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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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FROM THE EDITORS

The variety of articles and reports in this volume of the *Yearbook* reveals the breadth and richness of German-American studies. Ranging from linguistics to politics, the topics covered in this volume again demonstrate the multidisciplinary nature of our field.

Themes that seem characteristic of specific periods are examined and interpreted in their respective centuries: women's autobiographies among Moravians in eighteenth-century Pennsylvania; paradigms of America expressed in nineteenth-century literary works; and the entanglement of art, economics, politics and prejudice in the twentieth century; these topics are treated extensively in essays by Katherine Faull, Jerry Schuchalter, and Penny Bealle. Since migration–emigration and immigration–furnishes the basis for German-American studies, Robert Selig's overview of the legal aspects pertaining to emigration from Europe offers illuminating insights into the complexity of this endeavor.

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, edited by H. A. Ratterman in Cincinnati, one of the centers of German publishing in the nineteenth century, is described in a report by Cary Daniel, while the major stations of Hans Stoltenberg's career as a painter of rural Wisconsin are sketched by Peter Merrill. The opening essay by Brian Lewis on the Swiss German of New Glarus, Wisconsin, makes a significant contribution to the debate surrounding the loss of case distinctions in German-American speech islands. The concluding essay by John Thiesen discusses the attitudes and reactions of American Mennonites, especially within the General Conference, toward Nazi Germany. In a wider context it deals with the question: How does a particular ethnic and religious group relate to and articulate its attachment to a linguistic and cultural homeland?

Also included in this volume is an "Index" of articles and book reviews for volumes 21 to 27 (1986-92) of the *Yearbook*. The "Index" is in four parts: Articles, Book Reviews, Authors of Book Reviews, and a Topical Index. We hope both our readers and others interested in German-American studies will find the "Index" to be a useful resource.

As always, we express our sincere appreciation for the efforts of the Bibliographic Committee chaired by Giles and Dolores Hoyt, the book review editor, Jerry Glenn, and the members of the Editorial Board.

Max Kade Center for German-American Studies
at the University of Kansas
Lawrence, Kansas
October 1993

Brian Lewis

Swiss German in Wisconsin: The Assessment of Changes in Case Marking

The village of New Glarus, which is named for one of the smallest cantons in Switzerland, is located southwest of Madison in Green County, Wisconsin.[1] As Eichhoff (1971, 57) has pointed out, there is no single linguistic entity that might be called Wisconsin German. Swiss German is one of the many individual German dialects ranging from Low German to High Alemannic that have been spoken in the state. Relatively few of these dialects have been the subject of a detailed linguistic study. The present article will give a brief history of settlement and language use in New Glarus, review accounts of changes in case marking in other American German dialects and assess the changes of this type that have occurred in a dialect of Swiss German spoken in New Glarus.

The history of New Glarus and the surrounding area is typical of that of rural nineteenth-century German communities in the Midwest.[2] The village was founded in 1845 by immigrants from Canton Glarus who had left the canton for economic reasons. Immigration reached a peak in 1860 when 446 newcomers arrived to increase the population of New Glarus to 960. In the first twenty years of the settlement the majority of the Swiss settlers came from Glarus, but after this there was little immigration from this source, except again in the 1880s, when Glarus experienced further economic problems. Smaller numbers of immigrants arrived from other Swiss cantons, especially Canton Bern. Swiss settlement eventually spread over most parts of Green County and into neighboring counties. Today, this is a region of dairy farming, in the development of which the Swiss played a major role. Dairy farming was introduced by immigrants from Bern and only taken up by the settlers from Glarus in Wisconsin.

Language use in New Glarus was stable in the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century, English was the language for both everyday and official contacts with non-Swiss and was one of the languages of the

school. At that time Standard German was used in the church, the newspaper and the school. Swiss German was still the means of communication of the Swiss among themselves. Standard German was completely replaced by English in the school in 1914, in the newspaper in 1921, and in the church in 1950. At the time of the author's recordings in New Glarus between 1966 and 1972, the ability to speak Standard German or even to read or understand it was rare. The use of Swiss German had declined, too. In the families that came to Wisconsin in the nineteenth century, only the middle and older generations still spoke Swiss German, and, when they did so, they spoke only with family and close friends.

Because of the diversity of Swiss German dialects, the exact origins of the Swiss settlers in New Glarus are important for linguistic studies. The majority of the immigrants came from the villages of the Grosstal and the Kleintal, two valleys in the southern part of the canton. A smaller number, speaking a somewhat different dialect, emigrated from the Mittelland of the canton. Emigrants from other cantons, particularly Canton Bern, can be said to make up a third group. A dialect based on the speech of the Grosstal and Kleintal, the home of the largest group, became the dominant Swiss German dialect in the area. It is the dialect described in this article.

Methods

This study is based on fieldwork carried out by the author in New Glarus in 1966, 1967 and 1972. It thus describes the dialect spoken in the area more than twenty years ago. Already at that time it proved very difficult to find younger speakers of the dialect. Today few speakers of this Glarus dialect remain. In 1966 and 1967, eleven informants completed a slightly revised version of Lester Seifert's Wisconsin German Questionnaire (1946), a collection of more than 700 English sentences grouped according to topic and intended for translation. A shorter questionnaire of the same type was used in 1972 with twelve informants and supplemented by spontaneous spoken material from these twelve speakers and from others. The total number of informants was twenty-eight.

Earlier Studies of Case Marking in American German

It is not surprising that descriptions of American German have dealt particularly with the lexicon, since that is the aspect of language which is most susceptible to change in *Sprachinseln* and other language contact situations. In the area of morphosyntax the marking of cases is a topic that has received some attention. The changes that have occurred in the case systems of different varieties of American German provide an

opportunity to examine the role played by English influence, continuing internal developments and other factors in grammatical change.

The investigation of spoken American German almost always involves German dialects rather than the standard language. The study of the changes in case marking requires therefore careful consideration of the different case systems of the original German dialects and of the continuing development of these dialects in Europe. The reduced case systems of German dialects contrast with the more conservative four-case system of modern Standard German. The loss of genitive forms, except for traces, is general in German dialects. Two other major differences from the standard language involve the merger of the masculine nominative and accusative in some parts of speech in the west and southwest of the German-speaking area and the use of accusative or nominative/accusative forms to express former dative functions, especially in the north.[3] All the major types of German case marking systems are represented in North America. Reports of changes in case marking have involved those varieties in which there was a separate dative case form at the time of immigration. The characteristic feature of these developments has been the loss in some way of the dative forms.

The first report of the loss of dative forms in American German was made by Eikel (1949), who found extensive use of accusative forms for datives in the speech of New Braunfels, Texas. Because older speakers had retained the dative to a greater extent than younger ones, he suggested that English interference was the main reason for the changes. Gilbert (1965b, 109), who recorded the same phenomenon and the same difference between generations in the Texas German koiné that arose in Kendall and Gillespie counties, regarded the development as having its origin in the dialects brought there by the immigrants, supported by the structure of English. He later (1980, 237) also attributed decreasing use of the dative in the formal oral style to decreasing literacy in Standard German, which began after the First World War, when formal instruction in German was banned. Dialect contact was suggested by Pulte (1970) as a cause of the loss of the dative in German dialects in North Texas and Oklahoma. Salmons, whose findings in Gillespie County, Texas, were similar to those of Eikel and Gilbert, sees in these changes a typical kind of language change, but also the possible "beginning of some breakdown of the language system " (1983, 194).

After making a survey of German dialects in Wisconsin, Eichhoff (1971, 52) stated that they preserved the forms of the homeland dialects, but he made no specific reference to case systems. Many of the dialects Eichhoff found in the state are dialects of Low German which have no separate dative form. McGraw, who reported the loss of the dative in the Kölsch of Dane County, Wisconsin, noted "a strong tendency to confuse the dative and accusative of all personal pronouns which have separate

forms for the two cases" (1973, 189) and attributed it to the influence of English. In the Swiss German of New Glarus, Wisconsin, the author reported the preservation of dative forms except in the plural endings of nouns (Lewis 1973, 222).

In Pennsylvania German, Anderson and Martin (1976) made an early report of the loss of the dative case in the speech of Old Order Mennonites. The most detailed study of changes in case marking in Pennsylvania German has been carried out by Huffines, who attributes the almost exclusive use of accusative and common case forms for the dative in sectarian Pennsylvania German speech to convergence with English (1989, 223). Similarly, Louden (1988, 147) considers case merger in plain Pennsylvania German to be the result of syntactic convergence with English in a stable bilingual community. In non-sectarian Pennsylvania German, the retention of the dative by native speakers and its disappearance among non-native speakers are seen by Huffines (1989, 223) as the result of a gradual loss of contact with the Pennsylvania German norm in a community where the dominant language has become English.

Most recently, changes in case marking have been reported in Indiana. Freeouf is not specific in his explanation of case marking changes in the Jasper-Ferdinand area of Dubois County, attributing them to a combination of factors that include "the relationship between the written language (SG) and base dialects, interference and convergence, language shift and language death, and internal structural tendencies" (1989, 184).

These various accounts of the nature and causes of changes in the marking of cases in American German have been published in the last forty years or more. There is no comprehensive treatment of this topic, although Clausing discusses the literature up to the mid 1980s with a focus on the role of English influence and comes to the conclusion that "case coalescence in Texas German and elsewhere may be only marginally connected to English influence" (1986, 65).

The Original Case System in New Glarus

Determining the origins of the immigrants in New Glarus and their original case system is a relatively straightforward matter, especially when compared with the same task in settlements like the Volga German communities in Kansas with their complex history (Keel 1982). In New Glarus it is clear that the great majority of immigrants came from Canton Glarus, Switzerland, with the addition of a small number from Canton Bern and other Swiss cantons. There were no other German-speaking groups in the area besides the Swiss.

Jost Winteler's classic monograph, *Die Kerenzer Mundart des Kantons Glarus in ihren Grundzügen dargestellt*, which appeared in 1876 and was one of the first detailed studies of a German dialect, provides a description of the dialect of Glarus in the latter half of the nineteenth century.[4] Information about the case system in Glarus in this century is provided by Streiff (1915) and by the maps of the third volume of the *Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz* (Hotzenköcherle 1975), for which data were collected in 1946 and 1947 in eleven localities in Canton Glarus, including five in the Grosstal and Kleintal. The author's own fieldwork in Canton Glarus, Switzerland, in 1968 and 1969 provides data for approximately the same period as the recordings in New Glarus.

The case system of the dialects brought to New Glarus was typical both of Swiss German dialects in general and of the dialects of southwestern Germany. In definite and indefinite articles, demonstratives, possessives and adjective endings, there was a two-way contrast both in the singular of all genders (including the masculine) and in the plural between the nominative/accusative form (i.e., a common case) on the one hand and the dative on the other. The nominative/accusative form in the masculine singular, which had already developed before the emigration to the United States, no doubt by analogy with the structure of the feminine, neuter and plural declensions, usually took the form of the nominative. In the personal pronouns, the same case contrasts existed as in Standard German, namely, a three-way contrast between nominative, accusative and dative in some forms, a two-way contrast in the others. The dative was also marked in the plural of some nouns. Plural forms that did not already end in *-ä* added *-ä* after consonants, e.g., *Chind* (nom. and acc. pl.) *Chindä* (dat. pl.) 'children', and *-nä* after vowels except *-i*, e.g., *Sùù* (nom. and acc. pl.) *Sùùna* (dat. pl.) 'sons'. Nouns ending in *-i* dropped the ending and added *-enä*, e.g., *Mäitli* (nom. and acc. pl.) *Mäitlenä* (dat. pl.) 'girls'.[5]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the dative in this Swiss German dialect had a separate identity, and the dative forms marked the traditional dative functions. This is basically the same original case system as the one usually assumed for Pennsylvania German. The use of German for a considerably longer period in Pennsylvania has led to the choice of a different baseline for identifying the changes in this dialect. Huffines (1989, 216) takes as her starting point the forms used by the oldest non-sectarian speakers. Louden (1988, 135) uses a reconstructed linguistic ancestor of modern varieties of Pennsylvania German, which he calls Common Pennsylvania German.

The Case System in New Glarus in the Twentieth Century

An examination of the data from New Glarus indicates that the majority of informants used the dative case, with very few exceptions, wherever it was required, for all articles, other determiners, personal pronouns and adjective endings. (The dative plural endings of nouns and other minor changes will be discussed below.) Tables 1 and 2, which list the forms of the definite article and personal pronouns most frequently recorded, illustrate the case system of this group of speakers.

Table 1

Definite Article

	M	N	F	Pl
NA	dr	ds + noun	d + noun	d + noun
		des + adj.	di + adj.	di + adj.
D	em, mm	em, mm	dr, r	de

Table 2

Personal Pronouns

N	ich, i	du, de, t	èr, er	sii, si	ees, es, s
A	mich, mi	dich, di	ine, ne	sii, si	ines, s
D	mir, mer	dir, der	im, em	ire, ere	im, em

N	mir, mer	ir, er	sii, si
A	ǜǜs, ǜs	üüx, ex	sii, si
D	ǜǜs, ǜs	üüx, ex	ine, ne

The following sentences contain typical examples of their use of the dative.

Dr Ove isch i dr Chùchi
'The stove is in the kitchen'

Gim mer es Glaas Wasser
'Give me a glass of water'

D Chüe sind im Gadä
'The cows are in the barn'

Es isch e Nachtüüel i dèm Baum
'There is an owl in that tree'

The majority who consistently used these dative forms were the oldest speakers, born between 1885 and 1920. Ten of the eleven informants who completed the Wisconsin German Questionnaire belonged to this group. They used four or fewer non-dative forms in the approximately 180 environments in which dative forms are historically required in the questionnaire. Non-dative forms tended to occur when the modified noun was unfamiliar or there was some other difficulty in the sentence. Essentially, these speakers showed no loss of the dative form to express dative functions.[6] The minority of informants who showed a pattern of more, sometimes much more, use of non-dative variants to express dative functions were younger, born in 1920 or later. The loss of the dative manifested itself in a number of different ways. The use of an accusative or a nominative/accusative case form for a dative, which has been reported in Texas German, Pennsylvania German and other dialects, was recorded in New Glarus too. (In the following examples the expected dative form is given in parentheses.)

Mir häid e Ränter ùff ùùseri Farem (ùùserer)
'We have a renter on our farm'

Èr isch äine vù di èèrschte Manne gsii wo . . . (de)
'He was one of the first men who . . .'

Däätisch du mich dry Daler etliä? (mir)
'Would you lend me three dollars?'

But, significantly, the replacement of datives by accusative or nominative/accusative forms was not the only development. All of the informants in this group also used variants of other types. For example, new forms of the definite article were created.

Mir sitzed i dere Stùbä (dr)

'We're sitting in the living room'

Mit em es Ross (eme)
'On a horse'

Sometimes the gender selection was inappropriate.

Dr Ove isch im Chùchi (i dr)
'The stove is in the kitchen'

In contrast to these findings for determiners, pronouns and adjectives, the loss of the dative plural ending in nouns occurred in different degrees in the speech of all informants, including the older majority who retained the dative case in other parts of speech. Patterns of use varied. Some speakers rarely used the ending, but others preserved it almost completely. Occasionally the ending was alternately used and omitted in repetitions of a single word by the same speaker. The following examples illustrate this failure to mark the dative plural of nouns. (Expected dative forms are given in parentheses.)

Mir gänd ùùsere Hüender Chorä (Hüenderä)
'We give our chickens corn'

Bi de chlyne Lövi (Lövenä)
'With the little chicks'

The ending was also occasionally added to loan words. For example, several speakers used *vù myne Kändenä* 'of my candies', a form based on *Kändi* 'candy', no doubt by analogy with a word like *Mäitli* (nom. and acc. pl.) *Mäitlenä* (dat. pl.) 'girls'.

Explanation of the Case Forms Recorded in New Glarus

The preservation of the dative case by a majority of the New Glarus informants in determiners, pronouns and adjectives, contrasts with the reports of changes in case marking in many other varieties of American German.[7] In New Glarus, it seems probable that the continued, if eventually only occasional, use by the majority of informants of what was earlier in their lives an everyday means of communication was sufficient to preserve the basic form of the original case system, even if their speech shows evidence of decline in other areas, e.g., in the range of their vocabulary and their repertoire of stylistic options.

The explanation of the non-dative variants used by a minority of informants in these parts of speech requires consideration of the factors that

that cause changes in an immigrant dialect. The possible causes of change include the continuation of internal changes that were already in progress, external factors like the influence of English, Standard German and other dialects, and the decline of linguistic proficiency. New Glarus provides an opportunity to study the process of change in a relatively well-defined situation.

A number of these factors clearly played no role in the developments that took place in New Glarus. Continuing internal change within the dialect is not a likely cause of the loss of the dative in determiners, pronouns and adjectives, because in these parts of speech the dative was stable at the time of emigration from Switzerland, and it remains so today in Canton Glarus. An interaction between dialect and standard language is also not a plausible agent of change in New Glarus. Standard German played only a minor role in the community and was little known by the informants. If it had been influential, it would have in any case supported the preservation of dative forms. Leveling as a result of dialect contact can be discounted too, since there was in New Glarus no contact with a dialect with a different case system.[8]

The possible role of English interference needs more detailed examination. Haugen (1973, 536) pointed out the importance of a distinction, which he believed was sometimes neglected, between deviations from the norm caused by English interference and changes occurring as a result of a decline in an individual's linguistic skills. Clausing (1986, 60), in enlarging upon Haugen's statement, uses the term "morphological decay" for the latter type of change and suggests that it is found in forms that do not correspond to English structures. The fact that the minority of informants in New Glarus who did not always preserve the dative in determiners, pronouns and adjectives employ both accusatives and a variety of other non-dative forms to replace it suggests that English influence is not solely responsible for the changes, if it is at all, since these variants do not all reflect the structure of English.

The most likely explanation for the loss of dative forms in the younger group of speakers is the decline of their language skills. We can speculate that when these speakers were growing up, use of the dialect was already becoming less common, and that the dialect was in most cases not their first language. It may be that they achieved full competence in the dialect and then gradually lost it through disuse or that they did not ever completely learn the dialect that was a second language for them. They may have lost some of their less than complete proficiency through lack of use. English is a possible model for the use of accusative for dative, but it is difficult to be sure about the extent of its influence.

The non-dative forms recorded in New Glarus show a number of similarities to those reported by Huffines (1989) for non-sectarian speakers

of Pennsylvania German who were the first and second of their generation in their families to learn English as a first language. Huffines explains the variant forms as the result of a decline in the informant's linguistic skills or incomplete learning, attributing them to internal analogy in the speech of informants who have lost contact with the norm.

The sporadic lack of a dative plural ending on nouns was attributed by the author (Lewis 1973, 222) solely to English influence, but English influence almost certainly was no more than a possible contributing factor. The maps of the *Sprachatlas der deutschen Schweiz* (Hotzenköcherle 1975, 172, 181, 190) show instances of the loss of this ending in Glarus, especially in the plural of diminutives in *-li*. In New Glarus, nouns ending in -i are particularly liable to lose the ending. The same loss of the ending was also found by Weber (1964, 109) among younger speakers in the nearby Swiss canton of Zurich, where it was attributed to internal leveling and the influence of other dialects where this loss had already occurred. Seen from this point of view, the omission of this ending in New Glarus can be interpreted as part of the continuing process of the loss of case differentiation in nouns in Swiss German. The dative is leveled with the form of the nominative and accusative plural. Analogy with English noun plurals, which lack an equivalent ending, may have played a role in the change, perhaps accelerating the process.[9]

Other Changes

Several other minor variants for the dative that are to be found occasionally in the speech of almost all informants in New Glarus merit brief mention here. They do not involve significant changes in the dialect, but serve to illustrate the variety of forms that can occur. The dative of the first person singular personal pronoun, *mer*, is replaced by *mi*, which has the form of an unstressed accusative pronoun.

> *Bring mi das ander Glaas (mer)*
> 'Bring me that other glass'

This substitution is no doubt related to the translation process, since it occurs mainly in the translation of sentences beginning "Give me" or "Bring me." Other English pronouns also appear to be used from time to time for both dative and non-dative forms.

> *Die Bluuse passt er nùùd (ere)*
> 'That blouse doesn't fit her'

> *Wi häid zwii Bùllä (Mir)*
> 'We have two bulls'

Another occasional change is the replacement of the feminine dative singular of the definite article, *dr* by *de*.

Si häid i de Chilche Hoochset gchaa (*dr*)
'They were married in the church'

This reduction of *dr* to *de* occurs also in the masculine nominative/accusative singular of the definite article.

Èr het de Gade uusegmischtet (*dr*)
'He cleaned the stable'

While changes of this type have occurred in Switzerland in cantons close to Glarus (Hotzenköcherle 1975, 135; Meyer 1967, 47), it seems likely that the new forms in New Glarus are not related to them, but rather influenced by English "the."[10]

Conclusion

The majority of informants in New Glarus preserved the case endings of the original dialect in determiners, pronouns and adjective endings, while a minority, the youngest speakers, failed to mark the dative consistently in these parts of speech. The non-dative variants were interpreted as the consequence of a decline in the linguistic skills of the latter group or of their incomplete learning of the dialect. A tendency not to mark the dative plural of nouns was present in varying degrees in all speakers and regarded as a likely result of a continuing internal development in the dialect, possibly supported by the influence of English.

This study of Swiss German in Wisconsin suggests a number of points pertinent to the investigation of the case systems of the dialects spoken in German-American communities established in the nineteenth century. At the time when these dialects were brought to North America, there were significant differences between their case systems. Since emigration, changes have continued to take place in the dialects spoken in Europe. To identify and explain the changes that have occurred in an American German dialect, it is essential to make a careful comparison with both the original European dialect or dialects and their modern counterparts. Forms that appear at first sight to be exclusively North American may turn out to be original features of a dialect brought to North America or to have a parallel in the modern dialects in Europe. In communities where there was more than one original dialect, leveling as the result of contact between dialects with different case systems needs to be given serious consideration.

The dissimilar development in New Glarus of the datives in determiners, personal pronouns and adjectives on the one hand and in the plural of nouns on the other has shown that changes in case marking within a single dialect are not necessarily all of the same type and may not all have the same cause or causes.

Inter-speaker variation that results from the decline of the linguistic skills of some speakers makes it necessary to examine the speech of individuals separately and not treat the speakers of a dialect as a single group. The changes that are characteristic of a receding language in an unstable bilingual situation need to be distinguished from the regular linguistic change that takes place in a stable bilingual setting where there continues to be transmission of the language to younger speakers as a first language, as, for example, among sectarian speakers of Pennsylvania German. Huffines (1988, 392) has pointed out that native speakers of American German are now only to be found in separatist, religious groups, such as the Old Order Amish, the Old Order Mennonites and the Hutterites. In all other German-American communities, German is in decline and the changes that result from the incomplete learning of a language or the erosion of language skills need to be taken into account. It is in this area particularly now that the German still spoken in communities founded in the nineteenth century can provide data for linguistic study and insights into language change.

University of Colorado at Boulder
Boulder, Colorado

Notes

[1] This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Sixteenth Annual Symposium of the Society for German-American Studies in Lawrence, Kansas, May 1992. The author is grateful to Lois Huffines and William Keel for helpful comments on the original paper.

[2] More detailed accounts of the settlement of New Glarus and language use in the community are to be found in Brunnschweiler (1954) and Lewis (1973).

[3] The geographical distribution of case systems in German dialects is described in Schirmunski (1962) and Shrier (1965).

[4] Kerenzen is a village in the northern part of Canton Glarus, at the opposite end of the canton from the Grosstal and Kleintal where most of the settlers in New Glarus originated, but the dialects of the two areas are very similar and more like each other than they are to the intervening dialects of the Glarner Mittelland and Unterland. On the history of the settlement of the canton, see Trüb (1951, 254).

[5] The spellings follow, with a few exceptions, the principles of Eugen Dieth's (1938) manual for the spelling of Swiss German. Words are spelled as they are spoken without regard for the usual Standard German spelling. In this article, the letter *e* represents schwa in articles and personal pronouns, as well as in unstressed syllables in other words. Vowels with a grave accent are open vowels.

[6] Huffines (1991, 190) has shown that in Pennsylvania German more conservative forms are found in translation than in free conversation.

[7] In a study of another immigrant Swiss German dialect, a Canton Bern dialect spoken in Ohio and Indiana, Wenger (1969) makes no mention of the loss of case distinctions, except in the dative plural of nouns.

[8] On the other hand, the phonology and the verb forms of this dialect in New Glarus both provide the opportunity for the study of dialect contact.

[9] Wenger (1969) mentions the loss of the dative ending in the plural of nouns in the Canton Bern dialect spoken in Ohio and Indiana, but does not offer an explanation for these forms.

[10] In any event, this change does not involve a replacement of the dative by the accusative since the nominative/accusative form of the feminine singular definite article before nouns is not *de*, but usually a single consonant *d*, which is assimilated to the first consonant or vowel of the following noun. Before adjectives, the nominative/accusative form of this article is *di*.

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Robert A. Selig

The Idea and Practice of the *Ius Emigrandi* in the Holy Roman Empire from the Reformation to the French Revolution

Ever since the Great Revolution of 1789, Western democracies have used the presence, or absence, of what were then defined as "human rights" as a criterion for judging the fairness and openness of political systems. Freedom of movement within a territory as well as the irrevocable privilege to leave that territory, i.e., to emigrate, for them always represented an integral component of the body of human rights, which also includes freedom of speech, religion and conscience. States which deny their citizens the right to emigrate are considered to be not much more than huge jail cells, a fact keenly felt by all those suffering behind its bars. Consequently the call for freedom of movement was one of the most important demands of the people of Europe in the early sixteenth century as well as in Eastern Europe in the fall of 1989. The purpose of this paper will be to trace the development of the *ius emigrandi* as it changed from an emergency right of the Protestant Reformation to the human right of the French Revolution, and to show some of the discrepancies that existed between the "idea" and the "reality" of the right to emigrate between roughly 1555 and 1789.[1]

The origins of the modern concept of emigration are closely connected with the rise of the early modern European state. Ulrich Scheuner pointed out in 1951 that the Middle Ages did not know our concept of emigration. The *Personenverbandstaat* was not based on the idea of the territorially defined, impersonal state: loyalty was owed the ruler independent of the place of residence. Only with the evolution of the concept of a territorially rather than personally defined sovereignty did migration from a community of people become a legal issue. It was quickly demanded as a right and privilege by the free burghers of the medieval cities.[2]

Once they had paid their emigration tax or *Nachsteuer*, free citizens were at liberty to move wherever and whenever they wanted to, and the

expansion of this concept from the burgher of the city-state to the citizen of post-1789 Europe began in the sixteenth century. Despite severe attacks during the Age of Absolutism it was endorsed and advanced by the *philosophes* of the Enlightenment and became one of the cornerstones of a free society. But the modern idea of freedom of emigration can only be understood within the context of the fundamental political, social, and religious changes which took place in Germany during the sixteenth century.

By the sixteenth century, the struggle between the centrifugal and centripetal forces in the Empire had been decided in favor of the princes. As the princes tried to consolidate their powers, to mediatize competing authorities and to penetrate the thicket of medieval liberties, rights and privileges, they faced serious adversaries in their estates, who demanded participation in the decision-making process of the realm. In practice this meant a say in the levying of taxes, which included taxes on emigrants and their property, and manumission fees for unfree peasants.[3] Using medieval charters as a model, however, the estates increasingly also demanded "liberties" in the modern sense, including freedom of movement, as their due on the basis of what they considered a reciprocal relationship between ruler and ruled.

Where the princes were weak or beset by domestic and/or foreign policy problems, the estates were successful. Taking advantage of the pecuniary crisis of Duke Ulrich of Württemberg and the turmoil surrounding the peasant revolt of the *Armer Konrad*, the estates of Württemberg were able in 1514 to force the duke in the *Tübinger Vertrag* to grant all his subjects *freyer Zug* within twenty years. But in 1520 already all emigration taxes were abolished, and many historians have seen in this treaty, which was in effect into the nineteenth century, the first constitutional guarantee of free emigration.[4]

A few years later, in 1525, the peasants of southwestern Germany rebelled. They felt their legal and economic position threatened by the attempts of the lords to increase their financial obligations, curtailing their use of the commons and forests, and to undermine their legal status. When the peasants demanded proof of all existing financial obligations and labor services, the creation of a new order based on divine and natural law, and the abolition of all servitude as contrary to the Bible, they not only threatened the existing political order. The prominent place of the demand for a society of free people, including freedom of movement, among the peasants' grievances in 1525 threatened the social structure of society as well. "Christ redeemed and bought us all with his precious blood, the lowliest shepherd as well as the greatest lord, with no exceptions. Thus the Bible proves that we are free and want to be free."[5] The inhabitants of the cities had gained their freedom in the Middle Ages, but in the countryside, the traditional relationship between ruler and

ruled was still based on bondage, on *Unfreiheit*, and would remain so for centuries. The Peasants' War ended in failure and by 1526 the rulers had wreaked terrible vengeance. But the issue of freedom of movement, demanded by the peasants as a divine and natural right, had to be dealt with in great detail by the Diet of Speyer the next year. At that time the Empire decided not to take action, but what was denied in 1525, the rulers were forced to grant in 1530.

In 1517, Martin Luther's ninety-five theses had sounded the beginnings of the Reformation. By 1530 the unity of the Christian occident was a thing of the past. After the interlude of the rebellion of the imperial knights and the peasant unrest, both of which had greatly enhanced the princes' power, the rulers of Germany were forced to address the question of dissenting Christians within their territories. Once they had granted themselves the right to determine the faith of their subjects in the *ius reformandi*, they faced the problem of what to do with those who did not want to share the faith of their rulers. Almost immediately they realized that the recognition of the principle of the *cuius regio, eius religio* had to be accompanied by the granting of the *ius emigrandi* as an emergency right to avoid domestic unrest and possible civil war. The princes' *ius reformandi* had to be accompanied by the *beneficium emigrandi* for the subjects.[6]

By 1530 the Diet of Speyer had granted Catholics the right to emigrate from territories whose rulers had converted to Protestantism. In 1544 this privilege was revoked, but reinstated in 1548. In 1555, the Peace of Augsburg guaranteed the perpetual right of emigration for religious reasons in paragraph twenty-four, dependent upon the "zimlichen billigen Abtrag der Leibeigenschafft und Nachsteuer, wie es jedes Orts von alters anhero üblichen herbracht und gehalten worden ist." This included the unfree, even if the peace treaty confirmed the right of the lords "der Leibeigenen halben, dieselbigen ledig zu zehlen oder nicht, hiedurch nichts abgebrochen oder benommen seyn."[7]

After 1555, the right to emigration could no longer be denied, but given the concurrent legalization of the emigration tax, German princes as well as cities and the nobility, weary of the danger of mediatization by powerful neighbors, wasted no time in introducing it in their own territory. Such a tax provided a convenient way to define the territorial affiliation of a community, enhanced the financial fortunes of the state, and proclaimed the independence of those able to collect it. As early as 1556, Bishop Melchior von Zobel of Würzburg ordered a new, state-wide emigration tax to be collected from all subjects, "welche vnter frembde, vns vnverwandte Herrschafften vnd gebiet ziehen."[8] This practice clearly defeated the ends of the law of 1555, which had only spoken of older, municipal, and already established fees and taxes, but the *Steuerhoheit*

became a "Kriterium der Landeshoheit, der sich auch die mediaten Herrschaften nicht entziehen konnten."[9]

But the reformers, too, demanded the right to emigrate as a safety valve. Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Huldrych Zwingli all rejected resistance to the God-given authorities as evil. Luther especially became a strong supporter of the right to emigrate when he said in one of his table talks in 1535: "Wo die Obrigkeit feindlich ist, da weichen wir, verkaufen wir, verlassen wir alles und fliehen von einem Staate in den andern, denn um des Evangeliums willen ist nicht durch Widerstand leisten Unruhe zu verursachen, sondern man muß alles ertragen."[10]

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the right to emigrate came increasingly under attack by the state. Even though in 1648 the Treaty of Westphalia had confirmed in article thirty-six the right of free emigration, the Age of Absolutism placed the interests of the state above those of the individual. Whether a subject could emigrate or not was decided from now on by the *Staatsraison*. Since a large population and a positive balance of trade were considered beneficial for the wealth and power of a state, it was more than inclined to prohibit any emigration outright. As early as 1583, Jean Bodin took it for granted that a magistrate had the right to prohibit emigration.[11] In 1516, Thomas More called for the punishment of those who left their bounds without permit,[12] and a few years later, in 1625, Hugo Grotius upheld the right of governments to forbid emigration and to levy taxes on emigrants.[13] Thomas Hobbes in 1651 knew only two possibilities for emigration: "either by permission, as he, who gets license to dwell in another Country; or Command, as he who is *Banisht*."[14] Throughout the eighteenth century, philosophers like Christian Wolff (in 1721) denied the right of people to emigrate on the grounds that this might hurt the interests of the community as a whole.[15]

In the seventeenth century, treaties had still contained stipulations upholding the freedom of emigration for religious reasons,[16] but in the eighteenth century no more than lip service was paid to the law, despite vehement opposition by jurists like Johann Jacob Moser and the attempts of the *Reichshofrat* to uphold the *ius emigrandi*. Decrees like the one in 1723, which stated that "es wider der teutschen Freyheit lauffe, den Unterthanen das auch außer des westphälischen Friedensschlußes im Römischen Reiche zugelassene ius emigrandi zu nehmen," could not be enforced against the king of Prussia.[17] Even princes like Duke Ernst von Sachsen-Hildburghausen argued that "es großen Anstoß verursachen würde, wenn denen Unterthanen zu ieder zeit und nach ihrem bloßen wahn oder auf solche art, daß einem landsherrn dadurch nachtheil zuwächse, frey stehen sollte, ihre subiection zu verändern."[18] Some fifty years later, in 1764, Prince-Bishop Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim of Würzburg asserted that it "in des Unterthanen freyer Willkühr keineswegs

stehet, sich dem seiner Höchsten Landes=Herrschaft schuldigen Gehorsam eigenes Gefallens zu entziehen."[19] Starting in France in 1669, a flood of decrees prohibiting emigration, filled with threats of gruesome punishment for recruiter and emigrant alike and exorbitant fees and taxes on the property of those emigrants who received permission to leave, swept across Europe in the eighteenth century, culminating in an imperial decree in 1768. But when the decree was renewed in 1786, not even the new prince-bishop of Würzburg, Franz Ludwig von Erthal, published it any more.[20]

In the Age of Enlightenment, the idea of human rights and the concept of the social contract placed the question of emigration on a completely new foundation. Men were understood to be free and equal individuals, who formed a community of their own free will with the purpose of protecting their rights. Arguing from the context of natural law, Samuel Pufendorf declared in 1688 that people reserved for themselves the right to emigrate when they voluntarily joined a state.[21] On the basis of this assumption John Locke concluded in 1690 that at least once in their lives people should be given the choice to leave their home state.[22] In 1776, Adam Smith denounced restrictions on emigration as "contrary to the boasted liberty of the subject, . . . which is so plainly sacrificed to the futile interest of our merchants and manufacturers."[23] While Jean Jacques Rousseau was still voicing opposition to free emigration as late as 1775,[24] Germans like Johann Christoph Fresenius stated unequivocally in the year of the American Revolution: "Der Staat ist eine freiwillige Gesellschaft, und niemand begibt sich in den Staat, um Sclave zu werden."[25] A few years later, Johann Jacob Cella was demanding the right to emigrate as the symbol of freedom: "Ist nicht die Freyheit, einen Zustand nach belieben verändern zu können, die Summe aller menschlichen Glückseeligkeit?"[26] But when Heinrich von Berg wrote in 1799, "der freie teutsche Unterthan ist nicht an die Erden gebunden," he did not yet speak for all Germans.[27]

Within the next few years, however, the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation came to its end under the onslaught of the Napoleonic armies, who brought with them the achievements of the French Revolution, including freedom of emigration as a human right as guaranteed in the Constitution of 1791.[28] Servitude, manumission fees, and state and local emigration taxes disappeared within the reorganized Germany. With them went the restrictions on emigration, which were also forbidden by the German Confederation.[29]

It took almost three hundred years, from the Protestant Reformation to the French Revolution, for the citizens of Germany and Western Europe to gain free passage to and from their homelands. Grown from the dual root of medieval city law and the emergency right of the Reformation, it was under constant attack during the Age of Absolutism, which did not

know a *de facto* right to emigrate, imperial law notwithstanding. Only when the ideas of the social contract and natural law provided an additional intellectual foundation did the movement for freedom of emigration as a human right gain momentum. But it took the American and French Revolutions in 1776 and 1789 as well as *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* in the year of the French bicentennial to change this idea into a reality for all of Europe to enjoy in 1990.

Hope College
Holland, Michigan

Notes

[1] Karl Graf Ballestrem, "Zur Theorie und Geschichte des Emigrationsrechtes," in *Grund- und Freiheitsrechte im Wandel von Gesellschaft und Geschichte: Beträge zur Geschichte der Grund- und Freiheitsrechte vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis zur Revolution von 1848*, ed. Günter Birtsch (Göttingen, 1981), 146-61, 146. See also Klaus Gerteis, "Auswanderungsfreiheit und Freizügigkeit in ihrem Verhältnis zur Agrarverfassung: Deutschland, England, Frankreich im Vergleich," ibid., 162-82; Peter Blickle, "Von der Leibeigenschaft in die Freiheit: Ein Beitrag zu den realhistorischen Grundlagen der Freiheits- und Menschenrechte in Mitteleuropa," ibid., 25-40; Rudolf Möhlenbruch, "Freier Zug, Ius Emigrandi, Auswanderungsfreiheit" (Jur. diss., Bonn, 1977); and Francisco A. Prieto Gill, *Die Aus- und Einwanderungsfreiheit als Menschenrecht* (Regensburg, 1976).

[2] Ulrich Scheuner, "Die Auswanderungsfreiheit in der Verfassungsgeschichte und im Verfassungsrecht Deutschlands," in *Festschrift Richard Thoma* (Tübingen, 1950), 199-224, and Möhlenbruch, 20ff. This does not mean that there were no restrictions on migration before that time, but they were of a different legal nature and based on a different legal justification. See Robert von Keller, *Freiheitsgarantien für Person und Eigentum im Mittelalter* (Heidelberg, 1933) and Klaus Arnold, "Freiheit im Mittelalter," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 104, (1984): 1-21.

[3] Georg Ludwig von Maurer, *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, 4 vols. (Erlangen, 1869), 1:392ff.

[4] On the *Tübinger Vertrag* see Walter Grube, *Der Tübinger Vertrag vom 8. Juli 1514* (Stuttgart, 1964). Other states introduced the *Freizügigkeit* through bilateral treaties, e.g., Mainz and Würzburg in 1593; manumission fees were set at 1 percent of the exported property. See Robert Selig, *Räutige Schafe und Geizige Hirten: Studien zur Auswanderung aus dem Hochstift Würzburg im 18. Jahrhundert und ihre Ursachen*, Mainfränkische Studien, no. 43 (Würzburg, 1988), 69. In 1215, the Magna Charta brought in paragraph forty-two temporary exit permits except in times of war. Only one year later this provision was cancelled again for good. Not until 1870 was the idea of the perpetual allegiance owed to the crown by an Englishman legally abolished (Gerteis, 174).

[5] Article three of the Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian Peasants of February/March 1525 as quoted in Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective* (Baltimore, 1981), 197. See also Winfried Schulze, "Der bäuerliche Widerstand und die 'Rechte der Menschheit'," in Birtsch, 41-56.

[6] Klaus Schlaich, "Ius Reformandi," in *Handbuch zur deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, (Berlin, 1973), 2:498ff. See also Heinrich Scholler, "Zum Verhältnis von (innerer) Gewissensfreiheit zur (äußeren) religiösen Bekenntnis- und Kultusfreiheit," in Birtsch, 183-204.

[7] The text of the 1530 decision can be found in *Sammlung der Reichsabschiede*, Johann Jacob Schmauss, ed., 4 vols. (Frankfurt, 1747), 3:315, that of 1555, 4:15.

[8] For Würzburg see Selig, 10-44; a survey of the financial aspects of emigration from Würzburg, ibid., 45-84, Zobel's decree on p. 57.

[9] Thomas Heiler, "Die Finanzen des Hochstifts Würzburg im 18. Jahrhundert," *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter* 47 (1985): 159-89, 163.

[10] Martin Luther, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 84 vols. (Weimar, 1883ff.), 1:560. See also Hermann Jordan, *Luthers Staatsauffassung* (Erlangen, 1917), 83ff.; William J. Bouwsma, *John Calvin: A Sixteenth-Century Portrait* (New York, 1988), 191ff.; W. Peter Stephens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli* (Oxford, 1986), 282ff.; and Möhlenbruch, 57ff.

[11] Jean Bodin, *Les Six Livres de la République* (Paris, 1583), 1: chap. 6.

[12] Thomas More, *Utopia and A Dialogue of Comfort* (London, 1910), 2:65. "If any man of his owne head and without leave, walke out of his precinct and boundes, taken without the princes letters, he is broughte againe for a fugitive or a runaway with great shame and rebuke, and is sharpely punished." More's *Utopia* was first published in 1516.

[13] Hugo Grotius, *De Iure Belli ac Pacis libri tres* (Paris, 1625), 2: chap. 5, paragraphs 24-27.

[14] Thomas Hobbes, *Philosophical Rudiments concerning Government and Society* (London, 1651), Howard Warrender, ed. (Oxford, 1983), 116.

[15] During the Middle Ages the cities had used the same argumentation to justify the levying of an emigration tax since any emigration diminished the tax base of the community. Christian Wolff, *Vernünftige Gedanken von dem gesellschaftlichen Leben der Menschen und insonderheit dem gemeinen Wesen* (Halle, 1721), par. 9.

[16] See art. 10, par. 10 of the Treaty of Partitioning of the Duchies of Jülich and Cleve in 1672, quoted in Johann Jacob Moser, *Von der Landeshoheit im Geistlichen* (Frankfurt, 1773), 843.

[17] *Reichshofratsconclusum* of 3 March 1723, in response to a complaint by King Frederick William I of Prussia, printed in *Europäische Staats-Cantzley* 49 (1727): 463. See also Johann Jacob Moser, *Von der Landeshoheit in Ansehung der Personen und des Vermögens* (Frankfurt, 1773), 216.

[18] In a letter to the prince-bishop of Würzburg in *Bayerisches Staatsarchiv Würzburg*, Bestand Gebrechenamt IV W 597, dated 13 April 1711.

[19] In a decree dated 10 February 1764, printed in Philipp Heffner, *Sammlung der Hochfürstlich Wirzburgischen Landesverordnungen*, 2 vols. (Würzburg, 1776), 2:799-800.

[20] A brief list of decrees can be found in Ballestrem, 148, and Möhlenbruch, 102; a detailed description in Selig, 38ff. For the imperial decrees of 7 July 1768 and 18 April 1786 see Möhlenbruch, 108ff., who considers the decree contrary to imperial law.

[21] Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf, *De Iure Naturae et Gentium libri octo* (Amsterdam, 1688), 8:chap. 11, par. 2.

[22] John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government* (London, 1690), chap. 8, paragraphs 99-122.

[23] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry concerning the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Oxford, 1975), 620.

[24] "L'émigrant fait du mal aux autres par le mauvais exemple qu'il donne . . . De toutes manières c'est a la lois de la prévenir." Jean Jacques Rousseau, *Oevres* (1775), quoted in Möhlenbruch, 16.

[25] Johann Christoph Fresenius, "Gedanken über die Rechtmäßigkeit der Nachsteuer," *Meditationen für Rechtsgelehrte* 2 (1776): 91.

[26] Johann Jacob Cella, *Über Auswanderungssucht und Auswanderungsfreiheit der Deutschen* (Ansbach, 1786), 36. On p. 28 he declared: "Die bloße Geburt verpflichtet keinen Menschen, Mitglied und Unterthan eines Staates zu sein." See also the discussion in Ballestrem, 153ff.

[27] Heinrich von Berg, *Handbuch des Teutschen Policeyrechts*, 6 vols. (Hannover, 1799), 2:51.

[28] Ballestrem, 150. For political reasons the National Assembly limited this right in the 1790s, but the principle remained.

[29] This only applied to the members of the German Confederation. Other restrictions like acceptance in another state and the obligation to perform military service or pay a *Militäremissionssumme* also remained. See par. 18 of the *Bundesakte* of 1815. For the future development of this right in Germany see Hans-Jürgen Strauch, "Die Freizügigkeit im Wandel der Zeiten (seit 1806)" (Jur. diss., Heidelberg, 1954).

Katherine M. Faull

The American *Lebenslauf*: Women's Autobiography in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Bethlehem

> Wenn du in das land kommst, so denke nicht an gros Reichthum zu geniessen, sondern vors erste, so nimm deine Kinder in acht, daß sie keinen Schaden kriegen u. von Schlangen gebissen werden oder dergl*eichen*. Zweitens habe ich schon lang gehört, daß überm See eine Gemeine Gottes soll aufgerichtet werden, wie es in den apostolischen Zeiten u*nd* wenn du davon hörst, so denke nicht, daß du in solcher u*nd* solcher Religion auferzogen bist . . . sondern halte dich zu ihnen, sie halten viel vom Leiden Christi, sie gehen ab und zu, wenn aber nur 3. beysammen sind, so bleib du bey ihnen, denn es muß wieder so werden, wie es vor alters war.
>
> Anna Fenstermacher, Lebenslauf, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: date of composition c. 1770. (Italics indicate editorial additions.)

Introduction

Just before Anna Fenstermacher departs for North America in 1727 her mother takes her to one side and tells her not to concern herself with gaining great wealth in the new country but rather to look after her children and to watch out for snakes. She also tells her daughter about a congregation of God's people that is to be established across the ocean and advises Anna to seek it out. This conversation is recorded in Anna's *Lebenslauf*, her spiritual autobiography, which is kept in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. To date, very few of these memoirs have been made available to scholarly audiences, mainly because of the difficulty encountered in deciphering German script (the non-Latin

handwriting taught in German schools until the 1940s). The *Lebensläufe* contain fascinating insights into the lives of the women and men who lived in the Moravian communities in North America.

The Moravian *Lebenslauf*, like the personal records of religious groups such as the Quakers, Puritans, and Shakers, provides "a window on the soul" of the early immigrants to North America. To those who search for a peculiarly American identity, these narratives provide the earliest instances of autobiographical writing in the Western tradition on this continent. For example, in the narratives of the early Puritans Patricia Caldwell finds "a genuinely American tone of voice"[1]; in her examination of the Shakers, Diane Sasson expands our knowledge of the spiritual life of nineteenth-century America; and Rufus M. Jones, in his introduction to Luella Wright's study of the Quakers, describes their confessional literature as providing "source material" for the examination of the "inner life" of an epoch.[2]

This essay draws on the *Lebensläufe* of the women who lived in Moravian Bethlehem during the eighteenth century. It will discuss the history and form of the spiritual narrative, the *Lebenslauf*, which these women inherited from the German Pietists and explore the ways in which that form was expanded to fit the exigencies of life in Colonial North America. I have chosen to discuss the women's *Lebensläufe* for two reasons. First, there is only a small extant corpus of women's writing from this period and especially from these classes (artisan and peasant). Second, these women's writings give further weight to the argument that women's autobiography finds its roots in the spiritual narrative. Until recently, much scholarship on the history and theory of autobiography has assumed the writing subject to be male, and this assumption has had a significant effect on the conceptualization of the autobiographical act. Critics such as Georges Gusdorf have claimed that the autobiographer is one who recognizes him or herself as a unique being, not to be repeated in time, and that the autobiographical act is one of bringing together the disparate pieces of life through a single unifying consciousness.[3] The only relationship the male autobiographer appears to need is with himself as both the subject and object of the writing. In sharp contrast to such a model of life-writing, women's studies scholars such as Mary Mason, Patricia Spacks, Estelle Jelinek, and Carolyn Heilbrun have turned to the eighteenth century to examine the earliest form of women's writing–the spiritual confessional.[4] These scholars have argued that the paradigm for women's life-writing is the spiritual autobiography in which the woman defines herself in relation to another being, namely Christ.

The Moravian *Lebensläufe* depict just such a notion of selfhood. In them, women speak to their friend and, through that dialogue, they develop a form of female consciousness that is not based on isolation or separation but rather on connectedness to another person, either Christ or

the members of their community, the *Brüdergemeine*. Furthermore, such a concept of female selfhood provides an important contrastive model to later notions of female subjectivity in, for example, Early German Romanticism. In these autobiographical texts we find women talking about themselves and their lives in a way that explodes the traditional concept of both female subjectivity and spiritual autobiography in the eighteenth century. The *Lebensläufe* open up a whole new panorama of experiences from which one can discover how one set of women felt about coming to America. And, in addition, they make possible an investigation of female subjectivity through the narration of immigrant experiences in a German Pietist form.

The Moravians

In 1740, German settlers from Herrnhut (Saxony) arrived at the Forks of the Delaware River to found a religious community in North America. For the next eighty-five years, this community was open only to members of the Moravian Church, and, furthermore, for the first twenty-one years, it recognized no private property.

The development of the Moravian communities at Nazareth and Bethlehem is a fascinating chapter in the history of the settlement of Colonial America. It has been minutely followed by Moravian church historians, such as Joseph Levering in his compendious volume *A History of Bethlehem, Pa. 1741-1892* (Bethlehem, PA: Times, 1903). More recently, Beverly Smaby has studied the ways in which the changing economic structure of the community affected the process of secularization.[5] Broader studies of the community are unfortunately few in number. Those studies which do exist have tended to draw on the official records of the community to obtain information about its day-to-day running. But, not only did the Moravians keep minute records of the day-to-day running of the community–documents such as bills, orders, a log of everyone passing through, letters from Herrnhut, and in some cases copies of letters to Herrnhut, and detailed diaries of each of the communal houses–there also exist hundreds of biographies or *Lebensläufe* by members of the Moravian church on the North American continent. These personal narratives complement the more general picture of the community which can be obtained from the official accounts. In them, one can find a fascinating account of the lives–physical and spiritual–of the individual members of the community.

The genre of the *Lebenslauf*, although familiar to the scholar of German Pietism, is practically unknown to the scholar of North American spiritual autobiography.[6] Although it is known that the *Lebensläufe* exist in the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, the great difficulty in deciphering German script and translating the antiquated German has limited access

to them. Fortunately, a few individual *Lebensläufe* from Bethlehem have been published in collections, providing what Ruether and Prelinger term "an invaluable source of insight into the nature of Moravian personality and experience."[7] Happily, they have included two American *Lebensläufe* written in English in their volume, enabling readers to witness what they describe as the Moravians' "socio-economic egalitarianism."[8] But, unfortunately, Ruether and Prelinger give only a brief description of these predominantly German immigrants to America and the shortest amount of information about the genre, history, and significance of the Moravian *Lebenslauf*.

Who were these Moravians and what was their religious background?[9] The Moravian Church had been founded in the fifteenth century by one group of the followers of Jan Hus, a Czech religious reformer. The Moravians were persecuted by the Roman Catholic Church and, in 1457, were forced to withdraw from the cities to the forests of Bohemia. Although constantly persecuted, these early Moravians left many important writings, including the Kralice Bible (the first translation of the Bible into Czech) and Jan Amos Comenius's pedagogical and theological treatises. In the years known as those of the "Hidden Seed," the followers of Jan Hus were forbidden to practice their faith, their books were burned, and they were forced to become Roman Catholics. They maintained their faith through the preaching of itinerant Protestant ministers, the most famous of whom was Christian David. In the early 1700s, concerned at the plight of the Moravians in Bohemia and Moravia, the latter pleaded with Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf to offer them refuge on his estate in Berthelsdorf in Upper Saxony. Zinzendorf, who had been raised a Pietist, did not object. In 1722, Moravians arrived in Berthelsdorf and immediately began to fell trees in the nearby forests to build houses and thus founded their new community–Herrnhut.

Zinzendorf soon became interested in the writings of these settlers and quickly assumed their organizational and spiritual leadership in what is known as the "Renewed Church." After Herrnhut had been successfully founded as a religious community, other centers were started in the Wetterau (Hesse, Germany), Holland, Greenland, Great Britain, and Ireland. In 1740, the Moravians came to the Forks of the Delaware to found a missionary center on the North American continent in the town that later became known as Bethlehem.

The "General Economy" in Bethlehem 1740-62

During the period known as the "General Economy" (1740-62), Bethlehem was run on communal principles.[10] There was no private property; all land, houses, and factories were communally owned. Women and men, even when married, were strictly segregated, living in

common buildings or "choirs." Children were removed from their parents as soon as they were weaned and placed in the "Nurserie." However, the communal principles of the "General Economy" were abandoned in 1762 as an economic crisis threatened the Moravian Church in Germany. Private property was then permitted, families lived together, and the choir houses remained only for the unmarried and widowed men and women.

Why was such a communal structure implemented? During the period of the "General Economy," the choir system existed for both theological and economic reasons. Bethlehem was founded as a *Pilgergemeine* or mission center and also as a *Hausgemeine* or permanent community. The inhabitants of Bethlehem held missionary and spiritual work to be of primary importance and their sole purpose was to promulgate Christianity within North America and also to act as a base for missionaries to the native North American tribes and the West Indies.[11] Within this communal structure of choirs that disrupted the nuclear family, the individual brethren could devote all their energies to the goal of the community: namely, the formation of a steady religious and economic base from which satellite mission communities (both in North America and abroad) could be supported. This meant that there should be no private property in Bethlehem, no monetary wages, and no private households. All members of the community were fed, clothed, and housed according to their needs and the ability of the "General Economy" to support them.

The Bethlehem Moravians supported the communal economic system and when asked in the 1750s whether they wanted to set up their own private households there came the resounding reply "No!" As one of the Single Sisters, Marie Minier, answered:

> Ich habe nun schon 12. Jahr der Pflege genossen *und* von einem Brod gegessen *und* bin gekleidet worden, welches mir bis diese Stunde gros und wichtig ist. Ich habe mich einmal dem Heiland *und* seiner Gemeine mit Leib und Seel, gut *und* blut gantz hingegeben, will gerne thun was ich kan *und* vorlieb nehmen wie es die Gemeine hat, denn es ist mir täglich zum Wunder, daß Er so eine große Gemeine bis daher so erhalten hat und können nicht sagen, daß wir je Mangel gehabt haben, glaube Er wird uns auch ferner durchbringen. Ich kan dem Hld nicht genug dancken, daß ich unaussprechliche Gnaden u. Seligkeiten, die Er seiner Gemeine mittheilt so darf mit geniessen, welches mich gar oft schamroth vor Ihm in den Staub beugt, wünsche mir in dieser Welt nichts Größeres, als mein Leben so in der Gemeine zu zu bringen, bis ich auch als eine der seligen Seelen in seinem Arm u. Schoos erbleichen darf.

The strong desire to retain the communal system lay in the relative freedom and independence it afforded those members of society who would normally, in the eighteenth century, have been socially and economically disenfranchised. For example, during the "General Economy," the effects of the choir system were far more drastic on women than on men. Because of the strict segregation of the sexes, each post within the community had to be filled twice.[13] This meant that women attained positions of authority within the community that were unmatched in contemporary society.[14] Furthermore, because of Zinzendorf's concept of the "marriage militant," married women gave up their children to the nursery as soon as they were weaned in order to devote all their energies to working with their husband for the church.[15]

An example of a single woman's professional freedom can be found in the person of Anna Seidel née Piesch (1726-88) who, before she married, had accompanied Count Zinzendorf on his travels to the Moravian communities in Europe and North America. At the age of nineteen she formed the Single Sisters' Choir in London (and learned English), and at the age of twenty-one she was made the *Generalältestin* or General Elder of all Single Sisters' Choirs. In 1752 she traveled to North America and visited the various missions and congregations. After a year, she returned to England and then Germany. In 1760, upon the death of Zinzendorf and his second wife, Anna Nitschman, Anna Seidel's life changed completely. She writes,

> Nach dem Heimgang dieser 2 lieben Leute, dachte ich mich nunmehro meinen lieben led*igen* Schw*estern* Chören ganz zu widmen, u*nd* doppelte Treue u*nd* Fleiss anzuwenden, glaubte auch daß es itzt nöthiger sey als sonst. Allein der H*eilan*d fügte es ganz anders, u*nd* gab mir ein ganz ander Feld zu bearbeiten. Ich kriegte meinen Plan in America und dazu den lieben Bruder Nathanael angetragen, wir sollten dahin gehen, das dortige Ökonomat und die Güter der Unitat zu übernehmen. Dieser Plan war schon bei Papas [Zinzendorfs] Lebzeiten vor uns bestimmt und so gut wie resolvirt und ich selbst war auch informiert davon.[16]

Anna is instructed to go to North America and take charge of the General Economy in Bethlehem. In order to accomplish this, however, the lot has decided that she is to marry Bishop Nathaniel Seidel.[17] Anna writes, "Nach America ging ich gern, aber in die Ehe zu treten, das kostete sehr viel und es gab manche bitter Schmerzen bis ich meinen Willen in des Heilands Seinen geben konnte."[18] At the age of thirty-four, having held the highest position of authority over the Single Sisters on all continents, Anna has to marry and take over the administration of the Bethlehem

community. As one of the strongest proponents of the Choir system, especially with its positive emancipatory aspect for single women, Anna is disappointed to see the effect of the economic changes on the Single Sisters.

> Das erste im Jahr 62 war die umkehr der gemeinschaftl*ichen* oeconomie, welches ein schweres Stück Arbeit war, das meinem guten Mann und mir manche schlaflosen Nächte verursachte, der He*ilan*d. stand uns aber auch in diesen Umständen gnädig bei. Mit meinem lieben led*igen* Schw*estern* Chor allhier stand ich in wahrer Herz Vertraulichkeit die ersten paar Jahre. Mein Verheirathet Seyn stöhrte nichts bei ihnen, noch bei mir, u*nd* ich wäre herzl*ich* gern in dem ganze mit ihnen geblieben, aber die Veränderung Ihrer Arbeiten machte auch hierinne eine Veränderung die mir gar sehr schmerzl*ich* wehe gethan hat, doch habe ich mich mit der Zeit auch dahinein schicken lernen durch des lieben He*ilan*ds Beystand.[19]

Anna sadly recognizes that women's previous economic equality cannot be maintained within the new nuclear household structure.

But quite apart from the economic reasons, there were also religious reasons for the existence of the choir system. For example, the Moravians prescribed strict gender segregation for the unmarried members, both to help protect them from sexual desire and to promote spiritual life. It was felt that the latter was best developed by living and worshipping with persons of like age, gender, race, and marital status.[20] In Bethlehem there existed choirs for married persons, widows, widowers, unmarried men, unmarried women, adolescent men, adolescent women, boys, girls, and weaned toddlers. In the Single Sisters' Choir, for example, the women ate and slept in large communal rooms; they worked at spinning wheels or embroidered and held frequent religious services, such as the *Singstunde* (service of song) and *Liebesmahl* (lovefeast). The latter ceremony was based on a form of early Christian *agape* in which the participants shared food and drink, sang, and made music. Religious feeling ran high as the members of the congregation prostrated themselves before their friend, Jesus Christ, and exchanged the kiss of peace. In the diary of the Single Sisters' Choir, which was kept by the Eldress Anna Rosina Anders, we read:

> Nachmittag hatten wir unser Chor Liebesmal auf unser Sahl wo zu wir auch noch etliche gute Gebete haben Bruder Johan lies uns die Cantata von Anno 47 absingen. es war ein aller liebstes niedliches Liebesmal. unser Chor war weiß angezogen der Sahl war auch recht niedlich gefeiert mit grün und etliche hübsche

> Versel es hat aller liebst ausgesehen. abents hielte uns daß theuer Herze Johan Eine unausnehmde schöne 4tel Stunde vor alle abendsmales Schwestern und dann hatten wir auch zugleich daß Fußwaschen es war uns alle wohl ums Hertze dabey. Nach alle Gelegenheiten hatten wir mit alle abendmals Schwestern Ein gar überaus seeliges Abentmal. wie uns dabey zumuthe war und was gefühlt haben läßt sich nicht beschreiben; unser ewiger Mann war unserem Chörlein gar unaussprechlich Nahe. Er lies uns sein nahe Sein, Sein Umarmen und sein Füßen ganz besonders fühlen. es war uns allen innich wohl und so wurde der Tag recht seelig und allerliebst niedlich bescheren.[21]

The Single Sisters' great attachment to this *modus vivendi* is attested to by their all-too-frequent reluctance, like that of Anna Seidel, to follow the recommendations of the lot in marriage.

The implementation of the choir system clearly demanded the cooperation of the community's members. Some other secular communal societies, like the Owenite community at New Harmony in Indiana, were doomed to failure because of a lack of common purpose. In contrast, the success of the Bethlehem community rested in the shared faith of its members.[22] The authority of the community lay not in the hands of any one person, but stemmed from Christ. There were no rulers or ruled but only sisters and brothers who had come together to carry out one task: the service of God. To this end, there was a definite structure of constant supervision with each choir having its own board of stewards (*Diener-Collegium*) that reported to the warden (*Vorsteher*). This structure did produce some tensions within the choir, when some of the members did not wish to follow the authority of the warden. For example, Rosina Brunner (1748-1819) was initially very unhappy in the Single Sisters' Choir, despite having attained her heartfelt wish to enter the Moravian community. She writes in her *Lebenslauf*:

> Da ich Erlaubniß erhielt in Bethlehem zu wohnen, wo ich ins Chorhaus der led*igen* Schwestern zog. Ich gewohnte bald ein, u*nd* wurde auch zu meiner großen Beschämung schon den 7ten Febr*uar* 1761 in die Gemeine aufgenommen. –Weil es mir aber an zutraulicher Opferherzigheit gegen meine Chorpflegerin fehlte, wozu meine unkürlich blöde u*nd* schüchterne Gemüthsart auch viel dazu beitrug, so erschwerte ich mir meinen Gang eine lange Zeit gar sehr. Oftmals trug es sich zu, daß ich mich angeregt fühlte, mein Herz vor meiner Chor-Arbeiterin auszuschütten u*nd* mich aufmachte zu ihr zu gehen; wenn ich aber bis an ihre Thüre gekommen war, so getraute ich mich nicht hinein zu gehen, sondern kehrte wieder

> um. So kam ich endlich in eine große Confusion. Das Chorhaus war mir zu enge; wozu noch kam, daß die sizende Lebensart mir nicht gefiel noch zusagte.[23]

Very unhappy with life in the Single Sisters' Choir, Rosina experiences a period of great trial and believes herself to be fighting against the evil of her own will. Things get to the stage, she writes,

> so daß ich am Ende auf den Gedanken kam mir selber das Leben zu nehmen. –Nun erschrak ich über den Abgrund vor dem ich stand, *und* an deßen Rand ich mich durch meinen Mangel an Zutrauen zu meiner Chorpflegerin gebracht hatte; *und* ich faßte Muth mich derselben mit meinem Jammer zu entdecken. Sie suchte mich mit herzlicher Liebe aufzurichten *und* zu trösten, und bat mich, mit allem meinem Elend mich kindlich und vertrauensvoll zum Heiland zu wenden.[24]

Despite the advice to turn to God, Rosina leaves the Single Sisters' Choir and returns to her parents' home for three years. In the years preceding her marriage she is plagued with visions of evil spirits and doubts about her salvation. After a period of self-examination she reenters the Moravian community, marries Heinrich Brunner in 1773, has eight children, and lives with him for forty-five years in various Moravian farming communities.

The Shape and History of the *Lebenslauf*

As can be seen from the above extracts, the *Lebensläufe* provide a vivid portrait of the *fides quae creditur*, that is, the life, practices, and theological beliefs of the Moravian community in Bethlehem. The reader can determine how the community was run and what expectations were put upon the individual members all in the common service of God. However, the American *Lebensläufe* also describe the *fides qua creditur* of these Moravian women, that is to say, their living faith. The texts reveal how these women perceived their relationship to Christ and what effect that relationship had on their lives.

Although scholars working with the Quaker journals and Puritan narratives have encountered problems when they have attempted to read the spiritual narratives as documents expressing personal emotions and experiences, the American *Lebensläufe* are rich in personal detail interwoven with secular experiences.[25] Some German scholars, discussing German *Lebensläufe* in the Pietist tradition, have considered them to be rather formulaic, that is to say, they repeat to an extent certain phrases, usually from the Bible, in their descriptions.[26] However, this is not to say

that such documents lack valuable information about the individuals who wrote them. The American *Lebensläufe* are also certainly written according to a standard exemplary life (that of Christ). They depict the spiritual growth of the individual and thus many follow a common pattern: they describe the innocence of childhood; a troubled adolescence; acquaintance with the Brethren; the journey to Bethlehem; acceptance into the community; confirmation and first communion; employment when single; marriage; employment with husband; and final illness.[27] However, throughout all stages of life, the consciousness of individual sinfulness and the desire for redemption permeate all action. As each individual's experience of faith is different and is a response to quite different life events, so each *Lebenslauf* is also a highly personal and frank autobiography.

From 1747 until the present day, each member of the Moravian community has been expected to write an account of his or her life to be read at the individual's funeral. Frequently, the *Lebenslauf* is composed in old age, when its author has the opportunity to look back on life, bearing in mind that its words will only be heard when he or she has died or "gone home." Like Rosina Brunner, women frequently compose their *Lebenslauf* before marriage.

Zinzendorf introduced this practice of writing *Lebensläufe* for two reasons. First, he felt that the deceased individual should have a chance to say goodbye to the rest of the community, just as the members who heard these words would be able to say their farewells also. On 22 June 1747 at the Herrnhaag, Zinzendorf reportedly bemoaned the fact that nothing remained of the departed brother or sister but his or her earthly vessel, or *Hütte*. He decided that, from now on, the *Lebenslauf* of the departed person should be read at the service of song, or *Singstunde*, on the day he or she was buried in order that one could wish "ihrem Seelchen ein Vale . . . gleich als wenn man . . . noch zu guter Letzt die Hand gebe und fare well sagte."[28]

Second, Zinzendorf saw these documents as an important part of the history of the Moravian church. Zinzendorf considered religion to center on the individual's *Vergegenwärtigung*, or re-presentation, of Christ's life and death. Through this process, which in the women's *Lebensläufe* exists frequently in the form of a dialogue with Christ, the individual is made highly conscious of Christ's presence in her life, thus making of the *Heiland* or Savior a tangible partner. It is precisely such a model of women's consciousness that we can see operating within these Moravian *Lebensläufe*. Repeatedly, the authors refer to their personal conversations with their "invisible friend," relate the revelations of his love for them, and make almost tangible their "bridegroom."

Zinzendorf, coming from the Pietist tradition, continually stressed the personal value of Christ's passion and death, what he terms the *ita sentio*,

or "es ist mir so," of religious consciousness. By feeling the *Heiland*, it appears that an instance of Christ can be made present through the power of the imagination, through the words of the text and the particularly active role of the creator of that text. Thus, every time a member of the church writes about her relationship to Christ it constitutes a new and fresh image of him. This image of Christ provides not only a *unio mystica* for the sentient subject but also makes of the Savior an active and present force in one's life.[29] For example, Sarah Grube (1727-93) writes the following passage during her final illness:

> Ao 1748 bekam ich eine schwere Krankheit, in welcher mir der Heiland vor mein Herz trat, und es war mir, als wenn er leibhaftig vor mir stünde, und mir seine Hände mit den Nägelmaalen zeigte u. sagte: Siehe in die Hände habe ich dich gezeichnet, und versicherte mich, daß alles was er gethan und gelitten habe auch um meinet Willen geschehen sey. O mit was süßer Empfindung konte ich mein Haupt an das für mich mit Dornen gekröntes Haupt nieder legen, und abermal hieß es in meinem Herzen: Es ist vollbracht. Ja, es war mir oft so, als wenn mich der Heiland anblickte und sagte: Du bist allerdings schön und rein, die Antwort meines Herzens war: Lieber Heiland, es ist deine Gerechtigkeit, damit du mich bekleidet hast jezt kan ich glauben, daß du mein Gott und Heiland bist.[30]

Here we can see the implications of Zinzendorf's notion of *ita sentio*. Sarah Grube maintains a personal relationship with the Savior that is different from that of anyone else in the community. Each *Lebenslauf*, as the narration of that relationship, adds another unique piece to the overall picture of the community.[31]

Although the custom of composing a spiritual autobiography is not peculiar to the Moravian Church, the particular form and function of the *Lebenslauf* within the religious community warrant special examination and comparison with contemporaneous spiritual narratives on the North American continent. As a Pietist, Zinzendorf knew the tradition of writing a *Lebenslauf* as it had been revived by August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Francke's own *Lebenslauf* narrates his trials of atonement (*Bußkampf*) and the sudden awakening that accompanied his successful penance. However, as Reichel points out, such a time of trial followed by a sudden awakening was something that Zinzendorf himself never claimed to have experienced.[32] Zinzendorf, rather than thinking that an awakening could follow a set pattern of introspection and enlightenment, believed that each person's faith is attained and maintained in a different way for each individual. Accordingly, the Moravian *Lebenslauf* is unique as a theological and literary genre in that both the reason for writing the

narrative and the point in the author's life at which this was done distinguish these Moravian texts both from contemporary German Pietist versions and from North American Quaker journals and Puritan spiritual narratives.

Moravian *Lebensläufe* do not contain one single pattern of spiritual conversion that is to be followed; rather they are supposed to depict the truth, whether good or bad, about the individual's life (for example, Rosina Brunner talks frankly about her desire to commit suicide).[33] Nor do the Moravian *Lebensläufe* usually include dreams and visions as moments of possible revelation of the truth. Dreams and visions are, rather, indications of either a troubled soul or imminent grace. Furthermore, the attempted subordination of individuality in the Quaker journal is certainly not found in the Moravian texts. The Puritan narratives were required of the applicant for admission into the community "to convince the elders that the presence of grace was evident in their experience."[34] In contrast, the Moravian *Lebenslauf* can span an individual's entire lifetime as it intermeshes with and illumines the life of the Moravian community. In almost all the *Lebensläufe* both inner and outer lives are described: the personal relationship with Christ, feelings at first communion, the atmosphere in the early, almost experimental, community, parents' reactions (not always positive) to their child's decision to join the Moravian Brethren. They also are full of information about life in Colonial America. They tell of Indian raids, captures, kidnappings, the setting up of the schools, farms, and Indian missions.

There are potentially three versions of any one *Lebenslauf*. There is the original memoir, which was either written by the individual (which is rare) or else dictated to the minister or family member during her final illness. The final moments of the person's life were then added by the scribe. From this "original" version a report was made which appeared in the *Bethlehem Diary*, the official diary of the community that recorded all comings and goings, religious services, births, deaths, and marriages. There could then also be a version included in the *Gemeinnachrichten*, the handwritten "newsletter" that was circulated to all the Moravian communities around the globe.

There can be real differences between the three versions. Comparing the two or three versions that exist, it becomes clear that overtly personal, or what might be seen as superfluous, detail is omitted; particulars which might contradict the accepted picture of the community are deleted; style is improved; and the whole story is sometimes completely rewritten.

The Language of the Self in the *Lebenslauf*

The *Lebenslauf* is a self-narration; it is an accounting by its author of his or her life with a constant eye on the *Gemütsvorgänge* or the changing

conditions of mind and heart that accompany one's worldly existence. This emphasis on the condition of the self is indicative of a radical shift of perspective in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century in Europe. In a recent article, Samuel Preus has observed that the object of interpretation changes in the early modern period from the traditional one, the Scriptures, to become the scrutiny and interpretation of the self. He writes,

> that all-embracing biblical framework is becoming too narrow to account for what people are coming to know about space (geographical and cosmic) and time (chronology). The known world is bursting its scriptural containment. The overarching biblical narrative is being eclipsed in favor of new competing narratives . . . .[35]

And what is taking the place of interpretation of the Biblical "mega-narrative"? It is the divination of the individual life whose new hermeneutic "requires us not to ascend to the realm of spirit to read the significance of earthly matters, but rather to descend into the minutest trivia of daily life to show their spiritual meaning."[36] What lends meaning to life is the interpretation of the everyday, how one comprehends the causality and significance of events such as a boat sinking, or a river being too swollen to ford, or the accidental fall down the cellar steps. In the American *Lebensläufe* these secular details become imbued with a meaning that transcends the everyday.

As Ian Watt has claimed, the individual act of self-scrutiny with the aim of enlightenment makes of a religious process a secular narrative: the individual believer positions him or herself outside a text (his or her life) and reads, rather than writes, its process of signification.[37] The spiritual narrative is based upon this move from the predominantly Protestant religious act of the individual's divination of God's word from the Bible as text to the divination of God's will from the events within an individual's life. The hermeneutic that had previously applied to reading the Scripture as sacred text is now applied to interpreting the significance of life of the individual. In this way, all lives are significant, as all are instances of God's will and grace.

One who accepts Preus's description of the "bursting" of the Scripture through the expansion of knowledge of the world in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century England can only imagine the challenge that North America posed to the mega-narrative of the Bible. As a transition between the intensely personal confessional of, for example, St. Augustine and the secularized autobiography of the nineteenth century, the American *Lebensläufe* display a fascinating balance between the

introspective contemplation of the relationship between the author and God and a detailed description of life-in-the-world, the "New World."

Accompanying this movement toward self-scrutiny there also occurs a significant shift in the narrative voice in the *Lebenslauf* over the course of the eighteenth century. As Günter Niggl has pointed out in his study of the Herrnhut *Lebensläufe*, in the first twenty years of the practice a definite change from third to first-person narration occurs, transforming the text from a list of dates into an introspective confession.[38]

Fortunately, however, the form of the Pietist autobiography itself requires inclusion of detail of one's secular life in order to demonstrate the action of God's will and grace.[39] Later *Lebensläufe* are also about the individual's spiritual life. For example, Hellmut Reichel, a modern-day Moravian, feels uncomfortable with the claim that nineteenth and twentieth-century narratives are secularized. Unlike many other forms of spiritual narrative that may have metamorphosed into forms of narrative prose such as the novel, the Moravian *Lebenslauf* maintains its function within the Moravian Church. It is still written, read, and published for the world-wide community to read.[40] And its composition continues to pose a challenge. Recently, when asked whether she had written her *Lebenslauf*, one sister in Herrnhut replied, "No, because it is so hard to write about yourself when you know that the words will only be heard after you have gone home."[41]

However, not only did the form of the *Lebenslauf* require the inclusion of secular detail and introspection, thereby ensuring the twentieth-century scholar a fuller picture of the lives of women in the eighteenth century. Zinzendorf's own theory of language, his "Sifting Time" vocabulary, allowed women to express in vivid images their dependence on and love for the *Heiland*. The *Lebensläufe* reveal an idiosyncratic terminology used by the Moravians during what they later termed the "Sifting Time" that lasted in Europe from 1743-50 and in America from 1749-51. During this period a particular devotional vocabulary and practice was developed, most notably at the community in Herrnhaag in the Wetterau, which centered on the ultra-realistic depiction of Christ's wounds. Zinzendorf believed that the written word should describe the individual's immediate feeling of religion (*ita sentio*) and that this feeling is most evident in the implementation of vivid and emotive language: for example, Marianne Höht (1737-72) writes of her final promise to kiss the pierced feet of Jesus: "ich dancke dem lieben Heiland für alles was Er an mir als Seiner Elenden durch meine ganze lebens Zeit gethan hat, ich werde Seine Durchborten Füße Küßen für alles langmuth und gedult und viel vergeben."[42] At the end of her *Lebenslauf*, Martha Büninger (1723-52) expresses her heartfelt wish that the Lamb keep her in His bleeding wounds: "Das lämlein wolle uns nur in seinen blutigen Wunden bewahren, das uns nichts Schaden könne bis wir Ihn

sehen und Maale in Händ und Füssen Küssen können. bis zum Kuß seiner Spalten."[43] This "blood-and-wounds vocabulary" is highly sensual and at times almost repugnant in its realism, and indeed not all eighteenth-century women found it attractive. Rahel Edmonds, for example, writes: "[Bruder Rogers] redete sehr viel von unserem Heiland und dessen Blut und Wunden, welches mir törricht schien, weil ich solche Lehre nie zuvor gehört hatte."[44] German scholars, such as Oskar Pfister, have pointed to its obviously sexual overtones and have even accused Zinzendorf of promulgating a "theology of sexuality."[45] One certainly can interpret the enthusiasm of the Single Sisters' Choir for the five wounds of Jesus as a projection of sexual desire. However, according to Zinzendorf, the function of such vocabulary was to arouse in the reader a consciousness of the suffering of Christ and then subsequently gratitude for being saved.

Although Zinzendorf forbade the use of the "blood and wounds" symbolism after 1751, many of the Brethren continued to use such vocabulary. In these *Lebensläufe*, the women frequently claim that they are unable to find the words with which to describe the proximity of the *Heiland* either at their first communion or at their spiritual awakening (*Erweckung*), yet they often express their desire to taste the blood and feel the body of Christ. Thus although the official language of the personal narrative had been "purged" of this vocabulary, it continued to appear in the *Lebensläufe*. For many women, this language served as the only way in which they could express fully their personal relationship with the Savior. This is just one example of the divergence of lived faith from official doctrine.

In addition to this "blood and wounds" vocabulary, the women's relationship with Christ is clearly visible in particular in their frequent description of him as their "bridegroom." For example, the Single Sisters clearly felt that Jesus was very close to them. They depict him as their friend, they speak of their faith and their ability to endure hardship through his love for them. Marie Minier (1732-69) describes her awakened feelings towards Jesus during a communion service. When she writes her *Lebenslauf*, Marie Minier is unmarried, in her mid-twenties, and living in the Single Sisters' Choir. She describes her relationship with Christ as one of utter dependence; she has ecstatic visions and feels his presence with an almost embarrassing sensuality. The vocabulary she uses is typical of the period; Christ is her "friend" and "bleeding Savior," and she feverishly anticipates Holy Communion as a kind of wedding night.[46]

> Ich konnte mich mit Leib und Seel, so wie ich war hingeben, nichts mehr auf dieser Welt zu wollen, als an Ihm zu hengen: denn diese Gnade war so kräftig an meinem Herzen zu spüren, daß ich dachte, hier ist nichts mehr für mich; und es war nicht

> anders, als wenn der blutige Heiland in seiner MarterFigür leibhaftig vor meinen Augen schwebte. Weil es nun A*bend*m*a*hls-tag war, so konnt ich es kaum erwarten bis ich sein Fleisch und Blut im Sacrament zu genießen krigte und bei dem wirckl*ich*en Genuß konnte ich mich kaum besinnen, ob ich noch hier, oder schon im HochzeitSaal wäre. Das war mir ein grosser GnadenTag den ich nimmer Vergeßen will . . . . In der Marterwoche im Jahr 1755 konnte ich mich nicht satt hören noch meditiren über das was mein allerliebster Freund der Seelen in diesen Tagen alles für mich ausgestanden hat. Mein Herz schwimmte mir in Thränen, und es war mir Zum erstaunen, daß der gute Heiland an einer solchen armen Made wie ich bin so viel Gnade beweisen kann. Denn meine Armuth und viele Gebrechen wurden mir lebendig im Herzen, und es betrübte mich sehr, daß ich meinem so treuen Freund noch nicht nach seinem g*l*eichen Herzen bin, wie es meinem Jungfernstand, der mir sehr gross und wichtig war, gemäß wäre. Ich bat den Heiland mit Thränen, daß er mir die Gnade schencken wolle meine Seele und Hütte keusch zu bewahren, bis in Seinen Arm und Schooß.[47]

At this point the text breaks off and further biographical information is added by a narrator (probably the minister). In 1762, Marie Minier marries David Kunz and moves with him to the various farm communities of Friedensthal, Nazareth, and Gnadenthal. They have three children, two sons David and Jacob, and a little girl who dies at birth. Marie dies in childbirth at the age of thirty-seven.

Marie Minier's description of her relationship to Christ is one found frequently in eighteenth-century women's writings: the woman defines herself in her conversation with another person (here Christ). One scholar of eighteenth-century women's autobiographical writings, Mary Mason, has argued that the original model for women's writing can be found in such spiritual autobiographies as Marie Minier's. The recognition of female self-identity through the consciousness of another, Christ, enables eighteenth-century women to "write openly about themselves."[48] In what appears to be a dialogue with Jesus, Marie Minier finds her voice at a time when society normally silenced it. However, such a dependence on the "Friend" for a voice brings with it its problems. The woman may be in danger of losing herself in the relationship with the Friend. Phrases, such as "I could have given myself heart and soul to wanting nothing more in this world than to depend on him," would suggest that Marie Minier finds her identity only in relation to Christ. Her awareness of her self comes through her relationship with Christ.

However, the secular world outside Bethlehem also plays a major role within the account of women's spiritual growth.[49] Not all the American *Lebensläufe* are as introspective as Marie Minier's. Others contain accounts of Indian raids, travels through the wilds of Pennsylvania, indeed across the world, and detail women's administrative responsibilities in the community of Bethlehem and elsewhere (as we have seen in Anna Seidel's *Lebenslauf*). The integration of secular detail into women's spiritual narratives constitutes a significant departure from the accepted pattern for women's autobiographies in the eighteenth century. Scholars such as Katherine Goodman[50] have maintained that it is only men's, and not women's, spiritual autobiographies within the Pietist tradition of this period that consist of religious confessionals that include accounts of professional careers and adventures in the outside world. But within the American *Lebensläufe* we find women writing all types of autobiography.

One such adventure narrative is found in the *Lebenslauf*, already cited, of Marianne Höht. Born in Alsace, she came to America with her parents at the age of eleven and settled in Philadelphia. Here, she was sent to the Moravian School and learned about the Bible. Her father, however, was concerned that Philadelphia was too sinful a place for his children, so he moved the family up into the wilds of Pennsylvania, over the Blue Mountains, what is today called the Kittatinny. Marianne was about to move to Bethlehem at the age of eighteen, when her family homestead was attacked by Indians. She writes in her *Lebenslauf*:

> 14 Tage nach dem die Mahone abgebrant abends da wir zu Tische saßen, kamen sie auch und schoßen, mein Vater dachte nicht daß es bey uns wäre sondern Er wolte raus gehn und sehn was u*nd* wo es wär da er unter die Haus Thüre kam, fiel er ihnen in die Hände, sie ermorteten ihn so gleich, meine Mutter u*nd* wir Kinder sprangen zur hinter Thüre *hi*naus meine Mutter Sprang ins Wasser u*nd* wurde erschoßen, u*nd* meine jüngste Schw*ester* wurde auch gleich umgebracht mich u*nd* 2 Schwestern nahmen sie gefangen mit sich fort.[51]

Marianne is not, on the whole, badly treated by the Indians; after an initial period with a warrior she is taken in by an old woman in the tribe who treats her like her own daughter. She describes those times in the following way: "o wie gut hat es mir gethan, daß ich ein wenig ruhe grigte, meine Schwester welche einen Fransosen gehueratet durft ich auch manchmal im Fort besuchen." However, because her Indian brother is concerned for her moral welfare in the Fort, he comes and fetches her and tells her that she must marry a member of the tribe.

> ich sagte nein, ich wolte nicht, sie sagten wenn ich nicht wolte so müste ich sonst machten sie mich Todt. ich lag 8 tage und Nächte im schnee und allem Wetter im Busch, und bettet und seuftzete zum lieben Heiland Er solte mir helfen und rathen was ich thun solte, es schien mir ganz onmöglich zu seyn, mich dazu zu resolviren ich dachte ich wolte lieber sterben.[53]

As she is lying in the bush, she prays to her *Heiland* to advise her on what to do and how to resolve to accept her fate. After eight days, she is finally dragged out of the bush and tied to a tree to be burned for refusing to marry an Indian. However, at the moment when the smoke catches in her throat she resolves to accept the path that the *Heiland* has set before her and marries the man. She writes, "er war ein guter mensch, er hatte mich sehr lieb, ich hatte auch einen Sohn mit ihm. Er wünschte mir ofte daß ich wieder bey den weißen Leuten wäre, er wolte mir auch behilflich dazu seyn, nur wolte er daß kind behalten."[54] However, Marianne cannot agree to that,

> ich hofte aber doch immer der *liebe* Heiland würde mir bahn machen daß ich noch einmal loß kommen würde, ich hatte mich doch untter allen schweren umständen an ihn gehalten, Er hat mir auch ofte Trost und Muth zugesprochen, die gewiße Versicherung war in meinem Herzen, Er würde mich doch noch zu der Gemeine bringen.[55]

And this the *Heiland* does. Marianne escapes on a wagon train carrying flour to Lancaster, where she recuperates from her ordeal and then continues on to Bethlehem. The remainder of her life she spends in the widows' choir in Nazareth; her son dies at age five and a half of smallpox and she dies of consumption aged nearly thirty-five. She and her son are buried close to each other in the *Gottesacker*, the graveyard, in Bethlehem.

Such a narrative, composed probably sometime in the 1760s, is full of personal detail and reflective comment in addition to the exciting captivity narrative. Marianne, when held captive by the Indians, prays to her *Heiland* to deliver her. Her decision to marry the Indian could be interpreted not as capitulation but as an acceptance of God's will (the term she uses is "resolvirte"). This pattern is repeated in Susanne Luise Partsch's *Lebenslauf* when she encounters Indians in 1755. She also looks to the *Heiland* to guide her in her action.

> Den 18ten. November *1755* krigten wir ein*en* Ruf nach Gnadenhütten an der Mahony in der Br*üdern* Wirtschaft, und ich zwar als Köchin zu dienen. D*en* 24ten. November überfielen die Indianer unser Haus, ich retirierte mich mit den übrigen

> Geschwistern oben ins Haus, wie wir da waren, fiel mir ein, wir könnten uns retten, wenn wir uns wagten zum Fenster hinaus zu springen; ich sagte meine Gedanken, worauf Sturtius es wagte und es gelang ihm glücklich. Da wurde ich noch mehr gestärckt es auch zu wagen und hinaus zu steigen; Ich mußte meine Füße auf das Fenster sezen, wo die Indianer in eben der Stube alles zugrunde richteten, aber ihre Augen wurden gehalten, daß sie mich nicht gewahr wurden; von da sprung ich auf die Erde und eilte in den Busch, und da ich nicht wußte, was ich thun solte (denn ich sahe die Indianer mit Feuer Bränden von einem Haus zum andern laufen, sie alle in Brand zu stecken) so bat ich den Heiland, er solte mir doch wißen laßen, wo ich hin solte, da wurde mir so, an die Lecha zu gehen, wo ich einen hohlen Baum fand, unter welchen ich mich bis den nächsten Morgen verkroch.[56]

As we have seen in Marianne Höht's *Lebenslauf*, the *Heiland* is looked to for help and advice. The fact that the Indians do not see Susanne standing on the windowsill is attributed to the *Heiland* having averted their gaze. As she asks for guidance, Susanne writes "da wurde mir so, an die Lecha zu gehen." In feeling the guidance of her *Heiland* Susanne provides us with a perfect instance of Zinzendorf's *ita sentio*. After this ordeal, Susanne returns safely to Bethlehem, recovers from a fever, and leaves for the mission on St. Thomas with her husband. After only a year, she returns to Bethlehem where she dies thirty-two years later.

Margarethe Jungmann (1721-93) was born in the Palatinate and came to the American Colonies in 1726. She wrote her *Lebenslauf* towards the end of her life in the 1780s. After her marriage, she accompanied her husband on travels throughout the Colonies; for example, to Pachgatgoch in New England to work with the American Indian congregation. During the Indian Wars of the mid 1750s the Jungmanns were sent back to Bethlehem for their own safety and were then employed in a number of places, on the farm in Christiansbrunn, in the soap works in Bethlehem, at Wihilusing on the Susquehanna, and finally, in 1769, when Sister Jungmann was forty-eight, to Languntotenunk, in what is today Ohio. The Jungmanns had gone to work with Brother David Zeisberger, the famous Moravian missionary to the American Indian nations. The practice had been developed that Zeisberger would enter into a territory as the first Moravian missionary, establish a small community, and then leave another missionary couple with the work of consolidating the community. The Jungmanns worked with Zeisberger during a period of great conflict between the Native Americans and the colonizers. Margarethe describes one of the encounters in her *Lebenslauf*:

Eines Tags kam der Capitain mit 5 seiner Krieger in unser Haus, wir wußten nicht was er im Sinne habe, er sahe uns an, war sehr freundl*ich*, gab uns die Hand u*nd* ließ seine Krieger auch einem jeden die Hand geben, sie hielten sich ein paar Minuten bey uns auf u*nd* gingen dann fort, wir hörten hernach, daß sie nach Weeling in den Krieg gehen wollten gegen die weissen Leute, (den nächsten Tag sollten ihnen 50 folgen u*nd* so eine Parthie nach der andern u*nd* alle durch unseren Ort.) Es kam daher den Geschwistern bedenkl*ich* vor, uns länger hier bleiben zu laßen, weil ich die einzige weiße Schw*ester* hier war, u*nd* wurde resolvirt daß wir, für die Zeit, nach Bethlehem gehen sollten. Wir mußten also den selben Abend noch unsre Reise durch den Busch antreten, 6 Ind*ianer* kriegten wir zur Begleitung mit, einer davon mußte immer eine Meile voraus reiten um zu sehen ob es sicher wäre, wir folgten ihm denn, u*nd* kamen den Abend noch 6 Meilen, (erst hatten wir ein wenig Mondschein, darauf wurde es so dunkel, daß wir nicht weiter kommen konnten, sondern unsre Pferde anbinden, u*nd* die ganze Nacht da sitzen mußten unter den Bäumen,) wir durften kein lautes Wort zusammen reden, auch kein Feuer machen: das war eine lange Nacht; endl*ich* wurde es Tag, wir brachen auf u*nd* reisten bis an die Muskingung-Creek. Wo wir durch sollten: unsre begleiter gingen *auch* einer nach dem andern hinein, fanden aber zu ihrer Verwunderung, daß sie nicht zu paßieren ware, außer daß die Pferde schwimmen müßten, sie konten nicht begreiffen, daß die Creek so angelaufen war in der Jahres Zeit, (es war im August) da es doch lange nicht geregnet hatte, sie resolvirten daher, den Weg zu Land, durch den Busch zu gehen, wo wir wol aus 10 Meilen 20 machen mußten, das ging über Berge, Thäler, Gebüsch und Unkraut, das höher als die Pferde war, so daß wir mit vieler Gefahr durchkamen . . . . Die Nacht blieben wir bey Geschw*ister* Schmiks, da kam ein Bote in der größten eil, welchen Br*uder* Dav*id* hergeschickt um zu fragen, ob wir glückl*ich* hier angekommen wären, er war sehr erschreckt, als er gehört, daß die Krieger mit etlichen Gefangenen u*nd* Scolps den selben Weg zurück gekommen, den wir haben gehen wollen. Nun wurde es uns klar, warum wir nicht haben können die Creek paßieren, wir dankten dem l*ieben* He*iland* für diese wunderbahre gnädige Bewahrung.[57]

The stream, too swollen to ford, is interpreted as a sign of God's protection. Had Sister Jungmann and her husband crossed the stream and followed their intended path they would have encountered the Indian warriors and probably have met their death.

Conclusion

Margarethe Jungmann's experience of the *Heiland* is very different from that of Marie Minier. Whereas the former led a life about which one could almost claim that the gender of the personal pronoun is irrelevant,[58] the latter describes a model of consciousness that is clearly gendered. In this context, it is interesting to note that Margarethe Jungmann's *Lebenslauf* is composed at least twenty years after Marie Minier's and yet displays very little of the later bourgeois notion of gender. Similarly, Marianne Höht's *Lebenslauf* is composed in the late 1760s and combines "Sifting Time" vocabulary with an adventure narrative.

These significant differences point to the central importance of the individual's different experiences of lived faith in the act of writing the American *Lebenslauf*. Rather than generalizing about how all women might have written at one particular point in time, the modern reader should recognize the significance of divergence from accepted patterns. In her study, Beverly Smaby draws on the most standardized *Lebensläufe*, the ones in the *Bethlehem Diary* or in the *Gemeinnachrichten* and she purposely avoids including *Lebensläufe* that are written in the first person singular and that include personal detail. Rather, as she is attempting to establish the expected behavioral norms of the community, she selects those biographies that are the most schematic.[59] In so doing, Smaby unfortunately ignores the significance of these women's personal narratives to the history of women's writing on this continent. As a social scientist, she has little use for the intellectual background of the Pietist *Lebenslauf* as a genre and disregards the fact that the American Moravian women are living and writing about modes of existence and consciousness that male thinkers in eighteenth-century Europe have theorized out of existence for women.

These short extracts from the *Lebensläufe* of Anna Fenstermacher, Anna Seidel, Rosina Brunner, Sarah Grube, Martha Büninger, Rahel Edmonds, Marianne Höht, Marie Minier, Susanne Partsch, and Margarethe Jungmann demonstrate well the variety and richness of experience that women enjoyed in their lives in Colonial Pennsylvania. In contrast to the spiritual narratives that have caused some German scholars to claim that these texts are purely formalistic, lacking any personal comment by their authors, we see a fascinating interweaving of spiritual introspection and secular experience.

The American *Lebensläufe* are written to depict the spiritual growth of the individual. However, as I hope to have shown above, this growth is not described only in terms of introspection or the slavish adherence to the imposed patriarchal form of the *Lebenslauf*. The combination of the Pietist concept of the individual's close relationship to Christ, the

particular social structure of the Bethlehem community in the 1700s, and the challenges of living and proselytizing in Pennsylvania, makes these women's spiritual narratives unique in the eighteenth century. Whereas it was usually the men who wrote professional or adventure biographies and women spiritual narratives, in these American *Lebensläufe* we find a rare mixture of all types of autobiography. Marie Minier's narrative is highly personal and introspective; Anna Seidel's is about her career; Marianne Höht's and Susanne Partsch's resemble more the adventure narratives. However, in all Moravian women's texts, as in all Moravian lives, Christ is represented as a friend, a companion in times of trouble, a bridegroom, or a *Gesprächspartner*. Despite the seeming passivity, or selflessness, that this relationship with the Savior might invoke, the female self is experienced as recognizing an absence and a presence of God, a recognition that constantly awakens a need for redemption and also, by necessity, a consciousness of female selfhood.

As one moves on in intellectual history to the gender theories of the German Romantics and the theory of Ideal Womanhood in North America it is important to bear in mind that women did, at one point in the eighteenth century, have a consciousness of themselves that was not defined only in opposition to the male as a complement. Although in a secular age it might be hard to accept the notion that a religious group enabled women to live relatively independent lives, it is clear from these American *Lebensläufe* that the Moravian church, for a short period of time during the General Economy, did precisely that. Not only did these women live unusual lives but they also wrote about them in a way that is unmatched by their contemporaries.

Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania

Notes

[1] Patricia Caldwell, *The Purtian Conversion Narrative: Beginnings of American Expression* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 36.

[2] See, for example, Caldwell; Luella M. Wright, *The Literary Life of the Early Friends 1650-1725* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932); Diane Sasson, *The Shaker Spiritual Narrative* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983).

[3] Georges Gusdorf, "Conditions and Limits of Autobiography," in *Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical*, ed. James Olney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), 28-48.

[4] Mary Mason, "The Other Voice: Autobiography of Women Writers," in Olney, *Autobiography*, 207-35; Patricia Meyer Spacks, "Female Rhetoric," in *The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings*, ed. Shari Benstock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 177-91; Estelle Jelinek, *The Tradition of Women's Autobiography:*

From Antiquity to the Present (Boston: Twayne, 1986); Carolyn Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman's Life* (New York: Norton, 1988).

[5] Beverly Smaby, *The Transformation of Moravian Bethlehem: From Communal Mission to Family Economy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).

[6] For an investigation of Pietist women's *Lebensläufe* in Germany, see Jeannine Blackwell, "Herzensgespräche mit Gott: Bekenntnisse deutscher Pietistinnen im siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Deutsche Literatur von Frauen: Vom Mittelalter bis zum Ende des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, ed. Gisela Brinker-Gabler (Beck: München, 1988), 1:265-89. In this article, Blackwell draws on the published collections of narratives in volumes such as Johann Reitz's *Historie der Wiedergeborenen* (1717) to come to the conclusion that the imposed form of the *Lebenslauf* actually limits women's self-scrutiny and self-expression. Of significance here is, of course, the editorial policy exercised by Reitz, that is, his purpose in the *publication* of these particular personal documents. Blackwell recognizes this limitation in her statement, "Die potentielle Kraft dieser Bekenntnisse wurde aber schließlich dadurch gebrochen, daß sie von der Ermahnung und Erläuterung, von der 'Predigt' des männlichen Herausgebers oder Erzählers umrahmt wurde" (Blackwell, 268).

[7] Rosemary Radford Ruether and Catherine Prelinger, "Women in Sectarian and Utopian Groups," in *Women and Religion in America*, eds. Rosemary Ruether and Rosemary Keller (New York: Harper and Row, 1983), 2:298.

[8] Ibid.

[9] For a complete history of the church, see J. Taylor Hamilton and Kenneth G. Hamilton, *History of the Moravian Church: The Renewed Unitas Fratrum 1722-1957* (Bethlehem, PA: Interprovincial Board of Christian Education, Moravian Church of America, 1967); and, for a more specific examination of the eighteenth century, see Gillian Gollin, *Moravians in Two Worlds: A Study of Changing Communities* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967).

[10] For a full description of Bethlehem during this period, see Helmut Erbe, *Bethlehem, Pa: Eine kommunistische Herrnhuter-Kolonie des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Ausland und Heimat Verlags-Aktiengesellschaft, 1929).

[11] "1) In America soll eine *Pilger-* und *Ortsgemeine* seyn; und der kleinen *Gemeinlein* sind so viel zu machen, als nöthig und möglich ist. 2) die *Pilgergemeine* hat ordinarie ihr Rendevous [sic] in Bethlehem–zieht aber als eine Gnadenwolcke herum, nach dem sie der Wind des Herrn treibt, und macht alles fruchtbar. 3) Doch soll auch in *Bethlehem* eine *Hausgemeine* seyn, die dortige oeconomie, zum Dienst der Pilgergemeine und ihrer Absichten, wahrzunehmen, und in loco zu bleiben, wenn diese auf eine Zeitlang locomovirt." August Gottlieb Spangenberg, Spangenberg folder 1, 1-a, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[12] *Nachricht von der gemeinschaftlichen Haushaltung in Bethlehem, Zusammengeschriebene kurze Erklärungen von Zahlreichen Brüdern und Schwestern*, R.14 A 41a, MS, Archiv der Brüder-Unität, Herrnhut, Germany. All quotations from unpublished sources are exact transcriptions of the original documents. Italics indicate editorial additions.

[13] As Erbe says, "Alle Ämter werden doppelt . . . besetzt. Die Frau steht also in seelsorgerischer Hinsicht gleichberechtigt neben dem Mann und ist auch Mitglied der Konferenzen. Und zweitens wird die Ehe in Bethlehem nicht auf Grund persönlicher Zuneigung geschlossen, sondern entscheidend ist allem, ob die beiden Partner die nötigen Fähigkeiten zur Erfüllung des Pilgerberufes mitbringen." Erbe (n. 10 above), 36.

[14] In her recent examination of the demographic changes in Bethlehem from the period of the General Economy until the 1820s when the community was no longer exclusive, Beverly Smaby discusses at some length the effect the communal structure had on the women. She writes, "The eradication of nuclear family life and the separation of the sexes had an enormous effect on the lives of the Moravian women. Male and female roles were much more symmetrical than in any other colonial society, including the Quakers." Smaby (n. 5 above), 13. For an examination of the importance of women to the Pietist movement, see Richard Critchfield, "Prophetin, Führerin, Organisatorin: Zur Rolle der Frau im

Pietismus," *Die Frauen von der Reformation zur Romantik*, ed. Bärbel Becker-Cantarino (Bonn: Bouvier, 1980), 112-37.

[15] According to Smaby, during the General Economy women were able to breast feed their babies, have them with them on journeys and at work, and also continue in their profession for the *Gemeine* (Smaby, 148).

[16] Anna Seidel, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[17] In the early Moravian church marriage partners were determined by the use of lot. The names of those men and women deemed by the Elders to be suitable for marriage were submitted to the lot and when the result was known the individuals were given the opportunity to decline the choice of the lot.

[18] Anna Seidel, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[19] Ibid.

[20] See Smaby, 10. Smaby points out that the effect of the Choir system was to encourage spiritual growth, deemphasize ties with one's immediate family, and increase the individual's emotional dependence on the *Heiland*, Savior.

[21] 4 May 1750. *Diarium der ledigen Schwestern angefangen den 14. November 1748*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[22] For an examination of the role of gender in the failure of the Owenite communes, see Carol A. Kolmerten, *Women in Utopia: The Ideology of Gender in the American Owenite Communites* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990). Kolmerten lays blame for the failure of these utopian experiments at the feet of the continued bourgeois ideologies of gender and class that wealthy participants and the founder, Robert Owen, brought with them into the communities.

[23] Rosina Brunner, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[24] Ibid.

[25] As Shea has pointed out in reference to the New England religious communities' writings, the author's form of expression can be somewhat repetitive in her choice of language. See Daniel B. Shea, Jr., *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 40. I would, however, agree with Mary Anne Schofield that beyond the prescribed narrative shape and language of the spiritual narrative, women find a voice not usually granted them within their society. See Mary Anne Schofield, "'Women's Speaking Justified': The Feminine Quaker Voice, 1662-1767," *Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature* 6 (1987): 61-77.

[26] For example, Bernd Neumann, *Identität und Rollenzwang: Zur Theorie der Autobiographie* (Frankfurt: Athenäum, 1970), considers the narratives to be utterly devoid of personal comment and to be written purely in the interests of the increasing imperialism of Protestantism.

[27] Smaby analyzes the *Lebensläufe* by constructing a flow diagram of the major decisions and stages in life cycles in the period of the General Economy and then seventy years later. Based on examination she makes the interesting claim, "Gender distinctions, though less important than age, had also become more important for the later biographies than for the earlier ones. Gender distinctions govern only four percent of the topic boxes on the earlier flow chart and fifty percent of those on the later one." Smaby (n. 5 above), 142.

[28] *Jüngerhausdiarium* 1747, 22. Juni, as quoted in Hellmut Reichel, "Ein Spiegel der Frömmigkeit und des geistlichen Lebens: Zur Geschichte des brüderischen Lebenslaufes," *Brüderbote* 464 (März 1988): 4.

[29] For a fuller investigation of Zinzendorf's theology, see Bernhard Becker, *Zinzendorf im Verhältnis zu Philosophie und Kirchentum seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1886).

[30] Sarah Grube, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[31] The *Lebensläufe* were considered to be so important by one Moravian church historian, Johannes Plitt, that he suggested compiling a collection of them for each epoch of the church. However, this was never done.

[32] Reichel (n. 28 above), 5.

[33] Zinzendorf apparently insisted upon this fact: "Die *Lebensläufe* müssen nichts als lauter Wahrheit besagen. Sonst verschrickts den Jünger [Zinzendorf], und gibt keinen süßen Geruch." *Extract von den Ratskonferenzen von 1753*, as quoted in Reichel (n. 28 above), 6.

[34] Shea, "Spiritual Autobiography," (n. 25 above), 91.

[35] Samuel J. Preus, "Secularizing Divination: Spiritual Biography and the Invention of the Novel," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59 (1991): 454.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966).

[38] Günter Niggl, *Geschichte der deutschen Autobiographie im achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Klett, 1977). Niggl dates the earliest occurrence of a first-person-singular Moravian narrative in 1752. He claims that early *Lebensläufe* consisted of only a list of dates (Niggl, 62-63). Niggl also claims that the shift in narrator is accompanied by an increased secularization of the originally spiritual narrative, a process traced from a sociological perspective by Smaby (n. 5 above).

[39] "Die pietistische Autobiographie hat . . . von Anfang an die Neigung, die äußeren Daten des Lebens nicht nur als unerläßliches (chronologisch-topographisches) Gerüst zu sehen, sondern dem weltlichen Leben mit und neben der religiösen Geschichte Raum zu gönnen, oder gattungstypologisch gesprochen: die traditionellen Modelle der religiösen Konfession und der Berufsautobiographie hypotaktisch oder auch schon gleichberechtigt nebenordnend zu verbinden." Günter Niggl, "Zur Säkularisation der pietistischen Autobiographie im achtzehnten Jahrhundert," in *Prismata*, ed. Dieter Grimm et al. (Pullach bei München: Verlag Dokumentation, 1974), 166.

[40] Its significance within modern-day society may be judged by the appearance in the German Democratic Republic of Beate Morgenstern's novel *Nest im Kopf* (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1988), which tells the story of the atheist granddaughter revisiting her hometown of "Gotteshut" (Herrnhut) and listening to the *Lebensläufe* of her female relatives. Through this act of reception, Anna, the young sceptic, listens to the stories of others' lives and contrasts them sharply with her own perceptions of the Moravian life.

[41] The *Lebenslauf* maintains its function of individual witness and testimonial within the Moravian Church. As Siegfried Bayer points out, "Wie wichtig dieses Selbstzeugnis ist, wird deutlich, wenn bei einem Begräbnis in der Brüdergemeine kein *Lebenslauf* vorhanden ist. Es ensteht eine Lücke, und es ist schwer für die Angehörigen und den Gemeinhelfer, diese Lücke auszufüllen, weil zum Wesen und zur Würde des Menschen auch seine Fehlbarkeit gehört und darüber kann man im Angesicht Gottes und der Gemeinde nur selbst etwas sagen." Siegfried Bayer, "Zeugnis und Vermächtnis an die Gemeinde: Die Bedeutung des Lebenslaufs in der Brüdergemeine," *Brüderbote* 464 (1988): 9.

[42] Marianne Höht, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[43] Martha Büninger, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[44] Rahel Edmonds, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[45] Oskar Pfister, *Die Frömmigkeit des Grafen Ludwig von Zinzendorf: Eine psychoanalytische Studie* (Neudeln, Liechtenstein: 1925; rpt. 1970).

[46] For further discussion of the language of the "Sifting Time," see Jörn Reichel, *Dichtungstheorie und Sprache bei Zinzendorf: Der 12. Anhang zum Herrnhuter Gesangbuch* (Bad Homburg, Berlin, Zürich: Gehlen, 1969).

[47] Marie Elizabeth Kunz, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[48] Mason (n. 4 above), 210.

[49] According to Becker, Zinzendorf refused to recognize a separation between the secular and religious and rather considered that the secular had to be infused with the religious: "Unter diesem Gesichtspunkt behauptet er [Zinzendorf], die Religion bestehe nicht in Worten, sondern im Sein und Haben, sie sei nichts Erdachtes, sondern etwas Gegebenes, nichts Gelerntes, sondern etwas Wesentliches, eine Natur. . . . die Religion muß das praktische Sichausleben des Menschen beherrschen." Becker (n. 29 above), 57-58.

[50] Katherine Goodman, *Dis/Closures: Women's Autobiography in Germany between 1790 and 1914* (New York: Lang, 1986).

[51] Marianne Höht, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Susanne Partsch, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[57] Margarethe Jungmann, *Lebenslauf*, MS, Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA.

[58] Smaby makes precisely this claim in her analysis of the early *Lebensläufe*. See Smaby, 138.

[59] Smaby states her purpose in the following fashion: "[the biographies] were intended as evaluations of the lives of people who had just died as well as devices for teaching Moravians by example how they should behave. Both of these purposes suggest that the biographies idealized the lives of their subjects and cannot be depended upon to reflect actual behavior. But since this study focuses not on actual behavior but upon behavioral rules or norms, idealized biographies are the perfect source." Smaby (n. 5 above), 129.

Jerry Schuchalter

Geld and *Geist* in the Writings of Gottfried Duden, Nikolaus Lenau, and Charles Sealsfield: A Study of Competing America-Paradigms

The German conception of America is rooted in crisis. This is clearly documented in Gottfried Duden's *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26, und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung* (1829), which is generally regarded as the most influential tract on immigration to America published in Germany in the nineteenth century.[1] Already in the preface we encounter the crisis of Europe:

> Übervölkerung, Armut, Druck, Finanzsysteme, Leibeigenschaft für die gemeinen Volksklassen der gewerblichen Staaten, welche die eigentliche gesetzliche Sklaverei unläugbar in Vielem überbietet.[2]

Duden does not stop here, however. Not only does he present a Malthusian interpretation of history in which overpopulation is the primary evil from which all other evils stem. He also narrates the familiar version of *Kulturpessimismus* which was widely propagated in the *Vormärz*: "Die Sonne Europas habe ihren Mittagskreis längst überschritten, und dessen Geschichte, dessen Völker–ihre Rolle ausgespielt" (D, iii).[3]

Yet when we examine this work more closely we realize that more is at stake here. In the first place Duden's book is no mere *Auswanderungskompendium*, a form of popular literature published *en masse* in Germany in the nineteenth century. Curiously enough it is a work that is intellectually challenging and even pretentious, assuming on the part of its readership a competence in reading skills and knowledge that not many people presumably possessed during this period.[4] Secondly Duden's *Bericht* is invested with an authoritativeness that few such works had at this time before the mass migrations to America. Duden had

actually been to America, to the valleys of Missouri, and lived to write about it in a way that obviously captivated the imagination of his compatriots.

Duden's accomplishment in fact is based on his effective recasting of the America-paradigm. Out of crisis comes the paradigm, Thomas S. Kuhn tells us. But the paradigm is not only employed by the scientific community in order to explain and interpret natural phenomena.[5] The paradigm is also a response on the part of a society or a nation to provide a conceptual framework for understanding and interpreting profound changes at home and abroad. Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century–most notably during the period preceding the first signs of industrialism–was crisis-ridden.[6] Devoid of nationhood, enormously overpopulated, stultifying under antiquated political institutions, Germany soon experienced one wave of emigration after another. Emigration, in other words, became regarded in some circles as one possible solution to the crisis of German society, reaching its highpoint to America after the German nation had been established.[7]

But America was more than escape from adversity. On a symbolic and ideational level it became a means of defining Germany's place in the world, describing her own state of affairs at home and assigning value to her institutions and cultural production. The America-paradigm created a whole set of values and definitions for such categories as the *Staat, Gesellschaft, Kultur, Volk, Nation, Gemeinschaft, Politik* and even *Kunst*. In many cases it seems that this paradigm worked on a binary set of oppositions. For example, at least according to Duden, if Europe is wallowing in decadence, America takes on the familiar role assigned by the myth of Europe's salvation: "so beginnt in Amerika seit einem halben Jahrhundert eine neue Weltgeschichte" (D, iii).

What gives Duden's *Bericht* its popularity is that it presents itself not as a propagator of myth, but as an impartial and objective source of truth about America.[8] This still does not prevent it from reiterating in glowing terms a familiar topos that has been an integral part of the America-paradigm: "Millionen finden in den herrlichen Ebenen und Thälern der Missouri und Mississippi Raum vollauf, und eine Natur, die längst des Bewohners, des Bearbeiters harret" (D, iv). Germany, conceived itself, as the century progressed, as the "Volk ohne Raum," representing as its antipode America, which became *Nature's Nation* (which also became a metaphor of American self-definition), offering to the needy of Europe an opportunity of regeneration and escape from the misery of overpopulation and landlessness.[9]

The Dudenesque America-paradigm owes its ultimate appeal to its vision of pastoral wholeness–a vision that became increasingly more urgent as the forces of industrial culture made themselves felt. In terms redolent of Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), Duden

tells his audience that wide-ranging equality reigns in America, where everyone has equal access to the land. As a result there are no beggars, no petty crimes (D, 118). There is also "wenig Pöbel in Amerika" (D, 119)–a phenomenon that at this time already began to preoccupy many of Duden's readers.[10] Contrary to Tocqueville's vision of America as a society, inherently modern and dynamic, founded on revolution, the Dudenesque paradigm is a return to a pre-industrial society free from the divisive, unsettling influences of modernity. For example, in Duden's America there is "kein Unterschied zwischen Städtern und Landvolk," and "alle Gewerbe haben den gleichen Rang" (D, 116). In brief, as Duden himself writes, "Die Einheit von Geist und Natur" is achieved "wenn der Mensch seinen eigenen Acker anbaut" (D, 117).

All of these motifs have an element of familiarity about them, since they are couched in mythic imagery and traditional modes of conceiving America that date back to antiquity.[11] In addition, they reflect the longings of not only Germans in the nineteenth century in their promise of redemption from the constraints of industrialism and poverty. But there are also very surprising, unexpected elements in the Dudenesque paradigm. For example, America is nowhere described as a nation devoid of culture. Contrary to frequent German accounts of America in the nineteenth century, depicting the cultural privation an educated German must suffer when he emigrates to America, quite a temperate view emerges in Duden's account: "Die Bürger der Vereinigten Staaten sind Europäer in Amerika, und mehr wird aus ihnen nicht werden, als auch der heutige Europäer in Amerika überhaupt werden kann" (D, 118-19).[12] Quite surprisingly then, Americans have nothing in common with the noble savage or the ignoble savage or Crèvecoeur's "new man;" instead Duden suggests that Americans are on an equal footing with Europeans regarding cultural development. The reason for this is also provided: "Das Wesentliche der englischen Kultur ist nach Amerika verpflanzt [worden]" (D, 109).[13]

The charges of *Kulturlosigkeit* are refuted in the Dudenesque paradigm. In fact, Duden tells the German reader that Germans in America are regarded as far less cultured than the English or the French (D, 107). But *Kultur* is only one category in which Duden molds his own interpretation of the America-paradigm. Another essential category– often referred to in nineteenth-century accounts and travel books on America–was the moral condition of the new nation. As a nation with a republican polity and an alleged absence of established institutions, a society, according to this view, could only with great difficulty achieve a civilized standard of morality. This is not Duden's contention, however:

> Ohne den sittlichen Werth der Amerikaner zu überschätzen, sehe ich keinen Grund, ihnen irgend ein Volk in Europa

> vorzuziehen. Ich habe keinen Flecken bemerkt, welch auch nicht in Europa zu finden wäre einschließlich der Gewinnsucht. (D, 120)

The frequent attacks on America for its moral depravity that were to become harsher in Germany as the century progressed are nowhere present in Duden's *Bericht*. Even the familiar critique of American materialism, of rapaciousness, acquisitiveness, and dishonest business practices, which appear as a topos in German popular fiction, is missing.[14] Instead, as Duden writes in formulaic fashion, "Der Anstand herrscht in Amerika wegen der Gleichheit und der Natur" (D, 121).

The Dudenesque paradigm reveals perhaps its essential intention in its treatment of slavery–a theme that was especially discussed by German commentators on America.[15] Touching on the question of comparing "white slavery" in Europe with that of chattel slavery in America, Duden finds the institution in America to be less pernicious than its European counterpart: "Der geistige Zustand der freien Neger in Nordamerika ist nirgendwo dem des Gesindes in Europa überlegen, und die unfreien sind leiblich weit besser daran, als das europäische Gesinde (D, 135)." This is explained by the widely pervasive belief in the nineteenth century (which Duden shares), despite the Enlightenment, that there was an intrinsic inequality in the nature of the human species: " . . . eine große Abstufung in dem Werthe des irdischen Lebens der verschiedenen Menschen" (D, 129). As a result of this state of inequality between the races, Duden postulates the principle of stewardship, a principle that was an integral part of the ideology of the antebellum South: "In den V.St. ist der Herr verbunden, für den Unterhalt der Sklaven zu sorgen, sie mögen zur Arbeit fähig sein oder nicht, und Freilassung ändert an dieser Pflicht gar nichts" (D, 131).

A political and social utopia is hence delineated here. Slavery is "natural" because it is based on the inequality of the races. Slavery is also moral because it is based on the self-interest and and inherent virtue of the master. Finally slavery is humane because it is "Familienherrschaft": an entire group of unequal individuals are fused into a thriving and cohesive social unit (D, 128). Even more important for German cultural categories, slavery is sanctified by its patriarchal aura and benevolence: "Die väterliche Herrschaft hat eine zivilisierende Wirkung auf die Neger" (D, 136).

Patriarchy, pastoral wholeness, rustic equality among members of the same identifiable group and inequality among distinct racial groups, the apotheosis of land and space, the unity of spirit and nature, moral virtue, the sanctity of agriculture, cultural vitality–all these categories lend themselves quite easily to an ideal vision of Germany commonly found in German literature. Thus America, simply stated, becomes a kind of

ideal Germany in the Dudenesque paradigm. Soon, however, this paradigm would be under attack, and a competing paradigm would arise to which Duden himself–with his official recantation–would later contribute, a paradigm in which America as the ideal Germany would be metamorphosed into the monstrous antipode of everything to which Germany must remain immune.[16]

I. "Todt für alles geistige Leben, mausetodt"

In his famous letter to his brother-in-law Anton Schurz (1832), Lenau bemoans the lack of nightingales in North America. The absence of this bird leads the young poet to a general diatribe against the cultural life of the new world:

> Der Amerikaner hat keinen Wein, keine Nachtigall! mag er bei einem Glase Cider seine Spottdrossel behorchen, mit seinen Dollars in der Tasche, ich setze mich lieber zum Deutschen und höre bei seinem Wein die liebe Nachtigall, wenn auch die Tasche ärmer ist. Bruder, diese Amerikaner sind himmel-anstinkende Krämerseelen. Todt für alles geistige Leben, mausetodt.[17]

In this passage a motif is revealed which was to mold the *Amerikabild* in German culture up to the present and which could most conspicuously be detected in the popular *Amerikaroman*, a form widely practiced by seriously regarded authors as well as *Kolportage* writers. Simply stated, this motif can be defined in the following way: an aristocrat, an artist, an intellectual, a literary gentleman, or a figure comprising all four identities travels to America, to the cities of the seaboard coast, or to the frontier, or as in several novels, to a grand tour of both the settled areas as well as the frontier, only to find a society dominated by material values and overtly hostile to the values of the mind and the spirit. Some of these protagonists find on the frontier an antidote to the perceived crassness of American culture, which is in some way even more distasteful than the much reviled European decadence.[18] Others look in vain to the pre-conceived visions of the pastoral for what they believed to be the real vision of America, only to find on the frontier a society even more steeped in the values of unfettered materialism.[19] The result of this quest is often the creation of a society or community on the frontier which is immune to the values of materialism or, on the other hand, at least in one celebrated novel, the hero's profound disappointment with America and the return to the Old World amid the symbolic destruction of what might have been the roots of an ideal community.[20]

Lenau's lament about the absence of nightingales and songbirds in general in America was not merely the bilious outburst of a disgruntled poet or even a dishonest one, but part of an ongoing debate about the meaning of America and its significance for Europe since America's discovery.[21] Lenau's arguments, his use of familiar and well-defined motifs, belong to an established tradition in German culture that had its roots long before Romanticism, but which then became revitalized during this period.[22] The America-paradigm, as revealed in Lenau's work and in the practitioners of the *Amerikaroman*, not only illustrates the process of resurrecting old myths in modern garb, but more importantly marks an attempt by German culture amid the throes of modernization to interpret profound socio-economic, political, and technological change and hence redefine its place in a revolutionary world.[23] Thus America became a crucial construct and symbol for German nationhood and its subsequent development–as significant as many other, more familiar symbols that were to haunt German inventions of nationality.[24]

In Lenau's letters from America an intricate cultural system is enunciated which reveals as much about America as it does about Germany. When Lenau complains that a "poetischer Fluch" (L, 207) lies over the American landscape, he implies that in Germany, by contrast, poetry is capable of thriving. Assuming the *persona* of John the Baptist in his letters (L, 211), Lenau invokes the image of America as a desert–an intellectual, spiritual, and even physical desert, where animals and plants, redolent of Buffon, become denatured and corrupt–suggesting again that all of these positive values can be found in Germany (L, 210-11).

But before Lenau can contribute to revising the America-paradigm, he must formally break with a myth, perhaps the most potent myth to sweep over both the *Morgenland* and the *Abendland*, a myth which has its roots in antiquity and which was one of the guiding impulses behind European exploration. Contrary to Berkeley, to Goethe, to all those who accepted the belief inherited from Augustine and the Church Fathers that the utopian influence would always lie westward on the next frontier in space, Lenau is declaring the very antithesis: the true horror is that the westward impulse only wreaks horror and ruin.[25] "Amerika ist das wahre Land des Unterganges. Der Westen der Menschheit. Das atlantische Meer aber ist der isolierende Gürtel für den Geist und alles höhere Leben" (L, 213).

Part of this decay lies not only in the natural landscape, in its lack of vigor and light ("Mattheit"), and in the deleterious effect it has on its inhabitants, but also in the spirit and in the intellect of the New World. In other words, Lenau recasts this standard version of the *Amerikabild* passed down by Buffon and de Pauw, adding to it characteristic, nineteenth-century German motifs. The result is that it not only becomes

a vast critique of New World culture, but also a scathing assault on modernity:

> Die Bildung der Amerikaner ist bloß eine merkantile, eine technische. Hier entfaltet sich der praktische Mensch in seiner furchtbaren Nüchternheit. Doch ist selbst diese Kultur keine von innen organisch hervorgegangene, sondern eine von außen gewaltsam und rapid herbeigezogene, bodenlose und darum gleichsam mühselig in der Luft schwebend erhaltene. (L, 219)[26]

Obviously influenced by Romanticism, Lenau carefully defines the essential elements of the America-paradigm, all of which happen to be traditional responses to the onrush of industrial society and modernization found, of course, not only in Germany.[27] In the first place, the education of Americans revolves around technical skills and money-making in contrast to the German penchant for art. Secondly the American character is suffused with a sobriety rooted in practical, mundane reality in contrast to the German love of the imagination. Finally, and most familiar to the development of the America-paradigm, American culture is not "organically rooted," is not tied to the land (*Natur*), to history, to the spirit, to any elevating idea. On the contrary it is "bodenlos," without roots, without tradition, without substance. For example, American farming is "bodenlos" according to Lenau. So is American business and industry, and here we notice another essential element of the German America-paradigm: the American economy is based on "forciertem Kredite" (L, 216). It is in short subject to all kinds of dishonest speculation–a belief widely accepted in Germany from the nineteenth century onwards.[28]

But Lenau contributes an additional profound element to the America-paradigm–something very crucial to Germany's own needs–the concept of the state.

> Mit dem Ausdrucke 'Bodenlosigkeit' glaube ich überhaupt den Charakter aller amerikanischen Institute bezeichnen zu können, auch den politischen. Man meine ja nicht, der Amerikaner liebe sein Vaterland oder er habe ein Vaterland. Jeder einzelne lebt und wirkt in dem republikanischen Verbande, weil dadurch und *solange* dadurch sein Privatbesitz gesichert ist. Was wir Vaterland nennen, ist hier bloß eine *Vermögensassekuranz*. Der Amerikaner kennt nichts, er sucht nichts als Geld; er hat keine Idee; folglich ist der Staat kein *geistiges* und sittliches Institut [Vaterland], sondern nur eine materielle Konvention. (L, 216)

Of course, the concept of "Bodenlosigkeit"–a topos frequently employed by later writers with regard to America–can be interpreted as a state or society lacking in substance or foundation. Lenau looks at the concept of the liberal-capitalist state already present in its nascent form in Jacksonian America and slowly evolving into a possibility in Germany and experiences it not only as inimical to art, but also as harboring huge areas of unmeaning, which ultimately lead to anomie.[29] The modern state is for Lenau as well as for the so-called "classic" authors of the *Amerikaroman* devoid of roots or ties; in other words, it is not organic.[30] The single element that creates any cohesion at all is *Geld*–individual self-interest or aggrandizement. The highly praised tenet in the philosophy of liberalism of enlightened self-interest guaranteeing that those with a stake in society will perpetuate their well-being and democratic commitment is likened by Lenau to a *Vermögensassekuranz*–an entity at once spiritless and without tangible material form (i.e., real property).

A further element is then added to the paradigm: *Vaterland* vs. *Vermögensassekuranz*. The German state possesses a moral and spiritual authority (*Rechtsstaat* and *Kulturstaat*) while its American counterpart is a "material convention" devoid of any higher force. Of course, this did not prevent Lenau himself from buying a farm in Ohio and then leasing it to a certain Ludwig Häberle. The dream of the artist not only being an alienated victim of the market place, but also an *Eigentümer*, perhaps even a *Rentier* is further evidence of Lenau's ambivalence towards modernity and America in particular.[31]

II. "Der trolopiserende [sic], marryatisirende [sic] Dutchman"

Among the first novels to illustrate Lenau's paradigm was Charles Sealsfield's *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* (1834). Sealsfield was already quite concerned with American materialism before he wrote *George Howard*. In his first travel book–*The United States of North America as they are* (1827), he notes, "The ruling passion of the Americans is the love of money," and explains this craving for wealth in a Tocquevillian manner "as the only measure of social status in the absence of other distinctions."[32] This general dislike, which was to approximate an obsession in his later works, was part of Sealsfield's vision of a virtuous republic, free from the corruption of the *Geldaristokratie*–an ideal which had its sources in the political philosophy of the Italian humanists.[33] In *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* the hero is a *Zerrissener*, influenced partly by the *Jungdeutschen*, whom Sealsfield with qualifications admired, who loses his quest for a bride in New York because of his inability to provide an adequate fortune. This provokes the following reaction, which is not questioned or relativised by the implied narrator or any of the other characters in the

novel and which becomes a recurring motif in Sealsfield's work and in German-American fiction in general:

> Ekelhafte Menschen! konnte ich mich nicht enthalten auszurufen,–so ekelhaft selbstsüchtig, daß sie sich selbst nicht zu Worte kommen lassen. Die stupideste Unverschämtheit, die je in Schneiderseelen gewohnt, die für nichts Sinn haben als für ihr eigenes saft- und markloses, schwammiges, verdorbenes Ich! Selbst ihre Kinder sind ihnen bloß–Sachen–Und diese Menschen gehören jetzt zum haut-ton.[34]

Sealsfield's indictment of New York society is couched in imagery similar to Lenau. "Schneiderseelen" and "Krämerseelen" are metaphors that appear quite frequently in German literature. They are usually defined by an outsider who has a different value system from the existing debased world of materialism. In Lenau's world America's "Krämerseelen" are lacking in *Phantasie*, in an aesthetic vision of life. In *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt*, on the other hand, materialism has brought about the dissipation of political culture, the weakening of the body politic, the decay of republican values. "Egotism"–a term which also occurs quite frequently in German-American literature–has replaced virtue, a basic element in the well-being of any republic. The result of Howard's disaffection with a money-dominated New York is to flee the city and try to find on the frontier the seeds of a virtuous republicanism.

In *Morton oder die große Tour* (1835) the theme of materialism and the corruption of the republican commonwealth assumes the symbolism of nightmare. It is not only New York which is steeped in material values, but the entire world is now controlled by a group of ten demonlike creatures, whose power can lead to the rise and fall of kingdoms and states and whose center may lie in Philadelphia or London or Paris.

The paradigm of the virtuous artist resisting and assailing the values of a mercantile-ridden society does not have a chance to unfold in *Morton*, since the values of *Geld* are too powerful. The hero Morton, whose grandfather significantly enough belongs to the famous coterie of honored revolutionary war heroes and therefore partakes of other values besides the material, flees to a symbolic *Gartenlandschaft*, where he meets another mentor figure–Colonel Isling–a German-American Revolutionary War hero who temporarily frees young Morton from his servitude to the values of *Geld*. The values of *Geld* are symbolically rendered in the rampant materialism of Philadelphia, a Hades-like world characterized by perpetual night, haunted by the rootless mob on the one hand and the insatiable appetite of the famous American plutocrat Stephen Girard, or, as Sealsfield calls him, "der alte Stephy" on the other, who makes a

mockery of the republican heritage in America by repeating the refrain "We live in a free country."

The alternative to the corrupt money-ridden world of Philadelphia and later, as the second book of *Morton* shows, London is Colonel Isling's estate, which is couched in a peculiarly pre-modern idyll so popular among German novelists in the nineteenth century.[35] Morton is in some way for a short time healed by recognizing a past and roots and even a moral and spiritual tradition. But the values of *Geld* invariably prove to be too strong. As soon as Morton leaves Isling, he again becomes involved in the designs of "dem alten Stephy" who then sends him off to London, where he becomes even more enmeshed in the world plutocracy.

The motif of the artist or the littérateur in a materialist, mercantile society appears explicitly for the first time in Sealsfield's fiction in *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (1839-40)–a work with few exceptions sadly neglected by Germanist criticism.[36] In fact, *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* is a meditation on national character and the role of literature in the development of the modern nation-state. More important it is Sealsfield's attempt to define the paradigm of German nationhood with respect to America and other nations. In the opening chapter the confrontation between Germany and America is quickly defined. Rambledon, a so-called "fashionable" from Broadway, which of course gives him a special point of view, upon noticing a German family in his vicinity, exclaims: "Deutsche mit ihrer Familiarität und Tabakspfeifen und Flachshaaren und neblichen Metaphysik, und Aberglauben und religiösen Skeptik, und Sauerkraut und absurden Romantik, ..."[37]

The point of view, however, changes throughout the novel with regard to definitions of Germanness and Americanness. When the German family von Schochstein begin to assess their own nation in relation to other nations, crucial arguments about German nationhood soon appear: "Und haben wir Deutsche nicht seit unserem hochgelobten westpfälischen [sic] Frieden das größte Privilegium, alle Nationen nachzumachen, . . . , nachzuäffen" (DAW, 1:43). As so often in Sealsfield's work, a debate unfolds with a didactic intent. Comparisons are made between various nations and theses are presented, until a scale of values slowly emerges:

> 'England ist unstreitig die größte und reichste, so wie die aufgeklärteste Nation der neueren Zeit.'
> 'Die aufgeklärteste?' wiederholt der Schwiegersohn zweifelhaft. 'Nicht die am meisten wissende, belesenste; die sind wir', versetzte Wilhelm; 'aber über ihre wahren Interessen aufgeklärteste, der Frankreich, trotz seiner viel gerühmten Civilization, nur in weiter Entfernung, wir Deutsche, mit all

> unserer Belesenheit und vielseitigen Bildung, in noch weiterer nachhinken.'
> 'Aber Wilhelm, wie Du so reden kannst? 'entgegnete der sanitäre Schwager, 'Unsere viel-, ja allseitige Bildung albern zu nennen.' (DAW, 1:45-46)

It soon becomes obvious that this debate is in fact not concerned with "enlightened nations" and Shakespeare, but with the definition of the modern nation-state and the role of *Bildung* and literature in enabling the nation-state to achieve a position of prominence. When Wilhelm exclaims "wo die ganze zivilisierte Welt zu einem praktischen Leben erwacht," (DAW, 1:46) he begins to question the meaning of what Schiller calls "der ästhetische Staat" vs. the "dynamischen Staat" based on *Realpolitik* and industrial and mechanical technique. In brief, *Phantasiestaat* vs. *Machtstaat* is Sealsfield's central preoccupation in this debate. Hence the *Shakespearestreit* is not about who interprets Shakespeare more accurately–the Germans or the English–but the value or significance of interpreting *Belletristik* in general, especially in the case of German nationhood, foreign *Belletristik*:

> Wenn ich etwas auf deutschen Boden verpflanzen könnte, würden es ganz andere Dinge sein: die praktische Richtung der Engländer, die großen Probleme der Mechanik, die sie gelöst, ihre Handelsprinzipien, das sind die Dinge, die uns Noth thun. (DAW, 1:50)

The debate over the definition and direction of German nationhood assumes a distinct urgency in this discussion. If Germany is to achieve a place among the great powers, a radical transformation in German identity is required. The values of *Geist* must give way to the values of *Technik* and *Handel*. As young Schochstein says,

> Gott sei Dank! unsere Regierung hat angefangen. Die sieht weiter als alle unsere schönen Geister, die uns immer und ewig mit ihren Lappalien unterhalten, ja wenn es auf sie ankäme, uns in die guten alten Zeiten von Ramler, Uz und Gleim zurückführen würden. (DAW, I, 50)

In the emerging world of *Realpolitik*, literature and literati in Wilhelm's opinion have little to contribute–they are, in fact, the symptom of Germany's weakness–her inability to adapt to the imperatives of modernity. A vast transformation in values then, Wilhelm philosophizes, must occur in German culture with the nature of literature and the role of *Geist* in general assuming an entirely different form:

–eine solche Übergangsperiode wird auch unser gemüthlich geistiges Stubengelehrtenleben und Seelenleben, und inneres Leben, und wie sie alle heißen, und die alle zusammen Faulleben heißen sollten, in wirkliches Leben umwandeln–. (DAW, 1:53)

The important dichotomies of *Stubengelehrten* and *Seelenleben*–all of which have traditionally been given a positive value in German culture, especially in opposition to *wirkliches Leben* are now reversed and the intellectual or scholar is defined as an active member of society who is familiar with mechanics, technique, and commerce, the mastery of which is necessary to transform Germany into a modern, dynamic nation-state.

The theme of literature and its relation to the state and the role of the *Dichter* is developed further, when instead of the debate, Sealsfield employs the burlesque scene to discuss the role of the poet in America. *Dichter* Mooney (note the pun), pale, curly-haired, with a high voice, conforms to the familiar parody of the poet in both German and American literature. His patron, Miss Trombone, a caricature of Mrs. Trollope, listens to the young poet recite his verses on the sea voyage to America and while the verses are abominably bad, the subsequent question about the poet's failure to have them published is a two-edged sword:

Es ist schön in Eurem Land der natürlichen Freiheit, in der Frische der Natur und ungekünstelten Gleichheit! . . . Aber wo bleiben die Denkmäler der Kunst? Die Gaben der Grazien? der Musen? O Warhofe! Euer Land hat Vieles zu verantworten, wenn solche Genies, wie unser Mooney, in entfernten Zonen ihre Mäcenaten suchen müssen. (DAW, 1:252)

Of course the parody of the European lady's–in this case one of America's most vehement critics in the Age of Jackson–myopic view of American life and culture is apparent here. But despite the burlesque of this scene and the obvious discrediting of the people who espouse such views, the question of the position and role of art and literature in America, in what was regarded in Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century at least as a radical, republican commonwealth, becomes a leitmotif as the novel unfolds and one that profoundly affected Sealsfield's own fate when, after the publication of *The Indian Chief or Tokeah and the White Rose* (1829), he left America, according to some critics, because of his failure to achieve literary distinction.[38]

But the parody of *Geist* in the New World is juxtaposed with another theme in *Wahlverwandtschaften*, equally familiar to observers of America and integrally related to that of mind and spirit. As the boat finally

approaches the shores of the New World, the utopian expectations that prompted such a journey are called into question when the first objective correlative of the passengers' visions of life in America is a "Zeitungsboot" evoking the ubiquitous question: "How is business?" (DAW, 2:102). What follows then is a barrage of questions about the commodities market with the following observation: "Das reichste Agriculturreich der Erde führt sein Getreide aus dem überfüllten Europa ein" (DAW, 2:103). Something is amiss in the New World, the narrator notes, the signs of which can already be seen in the metamorphosis which occurs among the American passengers:

> Die Vorläufer sind bereits hineingebrochen, die Furchen graben, die Brauen verdüstern sich; die Leidenschaften ziehen wieder ein, und nehmen Besitz von ihren zeitweilig verlassenen Gemächern. Der Egoismus tritt in seiner Proteusgestalt vor. –Jetzt könnt ihr den Yankee calculierend sehen, mit geknitterten Lippen, mit zusammengedrückten Augen, sinnend und sinnend. –Alle könnt ihr sehen. (DAW, 2:106)

The symbol of the Yankee is invoked, a symbol which recurs throughout German literature in the nineteenth century, embodying a wide range of values antithetical to German culture, epitomizing not only the decline of the utopian vision in America, but also the ambivalence to the West, to the Enlightenment, to the liberal-capitalist state–in short, to all those forces threatening to transform German life.[39]

An important shift in meaning assigned to the original motif occurs in *Wahlverwandtschaften*. What began as a critical discussion of German *Geist* and the indictment of literature as both a symptom and a cause of German backwardness and the German people's subsequent failure to become a modern nation-state, akin to England and America, suddenly changes at the end of the second part of the first book to a reaffirmation of German *Geist* amid a world permeated by Mammon and egotism. Young Baron von Schochstein, originally the most avid critic of the traditional paradigm of German *Bildung* and *Geist* vs. the mechanized, materialistic modern world, returns to a standard topos: "Sind bei meiner Seele seltsame Menschen, diese Amerikaner! unpoetische, unphilosophische, prosaische Menschen" (DAW, 2:127). At the end of the second part of the first book of *Wahlverwandtschaften* the familiar motif reappears: Baron von Schochstein assumes the epithet (even if it is presented in a mock-heroic form) of "der philosophische, poetische Deutsche" (DAW, 2:128) ready to explore the mysteries of the New World.

"Der philosophische, poetische Deutsche" assessing the significance of the New World is part of a larger narrative strategy of reexamining the meaning of America. Referring to himself as "wir," the narrator identifies

himself with America or Americans or more accurately with a certain group of Americans who are trying to come to terms with recent developments in American life–above all, with the changes in American political culture. Two indispensable pillars of American culture which endowed it with utopian promise for Sealsfield–the American gentleman and the ideal of the virtuous republic–have become for the most part devoid of meaning: "Schön wäre es, wenn diese Vorbilder [the gentry-republic ideal of Washington or Jay] noch etwas über uns vermöchten! Aber nein, wir sind in unserer Aufklärung so weit fortgeschritten! Seht sie nur an, diese unsere fashionablen Landsmänner und Landsmänninnen!" (DAW, 1:235-36). Sealsfield's republican ideal, embodying *Geist* and *Kultur*, has become plagued by the endemic ills that beset all republics–decadence and the love of Mammon.[40]

But Sealsfield again returns to the motif of the literary gentleman and his role in society–a motif that illuminates the decline of *Geist* and the republican tradition. James Fenimore Cooper, for whom Sealsfield had a grudging respect, even if he regarded him as lacking in "wissenschaftliche Ausbildung" for the writer's craft, serves again in this near-burlesque of a *Damenprozeß* of the *Fall James Fenimore Cooper* as a foil for contrasting the values of *Geld* and *Geist*.[41] Cooper is accused of unfavorably comparing the American landscape with that of Europe. He is also charged with expressing unpatriotic sentiments in his work against his homeland. This time the debate centers on "der philosophische, poetische Amerikaner" who finds fault with many new changes in American life, most notably the rampant materialism and the rising power of the less privileged classes in society.[42] That this debate does not only concern Cooper's fate becomes apparent when Cooper's defender argues, "Die europäischen Damen scheinen mir denn mehr Poesie, wir mehr Verstand, Geschäftsernst zu besitzen–Charakterwürde" (DAW, 3:260). *Poesie* and *Geschäftsernst* are treated here as equally valid properties, each requiring the other in order to become fully human. Nevertheless this *Geschäftsernst* is threatening to become *Geschäftsschwindel*, so that the *Fall Cooper* (which could easily be the *Fall Sealsfield*) receives its most eloquent explanation:

> er [Cooper] fühlt als Amerikaner, als Patriot tief und schmerzlich die bösen Einflüße, die jetzt von Europa und besonders England aus auf unser Land rückzuwirken anfangen, unseren republikanischen Körper in seinem Marke und innersten Fibern vergiften. Wir sind, es ist kein Zweifel, während der letzten sieben Jahre in bürgerlicher Gesittung, Ordnung, statt vorwärts, zurückgeschritten. (DAW, 3:363)

The American republic, according to Sealsfield's original vision, prosaic and sober, at least possessed virtue and moral integrity which was lacking

in Europe. In *Wahlverwandtschaften*, when virtue is replaced by Mammon and moral integrity by fashion, the prosaicness and sobriety lose their charm and the oft-venerated "Römervolk," as the narrator refers to Americans, becomes the much vilified *Krämervolk*.

The narrator, however, returns to his figure of the German nobleman to complete the story of the decline of the American republic and the unfolding of the paradigm of *Geld* and *Geist*. Invited to a caucus meeting to understand more clearly the workings of American republicanism and democracy, von Schochstein finds everything else but a virtuous republican ambience:

> halb auf einem Sessel, halb auf der Tafel saß und lag eine Gestalt, in deren Gesicht Mord und Todtschlag recht leserlich ihre Griffel eingegraben zu haben schienen.–Die Gestalt war lang und hager, aber muskulös; die halben Schenkel und ganzen Füße lagen auf der Tafel, in einer Attitude, die er in seinem Leben nicht so ungenirt gesehen. Die staubigen Schuhe, die nichts weniger als reinlichen Strümpfe, befanden sich in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft einer stark gerötheten Nase, die einem kleinen shylokisch aussehenden Manne mit einem Paar Rattenaugen angehörte, der, obwohl äußerst fein und modisch gekleidet, und offenbar von gutem Tone, die sonderbare Nachbarschaft gar nicht übel zu nehmen schien, und eifrig mit dem Ungenirten, wieder den Messieurs Berks, Thompsons und Johnsons sprach. Diese, noch vor einer Minute so ganz Zuvorkommen [sic], schienen ihn jetzt kaum noch zu erkennen, sie schauten ihn jetzt so fremd, so gedankenvoll an–nach ihren Blicken schienen sie sich die Lösung irgend eines arithmetischen Problems so eben zur Aufgabe gemacht zu haben. Wie leblos lehnten, und saßen sie Alle so hölzern, so steif, so finster, ohne die stechenden Augen in den bronzenen Gesichtern würden sie erzene Statuen haben vorstellen können–Es war etwas so Unheimliches in ihren Zügen. (DAW, 2:261-62)

The narrator's point of view merges with that of the German aristocrat. All of the typical motifs of the German *Amerikabild*, widely popularized in nineteenth-century German culture, are present, from the criminal plutocrat with plebeian manners to the Shylock-looking man who pays careful attention to fashion without disguising his rapaciousness and lower-class origins. The caucus is in fact a cabal. The democratic openness becomes conspiratorial. For the German observer–von Schochstein–these figures, who allegedly represent the highest form of political culture in the New World, become demonized into Gothic creations. Even the fact that the members of the caucus regard von

Schochstein as if they are solving an "arithmetical problem" adds to the paradigm of *Geld* and *Geist*, *Prosa* and *Poesie*, *Zivilisation* and *Kultur*.

Amid this coven of plutocrats Sealsfield allows his philosophy of *Geld* to be defined. As we find so often in Sealsfield, the narrator permits the speaker to present his philosophy which then has the antithetical effect of undermining his very arguments. Money, according to the plutocrat, is divided into two kinds: "klingende Münze" and "circulierende Münze." "Klingende Münze" is characteristic of a despotic regime or monarchy, where

> 'das Eigenthum stets in die Hände Weniger übergeht, in die Hände solcher, deren Capital in klingender Münze besteht; das heißt, der von ihren Renten Lebenden, träg Vegetirenden . . ., daß, mit Einem Worte, alles Eigenthum in die Hände oberwähnter träger, zäher Capitalisten und Rentiers gelangen müßte, die so in den Stand gesetzt würden, auf allgemeine Armuth und Noth fußend, eine Geldkastenherrschaft zu begründen.' (DAW, 2:274-75)[43]

But this is exactly what has happened in America, as the narrator repeatedly laments: America has become a "Geldkastenherrschaft," where speculation runs rampant, where economic crises are invented to fill the pockets of the so-called *Geldmänner*. A wonderful example of Sealsfieldian irony appears when one of the plutocrats declaims, "er [credit] ist die Grundbedingung, das Leben der Freiheit, vernünftiger, reeller Freiheit, wie sie in keinem Lande existiert" (DAW, 2:276). In view of the setting in which the novel takes place–the Panic of 1837–the irony could hardly be more complete. The response of Baron von Schochstein to this political caucus is hardly surprising, since it further defines the shift in values that the German aristocrat has undergone in the course of the novel:

> 'Das also ein Caucus, ihre Freiheit? –Weiß Gott, der ganze Caucus beläuft sich auf eine finanzielle Abhandlung, die man bei uns in jeder Buchhandlung, jedem Casino besser finden und hören kann. Aber die zweitausend Morde, und fünfzehnhundert Ehebrüche, und tausend Atrocitäten, und achthundert Felonien, und sechshundert Cholera morbus!–Das ihre Freiheit.' (DAW, 2:282)

The Lenauian motif is invoked: American republicanism is akin to a "financial transaction," a *Versicherungsassekuranz*, devoid of great ideals or convictions. Further the American body politic is not only lacking in principles, but is also morally tainted, the seat of criminal activity and

corruption–a theme alluded to in other examples of German-American fiction.

The German aristocrat not only becomes acquainted with the secret world of American elites, but also with what he experiences as the new, radical world of mass politics. Here the narrator's point of view and that of Baron von Schochstein appear to merge. When the Baron finds himself on an "omnibus" with a raging mob of drunken "workies," the initiation of the German aristocrat into American politics seems to be complete. Even amid a scene replete with unbearable parody, when von Schochstein is rebuked by his American love, the familiar topos is again conjured up:

> 'nichts als Dollars, Dollars! –Dollars' rief er in ächt deutscher Entrüstung. 'Dollars'! rief er abermals mit unsäglicher Verachtung, 'die Götter dieser Amerikaner, dieser schrecklichen Amerikaner, die die Hoffnungen der Welt so schmählich getäuscht, die Göttin der Freiheit zur schändlichen Met– ah! ich will ihnen aber zeigen, ja zeigen will ich ihnen, wie ein Deutscher, ein Deutscher,' setzte er im höchsten Pathos hinzu, 'Mensch zu sein nicht verlernt hat.'(DAW, 4:171)

The Gothic mode, previously confined, for example, in Sealsfield's fiction to the world plutocracy in *Morton*, is now used to represent the American mobocracy. The plight of the German Baron virtually imprisoned on a bus with what the narrator and the Baron both regard ironically as "Ganz eigene Gesellen, wie sie nur wieder in unserm glücklichen Lande der Freiheit zu finden [sind]" (DAW, 4:168)–in other words, as the narrator later describes–this time without irony–as "diese proletarische Hölle" (DAW, 4:205)–assumes an obvious symbolic character. The response of the Baron to the democratic convocation again invokes the paradigm:

> Was er gehört, . . . , war hinlänglich, um ihn republikanische Sympathieen für alle Tage seines Lebens zu verleiden, sein liebes Deutschland theurer denn je zu machen. O, wie pries er jetzt dieß sein liebes Deutschland überhaupt, und sein Rheinpreußen insbesondere! wie ganz anders erschienen ihm jetzt seine heimathlichen Zustände, wie verklärt poetisch der religiöse Aufschwung seiner plebejischen, der über das mercenäre Treiben dieser Welt erhabene, seiner hochadligen Landsmänner! (DAW, 4:204-5)

The narrator and the Baron both come to adopt the point of view that the new American democracy has become something monstrous without form or logic, a world curiously wallowing in anarchy and violation.

However in this topsy-turvy world the narrator's response is not only couched in horror towards the emergence of a new political culture. What unfolds in this narrative is a carefully wrought critique of mass politics that places Sealsfield in the tradition of Tocqueville and anticipates Ortega y Gasset. Tommy's *Rede* provides the Baron (and the reader) with enough insights to begin to assess the new political culture. The ever-looming threat of violence, the presence of an incipient form of Orwellian New Speak ("Gehen wir nicht mit Riesenschritten einer besseren Ordnung der Dinge entgegen?" (DAW, 4:181)), the utopian frame ("und eine neue Welt für euch gründeten" (DAW, 4:191)), the charismatic leader, the willingness of the masses to *Aktionismus* ("zur wildesten Frolic bereit" (DAW, 4:199)–all these belong to some of the unsettling characteristics of the new age.

But there are other even more terrifying elements in Sealsfield's narrative of Jacksonian America. Tommy's party representing the Whigs–traditionally portrayed as the party of the banks and the gentry and hostile to the new burgeoning rise of the so-called common man–is indistinguishable from the Locofocos, referred to by Sealsfield as the "Ultrademokraten." In fact, what we discover is the complete interchangeability of political labels and allegiances. The Locofocos and the Whigs conduct their *Saalschlacht*, yet the outcome does not seem to matter, since there are no serious ideas or convictions at stake–only a seemingly irresistible, anarchic energy craving for power without morality. The narrative becomes prophetic of the twentieth century when Tommy exclaims,

> Sind wir nicht ein glorioses, mächtig, transzendentales unbesiegbares Corps, wenn vereinigt und in einem Geiste handelnd, ein Corps, . . . das uns zu Herren, zu Schiedsrichtern der Whigs und Tories, und des souveränen Volkes dazu, macht, wenn wir nur die Hacke beim Stiel angreifen, den Stier beim rechten Horne fassen. (DAW, 4:192-93)

The "transzendentales unbesiegbares Corps," as the cornerstone of the new political constellation, also demands its victims, which returns us to the motif of the literary gentleman and his place in the American commonwealth. Instead of being the promoter of modernity and the nation-state, as presented by Baron von Schochstein at the beginning of the novel, the literary gentleman becomes its scapegoat:

> 'Zweifeln aber wir daran, by Tarnel! zweifeln wir daran; gellte giftiger Tomy. Zweifeln, und haben Ursache zu zweifeln, wenn wir einen v–ten Dutchman in unsere Lager hereinhorchen, spioniren sehen, weßwegen sonst, als um zu trolopisiren [sic],

> zu marryatisiren [sic], uns aller Welt zu verlästern. . . .' 'Schreibt ihr ein Buch? Wollt ihr ein Buch schreiben?' brüllt ihn Splice an. 'Habe nicht das Glück ein Günstling der Musen–' stockte er [the Baron]. (DAW, 4:214-15)[44]

In Sealsfield's America the literary gentleman has become expendable only to be replaced by the literature of the new politics–the party newspaper, the purpose of which is to distort the news and to manipulate the masses.

In *Wahlverwandtschaften* the literary gentleman and the newly awakened nation-state are initially presented from the point of view of a liberal or "radical" Central European at a safe distance of course from America in a utopian framework. The actual confrontation with America changes this. The original utopian element becomes transformed into a negative utopia. Instead of the European, as in so many of Sealsfield's other works, experiencing an "Ideenrevolution" that transforms him into an American–a change that is seen as a positive development–the metamorphosis in *Wahlverwandtschaften* is regarded as a loss of moorings, a recoil from and return to one's initial European identity. As the Baron notices a neatly uniformed militia marching up the street to protect the meeting hall, the narrator explains,

> Unsern Preußen perturbirte er, er wußte nicht, was davon zu halten, in seinem ganzen ein- oder zweiundzwangigjährigen Leben war ihm derlei nicht vorgekommen. Wohl hatte er von unserem furchtbaren Selbstregimente gehört und gelesen, aber das überstieg doch auch die wildesten Phantasieen, warf alle Begriffe von gesellschaftlicher Ordnung geradezu über den Haufen! –Er fühlte [sic] ordentlich verwirrt in dieser unserer neuen Welt–unserer Gegenfüßlerwelt; auch einiges Mitleiden, Erbarmen über unsere heillose Ordnung fühlte er, dann kitzelte ihn denn doch auch wieder eine heimliche Schadenfreude, ächt deutsche, sich durch fremde über eigenes politisches Misere tröstende, Schadenfreude! (DAW, 4:252-53)[45]

The initiation of the German literary gentleman *cum* aristocrat into American life proves to be abortive in Lenau and Sealsfield. Lenau's *persona*, John the Baptist, returns from the New World desert to continue his calling as a *Dichter* in a society which promotes *Geist* and culture. In *Wahlverwandtschaften* the novel remains a fragment possibly because there are in fact ultimately no genuine *Wahlverwandtschaften* between Germans and Americans–at least not in the money-dominated urban landscapes of America. Sealsfield's twenty-one years of literary silence after the publication of *Süden und Norden* (1842-43) can be interpreted, analogous

to Duden's final work, as his own implicit recantation of his belief in America triumphing over the pitfalls and temptations of *Geld*.

The dichtomy between prose and poesy, *Geld* and *Geist*, civilization and culture as well as other familiar dualities reveals its paradigmatic structure in other notable works in German-American literature. In Ferdinand Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* (1855), Reinhold Solger's *Anton in Amerika* (1862), Otto Ruppius's *Geld und Geist* (1860) and his *Pedlar* novels (1857-59), the paradigm is clearly visible. But also in Gerstäcker, in Balduin Möllhausen, in Armand, this paradigm can also be detected. The *Amerikaroman* in brief provides important insights into German nation-building and its confrontation with modernity and industrial civilization. The paradigm is perhaps most clearly revealed when the philosopher-hero in *Anton in Amerika*–significantly the son of Anton Wohlfahrt in Gustav Freytag's *Soll und Haben* (1855)–after having failed on all accounts as an intellectual in America (not in Germany, however) plans to leave America to pursue his scholarly studies on "eine Expedition ins Innere von Asien."[46] The duality between *Geld* and *Geist* is thus temporarily resolved, and the German hero can begin his journey into the world of pure *Geist* far from the conflicts of the modern world. In Freytag's narrative Anton Wohlfahrt finds a unity of *Geld* and *Geist* in the German *Comptoir*. In Solger's sequel to Freytag's novel Antonio Wohlfahrt fails to find this unity in America and is compelled to share the familiar fate and enact the frequently used topos of the poet in Germany–emigration and exile.

University of Turku
Turku, Finland

Notes

[1] A brief summary of Duden's activities in Missouri as well as an assessment of the volume's influence on immigration and the image of America is contained in Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), 149.

[2] Gottfried Duden, *Bericht über eine Reise nach den westlichen Staaten Nordamerikas und einen mehrjährigen Aufenthalt am Missouri (in den Jahren 1824, 25, 26, und 1827) in Bezug auf Auswanderung und Übervölkerung oder das Leben im Innern der Vereinigten Staaten* (St. Gallen: In Kommission im Bureau des Freimütigen, 1832), iii. All succeeding references will be taken from this edition and will be included in the text as follows: (D + page number).

[3] There are many works that illustrate the *Europamüdigkeit* and general mood of pessismism pervading the *Vormärz*. One novel in particular, widely read at the time it was written, that painstakingly illustrates the mood of resignation and despair prevalent in Germany in the 1830s, is largely forgotten today–Ernst Adolf Willkomm, *Die Europamüden: Modernes Lebensbild* (Leipzig: Julius Wunders Verlag, 1838).

[4] On the literacy level and reading habits and tastes in Germany in the nineteenth century, see Juliane Mikoletzky, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der*

zeitgenössischen fiktionalen Literatur: Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1988).

[5] See Thomas S. Kuhn's well known classic, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962). Kuhn writes " . . . the emergence of new theories is preceded by a period of pronounced professional insecurity. As one might expect, that insecurity is generated by the persistent failure of the puzzles of normal science to come out as they should. Failure of existing rules is the prelude to a search for new ones" (67-68).

[6] The mood of crisis, of living in a "transition period" was a peculiar characteristic of the *Vormärz*. This mood was reinforced by the rise in crime rates and the phenomenon of "pauperization" which affected large areas of Germany in the period from 1830-48. See Reinhard Rürup, *Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert, 1815-1871* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 147-70.

[7] Emigration varied markedly from region to region. In southwest Germany emigration was more pronounced than in other areas, especially in the period before 1848. In the period from 1845 to 1849, emigration from southwest Germany encompassed 29 percent of the total amount of emigration in Germany. From 1841 until the *Reichsgründung, the total number of Germans who emigrated to America was fixed at 2.3 million*. See Rürup, *Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*, 30-31. Duden himself, when asked why he did not decide to stay in America after proclaiming its marvellous features, answered his critics by saying, "daß der Wunsch, die Deutschen zum Colonisten zu bewegen, mich schon allein in Europa halten könne." This passage is found in Duden's second book, *Europa und Deutschland von Nordamerika aus betrachtet, oder Die Europäische Entwicklung im 19.Jh. im Bezug auf die Lage der Deutschen, nach einer Prüfung im innern Nordamerika* (Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1833-35), 468.

[8] In the preface to Duden's *Bericht*, the author dismisses the ideal of America as the promised land, yet still asserts that in America there is "hohe Freiheit und Sicherung leiblichen Wohlstandes in einem Grade von dem Europa keine Ahnung hatte" (iv).

[9] Again it is important here to distinguish between the various time periods in which this mood was paramount. Europe, in general, from the beginning of the eighteenth century on experienced what was felt to be a sudden population explosion. Germany of course was also affected by a sharp rise in population, although this also varied regionally. For example, Saxony and Prussia experienced noticeable rises in population. Other regions, such as Bavaria, Baden, and Württemberg showed slower increases in population. Still the mood of the time supported the belief that Germany was hopelessly overpopulated. This mood, according to Rürup, was significant until the 1850s when industrialization and improved agrarian techniques made it possible to provide for larger numbers of people (p. 23). Still the concept of "Volk ohne Raum," made famous by Hans Grimm's novel (1926) captivated the popular imagination well into the twentieth century. See Detlev J. K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (1987), trans. Richard Deveson (London: Allen Lane, 1991), 7-8.

[10] Werner Conze, "Vom Pöbel zum Proletariat," in Hans Ulrich Wehler, ed., *Moderne Deutsche Sozialgeschichte* (Köln: Kiepenheuer u. Witsch, 1966), 112-33.

[11] See Harold Jantz, "The Myths About America: Origins and Extensions," *Jahrbuch für Amerikastudien* 7 (1962): 6-18.

[12] In a letter dated 1857 a certain Otto Dieffenbach could write to his sister the following words: "Fürchte auch nicht, dass ich das Leben dort [Germany] zu eng u. zu klein finden werde, dort wo Kunst und Wissenschaft blüht, dort wo der Geist Nahrung und das Herz Befriedigung findet, nachdem ich so lange in dem Geist- und herzlosen Amerika geschmachtet, wo man Nichts ehrt als Geld, nichts denkt als an Geld, wo alle beßere Gefühle untergehen im alleinigen Streben nach Geld. Wo denn können die Verhältniße kleiner enger, prosaischer sein als wo Alles u. Alles sich um's Geld geht?" *"Amerika ist ein freies Land" . . . : Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland*, ed. Wolfgang Helbich (Darmstadt: Luchterhand, 1985), 215. Directly descended from Lenau and contemporaneous with Kürnberger, given its

formulaic language, this utterance probably reflects a representative cultural attitude in Germany in the nineteenth century towards America.

[13] In Duden's second book *Europa und Deutschland von Nordamerika aus betrachtet*, he is even more explicit about the cultural parity of the New World: "Übrigens wird in keinem Lande der Erde mehr auf Erziehung und Unterricht gehalten, als in den V.St." (1:447). Or in another place Duden writes that, " . . . die Mittelklasse sich hier nothwendig in einem gesunderen Gedeihen zeige als in Europa; daß hingegen die höchste Klasse, die Klasse der eigentlichen Culturträger, sich von dem Europäischen Culturträger wenig unterscheide" (1:441).

[14] An interesting example of this can be found in the enormously popular novel by Gustav Freytag, *Soll und Haben* (1855), in which American financial speculation is contrasted with the noble business practices of the *Comptoir*–a motif continuously invoked in nineteenth-century German fiction. By contrast in Duden's second book, *Europa und Deutschland von Nordamerika aus betrachtet*, he writes, "Indes ist es in den V.St. so gewöhnlich auf eine Überschätzung ihrer politischen Entwicklung zu treffen als in Europa auf die geringschätzigen Sprüche, 'die Amerikaner haben keine Geschichte; es geht dort alles nach Geld, u.s.w.'Dem Einen wie dem Anderen liegt eine jämmerliche Unkunde von dem, was überhaupt menschliche Entwicklung und Kultur ist, zum Grunde" (451).

[15] All the significant representatives of the *Amerikaroman*–Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, Ruppius, Kürnberger, Möllhausen, Strubberg–devote chapters in their works to American slavery.

[16] In his second book, *Europa und Deutschland von Nordamerika aus betrachtet*, Duden continues to praise the virtues of the American republic, but by the time he published his final work, which contained a self-proclaimed recantation, it became clear that Duden had come to embrace the competing America-paradigm. See *Die nordamerikanische Demokratie und das v. Tocqueville'sche Werk darüber, als Zeichen des Zustandes der theoretischen Politik. Nebst einer Äußerung über Chevalier's nordamerikanische Briefe . . . –Duden's Selbst-Anklage wegen seines amerikanischen Reiseberichtes, zur Warnung vor fernerm leichtsinnigen Auswandern* (Bonn: Eduard Weber, 1837).

[17] Nikolaus Lenau, *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed., Eduard Castle (Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1970), 2:207. Other citations will be taken from the same edition.

[18] In Charles Sealsfield's *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre* (1834-37), the Eastern greenhorn qua European gentleman finds an alternative to European decadence and what Sealsfield believed was the Europeanization of American culture on the southwestern frontier of Louisiana and Texas.

[19] In Otto Ruppius's fiction (1819-64) again and again in almost formulaic fashion, the Germanic protagonist flees from the corrupt plutocracy of the East Coast only to find–usually in the plantation world of Alabama–a society even more hostile to the values of the mind and the spirit.

[20] An example of the former is Fontane's novel *Quitt* (1890), in which the hero, having left the Prussian *Obrigkeitsstaat* to emigrate to America, ends up in a Mennonite community with characteristically Prussian features. An example of the latter is Ferdinand Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* (1855), in which the poet-hero returns to Europe following nativist riots amid the destruction of the meeting place for German craftsmen aptly called *Kleindeutschland*.

[21] The most ambitious and comprehensive study of this debate can be found in Antonello Gerbi's volume, *The Dispute of the New World: The History of a Polemic, 1750-1900* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973). Gerbi dates the history of this debate in the following way: " . . . only from Buffon onwards does the thesis of the inferiority of the Americas have an uninterrupted history, a precise trajectory passing through de Pauv, touching its vertex with Hegel and then proceeding on a long decline into the mutual recriminations and childish boasts, the brusque condemnations and confused panegyrics so common still in our own times" (xv).

[22] Egon Menz shows that the *topoi Handel* and *Handelsgeist* already had an important function in German thought during the Enlightenment when the *Amerikabild* was undergoing a significant change as a result of American independence. See Egon Menz, "Amerika in der deutschen Literatur des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts," in Sigrid Bauschinger, ed., *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Philip Reclam, 1975), 56-58. Ernst Fränkel argues that the German *Amerikabild* was formed during Romanticism and that furthermore the immediate reception of the Revolutionary War and the Constitution was surprisingly sparse in Ernst Fränkel, ed., *Amerika im Spiegel des deutschen politischen Denkens* (Köln und Opladen: Westdeutscher-Verlag, 1959), 20.

[23] Previous scholarly treatment of Lenau and the *Amerikaroman* has attributed its sometimes anti-American bias either to the uncritical adaptation of traditional myths of America or to the eccentric, bilious outbursts of individual writers. For an example of the former, see the above-cited article by Harold Jantz, "The Myths about America: Origins and Extensions," 6-18. The latter approach can be found in Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Land of Limited Possibilities: America in the Nineteenth-Century German Novel," *Yale Review* 68 (1978/79), 35-52. See also for a treatment of anti-Americanism in German fiction, Peter Michelson, "Americanism and Anti-Americanism in German Novels of the Nineteenth Century," *Arcadia* 2 (1976): 272-87 and Guy T. Hollyday, *Anti-Americanism in the German Novel, 1841-1862* (Bern, New York: Peter Lang, 1977).

[24] For an analysis of the development of German national symbolism, see among others George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars to the Third Reich* (New York: H. Fertig, 1975).

[25] In his talks with Eckermann, Goethe already anticipates the westward movement and the *Empiregedanke* in 1827 when he predicts America's push to the Pacific and eventually the importance of trade with China in Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens* (Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1959), 454. Of obvious importance for understanding Goethe's *Amerikabild* is his poem, "Den Vereinigten Staaten" (1827) and *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre* (1821). For a more recent study of Goethe's preoccupation with America, see Victor Lange, "Goethes Amerikabild: Wirklichkeit und Vision," in Sigrid Bauschinger, ed., *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur*, 63-74. See also Harold Jantz, "America and the Younger Goethe," *Modern Language Notes* 97 (1982): 515-45.

[26] Gerbi dismisses Lenau, writing, "A man [Lenau] of essentially uncritical temperament, he contributes the most extreme poles of the polemic in one person. He contributes no new opinions or elements to the debate, indeed relies exclusively on the motifs already present in the eighteenth century." See *The Dispute of the New World*, 373. I argue the contrary that Lenau employs many of the traditional motifs of the *Amerikabild*, but by emphasizing certain of these motifs–*Staat, Kultur, Kunst, Bildung, Technik*–contributes something distinctly novel to the nineteenth-century German confrontation with America.

[27] Perhaps the most perceptive treatment of this theme can be found in Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961). The comparison of the cultural debate over the significance of industrialism and modernity in Britain and Germany remains to be explored.

[28] One of the principal elements in the German *Amerikabild* was the belief that speculation and illicit moneymaking were rampant. This theme can be found in the recognized classics of German fiction, such as Freytag's *Soll und Haben* as well as in the fiction of Otto Ruppius and in Reinhold Solger's *Anton in Amerika* (1862).

[29] On the question of the response of the German novelist to American political culture, above all, the state, see Jeffrey L. Sammons in the previously cited essay, "Land of Limited Possibilities," 50, 52.

[30] The author is adopting the term employed by Juliane Mikoletzky in the above-cited study, *Die deutsche Amerika-Auswanderung des 19. Jahrhunderts in der zeitgenössischen Literatur*. Mikoletzky refers to the so-called "classic" writers of the *Amerikaroman*–Sealsfield, Gerstäcker, Ruppius, Möllhausen, and Strubberg–as those writers who enjoyed the greatest sales and

popularity in the nineteenth century and yet were still afforded at best only a marginal place in the canon.

[31] On the question of Lenau's duplicitous motives and the disparity between his literary utterances and actual behavior, see the essay by Manfred Durzak, "Nach Amerika: Gerstäckers Widerlegung der Lenau-Legende," in *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur*, 135-37. For another interpretation of Lenau's experience in America, see an earlier essay by Karl J. R. Arndt, in which Arndt argues that Lenau experienced a religious awakening in America with the Harmonists and Father Rapp that revitalized his creativity, producing some of his most famous poems. This is perhaps further evidence of Lenau's ambivalence. See Karl J. R. Arndt, "The Effect of America on Lenau's Life and Work," *The Germanic Review*, 33.1 (Feb. 1958): 125-42.

[32] Charles Sealsfield, *The United States of North America as they are* (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1972), 233-34.

[33] For an initial treatment of this theme, see Jerry Schuchalter, "Charles Sealsfield's 'Fable of the Republic,'" *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 24 (1989): 11-25.

[34] Charles Sealsfield, *George Howard's Esq. Brautfahrt* (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1976), 20-21.

[35] On the ambivalent response to modernity in German literature, see as an introduction from the standpoint of a writer of intellectual history, George L. Mosse, "Literature and Society in Germany," and "What Germans Really Read," *Masses and Man: Nationalist and Fascist Perceptions of Reality* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987), 21-68.

[36] A notable exception to this is the illuminating study by Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Charles Sealsfield's *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften*: Ein Versuch," in *Exotische Welt in populären Lektüren*," ed. Anselm Maler (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1990), 49-62. Although Sammons and I agree on the significance of Wilhelm von Schochstein's disillusionment with America, I reach opposite conclusions on the importance of art and literature for the modern nation-state. The explanatory use of the paradigm helps us to understand some of the contradictory elements in Sealsfield's thought.

[37] Charles Sealsfield, *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften* (Hildesheim, New York: Olms Presse, 1982), 5. All subsequent citations will be taken from this edition and designated with DAW, plus the volume or part and page number.

[38] Karl J. R. Arndt has discussed this question in detail in two notable essays: "Charles Sealsfield: 'The Greatest American Author,'" *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* (October 1964), 249-59 and "Sealsfield's Early Reception in England and America," *The Germanic Review*, 18 (1943): 176-95.

[39] The figure of the Yankee appears in the works of all of the "classic" writers of the *Amerikaroman*, achieving perhaps its most famous rendition in Karl May's *Der Schatz im Silbersee* (1890).

[40] The literature on the supposed decline of Sealsfield's utopian vision has become considerable. For the most recent treatments, see Günter Schnitzler, *Erfahrung und Bild: Die dichterische Wirklichkeit des Charles Sealsfield (Karl Postl)*, esp. 297-361 and the already-cited essay, Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Charles Sealsfields *Die deutsch-amerikanischen Wahlverwandtschaften*: Ein Versuch," 49-62. See also Franz Schüppen's "'Der Amerikaner lebt in und durch Stürme': Zur moralisch-didaktischen Dimension von Sealsfields Bild des Nordamerikaners," in *Schriftenreihe der Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft*, no. 4 (Freiburg: Charles Sealsfield-Gesellschaft, 1989), 71-126, in which Sealsfield is presented as an unquestioning believer in the American ideology.

[41] Sealsfield's pronouncements on Cooper and other contemporaries can be found in the preface to his novel *Morton oder die große Tour* (Hildesheim: Olms Presse, 1975).

[42] The literature on Cooper's quarrel with America is bountiful. See the more recent study by Daniel Marder, *Exiles at Home: A Story of Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Lanham, New York: University Press of America, 1984), esp. chapter 2: "Cooper: America

is No Place for a Gentleman." The parallels between Sealsfield and Cooper are striking, especially with regard to *topoi*, ideology, and political vision. For an important treatment of Sealsfield and the American canon, see Walter Grünzweig, *Das demokratische Kanaan: Charles Sealsfields Amerika im Kontext amerikanischer Literatur und Ideologie* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1987). See a recent, perceptive treatment of Sealsfield and the American canon in Jeffrey L. Sammons, "Charles Sealsfield: Innovation or Intertextuality?" in *Traditions of Experiment from the Enlightenment to the Present: Essays in Honor of Peter Demetz* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 17-46.

[43] The question of influences and intertextuality can be raised once again in the disquisition on money in *Wahlverwandtschaften*. In Cooper's *The American Democrat* (1838), the author also has a chapter on money entitled "On the Circulating Medium." See *The American Democrat or Hints on the Social and Civic Relations of The United States of America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), 169-71.

[44] The references are to Mrs. Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832) and Frederick Marryat's *A Diary in America, with Remarks on Its Institutions* (1839)–works which caused a remarkable stir in America because of what was thought to be their unjustly critical treatment of the still young nation.

[45] It is important to add here that Sealsfield's other Europeans experienced their "Ideenrevolution" on the frontier far away from what Sealsfield already noted in his early works as the threatening signs of decadence and mercantile vice of the Eastern port cities. In other words, the Baron's views on the decline of American republican values does not illustrate the loss of Sealsfield's utopian vision, but are simply more elaborate fictional treatments of ideas already expressed in his previous works. Sealsfield, from the very beginning of his literary career, had a dual vision of America.

[46] Reinhold Solger, *Anton in Amerika: Novelle aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben* (New York: Emil Steiger, 1872), 2:174; originally published as *Anton in Amerika: Seitenstück zu Freytags "Soll und Haben": Aus dem deutsch-amerikanischen Leben* (Bromberg: C. M. Roskowski, 1862).

Cary S. Daniel

Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin: A German-American Historical and Literary Journal Published in Cincinnati, Ohio

Introduction

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, published from 1886 to 1887 in Cincinnati, was essentially the successor of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which was published by the Deutscher Pionier Verein from 1869 to 1887. Widely considered the major German-American historical journal of the nineteenth century, *Der Deutsche Pionier* was edited by Heinrich A. Rattermann from 1874 until March 1885, when for unknown reasons he resigned. Animosity on the part of members of the Deutscher Pionier Verein toward Rattermann existed for his frequent late delivery of journal issues, incomplete publication of the minutes of the society, and incomplete obituaries about the society's members.[1]

Lacking a vehicle for his own historical research, Rattermann founded the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. Cincinnati was the natural home of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, not so much because Rattermann lived there, but because in the latter half of the nineteenth century Cincinnati was home to a number of prominent German-Americans (thereby affording a receptive public), as well as a center of prolific German-American publishing.[2] This study aims to analyze the content of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, describe differences between the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* and *Der Deutsche Pionier*, and postulate reasons for the short life of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* and its ultimate demise.

Heinrich A. Rattermann

Born in Ankum, near Osnabrück, in 1832, Heinrich Rattermann lived in Germany until the age of fourteen when his father decided the family

was to emigrate to America. After working as a bricklayer directly across the Ohio River from Cincinnati in Newport, Kentucky, and then as a waiter in the employ of a relative in Louisville, the young Heinrich returned to his family in Cincinnati in 1849. Working there first as a cabinet maker, he eventually enrolled in business college to acquire a knowledge of bookkeeping. With this background Rattermann established the German Mutual Fire Insurance Company, a very successful enterprise which to a great extent provided the financial resources for his later and quite extensive literary endeavors.[3]

Although Tolzmann terms Rattermann ". . . German-America's greatest poet and scholar . . . ,"[4] based largely on his numerous poems and work as a biographer and historian of German-Americana, others have viewed his works more critically.[5] Nevertheless, the sheer number of Rattermann's endeavors indicates the fervor with which he pursued his passion to publicize the mark left on America by German-Americans. In addition to being a historian, Rattermann also busied himself with literature and musical works, such as the composition of numerous poems, essays, and even operettas. Aside from editing *Der Deutsche Pionier* and the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, he also published "im Selbstverlag" [privately printed] his collected works in sixteen volumes.[6]

Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* first appeared with its October 1886 issue. In contrast to modern journals, in which the statement of frequency is normally found in the masthead and the intended purpose in the foreword or editor's note, both the frequency and the purpose of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are conveyed on the title page printed for a compilation of the first year's four numbers. The frequency was to be quarterly and its scope was to include: "Geschichte, Literatur, Wissenschaft, Kunst, Schule, u. Volksleben der Deutschen in Amerika." More specifically, the purpose expressed by Rattermann in the introduction, was:

> . . . durch geschichtliche Mittheilungen und kulturhistorische Beiträge den Antheil klarzustellen, den unser Volkstamm an der geistigen und physischen Entwickelung der amerikanischen Nation hat, und dadurch zugleich das Bewußtsein eigener Größe und Macht in uns zu wecken und zu entfalten. Nichts belebt und kräftigt so sehr das Selbstgefühl und den Volksgeist als die Geschichte.[7]

Furthermore, Rattermann considered this documentation important both for interested individuals of his day and inquisitive individuals of future

generations.[8] Undoubtedly due to an anticipated ever-evolving pool of contributors to his nascent journal, no authors are identified on the title page. Rattermann did indicate, however, that there were indeed others involved: "unter Mitwirkung deutsch-amerikanischer Geschichts-u. Literaturfreunde."

As for circulation, Rattermann hoped for a market of 1500[9] to include the members of the Deutscher Pionier Verein, to whom he was willing to sell at a discounted price, and members of the Deutscher Literarischer Club von Cincinnati. Rattermann even offered to publish the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* as the official organ of the Deutscher Pionier Verein.[10] In actuality, Rattermann was able to secure only 504 subscribers in Cincinnati " . . .und in der ganzen übrigen Welt zusammen–auch nicht mehr, wenn soviel."[11] So we see that at most circulation hovered in the neighborhood of 1000. Rattermann had in mind to engage a traveling agent whose purpose would be to increase subscriptions.[12] As the latter did not occur, it seems unlikely that the former did either.

Journal Sections

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* consisted of the following eight sections: 1. Originalgedichte; 2. Biographisches; 3. Geschichtliches; 4. Wissenschaftliches und Literarisches; 5. Kleinere Aufsätze; 6. Literaturkritiken; 7. Notizen; 8. Fragen und Antworten. It is interesting to note the various sections that appeared in the last volume (16) of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which Rattermann edited. We find sections almost identical to those in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*: "Gedichte," "Biographien," "Historisches und Kulturgeschichtliches," "Kritische und literaturhistorisches Aufsätze," "Vermischtes," "Deutsch-amerikanische Nekrologe," "In Memoriam," "Editorielle Notizen und Kritiken," "Vereinsnachrichten."

By authoring 61 percent of the 83 items which appeared in the first year of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, Rattermann was consistent with his percentage in *Der Deutsche Pionier*.[13] Altogether there were twenty-five contributing authors.

This examination of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* is based on the extant compilation of the journal's sole four numbers which appeared from October 1886 to July 1887. The order of this discussion is taken from the sequential listing of articles in this first and only volume/year of publication.

1. Originalgedichte

Poetry has played quite a significant role both in German and German-American literary life. It should come as no surprise, then, that poetry was a major part of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. The

various poems appearing in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are similar to those generally found in *Der Deutsche Pionier*. The favored themes concern nature and include tributes to the seasons and months, travel, love, and Germany.[14]

The poems contributed by Rattermann under the pseudonym Hugo Reimmund have generally been described as broad in scope, lacking originality, and modelled, in form, on the verse of German Classicism.[15] Yet another study of Rattermann's poetry maintains that it is necessary and important to understand the parallel literary movements of the nineteenth century out of which his poetry emerged in order to appreciate it fully.[16]

Rattermann also composed numerous distichs, in fact, he grouped twenty-nine of them together in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. One distich was:

> An die deutsch-amerikanischen Buchverleger.
> Was ihr verlegt?–Den Fremden Geraubtes und eigenen Schund nur;
> Aber dem heimischen Geist habt ihr die Wege verlegt.[17]

Rattermann expressed similar sentiments, albeit in clearer language, in a letter to Gustav Körner complaining that the (book) publishers and newspaper editors are incapable of bringing any worthy literature to the public. They are only interested in making a profit by offering trash literature.[18]

Other poems included in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* are by such noted German-American authors as Kara Giorg (pseudonym of Gustav Brühl), Franz Schreiber, Theodor Kirchhoff, Alfred Schücking, Ernst Anton Zündt, and Bernhard Hartmann.[19] All these authors contributed poems to *Der Deutsche Pionier* while Rattermann was editor, but after his dismissal published instead in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*. Zündt alone continued to contribute his poetry to *Der Deutsche Pionier*.

While it could be maintained that these authors abandoned *Der Deutsche Pionier* out of loyalty to Rattermann, it is just as easy to conclude that the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* was a vehicle more conducive to poetry because the content of *Der Deutsche Pionier* had changed so dramatically. An examination of the content of the final two years of *Der Deutsche Pionier* reveals a preponderance of articles reprinted from German-American newspapers as well as a large number of obituaries or memorials to deceased members of the Deutscher Pionier Verein.

2. Biographisches

More than half of the biographies were written by Rattermann, the self-styled historian. This was in no small way his chosen vocation and one which he quite enjoyed.[20] In fact, even though trips (necessary in order to gather facts) were self-financed, they, along with the time required for them, were two of the purported (ancillary) reasons for his dismissal from editorship of *Der Deutsche Pionier*.[21]

Of the eleven biographies published during the first year of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, Rattermann authored seven. The others were written by Ferdinand Moras, W. Germann, John W. Jordan, and Maximilian Schele de Vere. These biographies were frequently published as serial installments, a practice of both journal and newspaper publications in the nineteenth century. Breaking an article into parts served essentially two purposes: it allowed space in the publication for other articles rather than using a single issue for one, often lengthy, article; and it encouraged the purchase of subsequent numbers in order that the reader might finish the series.

The biographies, especially those authored by Rattermann, contained numerous details and delved not only into the lives of the biographees in the United States but also in Europe. Rattermann was quite adept at providing associated details. We learn a wealth of information about the parents of the subjects and about the time period. For example, in the biography of Augustin Herrmann, Rattermann expresses a desire to provide " . . . ein gedrängtes Bild von dem Anfang und der Entwickelung der ehemaligen holländischen Provinz in Nordamerika"[22] and in the process presents eight pages of background, before bringing Herrmann into the picture in New Amsterdam. This exemplifies Rattermann's painstaking endeavors to set his biographical essays in their historical contexts, and to amplify fully the times in which his subjects lived. Particular note should be paid to three of the biographies in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, those of Peter Mühlenberg, Augustin Herrmann, and Friedrich Kapp, all significant figures in German-American history.[23]

Wilhelm German, pastor in Nordheim in Sachsen Meiningen,[24] authored the biography of Peter Mühlenberg. Mühlenberg was born in 1746 in Trappe, Pennsylvania, the son of Heinrich Melchoir, who sent his son to Europe to enable him to emulate his father, that is to say, to become a pastor. Through examination of his correspondence, German's biography focuses on Peter's early years and ends when Peter decides to forsake the life of a pastor, choosing instead to join the military.[25]

The biography of Augustin Herrmann was written by Rattermann. Born in Prague in 1605, Herrmann was an early colonist in New Amsterdam. There he made his living as a merchant and landowner. From 1660-70 he worked surveying Virginia and Maryland, producing in

1670 "Virginia and Maryland as it is planted and Inhabited This Present Year 1670." Rattermann's thoroughness is apparent as he provides numerous details of colonial New York and Maryland.[26] Unfortunately this biography was never completed. It was to be continued with a third installment, and certainly would have been, had the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* continued.

Friedrich Kapp was born in 1824 in Hamm, Westfalen. Quite precocious as a child, Kapp studied law and returned to Hamm in 1844 to begin a career as a lawyer. Caught up in the enthusiasm of 1848, Kapp moved to Frankfurt where he became a newspaper correspondent as well as the first secretary of the "Kongreß der deutschen Demokraten." Avoiding arrest for presumed participation in the 1848 uprising, Kapp traveled to Belgium. In 1849 he pulled together a group of radicals in Switzerland. Not particularly welcome in Switzerland, Kapp decided to emigrate to America.

Employed in America as a journalist and then involving himself in politics, Kapp is perhaps best known for his writings: "Die politischen Parteien in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Die Sklavenfrage in den Vereinigten Staaten*, as well as *Aus und über Amerika*. Rattermann's biography details the life of Kapp in his adopted country and chronicles his life in Germany after his return in 1870.[27]

3. Geschichtliches

This section contains a total of seven articles touching on the various areas of American life, to which Rattermann initially alluded in his introductory statement of purpose, and to which German-Americans contributed to a significant extent. The reader is presented with the history of the military as well as German-American education, music, press, and art. Rattermann's particular predilection for serial installments holds true here as well. An illustrative example can be found in his article "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine." Albeit a rather extreme example, this article runs in volumes 14-16 of *Der Deutsche Pionier*, separated into twenty-five parts.[28]

The initial article, "Amerikanische Feldzüge 1777-1783, Tagebuch von Johann Konrad Döhla," is an almost daily account of this conscript's experiences and observations from his muster in Brandenburg to his tour of America in the Revolutionary War. Once on American soil, Döhla provides general descriptions in colonial-era nomenclature of Mexico, or Nova Hispania, Nova Francia, and Nova Hollandia. He proceeds then to describe in a rather matter-of-fact manner his daily routine, i.e., marching, fighting, the death of comrades, and also the various cities where he was quartered, among them: New York, Philadelphia, Newport, and Boston. He also gives descriptions of religious sects he encountered, especially

"Herrnhuther" and "Quäcker."[29] Rattermann was only able to include the first three years of Döhla's diary (1777-79). The later years evidently were to appear in subsequent volumes.

"Geschichte der deutschen Konventionen zu Pittsburg und Phillipsburg (1837 bis 1842) und des ersten deutsch-amerikanischen Lehrerseminars"[30] is the title of the second article in this section. It concerns the impetus surrounding the organization of a convention to discuss German character among German-Americans and the methods to maintain and enhance this character. Accordingly, a number of delegates convened a meeting in July 1837, a partial agenda of which was to demand "... [die] deutsche Sprache als Grundlage aller übrigen Verbesserungen, und als erste Bürgschaft der Rechte und des Glückes der deutschen Burger."[31] This was to be accomplished through legal recognition of the German language in states where Germans constituted more than one-third of the population. In addition, the delegates demanded the introduction of German courts in all districts in which Germans held a majority, and stressed the need for the German language in schools and churches of German communities as well as for a German language press. A major agenda item was creation of a "System deutscher Volksschulen" to be accomplished by establishing seminaries for teachers and eventually one or several German "Hochschulen."[32]

In an effort to garner support for these objectives among German-Americans, Wilhelm Schmole contributed the following: "Es ist kein Zweifel, Jeder, dem deutsches Blut in den Adern rinnt und ein biederes Herz im Busen schlägt, wird den benannten Vorschlägen seinen Beifall und seine Mitwirkung nicht versagen."[33] "Posaunen," the next selection, is a very brief article dealing with the history of the trombone among German-Americans, as well as trombone choirs and numerous other uses of this instrument chiefly among Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.[34]

"Die deutsch-amerikanische Zeitungspresse während des vorigen Jahrhunderts,"[35] Oswald Seidensticker's treatise, begins with the *Philadelphia Zeitung*. It started publishing in 1732, but enjoyed only a limited future and success. Seidensticker chronicles the history of German-American newspapers of the eighteenth century, among them: Christoph Saur's *Der Hoch-deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber, oder: Sammulung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Naut- und Kirchen-Reich*; *Philadelphische Zeitung von allerhand Auswärtige- und einheimischen merkwürdigen Sachen* (established by Benjamin Franklin and Anthon Armbrüster) and *Der Wöchentliche Philadelphia Staatsbote*. Rattermann presents this article as well in serial format. With the folding of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, the complete history of these newspapers was cut short.

"Die Ansiedlungsprojekte des Barons Bastrop"[36] provides a brief account of the attempts by Jullid Bastrop to found a settlement in present

day northwestern Louisiana, an area the Spanish government granted him. The United States government, with the purchase of the Louisiana Territory, did not recognize the land grant (there is, however, a town named Bastrop in that area) and Bastrop was forced to move on. The Spanish government provided Bastrop another land grant of similar size in Texas where he was able to establish both a city and county of Bastrop.

"Der deutsche Künstlerverein 'Die Namenlosen'" was originally given as a lecture by Ferdinand Moras to the Pionier Verein of Philadelphia in 1884. Moras describes the conception and birth of a group of artists and writers, the core of whom were industrious individuals out of the wave of 1848 immigrants.[37] The formation of the group was the idea of K.H. Schmolze.[38] This was to be a group " . . . worin Jeder Gelegenheit haben sollte, nicht allein zu debattiren, sondern auch durch Bild und Wort, seine Ideen zur Geltung zu bringen."[39] The name the group took for itself was "Die Namenlosen."

The main genre employed by "Die Namenlosen" were caricatures which filled its first album. Some works considered too risqué or coarse were relegated to a black book. Later the caricatures (and verses) reached a higher plateau.[40]

Schmolze was apparently the life force of "Die Namenlosen." With Schmolze's death in 1859, as Moras reports, " . . . ein Zustand der Lethargie trat ein. Das Lokal wurde immer seltener besucht."[41] The group lay dormant for an unspecified period, then found life again with more vigor, producing dramas and concerts and holding readings. "Die Namenlosen" met a natural death sometime after the Civil War, as the aging members' enthusiasm and spirit waned.[42] Moras completes his history with short commemorative biographies of its eleven founders.

The final article of this section, one written by W. A. Fritsch, is entitled "Stimmen deutscher Zeitgenossen über den Soldatenhandel deutscher Fürsten nach Amerika."[43] It deals with the attitudes of prominent German politicians, philosophers, and literary figures concerning the conscription of Germans by regional aristocracies. Fritsch takes exception to Kapp's contention " . . . die Massen seien so gedrückt, arm, unwissend und an blinden Gehorsam gewöhnt gewesen, daß sie die Wilkür ihrer Herrscher als eine Fügung des Schicksals geduldig hinnahmen."[44]

Friedrich der Große, Fritsch maintains, would not allow the transport of these troops through Prussia as he considered the whole process a "Seelenverkäuferei." Immanuel Kant, as well, had particular problems with the "Soldatenhandel," not for the same reason as previously mentioned, but because he had been a supporter of the American republic. Lessing, who at the time was a librarian in Wolfenbüttel, made his thoughts known in his drama *Minna von Barnhelm*.

The attitudes of Goethe and Schiller were also included in this article. Fritsch maintains that Goethe expressed his feelings in his poem "Das Neueste aus Plundersweilen."[45] Also, Goethe's pro-American stance was obvious in "Wahrheit und Dichtung" [sic][46] as well as at the end of "Faust."[47] While Goethe's sentiments may have been cloaked in verse, Schiller's were quite in evidence in his drama, *Kabale und Liebe*.[48]

4. Wissenschaftliches und Literarisches

This is actually the first place in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* where Rattermann diverges from what appeared in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which did not publish scientific articles. The most valuable source for German-American literary historians is Rattermann's article "Deutsch-amerikanische Schriftsteller- und Künstler-Pseudonyme."[49] Rattermann provides a list arranged alphabetically by pseudonym plus the actual name. Also included are titles of articles and the journals in which they appear and books written by these individuals.

Lest anyone question the scientific nature of this section, one need only turn to the article "Korpulenz,"[50] by Theodor Sittel. Originally given as a lecture at the Deutscher Literarischer Club in Cincinnati, this article deals not so much with corpulence as we understand it today, but rather fat, its nature and function in the body, and includes drawings of connective tissue and fat cells.[51]

5. Kleinere Aufsätze

This section consists mostly of brief one or two-page essays, although a handful by Rattermann are somewhat longer. What sets them apart from the other articles in the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, is their lack of footnotes and a pretence of having resulted from research.

The first essay by W. H. Rosenstengel, "Deutsche und lateinische Schrift" is a short history of German and Latin writing from the runic to Gothic to Latin scripts.[52] The second, "Papa, Mama," explains the beginning stages of childhood speech development based on the words "papa" and "mama," as well as the sounds *ma, ba, pa, ta, da,* and *la*.[53]

"Eine Kontroverse,"[54] by Rattermann, concerns the true identity of "Gracchus." Rattermann maintains that Heinrich Rödter uses that particular pseudonym, although Carl Rümelin claims it for himself. It is worth noting that the two were at this time bitter rivals, if not enemies.

The next presentation, again by Rosenstengel, is entitled "Eintritt der Deutschen in das historische Leben Europas,"[55] and places the origins of the Germans in Europe with the Cimbri and Teutones circa 113 A.D.

Rattermann authored the next selection, entitled "Alles schon dagewesen."[56] He attempts to illustrate that maintenance of the German

language in America is not purely a contemporary issue, but one which dates back to 1792. Three letters from the *Philadelphische Correspondenz*, the first signed simply Senex, expresses the idea that it would be far better were German-Americans to forget German and learn English as quickly as possible. Being able to communicate only in German renders German-Americans "Dummköpfe."[57] The other two letters by unidentified authors are written as rebuttals.

The last essay in this section is entitled "Eine Reliquie,"[58] and consists of an exchange of two letters. The first by Heinrich Rödter, a member of the "Deutscher Patriotischer Verein" of Cincinnati, welcomes Christian Friedrich Seidensticker to America, praises his heroism, and extends an invitation if he were ever to come to Cincinnati. Seidensticker's response is a gracious acceptance.

6. Literaturkritiken

This section consists of eighteen book reviews in English and German. The notable ones are: J. G. Rosengarten's *The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States*, and Rev. John Gmeiner's *The Church and the Various Nationalities in the United States*. The former is self-explanatory, while the latter discusses the anglicization of German Catholics. This became a nineteenth-century concern in other volumes as well: *Church and the Various Nationalities in the United States; Der deutsch-amerikanische Katholik; Goliath; Katholisch und Deutsch-Amerikanisch;* and *Calm Reason and Furor Teutonicus*.

7. Notizen

The name "Notizen" denoted ambiguity. "Notizen" means "what is to be found in this or the next number" and incorporates announcements of programs and festivals of German-American societies.

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* published "populäre Vorträge" in the "Deutscher Literarischer Club" in every issue. Rattermann encouraged others to send similar lectures for possible publication, even offering that "Eingesandte, nicht acceptirte Vorträge . . . sofort an die resp. Einsender portofrei zurückgesandt [werden]."[59]

The biography of Augustin Herrmann, as previously mentioned, was incomplete. Two separate "Notizen," explain that it is due to a lack of space and that the next installment would be published in the following number.[60] Space finally surfaced in the fourth and last issue of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*.

The final "Notiz," "An unsere Leser!,"[61] was written by Rattermann to the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* subscribers. He lamented the financial state of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* (although he fully

intended to continue publishing it) and highlighted the major articles that appeared in its first year, stating that they "... umfassen in ihren Mannigfaltigkeiten alle Gattungen des kulturellen Wirkens unseres Elementes in Amerika."[62]

8. Fragen und Antworten

The final section of every number of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* consists of short questions and answers in German-American history, literature, and art. Also included is a list of recently published books on German-Americana published primarily in the United States (although some came from abroad).

A typical question concerns German-American trivia: "Gustav Adolf Neumann war der erste und langjährige Redakteur der New Yorker 'Staats-Zeitung'. Ob derselbe noch lebt, und wo? Wer kann ein curriculum vitæ desselben liefern?"[63] An answer usually simply appears as: "W. H. in N.Y.–Die 'Festgedichte zur goldenen Hochzeit von G. u. S. Körner' sind nur in einer kleinen Ausgabe für Freunde gedruckt und nicht in den Buchhandel gebracht worden. Sämmtliche Exemplare sind vergriffen."[64] This device underlines the continuity of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* because the reader needed previous issues to follow the questions and answers logically.

Conclusion

The *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* continued the excellent tradition of *Der Deutsche Pionier* both in its biographical and historical contributions of German-Americans, and in the expression of life through German-American poetry. By providing biographical sketches, or even lengthy biographies of notable (in some cases obscure and unknown) German-Americans, Rattermann clearly sought to impress upon his readers the significant role these immigrants had played in shaping and building America. He perhaps also hoped to enjoin upon his readers his own assiduous interest in German-American history.

There were numerous reasons why the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* failed: lack of financial support and the corresponding inability of Rattermann to raise capital to hire an agent who would work for a salary (rather than on commission) in order to increase the journal's circulation; the difficulty of individuals, regardless of how industrious they may be, encounter in the responsibility of publishing a journal–a major task, previously performed in the case of *Der Deutsche Pionier* by the Deutscher Pionier Verein; the changing character of the German-American constituency; competition from other German-American publications. Also, Rattermann's penchant for serial installments, coupled with his

optimistic view of the future of the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, resulted in incomplete articles.

As for financial support, Rattermann placed on himself a financial ultimatum in 1887. In a letter to Gustav Körner, he stated, "Ich will doch noch einen Versuch machen–Die Herausgabe in ein Aktienunternehmen umwandeln, wenn sich fünf Leute finden die je $500 einschießen um den Agenten-Plan zu ermöglichen. Geht es dann nicht, dann laß ich die Feder sinken."[65] Although . . . "the period from 1875 to 1900 represented the era of prosperity for many German language papers,"[66] . . . it was due only to the ability and willingness of German-American editors, be they of scholarly journals or of newspapers, to conduct business as did editors of the American press. This dictated the need to attract advertisers to help alleviate the costs of publishing.[67] Attracting advertisers would have been an additional responsibility of the agent Rattermann had hoped to hire, but, of course, no agent was hired.

Without doubt Rattermann possessed the requisite skills of an editor, as evidenced by his many successful years with *Der Deutsche Pionier*. What he lacked was institutional backing, which would have included financial support. Curiously *Der Deutsche Pionier*, which continued to enjoy the backing of the Deutscher Pionier Verein for the first two years after Rattermann's departure, lacked editors of Rattermann's abilities. Ultimately *Der Deutsche Pionier* was relegated to an annual "Vorstandsbericht" of the Deutscher Pionier Verein.

Wittke points to the German-American press as an instrument of comfort in the familiar mother tongue and as an instrument of transition to the new society. He states that Germans first disembarking in America represented a ready audience. This phenomenon greatly affected the success of many a German-American newspaper.[68] Rattermann's *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin*, while familiar to Germans, lacked the necessary element of aiding in the transition to American society. The great flood of immigrants from Germany simply did not possess the same level of eagerness to embrace literature, science, and history as the "Dreißiger" or forty-eighters did, but preferred mundane aspects of German culture, namely traditional foods and festivals.[69]

The period from 1883 to 1890 saw the largest growth of German-American publications. In 1883 the aggregate number of German-American publications in the United States stood at 585. By 1890 this number had increased to 785. During this time span German-American publications in Ohio grew from 69 to 109, the largest growth of all the states.[70] That the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* should be among those German-American publications not to have succeeded is ironic, especially because it occurred in the midst of this great period of growth. Rattermann must have been disappointed in the relatively small audience

the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* attracted. Apparently his ideals were not shared by the general German-American populace.

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Notes

[1] Marc Surminski, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann und 'Der Deutsche Pionier'," M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, 1988, 52.

[2] Don Heinrich Tolzmann, "The Last Cincinnati German poet: Heinrich H. Fick" in *German-American literature*, ed. Don Heinrich Tolzmann (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1977), 273-74.

[3] For a complete and comprehensive biography of Rattermann see: Mary Edmund Spanheimer, *Heinrich Armin Rattermann: German-American Author, Poet, and Historian, 1832-1923* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1937).

[4] Tolzmann, 274.

[5] Rattermann usually took a negative stance against anyone who (in his view) had offended him. According to Henry John Groen, " . . . even though he [Rattermann] often prided himself on being absolutely objective and accurate in his statements, it soon became evident that he was neither objective in some of his biographies nor accurate in many of his statements." Groen, Henry John, "A History of the German-American Newspapers of Cincinnati Before 1860," Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1944, 3. Henry Willen is quite critical of Rattermann's poetry, stating that . . . "Ratterman's rhymed verse do nowhere ascend the lofty regions of poetry. They remain everywhere merely rhymed prose." Willen, Henry, "Henry Armin Rattermann's Life and Poetical Work," Ph.D. diss., 88, University of Pennsylvania, 1939. Surminski describes Rattermann's poetry as strictly classical in form and relatively unimaginative, although he credits it with being broad in scope. Surminski, 71-83.

[6] Heinrich Armin Rattermann, *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, 16 vols. (Cincinnati: Selbstverlag des Verfasser, 1906-12).

[7] *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* 1 (Cincinnati: S. Rosenthal & Company, 1886-87): 14. Subsequent citations from the *Deutsch-Amerikanisches Magazin* will be given as DAM.

[8] "Benutzen wir die Gelegenheit und sorgen wir dafür, daß unsere Nachkommen nicht vergebens nach uns suchen müssen." DAM, 15.

[9] Rattermann to Oswald Ottendorfer, 4 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (67), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

[10] Rattermann to Oswald Seidensticker, 11 June 1887, letter R.2.4v (52), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

[11] Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (93), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts., University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

[12] Ibid.

[13] *Guide to the Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts*, ed. Donna-Christian Sell and Dennis Francis Walle, (Urbana: University of Illinois Library, 1979), 8.

[14] Examples in *Der Deutsche Pionier*, the DAM, or Rattermann's *Gesammelte Ausgewählte Werke*, specifically "am Ohio," 1-2; "April," 317; and "Zwei Sommerlieder" 482-83, all in the DAM.

[15] Surminski, 74.

[16] Fred Karl Scheibe, "Heinrich Armin Rattermann: German-American poet, 1832-1923" in Tolzmann, 240-44.

[17] DAM, 481.

[18] Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (93-94), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

[19] For information on these poets see: Robert E. Ward. *A Bio-bibliography of German-American Writers, 1670-1970* (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1985).

[20] Spanheimer, 101-11.

[21] Ibid., 115.

[22] DAM, 203.

[23] Other biographies along with their authors are: "Karl Heinrich Schmolze" by Ferdinand Moras, 37-42; "Erinnerungsblätter an Jedidiah Weiß, Karl F. Beckel und Jakob C. Till, Posaunisten" by John W. Jordan, 108-12; "General August Moor. Ein Lebensbild aus der deutsch-amerikanischen Geschichte" by Rattermann, 171-86; 345-59; 489-515; "Karl Maria von Weber" by Rattermann, 290-304; "Eduard Florens Rivinus" by Rattermann, 327-33; "Karl Beck" by Maximilian Schele de Vere, 483-88; "Deutsch-amerikanische Pioniere der Musik. I. Karl Anschütz" by Rattermann, 515-24; and "Christian Ax" by Rattermann, 539-46.

[24] DAM, 186.

[25] DAM, 43-57, 186-201, 334-44.

[26] DAM, 202-26, 524-38.

[27] DAM, 16-33, 226-38, 360-73.

[28] Heinrich A. Rattermann, "Geschichte des deutschen Elements im Staate Maine," *Der Deutsche Pionier* 14 (1882): 7-13, 53-62, 90-98, 141-50, 174-88, 217-33, 266-76, 292-303, 338-61, 425-34, 464-68; 15 (1883): 74-82, 104-14, 201-10, 226-35, 267-83, 338-75; 16 (1884): 11-18, 71-77, 98-102, 195-204, 227-38, 276-81, 302-11, 349-59.

[29] DAM, 57-86, 239-69, 373-402, 546-67.

[30] DAM, 87-104, 447-58, 594-613.

[31] DAM, 454.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid.

[34] DAM, 104-8.

[35] DAM, 276-89, 405-34, 568-88.

[36] DAM, 402-3.

[37] DAM, 438.

[38] For a biography of Schmolze see DAM, 37-42.

[39] DAM, 435.

[40] DAM, 436.

[41] Ibid.

[42] DAM, 437.

[43] DAM, 589-93.

[44] DAM, 589.

[45] DAM, 591-92.

[46] The correct title of course is "Dichtung und Wahrheit." Either Fritsch or Rattermann inverted the title.

[47] DAM, 592.

[48] Ibid.

[49] DAM, 143-64.

[50] DAM, 199-234.

[51] Other articles included in this section were: "Rede des Herrn Johann Bernhard Stallo", 113-18; "Die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Alterthümer" by Wilhelm H. Weik, 134-43; "Karl Maria von Weber Gedenkfeier im Deutschen Literarischen Klub in Cincinnati" by Rattermann, 290-304 (this is the same selection noted in the "Biographisches" section (sic)); "Der Whippoorwill: Naturhistorische Studien" by H. Nehrling, 458-62; and "Unter den Eskimos: Ethnologische Studie" by Franz Boas, 613-23.

[52] DAM, 304.

[53] DAM, 304-5.

[54] DAM, 308-11.

[55] DAM, 462.

[56] DAM, 624-26.

[57] DAM, 624.

[58] DAM, 626-28.

[59] DAM, 157.

[60] DAM, 157, 471.

[61] DAM, 633-34.

[62] DAM, 634.

[63] DAM, 161.

[64] DAM, 313.

[65] Rattermann to Gustav Körner, 18 Aug. 1887, letter R.2.4v (94), Heinrich A. Rattermann Collection of German-American Manuscripts, University of Illinois, Champaign-Urbana.

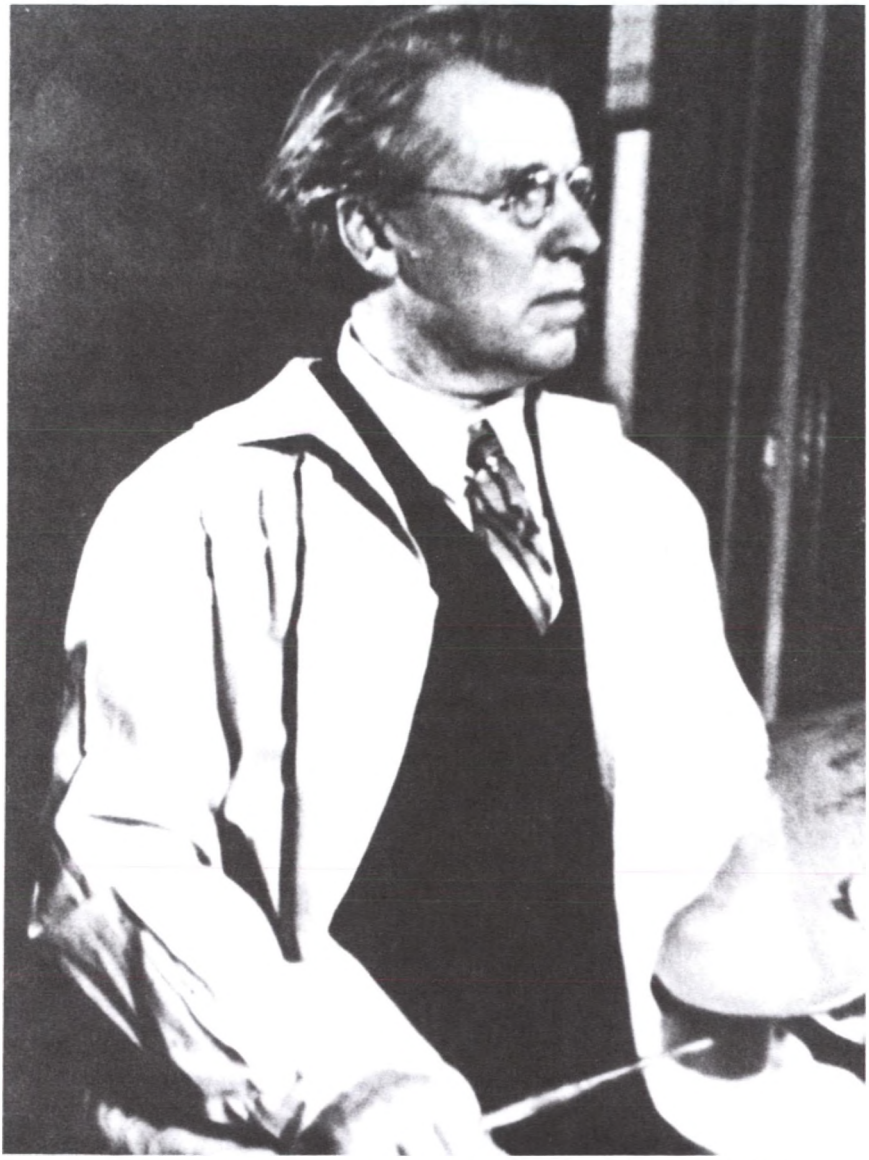
[66] Carl Wittke, *The German-American Press in America* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957), 197.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Surminski, 85.

[70] Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, vol. 3. *German-American Press Research from the American Revolution to the Bicentennial* (München: K.G. Saur, 1980), 805-6.



Hans John Stoltenberg (1879-1963). (Photo: Milwaukee Public Library.)

Peter C. Merrill

Hans Stoltenberg: Painter of Rural Wisconsin

Hans John Stoltenberg was a Wisconsin artist who specialized in painting landscapes depicting either woodland scenes or rural scenes with farm buildings. Although born in Germany, most of his life was spent in Wisconsin and almost all of his canvases are of Wisconsin subjects. In what follows we will present an outline of his career.[1]

Stoltenberg was born near Flensburg, Schleswig-Holstein, on 8 April 1879. His father, Joachim Stoltenberg, was German, but his mother, Anna Fredricksen Stoltenberg, was Danish. There were seven children in the family, four boys and three girls. Stoltenberg's father made a meager living by working in a factory which produced sheet copper.

Stoltenberg grew up in a rural area about twenty miles from Flensburg. The locality was then part of Germany, but was ceded to Denmark after World War I. The local countryside was wooded and beautiful, but the family was poor and lived crowded into two rooms of a rustic cottage. Each day Stoltenberg walked to school wearing wooden shoes.[2]

Sometime during the 1880s Stoltenberg's father died. Wilhelm, the oldest son in the family, immigrated to America in 1885 and found work in Milwaukee as a house painter. In 1891 Stoltenberg's widowed mother left Germany with her remaining children, sailing to America on a converted cattle ship.[3] The family joined Stoltenberg's brother in Milwaukee, where Anna eked out a sparse income by doing piece work for a clothing manufacturer. Forced to help support the family, Stoltenberg no longer attended school but worked as a water carrier on a construction site. An older brother, Frederick, found work as a painter and decorator with Brown and Harper, a decorating firm in downtown Milwaukee. Around 1895 Hans was hired as an apprentice by the same firm and from his brother Frederick learned the trade of a master grainer, a craft which involves the application of paint in such a way that pine panels can be made to resemble marble or quarter-sawed oak.[4] At about

the same time he began to take an amateur interest in art, painting his first picture at the age of sixteen. His early work was modeled on paintings of the Munich school and tended to make lavish use of dark colors, particularly browns.

Stoltenberg was married on 2 March 1905 to Helen Spencer (1879-1932), a native of Milwaukee. Her father, James T. Spencer, was a boilermaker born in Milwaukee.[5] Her mother, also born in Milwaukee, was a daughter of immigrant parents from County Clare, Ireland. Helen Spencer was evidently Catholic, as her wedding in Milwaukee to Hans John Stoltenberg was a Catholic ceremony. Coming from Schleswig, Stoltenberg's background was presumably Lutheran. They subsequently had two children, a son and a daughter. In 1906 Stoltenberg became a naturalized United States citizen. City directories and other local records indicate that he and his family lived in Milwaukee until around 1911 but then moved to Wauwatosa on the western edge of Milwaukee County. Stoltenberg continued to work as a grainer, however, and presumably found some way to commute into the city.

Wishing to obtain some training in art, Stoltenberg turned to the Milwaukee Art Institute, now defunct but at that time located at 772 Jefferson Street in downtown Milwaukee. The director of the Institute from 1914 to 1924 was the artist and art educator Dudley Crafts Watson (1885-1972), who organized evening art classes there. Watson was quick to recognize Stoltenberg's potential and to develop it. He encouraged him to take up landscape painting and saw to it that he put more light and color into his work. Acknowledging his debt to Watson, Stoltenberg stated in 1924: "The little that I know he taught me. He puts new eyes in a fellow. He really freed me."[6] Watson was equally enthusiastic about the progress made by his pupil. Writing in a local newspaper around 1924 he said:

> Mr. Stoltenberg's development in the last three years has been almost miraculous. For from a tight, hard, dry technique, uninspirational and uncolorful, to a fluid dash and brilliancy of light comparable to our best American artists, is considerable advance in so short a time.[7]

The Art Institute also gave Stoltenberg his first chance to enter his work in public exhibitions and to win formal recognition. One of his paintings won an "honorable mention" from the Institute in 1920 and similar honors were quick to follow.[8] He joined the Wisconsin Painters and Sculptors and began to enter his work in their annual shows. When two of his paintings were exhibited at the Milwaukee Journal's Gallery of Wisconsin Art in 1927, they caught the attention of Carl von Marr, the distinguished former director of the Munich Academy. Marr looked

thoughtfully at the two paintings, asked about the artist, and thought it remarkable that Stoltenberg had never been outside of Milwaukee for his training. He expressed the opinion that Stoltenberg's work showed both talent and individuality.[9]

During the 1920s Stoltenberg succeeded in establishing himself as a professional artist and began to make a living from his painting. His work was now placed on sale by local art dealers, such as the F. H. Bresler Gallery and the Krumbholz Gallery.[10] Like many local artists, he began by painting at scenic areas in southeast Wisconsin, such as Prospect Hill and Holy Hill.[11] Later he made excursions by car to other parts of the state, including Door County in northeast Wisconsin and the villages of Black Earth and Mount Horeb west of Madison.[12] He painted fishing shacks at Bayfield on the Lake Superior shore and painted at the Porcupine Range in Upper Michigan.[13] He also painted at the Indiana dunes on the south shore of Lake Michigan and ventured as far afield as Canada. Sometimes he made sketches from inside his car, which he had adapted for the purpose. This must have been particularly convenient when working on the winter landscapes which he often painted.

Stoltenberg's paintings typically show the woodlands and farms of rural Wisconsin, but in the course of his rural excursions he sometimes painted buildings of some particular historical interest. During the summer of 1937, for example, he was painting near Onalaska, Wisconsin, in the La Crosse Valley when his attention was drawn to a farmhouse which he proceeded to paint in its landscape setting. It was only later that he was told by a local resident that the house was the boyhood home of the Wisconsin writer Hamlin Garland (1860-1940). Stoltenberg then sent a photograph of the painting to Garland, who wrote back to confirm that the house was, indeed, his boyhood home.[14] Stoltenberg later donated the painting to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, where it remains today. He also painted the birthplace of the folklorist Jeremiah Curtin at Greenfield, Wisconsin, and one of his paintings shows the old Fisher School, a one-room schoolhouse near his home in Wauwatosa. When the building was torn down and replaced by a modern structure, Stoltenberg presented the painting to the new school.[15]

During the Depression years some of Stoltenberg's pictures were placed in local public schools by the WPA Federal Art Project.[16] Later he often donated paintings to hospitals and nursing homes. A number of his paintings can be found today in local libraries or in the possession of local civic and fraternal organizations. Milwaukee newspapers during the 1930s frequently commented on the appearance of his work at local exhibitions. He had a number of one-man shows, including one at the Oshkosh Public Museum during the summer of 1935.[17] At another such show, held at the Milwaukee Art Institute in 1938, the local press reported that twenty-one of his paintings had been sold.[18]

Hans John Stoltenberg, *Open Stream in Winter*, c. 1924. Oil on canvas. (Photo: Milwaukee Art Museum, Samuel O. Buckner Collection, M1924.3.)

Wauwatosa had been a rural area when Stoltenberg settled there before World War I, but by the 1930s it had been built up into a suburb. In 1938 he built a new home and studio at Brookfield, Waukesha County, west of Milwaukee. The house is located at 2560 Pilgrim Road and stands on a hill in a wooded area. A stream called Indian Creek runs through the one-and-a-quarter-acre property.

In 1956 the *Milwaukee Journal* reported that Stoltenberg was convalescing from a serious illness which had required hospitalization.[19] He later toyed with the idea of moving to San Francisco, where his daughter, now married, was living. He spent a few weeks in California, but then returned to Wisconsin. Around 1961 the house in Brookfield was sold to Mr. and Mrs. Hans J. Keerl, commercial artists. Stoltenberg spent the last fourteen months of his life at Cedar Lake Nursing Home in West Bend, where he died on 17 January 1963.

Hans John Stoltenberg, *Lake Michigan Shore*, c. 1928. Scenes like this one, depicting the woodlands of southeastern Wisconsin in winter, are among Stoltenberg's most characteristic works. (Photo: Milwaukee Art Museum Archives.)

Stoltenberg's work has been much appreciated in Wisconsin but has generally failed to win recognition elsewhere. His work does, in fact, have certain limitations. His most typical canvases are small, perhaps because he found such paintings to be more readily salable. But some of his paintings are more ambitious and the best of these deserve careful attention. Consider, for example, his *Open Stream in Winter*, which dates from around 1924 and is now in the permanent collection of the Milwaukee Art Museum. It is about a yard square and larger than most of his paintings. The foreground of the picture is dominated by a woodland stream which seems to move as it flows toward the viewer in a zig-zag pattern. A thick layer of snow, brightly illuminated in the winter sunshine, lies on either side of the stream, while a line of trees stands in the background of the painting. *Winter Sunshine*, exhibited at

the Milwaukee Art Institute in 1936, is a similar painting. Again, bright sunshine illuminates a woodland scene, this time one in which the branches of the fir trees are heavily laden with snow. The viewer's attention is directed across a narrow wooden bridge which is flanked by trees. Still another typical example of Stoltenberg's depiction of nature scenes is *Lake Michigan Shore* (see above).

Stoltenberg's work can be found in only a few public museums, such as the Milwaukee Art Museum, the Kenosha Public Museum, and the West Bend Gallery of Fine Arts in West Bend, Wisconsin. Perhaps the time has come, however, for his work to reach a wider audience. Writing in 1949, the *Milwaukee Journal* compared his work to that of his more famous contemporary David Garber (1880-1958).[20] There is, in fact, a certain kinship of both intention and sensitivity between the two artists, both of whom created compelling sun-drenched evocations of the rural Midwest.

It is not my view that there is or ever has been any distinctly German-American school of art. Nonetheless, one must recall that Stoltenberg's first steps toward becoming an artist were taken in Milwaukee before World War I, where the local art scene was heavily influenced by the German academic tradition, then centered in Munich, Düsseldorf, and Weimar. Most of the leading professional artists in Milwaukee at the turn of the century were trained in this tradition and reflected its standards of taste, including a commitment to representational art and a rejection of such avant-garde trends as Expressionism.[21] The major local art dealers, such as Frank H. Bresler and John O. Krumbholz, specialized in providing their patrons with works imported from Munich.

Stoltenberg's basic outlook was undoubtedly affected by such influences, but he never remained bound to the German academic tradition and soon evolved toward a more open style. In this respect his development was similar to that of such other Milwaukee painters of his time as George Raab and Gustave Moeller, who received training at German academies but later fell under the spell of French Impressionism.

Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, Florida

Notes

[1] For biographical information about Stoltenberg, I am particularly indebted to the artist's daughter-in-law, the late Ruth Ann Stoltenberg. Biographical information of a general nature can be found in the following encyclopedic reference sources: Peter Hastings Falk, *Who Was Who in American Art* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1985), 599; *Who's Who in American Art* (New York: Bowker), vol. 1 (1936-37), 409; vol. 2 (1938-39), 505; vol. 3 (1940-

41), 62; 1959 ed., 551; Glen B. Opitz, ed., *Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers* (Poughkeepsie, NY: Apollo Book, rev. ed. 1983), 902.

[2] *Milwaukee Journal*, 21 December 1924, sect. 4, p. 4.

[3] Naturalization records indicate that Hans Stoltenberg reached America in 1891 but that his brother Frederick arrived in 1892. Such records, however, depend upon the recollection of the petitioner and cannot always be relied upon. The *Milwaukee Journal* reported on 17 February 1963 that Frederick had reached Milwaukee before Hans.

[4] *Milwaukee Journal*, 22 November 1953, sect. 6, p. 6.

[5] Stoltenberg's wife, Helen Spencer, does not appear to have been related to the socially prominent Milwaukee family which included Robert C. Spencer, founder of a local business college, and Robert C. Spencer, Jr., a celebrated architect.

[6] *Milwaukee Journal*, 21 December 1924, sect. 4, p. 4.

[7] Clipping from an unidentified Milwaukee newspaper around 1924 in the archives of the Milwaukee Art Museum.

[8] *American Art Annual* 26 (1929): 317.

[9] *Milwaukee Journal*, 7 August 1927, sect 2, p. 2.

[10] *Milwaukee Journal*, 22 November 1953, sect 6, p. 1.

[11] *Milwaukee Journal*, 16 August 1936, sect 7, p. 6.

[12] *Milwaukee Journal*, 24 October 1943, sect. 7, p. 8.

[13] *Milwaukee Journal*, 3 November 1936, sect. 7, p. 14.

[14] *Milwaukee Journal*, 6 February 1938, sect. 7, p. 7.

[15] *Milwaukee Journal*, 30 May 1937, sect. 7, p. 5.

[16] *Bulletin of the Milwaukee Art Institute* 2.3 (Nov. 1936): 4-5.

[17] *Milwaukee Journal*, 21 March 1935, sect 7, p. 7.

[18] *Milwaukee Journal*, 27 February 1938, sect. 7, p. 4.

[19] *Milwaukee Journal*, 20 May 1956.

[20] *Milwaukee Journal*, 17 April 1949, sect. 7, p. 6.

[21] For a critical discussion of the Milwaukee art scene at the turn of the century, see Gay A. Donahue, "Society of Milwaukee Artists, 1900-1913." (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 1981).

Penny Bealle

Postwar Economics and Animosity: Modern German Art in New York after World War I

In May 1990 a Japanese businessman, Ryoei Saito, bought van Gogh's *Portrait of Dr. Gachet* for 82.5 million dollars, setting yet another record high and further affirming the belief that art is a sound financial investment. Concurrently, other "international art sharks" mired in the American recession were unloading art bought on speculation.[1] In a world where some speculators eagerly invest in art, while others anxiously divest themselves of previous acquisitions, the link between economics and the art market is readily apparent. This is not a new trend. "Modern German Art," a 1923 exhibition at Anderson Galleries in New York City, demonstrates how German and American economics influenced the international art market then. The exhibition coincided with the worst months of the postwar German inflation, which climaxed during October and November 1923. It is evident that the German inflation would have affected the German art market at home and abroad, yet it has always been difficult to identify exactly how. The documents from the Anderson Galleries' exhibition provide concrete information on the dynamics of the international art market during the German inflation. As the inflation eroded the German economy, the German artists became anxious to develop a more stable art market abroad. In this way, the inflation encouraged the export of modern German art to the United States; simultaneously the inflation hindered success for this art in the United States because the astronomical prices in Germany caused some artists to price their works beyond the range of the American market.

The economic calamity was not the only obstacle for this first major exhibition of avant-garde German art in the United States after World War I. Anti-German sentiment had gradually subsided following the war, but its effects had not completely dissipated and German art was still subject to criticism because of its national origin.[2] Consequently, art by such German masters as Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Emil Nolde, and Otto Dix was rarely seen in New York during the 1920s. Evidence of this art's virtual absence then, is apparent even today in the collections of such

renowned New York City museums as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, for the offering of modern German art at these museums is meager compared to the preeminent selections of French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist works. Furthermore, many of the German works, such as the enigmatic Max Beckmann triptych and a collection of playful Paul Klees in the Metropolitan's recently-opened modern wing, were acquired after World War II. The Museum of Modern Art fares better with an Otto Dix, a Max Beckmann, and an Oskar Schlemmer, plus sculptures by Rudolf Belling, Georg Kolbe, and Wilhelm Lehmbruck, all acquired before World War II. The museum's German collection is further enhanced by numerous works acquired after the war. The presence of some modern German works in New York City museums enriches the cultural life of the city, yet the small number of such works that entered these collections during the 1920s and 1930s causes us to wonder why this type of art, now so popular, was not more enthusiastically collected in the past.

The complications that beset the 1923 Anderson Galleries' exhibition provide some answers. They emphasize that the eventual acceptance of modern German art in New York involved the effects of a special set of historical factors including World War I, the 1923 German inflation, and the tribulations of the unstable Weimar Republic. Hence, the introduction of modern German art to New York involved a unique set of circumstances that allows us to see that the history of taste is much more than the history of taste; it is also the history of politics, economics, and national attitudes. Because emotions ran so high regarding Germany in the years around World War I these factors are magnified in a study of German art, but the same issues play a role in any cultural interchange. An examination of the circumstances that affected the organization of the Anderson Galleries' exhibition can therefore further our understanding of the extent to which non-artistic factors, particularly economic ones, influenced the advent of modernism to America.

In 1923 German-American cultural relations remained partially under the sway of the animosity that had developed at the time of the First World War. During the war, reports of Germany's looting and destruction of art treasures in Belgium and Italy precluded any positive news of the German art world in the American press.[3] The most inflammatory event in the German-American art world concerned the German art dealer Franz Hanfstaengl, who operated a gallery in New York.[4] Hanfstaengl's refusal to display the Stars and Stripes on Allies Day in 1917 provoked great indignation and many pranks, including the soiling of his gallery windows when he displayed a picture of the Kaiser. Considering the volatility of German-American relations, it is not surprising that modern German art was absent from the New York art scene during the war years.

When smoother relations resumed after the war, small quantities of German art and news of the German art world were again available in New York City. An important vehicle for informing the New York public about the development of contemporary German art after World War I was the "Berlin Letter" in *American Art News*. The existence of the column attests to an interest by the American art world in re-establishing contacts with Germany. In 1921 Flora Turkel, the column's author, predicted that "when there are again normal relations between America and Germany the following names of artists will probably find interest in the States: Nolde, Kirchner, Heckel, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff."[5] It was to be the 1923 Anderson Galleries' exhibition before these Expressionist artists appeared in New York, but in the intervening years other types of modern German art and culture were available to the New York audience. Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme featured exhibitions of international moderns with art from Germany by Wassily Kandinsky, Heinrich Campendonk, Paul Klee, and Kurt Schwitters.[6] *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* allowed the American audience to view another genre of modern German art in the postwar years. Released in the United States by the Goldwyn Distributing Co. in 1921, the film received enthusiastic praise in America, even though a year earlier German drama had been disparaged as "The Red Dawn of A New Bolshevistic Drama."[7] The favorable comments on *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* reveal that soon after the war Americans could view German creations without having their judgment impaired by the memory of the war years. The Anderson Galleries' exhibition of German art benefited from the same glimmer of open-mindedness in the midst of considerable opposition.

William Valentiner, a German immigrant who wanted to introduce modern German art to the American audience, organized the large exhibition.[8] It included two hundred seventy-four paintings, graphics, and sculptures by thirty artists. Never before had New York seen such a concentration of the artists who are recognized today as the leaders in the history of modern German art. Furthermore, it presented most of these artists in the United States for the first time. Artists who had been members of the Brücke were particularly visible with a dozen or more works each by Heckel, Nolde, Pechstein, and Schmidt-Rottluff. Artists like Max Kaus and the Rhenish artist Heinrich Nauen, who had not been members of the Brücke, but who relied heavily on figural distortion and implausible colors for their artistic expression were included. It is not surprising that the Brücke and other non-affiliated Expressionists working in a similar style dominated the exhibition, for Valentiner eagerly promoted these artists throughout his career. On the other hand, the politically and socially strident postwar artists were poorly represented, with only two works by Grosz. These artists were never heavily promoted by Valentiner and he probably realized that their subjects

would be unpopular in the United States. In contrast, he knew that German sculpture, which was more traditional in style and subject, would be appreciated. Though sculpture was rare in transatlantic exhibitions, because of transportation expenses and the risk of damage, Valentiner sent a representative collection of works by Kolbe, Marcks, Lehmbruck, and other German sculptors. The ambitious scope of the exhibition is a tribute to the outstanding contribution of Valentiner in introducing this type of art to the United States.

Valentiner began arrangements for this important exhibition when he traveled to the United States in 1921 to explore the possibility of re-establishing the American career that he had begun before World War I.[9] Although postwar anti-German feelings still existed, a growing American interest in recent German art was apparent; this waxing curiosity, combined with Valentiner's enthusiasm, furnished the spark needed to realize the exhibition.

Valentiner was the main impetus for the exhibition, but he relied on the cooperation of several other individuals. Mitchell Kennerley, president of the Anderson Galleries, agreed to house the exhibition. He was sympathetic to modern art–he had frequently provided space for Stieglitz's exhibitions–but his commitment to German art was not so strong that he was willing to make financial sacrifices.[10] On the other hand, Rudolf Riefstahl, who served as the Anderson Galleries' representative for the German exhibition, was so enthusiastic about modern German art that he said he would tell "everybody here what a fine movement there is in Germany."[11] When Valentiner was in Germany seeking modern works for the exhibition, Riefstahl asked for his assistance in locating works by Modersohn-Becker, Nolde, Schwichtenberg, and Schmidt-Rottluff for his private collection. As an employee, rather than the proprietor of the gallery, however, Riefstahl had little influence on substantial decisions. The other major player was Ferdinand Möller, who owned the Möller Galerie in Berlin. Like Valentiner, he was thoroughly committed to modern German art; in addition, he viewed the exhibition as an opportunity to explore the feasibility of opening a gallery in New York. Möller played an extremely significant role in the realization of the exhibition, arranging loans from artists and dealers through his gallery in Berlin.[12] Valentiner had intended to be in New York during the exhibition, which he originally scheduled for February 1922, but when shipping and customs logistics delayed the exhibition until October 1923, he was unable to be there.[13] Consequently, Möller traveled to New York to oversee the exhibition, but as this plan was initiated at the last minute he arrived only after the exhibition had already closed. Thus neither Valentiner nor Möller was in New York at the time of the exhibition, doubtless, a disappointment to both of them and, as we will see, a

contributing factor to the many difficulties that arose regarding the sale of the art.

As the exhibition's organizers were on both sides of the Atlantic, the correspondence from this bi-national teamwork reveals numerous perspectives: we see Kennerley's and Riefstahl's roles in New York, Valentiner's and Möller's roles in both New York and Berlin, as well as Möller's perceptions of the American gallery world. Prior to the exhibition Riefstahl and Möller corresponded regarding the financial and shipping arrangements. Unfortunately the available records do not include a letter of agreement between Valentiner and the Anderson Galleries, but it is possible to reconstruct some details of the agreement.[14] The most informative letters ensued after Möller traveled to New York and corresponded with both his able assistant, Erna Casper, who ran the Berlin gallery in his absence, and Valentiner, who was also in Berlin for the duration of the exhibition in New York. From them we gain insights into the effect of the German economic crisis on the art market and how it influenced German expectations for the American market.

A major topic of correspondence was the determination of prices for the art. This issue caused anxiety and misunderstandings amongst the organizers and the artists. The concepts of price and value took on complex and unpredictable meanings during a time of astronomical inflation and currency devaluation, particularly in the context of international commerce. Rapidly changing economic realities led to apprehensions, distrust, and even accusations that Kennerley had cheated the artists. In fact, the economic distress of the German artists was shared by most Germans who were not well-positioned or lucky speculators, and the existing documents show that the blame cannot be placed entirely on Kennerley.

When Möller and Valentiner were planning the exhibition in 1922, inflation had become a tragic fact of life in Germany. Costs in paper marks had already risen to twenty times their prewar values by January 1922, and throughout 1922 the inflation averaged 30 percent *per month*. Weimar economic policies fueled the inflation, which peaked dramatically just after the close of the Anderson Galleries' exhibition in October 1923. During the last three months of 1923, the inflation reached a sustained rate of 15 percent *per day*! Figure 1a depicts the accelerating cost of living on a logarithmic scale, where even the severe inflation of 1922 appears modest compared to the million-fold changes of late 1923.[15] The following chart depicts a parallel decline in the international value of the mark, as represented by the mark-U.S. dollar exchange rates.[16]

Dollar Quotations for the Mark: 1914-23–monthly averages

July 1914	4.2
January 1919	8.9
January 1920	64.8
January 1921	64.9
January 1922	191.8
July 1922	493.2
October 1922	1,815.0-4,500.0
November 1922	4,550.0-7,650.0
January 1923	17,972.0
July 1923	353,412.0
August 1923	4,620,455.0
September 1923	98,860,000.0
October 1923	25,260,208,000.0
15 November 1923	4,200,000,000,000.0

Without a stable currency, it became common to cite prices in gold marks or dollars. The gold mark was an abstract unit of account, with a constant value based on the prewar mark-dollar parity of 4.2 marks to the dollar. In late 1923, the gold mark became the official currency for the art trade, but it, or its equivalent in dollars, had become common in the art community as early as October 1922. For example, when submitting works to the Anderson Galleries' exhibition, the dealer Paul Cassirer priced Kokoschka's and Barlach's works in dollars to protect the artists and himself from financial disaster.[17] Other artists and dealers agreed with Cassirer's judgment, quoting dollar prices for their works, or stating the mark-dollar parity on which they based their mark prices.[18] This appears to have been a sensible policy, as the cost of living in 1921-22 had remained relatively stable when expressed in gold marks or dollars. On the logarithmic scale of figure 1a, the cost of living in gold marks appears nearly constant. The rectangular inset for the years 1922 and 1923 is expanded with a linear scale in figure 1b, a graph that emphasizes that even when calculated in the previously stable gold marks, the cost of living began to rise significantly during the last months of the inflation. Discussions of the 1923 German inflation focus on the billions of paper marks needed to buy items such as a kohlrabi or a penny postage stamp. Yet, to understand the complaints of the artists and dealers it is essential to realize that in the last phase of the inflation the number of dollars or gold marks needed to purchase commodities had also escalated. This had significant consequences for German artists.

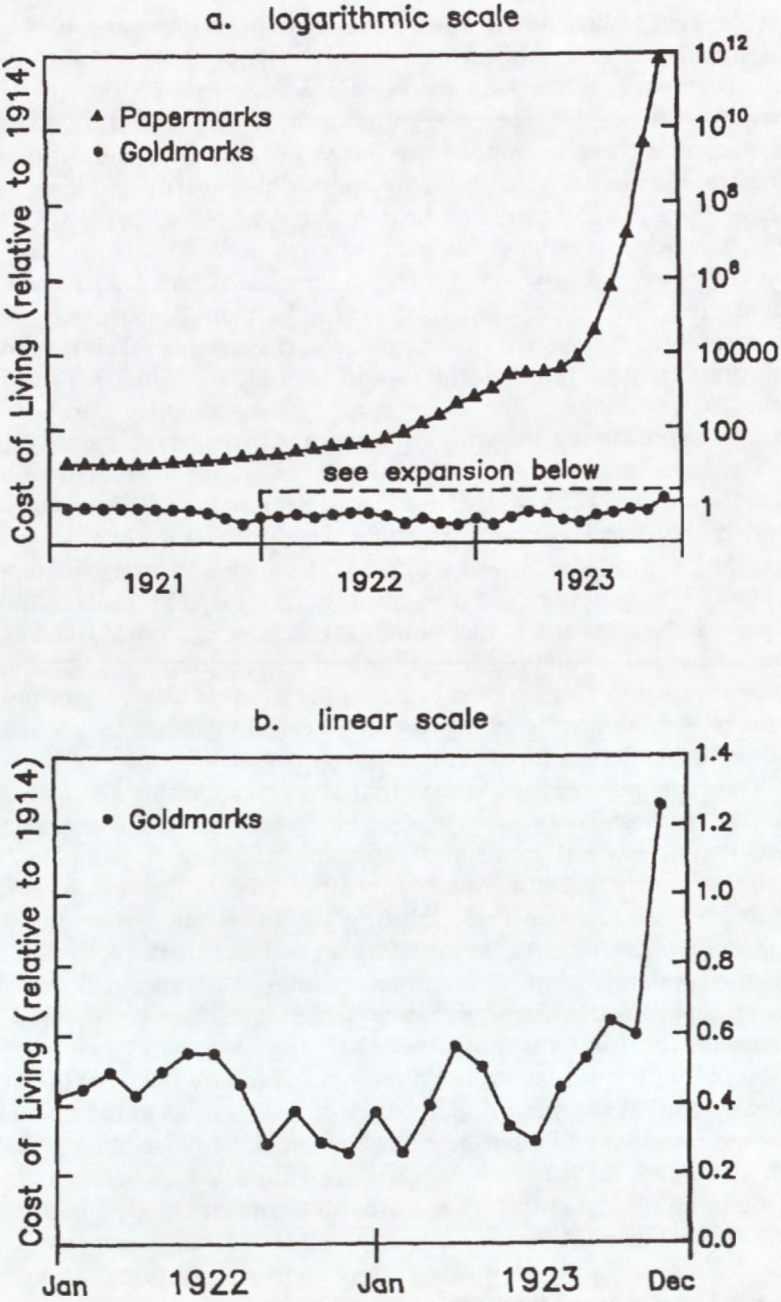


Figure 1. Cost of Living in Germany: 1921-23.

The registration forms Möller collected in October and November 1922 lucidly illustrate the artists' concern about the instability of the German mark.[19] When Klee priced his works from 200,000 marks for watercolors to 300,000 marks for oil paintings, he included the marginal comment that these amounts were based on a dollar standard of 4,000 marks to the dollar (fig. 2). This mark-dollar parity is close to the exchange rate of 4,550 marks to the dollar that was in effect on 31 October 1922 when Klee completed his registration form. At this exchange his watercolors would have cost fifty dollars and his oils seventy-five. Sintenis and Richard Seewald also specified a mark-dollar parity, but as they completed their registration forms in mid-November their designated mark-dollar parities reflected the rapid fall of the mark to 6,000 and 7,000 marks to the dollar. The discrepancy in mark-dollar parity is not surprising considering the wide fluctuations during these months.[20]

Other artists used different techniques to protect themselves. On his registration form Kolbe entered 1,200 to 10,000 marks for his bronzes and included the marginal comment that, "The prices are given in prewar mark values."[21] As the prewar mark-dollar parity was approximately 4.2 marks to the dollar, Kolbe was asking 286 to 2,381 dollars for his sculptures. Several artists including Grosz, Marcks, and Maria Caspar-Filser, provided both gold mark and dollar prices (fig. 3), whereas Campendonk and Nolde listed dollars only. Nolde was very optimistic (and completely unrealistic) about the American market and asked from 1,000 to 10,000 dollars for his oil paintings (fig. 4).

The registration forms reveal that anxiety regarding prices existed from the earliest conception of the exhibition; as the exchange rate accelerated it sparked more apprehension. The artists completed the registration forms in October and November 1922, but the exhibition was postponed until October 1923. During the intervening year, the mark plunged downwards. As the artists watched the mark plummet, they developed qualms about the amounts they had specified on their registration forms. For example, when Feininger completed his registration form in November 1922, he stipulated marks, but after the mark rapidly dropped he wrote Valentiner in January 1923 that his works should be sold at the mark-dollar parity of 6,000 marks to the dollar, the exchange rate that had been in effect the previous November.[22] As the mark devalued further Feininger's wife, Julie, wrote again; citing a specific painting to reinforce her husband's concern, she explained that Feininger had listed *Woman in Mauve* at 6,000,000 marks, which equaled 1,000 dollars at the time and stressed that all his prices should be converted to dollars at this rate.[23]

Möller and Valentiner also wanted the prices to be consistent with those of comparable modern American works. Yet, it was difficult to determine from Germany what these should be, so Möller told the dealers

A n m e l d u n g

zur Ausstellung einer Gruppe deutscher Künstler

in den Anderson Art Galleries in New York, Januar 1922,

von

Name: Paul Klee

Wohnort: Weimar

Straße und Nr.: Staatliches Bauhaus

Nr.	Titel der Werke	Technik	Verkaufspreis (incl. 33⅓ % Provison).
1	Tropische Blüte (1920/204)	Öl	300 000 Mark
2	Glocken (1921/177)	"	300 000 "
3	Physiognomie einer Blüte (1922/88)	Aquarell	200 000 "
4	Aeolsharfe (1922/89)	"	200 000 "
5	Kl. Komödie auf der Wiese (1922/107)	"	200 000 "
6	Lagerung I (1922/116)	"	200 000 "
7	Genien (1922/122)	"	250 000 "
8	Schreck eines Mädchens (1922/131)	"	250 000 "
9	Australische Landschaft (1922/133)	"	250 000 "
10	Blumenfamilie V (1922/134)	"	250 000 "

Adresse der Rücksendung: Klee, Professor am Staatlichen Bauhaus Weimar

Datum: Weimar den 31. X 1921

Unterschrift: Paul Klee

Sämtliche Werke sind zu bezeichnen, die Gemälde auf den Keilrahmen. Das Anmeldeformular ist in doppelter Ausfertigung an die Galerie Ferdinand Möller, Berlin W.9, Potsdamerstr.134c, zu senden.

Die Werke der nicht in Groß-Berlin wohnhaften Künstler sind per Frachtgut, unfrankiert, an W.Marzillier & Co., Bln.-Schöneberg, Grunewaldstr.14/15 zu senden. Die Werke der in Berlin wohnhaften Künstler werden nach vorheriger Benachrichtigung durch Marzillier abgeholt.

Figure 2. Paul Klee's registration form for Anderson Galleries.

A n m e l d u n g

zur Ausstellung einer Gruppe deutscher Künstler

in den Anderson Art Galleries in New York, Januar 1922,

von

Name: Gerhard Marcks

Wohnort: Dornburg a/S. Thüringen

Straße und Nr.: _____

Nr.	Titel der Werke	Technik	Verkaufspreis (incl. 33⅓ % Provison).	Goldmark
1	Mann und Frau	Holzjing	350 Dollar	1500 Mark
2	Lauscher	Lindenholz	200 Dollar	800 Mark
3	Frauenkopf	Farbe Kalk	60 Dollar	200 Mark
4	3 Frauen	Holzschnitt	15 Dollar	60 Mark
5	In der Gruppe		15 Dollar	60 M
6	Der Schatz z. Thor		15 Dollar	60 M
7	Kopf	Zeichnungen	25 Dollar	100 M
8	Mann und Weib		25 Dollar	100 M
9	Jüngling		25 Dollar	100 M

Adresse der Rücksendung: Dornburg a/S.

Datum: 5. November 1922

Unterschrift: G. Marcks

Sämtliche Werke sind zu bezeichnen, die Gemälde auf den Keil=rahmen. Das Anmeldeformular ist in doppelter Ausfertigung an die Galerie Ferdinand Möller, Berlin W.9, Potsdamerstr.134c, zu senden.

Die Werke der nicht in Groß-Berlin wohnhaften Künstler sind per Frachtgut, unfrankiert, an W.Marzillier & Co., Bln.-Schöne=berg, Grunewaldstr.14/15 zu senden. Die Werke der in Berlin wohnhaften Künstler werden nach vorheriger Benachrichtigung durch Marzillier abgeholt.

Figure 3. Gerhard Marcks's registration form for Anderson Galleries.

Anmeldung

zur Ausstellung einer Gruppe deutscher Künstler

in den Anderson Art Galleries in New York, Januar 1922,

von

Name: Emil Nolde

Wohnort: Berlin W. 50.

Strasse und Nr.: Tauentzienstr. 8.

Nr.	*Titel der Werke*	*Technik*	*Verkaufspreis (incl. 33 1/3 % Provision)*
	Priesterinnen	Ölbild	Dollars 2000
	Landschaft (Haus, Pferd, Mühle)	"	" 2500
	Neu Ghinewilde	"	" 3000 ×
	Stillleben (Krebse u. Gerippe)	"	" 3000 ×
	Mädchen u. Kinder	"	" 2000
	Freund u. Freundin	"	" 2000
	Blonde Mädchen	"	" 3000 ×
	Weihnachtsmorgen	"	" 10000
	Mutter mit Knabe	"	" 1000
	Weib u. Jüngling	"	" 1500

Karelle: Fischerboote Dollars 200
Bauernhof " "
Hibiscus " "
Ueberschwemmung " "
Landschaft " "
Bildnis " "
Mutter u. Sohn " "
Junger Mann " "
Abend " "
Spanische Chansonette " "

Holzschnitte: Mann u. Weibchen Dollars 60
Prophet " "
Bauernkopf " "
Familie " "

Radierungen: Wikinger " "
Schriftgelehrte " "
Segler u. kleiner Dampfer " "
Schiff im Dock " "
Bettler " "
Sklaven " "

Lithographien: Junges Paar " 100
Heilige drei Könige (Probdr.) " "

Nolde.

Figure 4. Emil Nolde's registration form for Anderson Galleries.

Anmeldung

zur Ausstellung einer Gruppe deutscher Künstler

in den Anderson Art Galleries in New York, Januar 1922,

von

Name: Max Pechstein

Wohnort: Berlin W. 62.

Strasse und Nr.: Kurfürstenstr. 126

Nr.	Titel der Werke	Technik	~~Verkaufspreis~~ (incl. 33 1/3 % ~~Provision~~)
1	Fischerkutter	Öl	300 000 —
2	Früher Morgen	Öl	300 000 —
3.	Boote	Öl	300 000 —
4.	Letzter Sonnenschein	Öl	300 000 —
5.	Fischer in der Kneipe	Lithographie	15 000 —
6.	Sommer 1922	Holzschnitt	8 000 —
7.	Beim Netzeinholen	"	8 000 —
8.	Bewegtes Meer	"	8 000 —
9.	Ruhende Kutter	"	8 000 —
10.	Dorfstrasse	Aquarell	30 000 —
11.	Fischerschule	"	30 000 —
12.	Abend	"	30 000 —
13	Die rote Mütze	"	30 000 —

Adresse der Rücksendung: M. Pechstein Berlin W. 62. Kurfürstenstr. 126

Datum: Berlin 18. Nov. 1922

Unterschrift: Max Pechstein

Sämtliche Werke sind zu bezeichnen, die Gemälde auf den Keilrahmen.

Das Anmeldeformular ist in doppelter Ausfertigung an die Galerie Ferdinand Möller, Berlin W.9, Potsdamerstr. 134 c, zu senden.

Die Werke der nicht in Gross-Berlin wohnhaften Künstler sind per Frachtgut, unfrankiert, an W. Marzillier & Co., Bln.-Schöneberg, Grunewaldstr. 14/15, zu senden. Die Werke der in Berlin wohnhaften Künstler werden nach vorheriger Benachrichtigung durch Marzillier abgeholt.

Figure 5. Max Pechstein's registration form for Anderson Galleries.

and artists in Germany that Valentiner would establish appropriate dollar prices after his return to New York.[24] Many exhibition participants, however, refused to submit mark prices. As a result when Möller sent the works and forms to New York, he explained to Valentiner:

> It was impossible to get paper mark prices from all the artists and some of them gave gold mark prices. I didn't contradict them because I didn't want to place the whole exhibition in jeopardy especially as the prices after the conversion for all the works are higher than the Anderson Galleries agreed. You will have to take the responsibility yourself, dear doctor, for the correct adjustment of the prices, because the men over there [Riefstahl and Kennerley] are not familiar with that procedure.[25]

The inconsistency upset Kennerley and affected the exhibition funding, for Riefstahl replied, "I am having very serious trouble with Mr. Kennerley about the German exhibition. He expected the valuations made in paper marks and refuses to advance the insurance made out on the gold basis . . . We will have to get busy raising the money."[26] Valentiner apologized to Kennerley that the insurance expenses for the German exhibition were higher than anticipated because of the dollar valuations made by the German artists, but assured him he would raise the funds. He was at least partially successful, for soon afterward Kennerley thanked Valentiner for Minnie Untermyer's one-hundred-dollar check for exhibition expenses.[27]

The Anderson Galleries had obviously agreed to defray some expenses, still it was only willing to assume a low financial risk, for it planned to recover these expenses through the 33.3 percent commissions the artists included on their registration forms (fig. 2-5). Later, Kennerley also balked at paying for the shipment of the unsold works back to Germany, explaining that his promise to help with expenses "had been made two years ago and was therefore outdated."[28] Kennerley's financial reticence, left Valentiner no choice but to pay a large part of the expenses.[29]

Despite the care taken to establish appropriate prices when organizing the exhibition, serious misunderstandings developed, provoking recriminations and suspicions from artists and agents. Valentiner, Möller, and the artists all believed the art works were sold for less than they specified. This conflict surfaced when Möller arrived in New York after the exhibition had closed. When Möller questioned Riefstahl, he said he was powerless to do anything because "Kennerley was of the opinion that it concerned a contract between the artists and the Anderson Galleries."[30] Valentiner believed that he had indicated minimum amounts in discussions with the Anderson Galleries, but Riefstahl denied this.[31] Perhaps Valentiner had orally specified higher

sums than the artists had written on their registration forms. We will never learn exactly what arrangements Valentiner had made with the Anderson Galleries, but he was disturbed that the artists earned so little and felt that the "Anderson Galleries behaved very unfairly."[32] Yet, a careful examination of the available documents does not support the accusations of Möller and Valentiner that Kennerley lowered the prices. In the cases for which we know the final selling prices, they are consistent with those requested by the artists on their registration forms. For example, an *Art News* article stated that twelve of Pechstein's works "were sold at prices ranging from $7.50 to $45 each."[33] On his registration form Pechstein priced his four oil paintings at 300,000 marks, his four watercolors at 30,000, and his four woodcuts at 8,000-equal to about forty-three dollars, four dollars, and one dollar respectively at an exchange rate of 7,000 marks to the dollar, the rate on 18 November 1922 when he completed his registration form.[34] Therefore the Anderson Galleries actually *raised* his lowest prices (i.e., from one dollar to seven dollars fifty) and left some of his highest prices approximately the same (i.e., forty-three dollars as compared with forty-five dollars). If this calculation is typical, as a comparison of the prices noted in the same article for Mueller, Klee, Nauen, and others with the prices on their registration forms indicates, then the complaints against Kennerley are unwarranted.[35]

Instead the artists were cheated by an economic situation that was beyond anyone's control. Particularly irksome to the artists was the high cost of commodities, especially art materials, in Germany. Kaus's situation emphasizes this. Kaus had requested 200,000 marks for his oils, and three were sold for thirty-two dollars each. As 200,000 marks would have equalled about twenty-nine dollars at an exchange rate of 7,000 marks to the dollar (the rate on 18 November 1922 when Kaus completed his registration form), the price attained was slightly higher than the one Kaus requested. Still, he was upset. He complained, because "for the amount that he had received for a painting in New York, he could not even buy a frame here [in Germany]."[36]

Though the artists received dollars, which one would think was an advantage considering the instability of the German mark, they complained. Their complaints reflect the reality of the final stage of the German inflation, during which "the rise of internal prices was more rapid than the rise of foreign exchange rates."[37] Whereas from 1918-22 the cost of living had remained quite steady, when calculated in gold marks or dollars, in 1923 it bounded upwards, even when expressed in these previously stable currencies. Figure 1b shows that the cost of living *in gold marks* had gone up more than 400 percent from November 1922 to December 1923. (Of course, the cost of living in paper marks had gone up about ten billion times during the same interval, which may make 400 percent seem trifling.) The cost-of-living index is based on necessities

such as food and heating that were subject to government controls; if uncontrolled luxury items such as alcoholic beverages and art supplies were included, the decreased buying power of gold marks, and other previously stable currencies, would be even more pronounced.[38] For example, in September 1923 a councillor at the British Embassy in Berlin wrote that even with the favorable exchange rate for British pounds he was paying ten or twelve times the London price for a bottle of wine.[39] At the climax of the inflation, Paul Westheim, editor of *Das Kunstblatt*, interviewed leading German art dealers regarding the condition of the art market. In the article that resulted from these interviews, Hans Goltz, a Munich dealer, noted that when an artist sold a work for two or three hundred gold marks, he needed to spend the entire sum on materials for his next painting.[40] The escalating cost of goods in dollars and gold marks therefore had dire consequences for the German artists, because the dollars they received from the Anderson Galleries did not have the purchasing power they had anticipated.

It's apparent that the artists' dismay was primarily caused by Germany's economic woes, but Kennerley was not entirely blameless. He had a reputation of being careless with his financial concerns and a letter from Valentiner indicates that Kennerley tried to pay Pechstein less than he deserved. After Valentiner, who was in Germany, received news of the exhibition sales he wrote Möller: "Above all, Pechstein is furious and will not hand over the pictures that are already sold for less than $100."[41] Apparently Kennerley had offered Pechstein less than one hundred dollars, but after the artist complained, Valentiner reported to Möller that he had paid Pechstein the one hundred sixty dollars "that the Anderson Galleries owed him according to my [Valentiner's] calculation, so that he calmed down."[42] From this discussion, Pechstein's registration form (fig. 5), and the *Art News* review, we can reconstruct some details regarding the sale of his works. At the rates noted above the total for the thirteen works on his registration form would have been about one hundred ninety-four dollars; after the commission was subtracted Pechstein would have received about one hundred twenty-nine dollars. Thus the one hundred sixty dollars paid by the Anderson Galleries seems generous–even though the amounts are outrageously low by today's standards when a hand-colored woodcut such as Pechstein's *Bathers I*, 1911, recently sold for $82,500![43]

Although it is impossible to know how Kennerley calculated the artist's profits, it would appear from the account of the Pechstein sales that his calculations left ample room for adjustment. We know that after Pechstein complained, Valentiner recalculated Pechstein's profits upwards from less than one hundred to one hundred sixty dollars. Naturally, this meant that Kennerley's profits decreased. Obviously Kennerley, a clever businessman rather than a dedicated art dealer, initially made the

conversion for the Pechstein sales to take advantage of the favorable exchange rate. If Pechstein's situation is typical, Kennerley is not blameless: after all he did undercalculate Pechstein's payment. From this incident, it is apparent that Kennerley lacked impeccable scruples, and thereby made a ready scapegoat for the artists who were enduring the realities of the grim Weimar economy. Based on the available information, however, he did not drop the selling prices, the main criticism leveled against him. I contend, therefore, that the main difficulties were caused not by Kennerley's price manipulations, but rather by the economic chaos in Germany. In a world where the escalating prices quickly gobbled up proceeds from sales, as in Kaus's complaints about the cost of frames, it is hardly surprising that the artists sought a whipping boy.

The artists were by no means the only ones to fret; in New York, Möller's distress increased as he received details about the German economy. Erna Casper sent reports that traced the dizzying escalation of the mark-dollar parity from five to sixty-five to five hundred *Milliarden*. Möller moaned: "I dread the arrival of the next reports, because one cannot endure these figures! Here 10 cents is a lot of money, but if that should be 250 million one would go crazy!"[44] These grave financial circumstances spelled disaster for German businesses, and the entire German art market suffered. Casper remarked that shops were totally dead and dealers had begun to offer discounts. The downward trend worsened: when Möller returned to Berlin in 1924 he struggled to keep his gallery open, but the lack of business forced him to close in September 1924.[45]

Even though earlier in the inflation art had been bought as an appreciating investment, by late 1923 the German art market had collapsed and foreign sales became extremely important to both artists and dealers.[46] Germans viewed the American market as particularly promising and eagerly anticipated the Anderson Galleries' exhibition. Frank E. Washburn Freund, the American editor for the German art periodical, *Der Cicerone*, speculated that the Anderson Galleries' exhibition might "entice him [Albert C. Barnes] to acquire some works."[47] During the war many Germans suddenly in need of cash had sold art–primarily Dutch, German, and Italian old masters–to Americans. This trend continued after the war and America was therefore viewed as a wealthy market that modern artists and their dealers wanted to enter.[48] Möller's trip to New York to explore the potential of the American art market was not an isolated event. In 1923 and 1924 other dealers like J. B. Neumann, Paul Cassirer, and Galka Scheyer traveled to the United States with the purpose of promoting modern German art. Several artists also considered immigrating to the United States. In 1924 the Bauhaus artist/designer Georg Muche and the filmmaker Fritz Lang traveled to the United States

to explore the possibility of pursuing a career in America. Neither stayed long. Like many of the potential German immigrants, they did not find an environment conducive to the realization of their dreams and soon returned to Europe, but their exploration of the American opportunity attests to the attraction America offered to Germans. Evidently, America, a haven for countless immigrants in the nineteenth century, continued to be viewed as the land of opportunity.[49]

The optimism of these adventurers demonstrates that Europeans perceived America as receptive to modernism. Nolde's inflated prices (fig. 4), reveal just how optimistically the American modern art market could be viewed; however, his unrealistic expectations actually hindered the acceptance of his art in New York. When Riefstahl reported to Valentiner that many works from the exhibition had been sold, he explained that no Noldes were among these. On learning this Nolde was dismayed and complained to Valentiner, who informed him that his fantastic prices were to blame.[50] As a result, Nolde considered asking less, but was concerned that this might create a bad impression in America. Möller disagreed:

> Nolde . . . can only have success here if he begins with small prices . . . I will of course take over the representation when the prices are bearable, otherwise one makes a fool of oneself [i.e., if the prices are too high]. To lower the prices cannot harm his prestige, since there are only a few people who know anything at all about them.[51]

Later, Möller wrote that two Nolde watercolors "were bought by foreigners, who, if they learn what Nolde's sell for in Germany will never again buy anything of his."[52] Two days later Möller reported the same thing to Nolde with the additional comment that: "The people from the Anderson Galleries told me, that you would have had a unique [and] lasting success in America, if the prices, for example, would have been as they were in Germany.".[53] Nolde replied indignantly:

> [If] my prices appear high to the Americans, it could be because I appraise my pictures low and high according to the artistic quality, the pictures that are there are all among my best and I offer almost all of them for sale at an exhibition for the first time . . . They [the prices] are the same there [in New York], as I normally maintain abroad, only in Germany I have tried to hold the prices lower, so that the Germans could retain the opportunity to acquire some [of my works].[54]

Nolde conceded that his graphics might have been overpriced because he had misjudged how to calculate these prices during the turmoil of the giant inflation. But he initially made no concessions regarding his watercolors; as with his oils he emphasized how unique these works were and how he longed to have them again.[55] Möller vented his frustration about the absurdity of Nolde's prices: "How can one obtain 3,000 dollars for a Nolde if quite a first-class Delacroix here costs only 2,700 dollars!"[56] Thus the acceptance of modern German art in New York was hindered not only by American anti-German feelings and the American rejection of the German aesthetic, but also by unrealistic expectations of some German artists regarding the American market. Nolde's case was extreme, yet other artists and dealers also thought Americans would value modern art more highly than they did.

Despite the difficulties, it was encouraging that many works were sold. Valentiner commented in his diary:

> I think the main thing is accomplished: the German art during 50 years . . . no more accepted in America and which had been pushed aside by French art, has found its way again to America and was judged favorably. A big number of the sculptures (15 out of 18) were sold, watercolors, drawings, and some oil paintings were sold . . . . A good start is made, this is decisive for the future, especially in a country like America.[57]

The *Art News* article that reported the Pechstein sales also noted that over 4,000 dollars were realized from sales at the exhibition. As Valentiner recorded in his diary, the sculptures were particularly popular. The highest sum for one work was seven hundred dollars paid by Mrs. Hirschland for Lehmbruck's sculpture *Woman Bathing*.[58] Kolbe's sculptures *Mermaid* and *Complaint* each brought three hundred dollars. In addition, four of his drawings were sold for twenty-five dollars each. The Chicago Art Institute purchased two of these, indicating that although the exhibition did not travel, it attracted attention from other parts of the United States.[59] Equally prestigious for the exhibition was the fact that Bryson Burroughs, curator of modern art at the conservative Metropolitan Museum of Art, bought a Mueller watercolor and a Feininger print.[60]

The sales were encouraging, but the exhibition was not an unconditional success. A *New York Times* reviewer, reflecting on the 1923 Anderson Galleries' exhibition in 1925, remarked that it had been too soon after the war to be judged without prejudice.[61] Valentiner had anticipated that anti-German feelings might present an obstacle to appreciating the art and had strived to prepare the American audience. He stressed that the war and postwar trauma in Germany had greatly influenced German art.[62] Attempting to establish sympathy with Germany's situation, he compared

it with France's condition after the Napoleonic wars in the early nineteenth century. He also reminded his readers that in more recent times Americans had appreciated French Impressionism when Europeans were still skeptical and appealed to the "lack of prejudice and the broad understanding of American friends of art."[63] Besides soliciting a fair-minded approach from the American audience, Valentiner tried to win its respect by noting that museums in Berlin, Dresden, and other public galleries had bought works by these artists. In a further bid for respectability he likened Germany's rebirth to the Italian Renaissance, comparing artists like Nolde, Schmidt-Rottluff, and Heckel, who were sculptors as well as painters, with the artists of the Renaissance who had "so many inspiring visions" that they could not limit themselves to one form of expression.

The most sensitive of the reviewers concurred with Valentiner, recognizing the extent to which Germany's social and political turmoil affected the artists, while the most critical disparaged the art's lack of beauty. The latter harbored both a tendency to anti-German feelings and an unwavering dedication to academic ideals. The most outspoken of these, Royal Cortissoz, who wrote for the *New York Tribune*, quoted George Eliot's observation that "while the German has the keenest nose in the world for 'empirismus,' he rarely notices the thickness of his teacup." In other words, Cortissoz added, "he is deficient in taste." To Cortissoz, the 1923 exhibition displayed the German lack of taste because the walls of the exhibition were "covered with form inadequately defined, with rude drawings and raw color."[64] The artists also "rejected technical discipline altogether, cultivating instead that crude, fumbling mode of expression which seems to be the special sign of the modernist." Besides criticizing German taste, Cortissoz doubted Valentiner's hypothesis that this art represented an honest expression of "the soul of a people laid prostrate by a great war." To Cortissoz the art was instead the product of "ill-equipped and tasteless" artists who had no right to comment on how the world should be.

The *New York Times* reviewer also criticized most of the works, but praised the positive outlook in Nolde's works. He found Nolde's watercolor, *Landscape*, a compelling composition that "draws one's spirit into itself and then lifts it up." It is conceivable that Nolde was singled out for praise in this and other predominantly negative reviews because his high prices drew attention and commanded respect. Except for the reviewer's appreciation of Nolde, however, the *Times* review was primarily negative. It began by quoting from Valentiner's essay: "One does not expect that an art born out of the soul of the people and expressing the deepest suffering, shall ingratiate itself through charm and surface agreeability," yet it showed little appreciation for this perspective. Grosz's drawings were "vulgar," Franz Radziwill "lacked value," and

Kolbe "had technical ability too great for his spiritual limitations." To conclude, it quoted from Valentiner regarding the power of Schmidt-Rottluff, but questioned Valentiner's praise because all the reviewer felt was "monotony and insecurity of emotion."[65]

In contrast to these negative reviews were several that recognized the power of modern German art. The review in the German-language *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung* urged those who wanted to understand the German soul to view the works by Nolde, Pechstein, Heckel, and others at the exhibition. For this anonymous reviewer, the exhibition was a "bright spot" demonstrating that the "strength and the talent" of the Germans could not be shattered "despite all the hardships" in the Ruhr.[66] In the English-language press, Helen Appleton Read also emphasized the importance of the German political and economic situation for the artists' outlook. During the 1920s she was the best informed of the New York critics writing on modern German art because she had visited art galleries in Berlin and Munich during 1922. When she reviewed the exhibition at the Anderson Galleries, she identified the international climate in which it had been organized:

> Five years have elapsed since the war, and in that time popular prejudice has sufficiently subsided and the belief re-established that art is international, for German opera to be given with its old time success. That being the case, German painters may hope that their works may be viewed with an equally unprejudiced eye. [67]

She cautioned that one's first impression of the exhibition might not be pleasant because "there is too much turgid and violent color." However, she reminded the reader of Valentiner's statement that an art "expressing the deepest suffering" did not promise a pleasant exhibition, but instead a stimulating one. The *Arts* reviewer held a more tentative appreciation of these circumstances. Although he found only "unrest and bitterness," he recognized it as a "frank expression of powerful feelings." The *Art News* reviewer similarly noted that the oil paintings with their "terrible earnestness" and "intentional brutality" required "a recognition of the political and social changes that formed a background for these men's lives." In contrast, he observed that the watercolors with their "subdued and delicate harmonies . . . seemed to have provided a refuge from war's stress rather than an outlet for a troubled spirit."[68]

Encouraged by the positive reviews and well aware of the grave financial circumstances in Germany, Möller explored the possibility of establishing a branch gallery in New York. To assess the chances for success of such an endeavor he arranged an exhibition of modern German artists at Erhard Weyhe's gallery. Weyhe, whom Möller had known in

Europe, ran a unique gallery and art bookstore in New York.[69] Using Weyhe's exhibition rooms, Möller opened an exhibition of watercolors and prints in late November, including the works he had brought from Germany and some of those that had not been sold at the Anderson Galleries' exhibition. Full of enthusiasm during his preparations, he wrote Nolde that if he could create a place for new German art in New York, he would establish a branch gallery and remain there.[70]

Möller's optimism quickly faded after the exhibition opened. The reviews repeated the issues that had been broached during the Anderson Galleries' exhibition. First, the watercolors and sculptures were easier to appreciate than the oils; secondly the German tendency to comment "loudly" on unpleasant subjects posed "stumbling blocks" that hindered an American appreciation of these works.[71] Consequently, sales were sparse although Möller asked less than the artists wanted.[72] The realities of the New York market conflicted with the requests of some artists–Heckel, Schmidt-Rottluff, and, of course, Nolde–that he raise their prices. In frustration Möller wrote to Casper that these requests were all "nonsense"[73] and explained these problems to Valentiner:

> One Nolde graphic and one Schmidt-Rottluff woodcut were sold, but for a lower price than Nolde wanted. And with that I am in the middle of my topic! . . . It is necessary for you to keep in mind that a small Degas color pastel can be bought for 150 dollars and that the new, much sought after lithographs of Picasso (signed and numbered editions of 50) cost about 10 dollars. Old prints of Matisse cost 25 dollars. And that is customary and possible.[74]

These low prices posed a major problem for German dealers in New York. Möller's assessment of the difficulties Weyhe faced because of the financial inequity between Germany and New York reinforces that the artists' complaints regarding the amounts they had received from the Anderson Galleries' sales were stimulated not only by the drastically devalued mark, but also by the exorbitant prices in Germany, even when calculated in dollars.

> Even the offers that Weyhe currently receives from Germany are totally worthless for him. He is offered works that he can sell here for one-fifth of the price in dollars. Either everything in Germany is far above the dollar parity or the high prices in Germany have let us forget how to calculate these prices. Today Weyhe buys cheaper in London and Paris and he buys the cheapest here in New York. We have without exception received higher prices in Germany than are paid here![75]

Or as Möller succinctly stated a few weeks later, "The prices of the works that would have been saleable, *are too high*! Whatever was inexpensive and saleable in the exhibition *was sold*."[76]

Despite these serious problems Möller sold a few works. Ralph Booth, a Detroit collector, visited Möller's exhibition in mid-December and bought some watercolors, but, predictably, for less than the artists had in mind.[77] He selected three Nolde watercolors, for which he paid three hundred dollars each, and also Kolbe's *Assunta*, for which he paid five hundred dollars. These few sales were obviously not enough to make it financially feasible for Möller to open a branch gallery in New York and he bemoaned his plight:

> As long as other large items are not being sold, one will not be able to open a branch gallery here. The expenses for a small shop in a good location (57th Street) are 10,000 dollars a year! In order to build a business here one must begin small and work intensively for years. And if one is better here in the hustle and bustle [of the New York art world] than at home is the big question. The German artists, who demand such high prices today, do so from the assumption that people are waiting for their work here. That is a mistake![78]

The economics of the art market clearly hindered Möller's chances for success. He met difficulties introducing modern German art to New York not only because of the anti-German sentiment that remained from the war, but also because of the gross inequity of prices between Germany and the United States. Möller was eager to open a gallery in New York, but was shocked to learn how much the expenses were and how difficult it was to sell German art to earn the requisite funds. Likewise, the artists were eager for dollars, but dissatisfied that their purchasing power was tragically diminished when they finally received them in late October 1923. Germany's economic imbroglio therefore sent artists and dealers scurrying to America for part of the action; however, the competitive realities of the market sent them quickly back to Germany. The new world was not paved with gold for their purposes and emphasizes how non-aesthetic issues influence any artistic expansion, as have dramatic events in recent years.

For example, the powerful auction houses, Sotheby's and Christie's, have reacted to political and economic events in our world. The former, participating in the euphoria created by *glasnost*, held an auction of contemporary Soviet art in Moscow in 1988; the latter, in the aftermath of the reunification of Berlin, appointed the former Director of the National Gallery of East Germany to its German operation in 1991.[79] The all important "bottom lines" of these two art market giants also reflect the

economic realities of the last few years. Their current revenues demonstrate that the losses of the corporate world have touched the art world: while Sotheby's reported a loss of 5.2 million dollars in the first quarter of 1991, Christie's announced a 49 percent drop in sales from the previous year, for the fiscal year ending in July 1991.[80] As today's art world reflects events beyond the confines of the artist's studio, so too did German art from the early twentieth century, for the frequent turmoil in Germany then created a situation in which the dissemination and reception of this art, like its creation, were tightly intertwined with political and social issues.

Suffolk Community College
Selden, New York

Acknowledgment

This article is adapted from my Ph. D. dissertation, "Obstacles and Advocates: Factors Influencing the Introduction of Modern Art From Germany to New York City, 1912-1933: Major Promoters and Exhibitions" (Cornell University, 1990). I express my sincere thanks to my dissertaion committee, Esther Dotson, Laura Meixner, Thomas Leavitt, and Peg Weiss for their advice, guidance, and encouragement. I am grateful to the Smithsonian Institution, the Kress Foundation, and Cornell University for research grants.

Notes

[1] Barbara Rose, "Quality and Value," *The Journal of Art* 4 (September 1991): 1, 2.

I use the terms modern German art, German avant-garde art, and progressive German art interchangeably. These terms include art created in Germany between about 1905 and 1933 by artists associated with the Brücke, the Blaue Reiter, the Neue Sachlichkeit, the Bauhaus, the Blue Four, and independent artists like K. Kollwitz. These designations also include artists like Feininger, Kandinsky, and Kokoschka, who were not German, but who played an important role in the German avant-garde.

[2] See Penny Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates: Factors Influencing the Introduction of Modern Art From Germany to New York City, 1912-1933: Major Promoters and Exhibitions" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1990), especially the introduction and chapter 2; and Geoffrey Stephen Cahn, "The American Reception of Weimar Culture, 1918-1933," *Yearbook of German-American Studies* 17 (1982): 49.

[3] "Pictures and War Levy," *American Art News* 12 (19 September 1914): 2; "Art's Status in 1918," *American Art News* 16 (26 January 1918): 4; "Germany and Italian Art," *American Art News* 16 (9 February 1918): 1.

[4] "'Trading With the Enemy,'" *American Art News* 15 (5 May 1917): 4; "Hanfstaengl is Flagged," *American Art News* 15 (26 May 1917): 5; "Hanfstaengl Closed Up," *American Art News* 16 (15 December 1917): 1.

[5] Flora Turkel, "Berlin Letter," *American Art News* 19 (21 May 1921): 9.

[6] Dreier was a second-generation German immigrant. See Robert L. Herbert, Eleanor S. Apter, and Elise K. Kenney, *The Société Anonyme and the Dreier Bequest at Yale University: A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984).

[7] "The Red Dawn of a New Bolshevistic Drama," *Current Opinion* (June 1920): 789-90. Anton Kaes, *Expressionismus in Amerika: Rezeption und Innovation* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1975), 54-67.

[8] On Valentiner see Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," chapter 2; and Margaret Sterne, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980), 113-15, 131-49, 397. For a full list of artists see the exhibition catalogue by William R. Valentiner, *A Collection of Modern German Art* (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1923).

[9] Diary entry, 1 October 1921, Valentiner papers, Archives of American Art [AAA], Film 2140, Frame 647. I express my thanks to the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution for permission to cite the Valentiner Papers.

[10] On the Anderson Galleries see "The Anderson Galleries–What They Are and What They Do–A Century of Auctioneering" [n.d., post 1925], AAA, Film N27, Frames 42ff., especially Frames 88-89; Matthew Bruccoli, *The Fortunes of Mitchell Kennerley, Bookman* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1986), 145-46, discusses Kennerley's association with Stieglitz. He does not mention the 1923 German exhibition.

[11] Riefstahl to Valentiner, 7 October 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 562.

[12] Eberhard Roters, *Galerie Ferdinand Möller: Die Geschichte einer Galerie für Moderne Kunst in Deutschland: 1917-1956* (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1984), 56-68, quotes from many letters regarding this exhibition. The Möller Galerie archives are at the Berlinische Galerie in West Berlin. I express my deepest gratitude to Eberhard Roters for permission to quote from these documents and to Helmut Geisert who so kindly helped me locate the relevant documents in the hectic days preceding the opening of the Berlinische Galerie at the Martin Gropius-Bau (hereafter cited as Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie).

[13] Riefstahl to Valentiner, 23 December 1922, and to Möller, 6 March 1923, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frames 576 and 578-80.

[14] As noted, numerous documents regarding this exhibition are in the Valentiner Papers, AAA, and the Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie, but an Anderson Galleries archive with other correspondence and the sales' records has never been found.

[15] The quotations in figure 1 are from Costantino Bresciani-Turroni, *The Economics of Inflation: A Study of Currency Depreciation in Postwar Germany, 1921-1923* (English edition, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1953), 441; and Carl-Ludwig Holtfrerich, *The German Inflation 1914-1923: Causes and Effects in International Perspective* (New York: de Gruyter, 1986), 33. I express my thanks to Dr. Gregory Hall for plotting these graphs.

[16] The quotations in this table are from *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*, 1921-22 to 1924-25, except for the October and November 1922 quotations which are from Adolph Donath, "Der Kunstmarkt, 1922," *Jahrbuch für Kunstsammler* 3 (1923): 126. For further information on the inflation see Costantino Bresciani-Turroni and Fritz K. Ringer, *The German Inflation of 1923* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969). Regarding the gold mark see Gordon A. Craig, *Germany, 1866-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 440; "German Art Trade Put on Gold Basis," *Art News* 22 (3 November 1923): 5; and Alfred Kuhn, "Die erste Graphikauktion in Goldmark," *Das Kunstblatt* 8 (1924): 29. I express my thanks to Hugo Kaufmann, Professor of Economics at the City University of New York, for his suggestions on this analysis.

[17] Cassirer to Möller, 12 October 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 563. All translations are mine unless noted otherwise. I express my deepest thanks to the friends and colleagues who assisted me with the translations.

[18] Möller to Valentiner, 14 October 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frames 566-67. The artist Nolde and the dealer Zingler, who represented Campendonk, priced the art in dollars.

[19] The registration forms are in the Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[20] In October 1922 the mark-dollar parity climbed rapidly from 1,815-4,500; in November it climbed from 4,550 to 9,150 during the first week of the month, but had

declined to 7,650 on 30 November. These figures are from Adolph Donath, "Der Kunstmarkt, 1922," *Jahrbuch für Kunstsammler* 3 (1923): 126.

[21] Marginal comment on Kolbe's registration form.

[22] Feininger to Valentiner, 20 January 1923, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2141, Frame 1261-62.

[23] Julie Feininger to Valentiner [no date but around 1 February 1923], Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2141, Frame 1256.

[24] Möller to Zinglers Kabinett für Kunst- und Bücherfreunde in Frankfurt, 13 October 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 565.

[25] Möller to Valentiner, 28 November 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 571-72.

[26] Riefstahl to Valentiner, 19 December 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 564.

[27] Valentiner to Kennerley [no date]; Kennerley to Valentiner, 20 January 1923, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frames 575 and 577.

[28] Möller to Valentiner, 18 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. The existing records don't clarify precisely what the Anderson Galleries promised, but there was some commitment for on 7 October 1922 Riefstahl wrote Valentiner that, "I have the pleasure of informing you that the guarantee for the exhibition is covered." Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frames 561-62.

[29] Diary entry, November 1923, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2140, Frame 654.

[30] Möller to Valentiner, 30 October 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[31] Möller to Valentiner, 22 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[32] Diary entry, November 1923, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2140, Frame 654.

[33] "American Buyers Like German Art," *Art News* 22 (27 October 1923): 4. It is unclear if Pechstein had 12 or 13 works in the exhibition because he had listed 13 works on his registration form (figure 5), but only 12 were listed in the catalogue. The lithograph listed on his registration form for 15,000 marks (approximately 2 dollars) was not included in the exhibition catalogue.

[34] Unfortunately for our analysis of the sales, Pechstein did not specify a mark-dollar parity on his registration form. Still, like everyone in Germany, he was surely painfully aware that the mark had been rapidly depreciating–from 272 marks per dollar on 1 June 1922; to 4,550 marks per dollar on 1 November 1922; to exactly 7,000 marks per dollar on 18 November 1922. These figures are from Adolph Donath, "Der Kunstmarkt, 1922," *Jahrbuch für Kunstsammler* 3 (1923): 126.

[35] See pp. 133-35 in Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," for a discussion of these prices.

[36] Report from Casper to Möller, 9 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. Kaus had initially perceived these sales as a success and wrote Valentiner in gratitude, but once he learned the spending value of the money he apparently felt differently. Kaus to Valentiner, 29 October 1923, quoted in Sterne, p. 146.

[37] Bresciani-Turroni, 142-43.

[38] Holtfrerich, 37-38.

[39] Adam Fergusson, *When Money Dies: The Nightmare of the Weimar Collapse* (London: William Kimber, 1975), 176-77.

[40] "Wirtschaftslage und Aussichten des Kunstmarktes," *Das Kunstblatt* 7 (1923): 296.

[41] Valentiner to Möller, 15 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[42] Valentiner to Möller, 2 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[43] The recent Pechstein price was reported in "Sale Results," *The Journal of Art* 1 (January 1989): 60.

[44] Casper to Möller, 27 October 1923 and 2 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. "Milliarde" in the German system compares with billion in the American system. Thus 5,000,000,000 is "5 Milliarden" in German terminology or 5 billion in American terminology. Möller to Casper, 11 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[45] Casper to Möller, 4 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. Quoted in Roters, p. 67.

[46] Regarding the German art market see Adolph Donath, "Der deutsche Kunstmarkt 1919/1920," *Jahrbuch für Kunstsammler* 1 (1921): 68; A. Philip McMahon, Review of Adolph Donath, *Technik des Kunstsammelns* (Berlin: Richard Carl Schmidt & Company, 1925), *Arts* 18 (July 1925): 55; [Paul Westheim], "Zur Frage der Versteigerungen moderner Graphik," *Das Kunstblatt* 10 (1926): 34-37.

[47] Frank E. Washburn Freund, "Die Tätigkeit der amerikanischen Museen," *Cicerone* 15 (July-December 1923): 709-10. Albert C. Barnes had begun collecting French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist art in 1910 and by the early 1920s had the greatest collection of this art in the United States. See William Schack, *Art and Argyrol: The Life and Career of Dr. Albert C. Barnes* (New York: 1960).

[48] On this theme see "Vom amerikanischen Kunsthandel," *Cicerone* 8 (February 1916): 77-78; "Amerikas Besitz an Meisterwerken europäischer Kunst," *Cicerone* 13 (July 1921): 394-95; August Mayer, "Von modernen amerikanischen Kunstsammlungen," *Kunst und Künstler* 21 (July 1923): 298-300.

[49] For a discussion of Neumann and Scheyer, see Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," chapter 4 and on Neumann see my article "J. B. Neumann and the Introduction of Modern German Art to New York, 1923-1933," *Archives of American Art Journal* (September 1990). On German art dealers coming to America see "Leaving Berlin for American Art Field," *Art News* 22 (10 November 1923): 4; "Plan an American Show for Europe," *Art News* 22 (15 December 1923): 7; "Cassirer to View Art in America," *Art News* 21 (31 March 1923): 5. Muche to his wife, 9 April 1924 and 12 April 1924, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin. I am grateful to Magdalena Droste at the Bauhaus-Archiv for these references and express my thanks to the Bauhaus-Archiv for permission to quote from these documents.

[50] Valentiner to Möller, 3 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[51] Möller to Valentiner, 22 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[52] Möller to Valentiner, 11 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[53] Möller to Nolde, 13 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[54] Nolde to Möller, 28 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[55] Nolde to Möller, 28 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[56] Möller to Casper, 14 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[57] Diary entry, November 1923, Valentiner papers, AAA, Film 2140, Frame 654. Valentiner's English wording has been retained here.

[58] On Mr. and Mrs. Franz H. Hirschland see Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," chapter 4.

[59] *Complaint* was sold to a Miss Hamilton of Barnard College, but the buyer for the other Kolbe was not noted.

[60] On Burroughs see Gwendolyn Owens, "Pioneers in American Museums: Bryson Burroughs," *Museum News* 57 (May-June 1979): 46-84. See Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," chapter 2, for a discussion of further sales.

[61] "New German Art Trends Shown in Berlin Exhibit," *New York Times*, 23 August 1925, sec. 7, p. 8.

[62] "W. R. Valentiner is Here From Germany," *American Art News* 20 (22 October 1921): 4; "Valentiner Sees German Renaissance," *American Art News* 21 (11 November 1922): 1, 7.

[63] William Valentiner, *A Collection of Modern German Art* (New York: Anderson Galleries, 1923), 2.

[64] Royal Cortissoz, "Modern German Art in Exhibit Here is Crude. Works Shown at Anderson Galleries, Supposed to Usher in New Era, Indicate Germany is Badly Off. Delicacy of Form Lacking. One Contributor Seems Like Man Exploring Fairyland in Hobnail Boots," *New York Tribune*, 3 October 1923, p. 15.

[65] "Modern German Art," *New York Times*, 7 October 1923, sec. 9, p. 12; "Art Exhibitions of the Week," *New York Times*, 14 October 1923, sec. 8, p. 7.

[66] "Deutsche Kunstausstellung in den Anderson Galerien," *New Yorker Staats-Zeitung*, 4 October 1923, p. 3. The Ruhr, an industrial district in Western Germany, was occupied by French and Belgian troops from January 1923 until July 1925.

[67] Helen Appleton Read, "First Showing of Modern German Art," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 14 October 1923, sec. b, p. 2. Read had succeeded Hamilton Easter Field as art critic for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in 1923 and held this position until 1938. For further information see her obituary in the *New York Times*, 5 December 1974, p. 50; see also "Mrs Read Gets Oberlaender Fellowship," *New York Times*, 4 June 1932, p. 5.

[68] *Arts* 4 (October 1923): 214-15; "Modern Germany Speaks By its Art. A Kind of Terrible Earnestness. Even in Landscapes At Times An Intentional Brutality," *Art News* 22 (13 October 1923): 1-2.

[69] Möller to Valentiner, 30 October 1923 and 11 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. Weyhe began his New York booktrade in 1914. In November 1919 he expanded his business to include a print gallery. Until 1989 the Weyhe gallery was in operation on Lexington Avenue under the directorship of Gertrude Dennis, Weyhe's daughter. I am grateful to Ms. Dennis for discussing the gallery's history with me and graciously making the gallery scrapbooks available. For information on the Weyhe gallery see Carl Zigrosser, *A World of Art and Museums* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1975), 36-60; and Bealle, "Obstacles and Advocates," 143-44.

[70] Möller to Nolde, 13 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[71] These reviews are available in the Weyhe Gallery scrapbook. "German Water Colors and Prints Shown," *New York Herald*, 2 December 1923; "Modern German Artists," *New York Evening Post*, 8 December 1923; [no title], *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 16 December 1923; [no title], *Arts*, December 1923.

[72] Möller to Valentiner, 5 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[73] Möller to Casper, 14 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[74] Möller to Valentiner, 29 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. Quoted in Roters, pp. 60-61.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Möller to Valentiner, 18 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie.

[77] Möller to Casper, 14 December 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. This was not Möller's first contact with Booth. In October 1922 Möller explained to Valentiner that he was sending an invoice to Booth for the *Kauernde* by Kolbe and the *Eselreiter* by Scheibe for 50 dollars each. Möller to Valentiner, 7 October 1922, Valentiner Papers, AAA, Film 2143, Frame 560.

[78] Möller to Valentiner, 29 November 1923, Möller Archiv, Berlinische Galerie. Quoted in Roters, pp. 60-61.

[79] Katherine Link, "Update on the USSR: Glasnost Art?" *Journal of Art* 1 (December 1988): 1, 3; David Schaff, "Auction Perspective: Berlin Takes Over the Leadership of Germany," *Journal of Art* 4 (September 1991): 72.

[80] "Sotheby's Reports First Quarter Losses," *Journal of Art* 4 (September 1991): 72; "Christie's Finds Some Promising News," *Journal of Art* 4 (September 1991): 83; Barbara Rose, "The Contemporary Art Market Faces Reality," *Journal of Art* 4 (October 1991): 79.

John D. Thiesen

The American Mennonite Encounter with National Socialism

Introduction

National Socialist Germany has been called a "racial state."[1] National Socialism was of significance not just for the German state but for all people of "German blood" around the world. The Nazis maintained that Germans owed their primary allegiance to the German nation, embodied in Adolf Hitler, no matter what their citizenship. Blood was stronger than citizenship, birthplace, or place of residence.

In practice, efforts to propagandize and organize the ethnic Germans outside of Germany (*Auslandsdeutsche*) were never of more than minor importance to the Nazis, with the exception of Germans in nearby eastern European states such as Austria and Poland. However, the *Auslandsdeutschen* always remained of ideological significance to Nazism. Though the work of National Socialism among *Auslandsdeutsche* was never unified or well organized, a multitude of governmental, Nazi party, and private agencies reached out to ethnic German communities around the world. In addition, some *Auslandsdeutsche* reached out for contact with revitalized Nazi Germany.

What follows will be a brief examination of the encounter of one particular group of ethnic Germans in the United States, the Mennonites, with the National Socialist movement.[2] The Mennonites outside of Germany offer a particularly interesting case study in the appeal, or lack of it, of Nazism to *Auslandsdeutsche*. On the one hand, Mennonites remained mostly ethnic German in the 1930s. On the other, the Mennonite religious system had the potential to provide an intellectual basis for resisting Nazism that was unavailable to other *Auslandsdeutsche*. Although not all Mennonites retained traditional beliefs in the mid-twentieth century, they inherited from their sixteenth-century origins the politically significant practices of rejection of war and military service,

rejection of swearing oaths, baptism of adults rather than infants, and rejection of state control and financing of church affairs.

The Mennonites were and are a fairly small group. In 1936, there were 114,337 Mennonite church members in the United States. (Since Mennonites join the church as adults, or at least as adolescents, this figure does not include children.) The vast majority of these were of German-speaking ethnic background. Three denominational groups made up two thirds of Mennonites in the United States: the Mennonite Church (MC) with 46,301 members, the General Conference Mennonite Church (GC) with 26,535 members, and the Mennonite Brethren (MB) with 7,595.[3] The remaining 33,906 were divided into at least fourteen denominational groups, including the more well-known Amish and Old Orders.[4]

All of the Mennonite denominations, including the three major groups, were theologically conservative compared to mainstream American Protestantism. In addition, the Mennonite Church was culturally conservative. It consisted mostly of persons whose ancestors had arrived in America from Switzerland and western Germany beginning in 1683 and ending in the mid-nineteenth century. Many subgroups within this denomination had been Amish originally and still enforced dress regulations. The General Conference Mennonites did not practice the cultural isolationism of their Amish cousins but retained distinctive Mennonite theological beliefs. The GCs were made up of a Swiss and German component similar to the MCs, concentrated in the eastern and midwestern states, plus large groups of German-speaking immigrants from Russia who arrived in the 1870s and settled mostly in the plains states. This essay will be primarily concerned with the MC and GC denominations.

General Conference

None of the North American Mennonite denominational groups made an official statement directly speaking to the subject of National Socialism, although many statements were made about war and about what types of national service were appropriate for Mennonites in time of war. Editorials in the official church periodicals are the closest thing available to an official statement by the church leadership. At the same time, the church periodicals were very open to the written contributions of church members and thus reflect to some extent the general opinion of denominational members.

Reflecting its division into a group of Russian Germans of more recent immigrant background and a more Americanized group of Swiss and German background, the General Conference had two official periodicals, the English-language *Mennonite* and the German-language *Christlicher Bundesbote*. The editors of both commented on important

current events and both published a reaction to the appointment of Hitler to the chancellorship in 1933.

The editor of *The Mennonite* since 1914 had been Silas Manasses Grubb, pastor of a General Conference church in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and a leader among GC Mennonites in the eastern states. He was born in 1874 in Pennsylvania, son of a prominent GC clergyman, and graduated from Temple College (today Temple University) and the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church.[5] In April 1933 Grubb published perhaps the most outspoken anti-Nazi statement from an American Mennonite prior to America's entry into the war.

> Germany is now in the midst of a "racket" under the leadership of the hairbrained Hitler. The movement threatens to upset the general order of things in every direction. A dictator is in power with untried schemes that he would introduce that promise to add disorder to disorders. We cannot guess how far the thing will go, but, we predict that the extreme measures will finally lead to either the ousting of the whole program and its leaders or the toning down to a great degree of the proposals. Before this is accomplished, however, the German people will have added to their troubles considerably more than they have gone through before. The step backward to the medieval Jew-baiting now in progress is a blot that the present leaders of Germany have needlessly imposed upon their nation. Persecutions, and there have been many of them, have never obliterated or suppressed the Jewish people and it is not likely that they will do so now. The intolerance and cruelty of the effort is sure to reflect back upon Germany and already the sentiment of the whole world condemns the Hitler movement as diabolical. Whether we like the Jews or not, their contributions to science, literature, statesmanship, and the good of the world in general has [sic] been outstanding and beneficial. A sudden spurt of madness may make it inconvenient for the Jew for a time, but, in the end, his influence will remain long after Hitler and his kind have passed from the picture.[6]

Grubb, in his colloquial manner, expressed common American opinion on Hitler and Nazism, not particularly informed by Mennonite religious doctrine but by American political habits of democracy and civil rights.

The editor of the *Bundesbote*, Christian E. Krehbiel, took quite a different approach to the "German Revolution" of 1933. Krehbiel's paper was read more frequently by the Russian German segment of the General Conference but Krehbiel himself was American-born and of Bavarian background. He was born in 1869 in Illinois into a family where a

number of the men were active Mennonite leaders. Krehbiel's family moved to Halstead, Kansas, while he was a child, and he studied at a number of schools, including a Mennonite Seminary at Halstead, the Emporia (Kansas) Normal School, the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Bloomfield, New Jersey, and the University of Berlin. After his return from Berlin, he went into the book retailing and newspaper publishing business with one of his brothers. In 1922 Krehbiel was asked by his denomination to go to the Soviet Union to help distribute humanitarian aid to victims of the Civil War there, among them many Mennonites. This apparently was a major turning point for him, since he was ordained as a minister near the end of 1923 and remained active in denominational affairs until his death in 1948. Making use of his publishing experience for the church, he had become editor of the *Bundesbote* in 1930.[7]

Krehbiel's initial comment on National Socialism was defensive. In April 1933 in a regular column of short news items and brief editorial comments entitled "Daheim und Draußen" ("At Home and Abroad") he reported that several German church leaders had cabled messages to American religious periodicals denying Nazi persecution of the Jews.[8] Two weeks later he published a longer statement entitled "Die deutsche Revolution." This article was mostly made up of quotations from an article of the same title in the *Allianzblatt*, a religious paper from Germany. The author of the original article, a Bernhard Peters of Worms, presumably not a Mennonite, addressed first the Jewish question. Rather ambiguously, Peters stated that Christians cannot execute judgment on the Jews because God has not, but that governments can take politically necessary measures against the Jews for political reasons, specifically for getting rid of "Bolshevist influence." In doing so, the state must only avoid injustice (*Ungerechtigkeit*). In addition, the persecution of the Jews is a sign of the "end times" and the imminent approach of the Last Judgment. On the Hitler movement in general, Peters praised the new German spirit but warned that nationalism could too easily lead to a decrease in religious fervor and piety. He stated that the new German revolution must remain filled with the spirit of Luther and must take care to open the German soul to Jesus. Concluding the quotation of several paragraphs from Peters, Krehbiel reminded his readers that "positive Christianity" was the basis of the new Hitler government.[9]

The article in the *Bundesbote* of mid-1933 contains all the themes used later by those Mennonites who defended National Socialism: the connection of Jews with communism, the tying of current events to "end times" prophecy, the "positive Christianity" of the Nazi Party program, the new government's alleged improvement of social morals, and the call for religious conversion and piety.

Hitler and National Socialism faded from view in the English-language paper for a few years after 1933, but the *Bundesbote* continued

to discuss the issues. The "Jewish question" remained the continuing theme. Krehbiel complained about a lack of balance in reporting about religious and racial persecution in Russia and Germany, and stated that the "fact" that Jews were the persecutors in Russia was not mentioned in the media because the United States press was too much controlled by Jews. In defense of Germany, he implied that individual Jews, not the race, were exploiting their fellow human beings and this was the reason for their persecution.[10]

Later in 1933, Krehbiel reported on the efforts of the American Jewish Committee to protest Nazi persecution, but said that the Germans blamed "Jewish chicanery and cunning" for the oppression. Furthermore, German churchmen denied that there was any official persecution. Another reprinted article by Bernhard Peters entitled "Der Deutsche, das Ausland und der Antichrist" reported that the Christians of Germany saw Hitler as a savior from Bolshevism. In discussing prophecy, Peters stated that the Antichrist would come from the Jews and that the persecution of the Jews indicated that the day was coming when they would return to Palestine.[11]

All through the 1930s, Krehbiel published in the *Bundesbote*'s "Daheim und Draußen" column short news notes from German-speaking communities around the world. Some of these were attributed to the DAI, the Deutsches Ausland-Institut, a private organization located in Stuttgart dedicated to researching and supporting ethnic Germans throughout the world. The DAI, although private, had been required to follow the Nazi political line, as were most similar organizations, and to promote the Nazi racial ideology. Most of the *Bundesbote*'s short news items were unattributed but probably came from German sources such as the DAI and sometimes reflected a Nazi ideological slant.

Other than such news items, Krehbiel's attention to the Nazis also waned somewhat in the next few years. The only major article before late 1936 was one entitled "Zur Judenfrage" by Carl Stiefel, which Krehbiel reprinted in October 1934 from the German Methodist periodical *Apologete*. Stiefel used the Nazi rhetorical device of speaking of "the Jew" as an abstract entity and claimed that the nature of the Jew was to want to lord it over others, to be better than others. In contrast, Jesus preached equality of peoples and was killed by the Jews. Stiefel stated that the political and commercial internationalism of the Jews was partially responsible for their current persecution. To temper the foregoing, Stiefel called the Nazi attacks on the Jews an anachronism and said it was unjust to blame the Jews for all of Germany's troubles. He spoke of Jesus as a Jew and concluded by calling for conversion to Christianity as the solution to the world's Jewish problem.[12]

Occasional articles continued to appear in General Conference papers concerning Germany and National Socialism. In September 1936 the

Bundesbote published an article by David Toews, the foremost leader of Canadian General Conference Mennonites, describing his trip to Europe that summer to attend the Mennonite World Conference in Amsterdam. Toews devoted a significant part of his article to describing his visit to Germany and gave a cautiously critical appraisal of Nazism. He stated that he had met no one in Germany who was against Hitler although many were critical of other Nazi leaders or of the system in general. Youth were especially favorable towards Hitler. The main thing that was credited to the movement was saving Germany from communism. Toews said no one in Germany wanted war and he believed that the government also did not want war. He asked how one could doubt the judgment of 67 million people, many of them Christians (and, it should be added, including some of Toews's close relatives). This was the extent of his favorable comment on Germany. He followed by disapproving of the large amount of time required of youth in state-sponsored activities and complaining that the youth did not spend enough time on church activities. Toews stated that he was "confused" about the government's true attitude towards Christianity, citing Rosenberg's neo-paganism and the "German Christian" movement as unhealthy signs. He gave strong approval to the Confessing Church movement, but also said he had not seen or heard of any direct religious persecution against the Christian churches. He described in detail the measures that had been taken against the Jews but only indirectly implied that he disapproved. Toews also repeated the standard complaint that the world paid attention to the persecution of the Jews but not to the persecution of Christians, including large numbers of Mennonites, in Russia. He concluded by saying that although people seemed satisfied and the economy was good, the lack of press and speech freedom and the abolition of political parties were troubling aspects of German life. Overall, the article gives the impression of one who was trying unsuccessfully to see the good in Nazism and did not understand the enthusiasm with which it was being received by many of his acquaintances.[13] This was the most critical article that Krehbiel had so far published in the *Bundesbote*.

In 1936 a new stimulant for discussion of current events entered the local scene in Newton, Kansas, a major center of General Conference leadership and the location where *The Mennonite*, the *Christlicher Bundesbote*, and other Mennonite periodicals were published. In June of that year, the first session of the Kansas Institute of International Relations (KIIR) was held on the campus of Bethel College, a school related to the General Conference. The institute was to be an annual ten-day public education effort aimed at teachers, ministers, and other community leaders. It was one of eight similar institutes around the country sponsored by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). The institutes were explicitly intended by the AFSC and the local sponsors as

antimilitaristic but non-denominational, and educational rather than overtly religious. The institutes were locally controlled and financed, with the AFSC providing the speakers and coordinating the dates of the eight institutes so that speakers could make a circuit of the various locations. The KIIR began with a great deal of local and regional support. Kansas politicians, educators, and public figures such as William Allen White lent their names to the promotional effort. Emporia State Teachers College and Bethel College engaged in a struggle over locating the institute at their respective institutions. Locally, the Chamber of Commerce and the Rotary Club endorsed the effort. The program of the institute was intense, with morning, afternoon, and evening lectures plus small group discussions with some of the speakers. A small tuition was charged to participants. One hundred twenty-five persons attended the 1936 institute, 68 percent of them Mennonites.[14]

The man who inspired and organized the Kansas institute was Emmett Leroy Harshbarger, professor of history at Bethel College since 1933. Harshbarger was a Mennonite of Amish background and was one of a number of college professors who had been forced to leave the Mennonite Church denomination under accusations of theological liberalism. He had earned his Ph.D. in American history from Ohio State University and was strongly influenced by the revisionist school of American historians such as Charles Beard and Harry Elmer Barnes. Harshbarger himself was very interested in the "search for a usable past" and in the political and social relevance of historical studies.[15]

In 1935 Harshbarger had attended an AFSC institute at Grinnell, Iowa, and immediately decided to try to bring this kind of public education program to his own institution. In doing so, Harshbarger stepped outside the mainstream of Mennonite pacifist thinking. He was one of a minority of Mennonites calling for the application of Christian pacifist principles to social and political policy. The majority of Mennonites saw this simply as a matter of religious doctrine requiring refusal of military service and saw the church's mission as purely religious rather than as social and political.[16] This controversy became more and more vigorous during the late 1930s as it appeared likely that a new world war might occur and require a response of some kind from American Mennonites. Among Mennonites, much of the discussion of current events, such as National Socialism, took place in the context of this argument over what Mennonite responsibilities were to society in general, especially in time of war.

The 1936 institute passed with hardly a comment in the Mennonite periodicals, but in mid-1937 the second Kansas Institute of International Relations became the focus of criticism. An article by John J. Kroeker entitled "International Relations and Our Denomination" appeared in the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, an independent newspaper published in

Newton. Kroeker was a somewhat different figure than persons discussed so far. He was not a leader in the denomination in any way, but a layman, a prolific but rather unsuccessful writer. Although born in Germany, he had grown up in Russia, fled the Bolshevik Revolution in 1919, came to the United States in 1926 and to Newton in 1936. His father was a prominent Mennonite Brethren leader in Germany.[17]

Kroeker complained that "peace" had become a euphemism used by "all dissatisfied elements" and denounced the KIIR as a presentation of pro-Soviet propaganda rather than a genuine discussion of how to get peace between the nations. He complained that one KIIR speaker, Dr. Otto Nathan, had said the churches were oppressed in Germany while, according to Kroeker, even Jewish synagogues operated freely. Kroeker cited his father as an example of the freedom of the churches in Germany and accused Nathan and other speakers of being communists. He called for the Mennonites to stick to religious activities (proselytizing for the conversion of individuals to Christianity) and to stay away from social and political reform.[18] Kroeker here exemplified a combination of the conservative Mennonite critique of political pacifism and a defense of the contemporary state of affairs in Germany.

Behind the scenes, Kroeker had already begun agitating against the institute in March. In letters to a member of the Bethel College board of directors, he denounced two speakers scheduled for the upcoming meeting, Harold Rugg and Samuel Guy Inman, as communists, citing Elizabeth Dilling's hysterically anti-communist directory *The Red Network*.[19] Even one conservative college board member, Michael M. Horsch, wrote to a fellow board conservative, P. H. Richert, worrying about an institute speaker. Horsch was the minister of a General Conference congregation in Beatrice, Nebraska. He was born in Württemberg in 1872 and came to the United States in the late 1880s. For several decades, he had been a General Conference clergyman and leader, and had served on the Board of Missions since 1917 and on the Bethel College board of directors since 1920.[20] Richert was one of the leading clergymen of the General Conference Mennonites. He was senior minister of an important Russian-immigrant congregation north of Newton, and had served several terms on the board of directors at Bethel College, including some as president of the board. In addition, he had been secretary of the General Conference Board of Missions since 1910. Richert was a theological conservative and a subscriber to Gerald B. Winrod's *Defender* magazine.[21] About Otto Nathan, Horsch asked,

> Is he a Jew? I have no antipathy against a faithful Jew but we know the curse renegade Jews are to the nations today. If he is not a Jew, but a Christian, well and good. But if he is a Jew driven out of Germany because of communism, he certainly is

not qualified to speak at a Christian Peace Conference, endeavoring to clear international relations for the sake of peace.

We must keep this K.I.I.R. upon a truly Christian basis or else it will not be the best for Bethel and all of us to have it with us.

Please Bro. R. keep this to yourself and say nothing about this letter to anyone.[22]

Krehbiel also criticized the KIIR, whose Mennonite attendance in 1937 was down to 48 percent of 130 participants. He complained of too much anti-German propaganda and told of an unnamed German-born preacher attending the institute (possibly John Horsch, see section on Mennonite Church below) who had received letters from a nephew in Germany praising Hitler and the Nazi regime. The nephew claimed that Hitler had saved all of Europe from communism and that conditions in Germany were much better than before 1933 when his uncle had last visited there. Contrary to reports, they had complete religious freedom.[23]

Two weeks later Krehbiel's reportage took a critical turn, apparently because of the struggle of the Confessing Church. In his "Daheim und Draußen" column he published an open letter by the American Protestant leader Dr. Charles MacFarland severely condemning the Nazis on all counts for their treatment of the Jews and the churches. In an article entitled "Propaganda" a short time later, Krehbiel again mentioned the KIIR's poor treatment of Germany but reported more extensively on the arrest of Martin Niemoeller and other Protestant pastors. "Is that only propaganda?" he asked. The fact that Christians were persecuted worse in Spain or Russia, Krehbiel said, was no excuse for the events in Germany. He claimed to be attempting to present various sides of the argument over Germany in the pages of the *Bundesbote* so that readers could judge for themselves, but clearly his coverage had taken a new turn critical towards National Socialism.[24]

The employment of a new editor for *The Mennonite* in mid-1937 (Grubb was replaced because of ill health and died in early 1938) was an event that probably did the most to stimulate debate on National Socialism among General Conference Mennonites in the next four years before the United States entered the war. The Mennonite historian James C. Juhnke has called the new editor, John R. Thierstein, the "foremost Nazi sympathizer among Kansas Mennonites"[25] and this may not be far from the truth. Thierstein was born in 1867 in the canton of Bern in Switzerland and immigrated to Kansas in 1883, settling east of Newton in 1885. His higher education included courses at the University of Kansas and a Ph.D. in German literature from the University of Bern in 1910. From 1915 to 1921 Thierstein was professor of German at Bluffton College, a General Conference institution in Ohio, and then held the same position

at Bethel College until 1938, in addition to various denominational committee posts.[26]

In his first editorial on the subject in August 1937, Thierstein complained of "relentless . . . widespread" criticism and hatred of Germany. America had problems, too, he claimed: a dictatorial leader (FDR) and crime. It is "honey-combed with communistic organizations" and "steeped in silence" when called to aid Jewish and other refugees from Europe. Germany's attacks on the Jews were "mostly against Jews who were reds." Thierstein only faulted Germany for its treatment of the churches, saying it should go back to the "status quo before the revolution."[27] All in all, this is one of the most striking defenses of Nazi Germany appearing in an American Mennonite publication. On the other hand, it exhibits two caveats that are characteristic of Thierstein's discussion of Germany: first, a concern for refugees from Germany and the world's refusal to aid them; and, second, an expression of worry and doubt about the status of the churches in the National Socialist new order, aroused by the struggle of the Confessing Church.[28]

Thierstein's expression of conservative theology, anti-communism, and opposition to Roosevelt and the New Deal represent a cluster of opinions that were probably shared by the majority of his mostly rural readers and also parallel the public pronouncements of a non-Mennonite religious figure of regional importance at the time, the Wichita, Kansas, evangelist Gerald B. Winrod. Winrod was the founder and head of the Defenders of the Christian Faith, a Wichita-based publishing and evangelizing organization whose name aptly and succinctly described its activities. The organization was founded in 1925, when Winrod had already gained local success as an evangelist, and grew rapidly over the next decade. With the coming of Roosevelt and the New Deal in 1933, Winrod turned from purely religious concerns to politics. At this time (1934) his magazine, *The Defender*, had a circulation of sixty thousand. Coinciding with his turn to preaching against the New Deal, Winrod began publicizing the anti-Semitic forgery "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Through the latter half of the 1930s he zealously agitated against the alleged conspiratorial communist and Jewish influences abroad in American life.[29]

Mennonites around the country, but particularly in central Kansas, had numerous friendly contacts with Winrod. According to Juhnke, "most Mennonite homes [in Kansas] subscribed to *The Defender*."[30] The magazine itself was printed from 1931 to 1942 by the Herald Publishing Company in Newton, the company founded by Christian E. Krehbiel's brother and the office where the *Mennonite Weekly Review* was edited and printed. (Prior to this, *The Defender* had been printed at the Mennonite Brethren Publishing House in Hillsboro, Kansas.) During the Depression era, the Herald Publishing Company was financially dependent on the

contract which, in 1937, called for a press run of 100,000 copies per month. Many Mennonites contributed to the Defenders; Winrod spoke occasionally in Mennonite churches; and Mennonite papers advertised his meetings.[31]

In 1938 Winrod reached the peak of his political ambitions and entered the Republican primary for U.S. Senator from Kansas. He was opposed by the state and national Republican establishment in his campaign for a "Christian America" and the campaigns of his opponents featured widely publicized characterizations of Winrod as the "Jayhawk Nazi." Such charges seem to have been effective. Despite his high level of name recognition and seeming popularity as a religious speaker in a state where theological conservatism flourished, Winrod came in a weak third in the primary with 21.4 percent of the vote. Mennonite voters in Kansas were almost entirely Republican and gave an estimated 60 percent of their vote to Winrod. In West Branch township of Marion County (home of P. H. Richert) where the population was almost exclusively made up of Mennonites of Russian immigrant background, 90.2 percent of the vote went to Winrod. In general, Winrod did well in precincts where either the Mennonites or the Ku Klux Klan were influential.[32]

In September 1938, Thierstein came forth with another strong defense of Germany during the Czech crisis. He denounced Eduard Beneš, the president of Czechoslovakia, as "one of the slickest politicians that the world has had," saying "it was largely through Beneš's scheming that the new nation was carved out of the old Austro-Hungarian empire."

> Motivated by a desire for revenge against their vanquished foes rather than by reason and the sense of future good for the peoples thus ruthlessly thrown together, the allied statesmen didn't realize that the old "arch-fiend," trouble-maker through the ages [Satan], was gleefully concocting the Versailles treaty, of which this nation-making deal [Czechoslovakia] was a part. They didn't remember that there is a God in heaven who can unmake nations, at his pleasure, and who can and does make right injustices done, whenever he sees fit to do so. And does it not look as though God is using the much-hated Adolf Hitler to undo this and other injustices perpetrated by the Versailles treaty? And does it not seem providential that the man who schemed Czechoslovakia is now compelled to witness its dismemberment, for at this writing it looks as if not only the Sudeten Germans, but also the Poles, Hungarians, etc. in the crazy-quilt-like state may be given the right to return to the lands of their kinsmen.[33]

Thierstein here repeated exactly Hitler's accusations against the Czechs.

In another article on the same page, entitled "Is There No Difference?" Thierstein blamed American hatred of Germany on "Communist-Jews" and "their sinister organization." American Christians, he said, class Nazism and communism together, but there is a difference: Germany does not persecute the churches and Russia does. He went on to say that Hitler had rescued Germany from communism and the "shameful position forced upon them by the abominable treaty of Versailles." In the course of his editorial, Thierstein quoted a letter from local Mennonite leader P. H. Richert complaining that the public outcry against the German persecution of the Jews was not matched by one against Russian persecution of Christians. "Besides, for the persecution of Jews there is at least some reason (not as a race)," Richert was quoted as writing.[34]

This apparently unauthorized use of Richert's name to support Thierstein's position caused an uproar in the local Mennonite circles. Richert's statement as it appeared in Thierstein's editorial was attacked in the next issue of Bethel College's student newspaper, *The Collegian*, by Robert Kreider, one of Harshbarger's more prominent history majors. Privately, Richert attacked Harshbarger for how the matter was handled, although it is not clear why Harshbarger was singled out since he was not the faculty supervisor of the newspaper. Publicly, Thierstein had to publish a clarification from Richert in the next issue of *The Mennonite*, "What is the Scriptural Attitude toward the Jews?" Stating that "Christ was a Jew," Richert proclaimed,

> It is therefore absolutely unscriptural and unchristian to hate the Jews as a race, as Hitler does. That he should want to purge his country from bolshevistic Jews, is a different matter. Who would not give him credit for that, even if one cannot approve of the method he uses. But to persecute them as a class or race is unbiblical, and God's judgement must come for this. He who sows wind will reap storm.

Richert again complained that the persecution of Christians in Russia was ignored by the media.[35]

In seeming counterbalance to Richert's statement, Thierstein printed an article called "A Meditation" starting on the same page as the Richert response. The author was Michael M. Horsch, whom we have already met as a critic of the Kansas Institute of International Relations. Horsch claimed that America was threatened by communism, although he did not use the word. The country was becoming unstable and Christians must pray for it. Then he turned his attention to Europe.

> The German people were trembling, they know they were on the brink of an awful abyss, helpless in the hands of this evil power [communism]. God in heaven had prepared men to be instrumental in building a wall against, and staying this fearful power. This wall will hold as long as it is in line with God's dispensational plan and purpose. At present there is an equalizing justice at work in Europe. Conditions unnatural, untenable and unjust are rectified.

When it came to Germany, Horsch claimed, most Americans were victims of media propaganda.

> There are, however, those more thoughtful than the rest, who stop and think and feel there must be another side to those happenings in Europe. To these more thoughtful ones we are most grateful, for there *is* another side. Our hearts are heavy, sometimes, when we read the exaggerations of that which happens in the old home. Then we receive letters from relatives and note how they feel about conditions today. These put us at ease again and the burden is lightened.

Horsch cited reports from the Mennonites of southern Germany, his native area, and from German Methodists, to show that there was an active church life in National Socialist Germany.

> Yes, there are things in National Socialism which are not good and we do not want in America. But it is time to call attention to that which is right and good, perhaps it will cause some of us to read our papers with caution.[36]

The background to the above exchanges was the Czech crisis and the signing of the Munich agreement on 30 September 1938. Some Mennonite editorialists responded to these events in print. Menno Schrag, for example, of the independent *Mennonite Weekly Review*, expressed what was probably common American public opinion, accepting Hitler's claim to the Sudeten Germans as legitimate but condemning the idea of war over the question. Schrag praised Chamberlain for the Munich agreement and called it a victory over the forces that wanted a war: "nazism, fascism, or communism."[37] Thierstein also praised the agreement, saying God had heard the prayers of the world and averted war. He went on to analyze the crisis just passed, saying that Germany rearmed because other nations refused to disarm. He called for "spiritual rearmament" in order for the world to stop lurching from crisis to crisis. Leaders and people

"must accept into their lives Jesus Christ" in order to bring the world real peace.[38]

A month after the Munich accord, Thierstein gave E. L. Harshbarger space for what in hindsight is a remarkably insightful analysis of the Czech crisis. Harshbarger stated that European events of 1938 pointed to the end of collective security, the decline of France and the rise of Britain and Germany, the isolation of the Soviets, and the postponement (not prevention) of war. America would be drawn into any European war. He concluded by attacking his Mennonite opponents on the questions of peace and politics.

> This crisis also showed that, whatever they may say to the contrary, Mennonites are very much interested in political and social affairs. Furthermore, they have very definite convictions on such matters. Apparently we are not so sure that brotherly love can settle all disputes. At least some of our people found it agreeable to approve Hitler's display of force to gain his ends. As one friend recently put it, there wasn't anything else Hitler could do. If that is true there are many crises in which non-resistance will not work. This leads inevitably to the approval of the "new Caesarism" of force which our [Mennonite] brethren in Germany have accepted. Then non-resistance, as in Germany, shall be no more. And again, in spite of our professed religious nature and our supposed aloofness from national affairs, this crisis found Mennonites forming premature judgements on the basis of cultural prejudices just the same as unbelievers have done. It is difficult to see how a non-resistant people can consistently approve the actions of a German government which is avowedly hostile to both pacifism and democracy, even though those actions were caused by admitted injustices of the World War treaties. Two wrongs cannot make a right.

Harshbarger called for a renewed emphasis among Mennonites on peace teachings. "Peace work should become one of the major missionary activities of the church if we are to live true to our heritage."[39]

The same day that Harshbarger's article was published brought another milestone in the development of National Socialism in Germany, *Kristallnacht*. Krehbiel in the *Bundesbote* had begun to be critical of Germany in the previous year. Now, he simply reported the facts of *Kristallnacht*, saying it was hard to believe the reports but accepting them as true. The end result, Krehbiel said, would be more militarism and hatred in the world.[40]

Thierstein was apparently taken completely by surprise by the actions of the government he had been defending. He once again put forward the old charge that Americans were antagonistic towards Germany because the press was influenced by "Jewish propaganda" and by Moscow, but he was forced to admit some reluctant criticism of Germany.

> At the same time we as Christians cannot help but deplore some of the things that Germany has done. As for her Nazi government, if that suits her, we should let her try it out. But it must pain any true Christian heart to know that the country of Luther, leader in bringing true religion back again, has done things that are directly contrary to the spirit of Christianity. And now when due to the assassination of assistant ambassador to France, von Rath [sic], by a Jew another outbreak against this race has been enacted with destruction of Jewish property, imprisonment of many Jews, and decrees for their deportation, we are pained more deeply. This is all very unfortunate. We Christians sorely deplore these happenings in the fatherland and naturally ask, where will this eventually end. At the same time, it is puzzling to some of us that the American mind, so critical in the things that Germany does, has calmly looked on while for years the persecution of Christians has gone on in Russia, where thousands of people of our own faith have been murdered and the lives of many more ruined.[41]

In the next few months Thierstein continued to give mixed signals about Nazi Germany. His 31 January 1939 editorial was titled "Suggestions and Words of Caution Coming to the Editor." In it he cited two letters he had received favoring Germany–one from Kansas and one from Canada–and one letter criticizing his coverage of Germany–from Oklahoma. He concluded by saying,

> But there is such cleavage among the members of our churches in their attitude to what is going on in Germany and other parts of Europe, that it is almost impossible to say anything without treading on somebody's toes. The fact is, our American Mennonites pretty generally share the intolerant American attitude against Germany and Italy too, for that matter, because of their fascistic governments and persecution of the Jews, while brethren of our German-English churches cannot see it entirely that way. As a matter of fact our Mennonite kin in Canada are pretty much lined up on the side of Germany, because of the fact that the German government has so kindly advanced large

> sums of money to help thousands of our brethren out of the Russian inferno to Paraguay and Brazil, South America, and has now canceled the largest part of these financial obligations.[42]

In February Thierstein praised congressman Dies's Un-American Activities Committee for investigating communist influence in the Work Projects Administration and for attacking communism and fascism in general. A week later there was a confused editorial suggesting that the Jews would soon return to Palestine according to biblical prophecy and that Germany's persecution might be part of God's plan for this, but also concluding that God would punish Germany for this persecution.[43]

In the same month, Thierstein began publishing a series of articles by E. L. Harshbarger which ran intermittently until May, "History Views the Jewish Persecutions." Harshbarger gave a simple factual review of the history of anti-Semitism and concluded in his final article on 2 May that "the charges that Jews . . . created and propagated Communism, are the source of all obscene literature, stage and movie productions–are all shown to be gross and malicious exaggerations of fact." Thierstein inserted his own editorial comment after this sentence, in the middle of the article: "The statement 'created . . . fact' is altogether too sweeping."[44]

At the end of March *The Mennonite* contained an article by Adolf Friesen, a GC Mennonite pastor at Donnellson, Iowa. His article, titled "Our Choice Should Be Easy," complained of the favorable propaganda from Germany about the success of the Nazis. Friesen pointed to German militarism as the reverse side of the coin of Hitler's economic success. "In the first place Germany has met the unemployment problem, because under compulsory military and semi-military conscription more than one million men each year are withheld from the labor market." After this sentence, Thierstein inserted in parentheses, "Is this an actual fact?" Friesen called for Mennonites to reject and denounce both communism and fascism and choose American democracy.[45]

Late in May Thierstein editorialized on "The Problem of the Persecuted Jews." He stated: "The American people and the civilized nations of the world in general have generally condemned Germany's treatment of its Jews and doubtlessly with good reason." But Thierstein condemned the fact that the nations of the world were doing nothing for the Jewish refugees from Europe. The United States could easily accept thousands, he felt. The Christians of the world must do something, although Thierstein was extremely vague in his recommendations. "Yes, it is a tragedy the way these people have had to suffer, oh so long. And he is a poor Christian whose heart does not go out to them in prayer and supplication that their tribulations may come to an end, and will not otherwise lend them such help as he can."[46]

The first half of 1939 shows Thierstein apparently pressured to include more critical views of Germany in the official denominational organ, but still trying his best to see the Nazi government in the best possible light. At the same time, Krehbiel of the *Bundesbote* was almost completely silent.

The German sympathizers got a boost in mid-May 1939 with the visit of Dr. F. H. Otto Melle to Newton. Melle was bishop of the German Episcopal Methodist Church and executive secretary of the Association of German Free Churches. He had been attending "the recent Methodist uniting conference" in Kansas City[47] and was brought to Newton because of his acquaintance with John J. Kroeker. Melle was chairman of the board of the Blankenburger Allianzkonferenz, a German evangelistic organization with which Kroeker's father was also associated. Melle gave four public talks in Newton on 14 May at the First Mennonite Church and at the "Mennonite Bible Conference" (an annual event which Kroeker had founded) in the city auditorium. Among these presentations was a discussion of the current situation in Germany. Kroeker reported Melle's remarks in *The Mennonite*. Melle described National Socialism as one of the aftereffects of World War I and as not just a change of government but a "radical re-molding of a status quo ante." He admitted that Nazism had brought with it a church conflict. However, all of the church problems were the result of the ties between church and state. The government financed the church and therefore wanted to control it. Melle proclaimed that the free churches, such as the Methodists and the Mennonites, had no difficulties under the Nazi regime. The free churches were carrying on an active program of religious work.[48]

Melle was already well known for his vigorous defense of Nazism at the World Conference on Church, Community, and State (a precursor of the World Council of Churches) held at Oxford, England, in June 1937. When the Conference approved a statement denouncing racial discrimination and implying criticism of Germany, Melle gave a speech defending the German government and criticizing the Confessing Church. Kroeker had also criticized the Oxford conference in an article in the *Mennonite Weekly Review*, making various allegations about the meeting: communist sympathies, modernist theology, church meddling in "unholy" politics, censorship of conference reports, and plans to create a church dictatorship to control world politics.[49]

In June the fourth Institute of International Relations was held. Mennonite participation this time was only 31 percent of the 111 participants. In numbers, both the total attendance and Mennonite participation was the lowest so far, although the percentage of Mennonite participants was up slightly from 1938. The highlight of the 1939 institute was the appearance of Eduard Beneš, the erstwhile president of Czechoslovakia. Beneš arrived in Newton with armed bodyguards and

his public address was given in Lindley Hall (the gymnasium of the local high school) and broadcast on the radio. The speech received wide press coverage and drew a large crowd.[50]

Menno Schrag of the *Mennonite Weekly Review* was apparently the only Mennonite editor to respond in detail to the 1939 KIIR. His report was fair and generally friendly, although he did complain that Beneš's talk was given in an antipeace spirit. He praised most those lecturers who emphasized the Bible and religious conversion as ways to peace.[51]

Charges of communism swirled around the 1939 institute, especially against Beneš. E. L. Harshbarger and John J. Kroeker exchanged a series of heated articles in March and April. Harshbarger began by asking rhetorically, "Are Peace Workers Communists?" and answering in the negative. Kroeker replied with "Peace Workers Cannot be Communists," accusing many institute speakers, including Beneš, of being communist sympathizers. Harshbarger responded with "Opponents of Peace Now Aid Communists," in which he refuted Kroeker point by point and belittled Kroeker's knowledge of politics and current events. Kroeker returned with the last word, "Emotionalism Cannot Exonerate Peace Movements," in which he again attacked Harshbarger, the institute, and Beneš.[52] Menno Schrag claimed that Winrod privately denounced Beneš to the Herald Press personnel and wanted the *Mennonite Weekly Review* to run a photograph of Beneš purportedly meeting with communists while president of Czechoslovakia.[53] Another clue to the attacks on Beneš is found in a private letter written by John J. Kroeker. Kroeker was apparently in ongoing contact with the Deutsches Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart and in a 6 June 1939 letter to a Herr Hartung of the Press Section of the DAI he thanked them for an earlier shipment of literature concerning Czechoslovakia, saying that it would help greatly in his current fight against the influence of Beneš and his followers. Kroeker stated that the "fanatical efforts" to make Beneš's visit a success showed that his already-published articles on Beneš had been successful.[54]

On 3 July 1939, Kroeker left Newton to return to Germany, a trip sponsored and paid for by the DAI. He remained there until some time after World War II.[55] A news item that appeared in Newton's newspaper on 22 September 1939 reported on a minor incident that may have had something to do with Kroeker. A resolution passed that week by the city commission claimed that "persistent rumors have been in circulation for some time to the effect that certain disloyal or un-American organizations, specifically the German-American Bund, have been active in or near Newton." The resolution called on the federal Department of Justice "to make a thorough and searching investigation of such rumors with a view to bringing any possible disloyalty or un-American activity to light, or forever establishing the falsity of such rumors." The newspaper article went on to explain that "some months ago, a press dispatch with a New

York date line stated that the German-American bund [sic] boasted of an organization in Newton, Kans." Also quoted as supporting the commission resolution were the mayor, the Chamber of Commerce, and several Mennonite businessmen and college professors.[56] It is unknown whether any such investigation ever took place.[57] Menno Schrag, the editor of the local *Mennonite Weekly Review*, maintained that Kroeker was "said to be the contact man for the [German-American] Bund in this area" although he apparently was never a member of the Bund. Schrag stated he had learned from the Newton postmaster "that all his [Kroeker's] mail was checked by the postal authorities in Newton."[58] At any rate, Kroeker's departure removed a defender of Germany or, more accurately, an antagonist of those who criticized Germany, from the ongoing Mennonite discussion.

The city commission action came to Kroeker's attention in Germany as well. Kroeker's brother in Chicago reported in a letter of 8 October that almost all the people in Newton of German background were being accused in rumor. To Kroeker he wrote,

> They deny it there, but paper [sic] claims the post office had read some mail coming into that town [Newton], and had secured some information. Bunk, I think. I do think though, that she [Kroeker's wife, still in Newton] should destroy anything of a controversial nature which she might find in your newspapers and magazines. . . . if it ever appeared necessary [if the United States were to enter the war] I would get rid of that accumulated junk which I saw in your studio.

To Kroeker's wife he expressed an opinion he did not voice to his brother,

> Hitler is certainly not a guy that can be trusted to keep his word, and you can't blame the Allies for wanting to get rid of him. Too bad that the whole German people are classed as part of the Nazi Regime. I doubt if the majority of Germans like that guy.[59]

Once the war in Europe began on 1 September 1939, the attention of American Mennonites turned towards domestic politics and the possibility of legal provisions for conscientious objectors if, as seemed increasingly likely, America entered the war. Any favorable comment on Hitler and National Socialism obviously became much less acceptable. Thierstein's few comments were isolationist and critical of both sides in the European war.[60]

Mennonite Church

By and large, the discussions of National Socialism that went on among members of the Mennonite Church were much more a private matter than in the General Conference. Little was said in the pages of the *Gospel Herald*, the church's official organ. Only one MC leader, Clayton F. Derstine, spoke out extensively on National Socialism. Born in 1891 in Souderton, Pennsylvania, Derstine was a widely-known pastor and traveling evangelist in the Mennonite Church and moved to Ontario in 1924 to lead a church in Kitchener.[61] Derstine was also the "World News Editor" for the *Christian Monitor*, an MC family monthly put out by the Mennonite Publishing House in Scottdale, Pennsylvania. His column, "Comments on World News," had as its focus the impact of current events on the church and, as a dispensationalist in theology, Derstine displayed a particular interest in end-times prophecy and in finding portents of the imminent last judgement in the events of the day.

In May 1933 Derstine began with one of the continuing themes of his comments on Hitler and National Socialism in an article entitled "Hitler with his Hands on the Jew." Derstine prophesied that, although the Jews were suffering because of their refusal to accept Christ, God would punish those who persecuted them. "*Germany, beware!*" [Derstine's emphasis].[62] In November, again denouncing Jewish persecution, he took up a second major theme, the church-state struggle in Germany, and bemoaned the rise of a fascist spirit in countries around the world, including the United States and Canada.[63]

In 1934 Derstine several times protested the rise of anti-Semitism around the world and particularly in Germany, while saying that it fit in with prophecy. He also denounced Nazi attempts to control the state church in Germany, praised the Confessing Church for defending religious liberty and equated Nazism and its swastika symbol with paganism.[64] Derstine seems to have had a thoroughly American view of politics and political theory and saw clearly the dictatorial nature of Hitler's movement. His comment on Hitler's accession to the powers of the German presidency after Hindenburg's death: "Thus German democracy, which committed suicide when Hitler took the chancellorship, has now buried itself."[65]

Derstine's published opinions received a private rejoinder in early 1935 from John Horsch, a well-known MC historian, writer, and defender of religious orthodoxy. Horsch was born in Bavaria in 1867 and came to the United States in 1887 to escape military service. He became a popularizer of Mennonite history and fundamentalist theology among North American Mennonites.[66]

On 27 February 1935 Horsch wrote to Orie O. Miller, a prominent, American-born MC leader and secretary of the denomination's Peace

Problems Committee, to complain about recent Derstine articles which labelled the anti-Semitic "Protocols of Zion" forgeries and attacked Hitler's policy towards the church.[67] He was especially upset about the latter, "Hitler's Ten Commandments for the German Church." Horsch said such articles continued the anti-German propaganda of World War I and were offensive to the Mennonites of Germany. He complained of "wealthy Jews" whose propaganda had produced an American boycott against Germany. "The Christian believers of Germany are of the opinion that the old fatherland would today be Bolshevist but for Adolf Hitler. I believe they are right." Horsch sent Miller a copy of Winrod's political paper *The Revealer* and referred to articles in other periodicals giving favorable reports from American visitors to the New Germany.[68] Miller replied, "Personally, I agree with your viewpoint regarding the situation in Germany one hundred percent. I also agree that here in America we are under very strong anti-German propaganda at the present time." He promised to forward Horsch's complaints to the Peace Problems Committee.[69] Miller, born in 1892 in Indiana, was the owner of a shoe factory in Ephrata, Pennsylvania, and the executive secretary of the Mennonite Central Committee, an inter-Mennonite relief and service organization.[70]

Horsch also sent a copy of his letter to Miller to his son-in-law Harold S. Bender, a professor of history at MC-affiliated Goshen College in Goshen, Indiana. Bender was born in Elkhart, Indiana, in 1897 and received graduate training at Princeton and Heidelberg, where he earned his doctorate. He was already one of the leading Mennonite intellectual figures and his later theological and historical writings became the major intellectual influence on Mennonite ideology in the twentieth century.[71] Horsch and Bender represented two generations of Mennonite intellectuals with contrasting educational backgrounds (Horsch had no formal higher education) and two very different national traditions. They disagreed sharply. Bender forcefully replied to his father-in-law, agreeing that "any contribution our church papers, either wittingly or unwittingly might make to such propaganda, would be wrong," but suggesting that Horsch was also relying on propaganda, that of Gerald Winrod.

> I think all thinking people, even in Germany, will agree that on these two points [anti-Semitism and attempts to control the church] Hitler has made serious blunders and that he is guilty of causing great harm and loss. Aside from some minor exaggerations, is that not just what the article in the Monitor for November condemns in Hitler's program. When thousands of German pastors have risked everything, including imprisonment and confiscation of property and loss of position, to bitterly fight to the finish the church program which Hitler has set up,

> and when the great mass of the German church has proved itself to be absolutely opposed to Mueller [the Nazi church administrator appointed by Hitler], and literally millions of believing Christians have been willing to break away from the established church and set up an independent Church, is this not justification for such condemnation of Hitler's church policy as is published in the Monitor. I believe the Manifesto of the Confessional Synod against the National-Socialist philosophy and religious policy which was issued last Sunday and has led to many arrests of pastors is stronger than what appeared in the Monitor.[72]

In 1936 Derstine returned again to the theme of anti-Semitism in an article called "Clearing the Atmosphere of Anti-Jewish Slander." "The main reason for this editorial is to defend the Jews against the unjust attack that they are the main cause for *Communism* in the world." The real reason for Hitler's attack on communism, Derstine stated, was as a smoke screen for taking away the rights of the German people.[73] Horsch again complained in letters to acquaintances about Derstine's defense of the Jews. He sent copies of some of Derstine's editorials, including "Clearing the Atmosphere," to a nephew, Paul Landes, living in Germany. Landes replied in defense of the Nazi treatment of the Jews, and said Judaism was the basis for communism. According to Landes, "If, though, there should be a few 'good German Jews'–according to the Talmud this is seemingly impossible–we must nevertheless see in the Jews the destructive [*zersetzende*] race and the 'good' must suffer with the bad." He also denied Derstine's reports about the treatment of the church, saying Hitler supported Christianity and that "The [Nazi] Party is a worldview [*Weltanschauung*] and not a religion." Landes closed his letter, "Dear Uncle, I greet you from a beautiful and free Germany with 'Heil Hitler!'"[74]

Derstine continued his commentary on the war preparations of the "three aggressors," Germany, Italy, and Japan. He called both communism and fascism "the enemies of true liberty" and spoke of "three powerful evil systems of thought," religious modernism, Marxism, and fascism. "All three in their final analysis rule God, His Word, and authority out of lives and out of the universe. World order and the peace of the world are threatened by these three." Derstine described all of Europe as preparing for war, as exemplified by the civil war in Spain and the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, and even quoted Mark Twain's caustic "War Prayer."[75]

Throughout 1938 Derstine regularly wrote about Germany in his column. He decried the "insidious poison" of nationalism, the "chief rival of Christianity" in the world; he described unfavorably the entry of "Dictator Adolph [sic] Hitler" into Austria; he called on Christians to

oppose anti-Semitism and help Jewish refugees; and praised the Confessing Church for its conflict with the "powers of darkness" in Germany. As did all of the other writers examined here, Derstine praised the Munich agreement as a victory of reason over passion and called for the churches to support peace and negotiation, not rearmament.[76]

In early 1939, John Horsch demonstrated that despite his private defense of the New Germany, he still retained the capacity for critical thinking. In a series of articles in the *Mennonite Weekly Review* in January and February, Horsch vehemently defended traditional Mennonite pacifism against claims by German Mennonite writers that it was not essential to Mennonite theology and that sixteenth-century Anabaptists–the Mennonite founders–had not preached it. Horsch was particularly incensed by the article on Menno Simons in the latest installment of the *Mennonitisches Lexikon*, an encyclopedia of Mennonite history and thought being published by the German Mennonites. The article written by Christian Neff, one of the leading German Mennonite pastors, claimed that Menno Simons had approved of military service. Horsch devoted his first article, "Menno Simons on the Principle of Nonresistance," to refuting Neff, a relatively easy task. Almost the entire article was made up of quotations from Menno's writings. Said Horsch in conclusion, "It is inconceivable that any one who has read Menno Simons's writings would assert that he approved of military service."[77]

In April 1939 a new voice entered the public MC discussion. Melvin Gingerich had received his Ph.D. in history from Iowa State in 1938 and was on the faculty of Washington Junior College in Washington, Iowa. He was a Mennonite native of Iowa and later taught at Bethel College and Goshen College.[78] In the April 1939 issue of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review* an article of Gingerich's appeared titled "The Menace of Propaganda and How to Meet It."[79] The paper came from a "Mennonite Conference on Applied Non-Resistance" held that month at Goshen College, sponsored by the MC Peace Problems Committee.

According to Gingerich, we live in a world of propaganda. All sides on all issues use it and not all propaganda is necessarily dishonest. However, the propagandist tries to get his audience to accept his viewpoint uncritically and this is the danger of propaganda. Gingerich went on to discuss the methods of propaganda and to make some recommendations on how to think critically about the issues of the day. Along the way he made several pointed and direct critiques of his fellow Mennonites. He particularly complained that many Mennonites had accepted current Winrod propaganda, such as the Jewish Protocols, uncritically, and objected to the use of the accusation of "communist" in Mennonite periodicals against perceived opponents. "America is in little danger from communism. If there is any immediate danger to America, it comes from the threat of fascism." Gingerich explicitly included

Winrod among the fascist threats. He specifically attacked the *Christian Monitor* news section, although not naming Derstine, for using the "communist" label against the New Deal and the Federal Council of Churches and for citing *The Red Network*.

Gingerich called for the teaching of "propaganda analysis" in Mennonite schools and colleges:

> The writer has been surprised to find that among those in our different communities who have become Winrod disciples were people who have attended our church schools. But in no case have these individuals been history or social science majors.

He also called for greater efforts at fairness in church periodicals, making several specific recommendations, including, "When we quote we should use quotation marks and name our authorities." (Derstine was egregiously guilty of this failing.)

Gingerich's article drew private responses from Derstine, Horsch, and Winrod. Derstine protested to Harold S. Bender, the editor of the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, and criticized him for publishing Gingerich's article. He complained that Gingerich had praised modernists and called the article propaganda itself.[80] Horsch also wrote to his son-in-law to complain. These kinds of attacks struck a sensitive nerve with Bender. The *Mennonite Quarterly Review* was his major vehicle for the theological renewal movement of which he was the leading figure and he did not take this criticism lightly. He offered his father-in-law the opportunity for rebuttal in the journal but sharply defended Gingerich, accusing Horsch of saying things "so patently an untruth that no thinking man credits it as anything but propaganda."[81]

Winrod contacted his Herald Press acquaintances asking about an article in *Mennonite Quarterly Review* he thought was "Jewish inspired." Reportedly, he threatened the journal with a lawsuit over Gingerich's article. Nothing seems to have come of this threat.[82]

Derstine was unaffected by any of the private controversy. He continued with his defense of the Jews and criticism of Germany through the early years of the war. In 1939 as the war appeared more imminent, he mentioned end-times prophecy more and more frequently. Once the war actually began, Derstine blamed Hitler personally and Nazi Germany collectively for it.[83]

Conclusions

The American Mennonite encounter with National Socialism shows considerable ambiguity. No American Mennonites seem to have spoken out forthrightly to advocate Hitler and Nazism. Those who sympathized

were always defending the New Germany in reaction to what they perceived as unfair criticism.

The most important theme in American Mennonite discussions of National Socialism was anti-communism. A few, such as Kroeker and Krehbiel, had personal experience with Bolshevism in the Soviet Union. It is also possible that John Horsch and Michael Horsch had heard from relatives about the brief soviet government in Bavaria, their native region, after World War I. In general, Mennonites were well aware of the severe persecution of Russian Mennonites by the new Soviet Union. Anti-Semitic statements grew out of this anti-communism, rather than from racial or religious grounds. Mennonites were willing to countenance persecution of "Jews who were reds." Some, such as Richert, could condemn racial anti-Semitism, but Derstine was unusual in explicitly denouncing the equation of Jews and communism.

The influence of American fundamentalism was also important. Most Mennonites seem to have accepted the social and political ideas that came along with conservative religion from the likes of Winrod. Common Mennonite opinion seems to have been that as long as the church was free to proselytize, nothing else mattered. This was the clear difference between Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. American Mennonites received optimistic and cheerful letters from German Mennonites while Russian Mennonites were being sent off to concentration camps in Siberia. The treatment of the Confessing Church raised a warning flag for some, such as Krehbiel, but Mennonites had less sympathy for the state churches than for the free churches like themselves. The connection of current events with end-times prophecy also distanced Mennonites from social responsibility. The problems of the world were merely evidence of approaching judgment, not situations the Mennonites should work to remedy.

The German-American experience in World War I probably played an unspoken role in the Mennonite response to National Socialism. Mennonites were victims of persecution in 1917 and 1918 as both ethnic Germans and pacifists. This may have made some of them more defensive by the 1930s when Germany again became an object of criticism. The frequent *ad hominem* use of the term "propaganda" reflects this. For Thierstein especially, as a professor of German, the World War I years might have been difficult. The influence of this factor must remain speculative as yet; more evidence is needed.

Distinctive Mennonite principles seem to have played little role. Only a few tied pacifism to thinking about the New Germany (Harshbarger, Gingerich). John Horsch did not seem to extrapolate from Mennonite pacifism to a critique of Nazism. Again, the treatment of the Confessing Church touched on the traditional Mennonite objection to state interference in the church and led to some doubts (Krehbiel, Derstine).

American political ideals were probably as influential as Mennonite distinctives as a stimulus to critical understanding of National Socialism.

The entire American Mennonite discussion of Nazism was in some ways rather academic, since direct contacts with the New Germany itself were very meager. Only one probable party member of Mennonite background living in the United States has been found, a man living in California away from any large Mennonite communities.[84] John J. Kroeker was apparently the only person mentioned here who actively kept up a connection with the DAI. Editors such as C. E. Krehbiel probably received DAI material unsolicited, at least at first, since it was part of the DAI's task to follow the German-language press around the world.[85] Even the use of the DAI's material in the *Bundesbote* may not have had great significance, since it was probably difficult for the editor to find relevant articles to fill up a paper with such a limited readership. The DAI material may have been welcome filler.

This essay has given only a brief overview of an important encounter in German-American religious history. This account could be broadened in several ways: the response of the third large Mennonite denomination, the Mennonite Brethren, needs to be examined; other Mennonite periodicals could be surveyed for opinions on Nazism; the personal papers of various Mennonites mentioned in this paper could be more carefully examined; and comparisons with Mennonites in other countries and with other German-American groups could be made.

It is clear that the issue of National Socialism received a more thorough airing among the General Conference Mennonites than in the Mennonite Church. There was at least some tolerance for the public views of someone like Thierstein. His own statements imply, though, that he was on the defensive. There were limits to this tolerance and these limits narrowed as the decade of the 1930s progressed. It is likely that the majority of Mennonites' opinions paralleled Derstine's more than Thierstein's. The American Mennonite encounter with Nazism is an interesting example of the failure of National Socialism to appeal to a German ethnic group outside of Europe.

Bethel College
North Newton, Kansas

Notes

[1] Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[2] Two previously published works deal with somewhat the same topic. William E. Nawyn, *American Protestantism's Response to Germany's Jews and Refugees, 1933-1941* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1981) contains a chapter on Mennonites. A similar work is

Jack R. Fischel, "The North American Mennonites Response to Hitler's Persecution of the Jews," *Holocaust Studies Annual* (Greenwood, FL: Penkevill Publishing Co.), 2 (1984): 141-54. Each volume of *Holocaust Studies Annual* also has a distinctive title, in this case *The Churches' Response to the Holocaust*. Both Nawyn and Fischel are concerned specifically with Mennonite response to Nazi persecution of the Jews, rather than with the broader question of the Mennonite response to Nazism more generally.

[3] In Mennonite literature these three groups are usually abbreviated MC, GC, and MB, respectively. I will use these abbreviations in the rest of this essay.

[4] United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies: 1936*, vol. 2, part 2, *Denominations K to Z: Statistics, History, Doctrine, Organization, and Work* (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1941), 1005.

[5] A. Warkentin, ed., *Who's Who among the Mennonites* (n.p., 1937), 56.

[6] S. M. Grubb, "Editorial," *The Mennonite*, 13 April 1933, 1-2.

[7] Edmund G. Kaufman, compiler, *General Conference Mennonite Pioneers* (North Newton, KS: Bethel College, 1973), 365-70.

[8] C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 18 April 1933, 247.

[9] C. E. Krehbiel, "Die deutsche Revolution," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 2 May 1933, 266-67.

[10] In passing, Krehbiel reported with approval on the measures taken against Freemasonry by Hitler and Mussolini. C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 9 May 1933, 295. The anti-Masonic theme was apparently never mentioned elsewhere in Mennonite discussion of Nazism, but should have been of some interest to Mennonites. Traditional Mennonite doctrine discouraged a church member's participation in any club or social organization other than the church. This doctrine was most strongly emphasized in connection with Freemasonry and other secret societies. During the 1930s, this doctrine was being questioned by some segments of the General Conference, particularly in the eastern states, and led to some sharply controversial discussions in official conference meetings. It is unknown why Krehbiel was the only one to notice the Nazi viewpoint on Freemasonry and why he gave it so little prominence.

[11] C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 8 August 1933, 479; C. E. Krehbiel, "Der Deutsche, das Ausland und der Antichrist," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 17 October 1933, 627-28.

[12] Carl Stiefel, "Zur Judenfrage," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 9 October 1934, 613-15. The *Apologete* is identified as a German Methodist periodical in John R. Thierstein, "Suggestions and Words of Caution Coming to the Editor," *The Mennonite*, 31 January 1939, 1.

[13] David Toews, "Einige Reiseeindrücke," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 29 September 1936, 617-19; and 6 October 1936, 629-31.

[14] Theodore W. Loewen, "Mennonite Pacifism: The Kansas Institute of International Relations" (Social Science Seminar paper, Bethel College, 1971), 1-14; James C. Juhnke, *A People of Two Kingdoms: The Political Acculturation of the Kansas Mennonites* (Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1975), 130-31.

[15] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 130; Mark Unruh, "E. L. Harshbarger: Mennonite Activist" (Social Science Seminar paper, Bethel College, 1982), 1-11.

[16] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 132; Loewen, "Mennonite Pacifism," 5-6.

[17] Obituary of John Jacob Kroeker, folder 228 "Obituaries," box 6, Arnold Epp papers, MLA-MS-172, Mennonite Library and Archives (hereafter MLA), North Newton, Kansas.

[18] John J. Kroeker, "International Relations and Our Denomination," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 16 June 1937, 6.

[19] John J. Kroeker to H. E. Suderman, 15, 20, and 21 March 1937, folder 351 "Kansas Institute of International Relations 1935-1937," box 22, E. G. Kaufman presidential papers, Bethel College record group, MLA.III.1.A.1.g. Elizabeth Dilling, *The Red Network: A Who's Who and Handbook of Radicalism for Patriots* (Kenilworth, IL: author, 1935). Dilling was the author of several other widely circulated far-right and anti-Semitic books.

[20] Warkentin, *Who's Who*, 72.

[21] Kaufman, *Pioneers*, 391-98. For Richert's Winrod contacts see, for example, form letters from Winrod to supporters in folder 58 "General correspondence 1934, January-April" and folder 59 "General correspondence 1934, May-August," box 9, and folder 64 "General correspondence 1937," box 10, P. H. Richert papers, MLA.MS.16.

[22] Michael M. Horsch to P. H. Richert, 17 May 1937, folder 64, Richert papers.

[23] C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 29 June 1937, 415-16.

[24] C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 13 July 1937, 432; C. E. Krehbiel, "Propaganda," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 3 August 1937, 467.

[25] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 142.

[26] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 142; Kaufman, *Pioneers*, 284-291.

[27] John R. Thierstein, "Americans Adept Faultfinders," *The Mennonite*, 23 August 1937, 2.

[28] Later in the year, for example, he recommended to readers a letter from J. R. Mott of the Federal Council of Churches appealing for money for relief to China, Spain, and "Christian German" refugees. J. R. Mott, "An Appeal to American Christians to Help the Distressed," *The Mennonite*, 14 December 1937, 5.

[29] The best biography of Winrod is contained in several sections of Leo P. Ribuffo, *The Old Christian Right: The Protestant Far Right from the Great Depression to the Cold War* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983).

[30] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 139.

[31] Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 138-40; Melvin Gingerich, *The Christian and Revolution* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1968), 133-35; James Schrag, "Gerald Burton Winrod: The Defender" (Social Science Seminar paper, Bethel College, 1966), 11, 38-40. In October 1937, for example, the *Mennonite Weekly Review* announced a series of meetings in Newton led by Winrod on the topic of "Communism and the Prophetic Destiny of the United States." "Arrange Bible Conference Here," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 27 October 1937, 2.

[32] Ribuffo, *Christian Right*, 119-24; Juhnke, *Two Kingdoms*, 140; James Schrag, "Winrod," 23-32.

[33] John R. Thierstein, "God Still Directs Human Affairs," *The Mennonite*, 27 September 1938, 2.

[34] John R. Thierstein, "Is There No Difference?" *The Mennonite*, 27 September 1938, 1-2.

[35] P. H. Richert, "What is the Scriptural Attitude toward the Jews?" *The Mennonite*, 4 October 1938, 4-5; Robert Kreider and Robert Regier, "There Is No Difference," *Bethel Collegian*, 29 September 1939, 4.

[36] Michael Horsch, "A Meditation," *The Mennonite*, 4 October 1938, 5-6.

[37] Menno Schrag, "War Symptoms," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 14 September 1938, 5; "The World Will Remember Chamberlain," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 21 September 1938, 5; "The World Crisis and the Kansas Press," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 21 September 1938, 5; "Days of Anxious Waiting," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 28 September 1938, 5; "A War Which Was Won," *Mennonite Weekly Review* 12 October 1938, 5.

[38] John R. Thierstein, "Fear-Prayer," *The Mennonite*, 11 October 1938, 1; "A New Kind of Rearmament Needed," *The Mennonite*, 18 October 1938, 1.

[39] E. L. Harshbarger, "Out of the Czech Crisis," *The Mennonite*, 8 November 1938, 2.

[40] C. E. Krehbiel, "Daheim und Draußen," *Christlicher Bundesbote*, 22 November 1938, 718-20.

[41] John R. Thierstein, "An Unfortunate Situation," *The Mennonite*, 29 November 1938, 1.

[42] John R. Thierstein, "Suggestions and Words of Caution Coming to the Editor," *The Mennonite*, 31 January 1939, 1.

[43] John R. Thierstein, "Dies, A Real Patriot," *The Mennonite*, 14 February 1939, 1; "No Room in the Inn," *The Mennonite*, 21 February 1939, 1.

[44] E. L. Harshbarger, "History Views the Jewish Persecutions," *The Mennonite*, 14 February 1939, 2; 21 February 1939, 3-4; 28 February 1939, 3-4; 7 March 1939, 4-5; 14 March 1939, 8-9; 25 April 1939, 5-6; 2 May 1939, 1-2.

[45] Adolf Friesen, "Our Choice Should Be Easy," *The Mennonite*, 28 March 1939, 3-4. Friesen is unidentified in the article, but is listed as the Donnellson, Iowa, pastor in *Year Book of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America* 1939, 47.

[46] John R. Thierstein, "The Problem of the Persecuted Jews," *The Mennonite*, 30 May 1939, 2.

[47] This conference brought the unification of the Northern and Southern Methodists and the smaller Protestant Methodist Church. See Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), 921.

[48] John R. Thierstein, "A German Bishop Speaks to Mennonites," *The Mennonite*, 23 May 1939, 3-4; John J. Kroeker, "An Internationally Renowned Christian of Germany," *The Mennonite*, 23 May 1939, 4-5.

[49] Ernst Christian Helmreich, *The German Churches under Hitler: Background, Struggle, and Epilogue* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1979), 224-27; John J. Kroeker, "Modernism Building a World Council of Churches," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 13 October 1937, 4; 27 October 1937, 2.

[50] Loewen, "Mennonite Pacifism," 18-21; Menno Schrag, "The Kansas Institute of International Relations," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 21 June 1939, 6.

[51] Menno Schrag, "Institute," 6.

[52] E. L. Harshbarger, "Are Peace Workers Communists?" *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 29 March 1939, 3; John J. Kroeker, "Peace Workers Cannot be Communists," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 5 April 1939, 5; Harshbarger, "Opponents of Peace Now Aid Communists," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 12 April 1939, 2; Kroeker, "Emotionalism Cannot Exonerate Peace Movements," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 19 April 1939, 6. The editor's notes at the beginning of each of these articles indicate that Menno Schrag was clearly uncomfortable with the heated controversy.

[53] Loewen, "Mennonite Pacifism," 17.

[54] John J. Kroeker to Hartung, 6 June 1939. Some of Kroeker's personal papers are in my possession. The vast majority of his surviving documents, however, are in the hands of his family and were unavailable for this paper.

[55] Interview with Menno Schrag, 1 March 1982, Newton, Kansas.

[56] "Seek Federal Investigation," *Evening Kansan-Republican*, 22 September 1939. I have been unable to locate the "New York date line" item mentioned in the article. This incident seems to have played a part in ending the KIIR. The KIIR was held at Bethel College again in 1940 with continuing support from the town Chamber of Commerce. The 1940 session had the highest overall attendance ever, 149, but the lowest Mennonite attendance of any of the sessions, 30 (20% of the total). After 1940, however, the institute was moved to Friends University in Wichita. The college administration apparently feared alienating the conservative part of its Mennonite constituency, represented by the criticisms of Kroeker, Krehbiel, Schrag, and others. They also feared that the pro-German overtones generated by critics of the institute would put Mennonites in general in a bad light with the non-Mennonite public. The article in the *Kansan* seems to exemplify this. Loewen, "Mennonite Pacifism," 22, 24-29; Mark Unruh, "E. G. Kaufman and the Kansas Institute of International Relations" (student paper, Wichita State University, 1990), 25-30. A copy of Unruh's paper can be found at the MLA.

[57] A Freedom of Information Act request to the FBI produced no records related to any such investigation.

[58] James Schrag, "Winrod," 28-29. Menno Schrag also related Kroeker's connections with Winrod. Schrag was in a position to know both men through his editorial work on the Mennonite newspaper and his company's printing contract with Winrod. Kroeker was acquainted with Winrod and was an occasional writer for Winrod's publications, often under pseudonyms. According to Schrag, Kroeker also knew some American far-right and anti-Semitic figures such as George E. Deatherage and Elizabeth Dilling and may have served as an occasional contact person between Winrod and such figures. [Deatherage and Dilling

were both accused along with Winrod in a mass sedition trial in 1944. See John D. Waltner, "Gerald B. Winrod and the Washington, D.C., Mass Sedition Trial of 1944" (student paper, Bethel College, 1968), 134.] Schrag reported that Winrod once gave Kroeker $100 through Schrag to attend a meeting in Kansas City of "far rightist sympathizers," people with whom Winrod did not want to have open contact. Apparently this meeting produced no results for Winrod because Kroeker's alcoholism caused him to be an ineffective representative. One other fragment offered by Schrag is a story that a shortwave radio was offered to Bethel College so that students could listen to Hitler's speeches. Kroeker was accused of being behind this and the FBI was called in. They opened Kroeker's mail and looked through his trash.

[59] Nick Kroeker to family, 8 October 1939, John J. Kroeker papers.

[60] In October he proclaimed that, since the downfall of Poland, no war was really being fought and there would probably be an armistice. Europe "has sinned terribly with its continual warfare, murder and injustice" and Christians should pray that God will hold off his punishment of Europe in war. He also published an article by William H. Stauffer, the GC pastor in Sugarcreek, Ohio, that was sharply critical of Americans who favored aid to the Allies. "This is a European war; and it is none of our business except to stay out. I saw something of Hitler's abominable party machine. And certainly no one in his right mind can defend that. But I also know something of English Politics and History." England was acting in its own interests, not to defend Poland. America's "great moral responsibility" is to stay out of the war. In November Thierstein again stated his skepticism about the veracity and sincerity of Hitler, Chamberlain, and Daladier and claimed that anti-war sentiment was growing in all three countries. John R. Thierstein, "The War That Nobody Wants," *The Mennonite*, 17 October 1939, 13; William H. Stauffer, "Neutral Also in Thought," *The Mennonite*, 24 October 1939, 4-5; John R. Thierstein, "A Hide-and-Seek Game," *The Mennonite*, 7 November 1939, 13. Stauffer is listed as the Sugarcreek, Ohio, pastor in *Year Book of the General Conference of the Mennonite Church of North America* 1939, 47.

[61] Lorna L. Bergey, "Derstine, Clayton Freed," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1990), 5:226-27.

[62] C. F. Derstine, "Hitler with his Hands on the Jew," *Christian Monitor*, May 1933, 159.

[63] C. F. Derstine, "Fascism–Friend or Foe–Which?" *Christian Monitor*, October 1933, 318.

[64] C. F. Derstine, "Impressions of the Nazi Regime and Its Effect on the Churches," *Christian Monitor*, January 1934, 31; "A Glimpse at the World-Wide Growth of Anti-Semitism," *Christian Monitor*, July 1934, 222-23; "Hitler's Ten Commandments for the German Church," *Christian Monitor*, November 1934, 351.

[65] C. F. Derstine, "Hitler Starts Life Job as German Caesar," *Christian Monitor*, October 1934, 318.

[66] Harold S. Bender, "Horsch, John," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Scottdale, PA: Mennonite Publishing House, 1956), 2:814-15.

[67] Derstine, "Hitler's Ten Commandments;" and "World Jewry Today–and the Protocols," *Christian Monitor*, February 1935, 62-63, reprinted in *Gospel Herald*, 28 February 1935, 1014-15.

[68] John Horsch to Orie O. Miller, 27 February 1935, folder "Correspondence 1930-1937," box 51, Peace Problems Committee papers, AMC-I-3-S.10, Archives of the Mennonite Church (hereafter AMC), Goshen, Indiana.

[69] Orie O. Miller to John Horsch, 2 March 1935, folder "Correspondence 1935 H-Z," box 6, John Horsch papers, AMC-Hist. Mss. 1-8.

[70] John M. Bender, "Miller, Orie O.," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 5:588-589.

[71] Leonard Gross, "Bender, Harold Stauffer," *The Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 5:66-67.

[72] Harold S. Bender to John Horsch, 9 March 1935, folder "Correspondence 1935 A-G," box 6, John Horsch papers, AMC.

[73] C. F. Derstine, "Clearing the Atmosphere of Anti-Jewish Slander," *Christian Monitor*, April 1936, 126.

[74] Paul Landes to John Horsch, 21 July 1936, John Horsch papers, AMC.

[75] C. F. Derstine, "Is Europe Marching Back to 1914?" *Christian Monitor*, June 1936, 191; "Our Testimony and a Wartorn World," *Christian Monitor*, August 1936, 254-55; "The Threatening European Cataclysm," *Christian Monitor*, September 1936, 287-88; "The Showdown Between Marxism and Fascism," *Christian Monitor*, October 1936, 318.

[76] C. F. Derstine, "Nationalism the Supreme Rival of Christianity," *Christian Monitor*, February 1938, 61-62; "Hitler's Triumphant Entry into His Native Austria," *Christian Monitor*, April 1938, 126; "European Jewry in Distress," *Christian Monitor*, July 1938, 226-27; "The Imprisonment of Pastor Niemuller [sic]," *Christian Monitor*, July 1938, 227; "The Four Grim, Deadly Horsemen Halted in Europe," *Christian Monitor*, November 1938, 353-54.

[77] John Horsch, "Menno Simons on the Principle of Nonresistance," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 18 January 1939, 6; "The Position of the Early Mennonites as Regards the Principle of Nonresistance," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 25 January 1939, 5, and 1 February 1939, 4; "The Christian Conscience against War," *Mennonite Weekly Review*, 22 February 1939, 4, and 1 March 1939, 4; Christian Neff, "Menno Simons," *Mennonitisches Lexikon* (Karlsruhe: Heinrich Schneider, 1958), 3:77-90. Although volume 3 of the *Lexikon* is dated 1958, it actually came out in smaller installments (*Lieferungen*); the one containing the Menno Simons article appeared in 1938.

[78] A. Warkentin and Melvin Gingerich, *Who's Who among the Mennonites* (North Newton, KS: Bethel College Press, 1943), 82.

[79] Melvin Gingerich, "The Menace of Propaganda and How to Meet It," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 13 (April 1939): 123-34.

[80] C. F. Derstine to Harold S. Bender, 24 July 1939, file 1 "Derstine, C. F.," box 16, Harold S. Bender Papers, AMC-Hist.Mss. 1-278.

[81] Harold S. Bender to John Horsch, 22 July 1939, file 6 "Horsch, John," box 18, Harold S. Bender papers, AMC.

[82] James Schrag, "Winrod," 40; Gingerich, *Christian and Revolution*, 134.

[83] C. F. Derstine, "Jehovah's Judgments on Jew Jingo Nations," *Christian Monitor*, January 1939, 30; "The Climb of Stalin and Hitler to European Power," *Christian Monitor*, April 1939, 126-27; "The Lull in the European Storm," *Christian Monitor*, July 1939, 222-23; "The Christian Attitude in the Rising Tide of Anti-Semitism," *Christian Monitor*, September 1939, 286-87; "The Royal Words of Hope for Our War-Torn World," *Christian Monitor*, October 1939, 319; "War–Its Aim: To Stop One Man's March to Power," *Christian Monitor*, October 1939, 315, 319-20; "World War No. II Proves the Bible to Be True," *Christian Monitor*, May 1942, 158-59; "The Great Controversy between Christ and Antichrist," *Christian Monitor*, October 1942, 318-20.

[84] In 1946 the Subcommittee on War Mobilization of the Committee on Military Affairs of the U.S. Senate printed a set of Nazi party membership records recovered from a paper mill in Munich in 1945 by the U.S. Army, listing party members outside of Germany and Austria. It is, of course, impossible to tell with certainty who on the list might be a Mennonite or former Mennonite, but some clues can be found by surname and birthplace. The only name listed for the United States that looks like a probable Mennonite is Johann J. Janzen of Glendale, California. Janzen is listed as having been born at "Landgut Tamak" on 24 February 1881. Tokmak (for which Tamak is probably a misspelling) was a Ukrainian village on the edge of one the largest Mennonite settlements in southern Russia in the nineteenth century. Janzen is listed as being a farmer, residing at 431 West Doran Street, having joined the party on 1 March 1935, with a membership number of 3,603,956. There were a number of Mennonite churches in Los Angeles but nothing further is known about Janzen. *Nazi Party Membership Records, Submitted by the War Department to the Subcommittee on War Mobilization of the Committee on Military Affairs, United States Senate, March, 1946, Part I.* Senate, 79th Cong., 2d sess., Subcommittee Print. (Washington, DC: United States Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. v, 7. See also *Part II*, August 1946, p. vii.

Nazi party membership was officially restricted to German citizens, so this makes it somewhat unlikely that any of the other Mennonites named in this paper were party members. None of the American Mennonites mentioned, even the ones born in Germany, was a German citizen as far as is known. Nazi party membership records are not necessarily complete or accurate.

[85] One interesting case concerning the DAI's attention to German-related publications deserves some corrective analysis. It is reported in a rather poorly written study by Arthur H. Smith, *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States*. Smith's main concern is with the activities of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut in the United States and he reports one concrete incident seemingly connected with Mennonites. The German Embassy in Washington informed the DAI in early 1937 about "a young Pennsylvania German Mennonite," John Joseph Stoudt, who had written a book about how "the early German sects in Pennsylvania actually sought a 'Third Reich' in their new homeland." The embassy apparently urged the DAI to get in touch with Stoudt to help promote his book and invite him to visit Germany. [Arthur L. Smith, Jr. *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany and the United States* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1965), 39.]

Smith did not investigate this matter, but merely reported it as above. On further investigation, it seems to be an example of laughable ignorance and incompetence on the part of the German Embassy or the DAI. Stoudt's work was a publication of the Pennsylvania German Folklore Society and was concerned with flower symbolism in Pennsylvania German folk art. The book apparently came to the Embassy's attention on account of Stoudt's unfortunate use of a number of Nazi buzzwords. Stoudt, however, seems to have been unaware of their Nazi meanings and used them with a non-political content. For example, he used the expression "Drittes Reich" not to refer to the New Germany but to the idea of the third age of the world in the thought of medieval mystic Joachim of Fiore, to whom Stoudt credited some of the themes in Pennsylvania German folk art. A number of times he used the German word "Führer" but always with the simple meaning of "leader" and never in a way that could be construed to refer to Hitler. At one place Stoudt used the expression "S-S" when describing the shape of the handles in a drawing of an urn. Of course, in discussing folk art, he frequently used the words "folk," "folklore," and even occasionally "folk soul." Although evidencing pride in his German cultural heritage, Stoudt never expressed opinions in his book that could be construed as sympathetic to Nazism. [John Joseph Stoudt, *Consider the Lilies, How They Grow: An Interpretation of the Symbolism of Pennsylvania German Art* (N.p., Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, 1937). "Drittes Reich" on 68, "S-S handles" on 74, "Führer" on 95, 104, 123, 146.] Presumably someone associated with the Embassy–someone with only a limited knowledge of English–read the book and was misled by the apparent use of these Nazi catch-phrases.

In addition to this, Stoudt was not a Mennonite, although he probably had Mennonite ancestry. He was in fact ordained in 1936 in the Evangelical and Reformed Church. His 1937 book did not mention the Mennonites. Stoudt was an army chaplain during World War II and later became a professor of religious history in various Pennsylvania colleges and universities. He specialized in Pennsylvania German studies and was a prolific writer on Pennsylvania German or Pennsylvania Dutch folklore into the 1970s. [*Contemporary Authors* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1975), 49-52:527-28.] This seems to be basically a case of the DAI grasping at straws to find American Nazi sympathizers.

Book Reviews

Edited by Jerry Glenn
University of Cincinnati

Review Essay: Belles Lettres 1991-92

Hier: Auf der Erde.
By Irmgard Elsner Hunt. Deutschschreibende Autoren in Nordamerika, vol. 3. Vermillion, SD: University of South Dakota, 1991. 55 pages. $5.00.

KPHTH: fertile and full of grace.
By Lisa Kahn. Trans. by Edna Brown and Peter Kahn. New York: Mellen Poetry Press. 1992. 58 pages. $9.95.

Augenzeugnisse: 25 Gedichte angeregt durch Skulpturen des Wilhelm-Lehmbruck-Museums Duisburg.
By Margot Scharpenberg. Duisburg: Gilles & Francke. 1991. 108 pages.

Ein Sprung im Schweigen: Gedichte und Zyklen.
By Richard Exner. Stuttgart: Radius. 1992. 155 pages. DM 24.00.

Hier, a collection of fifteen stories, reflects a wide range of experiences and perspectives of people living in a culturally diverse America. Major themes include: memories of frequent journeys between continents, the profound effects of writing in isolation, and the complex nature of woman and friendship. Central to Hunt's collection is a close observation of human behavior in two different cultures. It is interesting to explore how the form and meaning of her narrative vignettes are affected by her complex situation–that of an East-European who lived for over twenty-eight years in the United States and who writes in German.

The narratives twine together current events in Eastern Europe, Germany, and the United States with the author's most personal memories–of her Polish grandfather, a prominent writer in Germany; of her absent father; of her siblings; of her close friends who accompany her own path through life. Although a personal book, *Hier* is also an account of the immigration experience and the political issues of justice, gender, and language. The narrative voice has the same power when it speaks about "West German Chauvinism," "Eastern European Drama," the execution of mass murderer Ted Bundy. The reader hears the voice of a woman who has a clear vision of what life should be and is not afraid of giving the reader her elegant solution to human cruelty in the world: affection, tenderness, fondness.

The temporal and spatial reference in the title is central. *Hier* appears frequently throughout the stories and very specifically refers to the author's newly chosen country. She now lives in the small town of Fort Collins, Colorado, and therefore America becomes the point of reference. The forty-eight-year-old Elsner Hunt was born in Hirschberg (Silesia) and chose in 1964 to make the United States her new home. It was not until seventeen years after coming to America that her first collection of poetry, *Schwebeworte* (1981), was published. She has also established a reputation as a literary scholar.

It is not surprising that only two of the stories do not reflect the American experience. Since America was not an exile country or asylum for her, she was able to view this country and its people in a more favorable light than many exile authors. The American social reality is an important theme in Hunt's work. The reader receives a picture of everyday life in a small American city in an immediate context and usually from two different perspectives: in "Brief an einen Freund, den Maler K." (12), she achieves this double perspective by contrasting the one thing that is most apparent for any first-time visitor to North America–the incredible distances–with the perception in Germany.

Throughout the collection the polarities are subtly developed geographically, here (United States) and there (Europe), from North (Alaska) and South (Toscana, South Carolina) to East (Poland, former East Germany). A picture is painted in the reader's eye recreating the beauties of the American "soul and body landscape" ("Körper- und Seelschaften," 16). References to specific locations abound, evoking the flavor of Midwestern cities and the lives of average people there. Many short stories are interspersed with English, mostly phrases ("no plumbing," 14; "We'll keep you posted," 26; "far out west," 34) and colloquial speech ("Come on, let's hear the old record again," 38; "Honey," 35) which help create an authentic tone and rhythm. The reader enjoys the familiarity the author has with certain American customs and smiles at the playfulness with which some differences are expressed: "In Amerika wird ein

Christbaum Anfang Dezember oder noch früher (um Thanksgiving) aufgebaut und sofort nach Weihnachten abgeräumt und hinausgeschmissen. Die Frau wird den Baum ins *Seattle Engineering Department* fahren, wo er kleingeschnetzelt auf Baumfarmen zurückgebracht wird" ("Jahresende: Summa," 49).

A warm, familiar tone–as if a caring voice speaks directly to the reader–is prevalent throughout the collection. In "My Darling Julia" (41) a woman copies a love letter from a man who is writing it on a plane; she changes the words and invents new ones to fit a letter addressed to a man and translates the plagiarized love letter into German. The importance of language and writing is a recurrent theme throughout the collection. What hardships does a German-writing woman in America face? In a playful and humorous way she "curses" German language classes which might have enabled one to understand German. Actually she makes a plea for the necessity of German instruction in America ("Sie können nicht erahnen, welche Vorteile das Deutschlernen Ihnen bringt!" 43).

Besides being entertaining short stories in their own right, many of Hunt's narratives could serve as motivational reading examples in intermediate and advanced German classes. The directness and simplicity of language and the choice of subject matter (American lives and customs seen through a European filter) make these stories excellent tools for learning, and starting points for an analytical look at some differences.

Although critical towards some aspects of American life, Hunt never displays any anti-Americanism or German chauvinism. The strengths of the entire collection are perhaps best illustrated in "Brief an meinen Großvater K.," where she reflects on German unification through her "Americanized" perspective: "Vereinigung, Großvater, neu oder wieder? Deutschdeutscher Staat, demokratisches Polen daneben? Ich fände es schön, ästhetisch schön. Dies Schmerzhafte, Aberwitzige überwunden fände ich schön! Es unterstelle mir, die ich ein Vierteljahrhundert in Amerika lebe, keiner einen deutschen Nationalismus. Kein Patriotismus. Was die sind, weiß ich nicht. Die reine Ästhetik. Die kenn ich. Was schön ist, das weiß ich!" (32).

Hunt's picture of America is created with a German-speaking audience in mind, concentrating on specific American social and political values. The stories are also written with the purpose of illustrating different aspects of German-American daily life (of an educated middle-class woman writer) and of describing the inner growth achieved by the "immigration" process. Drawbacks of not knowing German are humorously dealt with ("My Darling Julia"), but humor cannot remove the pain caused by cruel human behavior.

The last story, appropriately called "Unfertiges Kapitel," emphasizes one of the characteristic aspects of short stories, open-endedness. A number of political and social issues in American society are mentioned:

freedom of speech, the right to burn the flag, freedom of women to retain control over their bodies, and freedom of expression. Suddenly, the American landscape becomes as desolate and dreary as the environment in which the speaker lives. The destructive image of a burnt land points towards the dark realities in American society. The reader is left with an unsettling view of contemporary America: "Verbrannt. Wer dort leben will dörrt aus verarmt. Wird karg liegt brach wie das braune Land" (55). The narrative voice observes these occurrences skeptically, but with personal concern: "Ich bin im heißen Land gewesen und habe es zitternd gesehen: es brennt" (54).

These last lines place Hunt in the spiritual company of Heinrich Böll, whom she mentions in the motto of the collection. She offers a wide enough range in her short stories to attract a large audience of German-American scholars, foreign-language teachers, students, and anyone interested in the perceptive and pointed prose of a German-American woman who writes about contemporary America.

Lisa Kahn, another well-known German-American author, now even captures an audience who knows little German but shares an interest in German-American poetry. Her book of fifty-two poems in German, *KPHTH: fruchtbar und anmutsvoll* (1988) appears now in an English translation by Edna Brown and Peter Kahn, *KPHTH: fertile and full of grace* (1992). The adjectives, taken from Homer, describe the Greek island. This poetic cycle becomes at times a modern travel guide through ancient Greece, where hordes of tourists (often German and American) can be found. In many cases, the English translations are accurate and elegant and one senses that they were closely scrutinized and re-drafted several times. At times, however, one wishes that the poet herself participated in the translation process, reviewing the German version, revising the translations, and suggesting improvements. The musicality of the original German poems, the familiar rhythm of phrases seem to be lacking in a few translated poems. Translating poetry can be a complicated and risky enterprise when translators attempt to capture the original tone, the poet's own characteristic style of speech. This edition of poetry could benefit from a side-by-side by presentation of the original poem facing the English translation. Nevertheless, this translation will be welcomed for courses in German-American literature and in German language classes.

Margot Scharpenberg, like Lisa Kahn, is one of the most widely published contemporary women authors (both have had books published in Germany) who live in the United States and write German poetry. Born and raised in Cologne, she moved to New York in 1962. Since 1957 she has published twenty collections of poetry and three volumes of prose.

Her new collection of poems, *Augenzeugnisse*, is reminiscent of some of her previous works, most recently *Verlegte Zeiten: 25 Gedichte angeregt*

durch das Frankfurter Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte–Archäologisches Museum (1988), *Moderne Kunst im Bildegespräch: 25 Gedichte zu Kunstwerken aus dem Museum Ludwig in Köln* (1982), and *Fundort Köln* (1979). The book contains twenty-five pictures of sculptures ranging from famous artists (Orpheus, Villon, Baudelaire, Däubler) to women models (Rose Beuret, "Pandora," "Die blonde Negerin," "Weiblicher Torso") to general art objects, and for each of them a poem by Scharpenberg. As in her earlier work, her poems are not mere descriptions of art objects one finds in a museum, but rather commentaries about the objects she sees. What most of the sculptures have in common is that they represent an essential form without much detail. Each visitor to a museum or reader of a poem adds a new perspective according to the experience they have. The poems preserve some of the quiet presence of the objects, but in addition they inspire the readers' imagination and therefore bring movement into the motionless and inert sculptures. Scharpenberg combines the stillness of the observation with the imagination of the viewer of art. The poetry collection is aptly entitled "Augenzeugen," a term which is explained by the author in an afterword: "Wir sind Augenzeugen bestimmter, vorübergehend fixierter Aussagen zu dauerhaften Fragen and reagieren familiär, d.h. vor jedem Urteil steht die Vertrautheit. Das kennen wir doch" (108). Not the knowledge of art history alone is important, but the personal, familiar approach to art. As Christoph Brockhaus mentions in the foreword, Scharpenberg successfully developed a method that combines the experience and recognition of a work of art for the visitor to a museum: "zwischen Gedicht and Sachkommentar steht die Reproduktion des Kunstwerks" (6). Factual explanations are provided by Petra Renkel and follow each poem and picture.

It is the form of the poems, however, that mediates between all three dimensions: the sculpture, the factual commentary, and the world of imagination and memory. Her intimate style remains similar to her previous works. As in *Verlegte Zeiten* she directly addresses the sculptures, speaking to them, questioning them in a familiar voice. The first poem, "Henry Laurens: Der Grosse Amphion (1952)," sets the basic tone:

Stülp dir ein Vogel-
mundstück über
es sitzt
wie angegossen
leicht-
händig verknüpft
die Saiten

du fingerst vor aller
Augen das alte
Fadenspiel schnur-
stracks ins Gehör
das Spiel der Verwandlung

wie geht es denn weiter
man sagt daß du ehmals
Steine rührtest das rührt
heutzutag keinen

Rufer wie du
müssen die Klänge
sichtbar machen
durch Mark und Bein
aus dem verfremdeten Körper
schreit es:
steht auf

und du gehorchst
Vortänzer
Vormund
als erster
daß dir die Steine folgen
jeder zu seinem Ort

auch ich
sichtlich
klangverfallen
mich wandelnd
zu was und wohin bloß
zieh mit. (8)

The lines reveal a closeness that the reader encounters again and again. A growing number of words and phrases like "zuzuhören," "bloßgelegt," "ein offenes Insichhören," "reiner Klang zuhöchst," "süchtig trinken," Anmut / ausgesparter Züge," "wirf doch die Tarnung ab / daß ich dich sehe," "im Licht verschränkt," "die Glocke schweigt es / meinem Aug ins Ohr" point towards a new way of discovering the surroundings with all senses. The sculptures grow clearer in the poems, the poems in the sculptures.

Scharpenberg is truly "eine Wanderin in und zwischen den Welten" (7) and has the talent to fill in the empty spaces surrounding the sculptures with words and metaphors that prolong the instant. In the

very middle of the poetry cycle appears the following image of a 'complementary artist,' a term which can be used to describe Scharpenberg herself who makes reading a poem and looking at an art object two complementary ways of viewing life:

vergiß Verlust
wir sind Ergänzungskünstler
an unserem eigenen
wie am andern Leib
wir schlüpfen ein
den Leerraum überbrückend
und aus getrennten Stücken
wird Gestalt. (56)

Richard Exner, like Lisa Kahn and Margot Scharpenberg, is a poet who writes in German but lived in America. He emigrated in 1950 to the United States where he studied German and comparative literature; after teaching at Oberlin (1960-65), he was a professor at the University of California at Santa Barbara from 1965-91. Unlike Kahn and Scharpenberg, he recently decided to move back to Europe and make Munich his home. Many of his best works emerged from his travel experience in Europe and the United States. With his tenth volume of poetry, *Ein Sprung im Schweigen: Gedichte und Zyklen* (1992), Exner continues his concentration on universal themes of human existence, such as: death, love, times of childhood, and aging, but returns to an elegiac undertone which was pervasive in his earlier collections. With this thematization the reader is reminded of the lyric tradition of Rilke and Hölderlin, but Exner never loses his own lyrical tone which is best exemplified by the poem that gave this book its title:

Ein Sprung im Schweigen

. . . mit beiden
Händen dein Gesicht
umschließen die
Fingerkuppen an
die Schläfen und
über deiner Stirn
den Mund die
Neigung unseres
Schweigens

und
deine Augen meine
Augen geschlossen

wir sehen
mit den
Händen . . .

still-
halten und atmen
atmen bis alle
Schrift an uns
erlischt:
der Gruß
entspringt. (110)

The empty spaces between the lines echo the quiet, undisturbed present against the torrent of time. This mood is sustained throughout the collection which is divided into seven sections: "Menschenzeit," "Im Jahrhundert des Terrors," "Sprachrisse, Sprechrisse," "Gezeichnet: Jetzt," "Ein Sprung im Schweigen," "Ankunft Ankunft," and "Nachsatz," starting from a primary experience of mankind, which is expanded by political experiences of today, as well as by excursions into childhood experiences, and memory–his own and one characteristic of our time.

Now and then one hears a surprising closeness, a voice which discloses experiences of painful devastations ("Nach Hiroshima"), of futile attempts at surviving ("Namen. Schaut fest auf den Atlas / des Todes, denkt an den Rauch / über A., über B., über T . . . ," 47), of loneliness ("einer muß / immer fort / und beide überleben / Narben Narben," 31). The poem "Abschied" contains the painful phrases: "das Liebste in die Stichflamme / der Entfernung," and "Feuer in der Nacht wird uns / der Atem auf den Kissen / stocken wir liegen ein- / gerissen offen bluten aus" 29). Exner frequently employs images of natural elements, such as fire and water, to express the destructive as well as renewing powers of nature and human relationships. But as this example shows, Exner integrates the traditional into his own language, which reveals and communicates primary experiences. In many poems it appears as if the poet himself discovers his words and part of himself ("Ja / Jetzt / Jesse / Jesajah / Johannes . . . ," 91). "Ein Sprung im Schweigen" once again professes that writing extends the moment ("im Lied / lebt nur fort, / was du nieder- / schreibst," 83), and even the 'century of terror' with Auschwitz and Hiroshima could not silence this poetic voice.

The four poets under discussion are bound to affect and inspire the reader who will appreciate these remarkable collections of poems and

short stories. The value of the books is that they again bring into the focus of German-American studies what has been often neglected and seemingly inaccessible: the poems of contemporary German-American writers. The publication and discussion of these books will at last give them the significance they deserve in literary studies.

Wright State University *Elfe Vallaster*

Reviews

Tradition & Transition: Amish Mennonites and Old Order Amish 1800-1900.
By Paton Yoder. Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1991. 358 pages.

Pennsylvania School History 1690-1990.
By Isaac Z. Lapp & The Lapp Family. Gordonville, PA: Christ S. Lapp, 1991. xv + 655 pages.

Researchers of Amish and Mennonite history will welcome two recent works, Paton Yoder's *Tradition & Transition* and Isaac Lapp's *Pennsylvania School History*. There is little overlap between the two. Reading both, however, one may arrive at a clearer understanding of issues that have shaped Amish and Mennonite communities.

As Donald Kraybill notes in the foreword to *Tradition & Transition*, most studies of the Old Order Amish have tended to describe briefly the European origins and then gone on to the twentieth century. Yoder, however, has turned his attention to the forgotten nineteenth century. Beginning with a survey of early Amish immigration patterns, he proceeds to discuss the development of the Amish church, the 1865 schism, and the two very different factions that were left to start the twentieth century. It is, as Yoder notes, an exploration into a past forgotten by many, Amish and Mennonite alike.

Yoder's carefully researched work is organized into four parts. The first, "Introducing the Amish in America," provides the reader an overview of Amish settlement in North America, focusing on the first half of the nineteenth century. It was, Yoder claims, an "era of consolidation" (28), a time when the authority of the church over the individual grew stronger and a new Amish identity began to emerge. Yoder asserts that, although many at the end of the century looked back at this time as a "golden age," the forces that would later tear Amish congregations apart were already evident. For example, he notes that new immigrants confronted a land in which they were free from the persecution that had controlled their behavior in Europe. They could own land and prosper economically, and their prosperity led them to adopt many of the

trappings of their non-Amish neighbors. Moreover, later immigrants tended to be less tradition-minded. Yoder cites church disciplines in the first half of the nineteenth century that demonstrate a growing concern with the little details of daily life, from the clothing worn to household furnishings, and repeatedly emphasize the use of the bann. By 1850, the authority of the church had increased in strength, church disciplines controlled daily behavior, and Amish had been clearly set off from non-Amish.

In "Amish Church Polity, Beliefs, and Discipline," Yoder describes the evolving organization of the Amish church, Amish theology, and, most importantly, the discipline that marked Amish communities in the mid-nineteenth century. The increasingly hierarchical character of the ministry led not only to the loss of the position of full deacon (*völliger Armendiener* or *bestätigter Diakon*), but to the adoption of new terms for old positions. "Bishop" (*Bischof*), instead of *völliger Diener* or *Ältester* came into common use, and, with the term, many of the overseer duties the term implied. The use of the lot for electing ministers, as opposed to congregational vote, came into general use among North American congregations. Conflicts developed over the application of the bann and shunning.

It was disagreements in the concept and practice of discipline, Yoder asserts, that led to the disruptions of Amish life in the latter half of the century, which are discussed in detail in the third part of the text, "The Great Schism." Foreshadowing the major division was a temporary disagreement between two Indiana communities over the rules and regulations of the church. More importantly, conflict arose over the introduction of stream baptism, support for which, Yoder contends, came to characterize the more progressive factions, those hoping to introduce other innovations. Despite sixteen annual *Diener-Versammlungen*, or minister's meetings, held to debate and resolve differences, the two factions, the progressive Amish-Mennonites and their conservative counterparts–later known as the Old Order Amish–ultimately went their separate ways.

In "Amish, Amish Mennonites, and Mennonites," Yoder explores the paths taken by each faction. Unrestrained by the conservative, tradition-bound forces, the Amish-Mennonites continued to liberalize. The traditionalists, no longer forced to compromise, drew the lines sharply between their communities and the surrounding society.

Tradition & Transition is an impressive, carefully researched, and well-documented work. Calling on a wide range of primary and secondary sources and writing in a clear, direct style, Yoder is able to guide the reader through the ins and outs of the very complex series of events of the nineteenth century. I was left feeling, as I never had before, that I understood why individuals and communities had acted as they did. To an outsider, the issues leading to the schism seem almost petty and

certainly lacking in a scriptural base; Yoder takes the reader below the surface to understand that the struggle was over nothing less than the nature of the church.

If there is a flaw in Yoder's work, it is that the events Yoder describes are not placed in a wider context. He suggests, for example, that the Mennonites were facing similar conflicts and raises the possibility that this might have been due to external forces (140). He apparently dismisses this notion, however, suggesting instead continuous communication between the two churches. Yoder gives other hints of continuous exchanges between Amish and Mennonite groups. The use of the term "bishop," he notes, "may have been the result of Mennonite influence" and, if so, "has substantive significance" (57). Moreover, he claims that the source of the doctrine of "stream baptism," a very controversial issue for the Amish, "was probably the Mennonites" (123). Finally, Yoder notes that in the 1860s, as the schism seemed beyond healing, Amish minister, John Ringenberg, of the progressive congregation of Nappanee, Indiana, wrote to the *Herold der Wahrheit*, addressing the Mennonites as brothers, and also notes that northern Indiana was the center of a movement calling for an Amish-Mennonite merger. This suggests that Amish congregations were aware of developments in the Mennonite church. Yet, although he drops hints that the Mennonites influenced the Amish, Yoder does not discuss the relationship between these groups and the impact one might have had on the other.

Nor does he discuss the impact of changes in the surrounding society on Amish (or Mennonite) communities. For example, although Yoder suggests that the religious and political freedom and economic opportunity of the New World led to strains within the Amish community and may have led to the increasing need to regulate individual behavior, it is unclear whether he believes the problem was one of new ideas or simply one of growing material wealth. What was it about the New World that led Amish congregations to make changes in such fundamental practices of the Old as baptism and the election of ministers? If, as he points out, "Amish Mennonites emerged from their cultural and social shell" (224) after the Civil War, how were Amish congregations able to remain isolated from ideological movements affecting the rest of American society before the Civil War, and how did the Civil War affect the relationship between the Amish and the rest of American society? Finally, the nineteenth century was marked by a growing commitment in American society to public education. What affect did this have on Amish communities? In short, Yoder's incisive study tends to treat the Amish of the early nineteenth century as if they were living in a vacuum, isolated from the influence of the world around them.

To be certain, Yoder does discuss the influence of outside movements, such as the Great Awakening, and public education on both the progressive Amish-Mennonites and the traditional Old Order in the latter half of the nineteenth century. But, one has the impression that the Amish became aware of the outside world only after the schism.

Whereas Yoder discusses events in an Amish world isolated from the surrounding English society, the work of the Lapp family is primarily based on English publications and forces the reader to consider the relationship between the plain people and the state. *Pennsylvania School History* is a collection of articles, letters, and documents put together, for the most part, by Isaac Z. Lapp. Following Lapp's death in 1986, his children collaborated to extend the time period covered by the book to 1990 and to have the manuscript printed. Written for the descendants of the Anabaptist settlers of Pennsylvania, the goal of *Pennsylvania School History* is, according to the Lapp family, "to help our younger generation to appreciate some of the efforts our forefathers put forth in preparing a country with churches and schools . . . for the generation of today to live in" (xv). Like Yoder, the Lapp family is concerned that their audience understand the past, the "challenges that our forefathers experienced" (xv).

Although the focus of *Pennsylvania School History* is generally on schools and Pennsylvania, this work is most decidedly *not* a history of Pennsylvania schools. There is, for example, a selection on "The Oldest Wooden Schoolhouse," which discusses a building in St. Augustine, Florida, includes a summary of Florida's history, outlines classroom conditions in Florida in the eighteenth century, and informs the reader that the official song of Florida is "The Swanee River" (40-41). One can also find a number of selections on the decision of the Supreme Court to ban the use of school-sponsored prayer in public schools, as well as articles on home schooling, the qualifications of a Christian teacher, and the shortcomings of the American educational system. In fact, far from covering the history of schools in Pennsylvania, most of the selections in *Pennsylvania School History* concern the conflicts between Amish and Mennonite communities and the state of Pennsylvania over the 1937 compulsory education law, which raised the compulsory school attendance age to eighteen in the cities and fifteen in rural areas, and extended the school term to nine months.

Despite the misleading title of this work, Isaac Z. Lapp's original goal was "to compile a book on the various hardships that some of the plain people experienced in order to receive permission to have schools as we have them today" (xv). In this, the work succeeds admirably. A brief history by Isaac Z. Lapp, himself, "The Plain People and Compulsory Law," provides an introduction to the problem (125-126), and numerous articles and letters follow, including personal letters, copies of petitions, and the minutes of meetings held by Old Order groups. One can follow

the battles in the state legislature and the arrests and trials of Old Order parents. The conflicting thoughts of many in the English community are clear in the numerous reprints of letters written to the *Intelligencer Journal*. There is, however, no clear connection between these selections and the others included in this book.

One cannot read this work as a thorough exploration of educational issues, for, rather than scholarship, it is a collection of newspaper clippings, letters, and reminiscences. Moreover, since most of the selections are drawn from one source–the *Intelligencer Journal*–the coverage of issues is neither exhaustive nor objective. Finally, neither Isaac Lapp nor his children have provided commentary on the selections. This book does, however, provide the researcher with an in-depth picture of the issues of interest to a member of a plain community. For this reason, *Pennsylvania School History* is both an eclectic collection of source materials and a primary source in itself–a window into the world of plain communities.

Pennsylvania School History is indexed but lacks a bibliography, and the referencing of sources is haphazard at best. *Tradition & Transition* is well-indexed and referenced but lacks a bibliography, an unfortunate omission that forces the researcher to search through endnotes for sources. Nevertheless, each is a valuable resource for the researcher of Amish and Mennonite history and culture. Although radically different, each, in its own way, will help the reader understand better the reasons why Old Order communities are as they are.

Clarkson University *Karen M. Johnson-Weiner*

Ohio Valley German Biographical Index.
By Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992. 80 pages. $17.00.

Research Guide to German-American Genealogy.
By Mary Bellingham, et al. St. Paul: Minnesota Genealogical Society, German Interest Group, 1991. 215 pages. $15.00.

The German Immigrant in America: F. W. Bogen's Guidebook.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992. 99 pages. $14.50.

The European Emigrant Experience in the U.S.A.
Edited by Walter Hölbling and Reinhold Wagnleitner. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1992. 289 pages. DM 68.00.

These four works all serve, in their own unique ways, to further the reader's understanding of German and European immigrants in America. While the scope and direction of each volume varies, all serve a worthwhile task, in that they shed light on the roles played by German-American immigrants or assist in the researching of German-Americans who have figured prominently in personal, local, or national history.

The *Ohio Valley German Biographical Index* is a particularly helpful work for scholars wishing to locate source materials for Ohio Valley German-American figures, particularly those in the Greater Cincinnati area. In compiling his work, Don Heinrich Tolzmann provides access to 3,754 German names, which are included in four major, previously uncompiled German-American histories, biographical directories, and indexes; included are references to Max Burgheim's *Cincinnati in Wort und Bild*, Armin Tenner's *Cincinnati Sonst und Jetzt*, Emil Klauprecht's *Deutsche Chronik in der Geschichte des Ohio-Thales*, and *Early Nineteenth-Century German Settlers in Ohio*, edited by Clifford Neal Smith. Alphabetically arranged, the index features a variety of names of German-Americans and corresponding abbreviations, indicating which source work, or works, contains information on the figure desired. Additionally, volume numbers of multi-volume works are given, to facilitate finding source materials. For example, if one were seeking information on Christian Moerlein, the famous Cincinnati brewer, one would find the listing "(S I, III)" next to his name, indicating that pertinent information could be found in volumes one and three of the Clifford Neal Smith edition. However, page numbers for the references are not given, requiring a visual search for the exact location of the entries in a given volume. Information available on the German-Americans listed varies, ranging from extensive biographical articles to obituaries.

Given the fact that the Ohio Valley, and especially Cincinnati, represents a major settling as well as distribution point for German-American immigrants, Tolzmann's work can be considered a valuable reference source, not to mention a significant time- and labor-saving device, for any scholar wishing to research prominent German-American figures in the Cincinnati area, as well as those in other areas who are known to have had some connection to Greater Cincinnati before moving on to other regions of the country.

Similarly, the *Research Guide to German-American Genealogy* serves to aid those wishing to research a person's background. As the title of the book implies, though, this work is less concerned with scholarly research of prominent figures, and more concerned with an individual's desire to trace back his or her roots to the German-speaking areas. It is accessible even to those who are not familiar with the German language. Previously published under the title *Beginning Research in Germany: An Introduction to German-American Genealogy*, the book has been expanded to include

three times as much information as its predecessor. Among the new or expanded features present are: 1) a greater depth of information and detail on the twenty-four European countries in which ethnic Germans are known to have lived; 2) new chapters on religion, personal and place names, and Canada (with additional material on emigration to Latin America and Australia); 3) significantly more information regarding writing to Europe in German and other languages; 4) an expanded German-English word list; 5) more extensive data about history and its relation to modern migrations of German-speaking peoples; and 6) a dateline of relevant historic events, along with reference maps.

The book is thoughtfully laid out by chapters and subchapters, starting with advice on how to begin a genealogical search and then discussing how to use existing American records to find an ancestor's place of origin. Personal and place names, including the contingency of misspelled place names, are adequately dealt with, providing a solid overview of the essentials and listing a good number of helpful additional references. Correspondence addresses in Europe and sample letter formats are especially helpful for those unsure of how to take the first step in making contacts in Europe, and the German-English vocabulary section is an added bonus for those who have little or no background in German. Maps of Europe, collected in Appendix B, aid in tracing major areas of settlement in Europe, especially for those not familiar with its geography. Also, the chapter on researching European records by country generally is well laid out and informative, though some countries, with presumably minimal ethnic German populations (such as Bulgaria, Finland, and Spain), are only mentioned in passing.

As a guidebook, this work serves its purpose very nicely. It is far from being a reader, as one might suspect, yet functions as a solid tool in the role for which it is intended. A casual researcher of genealogy, or one simply curious about his or her heritage, may feel intimidated by the amount and scope of information contained in the book; however, serious genealogical researchers, especially those with only a casual knowledge of German at best, will find this volume to be an invaluable aid.

Further, Don Heinrich Tolzmann has done German-American scholars a great service by making available again F. W. Bogen's guidebook from 1851, *The German Immigrant in America*. Bogen, a minister living in Boston, offers a fascinating, "slice-of-life" account of what it was like to be a German immigrant, and how to be successful in America during the middle of the nineteenth century. In his effort to provide potential immigrants with information on what to expect in America, Bogen presents a readable, detailed account of the situation at the time, utilizing a German-English format designed to help immigrants learn the English language. Of course, it is understood that the book has the limitation of being written from an 1851 perspective, with less particular

applications for the scholar mainly interested in later nineteenth and early twentieth century problems of German immigrants. As Tolzmann points out in his editor's comments, at least three hundred guidebooks were published in the German-speaking countries during the nineteenth century, some more credible and helpful than others. Through his comments, Tolzmann explains why Bogen's work became such a popular, authoritative book, cogently defining the advantages in Bogen's effort which make its republication of particular interest for German-American scholars, as well as for historians in general. Also, Tolzmann explains why he opted to exclude the U.S. Constitution, as well as biographies on George Washington and Benjamin Franklin, from this edition of Bogen's work, noting that this information is readily available elsewhere; however, Tolzmann does make a point of emphasizing the importance of these items in the original work. In the end, these omissions do not detract from the work; Bogen's original has been abridged to reflect the needs of the scholar, in as compact a form as possible. In his editor's conclusion, Tolzmann offers his personal insights as to why Bogen's guide is important for understanding the questions and concerns of the German immigrant, leaving it to the descendants of the eight million German immigrants, as well as to scholars, to determine what the immigrants would seek and find, as well as ultimately how useful Bogen's guidebook was to them. Regardless of one's perspective, Tolzmann's efforts in reintroducing this important work deserve to be recognized.

The European Emigrant Experience in the U.S.A. is another work which focuses on issues of importance for those planning to emigrate to America. In this case, we are presented with a collection of essays, given originally at the annual conference of the Austrian Association of American Studies in 1988. Understandably, a number of the essays deal with topics related to Austrian refugees and emigrants, particularly with regard to the period of the Austrian *Anschluß* to the German Reich in 1938 and its consequences. For the most part, these are readable, well written, and equally well-thought-out essays, which yield a considerable amount of insight as to the perspectives of those who chose to emigrate and their reasons why. The interdisciplinary focus of the essays is well suited for a wide range of scholarly interest; included are essays on art, literature, writing, language, politics, economics, social sciences, and ethnicity, among other subjects. As a result of the variety presented, there likely is something for everyone in this collection. Several of the essays are worthy of special mention, for example, "How to Become an American." Written by the former U.S. Ambassador to Austria, Henry Grunwald, the essay draws upon his youthful experiences in being forced to leave Austria, helping to define the extent to which the emigrant experience has helped shape the United States. Adi Wimmer, in the essay "Expelled and Banished," competently illustrates the plight of numerous writers,

scientists, and artists, who were forced to leave their countries, seldom being invited to return following World War II. By using letter-interviews and autobiographical sources, the pain these figures experienced becomes palpable, and a powerful feeling of sorrow and loss can be felt by the reader. Also, in the final essay, "Words Don't Come Easy," Bernhard Kettemann examines the role of German as an immigrant language in the United States, ably demonstrating how political and social factors involving two world wars led to a language shift, in which the German language rapidly lost a significant degree of its communicative function and, consequently, importance within the German-American community.

These essays are but a few examples of a solid, useful collection for many scholars of German-American as well as European affairs. By focusing primarily on Austria, during an especially fateful period of time, these essays provide us with a wealth of information which too often is overlooked or underemphasized in contemporary research.

University of Cincinnati *Timothy J. Holian*

Americana Germanica: Bibliographie zur deutschen Sprache und deutschsprachigen Literatur in Nord- und Lateinamerika.
By Hartmut Froeschle. Auslandsdeutsche Literatur der Gegenwart, vol. 15. Hildesheim: Olms, 1991. 233 pages. DM 49.80.

German Canadiana: A Bibliography.
By Hartmut Froeschle and Lothar Zimmermann. Deutschkanadisches Jahrbuch, vol. 11. Toronto: Historical Society of Mecklenburg Upper Canada, 1990. 420 pages. $16.00.

Since the 1970s Hartmut Froeschle has published widely in the field of German-American studies (see my reviews in *Journal of German-American Studies*, 15:3-4, 1980, 95-97, and *Yearbook of German-American Studies*, 24, 1989, 163-65). Although he has dealt with German-American topics, his central focus has been on the German-Canadians and the South American Germans. Indeed, one of his major contributions has been to expand the definition of German-American studies to embrace the entire hemisphere, from north to south.

As Froeschle notes in *Americana Germanica*, "Bibliographische Arbeit ist sehr zeitraubend (und zumeist auch undankbar, da die Benutzer der gedruckten Resultate nicht selten eher die unvermeidlichen Schwächen und Lücken einer Bibliographie sehen, als die zähe, hingebungsvolle Tätigkeit, die hinter bibliographischen Veröffentlichungen steht," (v). However, Froeschle correctly has recognized that the growth and development of German-Canadian and South American German research

rest on bibliographical foundations, and he has, therefore, addressed these needs.

His *Americana Germanica* aims to provide bibliographical coverage for the fifty-five years since the appearance of Karl Kurt Klein, *Literaturgeschichte des Deutschtums im Ausland* (1939). This half century is important, since it witnessed the Second World War together with the related anti-German hysteria, and the eventual postwar upswing and ethnic revival. It contains bibliographical sections on the following: Canada, the United States, Latin America, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Ecuador, Columbia, Mexico, Middle America and the Caribbean, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela. Each section is divided into seven sections: "Bibliographien, Geschichte, Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte, Sprache, Literatur, Anthologien, Periodika." Roughly half the work (3-130) covers Canada and the United States, while the rest deals with Central and South America. In each section the arrangement is not alphabetical by author, but rather chronological by date of publication, which is useful for viewing the historical development of the field in specific countries. The mere compilation of this bibliography is a noteworthy achievement. It is without question a work of exceptional value, which will be the basic source for anyone interested in the German elements in the Americas.

The same quality is immediately apparent in Froeschle and Zimmermann's *German Canadiana*, which at once becomes the central bibliographical source on the topic. Containing 6,585 entries, this work is divided into fifteen chapters dealing with the various aspects of German-Canadian history, literature, and culture. An examination of the work serves to reveal how interdependent German-Canadiana is with German-Americana. As Froeschle has pointed out elsewhere, 20 percent of German-Canadians are descended from German-Americans. Also, various subgroups retain close relationships, such as the Russian-Germans, the Danube Swabians, the Mennonites, the Missouri Synod, and the Pennsylvania Germans. This reviewer recalls that members of his family came from Pomerania through Canada and then down into Dodge County, Wisconsin. One can also note from the author index that a number of German-American studies scholars have been concerned with German-Canadiana and its relationship to German-Americana, e.g., Karl J. R. Arndt is represented with ten entries.

Both *Americana Germanica* and *German Canadiana* are milestone works which lay the foundations for further study in the field of German-American studies, especially with regard to the German-Canadian and South American German branches.

University of Cincinnati *Don Heinrich Tolzmann*

Alexander von Humboldt: Colossus of Exploration.
By Ann Gaines. New York and Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 1991. 112 pages. 42 black-and-white illustrations, 2 maps, 10 pictures in color. $18.95.

Right before the quincentenary of Columbus's voyage to America this book on the "second discoverer of the New World" has appeared. It is the first biography of the German scientist and explorer available in the United States since Douglas Botting's *Humboldt and the Cosmos* was published in 1973. Loren A. McIntyre's fascinating report on Humboldt's American travels came out in book form in German in 1982; a short version of it was published in *National Geographic*, September 1985.

After short introductory essays by W. Goetzmann, the editor, and Apollo-11 pilot Michael Collins, the reader is immediately taken to Pichincha, the volcano in the Andes which Humboldt climbed (for the second time) on 26 May 1802. We then learn major facts about Alexander's parents and his education, first at home by tutors, later at the universities of Frankfurt on the Oder and Göttingen, as well as the College of Mining in Freiberg, Saxony. Humboldt's often underestimated studies at the trade school in Hamburg are not mentioned. The time he spent in the Prussian Mining Department and the preparations for the expedition to America are briefly summarized.

The description of Humboldt's and Bonpland's travels in South and Central America (1799-1804) is the most interesting and most accurate part of the book. We read about the famous navigation on the Orinoco and Casiquiare rivers, during which Humboldt proved that there really was a connection between the Orinoco and the Amazon systems. On 23 June 1802 Humboldt and his travel companions Bonpland and Montúfar tried to climb Chimborazo, which at that time was generally accepted as the tallest mountain in the world. Though they did not reach the summit, the altitude they reached set a long-standing record which added to the explorers' fame.

Humboldt's expedition to Peru is briefly mentioned; his studies in Mexican history, economy, population, and geography are summarized, as well as his short visit to the United States during which he met President Jefferson and others. Gaines suggests, as do many other Humboldt biographers, that the German explorer spent three weeks at Jefferson's estate, Monticello. We know, however, from Herman R. Friis's excellent essay on Alexander von Humboldt's visit to the United States of America 20 May through 30 June 1804 (published in German 1959) that such a visit did not take place.

The final passages of the book are dedicated to Humboldt's publications on the New World (more than 30 vols.), his Russian expedition (1829), and his work on *Cosmos*, of which four volumes (not

two) appeared during his lifetime. Gaines has written a thrilling, splendidly illustrated book on Alexander von Humboldt, concentrating on his role as explorer and scientist. Thus, she does not focus on his other activities, such as the promotion of younger scientists and his educational efforts (Cosmos lectures, Berlin 1827-28). Some of the presented facts, though, are misleading, for example: "The boy's mother, the former Maria Elizabeth von Hollwege . . . " (17). Humboldt's mother's maiden name was Marie Elisabeth Colomb; she was first married to Ernst von Hollwede; or: "Humboldt never published a personal account of his journeys through the Andes; for details of these years, scholars must turn to his letters" (89). This is not quite true, as parts of his travel journeys were published in Alexander von Humboldt, *Reise auf dem Rio Magdalena, durch die Anden und Mexiko*, ed. Margot Faak (vol. 1: Berlin 1986, vol. 2: Berlin 1990). And finally:

> Shortly before parting company with Humboldt, the reporter noticed a live chameleon in a glass terrarium. "He can turn one eye towards heaven, while with the other he inspects the earth," Humboldt remarked playfully–a description that suited himself as well as the lizard (158).

The American reporter who visited Humboldt in November 1856 was Bayard Taylor, and we read in his report:

> Just then the chameleon opened one of his long, tubular eyes, and looked up to us. "A peculiarity of this animal," he [Humboldt] continued, "is its power of looking in different directions at the same time. He can turn one eye toward heaven, while the other inspects the earth. There are many clergymen who have the same power" (*New York Daily Times*, 21 January 1857).

In spite of a few misunderstandings, the book is informative and gives a generally accurate picture of Humboldt's personality, his persistence, his personal courage, his widespread interests, and his humanity. I would like to recommend it to all readers, not only younger ones, who want to know more about the history of the exploration of our planet.

Alexander von Humboldt Research Center
Berlin, Germany

Ingo Schwarz

News From the Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home. *Edited by Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbich, and Ulrike Sommer. Translated by Susan Carter Vogel. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. ix + 645 pages. $35.00.*

News From the Land of Freedom is the much anticipated English translation of *Briefe aus Amerika* published in 1988. The English version remains faithful to its German counterpart. Drawing on some of the more than five thousand letters collected at Ruhr University-Bochum in the Bochum Immigrant Letter Collection (Bochumer Auswandererbrief-Sammlung or BABS), the editors have sought to provide scholars of German immigration, social historians, genealogists, and other interested parties with a work that goes well beyond other published letter collections. Rather than selecting individual letters that focus on a particular theme or subject, such as Helbich's earlier volume, *Amerika ist ein freies Land . . . : Auswanderer schreiben nach Deutschland* (1985), or on a single individual, such as *Hold Dear, As Always, Jette, A German Immigrant Life in Letters* (1988), the editors have chosen to publish series of letters from individuals or families that reflect some of the broader patterns of nineteenth-century German immigration to the United States.

The editors acknowledge Charlotte Erickson's *Invisible Immigrants* (1972), in which letters from English and Scottish immigrants were also reproduced in series, as their model. They have also incorporated aspects of Erickson's approach. For instance, as with Erickson, they have provided an extensive, detailed, scholarly introduction. This excellent introduction covers key features of German immigration, including the forces propelling emigration, the occupational and economic backgrounds of the emigrants, settlement patterns, and the creation and importance of German-American institutions. The introduction also weighs the significance and impact of emigrant letters home and the representativeness of the letters chosen for inclusion.

Because they seek to give voice to those traditionally ignored in previously available letter collections, the editors have chosen to publish those from three general occupational backgrounds–farmers, workers, and domestic servants. While these classifications are adequate for exploring the diverse experiences of the letter writers, the lines demarcating the occupations occasionally blur and can be confusing. For example, Heinrich Möller is included in the farmers' section. Although he was a Hessian farmer's son and lived in rural areas in America, he primarily made his living as a shoemaker. In most instances, the individuals seem to be categorized on the basis of their work in America. Thus, it would seem more logical to place Möller in the workers' section. A related problem emerges in the section on workers. Johann Carl Wilhelm

Pritzlaff, who initially emigrated as a worker, eventually became a wealthy hardware store owner. In this instance, the commercial, clerical, and professional work category that Erickson used in her book might have been useful. However, the editors must be commended for including domestic workers and the voices of working and emigrant women, who are generally omitted from published letter collections, as well as making the effort to focus on the lower social classes, rather than the educated middle and upper classes.

Each series of letters receives its own introduction that details the specific context in which the writer or writers were born and the decision to emigrate is made. One area which might have been given more consideration in these introductions concerns the German family. An expanded analysis of the nineteenth-century German family, strategies to preserve or not to preserve the family, and the long-distance responsibilities assumed within the German family might provide social historians with the broader implications and processes of decision making that occurred when family members emigrated.

Despite these reservations, *News From the Land of Freedom* establishes a new standard for publishing immigrant letters. One addition to the English edition is an assessment of the letter writers' German writing abilities, providing a clearer glimpse into the writers' level of education and adding another dimension as to how to view the letters and the letter writers. Susan Carter Vogel's English translation is excellent. Furthermore, great care is devoted to documenting as many references contained in these letters as possible. This includes the exhaustive use of United States census materials and city directories, emigration lists, parish registers, passenger and ship lists, county histories, and the German-language press in the United States.

The editors have more than matched Erickson's model. Not only have they provided a source rich in individual accounts that might never have found their way into the historical record, but many of the individuals chosen for inclusion open up other avenues of German-American history that warrant further investigation. For instance, the example of the illiterate Peter Klein, who managed to find others to write letters home for him while working in California gold mines, points to the absence of any recent major works on the Germans in the West.

Because of the numbers of letters in the Bochum Immigrant Letter Collection and the small fraction of which are published here, one hopes that other volumes are forthcoming.

Santa Monica College *Lesley Ann Kawaguchi*

Popular Narratives and Ethnic Identity: Literature and Community in *Die Abendschule.*
By Brent O. Peterson. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1991. 273 pages. $36.95.

Die Abendschule was a bi-weekly (later, weekly) family magazine published from 1854 to 1940. Its purpose was both to instruct and to entertain. Moved from Buffalo to St. Louis in 1856, it had close ties to the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. C. F. W. Walther recommended it in official Synod publications, and several times ministers of the Synod served as *Die Abendschule*'s editor. Walther saw it as a safe, Christian alternative to the anti-clerical journalism of the St. Louis Forty-Eighters.

In an effort to analyze identity-formation among the magazine's immigrant readers, Peterson examines the fiction, much of it historical fiction, serialized in *Die Abendschule* between 1854 and 1900. He asserts "that what nineteenth-century German immigrants read was intimately connected with their continually shifting sense of who they were" (4). Although scholars often scorn serialized immigrant fiction, Peterson, by analyzing this material using recent literary and cultural theory, shows that the material is both important and of real interest. Indeed, by using deconstructionist, psychoanalytic, feminist, and neo-Marxist insights, the author provides an originality and an excitement which should do much to invigorate German-American studies and elevate the field's reputation within the academy.

In its first two decades, *Die Abendschule* and, by extension, its readers seemed to be juggling three simultaneous identities–German, American, and Lutheran. To fully accept any one of these would have meant losing important elements of the others. During the whole period covered by this study, *Die Abendschule* in its socioeconomic stance looked backward to "an imaginary pre-capitalist utopia where small producers flourished in the midst of an intact organic community" (72). In the 1880s and 1890s the identity cues which the magazine gave its readers changed in response to new threats in America to this ideal and the ideal of a special German-American presence. Such threats came from the growth of industrial capitalism, German socialist and anarchist workingmen, and new immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. In attempting to make common cause with America's Anglo elite, *Die Abendschule* began to stress the Germanic heritage of the Anglo-Saxon world and to de-emphasize such earlier concerns as the dangers posed by "the 'wrong' kind of Lutherans" (7).

It is in regard to the latter that Peterson makes one of his few stumbles concerning factual matters. When Missouri Synod Lutherans referred to the disdained "Unionists" or "Evangelical Reformed Lutherans," they usually had in mind the German Evangelical Synod of North

America. The Evangelical Synod was based on the Prussian Union idea that all German Reformed and Lutherans should be brought together into one united evangelical church. This former Evangelical Synod is now a part of the United Church of Christ, not the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.

With respect to the author's interpretive stances too, the reader may not be completely satisfied based on the capsule summaries the author himself provides of *Die Abendschule*'s fiction. While it is clear how the magazine supplied alternative and refined models of ethnic and national identity for its immigrant readers, did it, except in masthead illustrations, ever go beyond the pre-capitalist, small-producer ideal? Alternately, if the later masthead icons are to be taken seriously, how restricted was the socioeconomic identification of *Die Abendschule* by the turn of the century? Did it contain a place for German Protestants, urban or rural, who were not yet in a financial position to give up physical labor and who could no longer prosper as pre-capitalist small producers on farms or in workshops? Were the economic images presented by the magazine more than simply escapist for many of its readers? Regrettably, Peterson found little information about just who subscribed to the magazine. Was its readership a representative cross section of the Missouri Synod (or a larger group of German-American Protestants) with respect to social class and the urban/rural dichotomy?

But such questions do not detract from the strength of this work. Perhaps its most impressive feature is the breadth of Peterson's reading in both factual and theoretical realms. In the bibliography, Frederick Luebke is flanked by Jackson Lears and Georg Lukacs. George Condoyannis is followed by Gilles Deleuze and Umberto Eco. Karl J. R. Arndt appears with Louis Althusser. Our field cries out for just the kind of bold, theoretically challenging work Peterson here presents us.

Hendrix College *Robert W. Frizzell*

Hoosier German Tales–Small and Tall.
Edited by Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis: German-American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1991. 258 pages. $8.50.

Dedicated "From Lots of Hoosier Germans to the Great State of Indiana with Love on Its 175th Anniversary," this entertaining and compelling collection of anecdotes and tales reflects the richness of the German-American experience in America's heartland. Eberhard Reichmann put together oral lore, newspaper accounts, and excerpts from local history books into a kaleidoscope of life in the American Midwest as seen through the eyes of people from all walks of life. Some still speak German at home while others maintain a passive knowledge of the

language or still remember German-speaking relatives and acquaintances. A few items in the anthology relate to events as far back as the first third of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the first German settlers in Indiana and their struggle for survival. But the book as a whole strives to encompass German-American life up to our own day. While most pieces are in prose, a few poems are interspersed in the text, and it concludes with Dubois-County-born poet Norbert Krapf's contemporary tribute to his German-American ancestors.

It is a rich collection, comprising 337 individual items in all, which are divided up into 27 chapters. Each chapter heading is adorned with humorous drawings by R. L. Robertson, who also designed the book's black, white, and yellow cover.

The reader curious about Indiana's pioneer days, people's religious life back then, or oddities in naming places and people, should look at chapter I, "*The Long Long Way to Indiana*," chapter V, "*Pioneer Priests and Preachers and In n' Out of Church*," and chapters II and III, "*Place Names*" and "*Names and Nicknames*." But this comprises only a fraction of the colorful and somehow timeless lore of men and women, of children and old people, some clever and some foolish, some honest and brave, some roguish and sly, and some sad, dealing with great hardship. But all of them are remarkably free of self-pity, no matter how hard life must have been. They are told with rollicking good humor and with an earthiness rooted in the predominantly rural and small-town life of the Old Country these people left behind. The editor, himself a teller of many a good yarn, deftly weaves into this fabric some tales of his own thus linking past immigrants to those like him who found a new home here quite recently. The book also offers a section on the difficulties experienced by German-Americans during the First World War as well as chapters on the Civil War, and more general anecdotes on "Politics and Politickin'."

While most of the stories are told in English, two chapters are bilingual since they represent the still-living German oral tradition of Dubois County in the Southwestern part of the state. Ably transcribed in the original dialect and then translated into English by Mary Jo Meuser, they deal with two figures, one very real and the other entirely imaginary, namely Fr. Basil Heusler, O.S.B., also called "the Duke of Jasper," who served Jasper's St. Joseph's parish from 1898 until 1942; the second cluster of anecdotes, combining German and American folk elements, centers around "Ed Meyer," Dubois County's *genius loci*, who is to that area what "*Rübezahl*" is to the German *Riesengebirge*.

My local bookstore was unable to locate this volume through its customary sources, but it can be ordered directly from NCSA Literatur, 430 S. Kelp Grove Rd., Nashville, IN 47448.

Ft. Collins, Colorado *Sabine D. Jordan*

Fünfzig Jahre unermüdlichen deutschen Strebens in Indianapolis. *By Theodor Stempfel. German/English edition translated and edited by Giles R. Hoyt, Claudia Grossmann, Elfrieda Lang, and Eberhard Reichmann. Indianapolis: German American Center and Indiana German Heritage Society, 1991. 150 pages. $18.25.*

When Theodor Stempfel wrote this *Festschrift* in 1898, it celebrated the completion of *Das Deutsche Haus* in Indianapolis, seen by Stempfel as the culmination of fifty years of effort by German immigrants to both preserve their native culture and to contribute to the cultural life of their adopted homeland. This 1991 bilingual reprint acknowledges in turn the increasing interest in the contributions of German-Americans and, as Giles Hoyt notes in the foreword, "provides access to an important document of German-American history" (iii). This importance derives in part from the fact that Stempfel utilized sources that are no longer available to the modern researcher, but perhaps just as important is that it provides an alternative, multi-cultural view of a period in American history which has been clouded by the anti-Germanism prevalent during much of this century as a result of the two world wars.

Stempfel used the occasion of the opening of *Das Deutsche Haus* to trace the history of German immigration to Indianapolis, focussing primarily on the forty-eighter generation, the development of the *Turnvereine*, and their influence on cultural life in Indianapolis. He describes the evolution of the *Vereine* from gymnastic clubs to cultural societies, with a number of chapters devoted to activities of the *Männerchor* and other musical groups and organizations. While music is arguably the dominant contribution, the range of activity is much greater, revealing the remarkable impact the German-Americans had on the city. They published newspapers and journals with wide circulations, founded an orphanage and a German-English school, participated in the political debates which enveloped the city and the nation, and shaped the appearance of the city with architectural accomplishments such as *Das Deutsche Haus*.

Being a *Festschrift*, this work accentuates the positive but Stempfel does not shy from portraying negative aspects of *Verein* life in Indianapolis. Politics at times divided the German-Americans, and conflicts arose between those who had made their names as abolitionists before and during the Civil War and those who failed to uphold hard-won personal freedoms afterward. The German-Americans acquired a reputation for being liberal freethinkers, dedicated to equality and freedom. That made them leaders in the antislavery movement and caused them to initiate counterdemonstrations against the temperance movement.

The reprint improves on the original by including an English translation of all German texts, including the verses and songs scattered throughout. The quality of the translation is excellent, successfully preserving Stempfel's engaging, almost conversational style. Subtleties in the translation reveal the modern perspective of the translator(s). Thus a phrase such as "Wir können heute nicht ermessen, wie sich die Entwickelung des Deutschthums unserer Stadt ohne den Einfluß dieser Schule gestaltet hätte . . . " becomes "It is hard to imagine what directions the development of the German element in Indianapolis would have taken without the influence of this school" (18). Similarly, tense changes from present perfect to simple past are made throughout the text, again subtly revealing the modern perspective. However, these slight alterations do no injustice to Stempfel's original, and, combined with the occasional translator's note, they serve only to make the text less ambiguous for today's reader. This edition is completed by the inclusion of the numerous photographs and illustrations which accompanied the original, as well as twenty-eight pages of historical advertising. The original membership list of the *Socialer Turnverein* is reprinted and complemented by an index of other names found in the text.

Both Hoyt's foreword and Stempfel's original postscript recognize the shortcomings of the *Festschrift*. The scope is limited to the *Vereine* and their activities, and ignores German-American life outside this circle. Similarly, the bulk of Stempfel's research comes from *Verein* publications, creating the possibility that this work is less accurate as a thorough account of German-American life during this period than as a portrayal of how the *Verein* members perceived themselves, or perhaps how they wished to be perceived by the general public. Considering the demonstrable influence the *Vereine* had in Indianapolis, however, this work attains a greater significance as a contribution to our understanding of civic life in this period. In the larger context, the story Stempfel tells could apply to a number of American cities, thus this book can be seen as a general chronicle of the role of the active German-American in the nineteenth century.

University of Cincinnati *J. Gregory Redding*

One's Own Hearth is Like Gold: A History of Helvetia, West Virginia. *By David H. Sutton. Swiss American Historical Society Publications, vol. 8. Frankfurt, Bern, New York, Paris, London: Lang. 1990. 118 pages. $30.95.*

The German element of West Virginia has been woefully neglected by the state's historians and sociologists for years. Perhaps this is because there were no central settlements of Germans in what became the Mountain State as there were in neighboring Pennsylvania, Maryland, and

Ohio. Then too, with statehood only granted in June 1863, the early history of the Germans in West Virginia belongs to the discussion of those in Virginia. Still, there is much to be researched and written on the role the Germans played in shaping this state. From the pioneering families along the Ohio river at Point Pleasant, to those engaged in the statehood movement of the 1850s in Wheeling, to the miners of the southern coal fields, Germans were an integral part of West Virginia's growth and development.

David Sutton's book documents another equally interesting and colorful aspect of the German settlement in the Mountain State, this one based on the history of the Swiss-born farmers who settled in rural Randolph County, West Virginia, beginning around 1870. For over a decade, Sutton, a native of the tiny hamlet of Helvetia, West Virginia, has been studying these Swiss immigrants and chronicling their lives and contributions in newspaper and magazine articles. Now he has produced a comprehensive monograph recounting the immigration to, the development of, and the culture in his hometown. The story of Helvetia reads like most local histories, with copious names, dates, and places included. Sutton has, however, avoided the obvious temptation to fill his text with personal recollections and humorous anecdotes. Instead, he presents a meticulous and methodical account of the process of enticing settlers to this remote region of the state; their growth and maturation as a community; their agricultural and economic development; their social and cultural institutions and activities; and, finally, some of the more recent events in the community.

Copious old photographs and documents add to the overall enjoyment of the text. Sutton's bibliography, including unpublished sources, and his six demographically oriented appendices are also outstanding. This work is an excellent example of how a local history can and should be written, and Sutton is certainly to be commended for his interest in the long-neglected German element of West Virginia.

Marshall University *Christopher L. Dolmetsch*

***Germany and America (1450-1700).* Julius Friedrich Sachse's "History of the German Role In the Discovery, Exploration, and Settlement of the New World."**
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1991. $20.00.

One hundred years after its first appearance, Sachse's *The Fatherland (1450-1700)*, long out of print, is once again available to a wider audience. This new edition by Don Heinrich Tolzmann is divided into three parts: 1) Editor's Comments; 2) Sachse's History; 3) Editor's Conclusion, with

suggestions for further reading. Part one has a number of typographical errors which should be corrected in future printings.

Sachse's original title, "The Fatherland . . . ," has been changed to *Germany and America (1400-1700)*, which, as the editor points out, more accurately describes the content of the work. The new title also reflects late twentieth-century sensibilities and serves to mute the numerous ethnocentric comments by Sachse, for example: " . . . the jealous Spanish ear . . . " (103); " . . . the glorious wars against France . . . " (129); " . . . the heartless and bigoted Spaniard . . . " (134); and several references to the bigotry and rapacity of the French (143, 169, 170).

Despite such lapses into nationalistic jargon, Sachse offers a fascinating history of German contributions to the discovery and development of the Americas. Of special interest to this reader were the chapters dealing with the period prior to the arrival of the Crefeld colonists in 1683. Sachse's concern that "writers of American history have thus far failed to accord the German people anything like the proper amount of credit due them for the part they took in making possible the voyages to the unknown lands in the west . . ." (33) has been only partially addressed in the intervening century. In his pioneering attempt to correct this situation, Sachse provides a wealth of information from many, often obscure, sources about German involvement in Europe's expansion to the New World, including the role of the German financial houses of Fugger and Welser in funding much of the exploration undertaken by the Spanish and Portuguese kings, and the early settlement of Venezuela, Chile, and other parts of South America. In many respects, Sachse's numerous footnotes are as interesting and useful as the body of the text. One example for many: on page 96, note 93a, we learn that the wife of one Sigmunt Enderlein, a miner in the service of the Welser family, might well have been the first German woman to set foot on American soil (Venezuela, in 1529 or 1530).

The work also includes a rich collection of maps, facsimiles, coats-of-arms, contemporary sketches, and illustrations. In addition, an appendix contains over fifty pages of facsimiles of "Title Pages of Books and Pamphlets that Influenced German Immigration to Pennsylvania." In order to provide a context for the publication of the volume at this time, the editor has included a brief introduction to the life and works of Sachse (5-14), and a section entitled "German-American Studies, 1492-1992 and Beyond" (16-28), which helps to put Sachse's work in perspective and may serve as a kind of primer of German immigration and German-American studies; this will be useful particularly to readers new to the field. In his introduction, Tolzmann calls for a hemispheric approach to German-American studies and thus continues his contributions to the ongoing process of defining and expanding the field of German-American studies and its vital role in achieving a clear "understanding of American

and European history, as well as that of local German communities, and how they are both . . . interrelated" (17).

The editor has performed an important service by making this fascinating work accessible again to teachers and scholars of German-American studies.

Ohio University *Barry G. Thomas*

The First Germans In America, with a Biographical Directory of New York Germans.
Edited by Don Heinrich Tolzmann. Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1992. 113 pages. $13.00.

After a brief introduction, this anthology presents Otto Lohr's *The First Germans in North America and the German Element in New Netherland* (1912). This short work touches upon Virginia, New England, New Sweden, Maryland, and Carolina, and then devotes greater detail to New Netherland, the home of most seventeenth-century Germans in America.

The second item, much longer, is Herrmann Schurich's *The First Germans in Virginia* (1898). This tells of the participation of the Germans in and around Jamestown, who were more numerous than generally known. There were, in addition to the carpenters, of whom we all have heard, also Germans in positions of leadership, such as Richard Kempe and the explorers Johannes Lederer and Heinrich Batte and the Swiss Peter Fabian. The size of the German element is attested by lists of naturalizations, land grants, and other legal papers.

The last, and for me the most informative, item in this anthology is John O. Evjen's *The First Germans in New York* (1916). This relates the difficulties the Lutherans, both German and Scandinavian, suffered in winning freedom to establish their own church under the Calvinistic government of the colony. Of great value for the demography of New Netherland is the attached list of German immigrants in New York from 1630-74. Nearly all the names appear in standard Netherlandish. Since most of the German settlers had come from the shores of the North and Baltic Seas and had therefore spoken *Plattdeutsch*, it is not surprising that their names were netherlandized. It is significant, however, that even settlers from High Germany suffered their names to be written as if Dutch, as in the cases of Jan Adamsen of Worms, Matys Blanjan of Mannheim, Valentine Claesen from Transylvania, Ulderick Cleen of Hesse, Hans or Jans Coenratze of Nürnberg, Coenraet Cross from Switzerland, Hendricks Hendricksen from Erlangen, Adriaen Huybertsen from Jena, Harmen Janzen from Hesse, Jan Janszen from Tübingen,

Conraet Locker of Nürnberg, Pieter Van Oblinus from Mannheim, and Jacob and Reyer Stoffelszen from Zürichsee.

The above names have been so well netherlandized that we would not recognize their bearers as having been High German if their homes had not been mentioned in the records. One can therefore only speculate how many more of the inhabitants of New Netherland, whose homes are not recorded, were also from High Germany. Far greater is the number of netherlandized names of Low Germans whose places of birth are known, and still greater must be the number of "Netherlanders" of colonial New York and adjacent areas whose Low German homes are not recorded.

The individual items in this *Sammelschrift* bear their original pagination for the benefit of those who wish to pursue the sources, but the volume itself is not paginated.

We owe a debt of gratitude to the editor for making this valuable and somewhat inaccessible information available in such an attractive format.

University of Maryland *George Fenwick Jones*

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 Indianapolis (IUPUI).
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The Bibliographic Committee wishes to thank the IUPUI University Library and the Indianapolis-Marion County Public Library for their generous cooperation.

The Bibliography includes references to books, articles, dissertations and selected media relating to the experience of German-speaking people in North America and their descendants.

Abbreviations:

AA	=	*Annals of Iowa*
AHR	=	*American Historical Review*
AJH	=	*American Jewish History*
BLT	=	*Brethren Life and Thought*
DR	=	*Der Reggeboge: Journal of the Pennsylvania German Society*
GCY	=	*German-Canadian Yearbook*
GQ	=	*German Quarterly*
GSR	=	*German Studies Review*
HR	=	*Heritage Review*
HRBC	=	*Historical Review of Berks County*

IHJ	=	*Illinois Historical Journal*
JAEH	=	*Journal of American Ethnic History*
JAHSGR	=	*Journal of the American Historical Society of Germans from Russia*
JLCHS	=	*Journal of the Lancaster County Historical Society*
MFH	=	*Mennonite Family History*
MH	=	*Monatshefte*
MHB	=	*Mennonite Historical Bulletin*
MHR	=	*Missouri Historical Review*
ML	=	*Mennonite Life*
MQR	=	*Mennonite Quarterly Review*
NGTHS	=	*Newsletter of the German-Texan Heritage Society*
NSGAS	=	*Newsletter for the Society for German-American Studies*
PF	=	*Pennsylvania Folklife*
PMH	=	*Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*
PMHB	=	*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
SIGA	=	*Studies in Indiana German-Americana*
TMHS	=	*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*
WHQ	=	*Western Historical Quarterly*
WMH	=	*Wisconsin Magazine of History*
YGAS	=	*Yearbook of German-American Studies*
ZK	=	*Zeitschrift für Kulturaustausch*

I. Supplements for 1990

1. Ackerman, Rudy S. "The Baum School Story." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 291-95. History of the Baum School of art in Allentown.
2. Adams, Jane. "Creating Community in a Midwestern Village: Fifty Years of the Cobden Peach Festival." *IHJ* 83.2 (Summer 1990): 97-108. Includes a discussion of the German-American population in Cobden since the 1930s.
3. Bassler, Gerhard P. "Silent or Silenced Co-Founders of Canada?: Reflections on the History of German Canadians." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 22.1 (1990): 38-46. Historical image of German Canadians, whose role goes back to the 17th-century, but has been largely forgotten.
4. Berman, Aaron. *Nazism, the Jews and American Zionism*. Detroit: Wayne State Univ. Press, 1990. 238 pp.

5. Bruns, Annja. *Das Berlinbild in amerikanischen Zeitungen: 1955 bis zum Tode Kennedys*. Köln, 1990. 351 pp. Originally Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Köln, 1989.
6. Deturck, Chester Levan. *Oley Valley Graveyard Ramblings*. Ed. by Laurel A. Miller. Reading, PA: Laurel A. Miller, 1990. 72 pp.
7. Dyck, Arnold. *Collected Works of Arnold Dyck*. 4 vols. Ed. by Victor G. Doerksen, George K. Epp, Harry Loewen, Elisabeth Peters, and Al Reimer. Winnipeg: Manitoba Mennonite Historical Society, 1985ff.
8. Eastby, Allen G. "The Baron." *American History Illustrated* 25 (Nov./Dec. 1990): 28-35.
9. Glatfelter, Charles H. *The Pennsylvania Germans: A Brief Account of Their Influence on Pennsylvania*. Pennsylvania History Studies, vol. 20. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania Historical Association, 1990. 81 pp.
10. Hellerich, Mahlon H. "Register of Students in Americanization Classes of the Allentown School District in 1918-1919." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 213-26. Many German-Americans among these students.
11. Hyatt, Marshall. *Franz Boas, Social Activist: The Dynamics of Ethnicity*. Contributions to the Study of Ethnicity, vol. 6. New York: Greenwood, 1990. 174 pp. Boas, born in Germany, taught at Columbia University.
12. Keim, Albert N. *The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service*. Intercourse, PA: Good Books, 1990. 128 pp.
13. Kidder, Robert L., and John A. Hostetler. "Managing Ideologies: Harmony as Ideology in Amish and Japanese Societies." *Law and Society Review* 24.4 (1990): 895ff.
14. Kiernan, Charles B. "Paulus Balliet Homestead." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 203-12. Balliet was the son of Stephen and Maria Katerina Schalbach Balliet in Alsace-Lorraine and came to the Allentown area in 1738.
15. Klinger, Katherine, Glenn T. Horn, and Pat Stanislovitis. "Cystic Fibrosis Mutations in the Hutterite Brethren." *American Journal of Human Genetics* 46.5 (May 1990): 983ff.
16. Kramer, Michael P. "Paul Richard Kramer: The War Years 1944-1945." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 13-67. Pennsylvania German family of Allentown, PA.
17. Leh, John, II. "World War II from One Enlisted Man's Point of View." *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 89-102. Pennsylvania German family of Allentown, PA.
18. Marschall, Richard. "Masters of Comic Strip Art." *American History Illustrated* 25 (March/April 1990): 44-57.

19. Miller, C. Eugene. "The Contributions of German Immigrants to the Union Cause in Kentucky." *Filson Club History Quarterly* 64.4 (October 1990): 462-78.
20. Miller, Timothy. "A Guide to the Literature on the Hutterites." *Communal Societies* 10 (1990): 68ff.
21. Newberry, Ilse. "Nicht länger mehr 'draußen vor der Tür'– oder doch?: Friedrich Hollainders Rückkehr. *GQ* 63 (Spring 1990): 245-59.
22. Olshan, Marc A. "The Old Order Amish Steering Committee: A Case Study in Organizational Evolution." *Social Forces* 69.2 (December 1990): 603ff.
23. Reich, Uwe. "Einige Bemerkungen zum methodischen Herangehen und Gegenstand der Untersuchung kontinentaler und überseeischer Auswanderungen aus ausgewählten Kreisen im Verlaufe des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Migrationsforschung* 24 (1990): 11-13.
24. Siegbert, C. "Zur bundesstaatlichen Einwanderungspolitik der USA 1875-1917." Thesis, Univ. of Rostock, 1990.
25. Thurm, Heiner. "Ausländerfeindliche Positionen in der bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung der USA und Großbritaniens gegen Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Migrationsforschung* 24 (1990): 28-32.
26. Weaver, Ray A. "Why Did President Adams Pardon John Fries?" *Proceedings of the Lehigh County Historical Society* 39 (1990): 227-63. Fries and other Pennsylvania Germans took part in the "window tax rebellion" of 1799.

II. Works Published in 1991

27. Adams, Willi Paul. "Ethnic Politicians and American Nationalism During the First World War: Four German-Born Members of the U.S. House of Representatives." *American Studies International* 29.1 (April 1991): 20-34.
28. Addleman, Robert P. *The American Addlemans: German Immigrants to Pennsylvania*. Apollo, PA: Published for the author by Closson Press, 1991. 525 pp.
29. Allen, Linda. *Washington Notebook*. Cassette. Bonney Lake, WA: Victory Music, 1991. Songs of the Northwest, including German music. Issued with lyrics.
30. Altick, Richard Daniel. *Of a Place and a Time: Remembering Lancaster*. Hamden, CT: Archon, 1991. 199 pp.
31. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia. *AHSGR Library Family History List*. Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1991. 69 pp. A list of the family histories in the AHSGR Library as of 6 August 1991.

32. American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, Oklahoma Harvester Chapter. *German-Russian Heritage, Steppes to America.* Lincoln, NE: American Historical Society of Germans from Russia, 1991. 78 leaves.
33. American/Schleswig-Holstein Heritage Society. *German Heritage Recipes Cookbook.* Deep River, IA: Brennan Printing, 1991. 352 pp.
34. Andersen, Ann Freehafer. "Joseph Showalter of Durmore Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania." *PMH* 14.1 (1991): 25-30. Genealogy of author's Pennsylvania German family.
35. Anderson, Harry H. "The Founding of the Wisconsin Club: A Tale of Tribulation and Triumph." *Milwaukee History* 14.3 (Autumn 1991): 93-102.
36. _____. "Peter Engelmann: German-American Pioneer and Scholar." *Milwaukee History* 14.1 (Spring 1991): 20-36.
37. Backhaus-Laudenschläger, Christine. *Und standen ihre Frau: Das Schicksal deutschsprachiger Emigrantinnen in den USA nach 1933.* Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1991. 303 pp. Study of refugee women.
38. Bacque, James. *Other Losses: An Investigation into the Mass Deaths of German Prisoners at the Hands of the French and Americans after World War II.* Rev. ed. Toronto: General Paperbacks, 1991. 292 pp.
39. Baker, Irene. "The Search for Ancestors and Descendants of Abraham Drachsel/Troxel of Lebanon County, PA." *MFH* 10 (1991): 14-15.
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