maryland community of Frederick that he described as a "neat little town," the residents of which were "chiefly Germans," where "many people came to hear me."⁵⁶ By 1774, a Methodist society had emerged there, and the well-known preachers Strawbridge and Garrettson were appointed to serve it early in its history.⁵⁷ Asbury went also to neighboring Hagerstown where he charged that Otterbein's people have "shouldered us out, but have failed to establish themselves."⁵⁸ Although Virginia's English settlements in the Tidewater area attracted much Methodist attention, Asbury and other preachers endeavored to reach also into western Virginia's Shenandoah Valley where German settlers lacked clergymen of their own churches. Members of German Reformed congregations there lamented that they "were entirely neglected" and pleaded to their church officials in 1773 to send ordained ministers to them.⁵⁹ In 1781, Methodists tried to fill the ministerial void as Asbury and two German-speaking preachers entered the valley. Asbury observed that in the German settlement near Romney the "people love preaching, but they do not understand class meetings because they are not enough conversant with the English tongue."⁶⁰ On a later visit, in 1790, to the home of a "pious German, well-settled on a branch of the Shenandoah River," Asbury recorded that he had an "attentive congregation" of Germans.⁶¹ Asbury and others, including McKendree, continued to preach

in the valley towns where Germans lived, such as Winchester, Stephens City, Woodstock, and Harrisonburg. Methodists even held a session of their annual conference in the valley.⁶²

As Methodist itinerants traveled to the West, they ministered to Germans in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. At Brunnerstown, Kentucky, Asbury arranged for "preaching in German and English."⁶³ In Ohio, Boehm addressed residents of German background who "had not heard preaching in their own tongue since they left their native land."⁶⁴ At Xenia, he preached in German to "possibly as many as 2,000" worshippers,⁶⁵ and in Cincinnati he delivered what is believed to have been the first sermon in the German language in that city.⁶⁶

Methodists ranged to the north, as well, where they served German settlers in New York. Although Methodism in the province's major city had been founded in 1766 by Palatine Germans who had come to the colony by way of Ireland,⁶⁷ Asbury and other Methodists paid at least as much attention to the descendants of earlier Palatine German colonists who eventually settled in the Hudson and Mohawk River valleys.⁶⁸ Asbury and his cohorts preached at Kingston on the Hudson where Asbury counted a "good number of Germans present who were permitted to sit near the stand and hear in their own tongue the wonderful works of God." He saw that under German Methodist preaching, the "power of God came down upon the people, and tears flowed down many cheeks" Garrettson also preached in the Hudson Valley where he observed that the people were "mostly German."⁶⁹ In the vicinity of Fort Schuyler also, large congregations of Germans gathered to hear Methodist preaching in their language.⁷⁰ The Methodists in that area had organized a society in Herkimer by 1794.⁷¹

The worship services that the Methodist preachers conducted differed markedly from those led by Lutheran and Reformed pastors who claimed at least the nominal adherence of most of the German settlers. While many of the German "church people" were accustomed to following their churches' liturgies,⁷² the Methodists in America had discarded that aspect of their Anglican heritage and worshipped freely. Although Methodist preachers administered the sacraments after Methodism became an American denomination in 1784, they more often preached. Boehm described a service in which the "preachers were at it for five hours without intermission . . . , [worshippers] hearing four sermons in English and one in German" ⁷³ Such services were not unusual; Christian Newcomer, once a Mennonite and later a United Brethren bishop, observed a Methodist service in Rockingham County in Virginia's Shenandoah Valley that began on one day and continued through the next.⁷⁴

Like other evangelists in rural America, Methodists led camp meetings that went on for days and attracted hundreds and thousands of people. At the Pike Run camp meeting in Washington County in southwestern Pennsylvania, there were "one hundred tents and four or five hundred people encamped on

the ground." At the Sunday services, there "were three thousand people in the grove." Asbury spoke, as did German Methodist preachers Boehm and Gruber.⁷⁵ In some of these services, Methodists cooperated with preachers of other groups, often United Brethren. At "Fishing Creek," a "Methodist Brother" followed Otterbein on the platform.⁷⁶ At another service, Newcomer "preached in German; Brother Lucas, a Methodist preacher, in the English language."⁷⁷

People who attended Methodist services, especially the "big meetings," often became visibly emotional. Early American Methodist historian Nathan Bangs justified such behavior by writing that "there never was any remarkable revival of religion, but . . . wildfire mixed with sacred flame."⁷⁸ After German Methodist Gruber's prayer at a "quarterly meeting in a barn" in New York state, the "people simultaneously sprang to their feet, while shouts of joy and cries for mercy filled the place. Many fell to the floor, and others were filled with fear and fled in the greatest consternation."⁷⁹ Newcomer wrote in his journal that at a similar Methodist meeting his "heart was truly rejoiced to see the people crying, shouting, and jumping."⁸⁰

These actions created a bad impression of the Methodists among some Germans, causing the label "Methodist" to become a term of derision. German Lutherans in York condemned their pastor for permitting Garrettson to preach to them.⁸¹ Philip Schaff, church historian at the German Reformed theological seminary then at Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, charged that Methodist worship made a "frivolous mockery of all religion." The "revivals" that sometimes followed Methodist worship, he compared with a "quick straw fire." There was too much of what he considered "human and impure" in them to suit him. He worried that Methodist worship "nourished a most dangerous distrust of the ordinary means of grace, the calm preaching of the Word, the sacraments, the catechetical instruction."⁸²

Actually, Methodists tried to appeal not only to the Germans' feelings but also to their minds. Methodist circuit riders were seldom without religious books and tracts in their saddlebags.⁸³ As Asbury was traveling in southwestern Pennsylvania, near Connellsville, he handed to the people whom he met "a religious tract in German or English."⁸⁴ After the General Conference in 1808, Boehm returned to have printed in the German language a pamphlet on the "Characteristics of a true Methodist or Christian" and the sermon entitled "Awake thou that sleepest" which he later distributed to the Germans. Boehm believed that the German language tracts "did immense good," for he believed that "they often went where the preacher could not go."⁸⁵

Even more significant was the translation of the "Methodist Discipline" into German in 1808. Asbury and members of the Philadelphia Conference asked that it be done, and Boehm "employed Dr. [Ignatz] Romer" for the task.⁸⁶ Romer was a German-speaking Swiss who was "educated for the priesthood," who became "awakened, [and] joined the Methodist Church."⁸⁷

Boehm aided Romer in the translation, employed the printers and paid them, and examined all the proof sheets and attended to the distribution of the books after they were printed. He "sent several hundreds of them in a box to Cincinnati to be distributed gratuitously among the Germans in the West; others circulated about Pennsylvania." According to Boehm, the "translation was an admirable one" and was "very useful; . . . enabling the Germans to read in their mother tongue our excellent discipline." In that the "Discipline" stated clearly Methodist history, doctrines, and precisely how the Methodists were expected to behave, it was helpful also in correcting the impression of some Germans that the Methodists lacked discipline.⁸⁸

Although the early American Methodists' efforts among the German immigrants were effective, they might have been more so if the Methodists had been more prompt, aggressive, and astute. Despite Asbury's professions of interest, Methodists were in America for nearly two decades before they recruited a consistent German-speaking preacher, in the person of Simon Miller, specifically for this work.⁸⁹ It was not until late in Asbury's life that he proposed a systematic plan for ministry to the Germans.⁹⁰ Even when the Methodists attracted German-speaking preachers, they seemed oblivious initially to the German preachers' potential usefulness among other Germans. They were not appointed immediately or consistently to minister in areas that Germans had settled. Miller served briefly in Delaware,⁹¹ as did Boehm.⁹² Gruber ministered for several years to the Light Street congregation in Baltimore that was not particularly German.⁹³ Joseph and Christopher Fry were Germans from Winchester, Virginia, who became Methodist preachers "but not preaching in that language," they lost the ability to use it.⁹⁴

Contemporary United Brethren and Evangelical as well as later Methodist missions to the Germans suggest that a Methodist ministry directed more specifically to the Germans during this period might have been more helpful. The German-speaking preacher John Dreisbach of the "Albright people" claimed that he made the organization of specifically German societies, circuits, and conferences a condition of his becoming a German Methodist preacher when Asbury invited him in 1810. Asbury, he charged, rejected his suggestion, saying that it was not "expedient." As a result, German settlers who became Methodists had to join congregations with people of other nationalities.⁹⁵ Asbury seems to have assumed that German immigrants would adjust quickly to the dominant English culture, as, indeed, some already had. Boehm, for example, began his ministry knowing little English and within a decade had become proficient.⁹⁶ Many others, however, were slow to do so, and nineteenth-century immigration reinforced their perseverance in the use of the German language.

Of course, Asbury had no way of knowing that large-scale immigration from Germany would resume after the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815. Schaff observed on his mid-century visit to Europe that the "rage for emigration" was spreading "through all parts of Germany and all the Cantons

of Switzerland." According to Schaff, the German Society of New York identified over 32,500 immigrants to that city in the month of May in the year 1853.⁹⁷ Consequently, the Germans' transition to the English language took longer than Asbury anticipated.

Greater cooperation with German religious groups that shared Methodist characteristics would have reduced the duplication of effort and provided a more unified witness. (Recent leaders of these groups must have thought so too, for they united their churches in 1968.⁹⁸) In retrospect, the differences seem to have been slight. The Otterbein and Albright groups so closely resembled each other and the denomination that Asbury led that the former were called "German Methodists."⁹⁹ Asbury's interest in providing preaching in German indicates that language alone was not the barrier.¹⁰⁰ More divisive were ecclesiastical issues. Otterbein's followers were organized comparatively loosely.¹⁰¹ United Brethren preachers could "ride a circuit or let it alone," as Asbury complained. They could serve as itinerant preachers or settle in a particular community. Asbury and Albright insisted on an itinerant ministry.¹⁰² Such relative informality characterized the United Brethren's use of titles and offices as well. Asbury assumed the title and role of bishop, but Otterbein, Martin Boehm, and Newcomer wore the title lightly and used a bishop's authority only to ordain successors. As a result, the early United Brethren had no strong leader. To Asbury, they seemed to lack the discipline that he and others admired in Methodism.¹⁰³

Albright and his followers seemed closer to the Methodists, except that they elected bishops for four-year terms instead of for life. Nevertheless, Asbury was not well acquainted with them. In fact, even the editors of the 1958 edition of Asbury's papers could not identify Albright correctly, calling him "Peter," instead of Jacob.¹⁰⁴ Methodists influenced Albright and his followers much more than the United Brethren. In fact, Albright became a Methodist for a short time after he experienced conversion. Albright preached a pietistic Christianity with a Methodist emphasis that included the Wesleyan interpretation of Arminianism and perfectionism. The Evangelical Association's statement of beliefs and practices was little more than another translation of the "Methodist Discipline."¹⁰⁵ When Albright's followers coalesced after his death, initially they adopted the name, the "Newly Organized Methodist Conference."¹⁰⁶ Although there were attempts during the early nineteenth century to bring these groups together, they failed because the participants on all sides lacked sufficient motivation and flexibility.¹⁰⁷

Nevertheless, the Methodists in America did conduct an intensive ministry to the Germans during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, much sooner than most previous historians have indicated. In their emphasis on experiential religion, they had much in common with pietistic German immigrants to begin with. Evangelistic as the Methodists were, they expressed concern for the Germans shortly after their arrival and carried their ministry into areas where the German immigrants settled, especially in outlying areas

that were not yet served regularly by German Lutheran and Reformed clergymen. When German-speaking Methodist preachers emerged, eventually Methodist officials sent them among the Germans to preach in their own language. In this way, the Methodists provided spiritual nurture for people who preferred their particular interpretation of Protestant Christianity and for those who had little of any type. Exactly how many settlers of German background the Methodists served or added to their rolls is impossible to determine; however, the number probably was large. As a result, American Methodism became more ethnically diverse than its British counterpart and more so than most of its contemporaries in early American Protestantism. Because Asbury refused to provide an exclusively German Methodism, German converts were integrated with those of other ethnic backgrounds which constituted a precedent that American Methodists expanded later. Integration with English-speaking Methodists in classes where confessions were made and testimonies of faith were offered undoubtedly helped the German settlers to shake off some of their ethnic provincialism, to become better acquainted with their British neighbors, and to become better adjusted to life in America.

After the mid-1830s, William Nast and others led a more exclusively German, more intellectually sophisticated, and more numerically successful work among the Germans, but they were not the first. More than a half-century earlier, Francis Asbury and the Methodists of his day had begun that work.

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Notes

¹ Portions of this essay were presented to the American Society of Church History at its centennial convention at Lancaster Theological Seminary, Lancaster, PA, on 14 April 1988.

² For recent accounts, see Paul R. Fetters, ed., *Trials and Triumphs: A History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Huntington, Indiana: Church of the United Brethren in Christ, Department of Church Services, 1984) and Paul H. Eller and J. Bruce Behney, *The History of the Evangelical United Brethren Church*, ed. Kenneth W. Krueger (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1979); others include A. W. Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ* (Dayton: Otterbein Press, 1924) and Raymond F. Albright, *A History of the Evangelical Church* (Harrisburg: The Evangelical Press, 1942) [Raymond F. Albright was a direct descendant of Jacob Albright]; see also Steven O'Malley, *Pilgrimage of Faith: The Legacy of the Otterbeins* (Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, 1973), 175-84; Paul C. Milhouse, *Philip William Otterbein: Pioneer Pastor to Germans in America* (Nashville: The Upper Room, 1968), 51-54; Arthur C. Core, ed., *Philip William Otterbein: Pastor, Ecumenist* (Dayton: Board of Publication, the Evangelical United Brethren Church, 1968), 109-27; Paul H. Eller, "Revivalism and the German Churches in Pennsylvania, 1783-1816," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1933, 153-65; and John B. Frantz, "Revivalism in the German Reformed Church in America to 1850 . . ." (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1961), 25-68.

³ See Paul H. Douglas, *The Story of German Methodism: Biography of an Immigrant Soul* (New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1939), especially 20-33.

⁴ Carl Wittke, *William Nast: Patriarch of German Methodism* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1959); see pp. 35-36 where Wittke devotes one paragraph to the early German Methodism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁵ Note the lack of attention to the early German Methodism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century in Frank Baker, *From Wesley to Asbury: Studies in Early American Methodism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1976), 134; Wade Crawford Barclay, *History of Methodist Missions* (New York: Board of Missions and Church Extension of the Methodist Church, 1949-50), 1:273-74; Emory Stevens Buche, ed., *The History of American Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1964), 95, 592; Frederick Abbott Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 287; William Warren Sweet, *Methodism in American History* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1954), 270-71, 464; and L. C. Rudolph, *Francis Asbury* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 189-91.

⁶ For the relationship, see A. W. Nagler, *Pietism and Methodism* (Nashville: Smith and Lamar, 1918); and F. Ernest Stoeffler, ed., *Continental Pietism and Early American Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976); F. Ernest Stoeffler's *Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965), 13-23, contains a brief definition of Pietism.

⁷ Elisabeth Jay, ed., *The Journal of John Wesley: A Selection* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 34-35; and John T. McNeill, *Makers of Christianity from Alfred the Great to Schleiermacher* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1935; Harper Torchbook, 1964), 241-53.

⁸ *Journal of John Wesley*, 35-37; and Halford Edward Luccock and Paul Hutchinson, *The Story of Methodism* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1949), 72; for additional information, see F. Ernst Stoeffler, "Religious Roots of the Early Moravian and Methodist Movements," *Methodist History*, n.s., 24 (April 1986): 132-40.

⁹ Joe L. Kincheloe, Jr., "European Roots of Evangelical Revivalism: Methodist Transmission of the Pietistic Socio-Religious Tradition," *Methodist History*, n.s., 18 (July 1980): 262-71; and Karl Zehrer, "The Relationship between Pietism in Halle and Early Methodism," trans. James O. Dwyer, *Methodist History*, n.s., 17 (July 1979): 211-24.

¹⁰ Stoeffler, *Evangelical Pietism*, 13-23.

¹¹ For concise summaries of American Methodists' beliefs, see *The Doctrines and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York: T. Kirk . . . for the Methodist Society, 1804); their origins in Wesley's thought appears in Norwood, *American Methodism*, 42-60.

¹² Rudolph, *Asbury*, 20.

¹³ J. B. Wakely, *The Patriarch of One Hundred Years: Being the Reminiscences, Historical and Biographical of Rev. Henry Boehm* (New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1875; reprint ed., 1982), 111, 173, 310.

¹⁴ *The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, ed. Elmer T. Clark, J. Manning Potts, and Jacob S. Payton (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), 2:646; a discussion of the religious situation among the early German colonists in Pennsylvania and neighboring areas appears in John B. Frantz, "The Awakening of Religion Among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 33 (April 1976): 267-74.

¹⁵ *Asbury, Journal*, 2:550.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Asbury, Journal*, 3:274.

¹⁸ *Asbury, Journal*, 2:400.

¹⁹ *Asbury, Journal*, 1:512.

²⁰ *Asbury, Journal*, 3:274.

²¹ *Asbury, Journal*, 1:54, 103; see also William J. Hinke, *Ministers of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania and Other Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. George W. Richards (Lancaster: Historical Commission of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1951), 171-74.

²² Asbury, *Journal*, 1:105; for additional information concerning Philip William Otterbein, see O'Malley, *Legacy of the Otterbeins*, 166-84; and Paul H. Eller, "Philip William Otterbein and Francis Asbury," in Core, *Philip William Otterbein*, 62-72.

²³ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:105, 114; "Minutes of the Coetus, 1773," *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747-1792 . . .*, ed. William J. Hinke (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), 337-38.

²⁴ "Minutes of the Coetus . . . , 1775," *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus . . .*, 350; the minutes of the United Ministers' meetings appear in Joseph Henry Dubbs, "Otterbein and the Reformed Church," *Reformed Church Quarterly Review* 31 (January 1884): 122-27; see also William J. Hinke, "Philip William Otterbein and the Reformed Church," *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* 12 (July 1901): 128-42.

²⁵ For the circumstances of the initial meeting between Otterbein and Martin Boehm, see Drury, *History of the Church of the United Brethren in Christ*, 181-82; note the origins of the society in *Glaubenslehre und Kirchenzucht = Ordnung der Vereinigten Brüder in Christo* (Hagerstadt: Joh. Gruber und D. May, 1822), 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.

²⁶ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:474, n. 55; 2:753-54; and Rudolph, *Asbury*, 191.

²⁷ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:406; Asbury used the term "Dutch" to mean German.

²⁸ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 118; Asbury, *Journal*, 1:194, n. 34; 196, 406; and Klaus Wust, *The Virginia Germans* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), 150-51.

²⁹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences Annually Held in America, 1773-1813, Inclusive* (New York: Daniel Hitt and Thomas Ward for the Methodist Connexion in the United States, 1813), 492.

³⁰ Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 150-51; and A. Stapleton, *Annals of the Evangelical Association of North America . . .* (Harrisburg: Publishing House of the United Evangelical Church, 1900), 32.

³¹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 154 (1795).

³² Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 27; and W. P. Strickland, *The Life of Jacob Gruber* (New York: Carlton and Porter, 1860), 12.

³³ Strickland, *Gruber*, 360.

³⁴ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 112; Strickland, *Gruber*, 18, 24, 30, 123-24, 262-63, 268, 271, 279.

³⁵ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 12-13, 65-66; see also Kenneth E. Rowe, "Martin Boehm and the Methodists," *Methodist History*, n.s., 8 (July 1969): 49-53.

³⁶ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 102, 160, 415, 459; and William H. Williams, *The Garden of American Methodism: The Delmarva Peninsula, 1769-1820* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1984), 84, 140, 159, 161-63, 177.

³⁷ Asbury, *Journal*, 3:370.

³⁸ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 19.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 113-14.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 449; see also 29, 125, 165, 255, 308.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴² Asbury, *Journal*, 1:401.

⁴³ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 19, 113.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 28, 29, 362, 449; and Asbury, *Journal*, 2:697.

⁴⁵ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 29, 341; *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 471 (1810).

⁴⁶ *Memoir of the Rev. Jesse Lee with Extracts From His Journals*, ed. Thrift Minton (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1823), 253-54.

⁴⁷ Nathan A. Bangs, *A History of the Methodist Episcopal Church . . .* (New York: T. Mason and G. Lande for the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1838-41), 1:144.

⁴⁸ Robert D. Simpson, ed., *The Life and Journals of Freeborn Garrettsen* (Rutland, Vermont: Academy Books, 1984), 36, 39-40, 111-12, 183-84; and Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 310.

⁴⁹ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:430.

⁵⁰ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 166, 310.

⁵¹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 31 (1781); 35 (1782); and 40 (1783).

- ⁵² Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 110.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*, 102.
- ⁵⁴ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:704.
- ⁵⁵ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 102; Asbury, *Journal*, 2:612.
- ⁵⁶ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:53; for the history of religion among the early German settlers in Maryland, see Dieter Cunz, *The Maryland Germans: A History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), 60-87.
- ⁵⁷ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 8 (1774); 10 (1775); and 12 (1776).
- ⁵⁸ Asbury, *Journal*, 2:572.
- ⁵⁹ *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus*, 337; for religious conditions in Virginia, see Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 129-51.
- ⁶⁰ Asbury, *Journal*, 1:406.
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 648.
- ⁶² Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 118, 225; and *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 132 (1794); 435 (1809).
- ⁶³ Asbury, *Journal*, 2:710.
- ⁶⁴ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 259.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 202-63.
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 204.
- ⁶⁷ Baker, *From Wesley to Asbury*, 40-44; Norwood, *American Methodism*, 67; and Samuel J. Fanning, "Philip Embury, Founder of Methodism in New York," *Methodist History*, n.s., 3 (January 1965): 16-25.
- ⁶⁸ Walter C. Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration . . .* (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1937), 148-59, 188-205.
- ⁶⁹ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 296; and Garrettson, *Life and Journals*, 263.
- ⁷⁰ Strickland, *Gruber*, 26-27.
- ⁷¹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 146 (1794); and 156 (1795).
- ⁷² For the German Lutheran liturgy that was compiled in 1748 by the Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the leading German Lutheran pastor in Pennsylvania, see Henry E. Jacobs, *A History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature Co., 1893), 270-75; the "Palatinate Liturgy," compiled in 1563, was the standard order of worship among the German Reformed ministers and people; see a modern translation by Bard Thompson in *Theology and Life* 6 (Spring 1963): 49-67.
- ⁷³ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 210; for the Methodists' emphasis on preaching, see Norwood, *American Methodism*, 229-30.
- ⁷⁴ Christian Newcomer, *The Life and Journal of the Rev'd Christian Newcomer . . .*, trans. John Hildt (Hagerstown: F. G. W. Kapp, 1834), 111.
- ⁷⁵ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 312-13.
- ⁷⁶ Newcomer, *Journal*, 69.
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 79; see also 66, 149.
- ⁷⁸ Bangs, *Methodist Episcopal Church*, 1:97.
- ⁷⁹ Strickland, *Gruber*, 24.
- ⁸⁰ Newcomer, *Journal*, 111.
- ⁸¹ Yeakel, R., *Jacob Albright and His Co-Laborers* (Cleveland: Publishing House of the Evangelical Association, 1883), 56-57, 230; *History of the Classis of Lancaster of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States, 1852-1940*, ed. Daniel G. Glass, C. George Bachman, John F. Frantz, Harry E. Shepardson, J. W. LeVan (New Holland: New Holland Clarion, 1941), 192; and Garrettson, *Life and Journals*, 112.
- ⁸² Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of its Political, Social, and Religious Character*, ed. Perry Miller (Cambridge: the Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1961), 142-44; Charles Yrigoyen, Jr. treats "Mercersburg's Quarrel with Methodism" in *Methodist History*, n.s., 22 (October 1983): 3-19.
- ⁸³ Strickland, *Gruber*, 28.

- ⁸⁴ Asbury, *Journal*, 2:646.
- ⁸⁵ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 184-85, 242, 256.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 174.
- ⁸⁷ Asbury, *Journal*, 2:645, n. 70.
- ⁸⁸ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 175-78; see also *Lehre und Zuchtordnung der Bischöflich = Methodistischen Kirche, Aus dem Englischen übersetzt . . .* (Lancaster: Henrich und Benjamin Grimler, 1808).
- ⁸⁹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 97 (1791).
- ⁹⁰ Asbury, *Journal*, 3:504-5.
- ⁹¹ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 154 (1795).
- ⁹² Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 58-59, 374; *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences*, 429; and Williams, *Garden of Methodism*, 84, 110, 140, 159, 161-63, 177.
- ⁹³ Strickland, Gruber, 123.
- ⁹⁴ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 118.
- ⁹⁵ W. W. Orwig, *History of the Evangelical Association*, vol. 1, *From the Origin of the Association to the end of the year 1845* (Cleveland: Charles Hammer, 1858), 56-57; see also, Asbury, *Journal*, 3:477, n. 50; Norwood, *American Methodism*, 164-74; Wust, *Virginia Germans*, 151; and Douglas, *German Methodism*, 99.
- ⁹⁶ Boehm, *Reminiscences*, 346.
- ⁹⁷ Schaff, *America*, 219.
- ⁹⁸ Norwood, *American Methodism*, 426.
- ⁹⁹ R. Yeakel, *History of the Evangelical Association*, vol. 1, 1750-1850 (Cleveland: Thomas Mattill, 1894), 230; Yeakel, *Albright*, 42; Charles E. Kachel, "Similarities and Differences Between The Methodist Church and The Evangelical United Brethren Church," *Methodist History*, n.s., 3 (October 1964): 12-22; Daryl M. Elliott, "Entire Sanctification and the Church of the United Brethren in Christ to 1860," *Methodist History*, n.s., 24 (July 1987): 203-22.
- ¹⁰⁰ Paul Blankenship, "Bishop Asbury and the Germans," *Methodist History*, n.s., 4 (April 1966): 5-13.
- ¹⁰¹ See *Lehre und Zucht = Ordnung der Vereinigten Brüder*, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 22, 24, 26, 28; and Asbury, *Journal*, 3:504; see also Donald K. Gorrell, "'Ride a Circuit or Let It Alone': Early Practises That Kept the United Brethren, Albright People and Methodists Apart," *Methodist History*, n.s., 23 (October 1986): 4-16.
- ¹⁰³ *Lehre und Zucht = Ordnung der Vereinigten Brüder*, 26, 28, 30; see also Jeffrey P. Mickle, "A Comparison of the Doctrines of Ministry of Francis Asbury and Philip William Otterbein," *Methodist History*, n.s., 19 (July 1981): 187-205; see also the early "Minutes of the United Brethren in Christ . . .," Typescript in translation in the archives of the Central Pennsylvania Conference of the United Methodist Church, Lycoming College Library, Williamsport, Pennsylvania.
- ¹⁰⁴ Asbury, *Journal*, 2:705, n. 48; and John B. Warman, "Francis Asbury and Jacob Albright," *Methodist History*, n.s., 16 (January 1978): 75-81.
- ¹⁰⁵ Compare *Die Glaubenslehre und Kirchen = Zucht = Ordnung der Evangelischen Gemeinschaft . . .* (New Berlin: S. G. Miller, 1842) with *Minutes of the Several Conversations Between the Rev. Thomas Coke LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury And Others . . . Composing A Form of Discipline for the Ministers, Preachers and Other Members Of The Methodist Episcopal Church in America* (Philadelphia: Charles Cist, 1785).
- ¹⁰⁶ Yeakel, *Evangelical Association*, 42-43; and Albright, *Evangelical Church*, 71.
- ¹⁰⁷ Yeakel, *Evangelical Association*, 84; J. Manning Potts discusses Methodist "Attempts at Union 150 Years Ago," in *Methodist History*, n.s., 1 (July 1963): 31-36; see also Rudolph, *Asbury*, 190-91.

Siegmar Muehl

**The Lichtfreund Press:
German-American Newspaper Publishing
on the Missouri Frontier, 1843-55**

On 21 July 1843, Eduard Mühl, accompanied by his wife, baby, and brother-in-law, Karl Strehly, stepped off a Missouri River boat onto the wharf at the small frontier town of Hermann, Missouri.¹ The settlement, ninety miles west of St. Louis on the hilly south bank of the Missouri River, had been founded only six years earlier as a colony of the German Settlement Society of Philadelphia.² Its founders foresaw the settlement as an enclave where German language and culture might survive and flourish in the dominant English culture of the United States.

Other German settlements in the Missouri River valley west of St. Louis had preceded the founding of the Hermann colony. Areas established in 1832 near Washington and Dutzow east of Hermann became known as the "Latin Settlement" because of the educated and aristocratic backgrounds of many of the immigrants. Other groups followed in rapid succession. Of these, the group known as the Gießen Emigration Society under the leadership of Paul Follenius and Friedrich Münch is especially noteworthy since both Follenius and Münch later wrote essays that appeared in the Lichtfreund Press newspapers. A few members of the Gießen group eventually settled north of the river near Marthasville.³

Eduard Mühl, a former Lutheran pastor in Saxony, had emigrated to America in 1836 at thirty-six years of age. Prior to coming to Hermann, he had published a Cincinnati paper called the *Lichtfreund* (*Friend of Light*). This paper espoused religious rationalism, a religious ideology with roots in the German Enlightenment. Many literate and liberal-minded German immigrants had imported this view in the 1830s.

These friends of light, or freethinkers, believed in a "natural" rather than a "revealed" religion, a religion based on truths discovered by the "inner light of reason" rather than one founded on church dogma, authority, or mystical experience.

In his German homeland, Mühl had been reared in a conservative Evangelical Lutheran household—his father was pastor of a village church at Oberullersdorf in Saxony. While attending the University of Leipzig to study theology, he absorbed not only rationalist religious views but also, as a member of the German Student Association, espoused ideals of constitutional and representative government. The then autocratic rulers of the German states considered both viewpoints radical and subversive.

Like many graduates of theology at the time, Mühl spent several years as a private tutor waiting for a pastoral opening. Eventually he became his father's assistant at the Oberullersdorf church. In the course of preaching there and in neighboring churches as a vacancy pastor, he expressed his rationalist religious views. This brought him into conflict not only with his father but also with local authorities of the state-controlled church.

When his father died in 1835, Mühl temporarily filled the vacant pulpit. He failed, however, to obtain the permanent appointment. Presumably his "radical" views did not endear him to village conservatives, or to local church authorities. Without means of livelihood, he emigrated to America.⁴

Mühl began to pick up newspaper experience shortly after reaching the United States. During a stopover of a few months in Allentown, Pennsylvania, where he failed to find a pastorate, he apprenticed himself for several weeks in a printshop to learn typesetting.⁵ Early in 1837, he moved to nearby Lebanon earning his living there as a music teacher, and writing a series of articles on the German immigrant experience in the United States. These appeared in Philadelphia's German newspaper, *Die alte und neue Welt*.⁶

During the Lebanon year he observed with discomfiture the fervent evangelical religion which accompanied trans-Appalachian settlers in the post-Revolutionary War years. On a Sunday morning, when Mühl was playing his guitar and singing old German songs to assuage his loneliness, a member of the Methodist brethren invaded his room uninvited. This officious soul threatened Mühl with legal action unless he desisted from making music on the Sabbath. Later, during an extended Presbyterian revival meeting, Mühl lost several of his female piano students because they became convinced that playing the piano was a sin against God.

Mühl recorded these encounters in his Lebanon diary. They served to feed his publishing aspirations. He noted:

I have wondered that no religious newspaper exists in America that systematically fights the excesses shown here, and portrays the unity of mankind in a rational belief above and beyond sectarian ways.⁷

When Mühl settled in Cincinnati in 1840, he implemented his idea of publishing a religious newspaper. Shortly after arrival, he became editor of a German paper, the *Volksblatt*. With publishing facilities now at hand, he

concurrently launched his own German-language paper, the *Lichtfreund*, in February 1840.⁸

In Cincinnati the *Lichtfreund* continued publication for three years on a semimonthly basis. A contemporary source reported the paper had five hundred subscribers.⁹ Mühl secured most of these by personal canvass. In 1842, leaving the publishing of the *Lichtfreund* to his publishing partner and brother-in-law, Karl Strehly, he traveled eastward seeking subscribers. His journal reflects this trip:

In May, I undertook my great journey to collect subscribers for the *Lichtfreund*. My route took me by Phillipsburg, Pittsburgh, and from there to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York. I returned by way of Albany to Buffalo, and then on the canal to Cincinnati. I was gone almost 13 weeks and brought back \$3.25. The future worries me. I hope it will go better later. Karl and I compose the paper ourselves which makes for a great saving.

On a similar subscription-gathering trip westward to the St. Louis area in April 1843, Mühl visited Hermann, Missouri, for the first time. He would have known about the German colony through his Philadelphia newspaper contacts, since *Die alte und neue Welt* was the official voice for the German Settlement Society.¹⁰ His encounter with this "little Germany" and its beautiful Rhine-like location on the banks of the Missouri prompted the following entry in Mühl's journal: "While I was in Hermann, the thought came to me that I would like to move there. After some hesitation, I quickly made the decision to move."

Departing Cincinnati by steamboat 12 July, Mühl's little party eventually arrived in Hermann after a "tedious voyage." A description of Hermann as it looked only three years earlier in 1840 appeared in the St. Louis German newspaper, the *Anzeiger des Westens*. A brief excerpt provides a sense of the physical scene that greeted the weary travelers:

Up to the present, something over two years have passed since the first house was built in Hermann. Now almost 150 houses stand there with about 600 inhabitants. Of the land surrounding Hermann, much of it is already laid out in farms.¹¹

Hermann had no existing newspaper at the time. Thus, Mühl and Strehly needed to bring a printing press, type and paper with them on the trip from Cincinnati. Otherwise they could not have published their first Hermann-based number of the *Lichtfreund* only a little over a month after reaching this isolated location. From later evidence, we know the publishing partners had gone half-shares and made a down payment on a Washington Hand Press and type manufactured by the Cincinnati Type Foundry in Cincinnati.¹²

Shortly after arrival, the partners set up their printing shop in a West Second Street house that Strehly bought for his living quarters at a sheriff's sale.¹³ From this location, they first printed the Cincinnati-transplanted *Lichtfreund* in Hermann—Wednesday, 23 August 1843. This issue was the first number of the fourth annual set of the paper's ongoing existence; it was also the first enduring German-American paper published west of St. Louis in Missouri.¹⁴

The masthead of this first Hermann number is shown below.

Licht-Freund.

Prüfet aber Alles, und das Gute behaltet. Welche Religion ich befinde? Keiner von allen, die Du mir nennt.—Und
 (1 Cor. 13, 1). machst keine? Das Religion. (Mat. 23, 13)

Herausgegeben von C. Mühl und Strehly.

Jahrgang 4. Hermann, Mo., Mittwoch, September, 20. 1843.
No. 5.

Von der Erbsünde.
(Fortsetzung.)

Das ist aber etwas nicht weniger als ganz neue Nachrichten sind, die wir hier unter die sogenannte Erbsünde aufzuführen, und das man auch schon sehr frühe die gegenwärtigen Überzeugungen für sich, welche diese Lehre der Kirche brachte, davon gleich schon der Mensch Deliquat fragend, welcher ganz vernünftige folgende Sätze aufstellt: Was ist das und wie ist es nicht nicht mit uns geboren, sondern es ist nicht von uns. Der Mensch mit, wie ohne Laster, so ohne Fehler geboren.

Der Grundfalsch Mensch ist nicht weiter, als die erste Ursache des ersten Verfalls, ein einziger Akt des ersten Verfalls. Diese erste Ursache kann den Menschen weiter nicht jugendlicher werden; es gibt keine Erbsünde.

Der Tod ist ein notwendiges Ereignis der

Und so wurde denn diese Ansicht des Bisthofs, zu Anfang des letzten Jahrhunderts, zur christlichen Glaubenslehre gemacht, und so haben wir sie eben auch, und die Orthodoxen lassen sich die Hilfe fast für abgeben, wenn die Kirche hat die Ansicht des Bisthofs gut gefunden und gesagt: Deliquat mit seiner vernünftigen Ansicht hat erreicht, man wolle ihn die Frau, nach sie glauben können. Es ist aber, das ganze Lebensgefühl der christlichen Dogmatik, steht aber wurde die vernünftige Meinung, so einer alten, im Bereich der Frömmigkeit und Gerechtigkeit stehenden Kirchenmann, ein einziger wahrer Glaube heilig geworden, und kann man natürlich alles Reinen, was nicht hat mit unvernünftigen, so wahr und richtig es auch immer sein mochte. Es ist darum nicht über, sicher und ungetrübter, als wenn die Leute glauben, sie hätten in ihrem Katholischen Glauben

auch den sogenannten Sündenfall, noch fast eine natürliche Thatsache halten können. Sie widerstehen auch ein denkbarer Mann glauben können, bei dem in 6 Tagen die Welt schon anders war wie ein nachgeborener Mensch haben mehr? Wer sollte nicht in der Schöpfung des Menschenpaars, und dessen Schicksal sehen im menschlichen Leben, was ihm mit ihnen gesagt, ein vernünftiger Mensch vernünftiger Weise nachzudenken, wie wir vernünftigen bei anderen orientalischen Völkern ebenfalls vorfinden? Wer möchte nicht nicht ebenfalls hier orientalische Bild, aber ich will je auch sagen, diese Sätze, in der Verstandesgründlichkeit fertigstellen können? Die Erklärung, bei den Menschen, welche das Bild des Vaters, heißt je den Menschen, inwiefern sie annehmen auf die goldenen, verbotenen Frucht, von ihnen großen und christlichen Menschen sie ihnen viel erzählt. Die Sinnlichkeit reißt sie hin.

Quotes appearing directly under the title signaled the paper's rationalist ideology. A Biblical quote reads in translation: "Test everything and hold fast to the good." Another from Schiller states: "What religion do I confess? None of those you mention.—And why none? For religious reasons."

The masthead further specified the "terms" of the paper: It would appear biweekly and cost \$1.00 per year, paid in advance; letters and remittances could be sent post-free; publishers of other German newspapers were requested to act as subscription agents. Actually, the paper came out weekly for the first six weeks to make up missing numbers caused by gaps in publishing during the move to Hermann.¹⁵ A notice on page four signed by the "compositor" explained that due to a shortage of type fonts for the German letter, *ü*, "ue" would substitute until "the deficiency can be made good." The paper's physical format consisted of four pages of three columns each, with an overall dimension of fourteen by nine inches. Each number contained some six thousand hand-set words.

Mühl filled more than three pages of this first Hermann number with an editorial setting for the paper's rationalist purpose for the "German comrades in the West." It read in part:

I shall set forth the guiding principle that one may judge for himself whether to accept or reject a religious belief. One can only believe that which promotes the highest purpose of religion, namely morality, which must be reflected in our lives in word and deed. What does not meet these claims cannot be a part of religious belief, but must be rejected. The viewpoint expressed here finds its basis in the Latin word. It is called, "Rationalism," or faith in reason.

The paper's content typically included a lead essay on a religious subject from the rationalist viewpoint. Although these essays often attacked the established churches, Protestant and Catholic, extreme rationalist views also received critical attention. Friedrich Münch, fellow rationalist, journalist and grape grower, who lived in nearby Marthasville across the Missouri River from Hermann, wrote such a series directed at the *Die Fackel*, a New York paper edited by Samuel Ludvigh. Münch accused *Die Fackel* of "carrying on a war against Christianity, tearing it out of all historical development."¹⁶ Letters to the editor sometimes added other voices to *Lichtfreund* columns.

Besides its editorial content, the paper often contained special serial features. One described the world's various religions. Another featured extended excerpts from David Strauss's controversial *Life of Jesus*, published in Germany in 1840. Strauss, like several other contemporary German Biblical scholars, attempted to explain the supernatural and miraculous in the Bible on naturalistic or mythical grounds. The *Lichtfreund* also served as organ for correspondence and promotion of two rationalist groups in the Missouri River Valley called *Verein Freier Männer*—one founded in Augusta in 1844, and one in Hermann in 1852.¹⁷ Back pages of the paper reported religious and sometimes secular news from the United States and Europe.

Since no telegraphic connections yet existed, the *Lichtfreund* depended entirely on other newspapers for its supply of news. At various times, thirty-two different American papers and six foreign ones were cited as news sources.¹⁸ The *Anzeiger des Westens* in St. Louis and the *Deutsche Schnellpost* and *Die Fackel* in New York were the most frequently cited domestic sources. The *Lichtfreund* maintained an exchange-paper relationship with several of these which also included the courtesy of accepting subscriptions in each others' offices.¹⁹

Occasionally the paper announced publications of other presses. Thus the first number of a "Complete Library of German Classics," printed in Philadelphia could be viewed in the newspaper office and subscribed to "at 10 cents per-monthly number." The Hermann publishers stated their reason for promoting this publication: "Many here would like to secure better German works if opportunity and price were not an obstacle."²⁰

Presumably due to the *Lichtfreund's* religious orientation, no commercial ads appeared in its pages. As a result, Mühl and Strehly depended entirely on

income from subscriptions to support the paper and their own livelihood. Various notices about the business of publishing the *Lichtfreund* provide insight into problems of producing and sustaining a paper on the Missouri frontier.

A list of the paper's agents appeared regularly. Such an agent list appears below. Locations on the list give evidence of the paper's geographical reach. It also regularly published names and cash receipts for subscriptions received. A tally of these receipts suggests the approximate number of subscribers, and their locations. Receipts in the fourth and fifth annual sets, August 1843 to May 1845, showed 365 subscribers having paid in part or in full. Ohio had the largest number with 144 at 19 different locations; Missouri had 98 at 15; Pennsylvania 77 at 6. As would be expected, big cities with large German concentrations provided the most readers: Cincinnati, St. Louis,

Agentenschaft fuer den Lichtfreund.
 St. Louis, J. A. Schneider im Aufz. d. Befreies.
 Ruegge — Dr. Heltrix und Knauber.
 St. Charles, Mo., Dr. Behrens.
 Augusta, St. Charles Co., Mo., H. Kasse.
 Jefferson City, Mo., Apotheker Flachb.
 Jackson, Mo., Herzinger.
 Warren Co. Mo. Frdr. Wensch.
 Belleville, Ill., L. Westermann.
 Louisville, Ky., B. Schmeitzgen.
 Cincinnati, D., Red. des Volksblattes — West-
 buchne — Republikaner und Dr. Emmert.
 Hamilton, D., Sohn.
 Miamiburg, D., Enchenhofer.
 Dayton, D., Dr. Brodbeck.
 Columbus, D., Eallmann.
 Lancaster, D., J. Walter.
 Weelisa, Wa., J. Hecker.
 Indianapolis, Ia., J. Nicolai.
 Pittsburgh, Pa., Pittsburgher Courier und Herr
 J. Wagner.
 Philippsburg, Pa., Dr. Adert.
 Harrisburg, Pa., Karl Buchler.
 Allentown, Pa., L. Schinde.
 Philadelphia, Red. der Allen u. Neuen Zeit.
 Baltimore, Meig.
 New York, Die Red. der Staatszeitung und
 Apotheker Kange.
 New Orleans, Red. des Deutschen Couriers.

Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, in that order. The *Lichtfreund* also had a scattering of readers in Arkansas, Kentucky, Illinois, Indiana, New York, Wisconsin and Mississippi. Total receipts for the fifth annual set alone, with past-due and future-year payments eliminated, indicated about 236 subscribers for that year.

One odd feature appeared in this subscription accounting: No subscribers were ever listed from Hermann itself. Since the paper occasionally published notices relating to events in Hermann, there had to be local readers. Perhaps the paper was distributed gratis locally, though this would seem doubtful, given severe money constraints constantly facing the publishers.

As reported earlier, the *Lichtfreund's* masthead stated remittances could be sent post-free. The paper regularly carried a notice to remind subscribers how to do this:

If our distant readers want to send us money, they need to go to the nearest postmaster and in his presence put the money into a letter. He then addresses it, writes his name as postmaster, and the word free on it. By this means, it will spare the printing press the postage for subscriptions.²¹

The publishers bore mailing costs of the paper. At the time, the newspaper rate was one cent up to one hundred miles, and one-and-one-half cents for greater distances.²²

Some *Lichtfreund* notices reflected problems in getting the paper delivered. No railroad or post road as yet connected Hermann eastward with St. Louis, or any point in between. The paper traveled by riverboat. Spring flooding, low water levels in the fall, and winter freezing all made for shipping problems. Sometimes the channel would shift making it impossible for boats to land at Hermann, or else "Yankee" boat captains, acting out of "nativist spite," refused to put in at the German settlement.²³

One such disruption was noted in spring 1844, when the Missouri River crested at 35.7, a record level: "Although we send the paper by steamboat, it still could be delayed, since flooding may have made nearby roads impassable."²⁴ Such a problem may have existed in the Pittsburgh area. A second notice in the same issue reported that, "no papers had been received in the Pittsburgh area for six weeks, despite their having been mailed from Hermann."

Money and/or paper constraints limited the quantity of papers printed for any given number. One notice read: "Those who do not wish to receive the 4th annual set are requested to return the numbers sent to them because we need them elsewhere."²⁵

By spring of 1844, Mühl and Strehly felt established enough to think about bringing in some outside help to relieve them of complete responsibility for composing the paper. In April, the following notice appeared: "The Lichtfreund Press is seeking a boy from 12 to 16 who desires to learn the printing trade."²⁶ The ad apparently found a positive response. In a letter Mühl wrote in early June 1844 to Heinrich Rödter, a newspaper colleague in Cincinnati, he noted: "My wife has plenty to do around the house since we are six at table. There are two apprentices I train to set type."²⁷

Clearly, from the start of the Hermann venture, the publishers had money problems, due in part to the country's economic situation at the time. In 1837, the United States Bank of Pennsylvania closed, then a number of state banks failed because of losses incurred from western land speculation. The resulting depression continued into the 1840s.

A dunning notice appeared in the very first number of the Hermann paper:

All those who owe us money are requested to pay up at this time, since with the beginning of a new business necessary commitments and unexpected expenses occur that make extra money necessary. The notes of the Indiana Bank are acceptable as currency here.²⁸

The Indiana Bank was one of the few regulated banks that had not defaulted. In the Rödter letter mentioned earlier, written near the end of the first year of publishing in Hermann, Mühl reported:

How seldom I have money you may imagine when I tell you that I have received up to the most recent mail delivery, when my yearly books close out, not more than \$223 for the year. I have to divide this with Karl. The paper supply I need to purchase each year costs \$52. It has been five weeks since I have had any money in the house.²⁹

Concurrent with the above letter, the following notice appeared:

The annual year of the paper is soon to end and we ask subscribers still in arrears to pay up We have in the neighborhood of \$500 outstanding. For a small business, this is an enormous sum. It points out how little in America a newspaper publisher can trust the general reading public. Had we always been promptly paid, we would not have been put into the uncomfortable position of necessity to call on our closer friends for an advance of money, which in spite of the bad times, they let us have. Thus, we must do what we have never done up to now. We will publish a black list of our truant debtors and identify them to other publishers and the public. No fair thinking person will deny us this right.³⁰

Beginning in December 1844 these "black lists" began to appear on a regular basis. Sarcastically titled, "Honors List," one example follows:

Th. Cappel in Zanesville, O.

This deceiver has not only himself received several years of the paper, but beyond this has made orders for others who likewise have

made no payment, although he guaranteed for these persons. Perhaps he received the money and pocketed it . . .³¹

This method sometimes brought results. One number of the paper carried a "Recantation" stating that one M. Sondhaus whose name had appeared on the black list, ". . . has now paid up in good faith." The publishers added by way of exoneration: "We are morally certain Mr. Sondhaus did not have the intention of withholding the subscription money from us."³² Even the notorious Th. Cappell made a partial remittance: "T. Cappell paid \$2, but not without writing an amusing letter with joking insults."³³

Given a circulation of five hundred when the Cincinnati issues were published, the *Lichtfreund's* subscribers had declined by half during the Hermann years. Although the depression undoubtedly contributed to this decline, the paper's religious and highly intellectual content severely limited its popular appeal. Friedrich Münch himself stated: "The *Lichtfreund* contains many essays calculated primarily for the understanding of those who possess a learned education."³⁴

Mühl confirmed this circulation problem. In a summary editorial in the final number of the fifth annual set, 21 May 1845, he stated:

Except for Baltimore, we have lost most of our subscribers in the great Eastern cities. We have made up for this loss in part by new subscribers in the small cities and the countryside. Their friendly support through letters indicates backing for our cause. This has kept our hopes alive.

This situation undoubtedly was a major factor behind the publisher's announcement in early spring 1844 of their intention to bring out a second paper, a weekly, to be called the *Hermanner Wochenblatt*. They planned this as a more conventional, secular paper, with a focus on local news and concerns, including public notices and produce prices in nearby markets. The new paper would also feature state and national news, reports from abroad, and serialized stories. With out-of-town circulation in mind, the publishers cited the need "to convey news of Hermann to distant readers who wish to keep in close contact with our settlement."³⁵ Priced at two dollars per year, the paper would appear when there were sufficient subscribers to cover costs.

Shortly after this announcement, Mühl, in his letter to Rödter, referred to this new venture with misgivings: "You will give strength to my projected weekly paper. Truly, I have little confidence in the undertaking, and if the locals do not hold to their promises, I will suffer a loss."³⁶

In addition to diversifying the output of the Lichtfreund Press with the publication of the new paper, the editor announced, in March 1845, the printing of "a small publication given to us at the press which is now finished." This was Friedrich Münch's booklet in German, *Concerning Religion and*

Christianity. To encourage sales, the notice continued: "We trust in our distant friends to extend a hand in disseminating this publication which costs only a few cents" Ever mindful of economics, the editor concluded: "Please return to us samples you are not able to sell because we must pay for them out of our own pocket since Mr. Münch printed the work at his own cost and we are answerable for payment for the samples."³⁷

The *Hermanner Wochenblatt* finally came out in September 1845 after several months delay because the publishers could not obtain delivery of the type ordered over a year previously when they announced the paper. In September 1844, they had informed potential subscribers, "earlier or later publication of the paper depends on this delivery."³⁸ An announcement of the pending publication of the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* appeared in the St. Louis paper, *Die deutsche Tribune*, 26 June 1845:

All those who wish to subscribe to the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* published in Hermann by Mühl and Strehly, or to the currently appearing *Lichtfreund*, will find sample issues of these papers for examination with Mr. Strehly who remains here until Sunday. Subscriptions will be honored in this office, in the bookstore of Messers Frankson and Wesselhöft, and at the *Anzeiger des Westens*.

Sixty-one numbers of the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* from its first two years of publication are preserved in the newspaper collection at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. They have been microfilmed as part of the National Endowment for the Humanities project to preserve early United States newspapers. Arndt and Olson's *German American Newspapers and Periodicals* does not list this collection of the *Wochenblatt*. The collection contains forty-four numbers from the first two years of the paper's existence, 1845-46, beginning with the third weekly issue, 19 September 1845. Among these early numbers, the following editorial appeared on 28 August 1846:

With this number, the first year of the *Wochenblatt* comes to an end. We have not found the support we counted on We expected it would be better supported by the people in the countryside to whom it gives so much. They say: "What do we need with a newspaper. In Germany we had no paper." Such talk belongs to "simple Germans" [*teutschen Micheltune*]

We have come to the conclusion, that will surprise no one who considers the circumstances, not to go on with the paper for the time being It is necessary that we make a stop—in part to gather new subscribers, particularly since we lost many as a result

of the Santa Fe Expedition, and in part to bring our correspondence and accounts into order On October 1st and not before, we will begin the second annual set of the paper.

Mühl & Strehly

The paper actually began republication in mid-October. Further evidence showed that in addition to this early lack of local support, the *Wochenblatt* also had to compete with St. Louis papers delivered by steamboat. In a 29 July 1848 article in the St. Louis *Anzeiger des Westens*, an agent for that paper living in Hermann wrote: "One impressive proof of Hermann's prospering is that we find a growing subscription list."

The *Wochenblatt* was somewhat larger than the *Lichtfreund*—eighteen-and-one-half by thirteen inches—and had a four-page, four-column format. The masthead of an early number appears below.

Hermann

Wochenblatt.

Druckanstalt von H. Mühl und Strehly.

Sonntag 2.
Hermann, Mo., Sonntag, April 6. 1847.
No. 17

Wichtiges.

Der Herrmann Wochenblatt enthält eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind.

Redaktion: Herrmann Wochenblatt.

Die Redaction des Herrnmann Wochenblatt enthält eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind.

Die Redaction des Herrnmann Wochenblatt enthält eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind. Es enthält auch eine große Anzahl von Originalen, die von den besten Autoren verfasst sind.

The paper's content followed the publisher's earlier outline. Whether they obtained rights or paid royalties to publish serialized stories that usually ran on the front page is moot. For example, beginning 4 March 1853, the paper featured a German translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, "adapted for the *Hermanner Wochenblatt*." It ran for twenty-six weekly installments.³⁹

Unlike the *Lichtfreund*, the *Wochenblatt* featured advertisements, with rates at one dollar for twelve lines or fewer, and twenty-five cents to repeat the ad. The paper usually had two full columns of ads on page four. These included both local and out-of-town advertisers, especially from St. Louis and Cincinnati.

Although the *Wochenblatt's* editorials occasionally reflected the editor's abiding commitment to rationalism and his challenges of traditional church practices, its editorials more frequently addressed secular issues. Mühl courageously took a strong antislavery stand in what was a slave state. Although there were no slaves in Hermann and only a few in surrounding Gasconade County, the 1850 census counted over one thousand in Montgomery County north across the Missouri River from Hermann.⁴⁰

The paper often carried accounts of lynchings and other incidents involving inhuman treatment of slaves in southern states. Frequent editorials informed readers about politics of the slavery issue. The paper criticized the Thirty-first Congress for passing, in 1850, the so-called "Omnibus Bill" which included the controversial Fugitive Slave Law. Anticipating the 1852 presidential election, the paper supported the Free Democratic, or Free-Soil party platform which called for the abolition of the Fugitive Slave Law, and opposition to adding more slave states to the Union. In the November election, the paper reported few Hermann voters bothered to cast their ballots. The editorial explained: "They found little to support in the platforms of the Democrats or Whigs." Free Democrats did not appear on the ballot. A later December editorial emphasized the differences for its readers between the antislavery views of the Abolitionists and the Free Democrats. Abolitionists, it said, advocated unconditional abolition of slavery and granting full citizenship to the freed slaves. Free Democrats, by contrast, felt that unconditional abolition violated constitutional rights of the southern states, and that full citizenship for slaves overlooked their lack of education to appreciate the rights and duties of citizen status.⁴¹

Locally, the paper focused at various times on improving the German school in Hermann, the need for a passable, all-season post road connecting Hermann with Washington twenty miles east, the route location and building of the Pacific railroad westward from St. Louis, and particularly problems and possibilities associated with development of viticulture in the area otherwise ill-suited for other crops or industrial development due to rocky soil and hilly terrain.

Through notices in its newer paper, the Lichtfreund Press made efforts to expand its printing business beyond publishing newspapers alone. One such notice, in English, appears below.⁴²

The appearance of this notice in English raises an interesting question. In mid-nineteenth century, and for many years to come, Hermann clung to its German speaking and reading.⁴³ What audience, then, did the "Job Work" notice address with its claim to be able "to execute printing in various branches of English?" The only English appearing in the newspaper on a regular basis occurred in various legal notices relating to estates and legal actions brought

.JOB WÖRK

done at this office on the most accomodating terms, with neatness and despatch. Having increased and improved our establishment, so as to anable us to execute Printing in all its various branches in the English as well as in the German language, we are now prepared to receive and fulfil orders to the entire satisfaction of our friends.

MUEHL & STREILY.

before the circuit court. For these notices, English was probably mandated by the court. That the paper did not translate such notices for Hermann readers suggests that many adults in Hermann, despite everyday use of spoken German, could read some English.

Sometime in 1847, as extra "job work," the press issued a reprint of Münch's book on Christianity in German.⁴⁴ Another longtime Hermann practice may have originated with the Lichtfreund Press. For years, even into present times, death notices printed on small cards and distributed by the undertaker appeared in town stores on counter tops near the cash register as a form of public obituary. Since the *Lichtfreund* or *Wochenblatt* rarely featured obituaries, printing these cards may have been part of the Lichtfreund Press's "job work" business.

Although the *Wochenblatt* continued to publish agent lists and locations (St. Louis, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York, as well as Warren and Union counties, Missouri), for a few years the new paper no longer published subscriber receipts or dunning notices. As a result, no data exist to determine the paper's circulation. In Hermann itself, the 1850 census counted 209 dwellings, most occupied by family units. This tally would suggest, at the most, the possibility of two hundred-plus local subscribers, particularly if surrounding farm settlements were counted in.

We do know the paper was delivered to some local residents. Mühl's second son, Siegmär, wrote a recollection in his adult years titled "My Big Brother." Speaking of this brother, Thuisco, he described a scene from their youth in Hermann in the year 1850:

He had a carrier's route for the paper my father published, and later when I was about 4 years old, I too was given a small route extending a few blocks from the newspaper office, while Big Brother covered all the outlying territory. It was customary to give a New Year's greeting in verse form and the patrons would give the carrier a gratuity.⁴⁵

Beginning with the publication of the *Wochenblatt*, the *Lichtfreund* seemed to cease to exist. In extant issues of the *Wochenblatt* the earlier paper is never mentioned. Although all numbers of the *Lichtfreund's* fourth and fifth annual sets are extant today, not a single subsequent number has survived so far as is known. We know only through outside references that it continued.

Münch, who had written for the paper during its first two Hermann years, mentioned the paper in a November 1846-dated "Preface" to his book in English, *A Treatise on Religion and Christianity*, published in Boston, 1846. He reported: "I am living in Warren County, Missouri, being occupied at the same time as farmer, teacher, preacher, and coeditor of the German religious newspaper, the *Lichtfreund*, printed in Hermann in this State."

How long Münch served as coeditor and how extensive his responsibility was in getting out the paper is not known. Evidence does show Mühl was still active in promoting the *Lichtfreund* and the *Wochenblatt*. He made a trip to Cincinnati via St. Louis and stops in between in June 1848, seeking subscribers. Writing to his wife in German script from Louisville he mentioned: "I arrived here on the 17th and ran immediately through the streets like a hunting dog, but with little success. However, I am resolved to keep at it."⁴⁶ A letter on the 26 June 1848 from Cincinnati reported similar circumstances: "Because of the extreme heat, I developed a painful sore from walking. I was barely able to carry on my business. It goes so-so with the subscribers" He added by way of conclusion: "When will I learn to write a letter with straight lines? Truth is, the crooked lines I involuntarily make symbolize the crazy life of a journalist."

In a last letter from St. Louis, 24 July on the homeward leg of his journey, Mühl added a footnote addressed to his publishing partner:

My dear, good Karl,

Here in St. Louis I have no great prospect. If I can get \$50 it will be enough. The trip to Cincinnati has paid for itself. I have \$50 for payment on the press and received \$40 in cash. This is everything I have except for some small change. I will go directly from here to you unless it goes so badly here that I must try my luck elsewhere. We will still get \$10 from Cincinnati if people will only pay us. With that the trip will have brought in \$100 out of which travel costs had to be paid I will take care of the paper as soon as I have money again.

Shortly after Mühl returned to Hermann, the St. Louis paper, *Der Lutheraner*, a voice of orthodoxy, reported the *Lichtfreund* had disappeared for several months for lack of money. Their 8 September 1848 article continued: "The editor has now taken on the humble business of traveling from city to city

to appeal to the generosity of all friends of light The latest number has now been received by us."

The last documented reference to the *Lichtfreund's* continuing existence appeared in the *Anzeiger des Westens*, 29 February 1851. The *Lichtfreund* was listed as a "rationalist bi-weekly."⁴⁷

Even as late as 1852, evidence shows the Lichtfreund Press publishers continued to practice do-it-yourself economies in getting out their paper. In an article acknowledging receiving back copies of the *Janus*, a newspaper published by Karl Heinzen in New York, the editor remarked: "It gives us great pleasure and genuine entertainment to read through the *Janus* after completing the days work of type setting."⁴⁸

The *Hermanner Wochenblatt* and the Lichtfreund Press survived until sometime early in 1855. Mühl, the editor, died in July 1854 in a cholera epidemic which ravaged the Hermann area during summer months that year. The only extant copies of the *Wochenblatt* published by Strehly after Mühl's death appeared October 1854 through January 1855. In this period, the paper shrank from its four-page format to a one-page, one-side-only sheet. Editorials ceased, replaced only by letters from readers. The balance of the sheet contained official notices. In this period, Strehly inserted sale notices that read:

The press with which the *Hermanner Wochenblatt* has been printed up to this time is herewith offered for sale. Local oral or written inquiries are invited.

29 July 1854

C. P. Strehly

Probate records on Mühl's estate, administered by Strehly, show that the Lichtfreund Press and its two papers remained a marginal business proposition to the very end. Reporting to the court in 1855, Strehly stated in his petition written in fluent English: "The personal estate of the said dec'd is insufficient to pay the debts of the Estate as will appear by the inventory and the amount of debts due the deceased."

Listed among Mühl's property was: "half part of printing press and types." Later, these were appraised at four hundred dollars. Undoubtedly, it was Strehly who owned the other "half part" of the press. Finally, in May 1858 Strehly informed the court that "the press and types had been sold to a private buyer for \$225."⁴⁹

That "private buyer," unspecified in the estate sale, was Jacob Graf who had been working as a compositor for a St. Louis paper. His parents had settled in Hermann in 1848.⁵⁰ The source providing this information characterized the printing equipment purchased by Graf as a "Washington Hand Press and a small amount of type." With this press in hand, Graf began publishing his own newspaper called the *Hermanner Volksblatt*. None of the

early numbers of this paper survive to indicate the exact date the first number appeared. The *Volksblatt* continued as a German-language paper in Hermann until 1928 when its companion English-language paper, *The Advertiser-Courier*, succeeded it to continue the Graf-family newspaper tradition. The family finally sold the latter paper in 1981.⁵¹

Still published in Hermann today by the "Graf Printing Company," *The Advertiser-Courier* can claim almost a century-and-a-half publishing tradition which traces its beginnings to Mühl and Strehly's Lichtfreund Press founded in Hermann in the year 1843. This small press with its two pioneer newspapers provides a unique perspective on the evolution of what began as an intensely German settlement founded early in the nineteenth century on the Missouri frontier.

Although German traditions, history and contemporary culture—its literature, politics and religion—continued to appear in the viewpoints of these papers and in the reactions of their readers, gradually aspects of the American experience began to infiltrate their pages—especially the *Wochenblatt's*. Figures like Tom Paine and George Washington, documents like the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, American holidays, particularly Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July, set new religious, political and social models for a developing American ideology. With the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which the *Wochenblatt* serialized in a German translation, the German citizens of Hermann blended more and more into the American political, social and moral environment. At a less dramatic but vital level, the extant issues of the *Wochenblatt* reflect this frontier community's struggle to build an economic basis for survival through slow, often faltering attempts to develop a grape-growing and wine-producing industry. The Lichtfreund Press's two newspapers remain the major surviving sources which document this social and economic evolution.

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Notes

¹ Eduard Mühl, *Journal, 1828-1854*. Partially translated by the author. The original is on file at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia.

² William G. Bek, *The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia and its Colony, Hermann, Missouri* (Philadelphia, 1907). Translated by Elmer Danuser (Hermann, MO, 1984).

³ Carl E. Schneider, *The German Church on the American Frontier* (St. Louis: Eden Publishing House, 1938), 18-24; Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1909), 1:441-42.

⁴ H. A. Rattermann, "German-American Journalists Who Immigrated in the 1830s," *German-American Biography and Writers Album, Part Three*, in *Collected Works*, vol. 12 (Cincinnati, 1911). Courtesy of the University of Illinois Libraries, Champaign-Urbana, IL.

Relevant excerpts translated by the author, pp. 221, 261, 351-60. For more information on Mühl's life, see Siegmar Muehl, "Eduard Mühl: 1800-1854, Missouri Editor, Religious Free-Thinker and Fighter for Human Rights," *Missouri Historical Review* 81 (October 1986): 18-38; Adolph Falbisaner, *Eduard Mühl, Ein Deutsch-Amerikanischer Kämpfe für Freiheit und Menschenrechte* (Philadelphia: German-American Annals Press, 1903). Privately translated by Arpe Hacker, 1931.

⁵ E. Mühl, *Journal*.

⁶ Front-page articles appeared 17 June, 29 July, and 9 September 1837. Mühl wrote under the pseudonym, "Siegmar Thuisko." See n. 45 and associated text. A poem published 1 April 1837 appeared over his own name. The author is grateful to Gerd A. Petermann of St. Louis for his research efforts that uncovered this material, and his willingness to share his findings with the author.

⁷ Mühl published his Lebanon diary in the *Lichtfreund*, 17 April, 1 May, and 15 May 1844, under the title, "From the Diary of an American Music Teacher in the Year 1837." Translated by the author. Complete annual sets for the *Lichtfreund* newspaper, 1843-44 and 1844-45, are on microfilm in the State Historical Society of Missouri Library, Columbia, MO. See also n. 18.

⁸ E. Mühl, *Journal*.

⁹ Charles Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841: Its Early Annals* (Cincinnati, 1841); Henry J. Groen, "A History of the German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati Before 1860," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1944; John J. Weisert, "Eduard Mühl's *Lichtfreund*," *The American-German Review* 22 (April-May 1956): 30-31.

¹⁰ Bek, *The German Settlement Society*.

¹¹ *Anzeiger des Westens*, 7 April 1840. All references to St. Louis papers are courtesy Gerd A. Petermann.

¹² See n. 50.

¹³ City of Hermann tax records, Gasconade County Courthouse, Hermann, Missouri. Strehly's house on West Second Street still stands in Hermann, though considerably enlarged over the years from its original dimensions. Presently, it is one of the properties of the Deutschheim State Historical Site and is undergoing restoration. Recent correspondence with Erin Renn, the site administrator, indicates that the exact location of the printing shop is not presently known. Local tradition places it in the basement under the original part of the house.

¹⁴ Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, "Missouri," *German-American Newspapers and Periodicals, 1732-1955* (New York, 1965). Arndt and Olson report that the *West Chronik*, published by Moritz Schöffler in Jefferson City, began publishing 1843 and continued for a year.

¹⁵ *Lichtfreund* (LF), 30 August 1843.

¹⁶ LF, 24 July, 14 December 1844; 12 February, 12 March 1845.

¹⁷ Gerd A. Petermann, "Friends of Light (*Lichtfreunde*), Friedrich Münch, Paul Follenius, and the Rise of German-American Rationalism on the Missouri Frontier," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 23 (1988): 120; Siegmar Muehl, "Hermann's 'Free Men': 1850s German-American Religious Rationalism," *Missouri Historical Review* 85 (July 1991): 361.

¹⁸ Siegmar Muehl, *The Lichtfreund Newspaper of Hermann, Missouri, 1843-1845: Brief History and Index* (by the author, 1986). A copy is on file at the State Historical Society of Missouri Library, Columbia, MO.

¹⁹ Such exchanges involved, among others: *Die Wage* in St. Louis (LF, 29 May 1844); *The New York Wochenblatt* and *Die Fackel* (LF 12 February 1845); *Der Lutheraner* cited the LF, 8 September 1848.

²⁰ LF, 7 May 1845.

²¹ LF, 6 September 1843.

²² "Acts of the Eighteenth Congress of the United States, 1825," *Public Statistics at Large of the United States of America* (Boston, 1854), 4:111.

²³ *Die deutsche Tribüne*, 26 February 1848, "Letter to the Editor," by Behne, a Hermann citizen.

²⁴ LF, 29 May 1844. The flood crest of 1844 has been exceeded only once. In fall 1986, the river crested at thirty-six feet at Hermann (*The Advertiser-Courier*, 8 October 1986, p. 2).

²⁵ LF, 30 August 1843.

²⁶ LF, 17 April 1844.

²⁷ Rattermann, "German-American Journalists."

²⁸ LF, 23 August 1844.

²⁹ Rattermann, "German-American Journalists."

³⁰ LF, 15 May 1844.

³¹ LF, 18 December 1844.

³² LF, 29 January 1845.

³³ LF, 26 March 1845.

³⁴ LF, 20 March 1844.

³⁵ LF, 17 April 1844.

³⁶ Rattermann, "German-American Journalists."

³⁷ LF, 12 March 1845.

³⁸ LF, 11 September 1844.

³⁹ The *Hermann Wochenblatt* file is on microfilm in the State Historical Society of Missouri Library, Columbia, MO.

⁴⁰ "Statistics of Missouri," *Seventh Census of the United States: 1850* (Washington, DC: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), 657.

⁴¹ See *Hermann Wochenblatt* (HWB), 21 March 1851; 10 September 1852; 3 December 1852.

⁴² HWB, 10 July 1847.

⁴³ In the 1850 U.S. Census, Hermann's total population was 943. Of this number, 460 adults had been born in the German states in Europe, and 124 in Switzerland, probably also German speakers. Of 40 persons who came from other countries, only three—from England and Ireland—would have been native speakers of English.

⁴⁴ The cover of the booklet states: "Printed in the Lichtfreund Press, Hermann, Mo., 1847."

⁴⁵ Siegmar Mühl, "My Big Brother" (Privately printed, n.d.).

⁴⁶ Siegmar Mühl, *Travels of a German-American Newspaper Man: Eduard Mühl's Letters to His Wife, Pauline, 1842 and 1848* (by the author, 1977). Translated and introduced by the author. On file at the Western Historical Manuscript Collection, Ellis Library, University of Missouri, Columbia, MO.

⁴⁷ Gerd Petermann's correspondence with the author cites a missionary report, 1853, by German pietist emissaries from Basel active in eastern Missouri and Illinois in the 1850s, that referred to the LF as an "infidel paper."

⁴⁸ HWB, 28 August 1852.

⁴⁹ Gasconade County Courthouse, Probate Court Records of the Estate of Eduard Mühl.

⁵⁰ Grace Gilmore, "Five Oldest Family Newspapers in Missouri," *Missouri Historical Review* 17 (January 1923): 172-76. Information relating to the Washington Hand Press found in two sources: Harold E. Sterne, *Catalog of Nineteenth Century Printing Presses* (Cincinnati, 1979), 185-86; J. W. Leonard, "The Centennial Review of Cincinnati: 100 Years" (Cincinnati, 1988), 124. Courtesy of the Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County.

⁵¹ Dorothy H. Shrader, ed., *Hermann Sesquicentennial* (Hermann, 26 August 1986), 27; Samuel Harrison, *History of Hermann Missouri* (Hermann, MO, n.d.).

James A. Harmon

**A Swiss-German Abbey at Conception, Missouri:
Its Establishment and
Its Century-Old Basilica and Murals—
The Fate of a Prime Example of Medievalism in America**

Introduction. The Conception Abbey Basilica is a center of the living Benedictine monastic tradition. As the Basilica stood at the end of its first century, in 1991, it was one of the Swiss-American Congregation's and Missouri's greatest treasures of nineteenth-century Christian art and architecture.

Benedictine monks from the abbey at Engelberg in Switzerland founded the monastic community at Conception on the Missouri frontier in 1873. Within two decades a stately monastery and the Abbey Basilica dedicated to the Immaculate Conception had been consecrated and decoration of the Basilica interior was in progress with murals painted in the Beuronese style. This style of painting Christian and particularly Benedictine subjects was developed by the painter-monks, Peter Lenz and Jakob Wüger, at the southwest German Benedictine archabbey of Beuron on the Danube. Beuronese style became a nearly canonical style for the Benedictine order in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and was exported from Germany to eastern Europe, the Low Countries, Italy, and to North and South America.

The Beuronese pictorial murals with their painted frames and architectural ornamentation on the walls and vaults of the Conception Abbey Basilica were still nearly intact at the centennial of its consecration on 10 May 1991. This program of painting was designed to cover the whole interior of the German Neo-Romanesque-style Basilica. The murals in the Basilica and in the monks' refectory comprise a collection of nearly fifty large-scale wall paintings with approximately life-size figurative compositions.

The most immediate models for the Conception Abbey murals were once preserved in Europe at the Benedictine Emaus Monastery in Prague and at the Benedictine motherhouse at Monte Cassino. Both monasteries were destroyed during World War II. The architecture and the original murals at Conception

Abbey are of highest quality and are imbued with the profound optimism and spirituality brought to America by the Swiss and German monks of the founding generation. The nearby affiliated Benedictine convent at Clyde and its Basilica-type Chapel of Perpetual Adoration, which is completely decorated with Beuronese-style mosaics, is also a part of this treasure of monastic art and life.

Early European Settlement. The first European settlers in the area of Conception appear to have come about 1846.¹ They were followed about a decade later by a larger group of mostly Irish Catholic immigrants.² These Irish families, for want of continued employment on the railroads in Reading, Pennsylvania, had organized the Reading Land Association, a company to purchase government land in the western states. In spite of certain legal machinations against it³ and with the support of an Irish priest, Father James D. Power, the Reading Land Association established a colony near the Platte River in northwest Missouri in 1856.⁴ They named the colony Conception in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. A search lasting well over a decade for a monastic community to minister to the Catholic settlers would soon begin.

The Search for a Monastic Community. In 1860, the archbishop of St. Louis requested, on behalf of Father Power, Cistercian monks from the Abbey of Mount Mallery in Power's home county in Ireland. The Cistercians declined to settle at Conception, however.⁵

Increasing hostilities connected with the American Civil War, for a while, postponed further attempts to find monks for Conception. Renewing the search for monastic help in 1865, Father Power approached the Benedictines of St. Vincent's Abbey in Latrobe, Pennsylvania, with whom he was well acquainted and who favored settlement in Missouri. The archbishop of St. Louis, however, refused permission for a monastic establishment at Conception.⁶

Father Power continued his mission travels on horseback which over the years had taken him through Missouri, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, and Wyoming. Such travels were becoming increasingly difficult for the priest, now in his sixties; by 1870 Father Power was in urgent need of additional priestly support. His seemingly tireless efforts to find monastic help were ultimately to be rewarded and remote northwest Missouri would be chosen by a Swiss Benedictine house as its site for colonization in America.

Engelberg Abbey Answers the Call. In the early 1870s, the increasing settlement of German Catholics in northwest Missouri occurred coincident to a developing political climate in Switzerland which appeared to threaten the very existence of monastic communities in the Swiss state. The Jesuits had been expelled and some Benedictines feared that they might also be forced to

leave. In 1871, the Benedictines at Engelberg monastery, who during their entire seven-hundred-year history had founded no other monasteries, decided to begin seeking places of safe refuge outside Switzerland.⁷ Within four years, two affiliated Benedictine houses were to be established at Conception and Clyde, Missouri. Both traced their origins to Benedictine establishments in the Swiss canton of Unterwalden south of Luzern. The abbey at Conception, Missouri,⁸ became the very first monastic foundation of the twelfth-century Swiss Benedictine abbey at Engelberg.⁹ The sisters of Clyde came to Missouri from the Swiss convent at Maria Rickenbach.¹⁰ These Benedictine sisters had been called by the Conception Abbey monks within a year of the founding of their monastery.

Father Power's original Irish majority at Conception had become a minority.

The trend toward the predominance of German families among the immigrants is very noticeable after the Civil War in the Conception community. . . . By the year 1870, Father Power found that his "Irish Colony" had become an Irish-German colony with the Germans predominating. When Frowin Conrad [the Swiss monk who was to become the first abbot at Conception] made his first report to Abbot Anselm of Engelberg in 1873 he announced that the colony contained 35 Irish families and 65 German-speaking families.¹¹

Church political reorganization in Missouri which led, in 1868, to the creation of a new diocese in St. Joseph, Missouri, also produced conditions more favorable to the establishment of a monastery at Conception. Father Power's close friend, Father John Joseph Hogan, who understood the desperate need for priests in Catholic frontier communities, was now bishop of the newly formed diocese at St. Joseph.¹² The promise of satisfying the mutual interests of the Catholic settlers at Conception and the Benedictines of Engelberg would lead to the settlement of the Swiss and then German Benedictines at Conception.

A call in November 1872 from the diocese in St. Joseph, Missouri for help in the pastoral care of an increasing population of German-Catholic immigrants had been sent to the Benedictines of St. Meinrad Abbey in southern Indiana. Unable to respond to this call by sending monks, St. Meinrad's first abbot, Father Martin Marty, who had come to Indiana from the Swiss Benedictine abbey at Einsiedeln, had transmitted the call from the bishop of St. Joseph to the abbey of Engelberg in Switzerland. Abbot Marty, who was a former classmate of Father Frowin Conrad of Engelberg Abbey, had received a request near the end of 1871 from his classmate Frowin for help in finding a suitable place for a new foundation for Engelberg Abbey in America. From this time on monks from the abbey at St. Meinrad,

Indiana—especially Abbot Marty and Father Fintan Mundweiler—would serve as key intermediaries and advisors for the fledgling Benedictine settlement named New Engelberg at Conception, Missouri.¹³

The First Monks from Engelberg. On 27 April 1873 Fathers Frowin Conrad and Adelhelm Odermatt set out from their motherhouse at Engelberg for America. They traveled by way of Einsiedeln, Switzerland, and Beuron in Germany. At Beuron, Abbot Maurus Wolter gave the two missionaries "a copy of the constitution of Beuron, a book of rules for the guidance of novices and a copy of the Beuron 'Ceremonial.'"¹⁴ These works were to strongly influence Father Frowin who later would model his new community in America more on the archabbey at Beuron than on his own motherhouse at Engelberg.

The missionaries from Engelberg set sail for America from the French harbor at Le Havre on 9 May 1873 and arrived in New York on 20 May. From the time of his arrival at New York, Frowin Conrad faithfully kept a diary almost until his death in 1923. This diary which Frowin wrote almost totally in his diminutive "Gothic" German script is preserved in the Conception Abbey archives. From Frowin's entry of 7 November 1873 in which he relates progress made for his new colony at Conception we read,

On the same day on which we landed in New York, the Very Rev. Prior Fintan of St. Meinrad visited the place that God had destined for us. He was sent by his abbot to St. Joseph to investigate the situation At the time he met the Rev. Father Power, the parish priest of Conception, at the Bishop's house, who wished to hand over his house to the bishop . . . Fr. Fintan went with Fr. Power to inspect the place. His report to the abbot of St. Meinrad was so favorable that it left no doubt in the minds of Martin and myself, that this place which was under the special protection of the Immaculate Conception was the place that God in his mercy had destined for us.¹⁵

Father Fintan would remain in Missouri and would lay the cornerstone for the first modest wooden monastery building at Conception on 14 September 1873.

The two Fathers from Engelberg—Adelhelm and Frowin—would stay on at St. Meinrad Abbey until September. As a part of his acclimatization to America Frowin relates how

On August 3 Father Abbot Martin informed me that the bishop had asked for a priest to take care of a German parish in the capital city [Indianapolis] until the return of the pastor or until a new one could be appointed. He added that this would be a wonderful chance for me to get better acquainted with American ways and to practice my

English. The idea of exchanging the quiet of St. Meinrad with the noise of the city did not appeal to me at first, but I came to the conclusion that it was my duty to accept an offer so advantageous to us in several respects.¹⁶

Finally leaving Indiana for Missouri in September 1873, Fathers Frowin Conrad and Adelhelm Odermatt arrived in St. Louis on 15 September, which was the day after Father Fintan laid the cornerstone for the first monastery at Conception. Frowin and Adelhelm traveled on to northwest Missouri by way of St. Joseph and Maryville. Leaving Maryville by wagon at 7:00 A.M. on 18 September Frowin describes what he first saw when approaching Conception that evening:

On Sept. 18 Mr. Clever drove us to Conception, a distance [from Maryville] of 14 miles. When we were still seven miles away we could see the little church. The countryside, illuminated as it was by the evening sun, looked like a huge plateau from which no mountains can be seen because one is apparently so high above them. We arrived at 7 P.M. Construction on the monastery building has stopped completely because it is harvest time. We shall have a stately two-story building and we hope to take possession on St. Martin's day [Nov. 11].¹⁷

The two Fathers from Engelberg in Switzerland established a Benedictine colony named New Engelberg near the settlement of Conception and officially opened the monastery just before Christmas of 1873.¹⁸

The Monastic Colony Prospers. Before New Engelberg was raised to an abbey, Father Frowin launched an ambitious building program. To make his program of construction possible, he made great efforts to increase the monastic land holdings. Mention of generous donations of land by Father Power and the acquisition, sale, and disposition of other acreage in an effort to obtain contiguous holdings large enough to assure the economic survival of the monastic establishment recur in Frowin's diary entries from 1873-79.¹⁹ During that period, New Engelberg appears to have amassed land totaling 1,807 acres.²⁰

Frowin's first permanent construction of stone and brick was a new monastery. On 20 August 1878 Frowin wrote to Abbot Anselm at Engelberg about plans for construction at New Engelberg. Upon receipt of a letter on 14 January 1879 from Engelberg detailing steps for becoming an abbey, Frowin confides in his diary that most steps have already been taken. For this ambitious monastery construction project and others to come, Frowin developed a network of primarily German-speaking builders, artisans, and

painters which eventually extended from Missouri to cities in Illinois, Ohio, and Germany.

First fruits of planning with the architect Eckels of St. Joseph had reached Frowin at the monastery on Friday, 18 January 1878. The architect brought plans for the new stone monastery prepared from Frowin's sketches. Plans for construction moved forward rapidly. On 26 January of the same year, we learn from Frowin that

Today after High Mass, I explained to the people, both in English and in German, my reasons for drawing up a contract with them which provides for the addition of a farm to our monastery on which the monastery will be built. I also expressed my hopes that they would help, as much as possible, to haul the materials [The day before] Mr. Schaaf came and told me that there were plenty of beautiful stones . . . on the Platte River North, about 9 miles from the site of the buildings. [On 8 February Frowin] . . . visited with the architects Boettner and Eckels. After consulting with the Bishop, I gave them a plan proposed by Frater Maurus, for a brick building to be the beginning of a real monastery.²¹

In Frowin's diary we read both of the process and problems and of the successes and failures of finding clay, building kilns, obtaining fuel, and firing bricks at the monastery. Such matters are discussed intermittently from 19 February 1879 to 8 May 1880.

The extent of German settlement in the area and the extent of Frowin's—consciously or unconsciously—developed German network is also reflected by the names mentioned by Frowin in his diary. He relates on 23 March 1879 how, "about 900 loads of stones from Siebenaller's—about nine miles from here—would have to be hauled to the site." Two days later he tells that he "wrote to Mr. John Goenen of Damienville in Clinton County in Illinois . . ." making an offer to buy some of his adjacent acreage to round out the monastic property. On 21 April Frowin meets with architect Eckels, Father Adelhelm, Father Ignatius, and the Reverend Fleischlin to discuss construction plans.

Digging for the foundation of the new monastery began on 13 May 1879. The date of 6 April 1880²² saw "the solemn laying of the corner of the new monastery, the imparting of the Papal blessing by the Rev. Bishop J. J. Hogan. Father Francis Moening, the superior of the Franciscans in Chillicothe, had the English sermon and Father Linnenkamp the German sermon." From Chillicothe came a bricklayer, Bernard Albers and a stoneworker, J. J. Engelmann. A man named Pfeifer was another of the stoneworkers. The new monastery must have been completed toward year's end. Frowin "had appointed the seventh of January for our entrance [into the new monastery]

as the eighth anniversary of the resolution of the chapter in Engelberg which caused the establishment of this colony."²³

New Engelberg Colony Becomes New Engelberg Abbey. When the monastic colony of New Engelberg was officially raised to abbey status on 15 April 1881 with Father Frowin Conrad as its first abbot, the Swiss-American Congregation consisting of St. Meinrad's and New Engelberg was founded.²⁴ Instead of looking to his Swiss motherhouse, however, Abbot Frowin brought his new monastery under the organizational sway of reforms at the southwest German archabbey at Beuron on the Danube.

The Abbey Basilica. The century-old contours of Conception Abbey Basilica with its two square towers rising 180 feet into the heavens in the west are visible from thoroughfares that approach the monastery from north, east, and west (fig. 1). The new (1991) copper roof and the red of the brick walls are clearly visible above the horizon well over five miles before the pilgrim or guest arrives. Two miles to the northeast of Conception Abbey, a single light gray-brown square limestone tower locates the Benedictine sisters' convent and its Chapel of Perpetual Adoration at Clyde. Both German Neo-Romanesque-style churches and their accompanying complexes of monastic buildings are situated amidst rolling agricultural lands and, atop hills, tower above rural Nodaway County. These centers of Benedictine monasticism are located about fourteen miles southeast of Maryville in Missouri's northwest corner.

The present Abbey Basilica was preceded by wooden church structures located to its northwest on the site of the present monastic cemetery.²⁵ Construction of the new Abbey Basilica began on 2 November 1882 with the laying of the first stone of the foundation in the northwest tower.²⁶ Plans for the Basilica were drawn up by a monk, Brother Adrian Werwer, from the Franciscan priory at Chillicothe, Missouri. Brother Adrian planned and supervised the construction of many friaries throughout the Midwest and in California. In Missouri, Brother Adrian designed churches in Chillicothe and Conception. Churches in Indiana by Brother Adrian are in Indianapolis (Sacred Heart), Evansville (St. Anthony's), and St. Meinrad.²⁷ The Basilica of the Immaculate Conception was consecrated on 10 May 1891.

Architectural Models. Some similarities can be found between the style of the Conception Abbey Basilica and that of some Romanesque structures in or near Cologne (e.g., Holy Apostles, Cologne and Knechtsteden) and at Maria-Laach. More and closer architectural models for the Conception Abbey Basilica, however, are found on the Middle Rhine between the Lahn and Neckar rivers. The Conception Basilica's two-tower west façade with rose window shares common elements with the more elaborate façade of the cathedral at Limburg an der Lahn. St. Martin's Church in Worms was more comparable to the Conception building before World War II destruction (fig. 2). In both, vertical

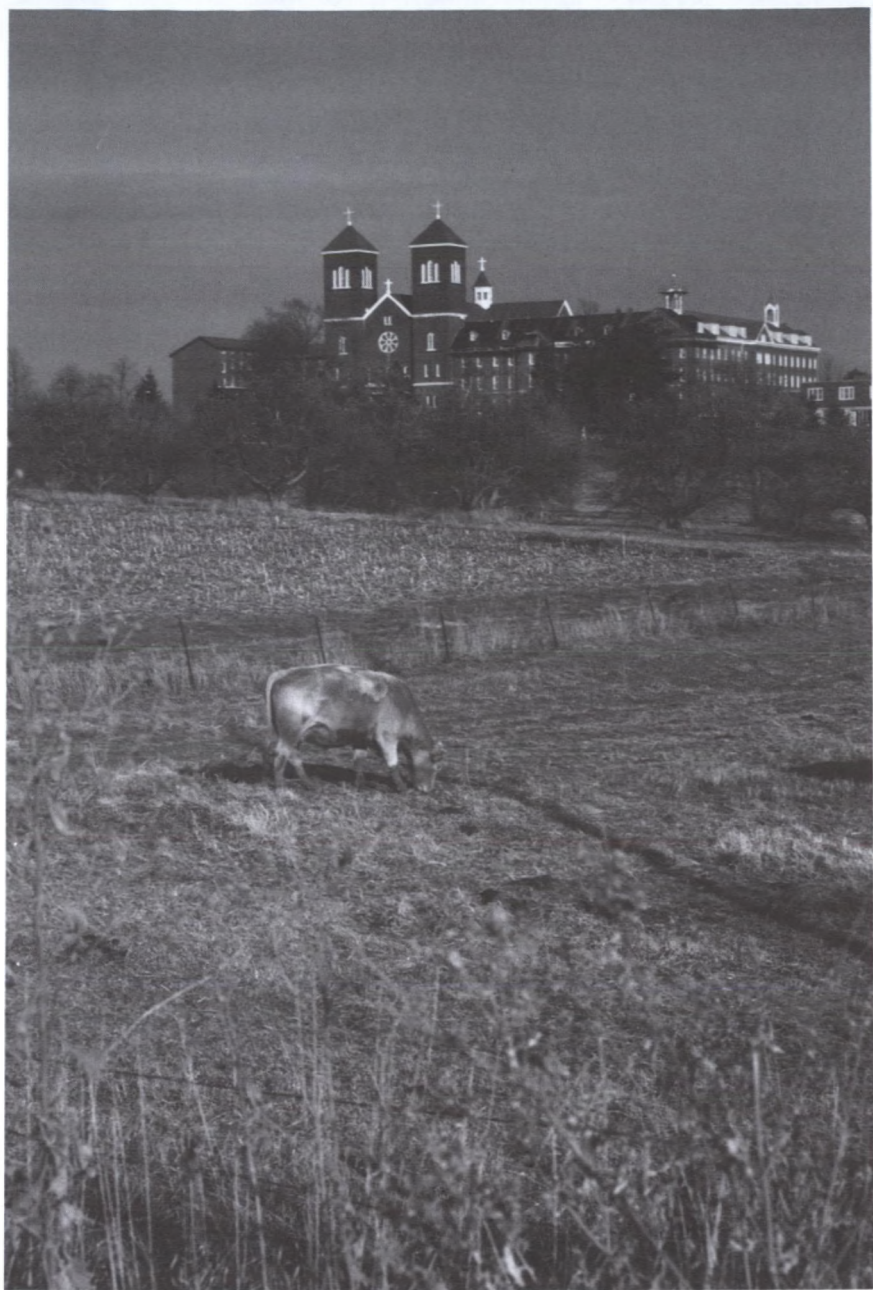


Figure 1. Conception Abbey Basilica and monastery (at right) from the southwest (photo: author, 1990).

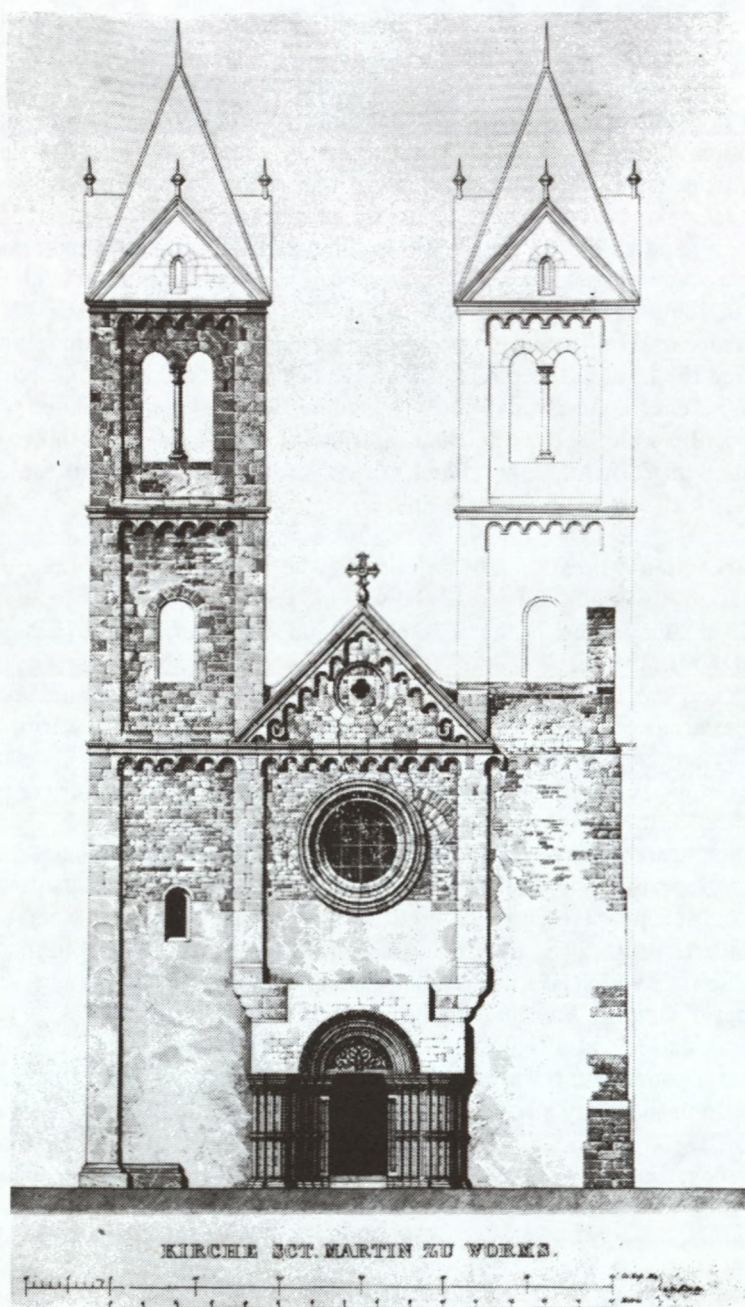


Figure 2. West facade of St. Martin's in Worms (after Ernst Gladbach, 1856).

bands mark the bay divisions on the outside walls of the nave and side aisles. These are also found in the abbey at Maria-Laach, as are a round main apse with three windows and rounded transept chapels.

In both elevation structure and architectural detail the interior of the Conception Abbey Basilica (fig. 3) shows marked similarity to St. Martin's at Worms from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (fig. 4) and a considerable family resemblance to the more elaborate interiors of the cathedrals at Mainz (1100-1239) and at Worms (1018-1181). All four Basilicas share an alternating support system with strong and weak piers of rectangular plan. A relatively simple molding instead of a capital marks the springing of the arches in the main arcades. Half-round responds ascend and support transverse arches separating the bays in the nave. Each nave bay is covered by a four-part rib vault. Whereas the nave wall of the Conception Basilica is unarticulated within each bay, the walls above the main arcades of both cathedrals show some articulation in form of either blind arches (Mainz) or horizontal moldings (Worms; cf. Bamberg, Eberbach, Speyer).

The Conception Murals. The interior of the Basilica, at the time of its consecration, was painted with a relatively modest scheme of ornamentation. The individual members of the architectural support system—the arches of the main arcades, the half-column responds and the transverse arches they support, and the vault ribs—were articulated by painted ornamental motifs. The large areas of wall and vault between them were painted a warm, light brown. This painted scheme was produced by F. H. Hefele of Cincinnati, Ohio. Remnants of this original scheme are preserved above the organ pipes north of the last half-bay of the choir.

When scarcely two years old, the Basilica was severely damaged by a tornado. News of the devastation wrought on the new Basilica reached Abbot Frowin in Europe. He changed disaster into blessing, however, when plans were made to replace the tornado-damaged decoration by murals in the new Beuronese style which adorned leading Benedictine establishments such as the archabbey of Beuron, the Benedictine motherhouse at Monte Cassino, and the Emaus Monastery in Prague. Conception Abbey monks were trained in Beuron and young painter-monks from Beuron were also recruited to transfer the new Beuronese style to northwest Missouri. Damage from the tornado was soon repaired and the Abbey Basilica was decorated with Beuronese murals. These murals are better adapted to their architectural carrier than any of their Beuronese models in Europe and follow more closely the one-and-a-half-thousand-year-old tradition of arranging murals on the interior walls of Christian Basilicas.

St. Paul's Outside the Walls from the fourth century was an example of this mural tradition as are the tenth-century murals of St. George on the island of Reichenau. The degree to which painting decorates the Conception Abbey



Figure 3. Conception Abbey Basilica nave from the west (photo: author, 1988).

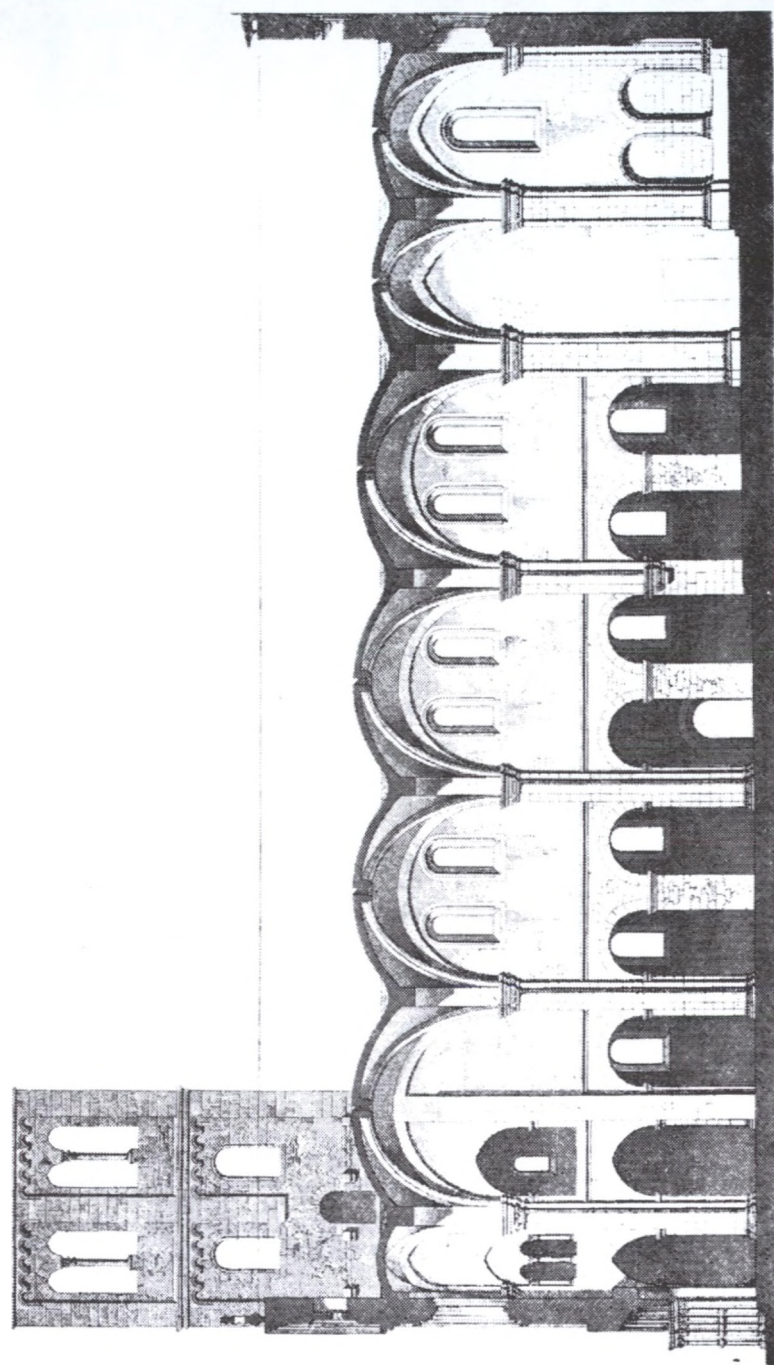


Figure 4. Nave elevation of St. Martin's in Worms from the southwest (after Ernst Wörner, 1887).

interior is also reminiscent of the situation in the motherhouse of the Franciscan order of Assisi.

Beuronese Style. The primary theoretical basis for the Beuronese style was formulated in a tract—*Zur Ästhetik der Beurer Schule*—in 1898 by Pater Desiderius (Peter) Lenz, a monk from Beuron and the main exponent of the style. Lenz and Pater Gabriel (Jakob) Wüger, who also took monastic vows at Beuron, were the first and most influential practitioners of Beuronese art.²⁸ They began putting their ideas for the renewal of Christian art into practice as early as 1868.²⁹ In an upsurge of Benedictine mural painting, programs in the Beuronese style were produced in Beuron,³⁰ Stuttgart,³¹ Prague,³² Bruges,³³ and at the grave site of St. Benedict in Monte Cassino.³⁴ Lenz created schematic drawings of figures designed according to geometric rules about which he theorized.³⁵ Lenz admitted, however, that the rules were not always consequently applied to real compositions.

The German monks who developed the Beuronese style consciously and expressly sought to create visual correspondences to the rhythms, restrained tonal colors, and pace of Gregorian plainsong³⁶ which was cultivated, particularly at Beuron and Conception Abbey, as the liturgical vehicle of Benedictine monasticism. The noble clarity of chant found visual expression in some of the formal features of the Beuronese style. Objects and actors included in Beuronese compositions are relatively few and the depth allotted for pictorial space is consciously limited. The Beuronese predilection for clear and readable compositions allowed arrangements of only a small number of participants on a narrow pictorial stage. Figures are arranged parallel to the picture plane and foreshortening is avoided. These characteristics of Beuronese style become particularly clear when scenes like the Presentation of the Virgin or the Marriage of the Virgin at Conception Abbey are compared to the respective scenes by the Italian Renaissance painters Tintoretto and Raphael. Linear and aerial perspective illusionism and non-essential genre details, which so fascinated Renaissance artists, play no role in Beuronese style.

Theoretical tracts speak of a hierarchy of forms and praise the art of the Egyptians and Greeks.³⁷ Whereas, stylistic similarities to art from ancient Egypt can be found in some variants of Beuronese style, they appear missing from the Conception murals—despite the inclusion of hieroglyphs and papyrus motifs. The treatment of the human body and facial features shows significant influence from classical art. Voluminous scoop folds like those in the drapery of the seated Christ in the Feast of Cana or St. Mary in the Visitation scene and portions of some drapery which seem to cling to the body of its wearer in these scenes reveal the classical-Greek derivation of the Beuronese models. The Beuronese murals also share with classical-Greek reliefs such features as economy of motifs and limited pictorial space.



Figure 5. View of Conception Abbey apse (photo: author, 1989).

The Iconographic Program. The iconography of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception is clearly orchestrated to lead the observer to the theological culmination of its program in the apse—the Immaculata (fig. 5). On the walls of the nave—anchored in wide ornamental frames—from the entrance in the west to the apse in the east, the tandem stories of St. Mary and Christ unfold in near chronological order. The first bay contains the Vision of David and Isaiah, the Birth of St. Mary, the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, and the Marriage of the Virgin. The sequence of pictures at Conception Abbey is directly related to that of the Beuronese murals from the Life of St. Mary in the Emaus Monastery in Prague.³⁸

An illustration of the Birth of St. Mary on a heavy card is preserved in the monastic archives at Conception Abbey. The nave mural of the Birth of St. Mary (fig. 6) and the card illustration of the same scene (fig. 7) appear at first glance to be identical. Closer scrutiny shows, however, that the square scene on the card has been expanded laterally on the wall painting. An inscription along the extreme lower edge of the card reads: "Vervielf. vorbehalten / Photographie und Verlag der Kunstschule von Beuron." The card's light border is smudged with a considerable amount of reddish and greenish paint. The condition of this card is comparable to that of a number of other cards in the abbey archives. Card illustrations are found for a majority of the scenes painted on the nave wall at Conception Abbey. A few of the cards with photographs of Beuronese wall paintings printed by the Beuron press even have, on their reverse side, the monogram stamp of the archabbey library at Beuron.

In the second bay of the Conception Abbey nave are the representations of the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Nativity, and the Adoration of the Magi. A card from the Conception Abbey archives illustrating the Nativity has had a grid pattern penciled onto it. This may provide insight into the method used to transfer the card illustrations to the nave wall at Conception Abbey. Scenes showing the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, Jesus Teaching in the Temple, and the Marriage of Cana are in the third bay. The open book held by the young Christ teaching in the temple bears an inscription which may suggest that the mother tongue of the painter was German not English. The page on the left contains a Latin inscription from the book of Isaiah. The right-hand page begins with an English text in which beseech is misspelled—"beseach." Below is an inscription in correct German.

Representations of Christ Carrying His Cross, the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and Pentecost are found in the first bay of the choir. The scene with Christ carrying the cross also contains evidence that suggests this composition was adapted especially for its position on the choir wall of the Conception Basilica. The cross-carrying Christ in the scene of the model from Prague has Christ moving from left to right. To make Christ walk toward instead of away from his crucifixion in the scene at Conception Abbey, the

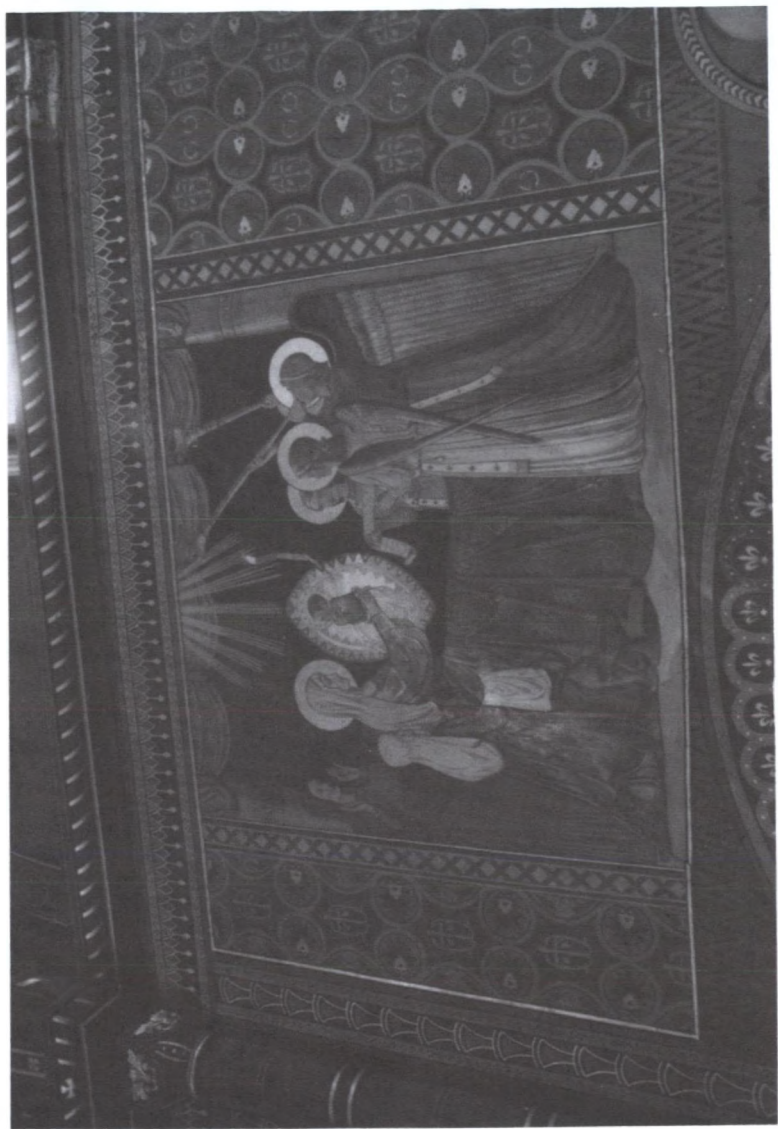


Figure 6. "The Birth of St. Mary," Beuronese mural on the south wall of the nave, Conception Abbey (photo: author, 1988).



Figure 7. "The Birth of St. Mary," Beuronese illustration on a heavy card preserved in the Conception Abbey archives (photo: author, 1989).

Prague composition was reversed. A post at the foot of Mary bears the initial "E" with a small cross above it and the date "1894" (fig. 8). The initial "E" may be a sign of Pater Lucas Etlin who held supervisory responsibility. This "E" with cross is similar to a reverse projection of the Beuronese monastic monogram. According to Abbot Frowin, Fathers Ildephonse and Hildebrand started work on this scene on 30 July 1894.³⁹

The scenes in the last half-bay at the east end of the choir show the Dormition of the Virgin and the Coronation of the Virgin. Signs of repair on the Coronation of the Virgin and the complete replacement of the Dormition and Deposition scenes by canvases attached to the wall evidence the work of Father Innocent Amhof done during the early 1950s—probably in the fall of 1953⁴⁰—when Father Innocent, according to the abbey necrology, was custodian of the church.⁴¹ The Immaculata and other figures in the apse are attributed to Father Lucas Etlin.⁴² Abbot Frowin tells us that the Immaculata was finished by November 1893. In addition to Fathers Ildephonse, Hildebrand, and Lucas, Abbot Frowin names two others—Ulrich Bregenzer, a postulant, and Brother Raphael—as painters in the Basilica.⁴³

A sense for local history and topography permeates the mural program. The topographic distribution of the scenes from the lives of SS. Scholastica and Benedict in the transept are oriented to the sites of the neighboring Benedictine sister-convent to the north and to the cloister of the brothers in the south. Beneath the large scenes in the north transept showing the last meeting of St. Scholastica with her brother St. Benedict and the Death of St. Scholastica are medallion busts of the SS. Gertrude and Hildegard, both Benedictine sisters. Scenes depicting the Death and Ascension of St. Benedict are in the south transept closest to the monastery of the brothers. Below these Benedict scenes are medallions of SS. Placidus and Maurus, who were with St. Benedict at Monte Cassino.

The abiding sense for topographic location in the decorative program is continued in the stained-glass transept windows at ground level. A window in the north transept beneath the St. Scholastica scenes was dedicated "By the Joung Ladies." Is the "J" in "Joung" not a Germanicism? Likewise, a colored window at ground level in the south transept is dedicated "By the Joung Men." These windows along with all others from the original glazing are scheduled for replacement "with metal-frame, thermal windows with slightly-tinted clear leaded glass."⁴⁴

Figures represented as medallion-busts in the main arcade of the nave make historical connections and set up topographical relationships significant for Conception Abbey. St. Patrick was the patron saint of the Irish who established the original colony at Conception. His bust is on the same side as the former St. Patrick altar in the north transept. Old photographs in the abbey archives document this condition when the number of altars in the transept was greater. St. Boniface on the south nave wall is the counterpart for the German community. A St. Boniface altar was originally located in the



Figure 8. Deatail of a milestone from "Christ Carrying the Cross," mural on the south wall of the choir, Conception Abbey (photo: author, 1989).



Figure 9. Ornament on the main arcade including an uncial "M" for Maria, Conception Abbey (photo: author, 1989).

south transept. The medallion-bust of the Irish St. Columba reminds us of the dedication of the original church of the Conception colony to him. Beatus Frowin (1147-78) was an abbot at Engelberg.⁴⁵ His medallion-bust is also an obvious reference to Frowin Conrad, the first abbot of Conception. A medallion-bust on the south wall of the first bay is traditionally called St. Philip and associated by members of the monastic community with Philip, the second abbot of Conception.⁴⁶ Across from him, also in the first bay, is a medallion-bust identified by inscription as St. Stephen. Stephen was the name of the third abbot at Conception. On the north and south walls of the choir, above the choir stalls, are two medallion figures whose attributes clearly identify them as St. Gregory in the north and King David in the south. Both are obvious references to the chant and instrumental music focused—for the first century—in this area of the Basilica.⁴⁷

The painted ornamentation articulating the architectural support system and mural frames also contributes to the prevailing effort to use symbols and to establish hierarchical relationships through placement. The golden letter "M's," in uncial script, at main arcade level (fig. 9) stand for Maria as do further golden uncial "M's" on a banner held by an angel in the north transept vault (fig. 10) and an "M" on a similar tablet pictured on a small panel painting by Father Ildephonse. The mural frames, displaying figure-ground reversal tendencies, can be cross patterns as can be the fleur-de-lis in the main arcades. Crosses of gold on the capitals which support the transverse arches glow with particular effectiveness in the appearing and disappearing daylight at vigils and vespers. Renewal plans foresee elimination of the Maria monograms along with most of the cross patterns when the wall responds and their capitals are removed.⁴⁸

In vaults above the nave, transept, and choir, we still find angels—the four evangelist symbols occupy the half-bay immediately before the apse. The number of angels exceeds thirty (fig. 11). In keeping with a nearly two-thousand-year tradition of Christian text and pictorial interpretation, the Conception angels can be seen and interpreted on several different levels. Located in the starry blue vaults of the Basilica—the stars are actually crosses of gold—angels are the quite expected occupants of the heavenly realm. The angels also remind us of Conception Abbey's first title, New Engelberg (New Mount Angel), and its connection to the motherhouse in Engelberg, Switzerland. Finally, the angels make visible certain concepts addressed by St. Benedict in the nineteenth chapter of his *Rule*.

This chapter of *St. Benedict's Rule for Monasteries* is "on the Manner of Saying the Divine Office." Benedict states here:

We believe that the divine presence is everywhere and that "the eyes of the Lord are looking on the good and the evil in every place" [Proverbs 15:3]. But we should believe this especially without any

doubt when we are assisting at the Work of God. To that end let us be mindful always of the Prophet's words, "Serve the Lord in fear" [Psalms 2:11] and again "Sing praises wisely" [Psalms 46:8] and "In the sight of the Angels I will sing praise to You" [Psalms 137:1]. Let us therefore consider how we ought to conduct ourselves in the sight of the Godhead and of His Angels, and let us take part in the psalmody in such a way that our mind may be in harmony with our voice.

Current plans for the renewal of the Conception Abbey Basilica also foresee the elimination of all medallion angels in the course of the complete removal of the vaults. This decision appears to be based upon models for the Basilica renewal chosen from early Christian examples (fourth and fifth century A.D.), Romanesque basilicas of Italian provenance, or flat-ceiling Romanesque Basilicas in Germany from the time of the Saxon and Salic emperors and earlier (e.g., Reichenau, St. George, 9th-10th c.; Hildesheim, St. Michael, 1001-31; first design of Speyer Cathedral, ca. 1030) or from modest provincial buildings (e.g., Faurndau, St. Mary, ca. 1220-30; San Piero a Grado, 12th-13th c.). None of these are models followed by the designer of the original Conception Basilica.

Semicircular vaults—as opposed to a flat or open truss ceiling—are characteristic for the Conception models and are also a quintessential element in German high-Romanesque (groin vault) and late-Romanesque (rib vault) architecture. Brother Adrian Werwer designed the Conception Abbey Basilica in keeping with German late-Romanesque models whereby the exterior and interior of the building interact and reflect the forms of the other. The Conception Basilica, following its historic models, has vertical bands on the exterior of the side aisle and clerestory walls. These correspond to the responds and the springing of the vaults on the interior. The Conception Basilica exemplifies—in the form designed by Brother Adrian—historic accuracy and harmonious unity of interior and exterior forms.

Diverging from the Abbey Basilica's historic models, the renewal committee has chosen a plan whereby "The CEILING [sic] will be removed to expose the trusses and give it more consonance with the exterior roof line."⁴⁹

Epilogue. The entire fabric of the murals at Conception Abbey was woven from diverse strands of Biblical history, the history of the Benedictine order, and the history of the abbey at Conception, Missouri. The murals are visual expressions of perpetual prayers; they were created to fulfill this contemplative function and joined together in a seamless fabric of prayers and work.⁵⁰ They are, as they have been called, "Images of Faith."⁵¹ Parts of this complex fabric of architecture, murals, and ornamentation—reflecting the communal life and efforts of brethren from Conception Abbey's first century—may not long survive the Basilica's centennial celebration, but rather be rent asunder. A



Figure 10. Medallion angel holding a banner with Maria monogram, north transept vault, Conception Abbey (photo: author, 1990).



Figure 11. Angel holding scroll with rosary text, crossing vault, Conception Abbey (photo: author, 1990).

decision on the fate of the Basilica interior was announced shortly before 10 May 1991—the centennial of the Abbey Basilica's consecration.⁵² According to renewal plans, the Conception community expects to restore⁵³ what remains from the original Basilica interior after the floor levels are changed, the choir stalls removed, the side aisle and transept walls slipcovered, the half-column wall responds, transverse arches, and ribs dismantled, all original glazing replaced, and the vaults of the side aisles, transept, nave, and choir demolished.⁵⁴ If the proponents carry out these Basilica renewal plans, the abbey's "step into the future"⁵⁵ will seal the fate of the Basilica's interior. One of America's prime examples of medievalism—with its uniquely extensive and unified program of architecture and mural painting in the Beuronese style—will be lost.

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Notes

¹ [Pater Placidus Schmidt], *Church Guide for the Members of the Immaculate Conception Parish* (Conception, MO: Printing Office of Conception Abbey, 1897), 7.

² Edward Eugene Malone, *Conception: A History of the First Century of the Conception Colony 1858-1958; A History of the First Century of Conception Abbey 1873-1973; A History of New Engelberg College, Conception College, and the Immaculate Conception Seminary 1886-1971* (Omaha, NE: Interstate Printing Co., 1971), 32.

³ Dorothy J. Caldwell, ed., "Nodaway County, Conception," *Missouri Historic Sites Catalogue* (Columbia, MO: The State Historical Society of Missouri, 1963), 115-16.

⁴ Malone, *Conception*, 17-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 47ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Oliver Leonard Kapsner, *A Benedictine Bibliography: An Author-Subject Union List. Compiled for the Library Science Section for the American Benedictine Academy* (Collegeville, MN: St. John's Abbey Press, 1962), 1:173-74; 2:210.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2:229.

¹¹ Malone, *Conception*, 41.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 42ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

¹⁵ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*, excerpts compiled by Brother Samuel Russell (Conception Abbey, MO: Conception Abbey, 1989), 1.

¹⁶ Malone, *Conception*, 64.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 68; Pater Placidus Schmidt, *Memoirs of an Old Country Pastor Concerning His Pastorate at Conception, Missouri* (Cottonwood, ID: St. Gertrude's Press, 1922), 17; [Pater Placidus Schmidt], *Church Guide for the Members of the Immaculate Conception Parish*, 11-12; Pater Placidus Schmidt, *Church Guide for the Members of the Immaculate Conception Parish* (St. Louis: C. B. Woodward Company, 1891), 12.

- ¹⁹ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*.
- ²⁰ Malone, *Conception*, 90.
- ²¹ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*.
- ²² *Ibid.*; cf. Malone, *Conception*, 127—for date of 16 April 1880.
- ²³ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*, 35.
- ²⁴ Malone, *Conception*, 115f.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 88.
- ²⁶ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*; [Pater Placidus Schmidt], *Church Guide for the Members of the Immaculate Conception Parish*, 14; Malone, *Conception*, 129—for a date of 22 November 1882.
- ²⁷ Malone, *Conception*, 128-30, 134.
- ²⁸ Harald Siebenmorgen, *Die Anfänge der "Beuroner Kunstschule": Peter Lenz und Jakob Wüger 1850-1875: Ein Beitrag zur Genese der Formabstraktion in der Moderne*, Bodensee-Bibliothek, vol. 27 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1983).
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 131ff; Pater Ansgar Dreher, "Zur Beuroner Kunst," *Beuron 1863-1963: Festschrift zum hundertjährigen Bestehen der Erzabtei St. Martin* (Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1963), 361ff.
- ³⁰ Siebenmorgen, *Die Anfänge der "Beuroner Kunstschule"*; *A Benedictine Bibliography* 1:76-77, 2:190-91.
- ³¹ Paul Keppler, *Die XIV Stationen des Heiligen Kreuzweges: Nach Compositionen der Malerschule des Klosters Beuron* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder'sche Verlagshandlung, 1891).
- ³² *Marienleben: Nach den Original-Kartons der Malerschule von Beuron* (M.-Gladbach: B. Kühlen Kunst- und Verlagsanstalt, 1895).
- ³³ Kapsner, *A Benedictine Bibliography*, 2:192.
- ³⁴ Cornelius Kriel, *Leben und Regel des Heiligen Vaters Benediktus* (Beuron/Hohenzollern: Beuroner Kunstverlag, 1929); cf. Kapsner, *A Benedictine Bibliography* 1:399-401, 2:233-37.
- ³⁵ Siebenmorgen, *Die Anfänge der "Beuroner Kunstschule"*, 77-78; Josef Kreitmaier, *Beuroner Kunst: Eine Ausdrucksform der christlichen Mystik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder and Co. Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921), 45-56, Tafel 3; Pater Desiderius Lenz, *Zur Ästhetik der Beuroner Schule*, *Schriften der Leo-Gesellschaft*, no. 11 (Wien: 1898), 10-12.
- ³⁶ Kreitmaier, *Beuroner Kunst*, 61.
- ³⁷ Lenz, *Ästhetik der Beuroner Schule*; Kreitmaier, *Beuroner Kunst*; Siebenmorgen, *Die Anfänge der "Beuroner Kunstschule"*.
- ³⁸ *Marienleben*.
- ³⁹ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*.
- ⁴⁰ Fr. Kenneth Reichert, interview by author, tape recording, Conception Abbey, Missouri, 8 March 1989.
- ⁴¹ Cf. the entry under Fr. Innocent Amhof in the Conception Abbey Necrology which is preserved in the abbey archives.
- ⁴² For a discussion of the iconography, cf. Br. Thomas Sullivan, *Iconographic Schemes: Basilica of the Immaculate Conception* (Conception, MO: Conception Abbey, ca. 1985), pamphlet.
- ⁴³ Abbot Frowin Conrad, *Diary*, 53; an art-historical monograph on the Conception Abbey murals and painters is in preparation by the author.
- ⁴⁴ Fr. Xavier Nacke, "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception," *Tower Topics* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 3-7, esp. 6.
- ⁴⁵ Kapsner, *A Benedictine Bibliography* 1:195, 2:332.
- ⁴⁶ Fr. Walter Heeney, interview by author, tape recording, Conception Abbey, Missouri, 3 March 1989.
- ⁴⁷ In the course of "Basilica renewal" the monastic choir and a new organ will be placed in the south transept; cf. Br. Samuel Russell, "Basilica Renewal," *Tower Topics* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 10-13, esp., plan on 11; "FURNISHINGS [sic] such as the choir stalls, pews, altar, and chairs will be constructed new"; cf. Nacke, "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception," 6.

⁴⁸ Cf. Nacke, "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception," 7, for a conceptual view of the Basilica interior after it has been "renewed."

⁴⁹ Ibid., 5.

⁵⁰ Kreitmaier, *Beuronener Kunst*, 71.

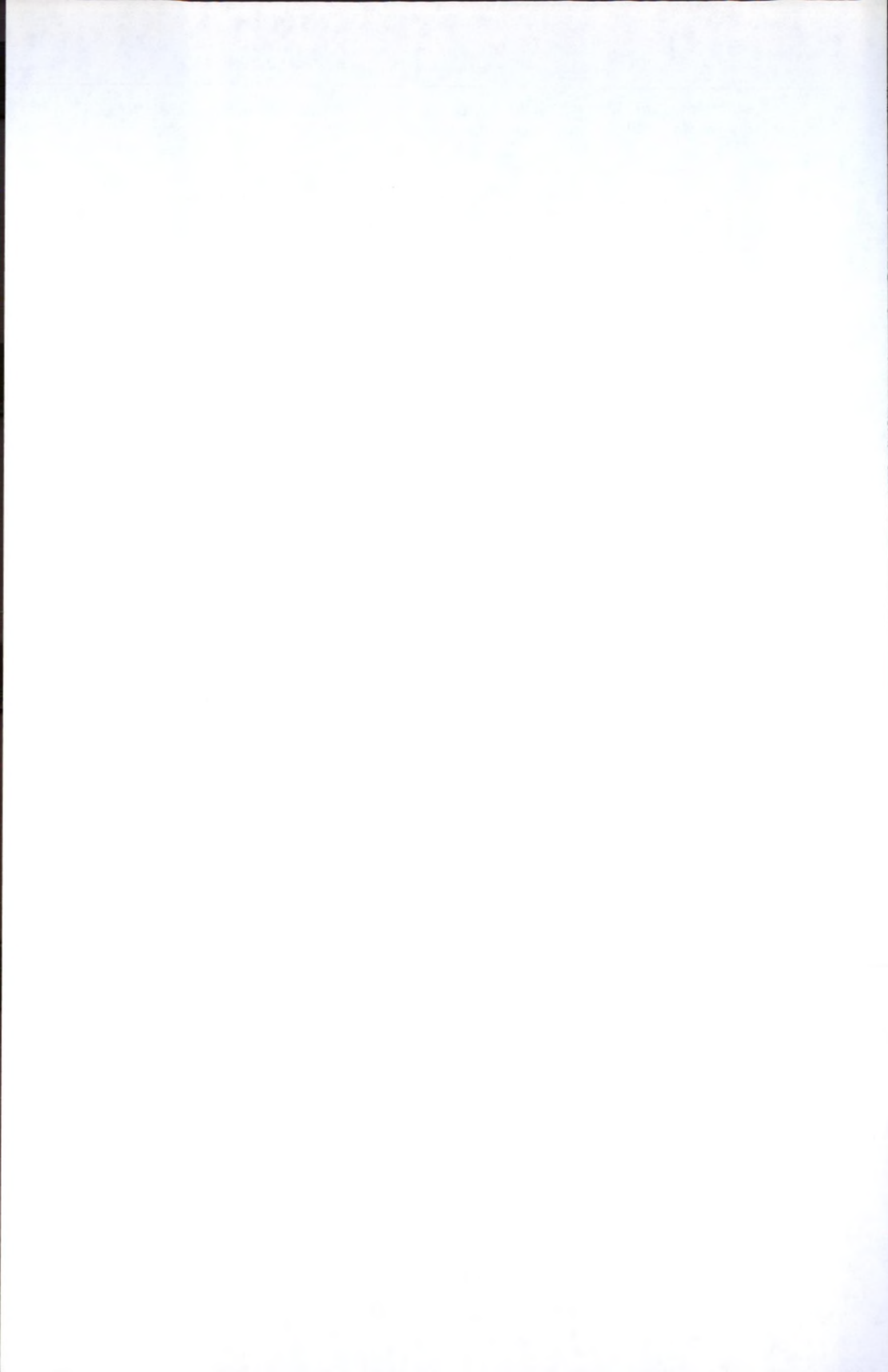
⁵¹ Br. Thomas Sullivan, *Images of Faith: Conception Abbey, Conception, Missouri*, (St. Louis: The Missouri Committee for the Humanities, Inc., ca. 1985), pamphlet.

⁵² Nacke, "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception," 3-7.

⁵³ Cf. "Christy Cunningham Adams: Conservator," *Tower Topics* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1991): 8-9.

⁵⁴ Br. Samuel Russell, "Basilica Renewal," *Tower Topics* 3, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 10-13; "Basilica Renewal Design Narrative" (Conception, MO: Conception Abbey, 2 October 1989), single sheet; "Basilica Renewal Planning Design Narrative Commentary" (Conception, MO: Conception Abbey, 2 November 1989), four sheets; "Capital Campaign," *Tower Topics* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1989): 11; "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception" (Conception, MO: Conception Abbey, 1990), pamphlet; Nacke, "The Renewal of the Basilica of the Immaculate Conception".

⁵⁵ "Conception Abbey announces first-ever Capital Campaign—step into the future," *Tower Topics* 3, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 3-7; "step into the future" (Conception Abbey, Conception, MO, ca. 1989), pamphlet.



Carl E. Krog

**The Battle Against the Kaiser:
Social and Cultural Conflict in Marinette, Wisconsin,
During the World War I Era**

This essay traces the social and cultural conflict in Marinette (population in 1920: 13,000), a small city in northeastern Wisconsin, during the World War I era. The war vastly increased cultural antagonisms which had existed under the surface tranquility both within the state of Wisconsin and in the city of Marinette. Until World War I crusades against unregulated saloons and against parochial schools using the German language for instruction had repeatedly failed. Elected officials both in Wisconsin and in Marinette who favored nativist and temperance programs went down to defeat. The war against the Kaiser changed the situation and provided the catalyst through more direct methods both to increase the speed of the "Americanization" of the large German immigrant community and to end for a time the strong influence of saloons. The focus of this essay is to examine the various incidents during the war which greatly accelerated the process of change.

Marinette, like Wisconsin, did not neatly fit the common national pattern for a number of reasons. Wisconsin had a larger percentage of Americans of German descent, some of whom had emigrated to America relatively recently. The ethnic make-up of the state made a wholehearted crusade against imperial Germany more difficult than in some other states. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Germans in Wisconsin accounted for 34.8 percent of the total population and nearly 50 percent of those with foreign parentage. The 710,000 Wisconsinites of German parentage surpassed old-stock Americans by 100,000 and were four and one-half times as numerous as the second-largest ethnic group in the state in 1900, the Norwegians.¹

According to a survey in 1914, one-third of Wisconsin's residents were of German ancestry, 9 percent British, 7 percent Norwegian, 6 percent Polish, 3 percent Swedish, and 2 percent French-Canadian; two-thirds were of foreign background. According to the 1910 census, 27.5 percent of Marinette's population was foreign-born. Of the 4,027 foreign-born, 2,059 were adult males over twenty-one years of age. Of the 2,059 adult males in the city, 1,838

were naturalized American citizens; 294 had applied for United States citizenship since 1910.² Like other northeastern industrial states, Wisconsin had a sizeable Roman Catholic population. Like other states of the upper Mississippi valley, Wisconsin had a large number of Lutherans—the second-largest religious group in the state. In fact, around 80 percent of Wisconsin residents who belonged to churches were either Roman Catholic or Lutheran. By 1890 Wisconsin's religious composition was essentially what it remains today, "almost half Catholic, a third Lutheran, 20 percent all other denominations."³

As large numbers of German immigrants poured into Wisconsin during the second half of the nineteenth century, both the Roman Catholic and German Lutheran Synods (Missouri and Wisconsin) maintained parochial schools in which the primary language of instruction was German. As the decade of the 1880s drew to a close there was increasing opposition to the use of German for instruction in a number of states.

In Wisconsin, the Bennett Law was passed in 1889 requiring that English be taught in the schools of Wisconsin for at least sixteen weeks during the school year. Further, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history were required to be taught in English. Support for and passage of the law arose after Wisconsin Governor William Hoard discovered that not one of the 129 German Lutheran schools in the state offered instruction in English. German Catholic schools also offered instruction in German. Irish Catholic clergymen supported the bill in spite of the opposition of Wisconsin's Catholic bishops Michael Heiss of Milwaukee, Francis X. Katzen of Green Bay, and Kilian Flasch of La Crosse. In the end, German Catholics and German Lutherans won the linguistic battle, but lost the cultural war. Vehemently opposed by both religious groups, the Bennett Law was repealed, and Governor Hoard was defeated for reelection in 1890.⁴ With Germans voting for the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, the Democrats won the governorship in 1890 for the first time since before the Civil War, defeating the Republican incumbent, William Hoard. The political alliance between German Catholics and German Lutherans was short-lived, and both groups returned to their traditional antagonistic positions, although both shared a number of common characteristics: hostility to lodges and secret societies, maintenance of parochial schools, a German cultural identity, the continental Sunday, as well as hostility to giving women the vote, which many male Catholics and Lutherans feared would increase the voting strength of the temperance movement.

Assimilation of German Catholics occurred at a faster rate than with German Lutherans because the Catholic Church adopted English earlier than did German Lutherans. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in the United States was dominated by the English-speaking Irish who actively promoted a program of adopting English over German, Polish or Italian. Bishop John McCloskey of Louisville succinctly summarized the argument against the use of German:

"If these German prelates are allowed special legislation as Germans, great injury is likely to follow to the interests of religion. We will be looked upon as a German church in an English-speaking country."⁵

In contrast to Catholics of German origin, who were part of a larger multi-ethnic church led in large measure by English-speaking churchmen of Irish descent, Lutherans of German origin were members of church organizations by nationality. German Lutheranism in America was further divided into a number of synods (Iowa, Buffalo, Wisconsin, and Missouri) which reflected a bewildering array of differences on points of Lutheran doctrines, organizations and shades of assimilation into American society.⁶

In addition to German Lutherans, there was a sizeable community of Scandinavian Lutherans in Marinette. Both Scandinavian and German Lutherans shared some characteristics in common with other Protestants, including parish autonomy—the right of individual congregations to organize, appoint and dismiss their own pastors—which contributed to further splintering.

There were three frame Scandinavian Lutheran churches in Marinette: Our Savior's (Norwegian) and Zion (Swedish); a Danish Lutheran church disbanded in the 1920s because of small numbers. Noting the larger numbers of the German immigrant community as reflected in larger churches, newspapers, organization, and teaching of German in high school, the Scandinavian community wanted recognition in Marinette. More sympathetic to the temperance movement, unlike German Lutherans, Scandinavian Lutherans did not maintain parochial schools, nor did they trumpet their cultural achievement in music and other fields as readily as German immigrants. They supported the war effort against Germany and hence did not arouse the antagonism that parts of the German immigrant community aroused during the World War I era. Nonetheless, Scandinavians in Marinette and in the state wished to receive recognition.

Like German Lutherans, many Scandinavian Lutherans held their services in the language of the old country. Before World War I, the pastor of Our Savior's Lutheran Church had complained that French and German were taught at Marinette High School, but not Norwegian or Swedish, as was done at schools at Eau Claire, Minneapolis and Chicago.⁷

The landscape in many parts of Wisconsin's towns and villages included not only the district school and the spires of Catholic and Lutheran churches, but the neighborhood or village tavern as well. Sizeable numbers of German immigrants began coming into the state in the 1850s. Among other things in their cultural baggage, German immigrants brought the brewing and drinking of beer, "Dutch treat," and the "continental Sunday." Some old-stock Americans believed that the drinking of beer coupled with frivolity at family picnics was a desecration of "the Lord's Day." In the late 1850s the nativist element within the state Republican party made an unsuccessful effort to introduce prohibition into Wisconsin. Their effort in pre-Civil War Wisconsin failed, although elements within the Republican party remained critical of the

abuses sometimes associated with saloons but were unable to remove them down to the World War I period.

The difficulty of controlling and regulating taverns was even greater in pre-World War I Marinette. Although some of the leading businessmen and lumbermen were prohibitionists, the saloon owners did pretty much as they pleased. The editor of the *Marinette Eagle-Star* counted seventeen taverns open on Hall Avenue alone as he returned from the barbershop on a bright Sunday morning in July 1888. Community sentiment eventually turned against this blatant defiance of city ordinances. In July 1894, for the first time in Marinette's history, both saloons and barbershops were closed on a Sunday morning. Two years later, Dr. John Sherman, pioneer resident, strict Sabbatarian, ardent prohibitionist, and devout Presbyterian, was elected mayor. However, the victory of the "respectable element" in the community was short-lived for Sherman served only one term as mayor. By the end of the nineteenth century, the lax attitude toward regulating the saloons had returned. In 1897, the city government collected \$60,000 in property taxes in a city of 16,000 and an additional \$16,000 from the city's forty-three taverns.⁸ The problem of saloon owner defiance and lax enforcement of Sunday closing laws continued into the new century.

In July 1912, clergymen from Marinette's four Methodist, three Scandinavian Lutheran, two Baptist, Presbyterian, Christian-Scientist and Salvation Army churches submitted petitions to the Marinette city council demanding that the Sunday closing law be enforced. In fact, some of the old-line Protestant ministers wanted a strict enforcement of the Sabbath on Sundays. Yankee Blue Laws came in conflict with an immigrant tradition of a "continental Sunday." When, for example, Marinette's German community held a "Sängerfest" on the weekend of 26-28 July 1912, the Methodist minister denounced it saying that "Sängerfest" should really be called "Beerfest."⁹ The two societies of the devout and the drunkards sometimes met on Sunday morning as parishioners were on their way to church, and saloon habitués were on their way home. It was suggested that a 1:00 A.M. Sunday closing would lessen this disagreeable situation. The *Marinette Eagle-Star*, in its 4 December 1912 edition, observed "Our mayor, who wins in the management of our city's finances, would do well to brush up on the moral responsibility of his office."

In addition to the ongoing struggle to control the city's tavern owners, residents of Marinette could turn their attention to another, far more serious struggle with the outbreak of war in Europe during the summer of 1914. In this struggle, as in the temperance question, clergymen and members of various churches became involved. In late September 1914, a German Lutheran and a German Methodist minister spoke at a rally in support of raising money for the Red Cross to help German civilians.¹⁰

Marinette residents of Polish background met at Sacred Heart School and adopted a resolution calling for the United States, Great Britain, and France to establish a free and independent Poland as well as freeing downtrodden

nationalities in Europe. Not all Roman Catholics saw the war in Europe in the same light. Archbishop A. Messmer of Milwaukee, writing from Rome during the fall of 1914 observed, "I have followed the beginning of the war very closely and cannot but pray for the just cause of the Austrians and Germans."¹¹

During the two-and-a-half years after the beginning of the war in 1914, Marinette citizens followed the changing fortunes of the two camps, but while residents of the city might be emotionally involved with one side or the other, they were not directly involved in the war in the old countries. After the German government announced that, starting on 1 February 1917, it would resume unrestricted submarine warfare, America's drift into the European war became almost unavoidable if not inevitable. This new turn in the course of events had an immediate and direct impact on the lives of some of the people in Marinette.

One of the first Marinette residents to discover the limits of free speech was a German immigrant by the name of Ewald Mans. Employed as a janitor, it was claimed that Mans had a record of drunkenness. Mans was now accused of making unpatriotic remarks about the United States. Marinette County Judge William Quinlan sentenced Mans to five days in jail for his remarks and then Mans was told "to make tracks." The *Marinette Eagle-Star* quoted the *Fond du Lac Reporter's* account of the event with approval:

At Marinette, Wisconsin, this week, a man was given a five day jail sentence and also banished from the city for one year because he made improper remarks about the United States. The jurist who passed that sentence is to be commended, as a few punishments of that kind will convince each and every resident of this country that while freedom of speech is permitted, there is such a thing as taking advantage of that freedom and uttering treasonable remarks.¹²

Wisconsin's senior senator, Robert LaFollette, had the dubious distinction of sharing with Mans the community's disapproval. When LaFollette's picture appeared on the screen of the Bijou Theatre, the audience vigorously hissed. Earlier in March, LaFollette along with twelve other senators had filibustered against the Wilson administration sponsored bill in the United States Senate to arm American merchant ships. On 4 April 1917 the Senate, by a vote of 82-6, and on 6 April 1917 the House of Representatives, by a vote of 373-50, passed a resolution recognizing the existence of a state of war with Germany. Nine of Wisconsin's eleven congressmen voted against the war resolution. The two congressmen from northern Wisconsin's two congressional districts voted in favor of the war resolution. Marinette's Congressman Robert Classon of Oconto, representing the ninth district, cast one of Wisconsin's two affirmative votes in favor of America's entry into the war.

Wednesday, 11 April 1917, was designated as Loyalty Day. G. H. Landgraf, Superintendent of Marinette schools, made a patriotic speech at the

high school. Across the river in Menominee, Rev. James Rayburn spoke to overflowing crowds in a pitched "tabernacle" tent on "Christ, the Agitator," and on the following day, Thursday, 12 April, "Preparedness in the Bible and in American History."¹³ Residents of the twin cities on the Menominee prepared themselves for war in other ways as well. A completely new departure for the two cities, both Marinette and Menominee were dry on Sunday, and the law would now be strictly enforced.¹⁴

In contrast to the community's early enthusiasm for the war during April 1917, city and county officials had difficulty raising funds for wartime savings bonds and generating enthusiasm for the war, particularly among Marinette's sizeable population of German background as 1917 turned to 1918 and the war wore on. It was reported that the Knights of Columbus had oversubscribed to the Red Cross fund by 50 percent and that the three Scandinavian Lutheran churches worked for the war effort, but Rev. H. Westphal of Trinity Lutheran (the German Lutheran parish) admitted that Trinity Lutherans did not have a Red Cross fund nor an American flag, although he noted that the congregation was raising money for Lutheran servicemen and had a goal of \$1,500. The ministers of two German Lutheran churches in Marinette and Menominee came under fire for remarks made during the spring of 1918. In a trial, Rev. C. H. Averswald, of Christ Lutheran Church in Menominee, was accused of two statements and found guilty. In a conversation, alluding to the sinking of the *Tuscania*, Rev. Averswald remarked of Americans on the ship, "soldiers who went over on the *Tuscania* said they would get the Kaiser or go to hell. I guess they went to hell." Born in Germany, Rev. Averswald emigrated to America when he was fifteen. The *Marinette Eagle-Star* reported that Rev. Averswald also said, the United States "has no right to be in this war and it has no right to send its soldiers to foreign soil."¹⁵ In reply to the question whether or not he had made disrespectful remarks about the American flag, Rev. Westphal said that was a matter for the church council of Trinity Lutheran Church to decide.

Accusations of disloyalty were also made in rural areas of the county. Despite the fact that Fredrich Borg, a farmer in the town of Grover, denied that he was pro-German, his barn was painted yellow. Borg pointed out that his son had enlisted in the army although he was not yet twenty-one.¹⁶ Disloyalty to the war effort was not confined to Marinette County. The *Marinette Eagle-Star* denounced Wisconsin Senator Robert LaFollette as a traitor for his opposition to the war. (Cynics referred to LaFollette as the Kaiser's favorite senator.)

Attempts to further the war effort were promoted on the Menominee side of the river as well during the summer of 1918. John O'Hara, an attorney, president of the American Club of Menominee, announced that all German books including readers, grammars, as well as private books, would be burned. O'Hara went on to note that not only books in the German language, but also books in German thought would be burned. Further, German would no

longer be taught at the Menominee high school. A number of patriotic talks would be given preceding the burning.¹⁷

Efforts to support the war and suppress evil continued on the Marinette side of the river during June 1918. W. A. Brickley, who operated the bar in the Queen City Hotel, did not have his liquor license renewed. The reasons for not renewing Brickley's liquor license included: brawls in the bar, having a "tearoom" for ladies, and not meeting his quota for buying war bonds. Brickley defended himself at the hearing by complaining that he had to borrow money at 6 percent to buy war bonds which paid 4 percent. Brickley also noted that another saloonkeeper who accidentally served minors had his license renewed.¹⁸ The city of Marinette's war against saloons, however, continued to be a limited one during the rest of 1918. As cold weather approached during the fall of 1918, the residents of Marinette found themselves under attack from another quarter—the outbreak of an epidemic of influenza.

By December 1918, the epidemic had become so severe that the city councils of both Marinette and Menominee voted that schools, churches and theatres should be closed immediately. Saloons, however, could stay open, but bartenders were required to boil glasses and there were to be no chairs in the taverns. There was to be no congregating on streets, in stores, or in poolrooms. Streetcars in the twin cities on the Menominee were only half filled. A house in which an occupant had become ill with the flu was to be quarantined, but this rule did not apply to the homes of wage earners.

Not everyone in the community was pleased with the city council's priorities in closing public places. The Methodist ministers in Marinette pointed out the incongruities of the ban. Schools, churches, and lodges, places where good ventilation occurred were closed, but saloons, places where people cough, sneeze, and expectorate, were merely to be regulated. Nine Protestant ministers signed a petition that taverns be closed at 6:00 P.M. Rev. Francis G. Tulley, pastor of Our Lady of Lourdes Roman Catholic Church, protesting the closing of churches, stated that he believed the spiritual health of the community was the most important of all considerations. Roman Catholic churches continued to have services, but only low mass, and funeral services were private.¹⁹

While Marinette was trying to defend itself against a virulent attack of influenza, community leaders also stepped up their crusade against slackers who did not buy their share of war savings bonds. Marinette County raised \$801,900 of which the city of Marinette had contributed \$600,000. Support for the war bond drive in the outlying towns in the county was strong and towns raised considerable sums—depending on the ethnic composition of the community. Crivitz, a predominantly Polish community, exceeded its quota of \$8,400 and raised \$9,700. Niagara, a town in the northern part of the county with a large papermill, raised \$40,450 for the bond drive. A number of Niagara residents were of Italian and Polish backgrounds.²⁰

In contrast to the support for the bond drive in Crivitz and Niagara, financial support for the bond drive lagged far behind in the prosperous farming towns of Grover and Beaver in the southern part of the county. A large number of the farmers who settled in this area were of German background. The quota for the town of Grover was \$87,000; \$14,300 was raised. The quota for Beaver was \$34,800; \$13,400 was raised.²¹

A number of steps were taken to encourage citizens both in the county and in the city of Marinette to participate more enthusiastically in the war bond drives. The first step was to call them before the War Loyalty Board. In September 1918, four of the six people called before the board failed to appear—an act in itself considered disloyal. Subsequently, the *Eagle-Star* triumphantly reported that "a Belgian farmer whose farm was valued at \$5,000 and had not bought any liberty bonds agreed to 'come across.'" In another case of failure to appear, the man was let off because he was just drunk, not disloyal. In some cases publishing the list of slackers and their quotas was enough pressure to make reluctant patriots pay up.²²

Out in the towns of Grover and Beaver, more direct action was needed to encourage some of the farmers to become more patriotic. As in the case of the second and third liberty bond drives, barns were painted free of charge and some people were given baths in creeks—free of charge.²³ During October 1918 a "flying squadron" of Marinette city and county residents made a foray into the town of Grover to force recalcitrant citizens to sign up for their share of liberty bonds. The *Eagle-Star* reported that on a Wednesday night (16 October 1918) there were some exciting incidents which lasted well after midnight, "but the patients operated upon took their bonds, are recovering, and hence additional details will not be made public."²⁴

That evening began with a public meeting in the Grover townhall. Attorney John O. Miller, Superintendent of Marinette Schools, G. H. Landgraf, and Alfred Martini addressed those present. An undersheriff was at the door and allowed no one to leave. "Then, the big works started. Mr. Miller went after those who had not taken their bonds in a manner similar to the way the Marines go after the Hun. By the time he had finished those that were there felt that they had better procure their allotments before he started over." All present signed up. A posse brought in delinquents who had not even attended the meeting, including a prominent town official.

The *Eagle-Star* continued the account. A crowd of sixty went to one farmer after midnight, "roused him out of bed. An officer was stationed at the door and he was told that he had to sign up for his bonds at once. He objected, saying that he had already done so, but it was proven that his allotment was \$500, and he had only taken \$100 worth." The farmer reached for his gun, but he was disarmed. "He was then given his chance either to sign for his bonds or to be taken to Marinette and put in jail. He took the bonds."²⁵

One of those honored on that Wednesday night was Herman Kopplin, a farmer who had only signed up for \$100 of the \$400 bonds allotted to him. After a visitation by the committee on Wednesday evening, Kopplin told George Bartels, a solicitor for bonds at St. John's Lutheran Church in Grover, the following Sunday morning that Bartels was a Judas and the visitation committee was made up of robbers. Kopplin found reason to regret his words before the day was over. On Sunday evening, 20 October 1918, in downtown Marinette's Dunlap Square, Kopplin kissed the flag and apologized before an estimated crowd of two to three hundred people. Kopplin also agreed to give \$100 to the Red Cross and sign up for \$1,000 worth of Liberty Bonds. Aware that a number of farmers in the southern part of the county refused to let the sheriff in at gunpoint, the crowd shouted "The War in Grover is not yet over." It was noted that farmers were now signing up for war bonds.²⁶

The reluctance of some farmers in the town of Grover to buy war bonds had ethnic religious overtones. The Polish Baptist pastor at Pound reported that the Rev. Gustaf Ahlf, a German Lutheran minister, did not encourage his parishioners to buy savings bonds. Rev. Ahlf replied that it was not his duty to encourage his church members to subscribe, and he resisted arrest because the officer did not have a warrant.²⁷

Feelings were strong in Marinette's Polish community as well. In early November 1918, the pastor of Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, Marinette's Polish parish, suggested that, once the war was over, the Kaiser should travel with a circus and be fed pumpernickel and water, adding "our American boys . . . will invent a proper remedy and treatment for him [the Kaiser] as he deserves something worse than the primitive Christians got from Nero, Diocletian, and others."²⁸ The strong feelings over Marinette's war effort continued through the last day of the war, 11 November 1918.

While a limited form of religious warfare has been part of the American social landscape for many years, it usually took the form of clergymen and theologians "proving" that their particular faith was right and correct on various doctrinal matters. Such theological discussions were often polemical and sometimes were meanspirited and ill-tempered. Although many of Marinette's residents belonged to churches, the theological tensions before the war were to some degree muted, because so many of the people were first- or second-generation Americans and belonged to ethnic churches. One spoke of the German or Swedish Lutheran church, or of the French Canadian or Polish Catholic church. Even a shared faith was divided by nationality. In pre-World War I America a German Lutheran did not normally belong to a Swedish Lutheran church, nor did a Polish Catholic join a French Canadian parish unless marriages of individuals occurred between these various groups, and the hard rock of first- or second-generation single nationality identity began to soften into a generation of Americans with mixed and less clearly defined ethnic ancestry.

The war shattered the religious peace in the community which had been based on a kind of balkanized pattern of religious-ethnic identity. Nationality groups which belonged to ethnic churches found themselves in conflict as they, to varying degrees, identified with or even supported the changing fortunes of the old country. Sharing the same block on Elizabeth Street, and standing side by side were Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church, a Polish parish, and Peace Evangelical Church, known as the German Evangelical Church. Before the war, relations between the rectory and the parsonage had been friendly. In fact, an earlier priest at Sacred Heart and the Rev. William Leonhardt, pastor of Peace Evangelical Church, had played croquet together in the summer and a game of "flinch" on winter evenings.²⁹ According to reports, Rev. Leonhardt, who emigrated to the United States from Germany in 1890, had shown a notable lack of enthusiasm for the war effort. Among the charges against Rev. Leonhardt were:

Contrary to the suggestions of the *Eagle-Star* and the Marinette Fire Dept., the minister only had the sexton ring the church bells for services. Bells at the church were not rung for Liberty Bond drives, when Americans were on the Marne river because "my janitor was at work," or when the Kaiser abdicated on the grounds that if the German emperor left Germany, there would be revolution. It was said that Leonhardt spoke of German successes before July 19, 1918, but said little of American victories after July, 1918.³⁰

The late ringing of church bells to celebrate the end of war on 11 November 1918 brought matters to a head. The priest next door, Rev. John Pocięcha, reported that the church bells of Peace Evangelical Church rang neither at noon nor 4:00 P.M. on 11 November 1918, but were finally rung at 7:15 P.M. in the evening. Later the same evening a band of Marinette citizens called on Leonhardt and with a number of insulting remarks demanded that he ring the bell again, although the charge that someone said "kill him" was denied. Leonhardt rang the bell.³¹

The trustees of the church, pointing out that twenty men from the congregation had been in service and that one had been killed, passed a resolution demanding that "the vigilantes" apologize. The vigilantes responded that they knew the bell of Peace Church had been rung on Armistice Day but they simply wanted Rev. Leonhardt personally to ring it again. They stated further: "We understand that some members of the congregation want to start something. Let them be sure they can finish it. We are ready for them."³² In response an unnamed citizen protested "mobocracy," without signing his name in the newspaper. The members of the visitation committee who forced Rev. Leonhardt to ring his church bells published their names in the *Eagle-Star* under the title of "Citizens of Mobocracy." The roster of twenty-three names revealed a list of solid middle-class citizens. The composition of the group

included a dentist, a clerk for the Circuit Court, a president of a small manufacturing company, a lawyer who had run for the office of District Attorney, a superintendent of the papermill, a couple of foremen and managers of firms in Marinette, as well as a teacher of the Stephenson Training School (County Normal School) later to become its superintendent. Of the twenty-three in the group which published their names, twelve had last names which were English, five German, and three Scandinavian.³³ Not everyone in the community approved of Leonhardt's crash course in American citizenship. F. A. Brown, whose family had investments in lumbering, railroads, and banking, warned at a victory luncheon of war workers a few days later, "if in our beloved land you see any signs of mobocracy rearing its venomous head, crush it."³⁴

The brief incident at Peace Evangelical Church on Armistice Day 1918 was overshadowed by the relief, excitement, and general rejoicing that war was over. Whistles, sirens, and bells were heard in the two cities early in the morning of 11 November 1918. Shortly after 8:00 A.M. someone put a casket with a sign attached "War" in front of the Dunlap Square bandstand. At 9:00 A.M. Mayor Fisher proclaimed a holiday and the Bergfors Band provided music for the occasion. Neighboring Menominee had a mile-long parade and as early as 4:30 A.M. women began the day in Menominee's Frenchtown by banging pots together. The rest of the morning was punctuated by periodic deafening sounds of sirens. Saloons remained open and more than one drunk was seen on the streets. That evening there was a large bonfire on Stephenson Island in the Menominee River—only a short distance from downtown Marinette.³⁵

Marinette County ranked twenty-second in population in the state in 1920, and ranked twenty-fifth out of Wisconsin's seventy counties in its support of the four Liberty Loan drives. While Marinette County fell short of its quota on the first two subscriptions, the county surpassed its quotas on the last two bond drives. On the third drive, the county's allotment was \$525,000, and residents raised \$859,200; on the fourth drive the county's allotment was \$1,150,600, and residents raised \$1,176,800. Overall, according to state records, Marinette County citizens raised \$3,118,800 in the four bond drives during World War I. The war had helped to expand Marinette's banking resources. Economic growth came at a social cost, however. Thirty-two young men from the county did not return home: thirteen were killed in action, five died from wounds, and fourteen from disease.³⁶ As the year 1918 ended, the *Eagle-Star* observed: "We have learned that things heretofore regarded as impossible in our community life can be accomplished by systematic organization and public spirit."³⁷ The war was over, but some of the social and psychological wounds left behind by the conflict would heal less quickly.

The cultural effect of the war was an accelerated assimilation of German-Americans into society, with a much greater lessening of ethnic identity. Within Marinette itself, "Americanization" continued after the war, but in a

more relaxed manner. As first- and second-generation Americans passed from the scene, knowledge of the Old World, Old-World language, and identification with Old-World animosities and ambitions to a large degree passed with them. During the 1920s it was reported that Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches had a dual worship pattern of conducting services both in English and in a foreign language.³⁸ A decade after the war ended, the largest of the German Lutheran organizations, the Missouri Synod, printed 90 percent of its publications and books in English.³⁹

The "Americanization" of churches took a number of forms. The German Methodist and Swedish Methodist churches disappeared, leaving only one Methodist Church, the older Methodist church on Main Street. The Swedish Baptist Church lost its ethnic identity. In contrast to the Methodist and Baptist churches, Lutheran churches in Marinette before World War I had been immigrant churches either German or Scandinavian. During 1918, a number of Lutherans organized St. James Lutheran Church; services were in English, and the congregation was affiliated with the United Lutheran Church, whose roots went back to colonial America.⁴⁰

Ethnic social organizations survived the war, but not foreign-language newspapers. The *Marinette Tribune* (Swedish), founded 1892, and the *Marinette Volksbote* (German), founded 1898, stopped publishing during the World War I era. Unlike Gustav Forsen, the publisher of the *Tribune*, Herman Schomaker gave up publication of the *Volksbote*, but began publishing the *Union Laborer*.

Scandinavian fraternal and social organizations continued after the war. The Danish Brotherhood and Sisterhood, Skandia, Daughters of Sweden, and Vasa Order of America, all continued during the decade of the 1920s. Specialized ethnic societies such as the Norwegian Literary Society ceased to be listed in the *Polk City Directory* after the middle of the decade. In contrast, the German ethnic society, Sons of Herman, was listed in the 1921 *Directory*, but not in the 1926 edition of *Polk*. The German Singing Society (*Männerchor*) continued through the 1920s as well as the German Society of Marinette (*Deutscher Verein Marinette*). Although a number of German insurance companies were listed in *Polk's Directory* before the war, there were none listed after the war. Of the four fire and marine insurance companies listed after the war, one was Canadian, and another was English.

The anti-German feeling within the community did not directly affect municipal politics. Assuming that surnames give at least some indication of ethnic background, Marinette had a city council composed of ten aldermen with English, Scandinavian or German names. Besides the normally recognized English names, the Marinette City Council consistently had three aldermen of Scandinavian background for the twenty years after 1911. With the exception of 1911 and 1930 when there were only two recognizable German names, there were either three or four aldermen of presumably German background during the same years.⁴¹

Liberty bond drives ended with the war. Community fund drives replaced war bond drives, and service clubs during the 1920s worked for such projects as supporting the Boy Scouts and setting up playgrounds. The First World War with its introduction of "systematic organization and public spirit" had a profound effect in changing the community. How did Marinette County compare with other counties in Northern Wisconsin? The Northern counties of Wisconsin where the lumbering and mining industries had a predominant role in the economy were also the counties with the highest number of violent incidents during the war. The number of extralegal actions reported in the state in 1917 was thirty-two, in 1918 seventy-three. Marinette County did not totally fit the pattern of northern Wisconsin. More violent incidents occurred in northwestern Wisconsin than in northeastern, and many of these incidents in northwestern Wisconsin (particularly Bayfield, Ashland and Douglas counties) occurred during the spring of 1918 as American casualties from the war in France began to increase, in contrast to Marinette County where extralegal actions occurred in the fall of 1918.

In counties with large numbers of German immigrants or residents of German descent extralegal actions were less likely to occur. Of six Wisconsin counties in which 40 percent of the population was of German background, there were no reported incidents in four of them. In contrast, in fifteen counties where the percentage of residents of German background was 15 percent to 19 percent, twenty-seven incidents occurred.⁴²

Because lumbering was inherently hard and dangerous work, violence both during peacetime and war was more readily accepted in sawmill towns. Hannah Arendt has observed:

An element of violence is inevitably inherent in all activities of making, fabricating, and producing, that is in all activities by which men confront nature directly, as distinguished from those activities like acting and speech, which are primarily directed toward human beings. The building of the human artifice always involves some violence due to nature—we must fell a tree in order to have lumber, and we must violate this material in order to build a table.⁴³

The anti-German reaction in the wake of the war against imperial Germany cast a long shadow across the state as well. Associating their wartime experiences with the Democratic party's Wilson administration, Wisconsin citizens of German descent voted for Harding and "normalcy" in overwhelming numbers in the 1920 election. Many voters of German descent who had supported the Stalwart faction of the Republican party before the war, now supported the LaFollette family and the Progressive Republican faction after the war. Robert LaFollette, Jr., did not lose his senate seat until 1946.⁴⁴

With the exception of the election of Democratic Governor Albert G. Schmedeman in 1932, the Democratic party ceased to be much of a force within state politics until after World War II. In fact, during the 1920s, the party practically disappeared as a political entity. The party received less than 5 percent of the vote in the 1922 primary. No Democrat was elected to the state senate during the years 1923-31, and the state assembly had one Democrat during the 1923-25 session.⁴⁵

The Milwaukee brewing industry recovered more quickly than did the state Democratic party. Prohibition laws, to the extent that they were enforced at all, were implemented with great difficulty. In Marinette, local officials estimated that there were the same number of drinking establishments in 1929 as there had been in 1919.⁴⁶ In short, foreign-language usage died; liquor and beer consumption, although in slightly more moderate form, survived.

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Marinette, Wisconsin

Notes

¹ Robert C. Nesbit, *Urbanization and Industrialization, 1873-1893*, vol. 3 of *The History of Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1985), 262-64; La Vern J. Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1985), 88-93; Guy-Harold Smith, "Notes on the Distribution of the German-Born in Wisconsin in 1905," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 13 (Winter 1929), 107-20. See also Paul Kleppner, *The Cross of Culture: A Social Analysis of Midwestern Politics 1850-1900* (New York: The Free Press, 1970) and *The Third Electoral System 1853-1892: Parties, Voters, and Political Cultures* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979); Richard Jensen, *The Winning of the Midwest: Social and Political Conflicts, 1888-1896* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971).—The German immigrant community in the United States reflected the divisions which had existed in the German states. In Europe, however, Swabians, Prussians, Saxons, and Württembergers lived in different parts of the German Confederation, and in an age before railroads had very little contact with one another. In the United States, however, German immigrants from different parts of the German Confederation—after 1870 the German Empire—might live next door to one another. Both Kleppner and Jensen found a direct correlation between ritualism and political voting patterns. Members of ritualistic churches, Roman Catholics and Lutherans in the Midwest were more likely to vote Democrat, while pietistic church members such as Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists tended to vote Republican. Republicans in the Midwest were more supportive of temperance programs. Kleppner even found that German Lutherans themselves divided into more ritualistic groups which voted Democrat, while Lutherans more influenced by pietism were more likely to vote Republican.

² *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 24 April 1914.

³ Stephen J. Tordella, *Religion in Wisconsin: Preferences, Practices and Ethnic Composition* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 1979), 8; Brian W. Beltman, "Rural Church Reform in Wisconsin During the Progressive Era," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 60 (Autumn 1976): 3-24.

⁴ La Vern Rippley, *The German-Americans* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976), 120-23. See also Nesbit, *Urbanization*, 601-18; Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), 38; and especially Rippley, *The German-Americans*, 108.—The largest of the German immigrant Lutheran churches was the

Missouri Synod. The founders of the synod had left Saxony and settled in Missouri in the late 1830s because they were opposed to the forced union of Reformed and Lutheran churches by the Prussian king. Organized as a separate Lutheran entity in Chicago in 1847, the experiences of its organizers in Prussian Saxony had a twofold effect on its outlook in America. The Missouri Synod enthusiastically endorsed the belief in separation of church and state and it was decidedly unecumenical. Like the Catholic Church, the Missouri Synod's churches maintained 2,100 schools enrolling nearly 100,000 children. Other Lutheran organizations, such as the Wisconsin Synod, operated another 1,000 parochial schools. In most of these schools the language of instruction was German. Another major German immigrant church was the Evangelical Synod of North America. Like many of the Lutheran synods, a large majority of its 340,000 members worshipped in German, and before World War I, the German Evangelical Synod operated more than 300 elementary schools. Although more ecumenical than the conservative German Lutheran synods, some of the pastors of the Evangelical Church came under particularly severe attack because their church in Germany had been called "the Kaiser's Church," the church of the Hohenzollerns, the ruling family of Germany. Other German church groups such as United Brethren and German Methodists were less authoritarian, more tolerant of lodges and secret societies, and shared a pietistic view of society.

⁵ Rippley, *The German-Americans*, 110.

⁶ Luebke, 38.

⁷ Rippley, *The Immigrant Experience in Wisconsin*, 57; *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 4 May 1912.

⁸ Carl Krog, "Marinette: A Lumber Camp Becomes a City 1880-1910," *The Old Northwest* 6 (Spring 1980): 31 and 38-39.

⁹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 30 July 1912, and 11 January 1913.

¹⁰ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 21 September 1914.

¹¹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 14 September 1914.

¹² *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 26 March 1917.

¹³ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 12 April 1917.

¹⁴ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 14 April 1917.

¹⁵ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 4 January 1918, 16 February 1918, 5 April 1918, and 15 April 1918.

See especially Neil A. Johnson, "The Patriotism and Anti-Prussianism of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, 1914-1918," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 39 (1966): 99-118, and David M. Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 178-90. The war vastly increased ethnic-religious antagonism which had existed under the surface tranquility of American society before 1914; reflecting a prejudice not exclusively German Lutheran, the *Lutheran Witness* (Missouri Synod publication) described France as "a nation in the last stages of decay." After American entry into the war, a Dallas minister was quoted as saying the "Christian forces of the country will put themselves under discipline and go where Christ leads them." The *Lutheran Witness* dismissed the statement as "Calvinist Ranting." When the Methodist *Christian Advocate* erroneously made the assumption that the state church of Prussia had the same relationship to the crown as the Church of England, the Presbyterian publication, *Continent*, pointed out that the *Christian Advocate* was in error—American Lutheran clergymen did not take an oath of allegiance to the Kaiser. In August, 1918, the *Lutheran Witness* complained, "Why must American Germans be held accountable and persecuted for the sins of a government they have long past forsaken?" At the beginning of the war, synodical conference Lutheran churches (Missouri Synod and Wisconsin Synod) did not have and would not have the United States flag in their churches, nor would ministers proclaim from their pulpits that their parishioners should buy United States War Bonds on the grounds that such practices violated the doctrine of separation of church and state. Besides unregulated saloons one of the early casualties of the First World War was Victorian prudery. Concerned lest American soldiers contact venereal disease, the United States Army launched a plainspoken sex education program with slogans such as "A German bullet is cleaner than a whore." French Premier, Georges Clemenceau, noting that American troops had been stationed in Europe for a considerable amount of time, offered U.S. General John J. Pershing the services of French licensed prostitutes

to relieve the tedium of American soldiers' stay in France. Secretary of War, Newton Baker, decided not to pass this generous Gallic offer on to the high-minded President Wilson. While at the same time plainspoken words were introduced to replace Victorian euphemisms, a number of idealistic terms were introduced to portray the war effort in a very positive light. The most commonly used word was "service." Soldiers became servicemen, the draft became National Service with draftees chosen by a Selective Service Board.

¹⁶ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 6 May 1918.

¹⁷ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 8 June 1918.

¹⁸ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 29 June 1918. See also Lorin Lee Cary, "The Wisconsin Legion 1917-1918," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 50 (Autumn, 1969): 41.-Perhaps, because beer was so readily associated with Germans, a surprisingly large number of bartenders joined the Loyalty Legion, a super-patriotic organization to promote citizen support of the war effort.

¹⁹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 13 December 1918, 11 October 1918, 17 October 1918.

²⁰ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 3 October 1918, 8 October 1918.

²¹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 8 October 1918.

²² *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 14 September 1918, 3 October 1918.

²³ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 7 October 1918.

²⁴ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 17 October 1918.

²⁵ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 17 October 1918.

²⁶ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 21 October 1918.

²⁷ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 30 October 1918.

²⁸ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 2 November 1918.

²⁹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 18 November 1918.

³⁰ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 19 November 1918.

³¹ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 18 November 1918, and 19 November 1918.

³² *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 20 November 1918.

³³ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 19 and 20 November 1918. "Citizens of Mobocracy" were listed as follows, and the *Polk City Directory of Marinette-Menominee 1918*, gave their occupations as: D. C. Robertson, cashier, Farmers Savings & Trust Co.; Harry Pratt, superintendent, Park Paper Mill; Prof. W. E. Morton, teacher, Stephenson Training School (Marinette Co. Normal School [two-year program]); Edward Golden, foreman, M. & M. Light & Traction Co.; Charles E. Larson, grocer; Harvey Washburn, foreman, Brown-Mitcheson Co.; George Mitcheson, secretary/treasurer, Brown-Mitcheson Co.; W. H. Helmer; John Rye, cashier, Kreuter Mfg. Co.; H. F. Bornheimer, manager, Wisconsin Telephone Co.; Joseph Maurer, book & job printer; J. R. Hubley, secretary of James B. Goodman Co.; William F. Haase, lawyer (later a 1930 Marinette Co. Judge); Ralph Wenk, salesman, Marinette Flour Co.; James Peterson, papermaker; Fred Larkins, wire chief; Chris F. Jaeger, president of Aerial Cutlery Mfg. Co.; Ralph Garland, clerk, M. & M. Light & Traction Co.; Arnold Murphy, law student, Marquette University (Marinette Co. District Attorney, 1920s); George Marcoe, barber; Oscar S. Anderson, clerk for the Circuit Court; Dr. E. H. Redeman, dentist.

³⁴ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 12 November 1918 and 19 November 1918.

³⁵ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 12 November 1918.

³⁶ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 20 May 1919; *Wisconsin Blue Book* (State of Wisconsin, 1919), 420-21.

³⁷ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 31 December 1918.

³⁸ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 18 January 1924.

³⁹ Paul T. Dietz, "The Transition from German to English in the Missouri Synod from 1910-1947," *Concordia Historical Institute Quarterly* 22 (1949): 125; Alan Graebner, "The Acculturation of an Immigration Lutheran Church: The Lutheran Church, Missouri Synod, 1917-1929," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1965.

⁴⁰ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 30 September 1926, 2 April 1922.

⁴¹ *Polk City Directory of Marinette-Menominee*, for the years 1910-40.

⁴² John Dean Stevens, "Suppression of Expression in Wisconsin During World War I," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1968, 181, 188 and 189.

⁴³ Hannah Arendt, "What was Authority," in C. J. Friedrich, ed., *Authority* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 91. See also Frederick C. Luebke, *Germans in Brazil: A Comparative History of Cultural Conflict During World War I* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 217-23. Luebke has noted that the anti-German feeling in Brazil, after Brazil's declaration of war against Germany in 1917 was much more severe than in the United States. Both the United States and Brazil had important German-speaking subsocieties which maintained various ethnic cultural institutions—German language newspapers, churches, schools, and a variety of voluntary associations. Both countries had foreign ministers who resigned in protest as their countries' governments adopted policies which ultimately led them into war: in the United States, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, in Brazil, Foreign Minister Lauro Muller who was of German descent. The differences between the two countries, once war was declared, were much more pronounced, however. While there were acts of violence in the United States against the German immigrant community, these were not nearly as severe or common as the violent and destructive riots which occurred in Brazil in 1917. Luebke concludes: "Had the Germans in the United States been as divergent from the American norms as Teuton-Brazilians were from the Brazilian, it's likely that they too would have suffered from destructive riots, as the Chinese did in mining camps of the American West" (p. 223). Wisconsin is one of five states in which over half of the population is either wholly or partially of German descent (the others being Iowa, the Dakotas, and Nebraska).

⁴⁴ Herbert F. Margulies, "The Election of 1920 in Wisconsin: The Return to 'Normalcy' Reappraisal," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 41 (Autumn 1957): 15-22, and *The Decline of the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin, 1890-1920* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1968). James Lorence, "Dynamite for the Brain: The Growth and Decline of Socialism in Central and Lakeshore Wisconsin, 1910-1920," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66 (Summer 1983): 251-74; Howard R. Klueter and James Lorence, *Woodlot and Ballot Box: Marathon County in the Twentieth Century* (Wausau, WI, 1987) 241-355.

⁴⁵ William F. Thompson, *Continuity and Change 1940-1966*, vol. 6 of *The History of Wisconsin* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1988), 403.

⁴⁶ *Marinette Eagle-Star*, 12 August 1929.

Gerald H. Davis

**"Orgelsdorf":
A World War I Internment Camp in America**

On 12 December 1918 Richard Goldschmidt enjoyed a cultural experience he would never forget. He played violin in a performance of Beethoven's *Eroica* under the direction of Karl Muck, one of the world's premier maestros. Goldschmidt was only an amateur musician, albeit a fervent one. He was a forty-year-old scientist and academician and came upon this opportunity fortuitously and under unexpected, painful circumstances. Muck himself had originally planned an academic career and had completed a doctorate in classical philology before turning to music and establishing himself as a conductor in Vienna, Bayreuth, and Berlin. From 1912 until March 1918 he had been director of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. His musical hallmark was meticulous examination of the composer's intentions and unrelenting adherence to his score. Such purism was unusual in an age of revived Romanticism and more appealing to sophisticated audiences than to casual listeners. There were some music fanciers with impeccable taste in the audience that evening. There was also a mixed array of businessmen, technicians, miners, quarry workers, labor agitators, seamen, and others who attended the concert more for relief from boredom than for a profound esthetic experience.

All were silent when Muck took the podium; they remained so through the early passages. Then the music began to create a special rapport between orchestra and audience. Heads began to move, legs and bodies shifted in response to rhythmic and melodious passages or out of random agitation. Everyone listened intently to the sounds of the music but most soon lost themselves in reveries of real or imagined joys and triumphs—in the past or at home. Somehow the music seemed to find each person's private anguish and weariness of spirit and to transform them into eloquence and hope. Hope was not readily welcomed in this crowd. Hard experience had taught the men to avoid, even to fear hope. Yet the music prevailed and carried them away from the dreary present. When the music ended, the men applauded raucously and without restraint. Years later, Goldschmidt wrote, "I do not think that a

symphony ever created a more profound impression than this upon thousands who had probably never before heard classical music."¹

Karl Muck had enjoyed musical triumphs and had many more before him, but this occasion was special because Muck, Goldschmidt, the entire orchestra, and all but a few members of the audience were prisoners. They were inmates in an internment camp for "dangerous enemy aliens" in a remote place with a name difficult for Germans to pronounce. It was located on the grounds of Fort Oglethorpe, a United States Army post just inside the northwest border of Georgia, a few miles southeast of Chattanooga, Tennessee. To express derision and contempt for it, the inmates called the place "Orgelsdorf."²

Fort Oglethorpe was one of three main centers selected to house interned German nationals when the United States declared war against Germany on 6 April 1917. Prior to that—between August 1914 and April 1917—the United States had been bound by the Hague conventions on the rights and duties of neutrals and by international custom to prevent regular use of its harbors by belligerent naval units. When the British forced several German warships to take refuge in American harbors (including Guam and the Panama Canal Zone), the United States was bound to limit their stay in American waters or to intern the ships and crews. As the Germans were hopelessly outclassed by the British units in the area, departure would have been suicidal and could have ended only in their destruction or surrender. They therefore submitted to internment in American territory for the duration of the hostilities. The ships were assigned permanent moorings and placed under American authority. The crews were also interned and in most cases permitted to live on board their own ships during the period of American neutrality. After the breach of American-German relations in February 1917 the men were removed to camps in the interior. The declaration of war in April 1917 converted the status of interned naval crews to prisoners of war and entitled them to treatment defined in the Hague conventions of 1907. This placed them under the care of the War Department. There were about fourteen hundred men in this category.³

German merchant ships caught by the outbreak of war in American waters had been permitted freedom of movement consistent with American neutrality, but as British patrols dominated the shipping lanes in the high seas, German cargo ships and crewmen of military age dared not venture from American waters. By April 1917 there were sixty-seven German and fourteen Austrian merchantmen in American ports plus twenty-three German ships in Philippine harbors. Their crews either lived on board or took advantage of a lax immigration administration and sought quarters elsewhere. Some obtained employment on other ships and departed. Others obtained onshore employment, which was relatively easy to find before 1917, especially in major port cities with sizeable German-speaking elements.⁴ But anti-German sentiment swelled during the last months of American neutrality and German-born American citizens and German nationals became vulnerable.

Immediately upon the declaration of war, American authorities, ignoring protective clauses in the Hague convention, detained and confined the merchant crewmen.⁵ There were about twenty-three hundred men in this category of interned aliens.

As civilians, the merchant seamen did not have the protection of prisoner-of-war status. Since most of them were men of military age, the British blockade prevented their deportation to Germany. They were left under the authority of the Immigration Service of the Labor Department. Once removed from their ships, they were confined temporarily at immigrant stations at Ellis Island, Gloucester (New Jersey), New Orleans, Angel Island (San Francisco), and Gallups Island (Boston). Neither the War Department nor the Labor Department had a clear policy or plan as to what to do with their new charges.

Another category of "alien enemies" to be confined were those who had broken the law or were judged too dangerous to remain at large in American territory. They were under the authority of the Justice Department. Even before the United States entered the war, German nationals and German-American citizens had to endure harassment, discrimination, and open violence. Surveillance and arrest of suspicious persons increased drastically when the United States broke diplomatic relations with Germany on 3 February 1917. Before the declaration of war on 6 April, the nation was mentally prepared for large-scale actions against a German threat within the American homeland.

Two weeks before the declaration of war, the Justice Department prepared to invoke a long-forgotten federal statute that provided legal sanctions against dangerous alien enemies in America. An act of 1798 designed originally to control French agents and later used against British subjects in the War of 1812 provided that, in case of declared war or imminent invasion, "all natives, citizens, denizens, or subjects of the hostile nation or government, being males of the age of fourteen years and upwards, who shall be within in the United States and not actually naturalized, shall be liable to be apprehended, restrained, secured, and removed, as alien enemies."⁶ Once war was declared, this law was used to control and intimidate German civilians until Congress passed the more explicit Espionage Act of June 1917, the Trading with the Enemy Act of October 1917, and the Sedition Amendment and Sabotage Act of April 1918. Meanwhile, on the day Congress declared war against Germany, President Woodrow Wilson issued a proclamation forbidding alien enemies the right to possess firearms, bombs, or other explosives, to use airplanes or wireless or any signaling apparatus. They could not enter any area within a half mile of any fort, arsenal, aircraft station, navy yard, munitions factory, or any locality designated by the president as "prohibited." If they already resided in such zones they would have to move. They could be summarily arrested if there should be reasonable cause to suspect that they were aiding or were about to aid the enemy, violate a criminal law or presidential regulation, or if their being at large would

endanger the public peace and safety.⁷ By the end of the war there were sixty-three hundred persons of this category arrested on federal authority and an unknown number arrested by local and state officials.⁸

Although Wilson had given assurances that Germans who behaved properly had nothing to fear, Assistant Attorney General Charles Warren thought it best not to take chances. He declared: "It seems to me the height of folly to wait until these German aliens commit crimes before we arrest them. I believe that the wise policy is to avert trouble and not try to remedy it after it has happened."⁹ Attorney General Thomas W. Gregory detected the public zeal for drastic action against "the Hun" and extended federal authority to a citizen's secret surveillance network of unpaid, volunteer deputies in an organization called the American Protective League (APL). It claimed to have over 250,000 members who spied out disloyalty with reckless enthusiasm. With its membership consisting largely of business and professional men, the league concerned itself heavily with alleged disloyalty in organized labor. The Socialist party and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW or "Wobblies") received the most intense scrutiny, especially after July 1917, when the attorney general ordered the arrest of all German members of the IWW.¹⁰ The league, along with a few zealous naval and military intelligence officers began to dominate the anti-German campaign.¹¹ Local law enforcement officers made thousands of arrests, often treating their captives with cruelty and disregard for legal rights before turning them over to the federal government for official action. Having encouraged volunteerism, the Justice Department then had to restrain excessive patriotic vigilantism on the "home front."

More by improvisation than design, a set of special internment camps materialized more rapidly than methods for administering them. The War Department selected three army posts to intern its naval prisoners of war. These were Fort Douglas in Utah and Forts McPherson and Oglethorpe in Georgia. The Justice Department had federal prisons at its disposal and considered leasing space in state prisons to house its captives, the dangerous alien enemies. Under pressure from the State Department, which feared reprisals against Americans stranded in Germany, the Attorney General repudiated these options. He left the internees in local jails and immigration facilities for the short term, while negotiating arrangements to build subcamps for civilians on the grounds of the three forts. Ultimately, the War Department concentrated most of its naval prisoners of war at Fort McPherson, leaving Fort Douglas and Fort Oglethorpe for the internment of civilians.¹² The army retained administrative control of these forts and the civilians detained within them were under military regulations.

The Labor Department concentrated its interned seamen in a single camp. For this it purchased an old mountain resort hotel and grounds at Hot Springs, near Asheville, North Carolina. It was a pleasant area and the men applied their practical skills to build barracks, houses for canteens and recreation, a church, flower gardens, and other amenities. Administration by

Labor Department officials was mild enough to earn criticism from zealous patriots for allowing enemy personnel to live too well.¹³ There were few if any escape attempts and only a single strand of rope (later a wire fence) separated the camp from the platform of the railroad station.

Yet critics deplored the hiring of local civilians as guards since they could not be trusted to use their weapons effectively in case of need. The army took over administration of Hot Springs in July 1918 so soldiers could be used as guards. However, Secretary of War Newton D. Baker emphasized army training for combat in Europe and considered guard duty at government facilities a drain on resources. He arranged for construction of new barracks at Fort Oglethorpe and transferred most of the Hot Springs internees there in the autumn of 1918.

However, an epidemic in Hot Springs delayed this migration. The water supply was inadequate and the men got into the habit of drinking polluted water piped in from the French Broad River for other purposes. The ensuing outbreak in typhoid took the lives of twenty-nine men.¹⁴ There had been a milder outbreak of typhoid at Fort Oglethorpe camp the year before, probably as a result of primitive sanitation facilities in the hastily constructed internment camp adjacent to the regular army base camp. It was several months before indoor showers and latrines and an emergency hospital-barracks could be constructed for the inmates. Sanitation conditions at Fort Oglethorpe had improved by the time most of the "Hot Springers" arrived, but no precautions could restrain the world pandemic of influenza, which visited the camp in the late autumn of 1918. It killed twenty-six men and put hundreds more in the hospital.¹⁵

Fort Oglethorpe was an army post at the site of the Civil War battle of Chickamauga, close to Lookout Mountain where another major battle had taken place. In its first stage of construction, the internment camp consisted of twenty-two wooden barracks surrounded by double rows of barbed wire located on about sixty acres of flat plain that became oppressively hot and dusty in summer and miserably damp and muddy in winter. Inmates constructed the camp buildings, fences, roads, and the like according to standard army plans. The end products provided shelter that was less than comfortable and certainly not handsome. There was not a single tree in the camp and the main street was so rough and muddy that the inmates called it "Rio Grande de Orgelsdorf" and "Chemin des Dames" after the shell-tortured ridge in France.¹⁶ Before construction of a connecting road, the prison camp was a five-minute walk from the main street of the base camp, within earshot of the railroad line between Chattanooga and Atlanta. The wailing signals of the passing trains reminded the internees—mostly city folk—of the remoteness of their place of exile and their want of freedom enjoyed by others.

The first inhabitants of Fort Oglethorpe were 390 officers and men from the light cruiser *Prinz Eitel Friedrich* and other German naval vessels along with fifty-six merchant seamen whose ships had been interned in the Panama

Canal Zone and ninety-eight interned civilians. The camp evolved with the changes in American policy. By June 1918 the naval and merchant seamen were removed to Fort McPherson. At that time "Orgelsdorf" was occupied by 840 civilian aliens. The number eventually grew to more than four thousand. Most of them were German but there were now 150 Austrians and other nationalities. The camp was divided by barbed wire into three compounds called Camps A, B, and C.

Camp A was known as the "millionaires' camp." It housed ninety internees with the means to pay for their own care, including some *Prominente*, as they were called in the camp, considered too influential or knowledgeable to be at large and merchant ship officers transferred from Hot Springs. They lived in two barracks buildings with individual partitioned rooms and a separate wash house. Their food was purchased, prepared, and served by German cooks and ship stewards hired by the "millionaires." There was even dinner music played on a piano in the dining hall. No one in Camp A was required to work except those employed by the more affluent inmates. Not all Camp A inmates were actually millionaires. Richard Goldschmidt, for example, received through the Swiss legation a monthly stipend of thirty-five dollars, which enabled him to live there.¹⁷

Camp B was much more crowded and uncomfortable. Here 667 men occupied seven standard hundred-man barracks with unpartitioned sleeping quarters on each of two stories. There were thirteen of these barracks but half of them were reserved for incoming Hot Springs internees and more were under construction in June 1918. Before the year was over the influx of the Hot Springers and newly arrested civilian internees quadrupled the camp population. The men complained that the barracks were too hot in the summer when one hundred men were crowded into them, but the commandant of Fort Oglethorpe could do nothing about this. Food was generally adequate although there were some "meatless and wheatless" days and accusations of corruption. If the men wanted to supplement their diet they could earn extra money by working on the road or in a nearby rock quarry and buy extra food in the camp canteen. This option was not open to the men in Camp C.

Camp C was a punishment barracks. When Swiss commissioners charged to inspect Fort Oglethorpe visited on 3-4 June 1918, they found eighty-three inmates, about 10 percent of the entire camp population at that time, existing on half rations in Camp C for having refused to "volunteer" for employment in the rock quarry. The men were in fact on strike.

War Department regulations required enlisted men and civilians to perform unpaid "work necessary for their comfort or for the upkeep of their prison barracks." With permission they could volunteer for paid work outside the camp under supervision of camp authorities. At Fort Oglethorpe there were only two opportunities for such work: in the rock quarry or on the access road connecting the camp to the public road. Before the issue of new orders on 28 March 1918, the established rate of pay was \$1.00 per day for

regular workers and \$1.25 for supervisors. On that date the War Department reduced the pay scale to twenty-five cents (thirty-five cents for supervisors). This change was based on reciprocal negotiations with Germany concerning pay for prisoners of war but it came as a shock to the internees and they protested loudly.

On 20 April the executive officer of Fort Oglethorpe headquarters responded with the following notice:

The Commandant has directed me to inform you that all those men who are willing to continue to work on the roads outside, in the rock-pit, as usual, pending definite information regarding the cut in wages, can give their names into the Executive Office by 12 noon this date.

Those men who want to work outside and try to do right will be protected to the full limit against abuse by those who want to make any trouble for them.

The remainder of the men *or all* if none consents to work will be placed on half rations, be confined to the Main Stockade and all privileges taken away from them for an indefinite period.¹⁸

The commandant admitted to neutral camp inspectors that he was trying to isolate troublemakers, mainly those who belonged to "international organizations such as the I.W.W." The upshot was a storm of protest whereby 130 men refused to do any work, including mandatory camp work for the prisoners' comfort or maintenance of facilities. The commandant tried to clarify his orders, asserting that he had not intended to punish anyone for failing to volunteer, but only for disobeying orders to do mandatory camp maintenance. The Swiss commissioners negotiated a settlement on 4 June but there were still sixty men in Camp C at the end of the month. As a matter of principle, these men remained in Camp C on half rations, without mail or canteen privileges rather than work on buildings or other facilities intended not for their own comfort or upkeep, but for newly arrested persons or those transferred from Hot Springs.¹⁹ The protesters were in a minority but they kept Camp B in turmoil as they directed inmates' discontent against heavy-handed administrative practices. They also compelled the commandant to permit more self-regulation among the internees.

There had been an internee committee from the beginning, but it functioned only in Camp A under the leadership of Carl Heynen, the former German consul general at Mexico City. On the recommendation of the Swiss inspection commission, an expanded committee was established to represent Camp B as well. However, this had the effect of increasing rather than resolving friction in the camp. The administrative officers of Fort Oglethorpe preferred to deal with senior inmates in each barracks. Since the determination of seniority privileges was more difficult among civilians than

among military personnel, this caused rivalry and distrust between the committee and barracks seniors. "Orgelsdorf" seethed with discontent throughout the summer and autumn of 1918. The camp magazine *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel* printed the mixed-language slogan:

In B lebd nur das Herdenfieh
In A die Creme von Germany.²⁰

The inhabitants lamented the injustice of their confinement in a constant barrage of letters to the Swiss legation, which was charged with protection of German interests in the United States. They complained of monotonous diet, overcrowded barracks that were too hot in summer and cold in winter, rough and sometimes cruel army guards, inadequate sanitation facilities, and abrupt, incompetent medical care. They even complained of the Swiss commissioners themselves and accused them of being unsympathetic to their plight. They demanded to know why their own government had not aided them by applying reprisals against Americans held in Germany and Austria.²¹

Psychologically, confinement in such a camp produced anxieties, impatience, shifting moods, diminished ability to concentrate, and eccentric behaviors that were already being diagnosed as "barbed-wire sickness."²² Camp officials were generally unsympathetic and, in responding to complaints, exhibited eccentricities of their own. When one prisoner broke his glass eye, he made an official complaint that it would not have happened if he had not been required to work in the rock quarry. The camp doctor said the inmate had dropped the eye himself but condescended to exempt the man from work in dusty places in the future. Another inmate washed his hair in his own urine to convince American and Swiss authorities that he was insane. The camp physicians reported him as quite normal. Complaints that the canteen had not been enlarged in spite of increases in the number of internees elicited the response that the inmates administered the canteen and should order more goods. However, the executive officer did forbid the sale of "luxury items" such as sugar and coffee. Internees complained that camp censors held up delivery of their letters to the Swiss legation and punished them for making legitimate complaints. The American commandant denied this but retained his right to punish those who made false reports.²³

The inmates quarreled among themselves as much as with the camp administration, a sure symptom of barbed-wire sickness. Camp B men complained that the "millionaires" were not required to work and that thieving German bakers and kitchen workers were responsible for food shortages. The merchant seamen detested the "former jailbirds, thieves, and tramps they call Hobos" and joined others in condemning the IWW men. Tunnelers and other would-be escapers were regularly betrayed. *Reich* Germans resented Austrians because the Americans were less hostile toward them.²⁴ Professional jealousies also flared up among the *Prominenten*, especially the musicians.²⁵

Orgelsdorf became a small town. Hated by its citizens, it was nevertheless a community. The common bond was the arbitrary concentration of its population in a remote location because someone with authority regarded them as "dangerous enemy aliens." Interned merchant seamen had been sent to Fort Oglethorpe to settle an administrative problem at Hot Springs camp. The IWW men were swept into camp by a wave of anti-radicalism merged with anti-foreignism. Neither of these groups had much in common with those they called *Prominente* or "millionaires."

Wealthy businessmen such as Rudolf Hecht, a cousin of Otto Kuhn of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and Ernst Fritz Kuhn, also a banker, were considered too influential and knowledgeable to return to Germany or remain at large in America. The same was true of Professor Jonathan Zenneck, a radio specialist who had installed the transmitter at Sayville, Long Island. E. Karl Vietor was in the tobacco business in Richmond, Virginia, where he had been honorary consul of Germany. Among the allegedly dangerous journalists was Count Albrecht Montgelas, a former editor with the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Chicago Examiner*, and contributor to *American Art News* and *Studio*. Waldemar von Nostitz had been editor of the *Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger*, which had printed a justification of the *Lusitania* sinking.²⁶

Why scholars and musicians were sent to Fort Oglethorpe is more difficult to explain. Dr. Karl Oscar Bertling held the Master of Arts degree from Harvard and was an authority on Ralph Waldo Emerson and the New England Transcendentalists. Perhaps his books on the military system of Germany and German-American relations caused him to be denounced. Hanns Heinz Ewers was a widely-traveled novelist, poet, literary critic who praised Edgar Allen Poe for his exploration of altered states of consciousness. He was denounced as a German propagandist, which was certainly true during the period of American neutrality. In 1915 Ewers had published a book of German war songs in Munich that included translations of American, Yiddish, and Irish poems directed against England and Russia.²⁷ Otto Wille and the entire band of the German Red Cross group that had fled Japanese conquerors at Tsingtao, China, were probably detained because no one could think of a better alternative. Richard Goldschmidt had been a biology researcher with a temporary appointment at Yale when he was arrested.²⁸ Like the others, Ernst Kunwalt was puzzled about his designation as a dangerous enemy alien. What could be dangerous about this piano virtuoso, conductor of the Cincinnati Orchestra, music director of the Cincinnati May Festival, member of the Optimists Club, and honored designee of *Who's Who in America* for 1918-19?²⁹ And Karl Muck? How could the maestro of the Boston Symphony Orchestra menace the security of the United States? Muck had been falsely accused of refusing to play "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the opening number of a concert and, of course, of spying for Germany.³⁰

Historians usually characterize the outbreak of anti-German feeling and action during the First World War as hysteria or paranoia. Such clinical

language seems appropriate when one reads that miners in Thermopolis, Wyoming, hanged a stranger who toasted the Kaiser; that an Albany, New York, brewery discharged an Austrian worker who failed to salute the flag; that U.S. Army Private Otto Ludwig was sentenced to seven years hard labor for speaking disrespectfully of President Wilson and the flag; that a sergeant was interned at Fort Oglethorpe for telling his sister he hoped not to fight against his native land; that the Episcopal Church adopted a resolution advocating the death penalty for propaganda; that a Lutheran minister in Corpus Christi, Texas, was publicly whipped for praying in German.³¹

However, hysteria is not a complete diagnosis of the implacable war spirit that took anti-German form between 1914 and 1919. Confluence of a long trend of antiteutonism in America and the quickening of antiradical feeling no doubt contributed to the excesses of those years. The concept of total war may also add to our grasp of the topic. Total war embraces the notion that the great wars of the twentieth century have pitted whole nations against one another without distinctions between civilian and military and without limits or restraints on extension of violence or choice of weapons. Total war is conflict so grand in scale that it draws all of society to its service and imposes total commitment of everyone to annihilate the enemy. Total war is not only a clash between governments and armed forces but a clash of entire cultures and societies. It displays a fierce, implacable war spirit among civilians as well as soldiers. This appears to be inspired by government propaganda but may take on a populist dynamic that pushes authorities beyond their original intentions.³²

Something like this happened in America during the First World War. Eager groups of patriotic citizens, picturing themselves as soldiers of a new sort, tried to fight against the culture of the foe while soldiers of a more conventional sort fought on more conventional battlefields. Imagining the German language itself to be the instrument of "Hun" power in America, they lashed out against the German-language press, school instruction, church services, and publications. Many states forbade the teaching of the German language and public book burning was widespread. The Louisiana legislature banned all use of the German language. Following the National Security League and the American Defense Society, the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs sponsored a "Speak English, Please" indoctrination project.³³

The list of other skirmishes on the cultural battlefields on the home front can be extended indefinitely. Some examples: In the *Atlantic Constitution* the Reverend Newell Dwight Hillis denounced Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as a "universal prostitute," whose renowned drama *Faust* "reeks with his philosophy of fleshliness. One of the inevitable results was the excesses and cruelties of this war."³⁴ A *New York Times* review praised Vicente Blasco Ibanez's book, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* for showing that "the war was inevitable from causes deep in the German national character and education."³⁵ The public safety director in Pittsburgh forbade Austrian and German music, including performances by the beloved Austrian violinist Fritz

Kreisler. Wagner's music was suppressed in New York and Chicago but Cincinnati continued to permit Brahms, Wagner, and Beethoven because these composers were somehow "democratic in their outlook."³⁶ The governor of Maryland threatened violence if Maestro Karl Muck should perform in Baltimore, the home of "The Star-Spangled Banner."³⁷ In the context of this spirit of war between cultures, it seemed proper that scholars, journalists, and artists of enemy nationality should be fought, that cultural "heroes" of enemy nationality should be removed from public view and concentrated in a few places where they could be watched and controlled.

This concentration of talent created the extraordinarily sophisticated cultural community that called itself Orgelsdorf. When they were not working or writing eloquent letters of protest, the burghers of Orgelsdorf created sport clubs and recreational competitions, a school, a schedule of public lectures, a serious theatrical group that staged Henrik Ibsen's *Ghosts* and Hermann Sudermann's *Stein unter Steinen*, a comedy production group called "Gitter-Palast Theater" [Iron Bars Palace Theater], several choral societies, at least three orchestras, and a literary journal. Erich Posselt wrote: "All of those who have spent more than a short time behind barbed wire are more or less crazy and peculiar things grow out of their lame imaginations." But those with hobbies, however strange, are more fortunate than the idle ones, "whose brains are more certain to petrify."³⁸

Sports helped keep the players in sound physical condition and the exertion protected them from the dulling effects of boredom. Chess tournaments were conducted at three class levels. An improvised school offered courses in Italian, Arabic, Physiology, Physics, Spanish, and Japanese. Its founder, Wilhelm Steinforth, was called "Rektor der Universität Oglethorpe."³⁹

Ten editions of the camp magazine *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel* appeared between 15 October 1918 and May 1919. It was edited jointly by "a kind of Bohemian" named Erich Posselt and Hanns Heinz Ewers, the only professional writer in the camp. It was printed on poor quality paper in thirty-page editions of about one hundred copies and sold for twenty-five cents by barracks chiefs and in the canteen.⁴⁰ *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel* was conceived as a community effort and any profits were used to aid inmates without financial means. The journal introduced itself with the boastful rhetoric one might have heard from a local chamber of commerce: "We Orgelsdorfers make up the greatest internment camp in the United States and we regard it as our duty to provide a camp newspaper that measures up to this fact."⁴¹

The name *Eulenspiegel* referred to the fictional character known for his merry pranks; the cover displayed an owl (*Eule*) clutching a mirror (*Spiegel*) while perched in the *O* in "Orgelsdorf." In the final edition, the owl spread its wings and soared to freedom above a cluster of flames. Illustrations were handsomely crafted linoleum and cigar-box woodprints of camp scenes and characters, ships, women, and imaginary comic figures. *Eulenspiegel* featured

humorous dialect verse and prose, serious intellectual discourse and meditations, commentary on events inside and outside the camp, music criticism, and art history.

The magazine was subject to censorship and topics relating to German national feeling had to be addressed with care, especially since many inmates represented themselves as loyal to America. Otto Schaefer described the Strasbourg and Cologne cathedrals as expression of the German heart and soul. He also wrote a patriotic poem encouraging homesick and weary comrades to overcome the anguish of silent moments and to look to the east. The cosmopolitan Albrecht Montgelas challenged this in an eloquent verse advising one first to look inward for the cause of the sickness, then "go with head held high to the east, west, north, or south, wherever your own drive and destiny may call you . . . plant the oak-tree roots of friendship of nations for the good of your own people and for the healing of the world."⁴²

Montgelas knew and respected American art and published in *Eulenspiegel* a critique of nineteenth-century American painting, especially the connection between Germany and the Hudson River School and the influence of a Munich painting exhibit at the San Francisco World's Fair.⁴³

Ernst Fritz Kuhn knew American music but had a low opinion of it. He wrote a critique of ragtime, which he said was not music at all, but only rhythm that, like most American music, came from Negroes before it was discovered by whites such as Louis Hirsch and Irving Berlin. "Is rhythm American? No. Listen to old Hungarian folk music. Syncopation? It was done a hundred times better by Brahms and Liszt." Kuhn also wrote sarcastically about the Boston Symphony Orchestra's quest for a replacement for Karl Muck. Americans would not tolerate an American conductor so it had to be a politically acceptable foreigner. Cincinnati snapped up the violinist Isaye to replace Ernst Kunwalt. Sir Henry Wood turned down the offer to conduct the orchestra because removal of the Germans took out almost all the brass, some woodwinds, and the best violinists. Arturo Toscanini would not be available until 1919. According to Kuhn, Pierre Montieu was not interested. The symphony finally got the "undistinguished" Henri Rabaud, whose opening selection was Beethoven's *Eroica*! Kuhn also published informative short articles on Claude Debussy, Arnold Schönberg, Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky, and Richard Strauss in *Eulenspiegel*.⁴⁴

For some the experience of captivity induced humility and feelings of helplessness. B. Nientiedt closed his "Riddle of the Waves" ("Wellenrätzel") in this vein:

Of eternal waves out of eternal expanses
Out of eternal spaces in eternal times—
What are you, little Man, in the dance of the waves?
A puny craft soon to be shattered.⁴⁵

Referring to the influenza epidemic, Fritz Waern's verses deplored the ego that drove men to behave like supermen until a tiny poisonous insect brought fever, delirium, and apprehension of death. Appeal to the self was in vain and the "great and mighty ego was a great and mighty nothing."⁴⁶

Erich Posselt was less humble and reasserted intense national feeling in his memorial for comrades who died of influenza: "There may be one consolation for us who have been touched and then bypassed by the icy breath of death: that they died as Germans. They were here as Germans, just as we are. And one would be a scoundrel if unwilling to give his life for that!"⁴⁷

When the war ended in November 1918, spirits rose at the prospect of prompt release. The *Eulenspiegel* exulted:

Oh barbed wire, Oh corned beef!
Just now I love you true and deep;
I can no longer hate you.
My eyes are wet, the tears do run;
But for a buxom Rhenish lass
I'd leave you in a minute.
Farewell to colonel and lieutenant
And to all of Dollar Land.
I understand it well and clear
You will praise the Lord
When we are safely on ship board
But I still want out of here!⁴⁸

But not yet! The United States government waited for the signing of peace treaties. It extended the blockade of German seaports and held its internees for another six months. Thereafter, transportation shortages, lingering security anxieties, and administrative insouciance kept the burghers of Orgelsdorf in place for many months until a repatriation agreement was signed in May 1919. A deportation act followed shortly. Even so, three hundred were still in army camps a year after the armistice. The last two hundred were released in March and April 1920 and the camps closed.⁴⁹

Fort Oglethorpe was called an internment camp, which it certainly was. But it was more than that. The German and Austrian civilians held there were not just constrained from leaving the country, they were concentrated to be controlled and disciplined for imagined affronts to the American nation. Compared to internment policies in Europe where some 400,000 aliens were held by enemy governments, the American detainment programs were minuscule.⁵⁰ The miseries of the inmates cannot be compared to the vast inhumanities of the Soviet labor camps or concentration and extermination camps of Nazi Germany. Nevertheless Forts Douglas and Oglethorpe set a precedent and probably provided administrative experience for America's far

more extensive venture in internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.⁵¹

Epilogue

What happened to those who endured the experience? Karl Muck returned in bitterness to Germany and took up his baton at Bayreuth where he flourished as a premier interpreter of Wagner until 1931. His last performance was a Wagner piece at a Hitler rally in Dresden in 1933.⁵² Hanns Heinz Ewers resettled from his world travels in Germany and became a leader of the Reichsverband Deutscher Schriftsteller, which the Nazis dissolved in 1935. Meanwhile in 1932, upon direct request from Hitler, Ewers had written an official biography of Horst Wessel, the street fighting storm trooper whom Joseph Goebbels transformed into a demigod. He then converted this ideological potboiler to a stage play and film script. Ewers neglected to delete the fact that Horst Wessel had lived with a prostitute, which offended the moral sensitivities of some high-ranking Nazis. Ewers became a pawn in a sharp little conflict over ideological priorities between Alfred Rosenberg and Goebbels, which pushed him to the fringes of the German literary community.⁵³

Jonathan Zenneck returned to his post as ordinarius for physics in the Technische Hochschule in Munich.⁵⁴ Karl Oscar Bertling became the director of the Amerika-Institut in Berlin. Albrecht Montgelas became editor of the nationalistic *Vossische Zeitung* and wrote a biography of Abraham Lincoln. E. Karl Vieter was deported but found his way back to Richmond and by 1928 was again in the tobacco business.⁵⁵

Richard Goldschmidt traveled widely and enhanced his international scientific reputation as director of genetics research in the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Institut für Biologie in Berlin. Being Jewish, he fled Germany in 1936 and returned to the United States. There he became an American citizen and completed his career as professor of zoology at the University of California at Berkeley. Goldschmidt published nineteen books and 267 articles, not including a travel account and two sonnets in the *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel*.⁵⁶

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Notes

¹ Richard B. Goldschmidt, *In and Out of the Ivory Tower: The Autobiography of Richard B. Goldschmidt* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960), 176. For Karl Muck's career, see Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1967), 216-22.

² See *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel* (Fort Oglethorpe, Georgia). Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, collection Ts European War: Prisoners and Prisons, O 68. (The only

known file of this inmate-produced magazine of literature and culture was donated to the Hoover Institution by Richard Goldschmidt.) See also United States National Archives (NA), Record Group 407, Box 23: World War I Prisons and Prisoners—Prisoners of War and Alien Enemies in the United States, Subject File (short-form citation: NA RG 407/23).

³ See reports on camp conditions by inspection teams of the Legation of Switzerland. Copies of these are in NA RG 407/73 and in the German Bundesarchiv-Koblenz (BA) Bestand R 85: Restakten des Auswärtigen Amtes: Rechtsabteilung und Handelspolitische Abteilung (Residual documents of the Foreign Office: Legal Section and Trade Policy Section), Aktenband Nr. 4611-13 (short-form citation: BA R 85/4611-13). For this study I have used the German editions in BA R 85.

For statistics and discussions of conditions affecting German nationals and German-Americans in the United States during World War I, I have relied on William Barnes Glidden, "Casualties of Caution: Alien Enemies in America 1917-1919" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois-Urbana, 1970); Frederick C. Luebke, *Bonds of Loyalty: German Americans and World War I* (De Kalb, IL, 1974); Richard B. Speed III, *Prisoners, Diplomats, and the Great War: A Study in the Diplomacy of Captivity* (New York, 1990), 155-66; Alan Kent Powell, *Splinters of a Nation: German Prisoners of War in Utah* (Salt Lake City, 1989), 13-38; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925*, 2d ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 217-22; and Clifton James Child, *The German-Americans in Politics, 1914-1917* (Madison, 1939).

⁴ Erich Franke, "Amerikana," an undated, nine-page typescript by a former inmate of Fort Oglethorpe, BA Bestand R 67: Archiv des Ausschusses für deutsche Kriegsgefangene des Frankfurter Vereins vom Roten Kreuz/Archiv für Kriegsgefangenenforschung (Archives of the committee for German prisoners of war of the Frankfurt Association of the Red Cross/Archives for prisoner-of-war research), Aktenband 533 (short form: BA R 67/533). See also Jörg Nagler, "German Enemy Aliens and Internment in World War I: Alvo von Alvensleben in Fort Douglas, Utah: A Case Study," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 58 (1990): 388-405.

⁵ Howard S. Levie, *Prisoners of War in International Armed Conflicts*, vol. 59 of *Naval War College International Law Studies* (Newport, RI, 1977), 63.

⁶ Quoted in Glidden, 26.

⁷ Presidential Proclamation No. 1364, 6 April 1917, *Papers on Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1918, Supplement 2, 165-68.

⁸ Higham, 210. Speed, 160, says the total was 4,000.

⁹ Glidden, 26.

¹⁰ Higham, 211, 221.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 211-12.

¹² The 870 civilian internees at Fort Douglas came from the area west of the Mississippi River. Powell, 13-38.

¹³ Dr. Carl P. Huebscher and Consul Charles Vuilleumier [Swiss commissioners], *Inspektions-Bericht, Internierungslager Hot Springs, N. C.*, 4-5 December 1917, BA R 85/4611.

¹⁴ *Inspektions-Bericht Hot Springs*, 26-29 August 1918, BA R 85/4612; Glidden, 327.

¹⁵ *Inspektions-Bericht, Fort Oglethorpe*, 3 October 1917, BA R 85/4611; Dr. Ballerstedt (Marine-Stabsarzt und Transportführer der Tsingtauer-Transporte) to Chef der Admiralität (Berlin), 31 October 1919, BA R 85/4613; Glidden, 327.

¹⁶ *Inspektions-Bericht Fort Oglethorpe*, 3 October 1917, BA R 85/4611. See *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel*, New Year's edition, 1919, and the second issue, ca. 1 November 1918, which has a woodcut print of the main street.

¹⁷ Goldschmidt, 175; *Inspektions-Bericht, Fort Oglethorpe*, 3-4 June 1918, BA R 85/4612; Franke, "Amerikana," BA R 67/533.

¹⁸ *Inspektions-Bericht, Fort Oglethorpe*, 3-4 June 1918, BA R 85/4612.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ [Only livestock lives in B/In A the creme of Germany.] *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel*, no. 2 (ca. 1 November 1918).

²¹ In addition to reports by Swiss camp inspectors, conditions were also reported after repatriation by Dr. Ballerstedt (see note 12) and in Gustav Meyer to Anton Meyer-Gerhard (Reichs-Kolonialamt Berlin), 14 October 1919, both in BA R 85/4613; also Franke, "Amerikana," BA R 67/533.

²² A. L. Vischer, *Barbed Wire Disease: A Psychological Study of the Prisoner of War* (London, 1919); see also Speed, 37.

²³ Inspektions-Bericht Fort Oglethorpe, 3-4 June 1918, BA R 85/4612.

²⁴ Glidden, 354; Franke, "Amerikana," BA R 67/533; Fred S. Hockenheimer's appeal for parole denounced the IWW. NA RG 407/12.

²⁵ For example, see Schonberg, 218, for rivalry between Karl Muck and Ernst Kunwalt.

²⁶ Glidden, 217-19, 221-24 has biographical notations on prominent internees. See also *Wer ist's* 9 (1928) for Bertling, Ewers, Goldschmidt, Montgelaß, Muck, Vietor, and Zenneck; *Who's Who in America* 10 (1918-1919) for Ernst Kunwalt; NA RG 407/12 for Carl Heynen and Karl Muck.

²⁷ Hanns Heinz Ewers, *Deutsche Kriegslieder* (Munich, 1915), and *Edgar Allen Poe* (Munich, 1906; English translation, New York, 1917). Ewers also wrote numerous works including *Führer durch die moderne Literatur* (Berlin, 1910), *Der gekreuzigte Tannhäuser und andere Grotesken* (Munich 1917), and a number of grotesque tales, including *Alraune: Geschichte eines lebenden Wesens*, *Vampir*, *Ameisen*, *Die Besessenen*.

²⁸ Goldschmidt, 173-84.

²⁹ Louis R. Thomas, "A History of the Cincinnati Orchestra to 1931" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1972), 424-32.

³⁰ Schonberg, 217-18. James J. Badal, "The Strange Case of Dr. Karl Muck, Who was Torpedoed by *The Star-Spangled Banner* during World War I," *High Fidelity Magazine* 20 (October 1970), 55-59, has excellent pictures. See also Alan Howard Levy, "The American Symphony at War: German-American Musicians and Federal Authorities during World War I," *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 71 (1989): 5-13.

³¹ *New York Times*, passim. 1917-18.

³² The concept of "total war" is regularly applied to World War II and more loosely to the two world wars to express the similarities or bonds of continuity between those two conflicts. Raymond Aron, *The Century of Total War* (Garden City, NY, 1954), 18-19, 28, regards total war as a blend of democracy and industry that emerged late in the nineteenth century to be activated by World War I. Geoffrey Best, *Humanity in Warfare* (New York, 1980), 223, discusses the "sense of indissoluble national unity and common cause" on what is called "the home front."

³³ Luebke, 243, 250-53; *Atlanta Constitution*, 1 December 1918.

³⁴ *Atlanta Constitution*, 1 and 3 December 1918.

³⁵ *New York Times*, 8 December 1918, sec. 7, p. 3.

³⁶ Thomas, 426-27.

³⁷ Badal, 57.

³⁸ *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel*, no. 5 (15 December 1918).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10 (5 May 1919).

⁴⁰ Goldschmidt, 175.

⁴¹ *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel*, no. 1 (15 October 1918).

⁴² *Ibid.*, no. 3 (15 November 1918). Dann blickt auf, und geht erhobenen Hauptes / Nach Osten, Westen, Norden, Sued—wo immer / Der eigne Drang, das Schicksal euch mag rufen / . . . Saet ihr der Voelkerfreundschaft Eichenwurzeln: / Dem eignen Volk zugut, der Welt zur Heilung!

⁴³ Montgelaß, "Amerikana," *Orgelsdorfer Eulenspiegel* nos. 4, 5 (15 December 1918), and New Year's 1919 edition.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, nos. 2, 3, 4, 5.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 3. Von ewigen Wellen aus ewigen Weiten, / Aus ewigen Raemen in ewigen Zeiten— / Was bist du, o Menschlein, im Tanze der Wellen? / Ein winziger Kahn und wirst bald zerschellen.

⁴⁶ Ibid., no. 2. Grosses gewaltiges ICH—Grosses gewaltiges NICHTS.

⁴⁷ Ibid., no. 3.

⁴⁸ "Abschied," *ibid.*, no. 5.

[O Stacheldraht, o Corned Beef
Jetzt lieb ich Euch erst wahr und tief,
Ich kann Euch nicht mehr hassen!
Mein Aug wird feucht, die Traene rennt,
Doch um ein dralles, rheinisch Kind
Will ich Euch gerne lassen.
Herr Oberst und Herr Leutnant
Lebt wohl mitsamt dem Dollarland.
Ich kann es wohl verstehen,
Dass ihr drei Kreuze heimlich macht
Hat man uns erst an Bord gebracht,
Doch gerne moecht ich gehen!]

⁴⁹ Glidden, 397-402.

⁵⁰ Speed, 141.

⁵¹ Jörg Nagler, "Surveillance and Internment of German Enemy Aliens in the United States during World War I," a paper delivered at the annual symposium of the Society for German-American Studies, Indianapolis, 27 April 1990.

⁵² Schonberg, 222.

⁵³ Joseph Wulf, *Literatur und Dichtung im Dritten Reich: Eine Dokumentation* (Vienna, 1983), 113, 157, 162-65, 230. His books about Horst Wessel included *Horst Wessel: Ein deutsches Schicksal* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1932) and *Stürmer! Ein deutsches Schicksal nach dem Buche "Horst Wessel"* (Stuttgart, 1934). Ewers also wrote *Warum haßt man die Deutschen?* (Zürich, 1919) plus an ironic little book with comical drawings about his relatively alcohol-deprived existence at Fort Oglethorpe: *Die traurige Geschichte meiner Trockenlegung* (Berlin, 1927).

⁵⁴ *Wer ist's* (Berlin 1928).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Leonie K. Piternick, ed., *Richard Goldschmidt: Controversial Geneticist and Creative Biologist: A Critical Review of His Contributions* (Basel, 1980); *Wer ist's* 9 (1929).

Stefan H. Rinke

Clio in Exile: The Historiography of Alfred Vagts

More than fifty years after the publication of *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, the work of Alfred Vagts has remained one of the main sources for the history of German-American relations.¹ Like his colleagues Eckart Kehr and George W. F. Hallgarten, Vagts belonged to the outsiders of the German historical profession in the Weimar years because of his unorthodox approach to scholarship. According to historian Hans-Ulrich Wehler, these outsiders shared a group identity despite their different positions.² After Hitler's *Machtergreifung* in 1933, Vagts emigrated to the United States where he lived until his death in 1986.

Like other refugee historians in the United States who did not return, Vagts fell into oblivion in Germany. Since the 1960s, however, their work has been rediscovered by New Left historians who refer to them as their genuine, ideational ancestors in order to create a framework of tradition for their own writing.³ Recently, a renewed interest in the experience of German refugee historians in the United States has been documented by the activities of the German Historical Institute in Washington.⁴

While Vagts's work has rarely been mentioned in terms of American scholarship, Wehler accords him an important place in the German historical tradition. There are two significant reasons for discussing Vagts's work as a prime example of German-American historiography. Firstly, Alfred Vagts spent the greater part of his life in the United States where he published the majority of his studies. Secondly, through his marriage to the daughter of Charles A. Beard, Vagts came into close contact with the leading American historian of his time. Together with Beard, Alfred Vagts published a historiographical essay that is an important document of late progressive thought in America; Vagts also published a revised edition of one of Beard's major works some twenty years after his father-in-law's death.⁵

Although the list of Vagts's publications is extensive, a comprehensive discussion of his work as a whole is still lacking. Apart from Wehler's introduction to an edition of Vagts's essays, scholars east and west of the

Atlantic have generally bypassed his achievements—a tacit admission of the difficulty in placing Vagts comfortably in either the American or the German historical tradition.⁶

This essay will discuss Alfred Vagts's scholarship as an important historiographical bridge between the continents. After a short biographical sketch, a discussion of his work will focus on the two major and interrelated fields of his interest. The first and most important phase of Vagts's achievement centers on the question of the relationship between economics and politics, particularly in the era of imperialism. Vagts's ideas are close to the progressive tradition in American historiography and will be discussed within this framework. In the late 1930s, foreseeing the probability of a new great war, Vagts changed his focus to military history. Although an outgrowth of his earlier work, his research on military matters will be discussed separately.

I

Alfred Vagts was born on 1 December 1892 as a son of a mill owner and farmer in the village Basbeck close to Hamburg.⁷ From 1912 to 1914, Vagts studied German literature and history at the University of Munich. His friendships with a number of expressionist authors and with the famous dramaturge Piscator stimulated Vagts's own literary production and his first publications as an expressionist poet.

In 1914, Vagts entered the First World War as volunteer and became an infantry officer and company commander. Nevertheless, he continued to write. His war poems were published in the social revolutionary journal *Aktion* in 1921. After his discharge from the army, Vagts resumed his studies in Munich and changed his major to history. In these years, he made friends with fellow historians like Kehr and Hallgarten.

More important was Vagts's acquaintance with Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, who was one of the editors of the German diplomatic prewar documents, *Die große Politik der europäischen Kabinette*.⁸ Through the influence of his mentor, Vagts received a teaching position at the new University of Hamburg. From 1923 to 1932 he also published a number of essays and reviews about international relations in Mendelssohn's journal *Europäische Gespräche*.⁹

In 1924-25, Vagts was one of the first German exchange students to the United States. At Yale he prepared his dissertation on Mexican oil policy in connection with American and European influences.¹⁰ In 1927, at the age of thirty-five, he received his doctorate at the University of Hamburg. Thereafter, Vagts began a work on the relationship between Germany and the United States in the period from 1890 to 1906. On request by Mendelssohn to foreign minister Gustav Stresemann, Vagts was granted permission to use the foreign office archives at Berlin.¹¹ A grant by the Rockefeller Foundation from 1927

to 1930 facilitated research in the National Archives. During this stay in the United States, Vagts married Charles A. Beard's daughter, Miriam.

Having almost finished his work in Germany in 1932, Vagts left for London, following the recommendation of Beard who had warned against the rise of National Socialism. After Hitler's *Machtergreifung* in January 1933, Vagts decided to emigrate to the United States. Due to the influence of Beard, his extensive work *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik* was published in New York in 1935.¹² After a talk on current affairs in Germany given to students at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy in Medford, Vagts was deprived of his German citizenship by the Nazi government in 1937.¹³

In the United States, Vagts started to work in the field of military history because he expected the outbreak of a war against Hitler's Germany. The first outgrowth of his new interest was *A History of Militarism* (1937), the scope of which reached from the Middle Ages to the present.¹⁴ In 1938 and 1939 Vagts was a visiting professor of history at Harvard and Radcliffe Colleges. From 1939 to 1942, he was a member of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton University. He published a series of book reviews on German history and international relations in the *American Historical Review*.

After the American entry in the Second World War, Vagts was appointed to the Board of Economic Warfare in 1942. His activities confronted him with the exile's dilemma when he was suspected of still harboring affections for his homeland. In spring 1945, the Office of Strategic Services offered him a position participating in the elaboration of the charges against the German general staff at Nuremberg but Vagts declined. In return, his application for participation in the writing of the official military history of the Second World War was rejected.

Because of the legacy of his father-in-law, Vagts was able to lead a life of financial independence in a country house in the vicinity of New Haven. He did not teach again but published a number of essays and books in military history and in the history of international relations. His last essay appeared in 1982 when Alfred Vagts celebrated his ninetieth birthday. In 1986, he died at the age of ninety-three.¹⁵

II

Vagts's first book was written under the premise of the primacy of economics. In this published version of his dissertation, Vagts discussed the interplay of diplomacy, economics, and public opinion by studying the American-European rivalries in Mexico.¹⁶ Compared to the predominant diplomatic historiography in Germany of its time, Vagts's study was unorthodox to say the least.¹⁷ For Vagts, the economy was "purpose and means, cause and effect of international politics."¹⁸

Apart from his thesis of the primacy of economics, Vagts's first book is significant in the development of his work in so far as it demonstrates a major conflict between his thought and methodology. Although his study is designed to be an "economic-diplomatic" piece of scholarship, the economic level is neglected while Vagts relies almost exclusively on traditional diplomatic sources. As a theoretical break with historiographical traditions, Vagts's first work was an important achievement; in particular his research continued up to the immediate present and thus he succeeded in providing a link between history and political science.

In his monumental, two-volume study of German-American relations in the era of imperialism Vagts was in part able to overcome the flaws in his theoretical concept.¹⁹ This work is still one of the most important contributions in its field and only recently have scholars tried to supersede it.²⁰ In terms of his theoretical approach, Vagts again regarded diplomatic relations as determined chiefly by economic factors.

The activities of diplomats were seen by Vagts as a "profession in the service of the high-capitalistic upper strata of society."²¹ The diplomatic service for Vagts was more of a "representative of the class—than the national—state."²² Vagts's general judgment of the German empire is similar:

Der preußisch-deutsche Staat, angeblich das wichtigste Mittel zur Beeinflussung der Volkswirtschaft (Schmoller), angeblich die spezifischen Interessen, hoch über ihnen stehend, subsummierende, regulierende, harmonisierende, veredelnde Institution, ist faktisch wesentlich eine die mächtigsten Interessen bedienende, Interessendifferenzen und das Vorhandensein von Klasseninteressen verhüllende Autorität.²³

In the beginning chapters of his book, Vagts discussed the economic rivalries and their social implications in the German-American relationship. He found a strong sense of protectionism in the United States. The same was true for Germany where the pressures of the agrarian landed elite caused the leadership to react by setting up protective tariffs as well.

Objectively, however, the clash of economic interests was only a minor source of conflict. According to Vagts, strong interest groups nourished the notion of an "American danger" to the German economy that loomed in legislative discussions, diplomatic correspondence, and newspaper editorials. German immigrants and German-Americans did not fulfill the imperialist hopes of some of the leaders in their old fatherland. In most cases, they were rapidly assimilated and were not willing to serve imperial interests, prompting the German government to study methods of directing emigrants to South America.

On the diplomatic level, a combination of economic interests and matters of prestige was responsible for the creation of various tensions, especially after

the Spanish-Cuban-American war and the Manila incident. Hence, the Samoan tangle and the competition with regard to the Caribbean were on both sides chiefly caused by the naval lobbies that propagated the necessity of a strong navy.

Vagts maintained that both in the Far East and in Venezuela economic interests were involved. But the Far East remained an area of German-American cooperation for the sake of the Open Door policy in China despite the fact that Germany had acquired a sphere of interest and the United States had not. In Venezuela, on the other hand, the most severe crisis in the relationship between the United States and Germany prior to the First World War emerged.

The German failure to secure genuine support from Roosevelt was best illustrated by the impact of the United States on the First Moroccan crisis and the Algeiras conference. President Roosevelt's diplomacy helped to defeat the German claims to a sphere of influence in Morocco. Vagts read this as a preventive action on the part of Washington in order to nip the growing German power in the bud. Somewhat bitterly he directed attention to the parallel of the events in 1906 and 1918. Thus, German attempts to harmonize the German-American relationship were doomed to fail in the long run. Only as long as the German and American aims did not cross each other was there an atmosphere of mutual goodwill. But as soon as these interests collided each power tried to take advantage of the other.

In addition to the economic causes, American imperialism was influenced by personalities like Theodore Roosevelt. German imperialism could also be traced to economic factors and was influenced by the "feudal" character of German diplomacy personified in leaders like Kaiser Wilhelm II, Friedrich von Holstein, and Bernhard von Bülow. In both countries imperialism was impelled by forceful capitalistic and pressure groups.

At the time of its publication, the study was considered "the most lengthy and thorough work thus far written on any phase of the diplomatic history of the United States."²⁴ The very fact that many of the German sources available in the early 1930s have not survived the Second World War makes a close reading of this book obligatory for anyone interested in the topic. Furthermore, Vagts's approach was modern by integrating the economic, social, and diplomatic levels in a balanced way.

The book was completely ignored in Nazi Germany when it was published in 1935. In the United States, on the other hand, Vagts's work was without exception reviewed positively.²⁵ Apart from Samuel F. Bemis, the reviewers stressed the importance of Vagts's progressive approach to history.

In comparison to his former work, Vagts's masterpiece is of higher quality. Nevertheless, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten* again revealed the basic problems in his writings. Vagts's approach to diplomatic history is the attempt to delineate the sum total of foreign affairs, including all social and economic influences. In Vagts's theory this may well be the case;

methodologically, however, he offers nothing new. He chiefly uses the classic diplomatic sources and even his newspaper citations are taken from diplomatic correspondence.²⁶ Moreover, historian Reiner Pommerin has pointed out:

Ihm [Vagts] wurde nicht alles in Frage kommende Material vorgelegt, und außerdem mußte er die von ihm angefertigten Aktenauszüge der Aufsicht vorlegen, bekam aber nicht alle Notizen zurück. Falls sein Buch in Deutschland erschienen wäre, hätte er das Manuskript dem Auswärtigen Amt vor der Veröffentlichung vorlegen müssen.²⁷

Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten suffers from its sheer size and complex style. Since Vagts was unable to consult unpublished British records, he repeatedly overemphasizes the German side. His findings on the diplomatic level did add new interpretations to the existing scholarship. But these are hidden under a wealth of details.

The most important difficulty with Vagts's theoretical concept lies not so much in his theory of imperialism but in his claim of objectivity. He noted that the national perspective of an author usually does have an influence on a study of bilateral relations and requested of the nationalists of both countries not to use his results in a one-sided way against each other. Vagts himself, however, was convinced that he had been able to avoid the danger of a biased perspective:

Wir selbst glauben, derartigem einseitig politischen Standort ferngeblieben zu sein und auch aus zweien denken und empfinden zu können. . . . Als freier, nicht bürokratisch und nicht nationalistisch gebundener Historiker, der nur in ganz wenigen Exemplaren vorkommt, glauben wir uns für einen Beobachterplatz gegenüber der imperialistischen Konkurrenz immerhin qualifiziert.²⁸

A close reading of this book reveals that Vagts's qualifications were not as strong as he would like to believe. Although Vagts was free from a biased nationalist point of view his participation in the First World War determined his interpretations. In his opinion, the German side was responsible for the imperialistic war whose senselessness he now comprehended.²⁹ His severe judgment of the political leadership in Germany was to a large degree caused by this basic assumption. When the book was published in 1935, Vagts had experienced the shock of exile and was keen on stressing the new danger of National Socialism.

Pommerin has recently argued that Vagts's concept of rivalry as the major explanation of international relations in the era of imperialism is too restricted to be sufficient.³⁰ From another perspective his colleague Ragnild Fiebig-von Hase has shown that the notion of the "American peril" had more substance

to it than Vagts believed.³¹ Moreover, Fiebig-von Hase has pointed out that Vagts's work was part of a development in the scholarship on German-American relations that corresponded to the state of political relations between the two countries in the 1920s:

Erst während der 1920er Jahre bemühten sich deutsche und amerikanische Historiker im Interesse einer deutsch-amerikanischen Annäherung um ein objektiveres Bild, das jedoch nun häufig so positiv gezeichnet wurde, daß die bestehenden Interessengegensätze vollständig verwischt wurden.³²

Although Vagts began to shift the focus of his interest to military history in the late 1930s, he continued to publish a number of essays on diplomatic relations in the era of imperialism. As he had explored all levels of international relations in his monumental masterpiece, he was later concerned with a wide variety of aspects ranging from the impact of multinational banks to the efforts of Andrew Carnegie on behalf of the peace movement.³³ These articles essentially reiterated the underlying interpretation of his magisterial study on German-American relations.

In general, Vagts's commitment to the topic of imperialism was one of the main connecting themes in his work. While he had never formulated an elaborated theory of imperialism of his own, Vagts's concept can best be described as Schumpeterian. Vagts's notion of imperialism had a basis in Marxist theory in so far as he was aware of the strong impact of economic pressure and continuous class conflict on imperialistic rivalries. He deviated considerably from the doctrine, however, when he rejected the notion of the control of capitalism over the state.

Thus, Vagts followed Schumpeter in taking the irrational level as an explanatory factor. Both were agreed that imperialism was not the highest stage of capitalism. Rather, imperialism had to be interpreted as the product of the consequences of an older social structure within a developing capitalistic system. According to Schumpeter, imperialism is a phenomenon of transition on the path of a triumphant capitalism.³⁴ Vagts adopted Schumpeter's idea that imperialism was caused by a basic atavism in a society where a fusion of nationalism and militarism were a heritage of feudalism and were neither able nor willing to adjust to the modern industrial environment. Indeed Vagts categorized the members of the German diplomatic corps as well as of the military as representatives of this feudal past. It is unclear as to how far Vagts followed Schumpeter's concept that a complete capitalism would eventually leave no room for imperialistic ventures. Both shared, however, the concept of *objektlos* quasi-irrational expansion as the sign of imperialism.

When Vagts emigrated in 1933, his historical thought had much in common with the dominant progressive concept in the United States.³⁵ Like the Progressive historians, Vagts was mainly concerned with the relationship

of politics and economics. Thus, international relations were to a large extent determined by economic motives. When Vagts touched upon society, he pictured it divided into classes, and stressed the pattern of conflict which precluded unity in Germany as well as in the United States. In addition, Vagts's concern was a useable past, an admonition for a better future. Particularly with regards to the decline of democracy in Europe in the 1920s and 1930s, Vagts emphasized the catastrophic outcome of excessive nationalism. On the other hand, these similarities to the progressive concept should not be overstressed because Vagts was not primarily concerned with American history.

Apart from the fact that Vagts, through his publications on the German-American relationship, contributed to American historiography, he also exerted an influence through his father-in-law, Charles A. Beard. Although the extensive secondary literature on Beard is usually silent about Vagts, his role in the shifting historical concept of his father-in-law was important.³⁶

Under the guidance of Vagts, Charles Beard became acquainted with German historical thought on a trip to Europe in 1927. Shortly after his emigration, Vagts introduced Beard to Karl Heussi's *Die Krisis des Historismus* (Tübingen, 1932). Heussi discussed the changes in post-First World War German historiography and found out that at the core of the "crisis of historicism" lay a "loss of faith in the possibility of an objective study of history."³⁷ As historian Peter Novick has recently pointed out, it is difficult to evaluate the precise degree to which German thought influenced Beard.³⁸ Nevertheless, Heussi's work became instrumental in Beard's shift from scientific history and determinism to relativism, individuals, and ideas in his search for the preservation of traditional values in the chaos of depression America.³⁹

One outgrowth of this shift in Beard's attitude is revealed in an essay on historiography that Beard published in 1936 with Vagts as coauthor.⁴⁰ Although the main body of "Currents of Thought in Historiography" was essentially a review of Friedrich Meinecke's *Die Entstehung des Historismus* (München, 1936), the two authors made a number of significant statements in the introduction and conclusion that constitute important modifications in their conception of history. Vagts and Beard start out with the demand for "an interpretation of history as actuality" and a warning that the historian "cannot remain in an ivory tower" while facing a crisis in government and economy.⁴¹ Also striking was the concept of ideas as an independent force in the shaping of history. According to the authors, "ideas march, divide, and come into conflict with themselves, with or without the relation to the world of external events."⁴² In their criticism of historicism and "the limitation of history to the world of the recorded and observable," Beard and Vagts accepted the idea of relativity:

Ideas change in the minds of thinkers through inner examination and under the impacts of interests, psychological and material. Interests, both psychological and material, change under the impact of ideas.⁴³

Thus, as "each historian does have his 'scheme of reference' or his operating conception of values, truth, and importance," objectivity is impossible and historical relativity becomes the norm.⁴⁴ This relativity does not, however, imply chaos because it "is checked by the recognition of the fact that there are not available as many distinct schemes of reference as there are historians."⁴⁵ Historical scholarship will continue to regard the critical method of historicism, but the limitations to objectivity must be taken into account.

Vagts and Beard continued their cooperation on historiographical questions in the Committee on Historiography of the Social Science Research Council, of which both were members. Vagts, however, did not contribute to the committee's main publication of 1946.⁴⁶ Under the patronage of Beard, Alfred Vagts made a name for himself in the American historical profession. His major focus of interest, however, did not rest upon historiographical matters or international relations but shifted again to military history.

III

This shift in interests is indicated in Vagts's publication of *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military* in 1937.⁴⁷ For a period of roughly fifteen years, Vagts's focus of interest remained exclusively on military matters, and only since the early 1950s did he again begin to diversify the topics of his research.⁴⁸

Vagts's new interest in militarism, however, was not as radical a break in the continuity of his work as it may seem on first sight. Already in *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten* he had pointed to the importance of the military lobbies in Germany and the United States in fanning the flames of imperialism and had made it clear that he basically regarded militarism and imperialism to be coeval terms.

After the experience of exile and expatriation, Vagts decided to concentrate exclusively on the most virulent problem of his time, militarism and the relationship of the civilian and military branches of society. In his early works, Vagts had demonstrated his awareness of the problems of his immediate present and had tried to trace their historical origins. Focusing on military history, Vagts was additionally able to profit from his own experience of service in the First World War.

Ultimately, however, Vagts began his research on the history of militarism because he was aware of an imminent war. Vagts wrote in the preface of the second edition of *A History of Militarism*:

This book was originally written and published on the eve of the Second World War, in the early expectation of a large conflict to come, into which the war-unwilling democracies would be drawn at a time when they might not be prepared for the worst, when there was a danger that they might prove unprepared thanks to a militarism on part of the soldiers which would limit their best efficiency and impede the highest usefulness of their arms.⁴⁹

A History of Militarism is Vagts's most important book on the topic. As in all his later monographs, Vagts approached his topic from a general perspective and discussed militarism from feudal times up to the Cold War. As the historian Robert G. Albion has concluded:

This book is not an analysis of strategy, tactics, supply, and other essentially military features. It is rather a study of the military caste in its social and political aspects.⁵⁰

The distinction between the military and militarism was crucial to Vagts's book. While the military focuses on winning a specific objective and thus is limited to this one function, militarism has a decisively different character:

Militarism . . . presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes. Indeed, militarism is so constituted that it may hamper and defeat the purposes of the military way. Its influence is unlimited in scope. It may permeate all society and become dominant over all industry and arts. Rejecting the scientific character of the military way, militarism displays the qualities of caste and cult, authority and belief.⁵¹

Like imperialism, militarism tends "to extend dominion."⁵² Both the imperialist and the militarist utilize the concept of tradition as proof of the rightness of their beliefs. While, as Vagts pointed out, the military is necessary and useful, it may become a threat if militarism prevails.

According to Vagts, the lack of critical treatments of the military helped to foster the romantic illusions of comradeship in historiography and thus militarization itself. The army was too often represented as existing in a vacuum outside the interdependence of economic and social factors. Vagts concluded that the stage of development of the military directly reflected "the stage of social progress" and that furthermore "army conditions reflect the state of society generally."⁵³

Not only in terms of temporal but also of geographical scope was Vagts's study overwhelming. While a discussion of militarism necessarily had to concentrate on its most ardent representative, Germany, Vagts did not neglect

other European nations, Japan, and the United States. Concerning the United States, he emphasized the fact that the American Revolution was in part an answer to the perceived threat of a standing army in the Colonies. The American constitution, then, confirmed civilian control over the military, which in itself was a major break with historical tradition. According to Vagts, "militarism with its glamour and hard service scarcely got a hold on the American imagination until the opening of the twentieth century."⁵⁴ Although the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt saw a rise of militarization in the United States, the share of officers in politics and power remained comparatively weak.

Finally, Vagts concluded that militarism can basically be divided into three major stages in which a permanent "osmosis of thought between the nations" guaranteed a wide distribution of militaristic thought.⁵⁵ The scheme of the standing army that originated in England in the seventeenth century was followed by the concept of the mass army, first practiced by France in the Napoleonic wars. The climax was reached in Germany with the concept of the armed society in which militarism was considered to be a good in itself.

Vagts compared Fascism and Communism and found a number of similarities in the specific importance of the army and the penetration of the whole society by military ideas. On the other hand, he also found a decisive difference in their aims:

The Bolshevik state indeed offered the theoretical promise that the military bondage of the present was only a transition period to a millenium in which all force will be ended; it does not exalt military exertion and expenditure as good in themselves. By contrast, the militarism of the Third Reich expected even theoretically to endure one or two thousand years, for it is the essence of that Empire.⁵⁶

The historian Volker R. Berghahn has called Vagts's approach "one of the fullest and most important attempts to come to terms with the problem of militarism."⁵⁷ Indeed, Vagts tried to integrate the non-Marxist arguments in the lively debate that had followed the end of the First World War. Hence, he stood in the tradition of the republican critics of militarism in Weimar Germany. Vagts approached the phenomenon from the viewpoint of the history of ideas and had little to tell about the technological or bureaucratic aspects of militarism.

In general, Vagts maintained the distinction between the military and militarism and the notion of the threat of the martial spirit throughout the latter part of his work. Essentially, he considered the military to be useful and necessary. Vagts was not, however, so much of a military historian as to lose himself in the analysis of strategy or tactics. In *A History of Militarism* and the monographs which followed it, Vagts sought to emphasize the social and

political implications of the military caste, a goal which he succeeded in attaining.⁵⁸

A bibliography of Alfred Vagts's publications reflects the diversity of his interests: economic and social history, military matters, international relations, and political ideas were the subjects that this historian studied with a high degree of mastery. Although in the later part of his work Vagts was unable to follow the new approaches of quantification in social history, his concept of the past was modern and progressive at the peak of his creativity in the 1930s. In the context of German historiography it was even iconoclastic.

Due to the limited scope of this essay, many interesting aspects of Vagts's work have only been touched upon. The complexity and diversity of his scholarship is greater than this overview could represent. In retrospect, however, a number of significant continuities emerge. Alfred Vagts never left the comparative level and all his publications are marked by enlightening cross-references through time and space. In his extensive studies, Vagts achieved the beneficial and rare combination of general history and scholarly seriousness.

Without depreciating the importance and validity of Vagts's comparative approach to history, the history of Germany in the era of imperialism can definitely be regarded as his center of interest. This focus can be traced to his own experience of the defeat of Germany in the First World War, a defeat for which he held the German side to blame. His theory of imperialism not only reflects his awareness of the importance of economic factors, but also shows how Vagts, as a supporter of a republican form of government, tried to deal with the irrationality of militarism.

In retrospect Vagts asked himself whether his approach in the 1920s and 1930s was more that of an historian or a political scientist and found the answer that both categories were hardly distinguishable.⁵⁹ Indeed the most important feature of Vagts's work is his continuous interest in and concern with the problems of his own present without succumbing to the danger of presentism. Vagts successfully avoided the "ivory tower," and the results of his historiography as well as the formulation of his questions served the purpose of understanding the confusion of his days through an insightful examination of the past.

Alfred Vagts deserves more substantial treatment in the form of a full-scale biography not only because of the adventurous character of his life but also because of the quality of his writing. He is an important part of that bridge across the ocean that constituted the exchange of ideas and influenced the American historical profession as well as many years later its German counterpart.

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Notes

¹ A preliminary version of this article was written for the graduate seminar of Bernard Sternsher at Bowling Green State University in 1988. I wish to thank Thomas S. Edwards, Catherine Epstein, Silke Schmidt, Bernard Sternsher, Detlef F. Vagts, Hans-Ulrich Wehler and several anonymous reviewers for their support and comments.

² Hans-Ulrich Wehler, "Einleitung," in Alfred Vagts, *Bilanzen und Balancen: Aufsätze zur internationalen Finanz und internationalen Politik*, ed. Hans-Ulrich Wehler (Frankfurt: Syndikat, 1979), 7.

³ In Germany especially Wehler has taken up the task of "rediscovering" these scholars. Apart from *Bilanzen und Balancen*, he has edited a collection of essays by Eckart Kehr: *Der Primat der Innenpolitik: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur preußisch-deutschen Sozialgeschichte im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M.: Syndikat, 1965). For the German historiographical context of both Wehler and Vagts see Georg G. Iggers, *The German Conception of History: The National Tradition from Herder to the Present*, 2d ed. (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan UP, 1983), 229-93. For overviews of the emigration of German historians to the U.S. see idem, "Die deutschen Historiker in der Emigration," *Geschichtswissenschaft in Deutschland: Traditionelle Positionen und gegenwärtige Aufgaben*, ed. Bernd Faulenbach (München: Beck, 1974), 97-111; and especially Joachim Radkau, *Die deutsche Emigration in den USA: Ihr Einfluß auf die amerikanische Europapolitik, 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Bertelsmann, 1971).

⁴ Cf. *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute, Washington, D.C.*, no. 4 (Spring 1989).

⁵ Charles A. Beard and Alfred Vagts, "Currents of Thought in Historiography," *American Historical Review* 41 (1935-36): 460-83; Charles A. Beard, *The Idea of National Interest: An Analytical Study in American Foreign Policy*, ed. with new material by Alfred Vagts and William Beard (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1966).

⁶ Wehler, "Einleitung," *Bilanzen und Balancen*, 7-11.

⁷ Vagts's papers are in the German Federal Archives at Koblenz. I am preparing a full-scale biography of Alfred Vagts. To date, Wehler's introduction to *Bilanzen und Balancen* provides the best biographical sketch. Based on Wehler is Michael Huhn's essay: "Europäische Gespräche - Eine außenpolitische Zeitschrift der Weimarer Zeit," *Wissenschaftliche Verantwortung und politische Macht*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Gantzel (Hamburg: Reimer, 1986), 116-22. Additional information has been supplied by Catherine Epstein of the German Historical Institute in Washington, D.C..

⁸ Albrecht Mendelssohn Bartholdy, J. Lepsius, and F. Thimme, eds., *Die große Politik der europäischen Kabinette*, 40 vols. (Berlin: Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft für Politik und Geschichte, 1922-27).

⁹ See *Bilanzen und Balancen*, 303-4; for Vagts's simultaneous activity at the Institut für Auswärtige Politik see *Kolonialrechtswissenschaft, Kriegsursachenforschung, Internationale Angelegenheiten*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Gantzel (Baden: Nomos, 1983), 1-111, especially Alfred Vagts, "Erinnerungen an Hamburg, 1923-1932," 97-111.

¹⁰ Alfred Vagts, *Mexiko, Europa und Amerika unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Petroleumpolitik: Eine wirtschafts-diplomatische Untersuchung*, (Berlin: W. Rothschild, 1928). The doctoral advisors were Adolf Rein and Otto Westphal.

¹¹ While Wehler emphasizes Vagts's special status as a user of the archives ("Einleitung," 9), the historian Reiner Pommerin points out that Vagts held a normal permit (*Der Kaiser und Amerika: Die USA in der Politik der Reichsleitung, 1890-1914* [Köln-Wien: Böhlau, 1986], 21).

¹² Alfred Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten in der Weltpolitik*, 2 vols. (New York and London: Macmillan, 1935).

¹³ Information by Detlev F. Vagts.

¹⁴ Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1937).

¹⁵ Alfred Vagts, "Andrew Carnegie and Wilhelminic Germany," *Amerikastudien* 27 (1982): 413-31.

¹⁶ Vagts, *Mexiko, Europa und Amerika*, passim.

¹⁷ For example the classical book by Erich Brandenburg (*From Bismarck to the World War* [London: Oxford UP, 1927]) where the economic and social levels are not discussed at all.

¹⁸ Vagts, *Mexiko, Europa und Amerika*, 6. For stylistic reasons I have translated some of the quotations.

¹⁹ Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 2 vols. Originally, the book was written as the author's *Habilitationsschrift*. Because of Vagts's exile it was never submitted to a German university.

²⁰ The two most important new books in the field are Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika* (see n. 11) and Ragnhild Fiebig-von Hase, *Lateinamerika als Konflikttherd der deutsch-amerikanischen Beziehungen, 1890-1903: Vom Beginn der Panamerikapolitik bis zur Venezuelakrise von 1902/03*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986).

²¹ Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1:526.

²² *Ibid.*, 625.

²³ *Ibid.*, 189.

²⁴ See Samuel F. Bemis, "Review of Vagts: *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*," *American Historical Review* 42 (1936-37): 158.

²⁵ Apart from Bemis's review see those of Louis L. Snyder in *Political Science Quarterly* 51 (1936): 624-26; R. B. Mowat in *English Historical Review* 51 (1936): 715-17; Harold H. Sprout in *American Political Science Review* 30 (1936): 779-81; and the review article by Lester B. Shippee, "German-American Relations, 1890-1914," *Journal of Modern History* 8 (1936): 479-88.

²⁶ See Bemis, "Review," 158.

²⁷ Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika*, 9.

²⁸ Vagts, *Deutschland und die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1:xx.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Pommerin, *Der Kaiser und Amerika*, 5-10.

³¹ Fiebig-von Hase, *Lateinamerika als Konflikttherd*, 1:330-31.

³² *Ibid.*, 41. As an American example of this tendency Fiebig-von Hase cites Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1937).

³³ The essays are: "M. M. Warburg & Co.: Ein Bankhaus in der deutschen Weltpolitik, 1905-1933," *Bilanzen und Balancen*, 36-94 (originally published in *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 45 (1958): 289-388; "Die Juden im amerikanisch-deutschen imperialistischen Konflikt vor 1917," *Amerikastudien* 24 (1979): 56-71; "Andrew Carnegie and Wilhelminic Germany," *Amerikastudien* 27 (1982): 413-31.

³⁴ See Joseph A. Schumpeter, "The Sociology of Imperialism," in *idem, Imperialism and Social Classes*, ed. with an introduction by Paul M. Sweezy (New York: Kelley, 1951), 3-130. For a discussion of Schumpeter's theory see Wolfgang J. Mommsen, *Imperialismstheorien*, 3d ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987), 21-26.

³⁵ For this and the following discussion see Gene Wise, *American Historical Explanations: A Strategy for Grounded Inquiry*, 2d ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 82-110.

³⁶ See for example Lloyd R. Sorensen, "Charles A. Beard and German Historiographical Thought," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 42 (1955-56): 274-87; Forrest McDonald, "Charles A. Beard," *Pastmasters: Some Essays on American Historians*, ed. Marcus Cunliffe and Robin W. Winks (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 110-41; Richard Hofstadter, *The Progressive Historians: Turner, Beard, and Parrington* (New York: A. Knopf, 1968); Robert Skotheim, *American Intellectual Histories and Historians* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1966). The only scholar who mentions the connection is John Higham et al., *History: The Development of Historical Studies in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1965), 126.

³⁷ Iggers, *The German Conception*, 241. For the historiographical context of Heussi's work see pp. 241-42.

³⁸ Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The "Objectivity Question" and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge UP, 1988), 158.

³⁹ See in particular Higham, *History*, 125-31.

⁴⁰ Beard and Vagts, "Currents of Thought." As it is not clear which of the two authors wrote which parts, the essay will be considered to be a genuine coproduction. For the problem of coauthorship in Beard's writings compare the insightful essay of Nancy F. Cott, "Two Beards: Coauthorship and the Concept of Civilization," *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 274-300.

⁴¹ Beard and Vagts, "Currents of Thought," 460.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 461.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 479.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 480.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Theory and Practice in Historical Study*. For the significance and context of this study the major contributor to which was Charles Beard compare Higham, *History*, 130-31.

⁴⁷ All quotations from 2d ed. (New York: Meridian Books, 1959).

⁴⁸ Compare the bibliography of Vagts's work in *Bilanzen und Balancen*, 303-6.

⁴⁹ *A History of Militarism*, 11.

⁵⁰ Robert G. Albion, "Review of Vagts: *A History of Militarism*," *American Historical Review* 44 (1938-39): 318.

⁵¹ *A History of Militarism*, 11.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 15.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 103.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 408.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 411.

⁵⁷ Volker R. Berghahn, *Militarism: The History of an International Debate, 1861-1979* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 38; for what follows see *ibid.*, 38-43.

⁵⁸ The books are: Alfred Vagts, *Defense and Diplomacy: The Soldier and the Conduct of Foreign Relations* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1956); *idem*, *The Military Attaché* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1967); an exception in this regard is Vagts's *Landing Operations: Psychology, Tactics, Politics from Antiquity to 1945* (Harrisburg, PA: Military Service Publishing Company, 1946) which is only of minor importance. An additional book is *Deutsch-Amerikanische Rückwanderung: Probleme, Phänomene, Statistik, Politik, Soziologie, Biographie* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1960), in which only the biographical data of repatriation is noteworthy.

⁵⁹ Vagts, "Erinnerungen an Hamburg," 98 (see n. 9).



Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
University of Cincinnati

Review Essay: Belles Lettres

Informative Definitionen.

By Rita Terras. Providence, RI: Trebusch, 1989. 25 pages.

Santa Fe, Etc. Etc. Etc.: Gedichte & Skizzen/Poems & Sketches.

By Peter Pabisch. Austin, TX: Dimension, 1990. 77 pages. \$12.00.

Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag: Ausgewählte Gedichte und Essays.

By Ernst Waldinger. Edited by Karl-Markus Gauß. Salzburg: Otto Müller, 1990. 232 pages. öS 248.00.

Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika: Gedichte.

Edited by Lisa Kahn and Werner Kitzler. Freeman, SD: Pine Hill, 1990. 63 pages. \$10.00.

Informative Definitionen is the second poetry collection of the German-born author Rita Terras. Eight years have passed since the publication of her first, *Unterwegs* (1981), but one can recognize similarities in subject matter, simplicity of style, images (especially color), metaphors, and the distinctive poetic voice. None of her poems is longer than a page. The form varies in both collections.

Terras, born and raised in Bremen, came to Chicago in 1952 and earned a Ph.D. in German from the University of Wisconsin. From 1972 until her recent retirement she taught at Connecticut College. Her research concentrates on twentieth-century literature and, as can be seen in the numerous allusions made in both volumes of her poetry, German Classicism and Romanticism. Through the years she has maintained her interest in

writing poems and has constantly renewed her ties to Europe by frequently traveling between the two worlds.

The main theme of her latest volume centers around the concept of language, broadly defined from a personal to a more existential point of view. Languages as a poetic motif is the topic of the opening poem, "Schreiben," which deals with the difficult task of a poet who searches for the ultimate meaning of words, knowing that they have an existential function: "Sprache bleibt ein Buch mit sieben Siegeln / Öffnen kann man nur eins / Das der Kommunikation / . . . / Warum nicht nie wieder schreiben?" (5). The last poem as well takes up this theme and thus balances the collection as a whole.

Language is also linked to expressing ideas, especially abstract philosophical concepts. As expected from the title, *Informative Definitionen*, the reader encounters lists of nouns, in a nominal style, used to define concepts such as freedom ("Freiheit" [12]), life ("DAS Leben—EIN Leben" [13]), eternity ("Ewigkeit" [16]), time ("Die Zeit" [17]), existence ("Dasein" [18]), dimensions ("Dimensionen" [19]), numbers ("Die 8" [21]) and the past ("Vergangenheit" [24]). It is apparent from these titles that language is closely linked to the other dimensions of human life, existence, time, and space—the main themes of the collection.

Time, or rather a timeless zone where the past and the present are constantly interacting ("Ist / Vergangenes gegenwärtig gesehen / Ist / Gegenwart / Grammatisch vergangen ausgedrückt" [24]), is central to this collection and is also connected to another thematic category pervasive in the latest poems: the process of aging and transience. Variations of this theme recur throughout the collection.

In Terras's verse, time is an all-encompassing philosophical term that includes opportunity as well as confinement, that which lasts as well as a fleeting moment. Her lyrical style, which is at times explosive, at times reflective, alternates between nominal and verbal structures, thereby contributing to the poems' movements and constantly shifting focus. The diction links colloquial words ("Die Zeit / läuft ständig vorbei / Sie ist futsch, weg, erledigt" [17]) and specialized scientific terms ("Lupe," "Helium," "aus einer chemischen Wahlverwandtschaft")—always a convincing technique to synchronize two different views. One of the most memorable poems illustrating that shifting movement is "Die Zeit":

Die Zeit

läuft ständig vorbei
Sie ist futsch, weg, erledigt
vorbei auf immer und ewig

Es ist nicht wahr
was Uhren und Wissenschaft sagen

daß Zeit in zwölf Stunden oder zwei Tagen
wiederkehren wird

Ich träume, schlafe, denke, schreibe
die Zeit rast, links und rechts, vorn und hinten
vorbei, vorbei, vorbei
niemand kann sie halten

Sie geht, eilt, läuft, rennt
und springt aus dem Nichts in das Nichts
mahndend, drohend, kichernd, stöhnend
vorbei

Die neue Zeit wird alte Zeit
Die neuere Zeit ist—war—vorbei

Alte Zeit zieht neue Zeit nach sich
Nur meine Zeit läuft unaufhaltsam ab (17)

The lines "Es ist nicht wahr / was Uhren und Wissenschaft sagen" epitomize perhaps what Terras means by *Informative Definitionen*: diversity and shifting view points, reflecting polar perspectives.

It is therefore not surprising that we encounter a critical perspective of life in America; significantly the references to America are much more pervasive in the new collection. A critical attitude toward the new homeland is often found in German-American authors, but Terras is both captivated and repelled by cultural traditions. The poem "Amerikanischer Erfolg" (10) exemplifies this ambiguous attitude toward America: an ironic attraction to economic opportunities ("Go West, young man, go West / Dort gibt es Gold"), social opportunities ("Es schwitzt nicht mehr / Es glänzt / Erobert Washington / Und dient dem Staat") as well as educational and cultural benefits ("Und wenn man Opernhäuser stiftet / Schulen baut / Und Bildergalerien bestückt"), but a critical tone is apparent toward the end of the poem when individuals are made uniform by the system and thus lose their colorful differences: "Dann sind die Brown und Ames Brüder / Aufgerückt / Christlich und farblos / In die Klasse der Brahmanen" (10).

A poet who writes even more extensively about his impression of America (the Southwest) and his native Austria is Peter Pabisch. His fourth volume of poetry, *Santa Fe*, continues in the tradition of his previous works: His favorite subjects are nature (the landscape of New Mexico and parts of Europe) and memories of Europe (especially Vienna and Berlin). *Santa Fe*, however, has a dual-language format, and is therefore accessible to those with an interest in German-American authors, but lacking a knowledge of German. The Viennese-born poet has lived in the United States since 1969. By frequently

visiting Europe and spending time teaching at the Pedagogical Institute in Vienna (1985-86) he regularly renews his ties to his native land.

The volume under review is enhanced by thirty-eight sketches by the author, some of them illustrating the poems, others standing alone. The first—for the most part very brief—poems focuses on animals in the Albuquerque zoo and people looking at them. Drawings of animals and people at local restaurants follow. Santa Fe is the focus of the next set of poems, primarily nature poems presented in a humorous fashion using playful puns. In "Santa Fe," for example, we read: "canyon road / can yon road? / yon can road! / which yon? / which road? / yon can't road?" (27). The illustrations which follow show specific locations in and around Santa Fe (road, hotel, restaurant, cathedral, opera). The presence of people in most of the sketches reveals the poet's emotional involvement. The sketches depict their subjects in an exaggerated pictorial detail, which is also characteristic of Pabisch's poetical style. One such poem, "James River, South Dakota" (45), describes every detail one could observe there: the cool morning wind, the song of birds, the sun, the thirst of the traveler, meadows, trees, a police car, even a mosquito. A typical landscape poem, "Über der Prärie: Sioux City" (47), emphasizes in snapshot fashion various elements of nature: from crops the eyes wander to birds, a road and farmsteads, the towns, trees, cattle, rivers, forests, fish, and boats.

The poems as well as the drawings invite the spectator to share experiences and interact with the sketches. The reader can taste, touch, see, feel and hear what the poet observes. What will be familiar images for an American—the "White House and Lincoln Memorial" (50), "The Capitol and Washington Monument" (51)—enable a European reader to gain a better perspective of American history by studying both the sketch and the poem. "Gegensätze" (53) critically looks at the contrasts found in the vicinity of the White House. People are the main focus of this poem and others in the last third of the collection. In "Gegensätze" we hear of tourists, the homeless, beggars, dead military personnel. A sketch of the hair style of a black stewardess (56) and drawings of two members of the Yiddish Cultural Association in Albuquerque (57) complete the images of the American people.

The collection concludes with one poem and three sketches about Vienna and three longer poems and four sketches on Berlin. The "Wien" poem achieves much of its success through the juxtaposition of common stereotypes ("wien ist gemütlich / wien is berühmt / ich bin a wiener / . . . die oper ist sehr berühmt / und erst da wein / waunna guad is," [59]) and the reality of being born during the Third Reich and witnessing the Nazi's treatment of Jews in Vienna ("die judn meegns noimma ned").

As in his earlier collections, Pabisch's critical observations are made in a poetic style and diction that play with traditional phrases: "wien wien nur du allein," "mei muattal woara weanarin." The sketch following this poem,

"History of Vienna in the Year of My Birth," shows a Jew scrubbing the pavement with a toothbrush under the supervision of a German soldier.

The critical historic perspective shifts to the present in the last three poems, which deal with Berlin and the events following November 1989. "West Berlin Ost" (65-71) is visually arranged in two halves along a word that spells "Wallwallwall . . ." and is written vertically in order to represent the division of the wall. Graffiti slogans and opposing statements are arranged on the two sides of the "dividing wall." Sketches of former East German and West German sights follow the longest poem in the collection.

Pabisch's playful combination of humor and puns (often in Viennese dialect) and serious content contributes to the quality of his best poems. Most of the poems are enhanced by the author's skeleton drawings. Sometimes the union of picture and word is not achieved and the sketches stand isolated next to the written word. The translations, by A. Leslie Willson, Michael Gienger, and Pabisch, are for the most part excellent.

A rather similar picture of Vienna, emerging from the very different viewpoint of an Austrian Jew who was forced into American exile in 1938, is presented in *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag*, a collection of poems and essays by Ernst Waldinger (1896-1970). A native of Vienna, he witnessed the rise of National Socialism and directly experienced anti-Semitism. He published eight volumes of poetry, two before and six after his arrival in New York. His first ten years in exile were the most productive, which did not go completely unnoticed by his homeland: he was awarded the "Theodor Körner Preis" (1958) and for his seventieth birthday the "Goldene Ehrenmedaille der Stadt Wien." Twenty years after his expulsion a half-hearted attempt was made by the Austrian government to bring Waldinger, who exhibited a fervent Austrian patriotism and strove to make Austrian literature more widely known in New York, home to Vienna. Waldinger decided against permanently returning to Austria, but visited it on three occasions. Celebrated in the USA as one of the greatest Austrian exile poets (H. Zohn), he has not received appropriate recognition in Austria: His books have been out of print for many years.

Karl-Markus Gauß, the editor of *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag*, draws on the work of more than thirty years. Only thirteen poems were chosen from the first two pre-exile volumes; with thirty-one poems *Die kühlen Bauernstuben*, which was first published in American exile in 1946 and deals with that experience, receives the most weight; the last four collections, which grew out of the turmoil of the early to late 1960s and the poet's controversial trips to Austria, are underrepresented. Any collection of poems and essays faces the difficulty of having to unite diverse themes and objectives into a frame that provides the reader with the impression of a coherent volume. *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag* perhaps does not completely convey such a continuity. Included, however, are selections from Waldinger's late work, a group of previously uncollected and some unpublished poems, most of which are dated and are therefore valuable in tracing his development. Unfortunately, the poems are

not presented in chronological order, which would have allowed a better insight into Waldinger's development. A glimpse of the complications and highlights of the poet's life is provided in the introductory pages.

Five essays by Waldinger (not in chronological order either), some editorial notes, and an afterword by Gauß conclude the book. Nothing from the extensive exchange of letters that Waldinger had with several well-known contemporary poets and artists and none of the autobiographical manuscripts were selected; however, an address in Vienna is provided for readers who would like to obtain more information. *Noch vor dem jüngsten Tag* is an important contribution to the rediscovery of an almost forgotten German-American author.

A gap has been filled with the second volume in the series *Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika* (1990), a forum for German-American poets published annually at the University of South Dakota. The anthology introduces the poems of fifteen writers born in Germany and Austria, as well as previously neglected American-born poets who chose German as their vehicle of expression (Louis Brister, Bernhardt Blumenthal, Rhonda J. Vander Klay, and Peter Kahn). From the short autobiographical sketches given at the end of the anthology, one notices that few authors regard themselves as Germans, but rather as German-Americans or Americans. It is therefore not surprising to find very little dealing with the experience of immigration, love of and longing for the old homeland, and problems of assimilation—typical subject matter for earlier German-American authors. Implicit and (rarely) explicit identification with their adopted homeland seems to be established and now they can focus on being at home in two worlds with the advantage of having two different languages.

Although the poems were not chosen with a thematic focus in mind, the reader is struck by how many share concerns expressed so lucidly in Gert Niers's "Ich versuche": "So fern wie möglich. / Schreiben aus der Ferne. / Ferngespräch. / Selbstgespräch" (35). Throughout the collection we find allusions to separation and aloneness, the inability to connect, and the unfinished selves cut off from a whole. References to America or Germany do not dominate; a variety of different nations are mentioned. Traveling between these countries would leave a poet disconnected if it were not for the connections established by reaching out and accepting responsibilities as a human being: "Als ich mir / in meiner engen Fremde zu fremd geworden, / entschloß ich mich zu nähern" (Christiane Seiler, 37).

Lisa Kahn uses familiar stereotypes of Germany and fairy-tale images to humorously point out the illusion of longing for a return: "schon der alte Winzer Wollersheim / einst aus Deutschland angereist / wußte dies—ach was blieb / nach dreihundert Jahren was von / Deutschem übrig außer Wurst / und Bier und Wein?" (18).

The presence of a variety of geographic locations in several of the poems suggests a wider scope of reference. Greece, Rome, and to a certain extent

Spain are prominent. In addition to these European locations, places throughout the United States (e.g., Manhattan, Madison, New Mexico, Texas) and Mexico are specifically mentioned, resulting in a cosmopolitan feeling enthusiastically embracing the benefits of multilingual cultures.

We should not be surprised to find so much travel imagery in the poetry of people who frequently move back and forth between countries and continents for professional and personal reasons. No longer do memories of Europe or comparisons between Europe and America prevail, but rather intensely personal poems emerge that compel us to participate in the grief experienced during the "Journey through Life." Rhonda J. Vander Klay, one of the American-born contributors, captures and explores the profound effects and memories of life's journey in "Der unerwartete Weg ins Leben":

Mit vierzig ein Kind—Vaters letzter Stolz—
 erzogen anfänglich mit der Hand der Scheinliebe,
 wie Frühlingsmaikäfer, andauernde Triebe;
 ein Blick in die Gegenwart, Paradies hier
 für das Kind, unschuldig—sein Vater—
 stolz und stur.

.....

Mit einundzwanzig, endlich, die Ironie steigt,
 geworfen aus dem Haus, von Elend in Jammer
 wie ein Winterkönig, ausgenutzt, verboten seine Kammer;
 ein Blitz von dem Sturm, gefangen von der Flut,
 Vater gegen Kind—gefleckt von
 Feigheit und Blut! (52)

This remarkable collection explores topics as diverse as a description of a "45-Watt-Birne" (Fritz König); paintings by Brueghel (Lola Gruenthal), Van Gogh (Erika A. Metzger), and John Day (Rita Terras); and governmental tyranny during the recent Chinese Revolution (Rhonda J. Vander Klay). On the lighter side, there are also humorous themes, written in a style ranging from a provocative, innovative and playful tone (e.g., "Schüttelreime" by Horst Jarka) to a more traditional, classical form (Thomas Wolber, Horst Ludwig). And Gert Niers does not allow us to forget one important point, amidst all the struggles a German-American author faces: "Über die Anstrengung, / ein deutscher Autor / in Amerika zu werden, / habe ich versäumt, / meinem amerikanischen Sohn / Deutsch beizubringen" (35).

Deutschschreibende Autoren makes accessible a body of contemporary German poetry that for the most part has been neglected, and is accordingly a welcome addition to the field of German-Americana. It is likely to become an indispensable resource for readers of German and American literature

(perhaps one day in dual-language format), as well as a point of departure for the German-American literary scholar. Unfortunately, however, in the present volume the reader finds it very difficult to read the extremely small print in the introductory pages and is even more perplexed when the print gets even smaller in the closing pages. One hopes that the editor will avoid different type sizes and adopt a more legible printing format in future issues.

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Elfe Vallaster

German Immigration and Assimilation in Ontario.

By Werner Bausenhardt. New York, Ottawa, Toronto: Legas Press, 1989. 124 pages.

Emigration from Central Europe to Canada as well as German and Swiss emigration to Canada from the American colonies and from the later United States, especially from Pennsylvania and New York, is a most interesting research area. Excellent studies have been published in the field; yet much work remains to be accomplished. The earlier German emigration, the period from the colonial era through the nineteenth century, centered upon Upper Canada, i.e., Ontario. Agricultural opportunities in Ontario, rich and fertile land, were most attractive to these Germans. Also the opportunity to purchase land considerably more reasonably than on the East Coast of the United States, especially in Pennsylvania, was a major factor.

Bausenhardt traces the emigration from Central Europe directly to Canada, from Central Europe to the United States and then to Canada, and the movement from the United States, particularly at the end of the eighteenth century from Pennsylvania and New York to Ontario. The major area of settlement was in Waterloo County; however, the author points out that this was not exclusively the region of settlement and discusses briefly the Germans who moved into Quebec and the Atlantic Provinces. His main interest, of course, concentrates upon Ontario.

This development is chronologically evolved through seven chapters; each deals with a major aspect of German emigration to Canada and the German-Canadian experience in an essentially Anglo-Celtic society. Of particular interest to scholars in the United States would be chapters one and two, which trace the emigration from the American colonies and later the United States into Canada. Slightly disappointing is chapter five, which concerns itself with the emigration of Germans to Ontario during the Second German Empire. The author editorializes rather strongly against the Bismarck Empire, but on the other hand, still offers valuable information about German immigration in Ontario during this period. Perhaps personal opinions should be avoided in an objective scholarly work.

Many are aware of the plight of Germans in North America during World War I. The government of the United States did not treat its German-American citizens and German immigrants well. In Canada the situation would seem to have been rather similar. The author is most polite to refer to "internment camps" for those of German origin who were treated, as the author notes, as "prisoners of war." The national government in Canada, as the author well illustrates, undertook a concerted effort to destroy the German language press in Ontario and Anglicize the Germans in church affiliation, in schools, and in daily life. The author briefly discusses the first European expedition to North America, the Germanic Vikings around 1000 A.D. Most scholars acknowledge that Germanic tribes were in North America almost 500 years before Columbus. The German among the Vikings, Tyrkir, although the foster father of Leif, remained an outsider since he was not an Icelander. Bausenhardt uses this example to show that the Germans, despite all their contributions to the development of Ontario, continued to be outsiders, due to prejudice on the part of Anglo-Celtic society in modern times.

The "Conclusion" is excellent. It summarizes the strivings of the Germans and their contributions to the development of modern Canada, e.g., in the areas of agriculture, the trades, literature, journalism, and the arts. The enlightening list of maps and tables documents the extent of the German settlements in Ontario and shows their exact locations. Needless to say, this is a major aid for future research. This volume offers those unfamiliar with the German-Canadian experience in Ontario an excellent introduction and will encourage still further research in the field.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

Teaching German in America: Prolegomena to a History.

Edited by David P. Benseler, Walter F. W. Lohnes, and Valters Nollendorfs. Monatshefte Occasional Volumes, no. 7. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988. 304 pages. \$14.00 paper; \$25.00 cloth.

This volume of nineteen articles derives from a conference on historical perspectives of German teaching in America held at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1983. The papers cover a wide range of subjects, including general overviews of German teaching and methodology in America, literary criticism, the kindergarten movement, German teaching during the eras of the two world wars, German programs at specific institutions, nineteenth-century elementary textbooks written for German-English schools, the aims and activities of the American Association of Teachers of German, analyses of wartime articles in professional journals, German in the Iowa Amana colonies, Mark Twain's experiences with the German language, and an interview with an emeritus professor of German. The diversity of topics

should attract a broad readership. The book concludes with a twelve-page index which is complete with respect to proper names, but less so for subjects.

In the first article, Victor Lange suggests that we examine the shifting role of foreign language learning in the American educational system, the resulting changes in methodological approach and materials, and the function of literature in America as opposed to Germany. He stresses that the role of German studies in America is "fundamentally different from that of *Germanistik* in Germany" (8) and urges us to interpret the country and its literature from a more American point of view.

A paper on the history of teaching methods reviews some of the fashions in foreign-language methodology and shows how national interests and reports by committees of the Modern Language Association have shaped foreign-language policies in the United States. Renate Schulz concludes that we have yet to devise a foolproof system for teaching languages, and that the overriding factor is time rather than method.

Ted Frank's article on the nineteenth-century textbook series *Der Amerikanische Leser* will be informative for those who have not had the opportunity to examine such texts firsthand. There are, however, a few errors and inaccuracies. The series was published under the pseudonym "Germanus," not "Germanns." Furthermore, the claim that most German texts were geared towards adult English speakers prior to the 1854 publication of this series is not altogether accurate. Beginning in the eighteenth century, Pennsylvania-German presses printed a number of texts and primers for German-American children, as Klinefelter shows in his 1973 study, "The ABC Books of the Pennsylvania Germans."

Some of the articles address issues and concerns of German in higher education. Craig Nickisch's article about West Point focuses mainly on the period between 1808, when the first of many proposals was made recommending the addition of German to the academy's curriculum, and 1941, when a German program was finally launched. Ruth Bottigheimer's research on German at Princeton led her to the surprising conclusion that "German as a discipline appears to be far more rigorously defined and taught today than it has been in the past" (83). Her analysis of staffing at Princeton, particularly problems arising from a predominance of German-born professors after World War II, is of particular interest. This touchy issue is also raised in the first article of the volume.

Two papers are devoted to literary criticism. Richard Spuler concentrates on the nineteenth century, the phase during which *Literaturwissenschaft* became institutionalized. In the early part of that century, in the absence of any academic superstructure, nonprofessionals could and did publish their views. Later, however, German literary criticism became the exclusive property of Germanists and educated German-Americans, culminating in an environment where discourse about German literature became restricted to "scholars talking to each other" (157) in a highly ritualized and, to a degree, alienating setting.

Jeffrey Peck's study is devoted to twentieth-century trends in literary criticism in America, particularly the English departments' long love affair with New Criticism. He asserts that a domestication of *Germanistik* should not be built upon a rejection of the German model, and argues in favor of a philosophical and historical hermeneutics that draws from the Romantic tradition of Schleiermacher and Schlegel.

Of the six articles which cover the World War I and II eras, the best is Susan Pentlin's "German Teachers' Reaction to the Third Reich, 1933-1939." The depth of her research is impressive, and her appraisal of the profession's stance is convincing. The subject is not merely of historical interest, for Pentlin raises a fundamental question: Do German teachers have a "special responsibility in assessing the policies of the German-speaking countries" (247)? With reports of growing social unrest in a reunited Germany, it behooves us to reexamine this issue.

The German teaching profession is still waiting for a definitive and authoritative account of its historical development, particularly one which encompasses the last thirty years. Edwin Zeydel's 1961 monograph on the history of German teaching, which is published here in condensed form, remains the most comprehensive study on the subject. In their introduction, the editors propose several projects that need to be taken on in order to complete the investigation. The current volume is a good beginning.

Ohio State University-Mansfield

Carolyn R. Toth

The German Coast During the Colonial Era 1722-1803: The Evolution of a Distinct Cultural Landscape in the Lower Mississippi Delta during the Colonial Era.

By Helmut Blume, trans. Ellen C. Merrill. Destrehan, Louisiana: The German-Acadian Coast Historical and Genealogical Society, 1990. 165 pages. \$15.00.

In scholarly work in German-Americana the tendency has seemed to focus especially on the Middle-Atlantic states and the Midwest. Needless to mention, these areas have a large German population, i.e., descendants of eighteenth, nineteenth and even twentieth-century immigrants. Perhaps other areas of the American continent have not been so well researched with respect to their ethnic groups. Is Canada solely English and French? Is New England only British? Are the far western states simply Spanish-Mexican? Much work remains to be done with reference to other ethnic groups in these areas. German immigrants played a major role in all of these areas. An extensive study of their contribution to the westward movement of the United States will, one hopes, be forthcoming.

The South of the United States has, in this respect, often been an enigma. One may find studies on the German settlements in Texas, the Carolinas, or

Georgia, for instance. Yet definitive studies of these enclaves must be pursued. In this work by Helmut Blume one finds such a study—an economic-geographic history of the German settlements on the Mississippi, slightly north of New Orleans, the so-called *Côte des Allemands*. The author clearly states his objectives, i.e., to deal with economics and geography and no other aspects of the German settlements of this area of the Mississippi. In this respect, the study is a veritable gold mine for anyone working on colonial economics and agriculture of the South and their impact upon the social development of the Louisiana area.

Perhaps one has underestimated the influence of German immigrants in Louisiana because they tended to become integrated into the French-American culture rapidly after the colonial period, i.e., after 1803, in contrast to German settlements in the Middle Atlantic states and in the Midwest which long maintained a degree of ethnic autonomy, some even into the present. Blume has meticulously illuminated the agricultural foundation and the success of these German settlements. He has scrupulously researched the extant historical, financial, immigration, and census records of the colonial period under French, then Spanish, and again French, rule in Louisiana.

The six chapters of the volume illustrate the industriousness of these German pioneers—the small farms as well as the larger ones; those on the west bank and those on the east bank of the Mississippi. The records which were minutely researched in Louisiana, Paris, and Madrid show exactly what these German farmers achieved, especially when considering the adverse climatic conditions, e.g., unaccustomed heat and also floods. The exacting documentation presented must indeed have been a labor of love and offers an invaluable source of information to anyone interested in colonial economy of this area of the United States. Blume discusses the difference between large and small farms, the variation of crops, e.g., corn, tobacco, indigo, and cotton—with exact production figures, during the various administrations.

A most interesting aspect of this study concerns slavery in the German and the French areas. So much information is offered on this topic that one would hope a social historian might pursue it still further in order to reflect the attitude of the German and of the French settlers toward slave ownership. Perhaps it was only an economic difference, but further research is necessary.

In addition to the six detailed chapters dealing with agricultural and economic conditions, this work offers an extensive bibliography of published and unpublished material and an important table for the conversion of measurements from the French and Spanish colonial periods into modern terminology. The extensive index, which includes, e.g., a listing of crops and a register of colonists, is most helpful. Numerous illustrations and maps enhance an understanding of the German contribution during this era in the development of Louisiana.

This English translation which is offered of Blume's work, originally published in 1956, has been carefully undertaken and the translator deserves

high praise for her efforts. She has produced a translation in fluent English with many footnotes for clarification.

The German Coast of Louisiana offers many other research possibilities. Perhaps one would wish to concentrate now upon historical and social research on these settlements since this economic and agricultural study is definitive.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution.

By Johann Conrad Döhla. Translated, edited, and with an introduction by Bruce E. Burgoyne. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990. 276 pages. \$28.95.

Of the approximately thirty thousand German soldiers who fought in the American Revolutionary War on the British side the vast majority, nearly seventeen thousand, came from the state of Hesse-Cassel. Thus, although others hailed from Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anhalt-Zerbst, Waldeck, and Ansbach-Bayreuth, the term generally associated with all these troops today is Hessian. Most Hessians were conscripts: poor, relatively uneducated laborers and craftsmen who became a financial boon to their provincial rulers by being sold into the service of the English crown. Few had any knowledge of, let alone interest in the conflict in which they were engaged, and so some quickly deserted their units, while others fought with little enthusiasm or vigor. Now, however, the diary of one Private Johann Conrad Döhla provides us with a somewhat different image of the Hessian.

Born 6 September 1750 in Oberhaid near Zell in the Fichtel Mountains of Bavaria, Döhla was the son of a brickmaker, who saw to it that his son received "a solid upbringing" (xx) and a basic education. At the beginning of 1777 Döhla entered the Ansbach-Bayreuth military and soon thereafter his unit was dispatched to fight in the North American Colonies. After landing in New York in June of that year, Döhla spent over a year in transit going up the Hudson River, then south to Philadelphia, back to New York, and finally to Rhode Island before seeing any significant combat in July 1778. After departing Rhode Island for New York in October 1779, Döhla spent most of his time in garrison until May 1781, when his unit sailed for Virginia to join the command of General Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis. There they became prisoners of war following the British surrender at Yorktown, and Döhla spent the next year and a half in confinement in Virginia and Maryland before being released in May 1783. After his return to Bayreuth, Döhla left the army for civilian life, became a master brickmaker, like his father, and may even have taught school for a while. He married, but died childless on 14 January 1820 in Zell.

What makes the story of Johann Conrad Döhla of particular interest today is not merely the account of his life and military service as related above, but rather the fact that from the vague notes and hasty scribbles he compiled during his wartime service, he was able to reconstruct a full narrative account of his daily experiences, which he compiled in 1811 for "the benefit of a former regimental comrade and old friend, Johann Adam Holper" (xii). The journal manuscript, a copy of which is housed in the Bancroft Collection of the New York Public Library, was edited for German publication in 1913 by W. Baron von Waldenfels. It is this edited version of the diary which Bruce E. Burgoyne has now made available in English. Clearly Döhla's writings reveal the benefits of his own historical hindsight. People he neither knew nor could possibly have met are recounted often in vivid detail, and places and events he never witnessed, or likely even heard of while abroad, are described in full. Some of these "remembrances" are intentionally indistinct while others are wholly wrong. Nevertheless, they lend the impression that Döhla was keenly aware at the time of the major events and figures of the war and even had a deep appreciation and understanding of the arguments being espoused on both sides of the fighting. Such insights would seem to us to be truly unusual, even coming from a prominent person of that day. Coming as they do from a mere Bavarian private like Döhla is remarkable and gives this book extraordinary advantages over other accounts of a similar nature (cf. *Hessian Journals: Unpublished Documents of the American Revolution*, edited by Valentine C. Hubbs [Columbia, SC: Camden House, 1981]). Burgoyne's idiomatic rendition is most readable making for an enjoyable rather than a tedious text. Döhla's account should be included in any library or collection of monographs about the Revolutionary War. It provides us with an important and invaluable addition to our knowledge of the German presence in North America during those formative years.

Marshall University

Christopher L. Dolmetsch

German-American Names.

By George F. Jones. Baltimore, MD: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990. 268 pages. \$25.00.

Since the publication of Alex Haley's *Roots*, several important research tools have appeared which focus on the previously neglected area of German-American family history. However, most of them completely disregard or give only scant treatment of onomastics, an essential element of effective genealogical research. The few that do treat name changes and name origins are so technical that they are of limited value to the average genealogist or family historian. What has long been lacking is a German-American

equivalent of Hans Bahlow's *Deutsches Namenlexikon*. Jones's *German-American Names* is a major step in filling this gap.

This hardbound A-Z dictionary of German-American names gives spellings, meanings, and variants for nearly 13,000 names derived from the German language and its dialects "even if changes in pronunciation and spelling have rendered [them] unrecognizable" (2) (e.g., "Beam," "Dice") and regardless of the nationality of the persons who bore them. Excluded are names derived from other languages even though they may have been borne for centuries by families in German-speaking areas of Europe. Most of the names were extracted from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century ship manifests. Some were taken from American telephone books, newspapers, and television programs. Following each name is an entry indicating its meaning or origin. Names derived from places "sufficiently populated to appear on maps and gazeteers [sic]" (59) are marked with a special symbol.

Preceding the index to names is an introduction composed of five chapters. Collectively, they comprise an interesting treatise on onomastics. Each paragraph in the introduction is numbered. Cited in entries in the index are numbers referring to paragraphs in the introduction which explain related names. The first chapter ("Given Names—Significance and Origin") defines terminology, traces naming practices (beginning with the Germanic tribes), explains the Germanic Sound Shift, and assays the influence of Low and High German dialects and other languages on German names. The second chapter ("Surnames—Their Need and Origin") treats the influence of Scandinavian patronymics and discusses how German names were derived from castles and houses, tribal and territorial origins, places of business, occupations, terrain features, and physical characteristics and afflictions. Nicknames are also discussed from the perspective of personal behavior, imperatives, and expressions. The third chapter ("Christian Names") considers the names of saints; treats Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Hebrew name influences; and gives a detailed account of the origin of German-language names frequently borne by Jews. The fourth chapter ("The Americanization of German Names") surveys the various reasons for variant spellings and changes of German names in America. The final chapter of the introduction ("Suggestions for Using the Name-list") contains a concise set of instructions on how to deduce names not listed in the index "by observing the various roots and the way they are combined in the names that are listed" (58). Also included in this section are comments to guide the reader's interpretation of the meaning of the names and a note on the significance of current orthographic reforms.

Following conversational writing principles with excellent examples to explain his points, Jones skillfully covers all of the bases necessary to make this book a useful tool. His introductory chapters not only deal with the Americanization of German names, but also give the reader a superior explanation of the social and historical phenomena that have contributed to

their distinctive character. He has avoided folk etymology and opted for transliterations rather than interpretations of the names included in the index.

A future edition of this dictionary could be enhanced by the inclusion of references to the sources from which these names were taken. A bibliography of unconsulted sources pertaining to German-speaking immigrants would also prove helpful as would a list of commonly used German name lexika, such as those by Bahlow and Josef Karlmann Brechenmacher (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Familiennamen*).

Baldwin-Wallace College

Robert E. Ward

The Germans of Colonial Louisiana 1720-1803.

By Reinhard Kondert. Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Stuttgart, 1990. 150 pages.

Studies concerning the Germans in Louisiana during the colonial period must finally be considered as a serious research area for German-American studies, as this volume demonstrates. Even if the German population was but a relatively small group on the Mississippi just north of New Orleans, it was a most important one. Indeed, the agricultural endeavors and successes of these small enclaves may have been the salvation of this French and Spanish colony. Without the produce of these Germans in the eighteenth century, the colony of Louisiana may well have been doomed to failure.

Kondert presents a detailed view of colonial Louisiana from the perspective of the German population, concentrating on the economic, social, military, historical, and ethnic developments of the lower Mississippi region. A summary in German precedes the text which is of considerable value to our colleagues working on such topics in Central Europe. Next follow various documents in French, referring to the German colonization, with English translations; translations into German would also have been helpful.

The following introduction outlines the clear intent of the author, i.e., to detail where these German colonists originated, essentially from southwestern Germany, Switzerland, the Alsace, and some few from the north; how they crossed the Atlantic, including the extensive difficulties they encountered—among others, many deaths from disease before the departure from France; their arrival in Louisiana and the incredible initial problems which were encountered, especially those associated with difficult climatic conditions.

Of particular interest is the concentration by the author upon the rapid Gallicization of the German settlers. Being surrounded by an essentially French-speaking population, these few hundred colonists rapidly had their names Gallicized, intermarried with the French population, and became staunch supporters of French aspirations on the Mississippi. That is to say, in contrast to the Germans in Pennsylvania of the eighteenth century, or the

Germans in the Midwest in the nineteenth century, their German cultural heritage became so assimilated that it virtually ceased to exist in an active sense, but remains rather in a historical one.

In five chapters one is presented with detailed information on the immigration and the Company of the Indies, which initiated the move of Germans to Louisiana; the original government of the French and its impact upon the German colonies; the Spanish government after 1766; the interaction of the German colonists with the Indians, essentially a positive relationship, coupled with the military aspects for the protection of the Côte des Allemands; and finally the religious aspects of the German enclaves (most were Roman Catholic, although there were also Lutherans and Reformed). There seems never to have been religious friction among the Germans or between the Germans and the French or Spanish government of the colony.

The "Conclusion" offers a useful overview of the results established by this study. The extensive notes will be of value to further research. Finally, an appendix of the Gallicization of German names and an extensive bibliography round out this superior study of the Germans in colonial Louisiana.

Lehigh University

Alexander Waldenrath

Eine Republik der Arbeiter ist möglich: Der Beitrag Wilhelm Weitlings zur Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika, 1846-1856.

By Hans-Arthur Marsiske. Forschungsberichte des Hamburger Instituts für Sozialforschung, vol. 5. Hamburg: Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, 1990.

Attitudes toward the figure of Wilhelm Weitling have long been an ideological marker of where a writer stands in the ideological spectrum of European socialism. Weitling, an artisanal socialist who broke with Karl Marx and what was to become the Communist party in the mid-1840s, promoted worker self-help associations and communist communities, thus making himself a target of Marxian criticism as a "Utopian." Avidly sought by the police, he fled in 1846 to the United States, where he played a role for a decade as a figure in the workers' movement among German-speaking residents of the East and Midwest. In more recent times, Weitling has been seen as representing a more idealistic, but also more practical, course for the workers than the two actually pursued in the United States: Gompers-style trade unionism and the foreign-steered, apparatchik-style CPUSA.

Hans-Arthur Marsiske is interested in reviving the writings of Weitling, which he feels have been muffled by too much scholarly analysis. As he says in the introduction, "Weitling's texts moved me, but the research literature left me cold" (9).

Writers, usually associated with the Left, have either looked at Weitling as a "forerunner" of something which would ripen later, or they have criticized

him as a naïve non-Marxist. Marsiske is interested in reconstructing Weitling's career chronologically, in order to understand the social and economic forces within which he operated and make his writings understandable in their own terms. He is particularly interested in making the articles Weitling wrote in the *Republik der Arbeiter* in New York accessible to the reader. He also concentrates on Weitling's interaction with the utopian commune of Communia in Iowa, where a book of protocols has surfaced which can be used to check the accuracy of articles in the *Republik*. In the final section of the book, Marsiske tries to work out Weitling's position in contemporary politics as clearly as possible, partly to disprove the usual comment that Weitling was unrealistic in his plans to develop communes and organize systems of barter-exchange among workers.

Weitling arrived in New York in late 1846 after having won both the enmity of the police of most European states and the disdain of many Leftists. In 1846 he broke with the Brussels Correspondence Committee, led even then by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, over how workers were to be helped in modern industrial society. Weitling accepted an invitation from Hermann Kriege to edit the *Volks-Tribun* in New York, and for the following decade he was an important figure of the radical Left in the United States. His main efforts concentrated on setting up workers' exchanges and cooperatives, as well as trying to bring about a central congress for workers. To Weitling, the United States was a "Babylon of capitalists, merchants, lawyers and clergymen" (41). Weitling advocated a transformation of currency into a true record of labor time.

After a spell in Hamburg during the 1848-49 Revolution, Weitling returned to launch his *Republik der Arbeiter*. In the first half of the 1850s, he was deeply involved in raising membership and steering the Workers' League (*Arbeiterbund*). To Weitling, workers were to be helped through the establishment of a labor exchange and through collecting dues to invest in common institutions and refuges.

In the early 1850s the Workers' League became associated with the communist settlement, Communia, in Clayton County, Iowa (founded 1847). This brought Weitling into direct contact with Heinrich Koch of St. Louis, the virulently anti-Catholic agitator who had led a Leftist militia unit off to the Mexican War, afterwards encouraging his comrades to pool their enlistment bounties to purchase a block of "Congress Land" in Iowa. Communia was the lineal descendant of another attempted utopian community, Neu Helvetia, established in 1844 on the Osage River, five miles northwest of Westphalia, Missouri. The link between the *Arbeiterbund* and Communia would prove to be a stormy one, since Weitling saw it as a place to invest membership funds with the expectation that members of the league could move there. Soon conflicts broke out between Weitling and the residents of Communia, and in the end the land of the settlement was privatized and the commune dissolved (1856).

Marsiske seeks to place Weitling in the context of the politics of the 1850s by tracing similarities to the National Reform movement, which combined concern for working men with a policy of free land distribution and currency or banking reform. Other contemporary reformers whose ideas impinged on Weitling included Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Edward Kellogg, Stephen Pearl Andrews, and Josiah Warren. The currency of the United States at the time, which was a manifest scandal due to rampant instability of the banking system and the irresponsibility of the administrations, made Weitling's proposals less radical than they might appear to our own eyes. Weitling was certainly not alone in demanding a radical reworking of property and exchange, though Marsiske concedes that American writers of the time had no direct influence on Weitling. The communitarian experience Weitling won in Communia taught him: "What we can certainly obtain in colonies of the Workers' League is homesteads for members in need of pensions. They can get those for certain. We do not hope for more" (242). In contrast with Cabet, Weitling came to see communistic societies not as experimental models for the larger society, but as social institutions with a certain marginal usefulness as part of a larger social policy. It can be seen from this that Weitling cannot be understood simply as a utopian socialist, at least at the end of his American experience.

The appendices provide editions of documents on the history of the *Arbeiterbund* from the German Society in Philadelphia, the Library of Congress and other sources.

This study will prove useful to those trying to interpret the ideological development of Weitling's writings, more within a European than within an American context. Still, Weitling does not emerge from this study a more sympathetic character than before. While the Marxists are probably incorrect in categorizing him solely as a utopian, Weitling remains a sort of socialist Don Quixote, tilting bravely with the windmills of capitalism without understanding how the windmills came to be there.

University of Missouri-St. Louis

Steven Rowan

Little Germany: Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City, 1845-80.

By Stanley Nadel. *Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1990. vii + 242 pages. \$37.50.*

The Lower East Side of Manhattan is best known as the center of Eastern European Jewish settlement in the United States. Beginning in the 1870s, *Ostjuden* poured into that part of New York City, as anti-Semitic pressures increased in the lands of their birth. Moses Rischin's excellent work, *The Promised City* (1962) provides details of the formation and development of that community. But at the beginning in the 1840s, the Lower East Side

was a German immigrant community, mostly gentile, and the first huge foreign-language settlement in an American city.

Nadel provides an overview of "Kleindeutschland," as it was called by German-speaking people, before the influx of Eastern Europeans. The first half of the book deals with the community's regional origins within the German Confederation, with demographic patterns of the German population of "Kleindeutschland," family structure, living arrangements, and occupational distribution. For this section, samples of the United States manuscript census schedules were analyzed using the techniques of quantitative social history. Some material was also taken from the New York state censuses.

Several scholars have recently demonstrated that the regionalism or particularism of German-speaking Europe was carried over to the rural settlements and even to the cities of America. Nadel demonstrates that similar phenomena occurred among Germans in the largest and most cosmopolitan city in America and in the largest of all German-American communities. For example, in 1880, 43 percent of the married American-born children of Bavarian immigrants had married other second- or first-generation immigrants from Bavaria. An additional 22 percent had married first or second-generation immigrants from adjacent German states. Nadel finds "evidence of a pervasive informal social separation" (156) based on regional and local origins which was more than the mere mechanical result of chain migration and the consequent residential clustering.

For the second half of the book, Nadel relies much more on previous studies and the nineteenth-century German-language newspapers to treat religion, *Vereinswesen*, trade union activity, class conflict, and politics in "Kleindeutschland." According to the author, this community gave birth to modern American socialism. The churches of "Kleindeutschland," on the other hand, seem to have been less central than in other German-American communities. German Protestants and their institutions seem to have been especially underrepresented. Nadel notes that many *Kirchendeutsche* moved to Brooklyn, which was not a part of New York City until after the period covered by this study. Could it be that more Germans who were city dwellers before immigration and correspondingly fewer Germans of peasant origins stayed in New York compared to other American cities?

"Kleindeutschland" declined as wealthier Germans moved uptown, the newest immigrants settled in Yorkville, *Ostjuden* moved into the lower wards, and the whole of German New York gradually transformed itself from a community divided by region of origin and religion into a society differentiated by social class.

The book is an entirely competent and workmanlike study. Its introduction evidences impressive theoretical sophistication. And yet, sometimes the reader pauses. Nadel claims to be writing a history of all of German New York, but he uses census samples only from the four wards of "Kleindeutschland." Only "about half" of New York City's Germans lived there.

No exact figures are given for the German population of these wards. Nadel does provide figures for the German-born in New York City as a whole along with a revision of these figures to include "those born elsewhere who are nonetheless part of the community" (41), but how did he decide which of the American-born were part of the community and which were not? In what sense was "Kleindeutschland" "the capital of German-America" (36)? Most Germans in Europe were united in 1871, but Germans in America were never united except in their response to a very limited number of political issues. The author does not make clear just how "Kleindeutschland" and German New York "form[ed] communities at different levels" (3), although his characterization of "the fluid and multiple ethnicity" (7) of German New York seems highly appropriate.

While room remains for other studies of German New York from other methodological perspectives, Nadel has certainly added to our understanding of the topic. For comparative purposes, a modern overview of all the Germans of Chicago, which contained the second-largest German-American community by 1880, might be informative.

Hendrix College

Robert W. Frizzell

The German Language in Alberta: Maintenance and Teaching.

By Manfred Prokop. Edmonton: The University of Alberta Press, 1990. xiii + 407 pages. Can.\$18.95.

In spite of contributing some 20 percent to the ethnic mosaic of the Province of Alberta with approximately 340,000 members, the German element in the province remains both invisible and inaudible, and the future of German as a home language holds little promise. This is the keynote of Prokop's book given to the reader already on the cover. What he sets out to offer between the covers are answers to questions—any questions—anyone may have in regard to "the Germans" in the Province of Alberta concerning the present situation. But also brief, and at times not so brief, excursions into the past are offered in order to "establish a 'German Presence' in Alberta," and to present actual efforts of language maintenance and teaching in a historical perspective.

Beginning with a stocktaking of the present situation in the province (chap. 1), the author is quick to add that in spite of a seemingly rich cultural life of "the Germans," in spite of German clubs and associations, German newspapers, films, plays, radio and TV programs, and businesses catering to Germans, German as an active language in daily life is on the decline for lack of a German-speaking younger generation. Making prolific use of statistics, both official and based on data gathered by means of self-designed and self-administered questionnaires, Prokop offers glimpses of settlement history of "the Germans" in the province and examines the use of German in the daily

life of the speakers (chap. 2). We are now told why he refers to "the Germans" always in quotation marks throughout the study: "It is clearly inappropriate to refer to 'the Germans' in Alberta as if they were a homogeneous ethnic, linguistic, or sociocultural group, adhering to and motivated by a common set of social values and beliefs" (54). The one thing, however, they all have in common, is a progressive loss of their German mother tongue as their first language of use in the home. The whole of chapter three is dedicated to this phenomenon. Again with the aid of history for parallels, we are told that with the third generation the use of German has virtually disappeared. Several factors are held responsible such as sex, place of residence, time of immigration, birthplace, level of education, occupation, age, and marriage partner. But two groups are singled out where this process is significantly retarded, among some of the Low German-speaking Mennonites, and particularly among the Upper German-speaking Hutterites living on collective farms, *Bruderhöfe*. In both instances religion plays an important part in language retention. This phenomenon is the subject of chapter four.

Chapter four and the bulk of the remainder of the book (chaps. 5-9) deal with efforts by groups and institutions at language maintenance and teaching. These chapters offer a wealth of information on the role played by churches, church schools, and the public and private school systems in teaching German, which in the case of native speakers also amounts to maintaining their mother tongue. Extensive discussions of statistics, past and present curricula, methodology, textbooks, and examinations end with the conclusion that enrollment on all levels, except at university, is on the decline. As one of the highlights of Prokop's presentation may serve his discussion of German-English bilingual education in the Alberta public school system. He makes the rest of us blush with envy when we learn that beside Edmonton, only Winnipeg (Manitoba) and Milwaukee (Wisconsin) are experimenting in this area.

Chapter ten predicting the future of German in the provinces comes as somewhat of an anti-climax, since we have been told all along what the future holds. The reviewer would have liked to see here a few comments regarding the Hutterites, who, exhibiting what the author calls type-A behavior, will be virtually the only group among "the Germans" whose efforts at language maintenance will be crowned with success.

In spite of being very heavy on statistics, numbers, tables, graphs, etc., the book is very readable, perhaps for the absence of cumbersome academic jargon. It is obligatory reading for anyone interested in ethnic studies in general and German-Canadian studies in particular. For the German-Canadian it may serve as a mirror in which one's own efforts at language maintenance may be reflected.

University of Ottawa

Werner Bausenhardt

Sozialistische Bestrebungen deutscher Arbeiter in St. Louis vor 1848: Der St. Louis-Communistenverein.

By Walter Schmidt. *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Gesellschaftswissenschaften, Jahrgang 1990, no. 5/G.* Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1990. 65 pages.

In October 1988, Walter Schmidt, who was then the director of the Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the German Democratic Republic, spent over a week in St. Louis as a guest of the University of Missouri-St. Louis. During that time, Schmidt conducted extensive research at the St. Louis Public Library as well as at the Missouri Historical Society. The result of that effort was a detailed analysis of German-speaking communists in St. Louis before the beginning of the great political migration following the 1848 Revolution. Schmidt's report was among the last items published by the academy before the demise of East Germany as a result of German unification on 3 October 1990. This study deserves special attention, then, both because it provides a unique example of an expert in the arcane discipline of European Marxism-Leninism at work on Midwestern local history, and because its place and language of publication will make it hard for American historians to locate in the future.

Missouri and St. Louis are familiar to historians of the communist movement in the nineteenth century, since it was one of the most popular objects for emigration societies and utopian speculators (see particularly Rolf Weber, ed., *Das Land ohne Nachtigal: Deutsche Emigranten in Amerika 1777-1886* [East Berlin, 1981]). Joseph Weydemeyer, one of Karl Marx's closest friends, passed the last years of his life in St. Louis, where he was elected county auditor. It was through Marx's voluminous correspondence with Weydemeyer that Marx and Engels learned most of what they would ever know about the United States (Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Ein Lebensbild 1818-1866*, 2d ed. [East Berlin, 1968]; the first edition was *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Socialism* [New York, 1947]). Walter Schmidt has already made extensive references to persons living in Missouri in his two-volume biography of Wilhelm Wolff, secretary of the Brussels Correspondence Committee which would eventually become the heart of the Communist International (Walter Schmidt, *Wilhelm Wolff: Sein Weg zum Kommunisten* [East Berlin, 1963]; idem, *Wilhelm Wolff: Kampfgefährte und Freund von Marx und Engels, 1846-1864* [East Berlin, 1979]).

The central figure of proletarian agitation in St. Louis was the clockmaker Heinrich Koch. He was born in Bayreuth on 27 March 1800, and he was persecuted for opposing princely despotism as early as 1830. He arrived in St. Louis by 1834, where he commenced writing for Wilhelm Weber's *Anzeiger des Westens*. He was noted for militant anti-clericalism, which eventually caused him to leave the *Anzeiger* and found his first journal, *Der Antipsaff* (1842-45). Koch waged a virtual war against the Old Lutherans, making him a frequent

target of C. F. W. Walther's *Der Lutheraner*. But his hostility was increasingly directed against the rule of the privileged in general as well as just the clergy. In 1845, Koch briefly published an anti-Whig paper called *Vorwärts*. In that same period, a number of communists had gathered in St. Louis, many of them refugees from the recent failure of the Neu Helvetia colony in Osage County, Missouri.

In early 1846, Koch reemerged as a spokesman for St. Louis communists by becoming a local correspondent for the *Volks-Tribun* of New York, a paper which supported the free homesteading of public land. The newspaper, edited by Hermann Kriege, was the organ of a secret organization called Jung-Amerika, whose leading members included Gustav Körner of Belleville, Illinois. Jung-Amerika was associated with the League of the Just, which was the immediate ancestor of the Communist Party. By April, Koch had published a "confession of faith" for a group of about sixty adherents to form the St. Louis Communist Society (St. Louis Communistenverein) as the local branch of Jung-Amerika. This society held weekly meetings to discuss abstract social questions, overseas liberation movements, and plans for establishing a freethinkers' school for German children in St. Louis.

The most peculiar initiative of the St. Louis Communist Society involved the Mexican War. The usual progressive reading would have been that war in general was a capitalist plot victimizing labor, and that the Mexican War was doubly suspect as a war of annexation. The *Volks-Tribun*, however, considered encouraging volunteers to fight for the United States, since the feudal system of Mexico could only be revolutionized in the aftermath of such a war, and the distribution of land in the conquered regions would undermine land speculators in the United States.

The only community where such a worker unit actually marched was St. Louis, where Heinrich Koch became the captain of a volunteer company to march to Texas. Koch marched out to Fort Leavenworth in March 1846 but his company returned with the entire St. Louis Legion in September. Despite their never having seen combat, members of the company were rewarded with forty acres of "Congress Land" each. These grants were pooled to serve as the basic endowment of the communist utopian colony of Communia in Iowa.

The ideological content of the St. Louis Communist Society could be boiled down to a criticism of landed property when divorced from labor. Although many additional maxims were added, one after another, this one basic position remained and prevailed. This placed it, and American communists in general, in opposition to Marx and the Brussels committee, which could not accept the notion that a free distribution of land was basic to the distribution of property in general.

On the other hand, the St. Louis communists did oppose liberal and petty-bourgeois initiatives among St. Louis Germans, such as the attempts to gather money to support agitation in Europe. Koch believed that such endeavors would dull efforts to improve social conditions in the United States.

A movement to establish a shoemakers' cooperative in St. Louis was opposed by local businessmen in the name of freedom of association and trade, but communists replied that constitutional freedoms alone could not guarantee men a decent life. "Our times demand more," they replied.

After repeated attempts, Koch's new weekly, *Der Reformer*, began appearing in January 1847 though there were disputes from the outset over Koch's high-handed methods. In March 1847 there was an anti-Koch walkout, leading to the formation of a separate Social-Reform-Verein. Despite this schism, the Communist Society managed to establish the new colony of Communia, which Koch controlled until his departure in a huff in September 1849. Soon Communia came to be associated with Wilhelm Weitling, and it managed to survive as a communist community until the mid-1850s. As early as 1846, Weitling adherents had promoted the establishment of a workers' exchange bank, and by 1850 St. Louis was well represented in the first German Workers' Congress in Philadelphia. Weitling's ideas appear to have temporarily triumphed over those of Heinrich Koch: Koch himself settled in Dubuque, Iowa, making clocks and brewing nostrums for malaria. He died in the 1870s.

In conclusion, Schmidt sees the St. Louis Communist Society as the westernmost of all branches of the League of the Just, peripheral and unable to make the transition to "scientific communism." In its ethnic isolation it would prove to be typical of the early phase of the American radical labor movement: as late as the 1880s, Friedrich Engels would complain about the sectarian nature of German socialist workers in the United States, which helped to starve the English-speaking movement of ideological weight.

The appendix of Schmidt's monograph contains the "confession of faith" of the St. Louis Communist Society; a letter by Heinrich Mink from St. Louis to the *Volks-Tribun*, 26 April 1846, describing the organization of communist workers; August Marle's "Views of a Communist" from St. Louis, 1846; and several documents dealing with the foundation and organization of Communia.

Walter Schmidt's labors in the history of the St. Louis communists of the 1840s help to raise the covers from the obscure topic of St. Louis social history before the Civil War. Precisely because of its ideological structure, his investigation opens a window on both German intellectual history and the history of the American Middle West. A strange swan song for the communist critique of American society!

University of Missouri-St. Louis

Steven Rowan

Twice Removed: The Experience of German-American Women Writers in the Nineteenth Century.

By Dorothea Stuecher. Foreword by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. New German-American Studies, vol. 1. New York, etc.: Lang, 1990. 250 pages.

Stuecher's book has something to offer to both the novice and the expert in the field of German-American and immigrant studies. Her goal is to elucidate the lives and careers of the German-American woman author by focusing specifically upon three women: Therese Robinson (pseud. Talvj, 1797-1870), Mathilde Franziska Anneke (1817-84), and Kathinka Sutro-Schücking (1838-?). The book begins with a concise introduction to German-American studies, outlining the different immigration patterns and explaining the general circumstances of the immigrant author, combined with a discussion of the "cultural context" of the German-American woman author of the second half of the nineteenth century.

The second chapter continues with an in-depth look at the works—which due to their inaccessibility are synopsized in an appendix—and major themes of the three authors. Each author is discussed in terms of her background, her total fictional oeuvre, and those works which deal specifically with the woman's immigrant experience.

The three authors, although they belonged to different generations, each with its own problems, share a common bond. All wrote at least one belletristic "immigrant work," in which the main female characters tend not to be German or even immigrants, although they do face the same problems as the German-American immigrant: "Imperilled family unity, isolation, problems of role definition, and conflicting forces of assimilation and cultural maintenance" (52).

The first half of the book offers a clear and concise discussion of the problems which Robinson, Anneke, and Sutro-Schücking faced, and of their successes. Not only were these authors set off from mainstream literature due to their gender, their immigrant status caused a further rift. Of the three women, Robinson, by distancing herself from the limitations of immigrant literature and focusing on purely German or American audiences, seems to have attained the highest level of acceptance as an author. She wrote her works in the language of her intended readers: German for those works published in Germany and English for those published in America. She did not believe in the "dream of a united German-American community" (68) and thus avoided any connection with it.

Anneke, because of the revolutionary tendency of her works, struggled in vain for success in the immigrant literary world. She eventually found her niche not as a successful author, as she would have liked, but as an educator.

Sutro-Schücking's works portrayed the home as the main focal point in life, despite the fact that her main characters were men. "In the hermetically enclosed atmosphere of the home, the tribulations and triumphs of women assumed heroic proportions, while the personal failures of men simultaneously underwent magnification" (85). The placement of her novels in the Anglo-American world and the masking of her German-American characters as Anglo-Saxons allowed her to criticize without alienating her German-American audience.

Unfortunately, this highly informative book is marred by numerous typographical and stylistic errors. The first half flows very nicely in spite of an occasional misprint, whereas the second half almost seems to have been written by another, more careless author. The number of misprints, which often distort the meaning of the text, increases, and quotes, previously integrated into the text, are overused and interrupt the flow of Stuecher's prose.

The third chapter is a culmination of all the scattered mistakes found in the book. This section is devoted solely to a portrait of Anneke as a German-American woman writer. This unbalanced approach is explained neither in the introduction nor in the conclusion. Due to chronic miscounting, the endnotes in this chapter have been rendered almost useless; the numbers in the text do not correspond with those in the notes. Anyone interested in doing further research on Anneke would be forced to rematch each endnote to its corresponding number in the text.

Stuecher's book is not only interesting, it also constitutes a significant contribution to the field of German-American literature. The errors and stylistic problems, all of which could be easily corrected in a second printing, should not discourage anyone from using this book. The author has succeeded in relating both the positive and negative sides of the German-American woman author's career. Not only did these women face incredible hurdles in publishing their works, they also had to contend with the stereotype that women's realm was the family and the home. In conclusion it can be noted that *Twice Removed* is not only useful for the German-American scholar, but also for anyone interested in immigrant, specifically women's immigrant literature.

University of Cincinnati

Catherine Cook Marshall



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.

Co-Chairpersons: Giles R. and Dolores J. Hoyt, Indiana University-Purdue University at Indianapolis (IUPUI).

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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:

<i>AA</i>	=	<i>Annals of Iowa</i>
<i>AHR</i>	=	<i>American Historical Review</i>
<i>AJH</i>	=	<i>American Jewish History</i>
<i>BLT</i>	=	<i>Brethren Life and Thought</i>
<i>CG</i>	=	<i>Canadiana Germanica</i>
<i>DR</i>	=	<i>Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society</i>
<i>GCY</i>	=	<i>German-Canadian Yearbook</i>
<i>GQ</i>	=	<i>German Quarterly</i>
<i>GR</i>	=	<i>Germanic Review</i>
<i>GSR</i>	=	<i>German Studies Review</i>

HR	=	<i>Heritage Review</i>
HRBC	=	<i>Historical Review of Berks County</i>
HSR	=	<i>Historic Schaefferstown Record</i>
IHJ	=	<i>Illinois Historical Journal</i>
JAEH	=	<i>Journal of American Ethnic History</i>
JAHSGR	=	<i>Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia</i>
JLCHS	=	<i>Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society</i>
MFH	=	<i>Mennonite Family History</i>
MH	=	<i>Monatshefte</i>
MHB	=	<i>Mennonite Historical Bulletin</i>
MHR	=	<i>Missouri Historical Review</i>
ML	=	<i>Mennonite Life</i>
MQR	=	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NGTHS	=	<i>Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society</i>
NSGAS	=	<i>Newsletter for the Society for German-American Studies</i>
NSHR	=	<i>Nova Scotia Historical Review</i>
OHQ	=	<i>Oregon Historical Quarterly</i>
PF	=	<i>Pennsylvania Folklife</i>
PMH	=	<i>Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage</i>
PMHB	=	<i>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i>
SAHSN	=	<i>Swiss American Historical Society Newsletter</i>
SIGA	=	<i>Studies in Indiana German-Americana</i>
TMHS	=	<i>Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society</i>
UP	=	<i>Die Unterrichtspraxis</i>
WHQ	=	<i>Western Historical Quarterly</i>
WMH	=	<i>Wisconsin Magazine of History</i>
YGAS	=	<i>Yearbook of German-American Studies</i>
ZK	=	<i>Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch</i>

I. Supplements for 1989

1. "American Food: Hot Dog!" *Restaurants & Institutions* 99.14 (May 1989).
On the origin of American sausage known as "hot dog" in German
culinary history.
2. "An Eye on Ethnicity." *American Visions* 4.5 (October 1989): 14ff. In the
1920s German-born Winold Reiss painted members of ethnic groups,
including African Americans, in non-conventional ways.
3. Anderson, Timothy Gene. "Westphalia, Missouri: The Historical
Geography of a German Community." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Oklahoma,
1989. 144 pp.

4. Baer, Nelson. "Rowe Mennonites at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania." *MFH* 8 (1989): 100.
5. Bauman, Alta Yoder. "Blosser, 'Mennonite' Hero of the Revolution." *MFH* 8 (1989): 142-43. Account of Bishop Peter Blosser/Blaser of northern VA.
6. Bealle, P. "J. B. Neumann and the Introduction of Modern German Art to New York, 1923-1933." *Archives of American Art Journal* 29.1 and 2 (1989): 2-15.
7. Bell, Raymond M. *Mother Cumberland: Tracing Your Ancestors in South-Central Pennsylvania*. Alexandria, VA: Hearthside Press, 1989.
8. Bowman, Carl Frederick. "Beyond Plainness: Cultural Transformation in the Church of the Brethren from 1850 to the Present." 2 vols. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Virginia, 1989. 920 pp.
9. Brantz, Rennie. "German-American Friendship: The Carl Schurz Vereinigung, 1926-1942." *The International History Review* 11.2 (1989): 229ff.
10. Burkholder, J. Lawrence. *The Problem of Social Responsibility from the Perspective of the Mennonite Church*. Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1989. 238 pp.
11. Cooney, James, ed. *Deutsch-Amerikanische Beziehungen, Jahrbuch 1*. Frankfurt; New York: Campus, 1989. 299 pp.
12. Driedger, Leo. *Mennonites in Winnipeg*. Winnipeg, MB: Kindred Press, 1989. 95 pp.
13. Durnbaugh, Donald F. *Pragmatic Prophet: The Life of Michael Robert Zigler*. Elgin, IL: Brethren Press, 1989. 416 pp. Deals with the life of a major figure of the Brethren Church who lived 1891-1985.
14. Ennis, Joan. "Growing Up Amish." *Faces* 5.9 (June 1989): 4ff.
15. "Ernest Waldo Bechtel." *HSR* 24.3-4 (1989): unpagd. The life of Pennsylvania German dialect writer and radio show personality Bechtel (1923-88), his wisdom, and "Bechtelisms."
16. Fischer, Gerhard. *Enemy Aliens: Internment and the Homefront Experience in Australia 1914-20*. St. Lucia, Queensland: Univ. of Queensland Press, 1989. Useful for the comparison to the German-American experience.
17. Fretz, J. Winfield. *The Waterloo Mennonites: A Community in Paradox*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1989. 391 pp.
18. Galichich, Anne. *The German Americans*. The Peoples of North America Series. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989. 127 pp.
19. Gerber, David A. *The Making of an American Pluralism: Buffalo, New York, 1825-60*. Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series. Urbana and Chicago: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1989. 531 pp.
20. *German-American Business Contacts, 1989*. 2d ed. Darmstadt: Verlag Hoppenstadt, 1989.

21. Geyer, Michael and Konrad H. Jarausch. "The Future of the German Past: Transatlantic Reflections for the 1990s." *Central European History* 22.3-4 (1989): 229-59.
22. Granick, Eve Wheatcroft. *The Amish Quilt*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1989. 192 pp.
23. Hartzler, H. Harold. "Isaiah W. Royer (1873-1968)." *MFH* 8 (1989): 31-33. Minister of the Orrville, OH, Mennonite Church.
24. _____. "Isaac Stoltzfus Mast." *MFH* (1989): 152-53. Minister of Mennonite Church in ND, he was born in Lancaster County, PA, and lived in Mifflin County, PA.
25. _____. "John Ira Byler." *MFH* 8 (1989): 96-97. Born in Mifflin County, PA, and pastor of Mennonite churches in the Midwest, he is best known as a member of the "Singing Byler Family."
26. _____. "Milo Franklin Kauffman." *MFH* 8 (1989): 72. North Dakota Mennonite and president of Hesston College.
27. _____. "The Story of Yonie Kauffman." *MFH* (1989): 148-49. Account of an errant Amish son and an imposter in Mifflin County, PA.
28. Herberg, Edward N. *Ethnic Groups in Canada: Adaptations and Transitions*. Scarborough, ON: Nelson Canada, 1989. 329 pp.
29. Hertzler, Emanuel Cassel. "Grandpa Cassel." *MFH* 8 (1989): 26-30. Mennonite family in southeastern Pennsylvania.
30. Hoffman, William N. *Going Dutch: A Visitor's Guide to the Pennsylvania Dutch Country*. New Rochelle, NY: Spring Garden Publications Co., 1989. 313 pp.
31. Jackson, Dave and Neta Jackson. *On Fire for Christ: Stories of Anabaptist Martyrs Retold from Martyrs' Mirror*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989. 184 pp.
32. Juhnke, James C. *Vision, Doctrine, War: Mennonite Identity and Organization in America, 1890-1930*. Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1989. 394 pp.
33. Kloberdanz, Timothy J. "The Misery of our Forefathers': An Early Volga German Poem from the Oral Tradition." *JAHSGR* 12.4 (Winter 1989): 14ff.
34. Koshar, Rudy J. "Playing the Cerebral Savage: Notes on Writing German History Before the Linguistic Turn." *Central European History* 22.3-4 (1989): 343-59.
35. Kraybill, Donald B. *The Riddle of Amish Culture*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. 304 pp.
36. Laing, Lory. "Population Dynamics of a Canadian Religious Isolate, the Hutterites." Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Alberta, 1989.
37. Levinson, Richard, M., Janet A. Fuchs, and Ronald R. Stoddard. "Behavioral Risk Factors in an Amish Community." *American Journal of Preventive Medicine* 5.3 (May 1989): 150ff.

38. Levy, Alan Howard. "The American Symphony at War: German-American Musicians and Federal Authorities During World War I." *Mid-America: An Historical Review* 71.1 (January 1989): 5ff.
39. Loewen, Harry. "Leaving Home: Canadian Mennonite Literature in the 1980's." *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature Special issue: Literatures of Lesser Diffusion*, (September-December 1989): 687-92. Writings by Canadian Mennonite immigrants in both High and Low German.
40. Mattox, Gale A., and John H. Vaughan, eds. *Germany Through American Eyes: Foreign Policy and Domestic Issues*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1989. 183 pp.
41. Merrill, Peter C. "Milwaukee Artists and Their Studios." *Milwaukee History* 12.3-4 (Autumn-Winter 1989): 94-104. Discusses various German-American artists.
42. Messler, Norbert. "And Meager Magnetism." *Artforum* 27 (March 1989): 125-26. "The BiNational," a two-part traveling exhibit of German and American art, shown in separate locations throughout Germany and the U.S.
43. Miller, Levi. *Ben's Wayne*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1989. 165 pp. Fictional account of growing up Mennonite in Ohio in the 1950s.
44. Mollwitz, Richard J. "My Dad: A Big Leaguer." *Milwaukee History* 12.3-4 (1989): 86-93. Fred Mollwitz, born in Kolberg, Germany in the 1890s, played major league ball between 1913 and 1919.
45. Nagata, Judith A. *Continuity and Change among the Old Order Amish of Illinois*. New York: AMS Press, 1989. 394 pp.
46. Nofzinger, Dale. "Sam B. Short's Woolen Mill." *MFH* 8 (1989): 98-99. Mennonite Mid-West businessman in the early to mid 1950s.
47. Nonemaker, Keith A. "The Early Sollenbergers of America." *MFH* 8 (1989): 62-63. Pennsylvania-German family in Pennsylvania and Virginia.
48. Ortman, David E. "The Ortman-Mennonite Connection." *MFH* 8 (1989): 144-147. The Ortman family of Georgia and other states.
49. Pabisch, Peter. *Sioux und andere Erfahrungen*. Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika, vol. 1. Vermillion, SD: Univ. of South Dakota, 1989. 63 pp. Collection of poems by German-American writer.
50. _____. *Der Morgen leicht wie eine Feder: Gedichte*. Lyrik aus Österreich, vol. 47. Baden bei Wien: G. Grasl, 1989. 64 pp. Collection of poems by German-American writer.
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52. Rauch, Irmengard, Byron Schiffman, and Gregory Trauth. "Computerizing the Bay Area German Project." *American Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Literatures* 1.2 (July 1989): 177-98.
53. Reddig, Ken. "Manitoba Mennonites and the Winnipeg Mobilization Board in World War II." M.A. thesis, Univ. of Manitoba, 1989.
54. Riesen, V. Lyle von. "Where Is Barbara Strohm's Diary?" *MFH* 8 (1989): 22. Mennonite émigré to Iowa in 1852.
55. Ritter, Alexander. "Geschichten aus der Geschichte: Charles Sealsfields erzählerischer Umgang mit dem Historischen am Beispiel des Romans *Das Kajütenbuch*." In *Schriftenreihe der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft*, vol. 4. Stuttgart: Verlag der Charles-Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1989, pp. 127-45.
56. Roth, Lorraine. "The Jutzi/Iutzi/Yutzi Family in Canada." *MFH* 8 (1989): 23-24. Amish family.
57. Sandweiss, Martha A., Rick Stewart, and Ben W. Huseman. *Eyewitness to War: Prints and Daguerreotypes of the Mexican War, 1846-1848*. Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum; and Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989. Includes information on a number of immigrant artists and lithographers, including Charles Fenderich and Emil Klauprecht.
58. Scheuerman, Richard, and Clifford E. Trafzer. *The Volga Germans: Pioneers of the Northwest*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1989. 245 pp.
59. Schreuder, Yda. "Wilmington's Immigrant Settlement: 1880-1920." *Delaware History* 23 (1988-89): 140-66. Germans were the largest immigrant group.
60. Sealsfield, Charles. *Das Kajütenbuch, oder, Nationale Charakteristiken*. Ed. Alexander Ritter. Frankfurt/M: Insel, 1989. 459 pp.
61. Spickard, Paul R. *Mixed Blood. Inter marriage and Ethnic Identity in Twentieth-Century America*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1989. 532 pp. Contains section on intermarriage of German Jews with gentile Americans.
62. Taylor, Richard E., ed. *Verhandlungen (1859-1895): Proceedings of the Evangelical Mennonite Society, Also Known as Mennonite Brethren in Christ, Now Known as the Bible Fellowship Church*. Coopersburg, PA: Historical Committee of the Bible Fellowship Church, 1989.
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64. Trifonoff, Karen M. "Amish Culture As Preserved in Quilts." *Journal of Cultural Geography* 10.1 (Fall 1989): 63ff.

65. Unruh, Georg-Christoph von. "Die amerikanische Verfassung und europäisches Verfassungsdenken--Ausstrahlung und Vergleich: Polen, Norwegen, Deutschland." *Amerikastudien* 34.1 (1989): 135-48.
66. Veith, Werner H. "Zum Alter der Koronalisierung von [ç] nach Ausweis binnendeutscher Sprachinseln und überseeischer Dialekte." In *Sprache, Literatur, Kultur: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte im deutschen Süden und Westen . . .* Stuttgart: Steiner, 1989, pp. 215-35. Includes information on "Pfälzer Wolgadeutsche" in Kansas.
67. Wallman, Charles J. *The German-Speaking Forty-Eighters: Builders of Watertown, Wisconsin*. Madison: The Max Kade Institute for German-American Studies, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1989. 110 pp.
68. Weir, Barbara L. "Mennonite Naturalization." *MFH* 8 (1989): 112-13. 1728 petition for naturalization of members of the "Congregation of Mennists" found in the courthouse of Chester County, PA
69. Welsch, Roger L. "A Peasant's Pride: A Short Celebration of German-Russians." *The World & I* 4.12 (December 1989): 626-33.
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73. Agalides, S. "Amerika as Idea." *Artweek* 21 (7 June 1990): 12. Exhibit of the paintings and drawings by the German-American artist George Grosz at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.
74. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia Northern Illinois Chapter. *Unser Leute: Settlers in Northern Illinois*. [Illinois?]: The Society, 1990. 111 pp.
75. "The Amish." *Catholic Digest* 55.1 (November 1990): 115ff.
76. *The Amish Not to Be Modern*. New York, NY: Filmmakers Library [1990]. 1 videocassette (VHS) (57 min.), sd., col 1/2 in. Shows Amish people performing farm work, creating elaborate quilts, and attending schools. Examines the religious reasons for their unusual lifestyle.
77. Anderson, Harry H. "Peter Engelmann: German-American Pioneer." *Milwaukee History* 41.1 (1991): 20-36.
78. Anderson, Alan B. *German Settlements in Saskatchewan: The Origin and Development of German Catholic, Lutheran, Baptist, Mennonite and*

- Hutterite Communities*. Saskatoon: Saskatchewan German Council Inc., 1990. 56 pp.
79. Aulenbach, Vivien Griewemer. "Two Hundred Years of Service: A History of the Reading Public Library." *HRBC* 55 (1990): 156-63, 166-71, 174, 176, 178-88. Pennsylvania Germans have been active in the library from its earliest days.
 80. Autry, Gloria Diener. "Moses Schallenger's Journey to California in 1844." *MFH* 9 (1990): 133-145. Account from the journal as published in an 1888 book of this German-American pioneer.
 81. *Aylmer Amish Directory*, 1990. Aylmer, ON: n.p., 1990. 28 pp.
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 83. Barbour, Hugh S. "Comparisons and Contrasts among Historic Peace Churches." *ML* 45.4 (1990): 35-36. Quakers, Brethren, and Mennonites.
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 86. Beck, Ervin. "Mennonite Origin Tales and Beliefs." *MQR* 64 (1990): 33-48
 87. Becker, Gerhard. "German Theater in Milwaukee, 1914 to 1918." *Milwaukee History* 13.1 (Spring 1990): 2-10.
 88. Becker, Sibylle. "The Hutterites Architecture and Community." M. E. Des., Univ. of Calgary, 1989. Ottawa: National Library of Canada Thesis, 1990. 3 microfiches (227 fr.).
 89. Beissel, James D., Sr. *The Wedge: The Beissel-Beissel International Genealogy*. Willow Street, PA: Crystal Educational Counselors, 1990. 462 pp.
 90. Bell, Leo E. *Our Ancestors and Their Descendants: The Henkel Family History*. Grand Forks, ND: Leo E. Bell, 1990. 143 leaves.
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